

ORGANIZED COMMUNISM

IN THE

UNITED STATES

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 85TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1957

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

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* * * * *

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

FOREWORD

Communism is the fundamental challenge of our time. It is obvious that the future of this Nation; indeed, its very existence as a free and democratic republic, will be determined by our response to this challenge.

Although the overwhelming majority of the American people is opposed to communism—its basic philosophy and all of its manifestations—the fact remains that there is a tremendous lack of understanding of communism's true nature. There is a tendency to try to deal with the problem of communism on a day-to-day basis, and from this we have the sorry spectacle of otherwise intelligent American leaders willing to negotiate with communism's masters at international conference tables as if there were a real foundation of sincerity and good faith.

The task of understanding communism in the United States is even more complex. The identity that Lenin, Stalin and their successors have stamped upon the Soviet sphere is not so readily apparent here. There have been no programs of mass murder by Communists in the United States; no aggression by Communists, although there is no doubt that the American Communists would willingly and actively participate in such activities were they in a position of power. Despite the intrinsic conspiratorial character of the Communist movement in the United States, its features have been blurred by its ability to masquerade as a genuine liberal and humanitarian concept.

The hearings and the investigations of the Committee on Un-American Activities over the years have done much to expose communism in the United States for what it really is; its domination by Soviet agents, its complete adherence to the expansionist foreign policy of the Soviet Union, its unwavering loyalty and dedication to Moscow.

The Committee on Un-American Activities has prepared this study of the Communist movements in America so that the people of the Nation may trace communism's lineage back to its inception in the revolutionary blood bath of 1917. It has changed its name and has purported to have changed its program on a number of occasions. It has attempted at times to parade itself as the essence of loyalty and respectability. But in studying the birth and growth of the American Communist movement, it can be seen that these have been mere surface phenomena.

Recently J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, declared that "Communism—the scourge of our generation—has not weakened. Its philosophy has not changed. The danger from it has not lessened."

Communism, regardless of its form or camouflage, is a direct and abiding threat which we can ignore only at the expense of our survival as a free nation.

FRANCIS E. WALTER, *Chairman.*

ORIGIN

A résumé of the Communist movement in the United States necessitates a partial review of the history of the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party of the United States was founded in 1890. Like that of the American Communists, the history of the Socialist Party is one of factional fights, splits, and splinter groups. The first split in the Socialist Party occurred in 1899. Numerous disputes within the party from 1907 to 1912 resulted in another split in 1912. In 1916, a number of extremists organized the Socialist Propaganda League at Boston, and issued a newspaper called *The New International*. Another publication, *The Class Struggle*, made its appearance in April 1917.

During 1917 and 1918, the radical elements of the Socialist Party continued activities contrary to the platform of the Socialist Party, and in November 1918 a Communist Propaganda League was formed in Chicago. During the same year, the Boston branch of the Socialist Party began the publication of *The Revolutionary Age*, in which Communist tactics were advocated.

As a result of all this dissension within the ranks of the Socialist Party, a left-wing section was formed in New York City in February 1919. The program and manifesto of this left-wing section were adopted by many of the Socialist Party locals and all of the Slavic federations of the Socialist Party, with the result that they were all expelled from the Socialist Party of America.

In June 1919, the First National Left-Wing Conference of the Socialist Party was held in New York City. The purpose of this conference was to form a Communist Party in the United States.

Within this so-called left-wing section of the Socialist Party, a fight for control developed even before a new party was formed. Under the impact of the Russian revolution, the foreign-language Socialist movement in the United States grew by leaps and bounds. The foreign born were organized into language federations, and the leaders of these federations aspired to control the new party. Another faction within the left-wing group wanted an American leadership because the foreign-born were unfamiliar with the American economic and political scene and did not understand the psychology of the American workers. As a result of this dissension there was a definite split within the ranks of the left-wing section before the Socialist Party Convention in September 1919.

Much of the history of the events leading up to the formation of the Communist Party in the United States, as well as its stormy existence in later years, is recorded by Benjamin Gitlow in his book, *I Confess*, and by James Cannon in his book, *History of American Trotskyism*.

Gitlow goes into some detail and names the leaders, not only of the movement, but of the several factions. He says that the Bolshevik revolution gave the left-wing Socialists the program they were look-

ing for—that the first news of the Czar's overthrow was received with great rejoicing. One of the first demonstrations in the United States, according to Gitlow, was held at Hunt's Point Palace on September 13, 1918. John Reed, who had just returned from Russia, was the speaker and started the spread of Bolshevism that swept the Socialist Party like a prairie fire. The Greater New York local of the Socialist Party took the first important step to consolidate the left-wing sections at a convention held on February 16, 1919.

SOCIALIST PARTY LEFT-WING SECTION CONVENTION—1919

MANIFESTO

The following program for the convention was prepared by Louis C. Fraina under the title of "Manifesto of Left-Wing Section of the Socialist Party of Local Greater New York":¹

Prior to August 1914 the nations of the world lived on a volcano. Violent eruptions from time to time gave warning of the cataclysm to come, but the diplomats and statesmen managed to localize the outbreaks, and the masses, slightly aroused, sank back into their accustomed lethargy with doubts and misgivings, and the subterranean fires continued to smoulder.

Many trusted blindly—some in their statesmen, some in the cohesive power of Christianity, their common religion, and some in the growing strength of the international Socialist movement. Had not the German Social-Democracy exchanged dramatic telegrams with the French Socialist Party, each pledging itself not to fight in case their governments declared war on each other! A general strike of workers led by these determined Socialists would quickly bring the governments to their senses.

So the workers reasoned, until the thunderclap of Sarejevo and Austria's ultimatum to Serbia. Then, suddenly, the storm broke. Mobilization everywhere. Everywhere declarations of war. In three or four days Europe was in arms.

The present structure of society—Capitalism—with its pretensions to democracy on the one hand, and its commercial rivalries, armament rings, and standing armies on the other, all based on the exploitation of the working class and the division of the loot, was cast into the furnace of war. Two things only could issue forth: either international capitalist control, through a League of Nations, or Social Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Both of these forces are today contending for world power.

The Social Democracies of Europe, unable or unwilling to meet the crisis, were themselves hurled into the conflagration, to be tempered or consumed by it.

The Collapse of the Second International

Great demonstrations were held in every European country by Socialists protesting against their governments' declarations of war, and mobilizations for war. And we know that these demonstrations were rendered impotent by the complete surrender of the Socialist parliamentary leaders and the official Socialist press, with their "justifications" of "defensive wars" and the safeguarding of "democracy."

Why the sudden change of front? Why did the Socialist leaders in the parliaments of the belligerents vote the war credits? Why did not Moderate Socialism carry out the policy of the Basle Manifesto; namely, the converting of an imperialistic war into a civil war—into a proletarian revolution? Why did it either openly favor the war or adopt a policy of petite bourgeoisie pacifism?

The Development of Moderate "Socialism"

In the latter part of the nineteenth century the Social-Democracies of Europe set out to "legislate Capitalism out of office." The class struggle was to be won in the capitalist legislatures. Step by step concessions were to be wrested from the state; the working class and the Socialist parties were to be strengthened

¹ Lusk Committee Reports, vol. I, p. 706.

by means of "constructive" reform and social legislation; each concession would act as rung in the ladder of Social Revolution upon which the workers could climb step by step, until finally, some bright, sunny morning, the peoples would awaken to find the Cooperative Commonwealth functioning without disorder, confusion, or hitch on the ruins of the capitalist state.

And what happened? When a few legislative seats had been secure the thunderous denunciations of the Socialist legislators suddenly ceased. No more were the parliaments used as platforms from which the challenge of revolutionary Socialism was flung to all the corners of Europe. Another era had set in, the era of "constructive" social reform legislation. Dominant Moderate Socialism accepted the bourgeois state as the basis of its action and strengthened that state. All power to shape the policies and tactics of the Socialist parties was entrusted to the parliamentary leaders. And these lost sight of Socialism's original purpose; their goal became "constructive reforms" and cabinet portfolios—the "cooperation of classes," the policy of openly or tacitly declaring that the coming of Socialism was a concern "of all the classes," instead of emphasizing the Marxian policy that the construction of the Socialist system is the task of the revolutionary proletariat alone. "Moderate Socialism" accepted the bourgeois state as the leaders, was now ready to share responsibility with the bourgeoisie in the control of the capitalist state, even to the extent of defending the bourgeoisie against the working class—as in the first Briand Ministry in France, when the official party press was opened to a defense of the shooting of striking railway workers at the order of the Socialist-Bourgeois Coalition Cabinet.

"Sausage Socialism"

This situation was brought about by mixing the democratic cant of the eighteenth century with scientific Socialism. The result was what Rosa Luxemburg called "sausage Socialism." The "Moderates" emphasized petty-bourgeois social reformism in order to attract tradesmen, shopkeepers, and members of the professions, and, of course, the latter flocked to the Socialist movement in great numbers, seeking relief from the constant grinding between corporate capital and awakening labor.

The Socialist organizations actively competed for votes, on the basis of social reforms, with the bourgeois-liberal political parties. And so they catered to the ignorance and prejudices of the workers, trading promises of immediate reforms for votes.

Dominant "moderate socialism" forgot the teachings of the founders of scientific socialism, forgot its function as a proletarian movement—"the most resolute and advanced section of the working-class parties"—and permitted the bourgeois and self-seeking trade-union elements to shape its policies and tactics. This was the condition in which the Social-Democracies of Europe found themselves at the outbreak of the war in 1914. Demoralized and confused by the crosscurrents within their own parties, vacillating and compromising with the bourgeois state, they fell a prey to social-patriotism and nationalism.

Sparticides and Bolsheviki

But revolutionary socialism was not destined to lie inert for long. In Germany, Kari Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg, and Otto Ruhle organized the Spartacus Group. But their voices were drowned in the roar of cannon and the shrieks of the dying and the maimed.

Russia, however, was to be the first battleground where "moderate" and revolutionary socialism should come to grips for the mastery of the state. The breakdown of the corrupt, bureaucratic Czarist regime opened the floodgates of revolution.

Three main contending parties attempted to ride into power on the revolutionary tide; the Cadets, the "moderate Socialists" (Mensheviki and Social Revolutionists), and the revolutionary Socialists—the Bolsheviki. The Cadets were first to be swept into power; but they tried to stem the still-rising flood with a few abstract political ideals, and were soon carried away. The soldiers, workers, and peasants could no longer be fooled by phrases. The Mensheviki and Social Revolutionaries succeeded the Cadets. And now came the crucial test: Would they, in accord with Marxian teachings, make themselves the ruling class and sweep away the old conditions of production, and thus prepare the way for the Cooperative Commonwealth? Or would they tinker with the old machinery and try to foist it on the masses as something just as good?

They did the latter and proved for all time that "moderate socialism" cannot be trusted.

"Moderate socialism" was not prepared to seize the power for the workers during a revolution. "Moderate socialism" had a rigid formula—"Constructive social reform legislation within the capitalist state," and to that formula it clung. It believed that bourgeois democracy could be used as a means of constructing the Socialist system; therefore, it must wait until the people, through a Constituent Assembly, should vote socialism into existence. And in the meantime, it held that there must be established a Government of Coalition with the enemy, the bourgeoisie. As if, with all the means of controlling public opinion in the hands of the bourgeoisie, a Constituent Assembly could or would ever vote the Socialists into power.

Revolutionary Socialists hold, with the founders of scientific socialism, that there are two dominant classes in society—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; that between these two classes a struggle must go on, until the working class, through the seizure of the instruments of production and distribution, the abolition of the capitalist state, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, creates a Socialist system. Revolutionary Socialists do not believe that they can be voted into power. They struggle for the conquest of power by the revolutionary proletariat. Then comes the transition period from capitalism to socialism, of which Marx speaks in his "Critique of the Gotha program," when he says: "Between the capitalistic society and the communistic lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period, in which the state cannot be anything else but the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Marx and Engels clearly explain the function of the Socialist movement. It is the "moderate Socialists" through intellectual gymnastics, evasions, misquotations and the tearing of sentences and phrases from their context, who make Marx and Engels sponsors for their perverted version of socialism.

Problems of American Socialism

At the present moment, the Socialist Party of America is agitated by several crosscurrents, some local in their character, and some a reflex of cleavages within the European Socialist movements. Many see in this internal dissention merely an unimportant difference of opinion, or, at most, dissatisfaction with the control of the party, and the desire to replace those who have misused it with better men.

We, however, maintain that there is a fundamental distinction in views concerning party policies and tactics. And we believe that this difference is so vast that from our standpoint a radical change in party policies and tactics is necessary.

This essential task is being shirked by our party leaders and officials generally.

Already there is formidable industrial unrest, a seething ferment of discontent, evidenced by inarticulate rumblings which presage striking occurrences. The transformation of industry from a war to a peace basis has thoroughly disorganized the economic structure. Thousands upon thousands of workers are being thrown out of work. Demobilized sailors and soldiers find themselves a drug upon the labor market, unless they act as scabs and strikebreakers. Skilled mechanics, fighting desperately to maintain their war wage and their industrial status, are forced to strike. Women, who during the war have been welcomed into industries hitherto closed to them, are struggling to keep their jobs. And to cap the climax, the capitalists, through their Chambers of Commerce and their Merchants and Manufacturers' Associations, have resolved to take advantage of the situation to break down even the inadequate organizations labor has built up through generations of painful struggle.

The temper of the workers and soldiers, after the sacrifices they have made in the war, is such that they will not endure the reactionary labor conditions so openly advocated by the master class. A series of labor struggles is bound to follow—indeed, is beginning now. Shall the Socialist Party continue to feed the workers with social-reform legislation at this critical period? Shall it approach the whole question from the standpoint of votes and the election of representatives to the legislatures? Shall it emphasize the consumers' point of view, when Socialist principles teach that the worker is robbed at the point of production? Shall it talk about the cost of living and taxation when it should be explaining how the worker is robbed at his job?

There are many signs of the awakening of labor. Strikes are developing which verge on revolutionary action; the trade unions are organizing a Labor

Party in an effort to conserve what they have won and wrest new concessions from the master class. The organization of the Labor Party is an immature expression of a new spirit in the Labor movement; but a Labor Party is not the instrument for the emancipation of the working class; its policy would be in general what is now the official policy of the Socialist Party—reforming capitalism on the basis of the bourgeois state. Laborism is as much a danger to the revolutionary proletariat as “moderate” socialism; neither is an instrument for the conquest of power.

Capitalist Imperialism

Imperialism is the final stage of capitalism, in which the accumulated capital or surplus of a nation is too great to be reinvested in the home market. The increased productivity of the working class, due to improved machinery and efficiency methods, and the mere subsistence wage which permits the worker to buy back only a small portion of what he produces, causes an ever-increasing accumulation of commodities, which in turn become capital and must be invested in further production. When capitalism has reached the stage in which it imports raw materials from undeveloped countries and exports them again in the shape of manufactured products, it has reached its highest development.

This process is universal. Foreign markets, spheres of influence and protectorates, under the intensive development of capitalist industry and finance in turn become highly developed. They, too, seek for markets. National capitalist control, to save itself from ruin, breaks its national bonds and emerges full-grown as a capitalist League of Nations, with international armies and navies to maintain its supremacy.

The United States no longer holds itself aloof, isolated and provincial. It is reaching out for new markets, new zones of influence, new protectorates.

The capitalist class of America is using organized labor for its imperialistic purposes. We may soon expect the capitalist class, in true Bismarckian fashion, to grant factory laws, old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, sick benefits, and the whole litter of bourgeois reforms, so that the workers may be kept fit to produce the greatest profits at the greatest speed.

Dangers to American Socialism

There is danger that the Socialist Party of America might make use of these purely bourgeois reforms to attract the workers' votes, by claiming that they are victories for Socialism, and that they have been won by Socialist political action; when, as a matter of fact, the object of these master class measures is to prevent the growing class-consciousness of the workers, and to divert them from their revolutionary aim. By agitating for these reforms, therefore, the Socialist Party would be playing into the hands of the American imperialists.

On the basis of the class struggle, then, the Socialist Party of America must reorganize itself, must prepare to come to grips with the master class during the difficult period of capitalist readjustment now going on. This it can do only by teaching the working class the truth about present-day conditions; it must preach revolutionary industrial unionism, and urge all the workers to organize into industrial unions, the only form of labor organization which can cope with the power of great modern aggregations of capital. It must carry on its political campaigns, not merely as a means of electing officials to political office, as in the past, but as a year-round educational campaign to arouse the workers to class-conscious economic and political action, and to keep alive the burning ideal of revolution in the hearts of the people.

Political Action

We assert with Marx that “the class struggle is essentially a political struggle,” and we can only accept his own oft-repeated interpretation of that phrase. The class struggle, whether it manifest itself on the industrial field or in the direct struggle for governmental control, is essentially a struggle for the capture and destruction of the capitalist state. This is a political act. In this broader view of the term “political,” Marx includes revolutionary industrial action. In other words, the objective of Socialist industrial action is “political,” in the sense that it aims to undermine the bourgeois state, which “is nothing less than a machine for the oppression of one class by another and that no less so in a democratic republic than under a monarchy.”

Political action is also and more generally used to refer to participation in election campaigns for the immediate purpose of winning legislative seats. In this sense, too, we urge the use of political action as a revolutionary weapon.

But both in the nature and the purpose of this form of political action, revolutionary socialism and "moderate socialism" are completely at odds.

Political action, revolutionary and emphasizing the implacable character of the class struggle, is a valuable means of propaganda. It must at all times struggle to arouse the revolutionary mass action of the proletariat—its use is both agitational and obstructive. It must on all issues wage war upon capitalism and the state. Revolutionary socialism uses the forum of parliament for agitation; but it does not intend to and cannot use the bourgeois state as a means of introducing socialism: this bourgeois state must be destroyed by the mass action of the revolutionary proletariat. The proletarian dictatorship in the form of a Soviet state is the immediate objective of the class struggle.

Marx declared that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes." This machinery must be destroyed. But "moderate socialism" makes the state the center of its action.

The attitude towards the state divides the Anarchist (Anarcho-Syndicalist), the "moderate Socialist" and the revolutionary Socialist. Eager to abolish the state (which is the ultimate purpose of revolutionary socialism), the Anarchist and Anarcho-Syndicalist fail to realize that a state is necessary in the transition period from capitalism to socialism; the "moderate Socialist" proposes to use the bourgeois state with its fraudulent democracy, its illusory theory of "unity of all the classes," its standing army, police and bureaucracy oppressing and baffling the masses; the revolutionary Socialist maintains that the bourgeois state must be completely destroyed, and proposes the organization of a new state—the state of the organized producers—of the Federated Soviets—on the basis of which alone can socialism be introduced.

Industrial unionism, the organization of the proletariat in accordance with the integration of industry and for the overthrow of capitalism, is a necessary phase of revolutionary Socialist agitation. Potentially, industrial unionism constructs the basis and develops the ideology of the industrial state of socialism; but industrial unionism alone cannot perform the revolutionary act of seizure of the power of the state, since under the conditions of capitalism it is impossible to organize the whole working class, or an overwhelming majority, into industrial unions.

It is the task of a revolutionary Socialist party to direct the struggles of the proletariat and provide a program for the culminating crisis. Its propaganda must be so directed that when this crisis comes, the workers will be prepared to accept a program of the following character:

(a) *The organization of Workmen's Councils*; recognition of, and propaganda for, these mass organizations of the working class as instruments in the immediate struggle, as the form of expression of the class struggle, and as the instruments for the seizure of the power of the state and the basis of the new proletarian state of the organized producers and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(b) *Workmen's control of industry*, to be exercised by the industrial organizations (industrial unions or Soviets) of the workers and the industrial vote, as against government ownership or state control of industry.

(c) *Repudiation of all national debts*—with provisions to safeguard small investors.

(d) *Expropriation of the banks*—a preliminary measure for the complete expropriation of capital.

(e) *Expropriation of the railways, and the large (trust) organizations of capital*—no compensation to be paid, as "buying-out" the capitalists would insure a continuance of the exploitation of the workers; provision, however, to be made during the transition period for the protection of small owners of stock.

(f) *The socialization of foreign trade.*

These are not the "immediate demands" comprised in the social reform planks now in the platform of our party; they are not a compromise with the capitalist state, but imply a revolutionary struggle against that state and against capitalism, the conquest of power by the proletariat through revolutionary mass action. They imply the new Soviet state of the organized producers, the dictatorship of the proletariat; they are preliminary revolutionary measures for the expropriation of capital and the introduction of Communist socialism.

Program

1. We stand for a uniform declaration of principles in all party platforms both local and national and the abolition of all social reform planks now contained in them.

2. The party must teach, propagate, and agitate exclusively for the overthrow of capitalism, and the establishment of socialism through a proletarian dictatorship.

3. The Socialist candidates elected to office shall adhere strictly to the above provisions.

4. Realizing that a political party cannot reorganize and reconstruct the industrial organizations of the working class, and that that is the task of the economic organizations themselves, we demand that the party assist this process of reorganization by a propaganda for revolutionary industrial unionism as part of its general activities. We believe it is the mission of the Socialist movement to encourage and assist the proletariat to adopt newer and more effective forms of organization and to stir it into newer and more revolutionary modes of action.

5. We demand that the official party press be party owned and controlled.

6. We demand that officially recognized educational institutions be party owned and controlled.

7. We demand that the party discard its obsolete literature and publish new literature in keeping with the policies and tactics above-mentioned.

8. We demand that the National Executive Committee call an immediate emergency national convention for the purpose of formulating party policies and tactics to meet the present crisis.

9. We demand that the Socialist Party repudiate the Berne Congress or any other conference engineered by "moderate Socialists" and social patriots.

10. We demand that the Socialist Party shall elect delegates to the International Congress proposed by the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviki); that our party shall participate only in a new International with which are affiliated the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviki), the Communist Labor Party of Germany (Spartacus), and all other Left Wing parties and groups.

COMMITTEES

Out of all the debate and wrangling, the following were elected as a committee to carry out the work:

Nicholas I. Hourwich
Fanny Horowitz
Jay Lovestone
James Larkin
Harry Hilzik
Edward I. Lindgren
Milton Goodman
John Reed

Joseph Brodsky
Dr. Julius Hammer
Jeanette D. Pearl
Carl Brodsky
Mrs. L. Ravitch
Bertram D. Wolfe
Benjamin Gitlow

For the purpose of carrying out the daily activities of the new organization, the following were elected as members of an executive committee:

Nicholas I. Hourwich
George Lehman
James Larkin
L. Himmelfarb
George C. Vaughn

Benjamin Corsor
Edward I. Lindgren
Maximilian Cohen
Benjamin Gitlow

In April 1919 an official publication, the New York Communist, was launched, with John Reed as editor.

As heretofore stated, this left-wing element was expelled from the Socialist Party. This expulsion was sponsored by Morris Hillquit,

and the expulsion was effected by the New York State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at a meeting held in Albany, N. Y., in May 1919. Subsequently, the entire Michigan State organization was expelled from the Socialist Party.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF LEFT WING

The left-wing element took immediate steps to consolidate its forces on a national scale, and called for a national conference to be held in New York City on June 21, 1919. About 100 delegates attended, including Charles E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the Cleveland local of the Socialist Party; Alfred Wagenknecht, Ohio State secretary of the Socialist Party; Louis E. Katterfield, a Kansas Socialist; William Bross Lloyd, a millionaire Socialist from Chicago, accompanied by his private secretary, Isaac E. Ferguson; James P. Cannon, an I. W. W. from Kansas City; James Larkin, John Reed, Rose Pastor Stokes, Jay Lovestone, and Benjamin Gitlow from New York; Nicholas I. Hourwich and Alexander I. Stoklitzky from the language federations; and Dennis E. Batt from the Michigan State Socialist Party.

Gitlow's explanation as to the reasons for the split in the left-wing element at the national conference of June 1919 differs somewhat from the reasons previously given. He says that one faction, composed of the foreign language federations and supported by Fraina, Lovestone, Wolfe, Ruthenberg, and Ferguson, wanted the passage of a motion calling upon the conference to immediately organize a Communist Party of the United States. The other faction, composed of Reed, Larkin, Katterfield, Wagenknecht, Gitlow, and others, insisted that only after the national convention of the Socialist Party had refused to recognize the left wing as the majority should the left wing split the Socialist Party and organize a Communist Party. The motion sponsored by the foreign language groups was defeated. This was followed by the election of a national council composed of Louis C. Fraina, Charles E. Ruthenberg, Isaac E. Ferguson, John J. Ballam, James Larkin, Benjamin Gitlow, Eadmonn MacAlpine, Maxmilian Cohen, and Bertram D. Wolfe.

The minority immediately withdrew from the conference and formed a national organizing committee to issue a call for a conference with the objective of organizing a Communist Party. This move had the full support of the Russian Socialist Federation. This organizing committee, which consisted of Dennis E. Batt, O. C. Johnson, John Keracher (later to become the leader of the Proletarian Party), S. Kopnagel, I. Stilson, and Alexander Stoklitzky opened offices at 1221 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

THE CALL FOR CONFERENCE

The call by this committee was printed in the July 7, 1919, issue of "Novy Mir," a translation of which is as follows:*

In this, the most momentous period of the world's history, capitalism is tottering to its ruin. The proletariat is straining at the chains which bind it. A revolutionary spirit is spreading throughout the world. The workers are rising to answer the clarion call of the Third International.

Only one Socialism is possible in this crisis. A Socialism based upon understanding. A Socialism that will express in action the needs of the proletariat.

* Lusk Committee Reports, vol. I, p. 730.

The time has passed for temporizing and hesitating. We must act. The Communist call of the Third International, the echo of the Communist Manifesto of 1848, must be answered.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America has evidenced by its expulsion of nearly half of the membership that they will not hesitate at wrecking the organization in order to maintain control. A deadlock has been precipitated in the ranks of revolutionary Socialism by the wholesale expulsion or suspension of the membership comprising the Socialist Party of Michigan, locals and branches throughout the country, together with seven language federations. This has created a condition in our movement that makes it manifestly impossible to longer delay the calling of a convention to organize a new party. Those who realize that the capturing of the Socialist Party as such is but an empty victory will not hesitate to respond to this call and leave the "Right" and "Center" to sink together with their "revolutionary" leaders.

The majority of the delegates to the left-wing conference in New York meekly neglected to sever their connections with the reactionary National Executive Committee. Rendered impotent by the conflicting emotions and lack of understanding present they continued to mark time as Centrists in the wake of the Right. Their policy is one of endeavor to capture the old party machinery and the stagnant elements who have been struggling for a false unity and who are only ready to abandon the ship when it sinks beneath the waves of reaction.

This condition confronting the minority delegates representing the following organizations—Socialist Party of Michigan; Left Wing State Convention of Minnesota; Locals, Buffalo; Chicago; Union Local, N. J.; Cudahy, Wis.; Rochester, N. Y.; Rockford, Ill.; Kenosha, Wis.; New York; Providence; Nanticoke, Pa.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Boston, Mass.; Polish, Lettish, Russian, Jewish, Lithuanian, Esthonian Federations—at the Left Wing Conference has been met by this call for the organization of a Communist Party in America.

No other course is possible, therefore, we, the minority delegates at the Left Wing Conference, call a convention to meet in the city of Chicago on September 1, 1919, for the purpose of organizing a Communist Party in America.

This party will be founded upon the following principles:

1. The present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole capitalist world system; which will mean the complete collapse of world culture, if capitalism with its unsolvable contradictions is not replaced by communism.

2. The problem of the proletariat consists in organizing and training itself for the conquest of the powers of the state. This conquest of power means the replacement of the state machinery of the bourgeoisie with a new proletarian machinery of government.

3. This new proletarian state must embody the dictatorship of the proletariat, both industrial and agricultural, this dictatorship constituting the instrument for the taking over of property used for exploiting the workers, and for the reorganization of society on a Communist basis.

Not the fraudulent bourgeois democracy—the hypocritical form of the rule of the finance-oligarchy, with its purely formal equality—but proletarian democracy based on the possibility of actual realization of freedom for the working masses; not capitalist bureaucracy, but organs of administrations which have been created by the masses themselves, with the real participation of these masses in the government of the country and in the activity of the communistic structure—this should be the type of the proletarian state. The workers' councils and similar organizations represent its concrete form.

4. The dictatorship of the proletariat shall carry out the abolition of private property in the means of production and distribution, by transfer to the proletarian state under Socialist administration of the working class; nationalization of the great business enterprises and financial trusts.

5. The present world situation demands the closest relation between the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

6. The fundamental means of the struggle for power is the mass action of the proletariat, a gathering together and concentration of all its energies; whereas methods such as the revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism are only of subsidiary significance.

In those countries in which the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a workers' revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on.

But within the process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the capitalist power has at its command in order to gain its ends, all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of upper class rule, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny, and terror. To demand of the proletariat that it shall be content to yield itself to the artificial rules devised by its mortal enemy, but not observed by the enemy, is to make a mockery of the proletarian struggle for power—a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of the working-class power.

7. The old Socialist International has broken into three main groups:

(a) Those frankly social patriots who since 1914 have supported their bourgeoisie and transformed these elements of the working class which they control into hangmen of the international revolution.

(b) The "Center," representing the elements which are constantly wavering and incapable of following a definite plan of action, and which are at times positively traitorous; and

(c) The Communists.

As regards the social patriots, who everywhere in the critical moment oppose the proletarian revolution with force of arms, a merciless fight is absolutely necessary. As regards the "Center" our tactics must be to separate the revolutionary elements by pitilessly criticizing the leaders. Absolute separation from the organization of the "Center" is necessary.

It is necessary to rally the groups and proletarian organizations who, though not as yet in the wake of revolutionary trend of the Communist movement, nevertheless have manifested and developed a tendency leading in that direction.

Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is now to overthrow this order and to erect in its place the structure of the Socialist world order. Under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won; in the war against imperialistic barbarity, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all forms of social and national oppression—we call upon the proletarians of all lands to unite.

PROGRAM OF THE CALL

1. We favor international alliance of the Socialist movement of the United States only with the Communist groups of other countries, such as the Bolsheviks of Russia, Spartacans of Germany, etc., according to the program of Communism as above outlined.

2. We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as labor parties, nonpartisan leagues, people's council, municipal ownership leagues, and the like.

3. We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchistic or democratic-republican, and to destroy and replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the Socialist transformation.

4. The party shall propagandize class-conscious industrial unionism against the craft form of unionism, and shall carry on party activity in cooperation with industrial disputes that take on a revolutionary character.

5. We do not disparage voting nor the value of success in electing our candidates to public office—not if these are in direct line with the class struggle. The trouble comes with the illusion that political or industrial immediate achievements are of themselves steps in the revolution, the progressive merging of capitalism into the cooperative commonwealth.

The basis of our political campaign should be—

(a) To propagandize the overthrow of capitalism by proletarian conquest of the political power and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

(b) To maintain a political organization as a clearinghouse for proletarian thought, a center of political education for the development of revolutionary working-class action.

(c) To keep in the foreground our consistent appeal for proletarian revolution; and to analyze the counterproposals and reformist palliatives in their true light of evasion of the issue; recognizing at all times the characteristic development of the class conflict as applicable to all capitalistic nations.

(d) To propagandize the party organization as the organ of contact with the revolutionary proletariat of other lands, the basis for international association being the same political understanding and the common plan of action,

tending toward increasing unity in detail as the international crisis develops.

6. Socialist platforms, proceeding on the basis of the class struggle, recognizing that the Socialist movement has come into the historic period of the social revolution, can contain only the demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(a) The basis of this demand should be thoroughly explained in the economic, political, and social analysis of the class struggle, as evolving within the system of capitalism.

(b) The implications of this demand should be illustrated by the first steps and general modes of social reconstruction dependent upon and involved within the proletarian domination of the political life of the nation.

(c) A municipal platform of Socialism cannot proceed on a separate basis, but must conform to the general platform, simply relating the attainment of local power to the immediate goal of gaining national power. There are no city problems within the terms of the class struggle, only the one problem of capitalist versus proletarian domination.

7. We realize that the coming of the social revolution depends on an overwhelming assertion of mass power by the proletariat, taking on political consciousness and the definite direction of revolutionary Socialism. The manifestations of this power and consciousness are not subject to precise precalculation. But the history of the movement of the proletariat toward emancipation since 1900 shows the close connection between the revolutionary proletarian assertion and the political mass strike.

The mass action conception looks to the general unity of the proletarian forces under revolutionary provocation and stimulus. In the preliminary stages, which alone come within our predetermination and party initiative, the tactics of mass action include all mass demonstration and mass struggles which sharpen the understanding of the proletariat as to the class conflict and which separate the revolutionary proletariat into a group distinct from all others.

Mass action, in time of revolutionary crisis, or in the analogous case of large scale industrial conflict, naturally accepts the council form of organization for its expression over a continued period of time.

8. Applying our declarations of party principle to the organization of the party itself, we realize the need, in correspondence with the highly centralized capitalist power to be combated, of a centralized party organization.

Organizations indorsing the principles and program outlined as a tentative basis for the organization of a Communist Party are invited to send delegates to the convention in Chicago on September 1, 1919.

The basis of representation to be one delegate for every organization and one additional for every additional 500 members or major fraction thereof.

Provided, also, that each Language Federation shall have one fraternal delegate at the convention.

Provided further, that in states where the states are organized, they shall send delegates as states. In states which are not organized, the locals shall send delegates as such. In locals which are not organized a part of the local may send a delegate.

LEFT-WING NATIONAL COUNCIL

MANIFESTO

The National Council of the Left Wing set up offices, with Isaac E. Ferguson as secretary, and the Revolutionary Age became the official organ with the first issue of July 15, 1919. On authority of the Conference of the National Council of the Left Wing, the following "Left Wing Manifesto" was issued:³

The world is in crisis. Capitalism, the prevailing system of society, is in process of disintegration and collapse. Out of its vitals is developing a new social order, the system of Communist Socialism; and the struggle between this new social order and the old, is now the fundamental problem of international politics.

The predatory "war for democracy" dominated the world. But now it is the revolutionary proletariat in action that dominates, conquering power in some nations, mobilizing to conquer power in others, and calling upon the proletariat of all nations to prepare for the final struggle against capitalism.

³ Lusk Committee Reports, vol. I, p. 716.

But Socialism itself is in crisis. Events are revolutionizing capitalism and Socialism—an indication that this is the historic epoch of the proletarian revolution. Imperialism is the final stage of Capitalism; and Imperialism means sterner reaction and new wars of conquest—unless the revolutionary proletariat acts for Socialism. Capitalism cannot reform itself; it cannot be reformed. Humanity can be saved from its last excesses only by the Communist revolution. There can now be only the Socialism which is one in temper and purpose with the proletarian revolutionary struggle. There can be only the Socialism which unites the proletariat of the whole world in the general struggle against the desperately destructive Imperialisms—the Imperialisms which array themselves as a single force against the onswEEPing proletarian revolution.

The War and Imperialism

The prevailing conditions, in the world of Capitalism and of Socialism, are a direct product of the war; and the war was itself a direct product of Imperialism.

Industrial development under the profit system of Capitalism is based upon the accumulation of capital, which depends upon the expropriation of values produced by the workers. This accumulation of capital promotes, and is itself promoted by, the concentration of industry. The competitive struggle compels each capitalist to secure the most efficient means of production, or a group of capitalists to combine their capital in order to produce more efficiently. This process of concentration of industry and the accumulation of capital, while a product of competition, ultimately denies and ends competition. The concentration of industry and of capital develops monopoly.

Monopoly expresses itself through dictatorial control exercised by finance-capital over industry; and finance-capital unifies Capitalism for world exploitation. Under Imperialism, the banks, whose control is centralized in a clique of financial magnates, dominate the whole of industry directly, purely upon the basis of investment exploitation, and not for purposes of social production. The concentration of industry implies that, to a large extent, industry within the nation has reached its maturity, is unable to absorb all the surplus-capital that comes from the profits of industry. Capitalism, accordingly, must find means outside the nation for the absorption of this surplus. The older export trade was dominated by the export of consumable goods. American exports, particularly, except for the war period, have been largely of cotton, foodstuffs, and raw materials. Under the conditions of Imperialism, it is *capital* which is exported, as by the use of concessions in backward territory to build railroads, or to start native factories, as in India, or to develop oil fields, as in Mexico. This means an export of locomotives, heavy machinery, in short, predominantly a trade in iron goods. This export of capital, together with the struggle to monopolize the world's sources of raw materials and to control undeveloped territory, produces Imperialism.

A fully developed capitalist nation is compelled to accept Imperialism. Each nation seeks markets for the absorption of its surplus capital. Undeveloped territory, possessing sources of raw material, the industrial development of which will require the investment of capital and the purchase of machinery, becomes the objective of capitalistic competition between the imperialistic nations.

Capitalism, in the epoch of Imperialism, comes to rely for its "prosperity" and supremacy upon the exploitation and enslavement of colonial peoples, either in colonies, "spheres of influence," "protectorates," or "mandatories"—savagely oppressing hundreds of millions of subject peoples in order to assure high profit and interest rates for a few million people in the favored nations.

This struggle for undeveloped territory, raw materials, and investment markets, is carried on "peacefully" between groups of international finance-capital by means of "agreements," and between the nations by means of diplomacy; but a crisis comes, the competition becomes irreconcilable, antagonisms cannot be solved peacefully, and the nations resort to war.

The antagonisms between the European nations were antagonisms as to who should control undeveloped territory, sources of raw materials, and the investment markets of the world. The inevitable consequence was war. The issue being world power, other nations, including the United States, were dragged in. The United States, while having no direct territorial interests in the war, was vitally concerned, since the issue was world power; and its capitalism, having attained a position of financial world power, had a direct imperialistic interest at stake.

The imperialistic character of the war is climaxed by an imperialistic peace—a peace that strikes directly at the peace and liberty of the world, which organizes the great imperialistic powers into a sort of “trust of nations,” among whom the world is divided financially and territorially. The League of Nations is simply the screen for this division of the world, an instrument for joint domination of the world by a particular group of Imperialism.

While this division of the world solves, for the moment, the problems of power that produced the war, the solution is temporary, since the Imperialism of one nation can prosper only by limiting the economic opportunity of another nation. New problems of power must necessarily arise, producing new antagonisms, new wars of aggression and conquest—unless the revolutionary proletariat conquers in the struggle for Socialism.

The concentration of industry produces monopoly, and monopoly produces Imperialism. In Imperialism there is implied the *socialization of industry, the material basis of Socialism*. Production moreover, becomes international; and the limits of the nation, of national production, become a fetter upon the forces of production. The development of Capitalism produces world economic problems that break down the old order. The forces of production revolt against the fetters Capitalism imposes upon production. The answer of Capitalism is war; the answer of the proletariat is the Social Revolution and Socialism.

The Collapse of the International

In 1912, at the time of the first Balkan War, Europe was on the verge of a general imperialistic war. A Socialist International Congress was convened at Basle to act on the impending crisis. The resolution adopted *stigmatized the coming war as imperialistic and as unjustifiable on any pretext of national interest*. The Basle resolution declared:

1. That the war would create an economic and political crisis; 2. That the workers would look upon participation in the war as a crime, which would arouse “indignation and revulsion” among the masses; 3. That the crisis and the psychological condition of the workers would create a situation that Socialists should use “to rouse the masses and hasten the downfall of capitalism”; 4. That the governments “fear a proletarian revolution” and should remember the Paris Commune and the revolution in Russia in 1905, that is, a civil war.

The Basle resolution indicted the coming war as imperialistic, a war necessarily to be opposed by Socialism, which should use the opportunity of war to wage the revolutionary struggle against Capitalism. The policy of Socialism was comprised in the struggle to transform the imperialistic war into a civil war of the oppressed against the oppressors, and for Socialism.

The war that came in 1914 was the same imperialistic war that might have come in 1912, or at the time of the Agadir crisis. But, upon the declaration of war, *the dominant Socialism, contrary to the Basle resolution, accepted and justified the war*.

Great demonstrations were held. The governments and war were denounced. But, immediately upon the declaration of war, there was a change of front. The war credits were voted by Socialists in the parliaments. The dominant Socialism favored the war; a small minority adopted a policy of petty bourgeois pacifism, and only the Left-Wing groups adhered to the policy of revolutionary Socialism.

It was not alone a problem of preventing the war. The fact that Socialism could not prevent the war, was not a justification for accepting and idealizing the war. Nor was it a problem of immediate revolution. The Basle manifesto simply required opposition to the war and the fight to develop out of its circumstances the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against the war and Capitalism.

The dominant Socialism, in accepting and justifying the war, abandoned the class struggle and betrayed Socialism. The class struggle is the heart of Socialism. Without strict conformity to the class struggle, in its revolutionary implications, Socialism becomes either sheer Utopianism or a method of recreation. But the dominant Socialism accepted “civil peace,” the “unity of all the classes and parties” in order to wage successfully the imperialistic war. The dominant Socialism united with the governments against Socialism and the proletariat.

The class struggle comes to a climax during war. National struggles are a form of expression of the class struggle, whether they are revolutionary wars for liberation or imperialistic wars for spoliation. It is precisely during a war that material conditions provide the opportunity for waging the class struggle to a conclusion for the conquest of power. The war was a war for world power—a war of the capitalist class against the working class, since world power means power over the proletariat

But the dominant Socialism accepted the war as a war for democracy—as if democracy under the conditions of imperialism is not directly counterrevolutionary. It justified the war as a war for national independence—as if Imperialism is not necessarily determined upon annihilating the independence of nations.

Nationalism, social patriotism, and social Imperialism determined the policy of the dominant Socialism, and not the proletarian class struggle and Socialism. The coming of Socialism was made dependent upon the predatory war and Imperialism, upon the international proletariat cutting each other's throats in the struggles of the ruling class.

The Second International on the whole merged in the opposed imperialistic ranks. This collapse of the International was not an accident, nor simply an expression of the betrayal by individuals. It was the inevitable consequence of the whole tendency and policy of the dominant Socialism as an organized movement.

Moderate Socialism

The Socialism which developed as an organized movement after the collapse of the revolutionary First International was moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism. It was a Socialism adapting itself to the conditions of national development, abandoning in practice the militant idea of revolutionizing the Old World.

This moderate Socialism initiated the era of "constructive" social reforms. It accepted the bourgeois state as the basis of its activity and *strengthened* that state. Its goal became "constructive reforms" and cabinet portfolios—the "cooperation of classes," the policy of openly or tacitly declaring that the coming of Socialism was the concern "of all the classes" instead of emphasizing the Marxian policy that the construction of the Socialist system is the task of the revolutionary proletariat alone. In accepting social reformism the "cooperation of classes," and the bourgeois parliamentary state as the basis of its action, moderate Socialism was prepared to share responsibility with the bourgeoisie in the control of the capitalist state, even to the extent of defending the bourgeoisie against the working class and its revolutionary mass movements. The counterrevolutionary tendency of the dominant Socialism finally reveals itself in open war against Socialism during the proletarian revolution, as in Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary.

The dominant moderate Socialism was initiated by the formation of the Social Democratic Party in Germany. This party united on the basis of the Gotha program, in which fundamental revolutionary Socialism was abandoned. It evaded completely the task of the conquest of power, which Marx, in his *Criticism of the Gotha Program*, characterized as follows: "Between the capitalistic society and the communistic lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period, in which the state cannot be anything else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

Evading the actual problems of the revolutionary struggle, the dominant Socialism of the Second International developed into a peaceful movement of organization, of trades-union struggles, of cooperation with the middle class, of legislation and bourgeois State Capitalism as means of introducing Socialism.

There was a joint movement that affected the thought and practice of Socialism; on the one hand, the organization of the skilled workers into trade unions, which secured certain concessions and became a semiprivileged caste; and, on the other, the decay of the class of small producers, crushed under the iron tread of the concentration of industry and the accumulation of capital. As one moved upward and the other downward, they met, formed a juncture, and united *to use the state to improve their conditions*. The dominant Socialism expressed this unity, developing a policy of legislative reforms and State Capitalism, making the revolutionary class struggle a parliamentary process.

This development meant, obviously, the abandonment of fundamental Socialism. It meant working on the basis of the bourgeois parliamentary state, instead of the struggle to destroy that state; it meant the "cooperation of classes" for State Capitalism, instead of the uncompromising proletarian struggle for Socialism. Government ownership, the objective of the middle class, was the policy of moderate Socialism. Instead of the revolutionary theory of the necessity of conquering capitalism, the official theory and practice was now that of *modifying* capitalism, of a gradual peaceful "growing into" Socialism by means of legislative reforms. In the words of Jean Jaures: "We shall carry on our reform work to a complete transformation of the existing order."

But Imperialism exposed the final futility of this policy. Imperialism unites the nonproletarian classes, by means of state capitalism, for international conquest and spoilation. The small capitalists, middle class and the aristocracy of labor, which previously acted against concentrated industry, now compromise and unite with concentrated industry and finance-capital in imperialism. The small capitalists accept the domination of finance-capital, being allowed to participate in the adventures and the fabulous profits of Imperialism, upon which now depends the whole of trade and industry; the middle class invests in monopolistic enterprises, an income class whose income depends upon finance-capital, its members securing "positions of superintendence," its technicians and intellectuals being exported to undeveloped lands in process of development, while the workers of the privileged unions are assured steady employment and comparatively high wages through the profits that come from the savage exploitation of colonial peoples. All these nonproletarian social groups accept Imperialism, their "liberal and progressive" ideas becoming factors in the promotion of Imperialism, manufacturing the democratic ideology of Imperialism with which to seduce the masses. Imperialism requires the centralized state, capable of uniting all the forces of capital, of unifying the industrial process through state control and regulation, of maintaining "class peace," of mobilizing the whole national power in the struggles of Imperialism. *State capitalism is the form of expression of Imperialism*—precisely that State Capitalism promoted by moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism. What the parliamentary policy of the dominant moderate Socialism accomplished was to buttress the capitalist state, to promote State Capitalism—to strengthen imperialism.

The dominant Socialism was part and parcel of the national liberal movement—but this movement, under the compulsion of events, merged in Imperialism. The dominant Socialism accepted capitalistic democracy as the basis for the realization of Socialism—but this democracy merges in Imperialism. The World War was waged by means of this democracy. The dominant Socialism based itself upon the middle class and the aristocracy of labor—but these have compromised with Imperialism, being bribed by a "share" in the spoils of Imperialism. Upon the declaration of war, accordingly, the dominant moderate Socialism accepted the war and united with the imperialistic state.

Upon the advent of Imperialism, Capitalism emerged into a new epoch—an epoch requiring new and more aggressive proletarian tactics. Tactical differences in the Socialist movement almost immediately came to a head. The concentration of industry, together with the subserviency of parliaments to the imperialistic mandates and the transfer of their vital functions to the executive organ of government, developed the concept of industrial unionism in the United States, and the concept of mass action in Europe. The struggle against the dominant moderate Socialism became a struggle against its perversion of parliamentarism, against its conception of the state, against its alliance with nonproletarian social groups, and against its acceptance of State Capitalism. Imperialism made mandatory a reconstruction of the Socialist movement, the formulation of a practice in accord with its revolutionary fundamentals. But the representatives of moderate Socialism refused to broaden their tactics, to adapt themselves to the new conditions. The consequence was a miserable collapse under the test of the war and the proletarian revolution—the betrayal of Socialism and the proletariat.

The Proletarian Revolution

The dominant Socialism justified its acceptance of the war on the plea that a revolution did not materialize, that the masses abandoned Socialism.

This was conscious subterfuge. When the economic and political crisis *did* develop potential revolutionary action in the proletariat, the dominant Socialism immediately assumed an attitude *against* the revolution. The proletariat was urged *not* to make a revolution. The dominant Socialism united with the capitalist governments to prevent a revolution.

The Russian Revolution was the first act of the proletariat against the war and Imperialism. But while the masses made the Revolution in Russia, the bourgeoisie usurped power and organized the regulation bourgeois-parliamentary republic. This was the first stage of the Revolution. Against this bourgeois republic organized the forces of the proletarian Revolution. Moderate Socialism in Russia, represented by the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists, acted against the proletarian revolution. It united with the Cadets, the party of bourgeois Imperialism, in a coalition government of bourgeois democracy. **It**

placed its faith in the war "against German militarism," in national ideals, in parliamentary democracy and the "cooperation of classes."

But the proletariat, urging on the poorer peasantry, conquered power. It accomplished a proletarian revolution by means of the Bolshevik policy of "all power to the Soviets," organizing the new transitional state of proletarian dictatorship. Moderate Socialism, even after its theory that a proletarian revolution was impossible, had been shattered by life itself, acted against the proletarian revolution and mobilized the counterrevolutionary forces against the Soviet Republic, assisted by the moderate Socialism of Germany and the Allies.

Apologists maintained that the attitude of moderate Socialism in Russia was determined not by a fundamental policy, but by its conception that, Russia not being a fully developed capitalist country, it was premature to make a proletarian revolution and historically impossible to realize Socialism.

This was a typical nationalistic attitude, since the proletarian revolution in Russia could not persist as a national revolution, but was compelled by its very conditions to a struggle for the international revolution of the proletariat, the war having initiated the epoch of the proletarian revolution.

The revolution in Germany decided the controversy. The first revolution was made by the masses against the protests of the dominant moderate Socialism, represented by the Social-Democratic Party. As in Russia, the first stage of the revolution realized a bourgeois parliamentary republic, with power in the hands of the Social-Democratic Party. Against this bourgeois republic organized a new revolution, the proletarian revolution directed by the Spartacan-Communists. And, precisely as in Russia, the dominant moderate Socialism opposed the proletarian revolution, opposed all power to the Soviets, accepted parliamentary democracy and repudiated proletarian dictatorship.

The issue in Germany could not be obscured. Germany was a fully developed industrial nation, its economic conditions mature for the introduction of Socialism. In spite of dissimilar economic conditions in Germany and Russia, the dominant moderate Socialism pursued a similar counterrevolutionary policy, and revolutionary Socialism, a common policy, indicating the international character of revolutionary proletarian tactics.

There is, accordingly, a common policy that characterizes moderate Socialism, and that is *its conception of the state*. Moderate Socialism affirms that the bourgeois, democratic parliamentary state is the necessary basis for the introduction of Socialism; accordingly, it conceived the task of the revolution, in Germany and Russia, to be the construction of the democratic parliamentary state, after which the process of introducing Socialism by legislative reform measures could be initiated. Out of this conception of the state developed the counterrevolutionary policy of moderate Socialism.

Revolutionary Socialism, on the contrary, insists that the democratic parliamentary state can never be the basis for the introduction of Socialism; that it is necessary to destroy the parliamentary state, and construct a new state of the organized producers, which will deprive the bourgeoisie of political power, and function as a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

The proletarian revolution in action has conclusively proven that moderate Socialism is incapable of realizing the objectives of Socialism. Revolutionary Socialism alone is capable of mobilizing the proletariat for Socialism, for the conquest of the power of the state, by means of revolutionary mass action and proletarian dictatorship.

American Socialism

The upsurge of revolutionary Socialism in the American Socialist Party, expressed in the left-wing, is not a product simply of European conditions. It is, in a fundamental sense, the product of the experience of the American movement—the left-wing tendency in the party, having been invigorated by the experience of the proletarian revolutions in Europe.

The dominant moderate Socialism of the International was equally the Socialism of the American Socialist Party.

The policy of moderate Socialism in the Socialist Party comprised its policy in an attack upon the larger capitalists, the trusts, maintaining that all other divisions in society, including the lesser capitalists and the middle class, the *petite bourgeoisie*, are material for the Socialist struggle against capitalism. The moderate Socialism dominant in the Socialist Party asserted, in substance: Socialism is a struggle of *all the people* against the trusts and big capital, making the realization of Socialism depend upon the unity of "the people," of the workers, the small capitalists, the small investors, the professions, in short the official

Socialist Party actually depended upon the *petite bourgeoisie* for the realization of Socialism.

The concentration of industry in the United States gradually eliminated the small producers, which initiated the movement for government ownership of industry—and for other reforms proposed to check the power of the plutocracy; and this bourgeois policy was the animating impulse of the practice of the Socialist Party.

This party, moreover, developed into an expression of the unions of the aristocracy of labor—of the A. F. of L. The party refused to engage in the struggle against the reactionary unions, to organize a new labor movement of the militant proletariat.

While the concentration of industry and social developments generally conserved the skilled workers, it developed the typical proletariat of unskilled labor, massed in the basic industries. This proletariat, expropriated of all property, denied access to the A. F. of L. unions, required a labor movement of its own. This impulse produced the concept of industrial unionism, and the I. W. W. But the dominant moderate Socialism rejected industrial unionism and openly or covertly acted against the I. W. W.

Revolutionary industrial unionism, moreover, was a recognition of the fact that extraparliamentary action was necessary to accomplish the revolution, that the political state should be destroyed and a new proletarian state of the organized producers constructed in order to realize Socialism. But the Socialist Party not only repudiated the form of industrial unionism, it still more emphatically repudiated its revolutionary political implications, clinging to petty bourgeois parliamentarism and reformism.

United with the aristocracy of labor and the middle class, the dominant Socialism in the Socialist Party necessarily developed all the evils of the dominant Socialism of Europe, and, particularly, abandoning the immediate revolutionary task of reconstructing unionism, on the basis of which alone a militant mass Socialism could emerge.

It stultified working class political action, by limiting political action to elections and participation in legislative reform activity. In every single case where the Socialist Party has elected public officials they have pursued a consistent petty bourgeois policy, abandoning Socialism.

This was the official policy of the party. Its representatives were petty bourgeois, moderate, hesitant, oblivious of the class struggle in its fundamental political and industrial implications. But the compulsion of life itself drew more and more proletarian masses in the party, who required simply the opportunity to initiate a revolutionary proletarian policy.

The war and the proletarian revolution in Russia provided the opportunity. The Socialist Party, under the impulse of its membership, adopted a militant declaration against the war. But the officials of the party sabotaged this declaration. The official policy of the party on the war was a policy of petty bourgeois pacifism. The bureaucracy of the party was united with the bourgeois People's Council, which accepted a Wilson Peace and betrayed those who rallied to the Council in opposition to the war.

This policy necessarily developed into a repudiation of the revolutionary Socialist position. When events developed the test of accepting or rejecting the revolutionary implications of the declaration against the war, the party bureaucracy immediately exposed its reactionary policy, by repudiating the policy of the Russian and German Communists, and refusing affiliation with the Communist International of revolutionary Socialism.

Problems of American Socialism

Imperialism is dominant in the United States, which is now a world power. It is developing a centralized, autocratic federal government, acquiring the financial and military reserves for aggression and wars of conquest. The war has aggrandized American Capitalism, instead of weakening it as in Europe. But world events will play upon and influence conditions in this country—dynamically, the sweep of revolutionary proletarian ideas; materially, the coming construction of world markets upon the resumption of competition. Now all-mighty and supreme, Capitalism in the United States must meet crises in the days to come. These conditions modify our immediate task, but do not alter its general character; this is not the moment of revolution, but it is the moment of revolutionary struggle. American Capitalism is developing a brutal campaign of terrorism against the militant proletariat. American Capitalism is utterly in-

competent on the problems of reconstruction that press down upon society. Its "reconstruction" program is simply to develop its power for aggression, to aggrandize itself in the markets of the world.

These conditions of Imperialism and of multiplied aggression will necessarily produce proletarian action against Capitalism. Strikes are developing which verge on revolutionary action, and in which the suggestion of proletarian dictatorship is apparent, the striker-workers trying to usurp functions of municipal government, as in Seattle and Winnipeg. The mass struggle of the proletariat is coming into being.

A minor phase of the awakening of labor is the trades unions organizing a Labor Party, in an effort to conserve what they have secured as a privileged caste. A Labor Party is not the instrument for the emancipation of the working class; its policy would in general be what is now the official policy of the Socialist Party—reforming Capitalism on the basis of the bourgeois parliamentary state. Laborism is as much a danger to the revolutionary proletariat as moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism, the two being expressions of an identical tendency and policy. There can be no compromise either with Laborism or the dominant moderate Socialism.

But there is a more vital tendency—the tendency of the workers to initiate mass strikes—strikes which are equally a revolt against the bureaucracy in the unions and against the employers. These strikes will constitute the determining feature of proletarian action in the days to come. Revolutionary Socialism must use these mass industrial revolts to broaden the strike, to make it general and militant; use the strike for political objectives, and, finally, develop the mass political strike against Capitalism and the state.

Revolutionary Socialism must base itself on the mass struggles of the proletariat, engage directly in these struggles while emphasizing the revolutionary purposes of Socialism and the proletarian movement. The mass strikes of the American proletariat provide the material basis out of which to develop the concepts and action of revolutionary Socialism.

Our task is to encourage the militant mass movements in the A. F. of L. to split the old unions, to break the power of unions which are corrupted by Imperialism and betray the militant proletariat. The A. F. of L., in its dominant expression, is united with Imperialism. A bulwark of reaction—it must be exposed and its power for evil broken.

Our task, moreover, is to articulate and organize the mass of the unorganized industrial proletariat, which constitutes the basis for a militant Socialism. The struggle for the revolutionary industrial unionism of the proletariat becomes an indispensable phase of revolutionary Socialism, on the basis of which to broaden and deepen the action of the militant proletariat, developing reserves for the ultimate conquest of power.

Imperialism is dominant in the United States. It controls all the factors of social action. Imperialism is uniting all nonproletarian social groups in a brutal State Capitalism, for reaction and spoliation. Against this, revolutionary Socialism must mobilize the mass struggle of the industrial proletariat.

Moderate Socialism is compromising, vacillating, treacherous, because the social elements it depends upon—the *petite bourgeoisie* and the aristocracy of labor—are not a fundamental factor in society; they vacillate between the bourgeois and the proletariat, their social instability produces political instability; and, moreover, they have been seduced by Imperialism and are now united with Imperialism.

Revolutionary Socialism is resolute, uncompromising, revolutionary, because it builds upon a fundamental social factor, the industrial proletariat, which is an actual producing class, expropriated of all property, in whose consciousness the machine process has developed the concepts of industrial unionism and mass action. Revolutionary Socialism adheres to the class struggle because through the class struggle alone—the mass struggle—can the industrial proletariat secure immediate concessions and finally conquer power by organizing the industrial government of the working class.

Political Action

The class struggle is a political struggle. It is a political struggle in the sense that its objective is political—the overthrow of the political organization upon which capitalistic exploitation depends, and the introduction of a new social system. The direct objective is the conquest by the proletariat of the power of the state.

Revolutionary Socialism does not propose to "capture" the bourgeois parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it. Revolutionary Socialism, accordingly, repudiates the policy of introducing Socialism by means of legislative measures on the basis of the bourgeois state. This state is a bourgeois state, the organ for the coercion of the proletariat by the capitalist; how, then, can it introduce Socialism? As long as the bourgeois parliamentary state prevails, the capitalist class can baffle the will of the proletariat, since all the political power, the army and the police, industry and the press, are in the hands of the capitalists, whose economic power gives them complete domination. The revolutionary proletariat must expropriate all these by the conquest of the power of the state, by annihilating the political power of the bourgeoisie, before it can begin the task of introducing Socialism.

Revolutionary Socialism, accordingly, proposes to conquer the power of the state. It proposes to conquer by means of political action—political action in the revolutionary Marxian sense, which does not simply mean parliamentarism, but the *class action* of the proletariat in any form having as its objective the conquest of the power of the state.

Parliamentary action is necessary. In the parliament, the revolutionary representatives of the proletariat meet Capitalism on all general issues of the class struggle. The proletariat must fight the capitalist class on all fronts, in the process of developing the final action that will conquer the power of the state and overthrow Capitalism. Parliamentary action which emphasizes the implacable character of the class struggle is an indispensable means of agitation. Its task is to expose through political campaigns and the forum of parliament, the class character of the state and the reactionary purposes of Capitalism, to meet Capitalism on all issues, to rally the proletariat for the struggle against Capitalism.

But parliamentarism cannot conquer the power of the state for the proletariat. The conquest of the power of the state is an extra-parliamentary act. It is accomplished, not by the legislative representatives of the proletariat, but by the *mass power* of the proletariat in action. The supreme power of the proletariat inheres in the *political mass strike*, in using the industrial mass power of the proletariat for political objectives.

Revolutionary Socialism, accordingly, recognizes that the supreme form of proletarian political action is the *political mass strike*. Parliamentarism may become a factor in developing the mass strike; parliamentarism, if it is revolutionary and adheres to the class struggle, performs a necessary service in mobilizing the proletariat against Capitalism.

Moderate Socialism refuses to recognize and accept this supreme form of proletarian political action, limits and stultifies political action into legislative routine and non-Socialist parliamentarism. This is a denial of the mass character of the proletarian struggle, an evasion of the tasks of the Revolution.

The power of the proletariat lies fundamentally in its control of the industrial process. The mobilization of this control in action against the bourgeois state and Capitalism means the end of Capitalism, the initial form of the revolutionary mass action that will conquer the power of the state.

Unionism and Mass Action

Revolutionary Socialism and the actual facts of the class struggle make the realization of Socialism depend upon the industrial proletariat. The class struggle of revolutionary Socialism mobilizes the industrial proletariat against Capitalism—that proletariat which is united and disciplined by the machine process, and which actually controls the basic industry of the nation.

The coming to consciousness of this proletariat produces a revolt against the older unionism, developing the concepts of industrial unionism and mass action.

The older unionism was implicit in the skill of the individual craftsmen, who united in craft unions. These unions organized primarily to protect the skill of the skilled workers, which is in itself a form of property. The trades unions developed into "job trusts," and not into militant organs of the proletarian struggle; until today the dominant unions are actual bulwarks of Capitalism, merging in Imperialism and accepting state Capitalism. The trades unions, being organized on craft divisions, did not and could not unite the workers as a class, nor are they actual class organizations.

The concentration of industry, developing the machine process, expropriated large elements of the skilled workers of their skill, but the unions still maintained the older ideology of property contract and caste. Deprived of actual power, the dominant unionism resorts to dickers with the bourgeois state and an acceptance

of imperialistic State Capitalism to maintain its privileges, *as against* the industrial proletariat.

The concentration of industry produced the industrial proletariat of unskilled workers, of the machine proletariat. This proletariat, massed in the basic industry, constitutes the militant basis of the class struggle against Capitalism; and, deprived of skill and craft divisions, it turns naturally to mass unionism, to an industrial unionism in accord with the integrated industry of imperialistic Capitalism.

Under the impact of industrial concentration, the proletariat developed its own dynamic tactics—mass action.

Mass action is the proletarian response to the facts of modern industry, and the forms it imposes upon the proletarian class struggle. Mass action starts as the spontaneous activity of unorganized workers massed in the basic industries; its initial form is the mass strike of the unorganized proletariat. The mass movements of the proletariat developing out of this mass response to the tyranny of concentrated industry antagonized the dominant moderate Socialism, which tried to compress and stultify these militant impulses within the limits of parliamentarism.

In this instinctive mass action there was not simply a response to the facts of industry, but the implicit means for action against the dominant parliamentarism. Mass action is industrial in its origin; but its development imposes upon it a political character, since the more general and conscious mass action becomes the more it antagonizes the bourgeois state, becomes *political* mass action.

Another development of this tendency was Syndicalism. In its mass impulse Syndicalism was a direct protest against the futility of the dominant Socialist parliamentarism. But Syndicalism was either unconscious of the theoretical basis of the new movement, or where there was an articulate theory, it was a derivative of Anarchism, making the proletarian revolution an immediate and direct seizure of industry, instead of the conquest of the power of the state. Anarcho-Syndicalism is a departure from Marxism. The theory of mass action and of industrial unionism, however, are in absolute accord with Marxism—*Revolutionary Socialism in action*.

Industrial unionism recognizes that the proletariat cannot conquer power by means of the bourgeois parliamentary state; it recognizes, moreover, that the proletariat cannot use this state to introduce Socialism, but that it must organize a new "state"—the "state" of the organized producers. Industrial unionism, accordingly, proposes to construct the forms of the government of Communist Socialism—the government of the producers. The revolutionary proletariat cannot adapt the bourgeois organs of government to its own use; it must develop its own organs. The larger, more definite and general the conscious industrial unions, the easier becomes the transition to Socialism, since the revolutionary state of the proletariat must reorganize society on the basis of union control and management of industry. Industrial unionism, accordingly, is a necessary phase of revolutionary Socialist agitation and action.

But industrial unionism alone cannot conquer the power of the state. Potentially, industrial unionism may construct the forms of the new society; but only potentially. Actually the forms of the new society are constructed under the protection of a revolutionary proletarian government; the industrial unions become simply the starting point of the Socialist reconstruction of society. Under the conditions of Capitalism, it is impossible to organize the whole working class into industrial unions; the concept of organizing the working class industrially *before* the conquest of power is as Utopian as the moderate Socialist conception of the gradual conquest of the parliamentary state.

The proletarian revolution comes at the moment of crisis in Capitalism, of a collapse of the old order. Under the impulse of the crisis, the proletariat acts for the conquest of power, by means of mass action. Mass action concentrates and mobilizes the forces of the proletariat, organized and unorganized; it acts equally against the bourgeois state and the conservative organizations of the working class. The revolution starts with strikes of protest, developing into mass political strikes and then into revolutionary mass action for the conquest of the power of the state. Mass action becomes political in purpose while extra-parliamentary in form; it is equally a process of revolution and the revolution itself in operation.

The final objective of mass action is the conquest of the power of the state, the annihilation of the bourgeois parliamentary state and the introduction of the transition proletarian state, functioning as a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The attitude toward the state divides the Anarchist (and Anarcho-Syndicalist), the moderate Socialist and the revolutionary Socialist. Eager to abolish the state (which is the ultimate purpose of revolutionary Socialism), the Anarchist (and Anarcho-Syndicalist) fails to realize that the state is necessary in the transition period from Capitalism to Socialism. The moderate Socialist proposes to use the bourgeois state, with its fraudulent democracy, its illusory theory of the "unity of all the classes," its standing army, police and bureaucracy oppressing and baffling the masses. The revolutionary Socialist maintains that the bourgeois parliamentary state must be completely destroyed, and proposes the organization of a new state, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The state is an organ of coercion. The bourgeois parliamentary state is the organ of the bourgeoisie for the coercion of the proletariat. The revolutionary proletariat must, accordingly, destroy this state. But the conquest of political power by the proletariat does not immediately end Capitalism, or the power of the capitalists, or immediately socialize industry. It is, therefore, necessary that the proletariat organize its own state *for the coercion and suppression of the bourgeoisie.*

Capitalism is bourgeois dictatorship. Parliamentary government is the expression of bourgeois supremacy, the form of authority of the capitalist over the worker. The bourgeois state is organized to coerce the proletariat, to baffle the will of the masses. In form a democracy, the bourgeois parliamentary state is in fact an autocracy, the dictatorship of capital over the proletariat.

Bourgeois democracy promotes this dictatorship of capital, assisted by the pulpit, the army and the police. Bourgeois democracy seeks to reconcile all the classes; realizing, however, simply the reconciliation of the proletariat to the supremacy of Capitalism. Bourgeois democracy is political in character, historically necessary, on the one hand, to break the power of feudalism, and on the other, to maintain the proletariat in subjection. It is precisely this democracy that is now the instrument of Imperialism, since the middle class, the traditional carrier of democracy, accepts and promotes Imperialism.

The proletarian revolution disrupts bourgeois democracy. It disrupts this democracy in order to end class divisions and class rule, to realize that industrial self-government of the workers which alone can assure peace and liberty to the peoples.

Proletarian dictatorship is a recognition of the necessity for a revolutionary state to coerce and suppress the bourgeoisie; it is equally a recognition of the fact that, in the Communist reconstruction of society, the proletariat as a class alone counts. The new society organizes as a communistic federation of producers. The proletariat alone counts in the revolution, and in the reconstruction of society on a Communist basis.

The old machinery of the state cannot be used by the revolutionary proletariat. It must be destroyed. The proletariat creates a new state, based directly upon the industrially organized producers, upon the industrial unions or Soviets, or a combination of both. It is this state alone, functioning as a dictatorship of the proletariat, that can realize Socialism.

The tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat are:

(a) To completely expropriate the bourgeoisie politically, and crush its powers of resistance.

(b) To expropriate the bourgeoisie economically, and introduce the forms of Communist Socialism.

Breaking the political power of the capitalists is the most important task of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, since upon this depends the economic and social reconstruction of society.

But this political expropriation proceeds simultaneously with an immediate, if partial, expropriation of the bourgeoisie economically, the scope of these measures being determined by industrial development and the maturity of the proletariat. These measures, at first, include:

(a) Workmen's control of industry, to be exercised by the industrial organizations of the workers, operating by means of the industrial vote.

(b) Expropriation and nationalization of the banks, as a necessary preliminary measure for the complete expropriation of capital.

(c) Expropriation and nationalization of the large (trust) organizations of capital. Expropriation proceeds without compensation, as "buying out" the capitalists is a repudiation of the tasks of the revolution.

(d) Repudiation of all national debts and the financial obligations of the old system.

(e) The nationalization of foreign trade.

(f) Measures for the socialization of agriculture.

These measures centralize the basic means of production in the proletarian state, nationalizing industry; and their partial character ceases as reconstruction proceeds. Socialization of industry becomes actual and complete only after the dictatorship of the proletariat has accomplished its task of suppressing the bourgeoisie.

The state of proletarian dictatorship is political in character, since it represents a ruling class, *the proletariat*, which is now supreme; and it uses coercion against the old bourgeois class. But the task of this dictatorship is to render itself unnecessary; and it becomes unnecessary the moment the full conditions of Communist Socialism materialize. While the dictatorship of the proletariat performs its negative task of crushing the old order, it performs the positive task of constructing the new. Together with the government of the proletarian dictatorship, there is developed a new "government," which is no longer government in the old sense, since it concerns itself with the management of production and not with the government of persons. Out of workers' control of industry, introduced by the proletarian dictatorship, there develops the complete structure of Communist Socialism—industrial self-government of the communistically organized producers. When this structure is completed, which implies the complete expropriation of the bourgeoisie economically and politically, the dictatorship of the proletariat ends, in its place coming the full and free social and individual autonomy of the Communist order.

The Communist International

The Communist International, issuing directly out of the proletarian revolution in action and in process of development, is the organ of the international revolutionary proletariat; just as the League of Nations is the organ of the joint aggression and resistance of the dominant Imperialism.

The attempt to resurrect the Second International, at Berne, was a ghastly failure. It rallied the counter-revolutionary forces of Europe, which were actually struggling against the proletarian revolution. In this "International" are united all the elements treasonable to Socialism, and the wavering "center" elements whose policy of miserable compromise is more dangerous than open treason. It represents the old dominant moderate Socialism; it based affiliation on acceptance of "labor" parliamentary action, admitting trades unions accepting "political action." The old International abandoned the earlier conception of Socialism as the politics of the Social Revolution—the politics of the class struggle in its revolutionary implications—admitting directly reactionary implications, admitting directly reactionary organizations of Laborism, such as the British Labor Party.

The Communist International, on the contrary, represents a Socialism in complete accord with the revolutionary character of the class struggle. It unites all the consciously revolutionary forces. It wages war equally against the dominant moderate Socialism and Imperialism, each of which has demonstrated its complete incompetence on the problems that now press down upon the world. The Communist International issues its challenge to the conscious, virile elements of the proletariat, calling them to the final struggle against Capitalism on the basis of the revolutionary epoch of Imperialism. The acceptance of the Communist International means accepting the fundamentals of revolutionary Socialism as decisive in our activity.

The Communist International, moreover, issues its call to the subject peoples of the world, crushed under the murderous mastery of imperialism. The revolt of these colonial and subject peoples is a necessary phase of the world struggle against capitalist Imperialism; their revolt must unite itself with the struggle of the conscious proletariat in the imperialistic nations. The Communist International, accordingly, offers an organization and a policy that may unify all the revolutionary forces of the world for the conquest of power, and for Socialism.

It is not a problem of immediate revolution. It is a problem of the immediate revolutionary struggle. The revolutionary epoch of the final struggle against Capitalism may last for years and tens of years; but the Communist International offers a policy and program immediate and ultimate in scope, that provides for the immediate class struggle against Capitalism, in its revolutionary implications, and for the final act of the conquest of power.

The old order is in decay. Civilization is in collapse. The proletarian revolution and the Communist reconstruction of society—*the struggle for these—is now*

indispensable. This is the message of the Communist International to the workers of the world.

The Communist International calls the proletariat of the world to the final struggle!

Further dissension within the left-wing group led to the resignations of Reed, MacAlpine, and Gitlow from the staff of the Revolutionary Age, and a new paper, The Voice of Labor, was launched on August 15, 1919.

COMMUNIST PARTY CONVENTION

During the month of July 1919, the majority of the national council of the left wing effected a compromise with the national organizing committee. The result was the issuance of a joint call for a Communist Party Convention to take place on September 1, 1919, in Chicago by the National Council of the Workers Left-wing Section of the Socialist Party and the National Organizing Committee, representing the delegates who had bolted the national left-wing conference in June. This joint call was almost identical in terms with the call published in *Novy Mir* on July 7, 1919.

JOINT CALL FOR COMMUNIST PARTY CONVENTION

The joint call was published in the Revolutionary Age of August 23, 1919, and is as follows:*

JOINT CALL FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO ORGANIZE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA (Issued by the National Organization Committee and the National Council of the Workers Left-Wing Section of the Socialist Party).

In this the most momentous period of the world's history capitalism is tottering to its ruin. The proletariat is straining at the chains which bind it. A revolutionary spirit is spreading throughout the world. The workers are rising to answer the clarion call of the Third International.

Only one Socialism is possible in the crisis. A Socialism based upon understanding. A Socialism that will express in action the needs of the proletariat. The time has passed for temporizing and hesitating. We must act. The Communist call of the Third International, the echo of the Communist Manifesto of 1848, must be answered.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America has evidenced by its expulsion of nearly half of the membership that it will not hesitate at wrecking the organization in order to maintain control. A crisis has been precipitated in the ranks of revolutionary Socialism by the wholesale expulsion or suspension of the membership comprising the *Socialist Party of Michigan and Massachusetts, locals and branches throughout the country, together with seven Language Federations*. This has created a condition in our movement that makes it manifestly impossible to longer delay the calling of a convention to organize a new party. Those who realize that the capturing of the Socialist Party as such is but an empty victory will not hesitate to respond to this call and leave the "Right" and "Center" to sink together with their leaders.

No other course is possible; therefore, we, the National Left-Wing Council and the National Organization Committee, call a convention to meet in the city of Chicago on September 1, 1919, for the purpose of organizing a Communist Party in America.

This party will be founded upon the following principles:

1. The present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole capitalist world system, which will mean the complete collapse of world culture, if capitalism with its unsolvable contradictions is not replaced by Communism.
2. The problem of the proletariat consists in organizing and training itself for the conquest of the powers of the state. This conquest of power means the replacement of the state machinery of the bourgeoisie with a new proletarian machinery of government.

* Lusk Committee Reports, vol. I, p. 770.

3. This new proletarian state must embody the dictatorship of the proletariat, both industrial and agricultural, this dictatorship constituting the instrument for the taking over of property used for exploiting the workers, and for the reorganization of society on a Communist basis.

Not the fraudulent bourgeois democracy—the hypocritical form of the rule of the finance-oligarchy, with its purely formal equality—but proletarian democracy based on the possibility of actual realization of freedom for the working masses; not capitalist bureaucracy, but organs of administration which have been created by the masses themselves, with the real participation of these masses in the government of the country and in the activity of the communistic structure—this should be the type of the proletarian state. The Workers' councils and similar organizations represent its concrete form.

4. The dictatorship of the proletariat shall carry out the abolition of private property in the means of production and distribution, by transfer to the proletarian state under Socialist administration of the working class; nationalization of the great business enterprises and financial trusts.

5. The present world situation demands the closest relation between the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

6. The fundamental means of the struggle for power is the mass action of the proletariat, a gathering together and concentration of all its energies; whereas methods such as the revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism are only of subsidiary significance.

In those countries in which the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a worker's revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on.

But within the process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the capitalist power has at its command, in order to gain its ends, all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of upper class rule, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny, and terror. To demand of the proletariat that it shall be content to yield itself to the artificial rules devised by its mortal enemy, but not observed by the enemy, is to make a mockery of the proletarian struggle for power—a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of the working-class power.

7. The old Socialist International has broken into three main groups:

(a) Those frankly social patriots who since 1914 have supported their bourgeoisie and transformed those elements of the working class which they control into hangmen of the international revolution.

(b) The "Center," representing elements which are constantly wavering and incapable of following a definite plan of action, and which are at times positively traitorous; and

(c) The Communists.

As regards the social patriots, who everywhere in the critical moment oppose the proletarian revolution with force of arms, a merciless fight is absolutely necessary. As regards the "Center" our tactics must be to separate the revolutionary elements by pitilessly criticizing the leaders. Absolute separation from the organization of the "Center" is necessary.

8. It is necessary to rally the groups and proletarian organizations who, though not as yet in the wake of the revolutionary trend of the Communist movement, nevertheless have manifested and developed a tendency leading in that direction.

Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is to carry on propaganda for the abolition of this order and to erect in its place the structure of the Communist world order. Under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won; in the war against imperialistic barbarity, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all forms of social and national oppression—we call upon the proletariat of all lands to unite.

Program of the Call

1. We favor international alliance of the Communist Party of the United States only with the Communist groups of other countries, such as the Bolsheviks of Russia, Spartacans of Germany, etc., according to the program of Communism as above outlined.

2. We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as Labor parties, Non-Partisan leagues, People's Councils, Municipal Ownership Leagues and the like.

3. We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchistic or democratic-republican, and to destroy and replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the Communist transformation.

4. The Party shall propagandize class-conscious industrial unionism as against the craft form of unionism, and shall carry on party activity in cooperation with industrial disputes that take on a revolutionary character.

5. We do not disparage voting nor the value of success in electing our candidates to public office—not if these are in direct line with the class struggle. The trouble comes with the illusion that political or industrial immediate achievements are of themselves steps in the revolution, the progressive merging of capitalism into the cooperative commonwealth.

The basis of our political campaign should be:

(a) To propagandize the overthrow of capitalism by proletarian conquest of the political power and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

(b) To maintain a political organization as a clearinghouse for proletarian thought, a center of political education for the development of revolutionary working-class action.

(c) To keep in the foreground our consistent appeal for proletarian revolution; and to analyze the counterproposals and reformist palliatives in their true light of evasions of the issue; recognizing at all times the characteristic development of the class conflict as applicable to all capitalistic nations.

(d) To propagandize the party organization as the organ of contact with the revolutionary proletariat of other lands, the basis for international association being the same political understanding and the common plan of action, tending toward increasing unity in detail as the international crisis develops.

6. Communist platforms, proceeding on the basis of the class struggle, recognizing that the Socialist movement has come into the historic period of the social revolution, can contain only the demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(a) The basis of this demand should be thoroughly explained in the economic, political, and social analysis of the class struggle, as evolving within the system of capitalism.

(b) The implication of this demand should be illustrated by the first steps and general modes of social reconstruction dependent upon and involved within the proletarian domination of the political life of the Nation.

(c) A municipal platform of Communism cannot proceed on a separate basis, but must conform to the general platform, simply relating the attainment of local power to the immediate goal of gaining national power. There are no separate city problems within the terms of the class struggle, only the one problem of capitalist versus proletarian domination.

7. We realize that the coming of the social revolution depends on an overwhelming assertion of mass power by the proletariat, taking on political consciousness and the definite direction of revolutionary Socialism. The manifestations of this power and consciousness are not subject to precise precalculation. But the history of the movement of the proletariat toward emancipation since 1900 shows the close connection between the revolutionary proletarian assertion and the political mass strike.

The mass action conception looks to the general unity of the proletarian forces under revolutionary provocation and stimulus. In the preliminary stages, which alone come within our predetermination and party initiative, the tactic of mass action includes all mass demonstrations and mass struggles which sharpen the understanding of the proletariat as to the class conflict and which separate the revolutionary proletariat into a group distinct from all others.

Mass action, in time of revolutionary crisis, or in the analogous case of large-scale industrial conflict, naturally accepts the council form of organization for its expression over a continued period of time.

8. Applying our declarations of party principle to the organization of the party itself, we realize the need, in correspondence with the highly centralized capitalist power to be combated, of a centralized party organization.

Organizations endorsing the principles and program outlined above as a tentative basis for the organization of a Communist Party are invited to send delegates to the convention at Chicago on September 1, 1919.

The basis of representation to be 1 delegate for every organization and 1 additional for every additional 500 members or major fraction thereof.

Provided, that States which are organized and endorsing this call shall send delegates as States. In States which are not organized the organized locals accepting this call shall send delegates as locals. In locals which are not organized a part of the local may send delegates.

Provided further, that organizations composed of less than 251 members shall be given fractional votes; and provided that the total vote for each State represented at the convention shall not exceed 1, plus 1 per 500 members or major fraction thereof.

Organizations sending delegates will be assessed \$50 for each delegate. This fund will be applied to equalize the railroad fare of all delegates to the convention. Organizations having less than 251 members which are unable to pay all of this amount (\$50) are urged^{*} will be created to defray their traveling expenses. Expenses other than railroad fares will be paid by the organizations sending delegates. In the event the delegates are not provided with funds for rooms and meals, effort will be made to assist them.

Do not fail to be represented at this historic convention. All delegates, either directly or through their local secretaries, are requested to communicate with the national secretary immediately following their election. Uniform credential blanks will be furnished.

* So in original.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA—1919

On July 19, 1919, the National Organizing Committee issued the first number of *The Communist* as the official organ of the Communist Party of America. Dennis E. Batt was the editor.

Pursuant to the above-mentioned Call, the Communist Party Convention opened in Chicago on September 1, 1919. Louis C. Fraina was elected Temporary Chairman, and the work of the convention proceeded.

A committee composed of Louis C. Fraina, D. Elbaum, Alexander I. Stoklitzky, Nicholas I. Hourwich, Alexander Bittelman, Dennis E. Batt, Maximilian Cohen, Jay Lovestone, and H. M. Wicks was appointed to formulate a program. The following Manifesto, program and Constitution were adopted:*

THE COMMUNIST PARTY MANIFESTO

The world is on the verge of a new era. Europe is in revolt. The masses of Asia are stirring uneasily. Capitalism is in collapse. The workers of the world are seeing a new life and securing new courage. Out of the night of war is coming a new day.

The spectre of Communism haunts the world of capitalism. Communism, the hope of the workers to end misery and oppression.

The workers of Russia smashed the front of international Capitalism and Imperialism. They broke the chains of the terrible war; and in the midst of agony, starvation and the attacks of the capitalists of the world, they are creating a new social order.

The class war rages fiercely in all nations. Everywhere the workers are in a desperate struggle against their capitalist masters. The call to action has come. The workers must answer the call.

The Communist Party of America is the party of the working class. The Communist Party proposes to end capitalism and organize a workers' industrial republic. The workers must control industry and dispose of the products of industry. The Communist Party is a party realizing the limitations of all existing workers' organizations and proposes to develop the revolutionary movement necessary to free the workers from the oppression of Capitalism. The Communist Party insists that the problems of the American worker are identical with the problems of the workers of the world.

The War and Socialism

A giant struggle is convulsing the world. The war is at end, but peace is not here. The struggle is between the capitalist nations of the world and the international proletariat, inspired by Soviet Russia. The Imperialisms of the world are desperately arraying themselves against the onswEEPing proletarian revolution.

The League of Nations is dividing the world financially and territorially. It is directing the fight against the workers. It is the last effort of Capitalism to save itself.

The reactionary League of Nations is the logical result of this imperialistic war. And the war was the product of Capitalism.

Capitalism oppresses the workers. It deprives them of the fruit of their labor—the difference between wages and product constituting the profits of the capitalists. As the capitalists compete with each other, while exploiting the

* Lusk Committee Reports, vol. I, p. 776.

workers, new and more efficient means of production develop. This compels the concentration of industry which results in monopoly. Under monopoly there is rapid accumulation of capital, producing a surplus which it is necessary to export for investment. This export of capital, together with the struggle to monopolize the world's sources of raw materials and to control undeveloped territory for purposes of investment, is the basis of Imperialism.

Imperialism produced the war. The war now being at an end, the victorious nations are concerned almost exclusively with these economic, territorial, and financial problems. The United States was vitally concerned in the war, the issue being world power; and its capitalism, having secured a position of financial supremacy, had a direct imperialistic interest at stake.

The war made a shamble of civilization. It proved the utter incapacity of capitalism to direct and promote the progress of humanity. Capitalism has broken down.

But the Socialist movement itself broke down under the test of war. The old dominant moderate Socialism accepted and justified the war. It acted against the proletarian revolution and united with the capitalists against the workers. Out of this circumstance developed the forces of revolutionary Socialism now expressed in the Communist International.

Socialism had repeatedly emphasized the menace of war. It had urged the workers to act against the war. The Socialist Congress at Basle in 1912, when Europe was on the verge of a general war, condemned the war as imperialistic and as unjustifiable on any pretext of national interest. It urged using the crisis of war to "rouse the masses and to hasten the downfall of capitalism."

The war that came in 1914 was the same imperialistic war that might have come in 1912. But upon the declaration of war, the dominant opportunistic Socialist parties accepted and justified the war of plunder and mass murder!

This was a direct betrayal of Socialism. It was an abandonment of the class struggle. The class struggle is the very heart of revolutionary Socialism. Unless the Socialist movement wages the class struggle under any and all conditions in its revolutionary implications, it becomes either Utopian or reactionary. But moderate Socialism accepted the war and the "unity of the classes," and united with the capitalist governments against the working class.

The Socialist parties accepted the war as a war for democracy—as if democracy under Imperialism is not directly counterrevolutionary. They justified the war as a war for the independence of nations. Not the proletarian class struggle, but nationalism, social-patriotism and social-imperialism determined the policy of the dominant Socialism. The coming of Socialism was made dependent upon the workers cutting each others' throats in the struggles of their own ruling class!

Socialism and Communism

The collapse of the Socialist International during the war marks the transition from the older moderate Socialism to the new Socialism of revolutionary practice and promise in the Communist International.

Moderate Socialism, which perverted the revolutionary Socialism of the First International, placed its faith in "constructive" social reforms. It accepted the bourgeois state as the basis of its activities and then strengthened that state. It developed a policy of "class reconciliation," affirming that the coming of Socialism was a concern of "all the classes" instead of emphasizing the Marxian policy that it was the task of the revolutionary proletariat alone. There was a joint movement that affected the thought and practice of Socialism; on the one hand, the organization of the skilled workers into trade unions, which secured certain concessions and became a semi-privileged caste; and, on the other hand, the decay of the class of small producers, crushed under the iron tread and of industrial concentration. As one moved upward and the other downward, they met and formed a political juncture to use the state to improve their conditions. The dominant Socialism expressed this compromise. It developed a policy of legislative reforms and State Capitalism.

The whole process was simple. The workers were to unite with the middle class and government ownership of industry was to emancipate the working class. Parliamentarism was to revolutionize the old order of slavery and power, of oppression and destruction.

It was simple, but disastrous. The state, as owner of industry, did not free the workers, but imposed a sterner bondage. The capitalist state was made stronger by its industrial functions. The parliamentary representatives of the workers played at the parliamentary comedy, while Capitalism developed new powers of oppression and destruction.

But Imperialism exposed the final futility of this policy. Imperialism united the nonproletarian classes, by means of State Capitalism, for international conquest and spoliation. The small capitalists, middle class, and the aristocracy of labor, which previously acted against concentrated industry, now compromise and unite with concentrated industry and finance-capital in Imperialism. The small capitalists accept the domination of finance-capital, being allowed to participate in the adventures and the fabulous profits of Imperialism, upon which now depends the whole of trade and industry. The middle class invests in monopolistic enterprises; its income now depends upon finance-capital, its members securing "positions of superintendence," its technicians and intellectuals being exported to lands in process of development. The workers of the privileged unions are assured steady employment and comparatively high wages through the profits that come in from the savage exploitation of colonial peoples. All these nonproletarian social groups accept imperialism, their "liberal and progressive" ideas becoming camouflage for Imperialism with which to seduce the masses. Imperialism requires the centralized state, capable of uniting all the forces of capital, of unifying the industrial process through state regulation, of maintaining "class peace," of mobilizing the whole national power for the struggles of imperialism. *State Capitalism is the expression of Imperialism*, precisely that State Capitalism promoted by Moderate Socialism. What the parliamentary policy of Socialism accomplished was to buttress the capitalistic state, to promote State Capitalism to strengthen imperialism.

Moderate Socialism developed while Capitalism was still competitive. Upon the advent of monopoly and Imperialism, Socialism emerged into a new epoch—an epoch requiring new and more aggressive proletarian tactics. Capitalism acquired a terrific power in industry and the state. The concentration of industry, together with the subserviency of parliaments to the imperialistic mandates and the transfer of their vital functions to the executive organ of government, made more clear the impossibility of the parliamentary conquest for power. The older unionism and parliamentary Socialism proved their utter incompetence for the new conditions of struggle. These conditions developed the concept of industrial unionism in the United States and the concept of mass action in Europe. Imperialism made it necessary to reconstruct the Socialist movement.

But Moderate Socialism itself did not change under the necessity of events. The consequence was a miserable collapse under the test of the war and the proletarian revolution in Russia and Germany.

In the Russian Revolution, the proletariat, urging on the poorer peasantry, conquered the power of the state after the first revolution had established the democratic parliamentary republic. It established a dictatorship of the proletariat. This proletarian revolution was accomplished in spite of the opposition of Moderate Socialism, represented by the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists. These Moderates argued that since Russia was economically an undeveloped country, it was premature to make a proletarian revolution in Russia and historically impossible to realize Socialism.

Moderate Socialism in Germany also acted against the proletarian revolution. It offered a capitalist parliamentary republic as against proletarian dictatorship.

The issue in Germany could not be obscured. Germany was a fully developed nation industrially, its economic conditions were mature for the introduction of Socialism. But Moderate Socialists rejected the revolutionary task.

There is a common policy that characterizes Moderate Socialism; that is, its conception of the state. Out of the conception that the bourgeois parliamentary state is the basis for the introduction of Socialism developed a directly counter revolutionary policy.

Communism rejects this conception of the state. It rejects the idea of class reconciliation and the parliamentary conquest of Capitalism. The Communist Party alone is capable of mobilizing the proletariat for the revolutionary mass struggle to conquer the power of the state. The Communist Party realizes that it is necessary to develop separate organs of working-class political power by means of which to crush the resistance of Capitalism and establish the Communist Commonwealth.

American Socialism

Socialism in the United States, prior to the appearance of the Socialist Labor Party, was a movement of isolated and indefinite protest. It was the spur of middle-class movements, while itself split by Socialist and Anarchist factions.

The Socialist Labor Party, after casting off the non-Socialist elements, developed as a consistent party of revolutionary Socialism. Particularly, the S.

L. P. realized the importance of imparting a Socialist character and consciousness to the unions. The Socialist Labor Party, together with the experience of the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union, developed the theory and practice of Industrial Unionism.

The struggle of the Socialist Labor Party against the old unionism developed a secession from the party of elements who considered protecting the reactionary American Federation of Labor more important than revolutionary Socialism. These, together with bourgeois and agrarian radicals, organized the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party was a party of Moderate Socialism. Its policy was that of government ownership of industry, not the proletarian conquest of power. It maintained that the middle class and the lesser capitalists are necessary in the Socialist struggle against capitalism. The Socialist Party asserted in substance: Socialism is a struggle of all the people against the trusts, making the realization of Socialism depend upon the "unity of the common people," the workers, the small capitalists and investors, the professions. In short the official policy of the Socialist Party was to attain Socialism by means of capitalist democracy.

The Socialist Party stultified proletarian political action by limiting it to elections and participation in legislative reform activity. The party favored reactionary trade unionism as against revolutionary industrial unionism.

The Socialist Labor Party developed a purely theoretical activity, of real value, but was isolated from the masses. The Socialist Party attained a considerable membership, but largely of a petty bourgeois character. The war brought in new industrial proletarian elements but the party still isolated itself from revolutionary theory and practice. The proletarian masses in the Socialist Party required simply the opportunity to develop a revolutionary proletarian policy.

The Socialist Party under the impulse of its proletarian membership adopted a militant declaration against the war. But the officials of the party sabotaged this declaration. The official policy of the party on the war was that of liberal pacifism. The party bureaucracy united with the People's Council which propagandized a Wilson peace. The 1918 party platform accepted the Wilson "fourteen points" as adopted by the prowar Interallied Labor and Socialist Conference.

The war and the proletarian revolution in Russia sharpened the antagonism between the party policy and the revolutionary proletarian temper in the party. Revolt broke loose. The Socialist Party was crushed. The Communist Party is the response to this revolt and to the call of the Communist International.

Communist Party Problems

The United States is now a world power. It is developing a centralized, autocratic federal government, acquiring financial and military reserves for aggression and wars of conquest. Imperialism now consciously dominates the national policy.

The war strengthened American Capitalism, instead of weakening it as in Europe. But the collapse of Capitalism in other countries will play upon and affect events in this country. Feverishly, American capitalism is developing a brutal campaign of terrorism. It is utterly incompetent on the problems of reconstruction that press down upon society. Its "reconstruction" program aims simply to develop power for aggression and plunder in the markets of the world. While this is not the moment of actual revolution, it is a moment of struggles pregnant with revolution.

Strikes are developing verging on revolutionary action, and in which the suggestion of proletarian dictatorship is apparent. The striker-workers try to usurp functions of industry and government, as in the Seattle and Winnipeg general strikes.

A minor phase of proletarian unrest is the trade-unions organizing a Labor Party, in an effort to conserve what they have secured as a privileged caste. A Labor Party is not the instrument of aggressive working-class struggle; it cannot break the power of the capitalists and the profit system of oppression and misery, since it accepts private property and the "rights of capital." The practice of a Labor Party is in general the practice of the Socialist Party—cooperation with bourgeois "progressives" and reforming Capitalism on the basis of the capitalist parliamentary state. Laborism is as much a danger to the proletarian as moderate petty bourgeois Socialism—the two being expressions of an identical social tendency and policy. There can be no compromise either with Laborism or reactionary Socialism.

But there is a more vital tendency, the tendency of the workers to start mass strikes—strikes which are equally a revolt against the bureaucracy of the unions and the capitalists. The Communist Party will endeavor to broaden and deepen these strikes making them general and militant, developing the general political strike.

The Communist Party accepts as the basis of its action the mass struggles of the proletariat, engaging directly in these struggles and emphasizing their revolutionary implications.

Political Action

The proletarian class struggle is essentially a political struggle. It is a political struggle in the sense that its objective is political—overthrow of the political organizations upon which capitalist exploitation depends, and the introduction of a proletarian state power. The objective is the conquest by the proletariat of the power of the state.

Communism does not propose to "capture" the bourgeoisie parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it. As long as the bourgeoisie state prevails, the capitalist class can baffle the will of the proletariat.

In those countries in which historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against Capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a workers' revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. The use of parliamentarism, however, is only of secondary importance.

But within this process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the capitalist class has at its command in order to gain its end, all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of working class rule, multiplied by the wonders of capitalist technique—lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery. To the demand of the proletariat that it shall be content to yield itself to the artificial rules devised by its mortal enemy but not observed by the enemy is to make a mockery of the proletarian struggle for power, a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of working class power.

The parliamentarism of the Communist Party performs a service in mobilizing the proletariat against Capitalism, emphasizing the political character of the class struggle.

The conquest of the power of the state is accomplished by the mass power of the proletariat. Political mass strikes are a vital factor in developing this mass power, preparing the working class for the conquest of Capitalism. The power of the proletariat lies fundamentally in its control of the industrial process. The mobilizing of this control against Capitalism means the initial form of the revolutionary mass action that will conquer the power of the state.

Unionism and Mass Action

The older unionism was based on the craft divisions of small industry. The unions consisted primarily of skilled workers, whose skill is itself a form of property. The unions were not organs of the militant class struggle. Today the dominant unionism is actually a bulwark of Capitalism, merging in Imperialism and accepting State Capitalism.

The concentration of industry and the development of the machine process expropriated large numbers of the skilled workers of their skill; but the unions still maintained the ideology of property contract and caste. Deprived of actual power by the ineffectiveness of its localized strikes as against large-scale industry, trade-unionism resorts to dickers with the bourgeois state and accepts Imperialistic State Capitalism to maintain its privileges as against the unskilled industrial proletariat.

The concentration of industry produces the industrial proletariat—the machine workers. This proletariat, massed in the basic industry, constitutes the militant basis of the class struggle. Deprived of skill and craft divisions, the old petty isolated strike is useless to these workers.

These facts of industrial concentration developed the concept of industrial unionism among the organized workers, and mass action among the unorganized.

Mass action is the proletarian response to the facts of modern industry, and the forms it imposes upon the proletarian class struggle. Mass action develops as the spontaneous activity of unorganized workers in the basic industry; its initial form is the mass strike of the unskilled. In these strikes large masses of workers are unified by the impulse of the struggle, developing a new tactic and a new ideology.

Mass action is industrial in its origin, but it acquires political character as it develops fuller forms. Mass action, in the form of general political strikes and demonstrations, unites the energy and forces of the proletariat, brings proletarian mass pressure upon the bourgeois state. The more general and conscious mass action becomes, the more it becomes political mass action. Mass action is responsible to life itself, the form of aggressive proletarian struggle under Imperialism. Out of this struggle develops revolutionary mass action, the means for the proletarian conquest of power.

The conception of mass action has little in common with Syndicalism. In its mass impulse Syndicalism was a protest against the futility of parliamentarism. But Anarcho-Syndicalism tactically and theoretically is a departure from Marxism. It does not appreciate the necessity of a proletarian state during the transition period from Capitalism to Communism (which implies the disappearance of all forms of the state). Syndicalism makes the proletarian revolution a direct seizure of industry, instead of the conquest of the power of the state.

Industrial Unionism, also, cannot conquer the power of the state. Under the conditions of Capitalism it is impossible to organize the whole working class into industrial unions. It will be necessary to rally the workers, organized and unorganized, by means of revolutionary mass action. Moreover, industrial unionism does not actually construct the forms of the Communist administration of industry, only potentially. After the conquest of power the industrial unions may become the starting point of the Communist reconstruction of society. But the conception that the majority of the working class can be organized into conscious industrial unions and construct under Capitalism the form of the Communist society, is as Utopian as the moderate Socialist conception of the gradual "growing into Socialism."

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The proletarian revolution comes at the moment of crisis in Capitalism, of a collapse of the old order. Under the impulse of the crisis, the proletariat acts for the conquest of power, by means of mass action. Mass action concentrates and mobilizes the forces of the proletariat, organized and unorganized; it acts equally against the bourgeois state and the conservative organizations of the working class. Strikes of protest develop into general political strikes and then into revolutionary mass action for the conquest of the power of the state. Mass action becomes political in purpose while extraparliamentary in form; it is equally a process of revolution and the revolution itself in operation.

The state is an organ of coercion. The bourgeois parliamentary state is the organ of the bourgeoisie for the coercion of the proletariat. Parliamentary government is the expression of bourgeois supremacy, the form of authority of the capitalist over the worker. Bourgeois democracy promotes the dictatorship of capital, assisted by the press, the pulpit, the army and the police. Bourgeois democracy is historically necessary, on the one hand, to break the power of feudalism, and, on the other, to maintain the proletarian in subjection. It is precisely this democracy that is now the instrument of Imperialism, since the middle class, the traditional carrier of democracy, accepts Imperialism. The proletarian revolution disrupts bourgeois democracy. It disrupts this democracy in order to end class divisions and class rule, to realize industrial self-government of the workers. Therefore it is necessary that the proletariat organize its own state *for the coercion and suppression of the bourgeoisie*. Proletarian dictatorship is a recognition of the fact; it is equally a recognition of the fact that in the Communist reconstruction of society the proletariat alone counts as a class.

While the dictatorship of the proletariat performs the negative task of crushing the old order, it performs the positive task of constructing the new. Together with the government of the proletarian dictatorship, there is developed a new "government," which is no longer government in the old sense, since it concerns itself with the management of the production and not with the government of persons. Out of workers' control of industry, introduced by the proletarian dictatorship, there develops the complete structure of Communist Socialism—industrial self-government of the communistically organized producers. When this structure is completed, which implies the complete expropriation of the bourgeoisie, economically and politically, the dictatorship of the proletariat ends, in its place coming the full, free social and individual autonomy of the Communist order.

The Communist International

The Communist International, issuing directly out of the proletarian revolution in action, is the organ of the international revolutionary proletariat; just as the League of Nations is the organ of the joint aggression and resistance of the dominant imperialism.

The Communist International represents a Socialism in complete accord with the revolutionary character of the class struggle. It unites all the conscious revolutionary forces. It wages war equally against imperialism and moderate Socialism—each of which has demonstrated its complete inability to solve the problems that now press down upon the workers. The Communist International issues its call to the conscious proletariat for the final struggle against Capitalism.

It is not a problem of immediate revolution. The revolutionary epoch may last for years, and tens of years. The Communist International offers a program both immediate and ultimate in scope.

The old order is in decay. Civilization is in collapse. The workers must prepare for the proletarian revolution and the Communist reconstruction of society.

The Communist International calls!

Workers of the world, unite!

THE PROGRAM OF THE PARTY

The Communist Party is the conscious expression of the class struggle of the workers against capitalism. Its aim is to direct this struggle to the conquest of political power, the overthrow of capitalism and the destruction of the bourgeois state.

The Communist Party prepares itself for the revolution in the measure that it develops a program of immediate action, expressing the mass struggles of the proletariat. These struggles must be inspired with revolutionary spirit and purposes.

The Communist Party is fundamentally a party of action. It brings to the workers a consciousness of their oppression, of the impossibility of improving their conditions under capitalism. The Communist Party directs the workers' struggle against capitalism, developing fuller forms and purposes in this struggle, culminating in the mass action of the revolution.

I

The Communist Party maintains that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle; that is, a struggle to conquer the power of the state.

(a) The Communist Party shall keep in the foreground its consistent appeal for proletarian revolution, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. As the opposition of the bourgeoisie is broken, as it is expropriated and gradually absorbed in the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, until finally the state dies and there are no more class distinctions.

(b) Participation in parliamentary campaigns, which in the general struggle of the proletariat is of secondary importance, is for the purpose of revolutionary propaganda only.

(c) Parliamentary representatives of the Communist Party shall not introduce or support reform measures. Parliaments and political democracy shall be utilized to assist in organizing the working class against capitalism and the state. Parliamentary representatives shall consistently expose the oppressive class character of the capitalist state, using the legislative forum to interpret and emphasize the class struggle; they shall make clear how parliamentarism and parliamentary democracy deceive the workers; and they shall analyze capitalist legislative proposals and reforms palliatives as evasions of the issue and as of no fundamental significance to the working class.

(d) Nominations for public office and participation in elections are limited to legislative bodies only, such as municipal councils, state legislatures, and the national congress.

(e) The uncompromising character of the class struggle must be maintained under all circumstances. The Communist Party accordingly, in campaigns and elections, and in all its other activities shall not cooperate with groups or parties not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as the Socialist Party, Labor Party, Non-Partisan League, People's Council, Municipal Ownership Leagues, etc.

II

The Communist Party shall make the great industrial struggles of the working class its major campaigns, in order to develop an understanding of the strike in relation to the overthrow of capitalism.

(a) The Communist Party shall participate in mass strikes, not only to achieve the immediate purposes of the strike, but to develop the revolutionary implications of the mass strike.

(b) Mass strikes are vital factors in the process out of which develops the workers' understanding and action for the conquest of power.

(c) In mass strikes under conditions of concentrated capitalism there is latent the tendency toward the general mass strike, which takes on a political character and manifests the impulse toward proletarian dictatorship.

In these general mass strikes the Communist Party shall emphasize the necessity of maintaining industry and the taking over of social functions usually discharged by the capitalists and the institutions of capitalism. The strike must cease being isolated and passive; it must become positive, general and aggressive, preparing the workers for the complete assumption of industrial and social control.

(a) Every local and district organization of the Party shall establish contact with the industrial units in its territory, the shops, mills and mines—and direct its agitation accordingly.

(b) Shop Committees shall be organized wherever possible for the purpose of Communist agitation in a particular shop or industry by the workers employed there. These committees shall be united with each other and with the Communist Party, so that the party shall have actual contact with the workers and mobilize them for action against capitalism.

III

The Communist Party must engage actively in the struggle to revolutionize the trade unions. As against the unionism of the American Federation of Labor, the Communist Party propagandizes industrial unionism and industrial union organization, emphasizing their revolutionary implications. Industrial unionism is not simply a means for the everyday struggle against capitalism; its ultimate purpose is revolutionary, implying the necessity of ending the capitalist parliamentary state. Industrial unionism is a factor in the final mass action for the conquest of power, as it will constitute the basis for the industrial administration of the Communist Commonwealth.

(a) The Communist Party recognizes that the A. F. of L. is reactionary and a bulwark of capitalism.

(b) Councils of workers shall be organized in the shops as circumstances allow, for the purpose of carrying on the industrial union struggle in the old unions, uniting and mobilizing the militant elements; these councils to be unified in a Central council wherever possible.

(c) It shall be a major task of the Communist Party to agitate for the construction of a general industrial union organization, embracing the I. W. W., W. I. I. U., independent and secession unions, militant unions of the A. F. of L., and the unorganized workers, on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle.

IV

The Communist Party shall encourage movements of the workers in the shops seeking to realize workers' control of industry, while indicating their limitations under capitalism; concretely, any movement analogous to the Shop Stewards of England. These movements (equally directed against the union bureaucracy) should be related to the Communist Party.

V

The unorganized unskilled workers (including the agricultural proletariat) constitute the bulk of the working class. The Communist Party shall directly and systematically agitate among these workers, awakening them to industrial union organization and action.

VI

In close connection with the unskilled workers is the problem of the Negro worker. The Negro problem is a political and economic problem. The racial oppression of the Negro is simply the expression of his economic bondage and

oppression, each intensifying the other. This complicates the Negro problem, but does not alter its proletarian character. The Communist Party will carry on agitation among the Negro workers to unite them with all class-conscious workers.

VII

The United States is developing an aggressive militarism. The Communist Party will wage the struggle against militarism as a phase of the class struggle to hasten the downfall of Capitalism.

VIII

The struggle against Imperialism, necessarily an international struggle, is the basis of proletarian revolutionary action in this epoch.

(a) There must be close unity with the Communist International for common action against Imperialism.

(b) The Communist Party emphasizes the common character of the struggle of the workers of all nations, making necessary the solidarity of the workers of the world.

THE PARTY CONSTITUTION

I. Name and Purpose

SECTION 1. The name of this organization shall be The Communist Party of America. Its purpose shall be the education and organization of the working class for the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of the Communist Society.

II. Emblem

SECTION 1. The emblem of the party shall be a button with the figure of the earth in the center in white with gold lines and a red flag across the face bearing the inscription, "All Power to the Workers"; around the figure of the earth a red margin shall appear with the words "The Communist Party of America" and "The Communist International" on this margin in white letters.

III. Membership

SECTION 1. Every person who accepts the principles and tactics of the Communist Party and the Communist International and agrees to engage actively in the work of the party shall be eligible to membership. It is the aim of this organization to have in its ranks only those who participate actively in its work.

SECTION 2. Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows:

"The undersigned, after having read the constitution and program of the Communist Party, declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of the party and the Communist International; agrees to submit to the discipline of the party as stated in its constitution and pledges himself to engage actively in its work."

SECTION 3. Every member must join a duly constituted branch of the party. There shall be no members at large.

SECTION 4. All application cards must be endorsed by two persons who have been members for not less than three months.

SECTION 5. Applications for membership shall not be finally acted upon until two months after presentation to the branch, and in the meantime applicant shall pay initiation fee and dues and shall attend meetings and classes. He shall have a voice and no vote. Provided that this rule shall not apply to the charter members of new branches nor to the members who make application to newly organized branches during the first month.

SECTION 6. No person who is a member or supporter of any other political organization shall be admitted to membership.

SECTION 7. No person who has an entire livelihood from rent, interest, or profit shall be eligible to membership in the Communist Party.

SECTION 8. No person shall be accepted as a member who enters into the service of the national, State, or local governmental bodies otherwise than through the Civil Service or by legal compulsion.

Provided, that the civil employment by the government is of a nonpolitical character.

SECTION 9. No members of the Communist Party shall contribute articles or editorials of a political or economic character to publications other than those of

the Communist Party or of parties affiliated with the Communist International. (This clause shall not be considered as prohibiting the contribution of articles written from an economic or scientific standpoint to scientific or professional journals. Permission to answer an attack upon the Communist Party in the bourgeois press may be granted by the Central Executive Committee).

IV. Units of Organizations

SECTION 1. The basic organization of the Communist Party shall be branches of not less than seven members. (Applicants for a charter shall fill out the form provided by the National Organization.)

SECTION 2. Two or more branches located in the same city shall form a City Central Committee. City Central Committees may include branches in adjacent territory, subject to supervision of the central management of the party.

SECTION 3. City Central Committees and all other branches in the same state shall form State Organizations. Provided, that under the control of the Central Executive Committee more than one state may be included in a single District Organization; and provided also that District Organizations may be formed by the Central Executive Committee along the lines of industrial rather than state divisions.

SECTION 4. Branches of the Communist Party made up of members who speak a foreign language, when there are ten or more of such branches, consisting of a total not less than 750 members, may form a Language Federation. Provided, that this rule shall not apply as to members of those Federations affiliating with the party at the time of its organization or within four months thereafter. No more than one Federation of the same language may exist in the party.

SECTION 5. All language branches shall join and become part of the Federations of their language, if such a Federation exists.

SECTION 6. All subsidiary units shall be combined in the Communist Party. Branches of the cities, states, districts and federations shall be units of the Communist Party.

V. Administration

SECTION 1. The supreme administrative body of the Communist Party shall be the convention of the party.

SECTION 2. Between the meetings of the conventions the supreme body shall be the Central Executive Committee elected by the convention. The Central Executive Committee shall consist of 15 members. The convention shall also elect five alternates who shall take their places as members of the Central Executive Committee in case of vacancies in the order of their vote.

SECTION 3. The Central Executive Committee shall elect from its members a subcommittee of five members, who together with the executive secretary and the Editor of the central organ of the party shall be known as the Executive Council. The members of the Executive Council shall live in the city in which the National Headquarters are located or in adjacent cities. This Executive Council shall carry on the work of the party under the supervision of the Central Executive Committee.

SECTION 4. The Convention shall elect an Executive Secretary and the Editor of the central organ of the party. All other officials shall be appointed by the Central Executive Committee.

SECTION 5. The Executive Secretary and Editor shall conduct their work under the direction of the Central Executive Committee.

SECTION 6. The supreme administrative power of the State, District, Federation or City units shall be vested in the conventions of these respective units. Conventions of the State or District Organization shall be held in May or June each year.

SECTION 7. Between conventions of the district, state and federations the Central Executive Committee of these organizations shall be the supreme bodies.

SECTION 8. The Central Executive Committee of these organizations shall in each case be elected by the conventions, which shall also determine the number of members.

SECTION 9. The City Central Committee shall consist of delegates elected by the branches upon the basis of proportional representation. They shall meet at least once each month. The City Central Committees shall elect their executive committees and Executive Officers.

SECTION 10. Each Federation shall elect a Translator-Secretary, who shall have an office in the National Headquarters and whose salary shall be paid by

the National Organization. Translator-Secretaries are the representatives of their organizations in the National Headquarters, and shall serve as mediums of communication. They shall submit monthly to the Executive Secretary and the State and District Organizations a statement showing all the dues stamps sold during the previous month. Translator-Secretaries shall not be eligible to membership in the Central Executive Committee but shall meet with the Committee and the Executive Council and have a voice but no vote.

VI. Dues

SECTION 1. Each applicant for membership shall pay an initiation fee of fifty cents, which shall be receipted for by an initiation stamp furnished by the National Organization. The fifty cents shall be divided between the branch and City Central Committee. Where there is no City Central Committee its share shall be paid to the State or District Organization.

SECTION 2. Each member shall pay forty cents per month in dues. Stamps shall be sold to the State or District Organization at fifteen cents; State or District Organizations shall sell stamps to the City Central Committees and branches in cases where there are no City Committees at twenty-five cents; City Central Committees shall sell stamps to branches at thirty cents.

SECTION 3. Branches of Language Federations shall purchase their dues stamps through their Federations. Translator-Secretaries shall pay ten cents per stamp to the National Organization and shall remit to each State or District Organization ten cents for each stamp sold for each month. Where a City Central Committee exists the State or District Organization shall remit five cents of this amount to the City Central Committee. Members of Language Federation branches pay forty cents per stamp, ten cents going to the branch and ten cents to the federation.

SECTION 4. Special assessment may be levied by the National Organization, Federations or the Central Executive Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases such special assessment stamps.

SECTION 5. Husband and wife belonging to the same branch may purchase dual stamps, which shall be sold at the same price as the regular stamps. Special assessments must be paid by both husband and wife.

SECTION 6. Members unable to pay dues on account of unemployment, strikes, sickness or for similar reasons shall, upon application to their financial secretary, be furnished exempt stamps. Provided that no State or District Organization or Federation shall be allowed exempt stamps in a proportion greater than 5 percent of its monthly purchase of regular stamps.

SECTION 7. Members who are three months in arrears in payment of their dues shall cease to be members of the party in good standing. Members who are six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls. No member shall pay dues in advance for a period of more than three months.

VII. Discipline

SECTION 1. All decisions of the governing bodies of the party shall be binding upon the membership and subordinate units of the organizations.

SECTION 2. Any member or organization violating the decisions of the party shall be subject to expulsion by the organization which has jurisdiction. Charges against members shall be made before branches, subject to appeal by either side to the City Central Committee or State or District Organization where there is no City Central Committee. Charges against the branches shall be made before the City Central Committee, or where there is no City Central Committee, before the State or District Organization. Decisions of the City Central Committee in the case of branches shall be subject to revision by the State or District Organization. Charges against State or District Organizations shall be made before the Central Executive Committee. When a City Central Committee expels a Federation branch, the branch shall have the right to present its case to the Central Executive Committee of the Federation. If the Central Executive Committee of the Federation decides to that effect it may bring an appeal for reinstatement before the Central Executive Committee of the party, which shall make final disposition of the matter.

SECTION 3. Members and branches of the Federation shall be subject to the discipline of the Federation. Branches expelled by the Federation shall have the right to appeal to the City Central Committee, or, when there is no City Central Committee, to the State or District Organization. If the City Central Committee or the State or District Organization does not uphold the expulsion the

matter shall be referred to the Central Committee upon documentary evidence, and if the decision of the City Central Committee or State or District Organization is upheld, the branch shall be reinstated as a branch of the Federation.

SECTION 4. Each unit of the party organization shall restrict its activities to the territory it represents.

SECTION 5. A member who desires to transfer his membership to another branch shall secure a transfer card from the financial secretary of his branch. No branch shall receive a member from another branch without such a transferral card, and upon presentation of the transfer card the secretary of the branch receiving the same shall make inquiry about the standing of the member to the secretary issuing the card.

SECTION 6. All party units shall use uniform application cards, dues books and accounting records, which shall be printed by the National Organization.

SECTION 7. All employees of the party must be party members.

VIII. Headquarters

SECTION 1. The National Headquarters of the party shall be located in Chicago. In an emergency District or State Office may be used as the National Headquarters.

IX. Qualifications

SECTION 1. Members of the Central Executive Committee, the Executive Secretary, Editor, International Delegates and International secretary and all candidates for political office must have been members of the party for two years at the time of their election or nomination. Those shall be eligible to election to party offices or nomination to public office on June 1, 1920, who join the Communist Party before January 1, 1920. All who state their intention of joining the Communist Party shall be eligible at this convention.

X. Conventions

SECTION 1. National Conventions shall be held annually during the month of June, the specific date and place to be determined by the Central Executive Committee. The Central Executive Committee may call Emergency Conventions, and such conventions may also be called by referendum vote.

SECTION 2. Representation at the National Convention shall be upon the basis of one delegate for each 500 members or major fraction thereof; provided, that when the number of delegates would exceed a total of 200 the Central Executive Committee shall increase the basis of representation so that the number of delegates shall not exceed that figure.

SECTION 3. Delegates shall be apportioned to the State or District Organizations on the basis of one delegate for each such organization, and the apportionment of the balance on the basis of the average membership for the six months prior to the issue of the call for the convention. Delegates shall be elected at the Convention of the State or District Organization.

SECTION 4. Delegates to the National Convention shall be paid their traveling expenses and a per diem of \$5.00.

SECTION 5. The call for the convention and the apportionment of delegates shall be published not later than April 1.

XI. Referendum and Recall

SECTION 1. Referendums on the question of party platform policy or constitution shall be held upon the petition of twenty-five or more branches representing 5 percent of the membership; (2) or by initiative of the Central Executive Committee; (3) or by initiative of the National Convention.

SECTION 2. All officers of the National Organization or those elected to public office shall be subject to recall upon initiative petition of twenty-five or more branches, representing 5 percent of the membership. A recall vote of the membership may also be initiated by the Central Executive Committee.

SECTION 3. Each motion and resolution shall be printed in the official bulletin and remain open for ninety days from the date of first publication, and, if it has not received the requisite number of seconds, it shall be abandoned. The vote on each referendum shall close sixty days after its submission.

SECTION 4. Referendums shall be submitted without preamble or comment, but the party press shall be open for discussion of the question involved during the time the referendum is pending.

XII. International Delegate and Secretary

SECTION 1. Delegates to the International Congress and alternates and an International Secretary and alternate shall be elected by the convention.

Schedule

Any branch of the Socialist Party or Socialist Labor Party which endorses the program and constitution of the Communist Party and applies for a charter before January 1, 1920, shall be accepted as a branch.

The provisions of Article III, section 4, shall not be enforced until after December 1, 1919, except as to the two signatures.

Recommendation

That this convention authorize the secretary immediately to issue a Special Organization Stamp to sell at fifty cents to create a fund for the organization of the party.

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY—1919

When the Socialist Party Convention met on August 30, 1919, certain left-wing delegates presented themselves to that convention as delegates. The credentials committee of the Socialist Party refused to seat these delegates and they were excluded from the convention. These delegates then appointed a committee of five to meet with the organization committee of the Communist Party for the purpose of seeking unity, but the negotiations came to nothing. The delegates then organized themselves into a Communist Labor Party Convention. The convention elected Alfred D. Wagenknecht as executive secretary, and the following as members of the national executive committee:⁷

Max Bedacht
Alexander Bilan
Jack Carney
L. E. Katterfield
Edward I. Lindgren

The following platform and program were adopted:⁸

PLATFORM AND PROGRAM COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

Platform

(1) The Communist Labor Party of the United States of America declares itself in full harmony with the revolutionary working-class parties of all countries and stands by the principles stated by the Third International formed at Moscow.

(2) With them it thoroughly appreciates the complete development of capitalism into its present form of Capitalist Imperialism with its dictatorship of the capitalist class and its absolute suppression of the working class.

(3) With them it also fully realizes the crying need for an immediate change in the social system; it realizes that the time for parleying and compromise has passed; and that now it is only the question whether all power remains in the hands of capitalist or is taken by the working class.

(4) The Communist Labor Party proposes the organization of the workers as a class, the overthrow of capitalist rule, and the conquest of political power by the workers. The workers, organized as the ruling class, shall, through their government, make and enforce the laws; they shall own and control land, factories, mills, mines, transportation systems, and financial institutions. All power to the workers.

(5) The Communist Labor Party has as its ultimate aim: The abolition of the present system of production, in which the working class is mercilessly exploited, and the creation of an industrial republic wherein the machinery of production shall be socialized so as to guarantee to the workers the full social value of the product of their toil.

(6) To this end we ask the workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party for the conquest of political power to establish a government adapted to the Communist transformation.

Party and Labor Program

Part I

The Communist Labor Party of America declares itself in complete accord with the principles of Communism, as laid down in the Manifesto of the Third International formed at Moscow.

⁷ Lusk Committee Reports, vol. I, p. 801.

⁸ Ibid., p. 809.

In essence, these principles are as follows:

(1) The present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole system of world capitalism. Unless capitalism is replaced by the rule of the working class, world civilization will collapse.

(2) The working class must organize and train itself for the capture of state power. This capture means the establishment of the new working-class government machinery, in place of the state machinery of the capitalists.

(3) This new working-class government—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—will reorganize society on the basis of Communism, and accomplish the transition from Capitalism to the Communist Commonwealth.

Communist society is not like the present fraudulent capitalist democracy—which, with all its pretensions to equality, is merely a disguise for the rule of the financial oligarchy—but it is a proletarian democracy, based on the control of industry and the state by the workers, who are thereby free to work out their own destiny. It does not mean, capitalist institutions of government, which are controlled by the great financial and industrial interests, but organs of administration created and controlled by the masses themselves; such as, for example, the Soviets of Russia.

(4) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat shall transfer private property in the means of production and distribution to the working-class government, to be administered by the workers themselves. It shall nationalize the great trusts and financial institutions. It shall abolish capitalist agricultural production.

(5) The present world situation demands that the revolutionary working class movements of all countries shall closely unite.

(6) The most important means of capturing state power for the workers is the action of the masses, proceeding from the place where the workers are gathered together—in the shops and factories. The use of the political machinery of the capitalist state for this purpose is only secondary.

(7) In those countries in which there is a possibility for the workers to use this machinery in the class struggle, they have, in the past, made effective use of it as a means of propaganda, and of defense. In all countries where the conditions for a working-class revolution are not ripe, the same process must go on.

(8) We must rally all groups and proletarian organizations which have manifested and developed tendencies leading in the direction above indicated, and support and encourage the working class in every phase of its struggle against capitalism.

Part II

(1) The economic conditions in every country determine the form of organization and method of propaganda to be adopted. In order efficiently to organize our movement here, we must clearly understand the political and economic structure of the United States.

(2) Although the United States is called a political democracy there is no opportunity whatever for the working class through the regular political machinery to effectively oppose the will of the capitalist class.

(3) The years of Socialist activity on the political field have brought no increase of power to the workers. Even the million votes piled up by the Socialist Party in 1912 left the Party without any proportionate representation. The Supreme Court, which is the only body in any Government in the world with the power to review legislation passed by the popular representative assembly, would be able to obstruct the will of the working class even if Congress registered it, which it does not. The Constitution, framed by the capitalist class for the benefit of the capitalist class, cannot be amended in the workers' interest, no matter how large a majority may desire it.

(4) Although all the laws and institutions of government are framed and administered by the capitalists in their own interests, the capitalists themselves refuse to be bound by these laws or submit to these institutions whenever they conflict with these interests. The invasion of Russia, the raids into Mexico, the suppression of governments in Central America, and the Caribbean, the innumerable wars against working class revolutions now being carried on—all those actions have been undertaken by the Administration without asking the consent even of Congress. The appointment by the President of a Council of National Defense, the War Labor Board, and other extra constitutional governing bodies without the consent of Congress, is a direct violation of the fundamental law of republican government. The licensing by the Department of Justice of antilabor **strikebreaking groups of employers**—such as the National Security League,

the American Defense Society, the Knights of Liberty, the American Protective League—whose express purpose was the crushing of labor organization, and all class activities of the workers, and who inaugurated in this country a reign of terror similar to that of the Black Hundreds in Russia—was entirely opposed to the principles of the American government.

(5) Moreover, the War and its aftermath have demonstrated that governing power does not reside in the regularly elected, or even the appointed officials and legislative bodies. In every State, county and city in the Union, the so-called "police power" is shown to be superior to every law. In Minnesota, Wisconsin, and many other states, so-called Public Safety Commissions and similar organizations were constituted by authority of the Governors, made up of representatives of Chambers of Commerce and Employers' Associations, which usurped the powers of Legislatures and municipal administrations.

(6) Not one of the great teachers of scientific Socialism has ever said that it is possible to achieve the Social Revolution by the ballot.

(7) However, we do not ignore the value of voting, or of electing candidates to public office, so long as these are of assistance to the workers in their economic struggle. Political campaigns, and the election of public officials, provide opportunities for showing up capitalist democracy, educating the workers to a realization of their class position, and of demonstrating the necessity for the overthrow of the capitalist system. But it must be clearly emphasized that the chance of winning even advanced reforms of the present capitalist system at the polls is extremely remote; and even if it were possible, these reforms would not weaken the capitalist system.

Part III

(1) In America the capitalist class has never had a feudal aristocracy to combat, but has always been free to concentrate its power against the working class. This has resulted in the development of the American capitalist class wholly out of proportion to the corresponding development in other countries. By their absolute control of the agencies of publicity and education, the capitalists have gained a control over the political machinery which is impossible to break by resorting to this machinery.

(2) Moreover, in America there is a highly developed Labor movement. This makes it impossible to accomplish the overthrow of capitalism except through the agency of the organized workers.

Furthermore, there is in America a centralized economic organization of the capitalist class which is a unit in its battle with the working class, and which can be opposed only by a centralized economic organization of the workers.

(3) The economic conditions of society, as Marx foretold, are pushing the workers toward forms of organization which are, by the very nature of things, forced into activity on the industrial field with a political aim—the overthrow of capitalism.

(4) It is our duty as Communists to help this process, to hasten it, by supporting all efforts of the workers to create a centralized revolutionary industrial organization. It is our duty as Communists, who understand the class struggle, to point out to the workers that upon the workers alone depends their own emancipation and that it is impossible to accomplish this through capitalist political machinery, but only by the exercise of their united economic power.

Program

(1) We favor international alliance of The Communist Labor Party only with the Communist groups of other countries, those which have affiliated with the Communist International.

(2) We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle.

(3) We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle, that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchical or democratic-republican, and to replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the Communist transformation.

(4) Communist platforms, being based on the class struggle, and recognizing that this is the historical period of the Social Revolution, can contain only one demand: The establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

(5) We favor organized party activity and cooperation with class conscious industrial unions, in order to unify industrial and political class conscious propaganda and action. Locals and branches shall organize shop branches, to

conduct the Communist propaganda and organization in the shops and to encourage the workers to organize in One Big Union.

(6) The party shall propagandize industrial unionism and industrial union organization, pointing out their revolutionary nature and possibilities.

(7) The party shall make the great industrial battles its major campaigns, to show the value of the strike as a political weapon.

(8) The party shall maintain strict control over all members elected to public office—not only the local organizations, but the National Executive Committee. All public officials who refuse to accept the decisions of the party shall be immediately expelled.

(9) In order that the party shall be a centralized organization, capable of united action, no autonomous groups or federations independent of the will of the entire party shall be permitted.

(10) All party papers and publications endorsed by the party, and all educational and propaganda institutions endorsed by the party, shall be owned and controlled by the regular party organization.

(11) Party platforms, propaganda, dues and methods of organization shall be standardized.

Special Report on Labor Organization

The purpose of the party is to create a unified revolutionary working-class movement in America.

The European war has speeded up social and industrial evolution to such a degree that capitalism throughout the world can no longer contain within itself the vast forces it has created. The end of the capitalist system is in sight. In Europe it is already tottering and crashing down, and the proletarian revolutions there show that the workers are at the same time becoming conscious of their power. The capitalists themselves admit that the collapse of European capitalism and the rise of the revolutionary working class abroad cannot help but drag American capitalism into the all-embracing ruin.

In this crisis the American working class is facing an alternative. Either the workers will be unprepared, in which case they will be reduced to abject slavery, or they will be sufficiently conscious and sufficiently organized to save society by reconstructing it in accordance with the principles of Communism.

II

(1) By the term "revolutionary industrial unionism" is meant the organization of the workers into unions by industries with a revolutionary aim and purpose; that is to say, a purpose not merely to defend or strengthen the status of the workers as wage earners, but to gain control of industry.

(2) In any mention of revolutionary industrial unionism in this country, there must be recognized the immense effect upon the American labor movement of the propaganda and example of the Industrial Workers of the World, whose long and valiant struggles and heroic sacrifices in the class war have earned the respect and affection of all workers everywhere. We greet the revolutionary industrial proletariat of America, and pledge them our wholehearted support and cooperation in their struggles against the capitalist class. Elsewhere in the organized Labor movement a new tendency has recently manifested itself as illustrated by the Seattle and Winnipeg strikes, the One Big Union and Shop Committee movements in Canada and the West, and the numerous strikes all over the country of the rank and file, which are proceeding without the authority of the old reactionary Trade Union officials, and even against their orders. This tendency, an impulse of the workers toward unity for common action across the lines of craft divisions, if carried to its logical conclusion would inevitably lead to workers' control of industry.

(3) This revolt of the rank and file must not be allowed to end in the disorganization of the ranks of organized labor. We must help to keep the workers together, and through rank and file control of the Unions, assist the process of uniting all workers in One Big Union.

(4) With this purpose in view, the Communist Labor Party welcomes and supports, in whatever labor organization found, any tendency toward revolutionary industrial unionism. We urge all our members to join industrial unions. Where the job control of the reactionary craft unions compels them to become members of these craft unions, they shall also join an industrial organization, if one exists. In districts where there are no industrial unions, our members shall take steps to organize one.

III

To Labor and Labor alone is industry responsible. Without the power of Labor, industry could not function. The need of the hour is that Labor recognize the necessity of organization and education. This cannot be achieved by attempting to influence the leaders of the Labor movement, as has been clearly shown by the actions of the recent Convention of the American Federation of Labor. It can only be done by getting the workers on the job to come together and discuss the vital problems of industry.

(3) Because of the industrial crisis created by the World War, together with the breakdown of industry following the cessation of hostilities, and the interruption of the processes of exchange and distribution, there is great dissatisfaction among the workers. But they can find no means of dealing with the situation. Their unions have refused to take any steps to meet the grave problems of today; and, moreover, they obstruct all efforts of the rank and file to find some way by which the workers can act.

(4) We suggest that some plan of labor organization be inaugurated along the lines of the Shop Steward and Shop Committee movements. These Committees can serve as a spur or check upon the officials of the Unions; they will necessarily reflect the spirit and wishes of the rank and file, and will educate the workers on the job in preparation for the taking over of industry.

Recommendations

We recommend the following measures:

(1) That all locals shall elect committees on labor organization, composed so far as is possible of members of Labor Unions, whose functions shall be:

(a) To initiate, or support, the creation of shop committees in every industry in their district, the uniting of these committees in industrial councils, district councils, and the central council of all industries.

(b) To propagandize and assist in the combining of craft unions, by industries, in one big union.

(c) To bring together in the centers of party activity—locals and branches—delegates from factories and shops to discuss tactics and policies of conducting the class struggle.

(d) To propagandize directly among the workers on the job the principles of communism, and educate them to a realization of their class position.

(e) To find a common basis for the uniting of all existing economic and political organizations based on the class struggle.

(f) To mobilize all members who can serve as organizers to fill the demand for men and women who can organize bodies of workers along the lines indicated above.

(g) To direct the activities of local party organizations in assisting the workers wholeheartedly in their industrial battles, and making use of these battles as opportunities for educating the workers.

(2) That a national committee on labor organization be elected by this Convention, which shall cooperate with the local committees above-mentioned. In addition, the national committee shall be charged with the task of mobilizing national support for strikes of national importance, and shall endeavor to give these a political character.

(a) It shall collect information concerning the revolutionary labor movement from the different sections of the country, and from other countries, and through a press service to labor and Socialist papers, shall spread this information to all parts of the country.

(b) It shall mobilize on a national scale all members who can serve as propagandists and organizers who can not only teach, but actually help to put into practice, the principles of revolutionary industrial unionism and communism.

UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY—1920

On January 12, 1920, the president of the executive committee of the Communist International addressed a communication to the central committee of the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party on the necessity of immediate unification.⁹ In February 1920, negotiations began between the two parties. Months of negotiations resulted in a split within the ranks of the Communist Party of America. A convention lasting 7 days was held in May 1920 at Bridgman, Mich., and resulted in the formation of the United Communist Party by merging the group splintered from the Communist Party of America with the Communist Labor Party.

The following constitution was adopted:¹⁰

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY

Article I. Name, Purpose and Emblem

SECTION 1. The name of this organization shall be the United Communist Party of America. It is the American Section of the Communist International.

SECTION 2. The United Communist Party of America is the organization of the vanguard of the class-conscious workers. Its purpose is the education and organization of the workers for the overthrow of the capitalist state, establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, abolition of the capitalist system and the development of a Communist society.

SECTION 3. The emblem of the party shall be a hammer, sickle and sheaves of wheat above the words "All Power to the Workers," surrounded by a circular margin with the words, "The United Communist Party of America" and "The Communist International."

Article II. Membership

SECTION 1. Any person who accepts the principles and tactics of the party and of the Communist International, agrees to submit to the party discipline and to engage actively in its work, shall be eligible for membership, provided he has severed connection with all other political organizations.

SECTION 2. Applicants must be accepted with due care and only on recommendation of two persons who have been members for at least three months, except in newly organized groups in new territory. Every applicant shall be on probation for two months with a voice but no vote. Before being admitted to full membership the applicant must familiarize himself with the program and constitution of the party. Applicants can be accepted only by unanimous vote of the group to which application is made. Whenever practical, applicants shall be assigned to recruiting groups during the period of probation.

SECTION 3. Applicants shall pay an initiation fee of one dollar and monthly dues of 75 cents. Dues shall be paid during the probation period.

SECTION 4. Members may transfer from one party unit to another only upon permission from the party unit to which they belong. The unit granting the transfer shall notify the unit to which the member transfers through regular party channels.

SECTION 5. No member of the party shall accept or hold any appointive public office, honorary or remunerative, otherwise than through civil service, nor enter the service of the government in any way except through legal compulsion. No member shall be a candidate for any public office except by instructions of the party.

⁹ Fish Committee Reports, pt. II, vol. 3, pp. 189-191.

¹⁰ Lusk Committee Reports, vol. II, p. 1892.

- SECTION 6. Members of the party who are writers, speakers, and artists shall, so far as possible, place their services at the disposal of the party. Any member using his training in those lines detrimentally to the party shall be disciplined.

Article III. Units of Organizations

SECTION 1. The basic units of the party shall be groups of approximately ten members, and wherever possible, not less than five members.

SECTION 2. Each party group shall elect a group organizer to serve as connecting link between the group and the unit of party above it.

SECTION 3. Not more than ten groups shall constitute a branch and not over ten branches a section; not over ten sections a subdistrict and not over ten subdistricts a district. Districts shall be organized around the industrial centers, rather than along state lines.

SECTION 4. Party members working in the same industrial plants shall, so far as is practical, be organized into shop units. Groups may also be organized in unions and other working-class organizations.

SECTION 5. Groups may consist of members speaking the same language, when this does not interfere with the organization of industrial groups.

Article IV. Administration

SECTION 1. The supreme administrative body of the party shall be the convention of the party.

SECTION 2. Between conventions the supreme body of the party shall be the Central Executive Committee, which shall consist of ten members elected by the convention. They shall live in the city in which the national headquarters is located or in adjacent cities. The convention shall also elect ten alternates for the C. E. C. In case the list of alternates is exhausted the C. E. C. shall have power to fill the vacancies.

SECTION 3. The Central Executive Committee shall appoint such party officials as are necessary to conduct the work of the party. It shall carry on the propaganda, organization, and educational work of the party; and publish the party papers, supplying each member with a copy of the official party paper in the respective languages free of charge.

The Committee shall have power to—

(a) Divide the country into districts.

(b) Appoint district organizers as the representatives of the national organization in these districts.

SECTION 4. It shall be the duty of the Central Executive Committee to make a monthly report of its activities and of party finances.

SECTION 5. The administrative power of the District shall be vested in the district conventions to be held at least once each year. Between the district conventions the work of administration shall be vested in a district executive committee elected by the district convention. The district executive committee shall supervise the work of the district organizer; it shall also appoint subdistrict organizers, subject to approval of the subdistrict committees.

SECTION 6. The administrative power of the subdistrict shall be vested in the subdistrict conventions, to be held once each six months. Between subdistrict conventions, the work of administration shall be vested in a subdistrict executive committee.

SECTION 7. Section committees shall consist of the branch organizers. The branch committees shall consist of the group organizers. The group organizers of a branch shall elect the branch organizer.

Article V. Language Federations

SECTION 1. In order that the party shall be a centralized organization capable of united action, no autonomous federations of language groups shall exist in the party.

SECTION 2. Branches made up of language groups may form subdistrict propaganda committees and these may be combined in district propaganda committees. These propaganda committees shall have power to devise plans for propaganda and agitation in their respective languages, which shall be carried out through the regular party channels.

SECTION 3. The C. E. C. of the party shall annually call a national conference of the respective language groups by request of district committees representing a majority of the language group. These conferences shall plan the work of

agitation and organization of the group on a national scale and elect the editors and organizers to carry on the work of the groups. Such editors and organizers shall work under the direction of the C. E. C. of the party.

SECTION 4. Should the organizers or editors elected by the language conference prove incompetent the C. E. C. may upon protest of district propaganda committees representing a majority of the language group, remove such officials and fill the positions by appointment.

SECTION 5. All language literature and official party papers shall be published by the C. E. C. of the party.

Article VI. Discipline

SECTION 1. Every unit of the party is responsible for the maintenance of party discipline over its members and subordinate groups. Members expelled from groups may appeal to the branch committee and subordinate units to the next higher unit. District organizers may appeal from the C. E. C. decision to the convention.

SECTION 2. Party policies shall be formulated by the convention and by the C. E. C. and all subordinate party units are bound by the decisions of convention and C. E. C. The work of the district and subdistrict committees is strictly limited to administration.

SECTION 3. All party units shall confine their activities to their respective territorial limits.

SECTION 4. The Central Executive Committee shall maintain discipline over its members and may remove any of its members by a unanimous vote of the remaining members of the committee.

SECTION 5. No unit of the party shall publish a party organ without the consent of the C. E. C.

SECTION 6. All papers published by the party shall be under the editorial control of the Central Executive Committee.

Article VII. Finance

SECTION 1. Applicants for membership shall pay initiation fee of one dollar, which shall be forwarded to the national organization.

SECTION 2. Monthly dues shall be seventy-five cents, which shall be paid into the treasury of the national organization. Dues shall be receipted for by dues stamps issued by the C. E. C.

SECTION 3. An organization stamp shall be issued by the C. E. C. which shall be used as receipts for special contributions from the membership.

SECTION 4. 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. The organization stamps shall be used to receipt for these assessments.

SECTION 5. Husband and wife belonging to the same group shall only be obligated to pay seventy-five cents dues monthly.

SECTION 6. Unemployed and imprisoned members shall be so reported by the group organizer and shall not be considered in bad standing because of non-payment of dues.

SECTION 7. Dues shall be paid monthly by every member. No advance payment shall be made and members who have not paid dues by the first of the succeeding month for the previous month shall be considered in bad standing. Members three months in arrears shall be excluded from their group.

Article VIII. Conventions

SECTION 1. A national convention shall be held annually at a time and place determined upon by the Central Executive Committee. The C. E. C. may call emergency conventions when requested by district committees representing a majority of the membership. In case the C. E. C. does not act, district executive committees may send delegates to a conference for the purpose of calling the convention.

SECTION 2. The number of delegates shall be determined by the C. E. C. according to the circumstances. Delegates shall be apportioned to districts in proportion to the membership.

SECTION 3. Districts shall apportion the delegates to subdivisions in such a manner that no subdivision shall elect more than one. Provided that such apportionment must be proportionate to the membership.

SECTION 4. Delegates to national conventions shall be paid railroad expenses and the same per diem as party officials.

SECTION 5. The convention call and apportionment of delegates must be issued not less than sixty days before the convention.

SECTION 6. When requested by any district committee or by five subdistrict committees, the C. E. C. shall submit propositions that are to come before the convention to every party group for discussion at the same time that the call for the convention is issued.

Article IX. International

SECTION 1. Delegates and alternates to the International Congress of the Communist International and an international secretary shall be elected by the convention.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA—1921

(Merger of Communist Party of America and United Communist Party)

On June 12, 1920, The Communist appeared as the official organ of the United Communist Party of America. A year later the remainder of the Communist Party of America merged with the United Communist Party. As a result of this merger, a new Constitution and Program of the Communist Party of America was adopted in May 1921, by the Joint Unity Convention of the Communist Party and the United Communist Party of America.

The constitution is as follows:¹¹

CONSTITUTION AND PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

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

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

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

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

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

Manufacturers are compelled to perfect their machinery. This perfection of machinery is complemented by a constant displacement of laborers, constituting the industrial reserve army. The inevitable extension of production brings with it a tremendous development of the productive forces, causes excess of supply over demand, overproduction, a glutting of the market, and recurring crises—resulting in a vicious circle. On the one hand, there is an excess of the means of production and products; on the other, laborers without employment and

¹¹ Report of Special Committee on Un-American Activities, appendix I, p. 214.

without means of existence. The two levers of production—machinery and labor power—are unable to function because capitalism prevents productive forces from working and the products from circulating unless they are first turned into capital. The oversupply of machinery and labor power hinders this process. The mode of production rebels against the form of exchange and the bourgeoisie stands convicted of incapacity to further manage their own social production forces.

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

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

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

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

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

There is only one power that can save humanity—the power of the proletariat. The old capitalist order is in decay. It can prevail no longer. The final outcome of the capitalist system of production is chaos. Only the great producing class, the working class, can bring order out of this chaos. The working class must destroy the capitalist state, root and branch. The working class must establish a dictatorship of the proletariat, based upon Soviet power, in order to crush both the resistance of capitalist counterrevolution at home and imperialist onslaught from without.

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

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

One form of this perversion is opportunism—social chauvinism, socialist in name but chauvinist in fact. These opportunists have betrayed the interests of the working class under the false watchwords of the defense of the fatherland.

Witness the imperialist world war. This opportunism takes root in the wanton robbing of colonial and weak nations by imperialist states. The superprofits acquired through this exploitation have enabled the bourgeoisie to bribe the leaders of the working class. They have placed the upper strata of the workers in a privileged position by guaranteeing them, in time of peace, a tolerable existence and by taking their leaders into the service of the bourgeoisie.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The establishment of a proletarian dictatorship is indispensable to the attainment of the social revolution. The proletariat must destroy the bourgeois state. It must establish a proletarian state, and thereby crush the resistance of the capitalists. In order to fulfill its great historic mission, the proletariat must

organize itself into an independent political party—a Communist Party—which opposes all the bourgeois and opportunist Socialistic parties. Such a party is the Communist Party of America. It leads the workers in the class struggle and reveals to the working masses the irreconcilable conflict of interest between the exploiters and the exploited. The Communist Party of America points out the historic significance and the essential conditions of the approaching social revolution. The Communist Party of America, the revolutionary vanguard of the proletarian movement, calls upon those of the toiling and exploited masses who accept its principles and tactics to join the ranks.

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

PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

“Between capitalist and Communist society there lies a period of revolutionary transformation from the former to the latter. A state of political transition corresponds to this period, and the state during this period can be no other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat” (Marx).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

POLITICAL ACTION

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

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

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

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

I. Mass Action

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

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

massed in large industries. Among its initial manifestations are mass strikes and mass demonstrations.

The Communist Party will educate and organize the working masses for such direct political action, i. e., mass strikes and mass demonstrations, and will lead them in these struggles. These struggles form the major campaign of the Communist Party. It is through such struggles that the working masses are prepared for the final conflict for power. This can be nothing else but a direct struggle between the armed forces of the capitalist state on the one hand, the armed forces of the proletarian revolution on the other. In these mass strikes and demonstrations large masses of workers are united. New tactics and a new ideology are developed. As these strikes grow in number and intensity, they acquire political character through unavoidable collision and open combat with the capitalist state which openly employs all its machinery to break their strikes and crush the workers' organizations. This finally results in armed insurrection aimed directly at the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. This objective cannot be attained unless the entire mass movement is under the control and guidance of the Communist Party.

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

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

Parliamentary Action

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

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

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

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

The American bourgeois state was quick to recognize the Communist parties in America as its historic and deadly enemies. It employed all its power in a vicious onslaught against them. Being outlawed, the Communist parties reorganized as underground, illegal parties. Thus, for the present, the Communist Party of America is prevented from participating in the elections under its own name.

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

Labor Unions and Labor Organizations

I

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

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

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

The policy of the IWW and similar organizations of artificially creating new industrial unions has been shown by experience to be mistaken. Such efforts result in isolating the most advanced workers from the main body of organized labor and strengthening the control of the trade unions by reactionary leaders. The members of the trade unions as a rule have not deserted the old unions for the new ones: The old unions become more reactionary when the revolutionary workers leave them. This situation represents a great danger, for without the support of the labor unions, the success of the proletarian revolution is impossible. The experience of the Hungarian and German revolutions fully establishes the fact that if the American labor unions remain under the control of such leaders as those who grossly betrayed the workers during the World War, and who serve the bourgeoisie against the workers in every struggle, they will be manipulated as deadly implements for the defeat of the proletarian revolution.

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

Bearing in mind the necessity for the closest contact of the Communists with those workers who have not yet reached a revolutionary understanding, and the intensity of the struggle which requires the closest unity and solidarity of the workers on the economic field, the Communists shall not foster artificial division in the labor movement, nor deliberately bring it about. On the contrary, they must use all measures, short of giving up the revolutionary task in the unions, not hesitating to employ strategy to avoid giving to the reactionary leaders the pretext to expel them. The Communists must not fear a split when

the circumstances leave them no alternative except to abandon the struggle to transform the unions into instruments of revolutionary action. Such a split may be carried out only when the Communists, by the incessant warfare against the reactionary leaders and their tactics, and by their wholehearted participation in the everyday struggles of the unions, have gained the confidence and the leadership of the workers, and are able to convince them that the split is occurring, not because of some remote revolutionary aim which they do not understand, but because it has been forced by the bureaucracy and because it is demanded by the concrete, immediate interests of the working class in the development of the economic struggle. Even in such cases, the Communists must act with the greatest care and consider the possibility of such a split resulting in separating them from the working masses.

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

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

II

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

III

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

The factory committees cannot be substituted for the trade unions. The trade unions are central fighting organs although they do not embrace such large masses of the workers as the factory committee, since these become accessible to all the workers of a given industry. The trade and industrial unions organize the workers on a national scale for the struggle to increase wages and shorten hours of labor. Factory committees fight for workers' control over production, in the struggle to resist the economic crisis, and embrace all the workers in a given industry. This division of tasks is the result of the historic development of the social revolution.

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

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

IV

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

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

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

The Communist Party will strive to inspire all the organizations of labor with the spirit of determined struggle, i. e., with the spirit of Communism. The Communist Party will practically subordinate these and thus create a mass organization, a basis for a powerful centralized organ of the proletarian struggle. The Communist Party will lead them all to one aim, the victory of the working class, through the dictatorship of the proletariat, to Communism.

Communist Party Nuclei

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

Agricultural Workers and Farmers

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. The small proprietors—small farmers. The land owned by them is usually heavily mortgaged. They satisfy the needs of their families and farming without working for wages. These three groups constitute the vast majority of the agrarian population of the United States. Cooperation of the city proletariat with the exploited agrarian masses is necessary to insure the success of the proletarian revolution.

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

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

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

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

Imperialism and the Colonial Question

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

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

The present world political situation has placed the question of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the foreground. All the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one point—the struggle of the entire bourgeois world against the Russian Soviet Republic, the heart of the world Soviet movement. The Russian Soviet Republic is drawing to itself more and more closely not only the Soviet movement, carried on by the vanguard of the proletariat of all countries, but also the national liberation movements of the colonial and subject countries. These have already been taught by bitter experience that salvation for them lies only in a union with the revolutionary proletariat and in the triumph of Soviet power over imperialism.

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

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

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Communist International, brought forth by the proletarian revolution in action, is the central organ of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle for the conquest of world power. The revolutionary movement is growing in every country. But this movement of the proletarian revolution is menaced with suppression by a coalition of capitalist states. The social-patriotic parties are uniting with each other to betray the revolution through service to the imperialist League of Nations. The coordination of proletarian action all over the world is imperative. The Communist International is an absolute necessity.

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

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

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

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

The Communist International calls the world proletariat to the final struggle against capitalism. The revolutionary epoch may last for years. The Communist International offers a program both immediate and ultimate in scope. The old order is in decay. The workers must prepare for the proletarian revolution and the Communist reconstruction of society.

CONSTITUTION OF THE C. P. OF A.

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

Article I. Name, Purpose, and Emblem

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

SECTION 2. The Communist Party of America is the vanguard of the working class, namely, its most advanced, class conscious, and therefore its most revolutionary part. Its purpose is to educate, direct, and lead the working class of America for the conquest of political power; to destroy the bourgeois state machinery; to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of Soviet power; to abolish the capitalist system and to introduce the Communist Society.

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

Article II. Membership

SECTION 1. Every person who accepts the principles and the tactics of the Communist Party and of the Communist International, and agrees to submit to the Party discipline and engage actively in its work, shall be eligible for membership, provided he is not a member or supporter of any other political organization.

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

SECTION 3. Applicants shall be vouched for by two persons who have been members of the Party for at least six consecutive months, except in newly organized groups in new territory. Every applicant shall be assigned to a recruiting group on probation for three months, with voice but no vote. The 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 member may transfer from one Party unit to another only upon certification of the Party unit to which he belongs. The unit granting the transfer must ascertain that the member asking for it has discharged all his Party obligations, and shall notify the unit to which the member transfers through the regular Party channels. He shall go to the group to which he is assigned by the Branch Executive Committee.

Article III. Form and Units of Organization

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

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

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

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

SECTION 5. Subdistricts shall consist of not more than ten Sections and of isolated Branches within a territory prescribed by the District Executive Committee.

SECTION 6. All subdistricts within a prescribed territory shall form a District. The limits of Districts are determined by the Central Executive Committee. Districts and subdistricts shall be organized within industrial sections regardless of political boundaries.

Article IV. Conventions

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION 5. Section, Subdistrict, 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, Subdistrict, and District electors' meetings may elect as their delegates members of the Party from any unit outside their territorial divisions.

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

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

Article V. Central Executive Committee

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Article VI. Districts and Subordinate Units

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

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

SECTION 3. District Conventions shall be held at least every six months. Every Section shall send delegates to the District Convention in proportion to the membership. The District Convention shall elect five members to the District Executive Committee. These five members, together with the District Organizer and the Subdistrict Organizers, shall constitute the District Executive Committee. The District Executive Committee shall supervise the activities of the District Organizer and shall regularly submit the minutes of its meetings to the Central Executive Committee. All actions of the District Convention are subject to approval by the Central Executive Committee.

SECTION 4. District Organizers shall appoint Subdistrict Organizers subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

SECTION 5. Subdistrict Organizers shall make remittances, financial statements and reports to the District Organizers once a week.

SECTION 6. The Subdistrict Organizer shall call meetings of the Subdistrict Executive Committee at least every two weeks. He shall make a complete report to the Subdistrict 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 Subdistrict Executive Committee shall consist of the Subdistrict Organizer, the Section Organizers and the Organizers of the isolated Branches having direct connections with the Subdistrict.

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, Subdistrict 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.

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 out of the regular Party treasury.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION 10. (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 11. District Language Conferences shall be called by the District Executive Committee to discuss educational and propaganda needs of their languages in the district and to elect five members to the District Language Bureaus. These, together with the Federation District Organizer and the Federation Subdistrict Organizer, shall constitute the District Language Bureau. The District Language Bureau shall carry on the work in their respective languages under the direction of the District Executive Committee.

Article VIII. Discipline

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

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

(1) Violation of the fundamental principles of the program and the Constitution of the Party.

(2) Refusal to accept and carry out the decisions of the Party.

(3) 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 investigating committee, are subject to discipline.

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

SECTION 6. Groups may be suspended, expelled, or reorganized by the Section Executive Committee subject to the approval of the Subdistrict Executive Committee.

SECTION 7. Branches may be suspended, expelled, or reorganized by the Subdistrict Executive Committee subject to the approval of the District Executive Committee.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Article IX. Finance

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

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

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

SECTION 4. Members unable to pay dues and assessments on account of sickness, unemployment, imprisonment, strikes or for similar reasons, shall be granted exemption upon application to the Branch Executive Committee. Group Organizers shall include such requests in their reports, and Branch Organizers shall report all exemptions granted every time they make their remittances for dues.

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

Article X. Party Press

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

SECTION 2. The Central Executive Committee shall issue a biweekly 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 Committees of the Party, or the Subdistrict Executive Committees (where there are two or more Sections in a city) shall organize Party Nuclei in the shops and unions.

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

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

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

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

SECTION 6. The Nuclei Organizers for the various unions shall be appointed by the Section or Subdistrict Executive Committees. These Organizers shall constitute the Industrial Department of the respective Party subdivisions.

SECTION 7. In order to coordinate and centralize the work of the Nuclei on a national scale, the CEC of the Party shall organize a National Industrial Department, and through it appoint District Nuclei Organizers, who shall be members *ex officio* (with voice but not vote) of the District Executive Committee.

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

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

Article II

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

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

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

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

THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA—1921

During the latter part of 1919, the Department of Justice submitted to the Department of Labor a great deal of evidence on the Communist Party of America. This resulted in the issuance of a large number of warrants for deportation hearings. The deportation cases were based upon the theory that the Communist Party of America advocated the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States, and, therefore, its officials and members who were aliens were subject to deportation as being members of an organization proscribed by the immigration laws.

As a result of the wholesale arrests and deportations, the Communist Party was forced underground. It began to stagnate.

The Third Congress of the Communist International (June, July 1921) issued instructions to the Communist Party of America to form an open political party that could operate legally. These instructions were passed on to the comrades by the following article that appeared in the August 1921 issue of *The Communist*:

The Communist International draws the attention of the Communist Party of America to the fact that the illegalized organization must not only form the ground for the collection and crystallization of active Communist forces, but it is their duty to try all ways and means to get out of their illegalized condition and into the open among the wide masses; that it is their duty to find the means and form to unite these masses politically through public activity into the struggle against American capitalism.

A movement began to create a legal Communist Party and a group consisting of Lovestone, Ruthenberg, Cannon, and others labored for the formation of some kind of legal party in order to approach the American workers. To carry out the mandates of the Communist International to form a so-called legal political party in the United States, the Communist Party of America organized what was known as the American Labor Alliance. The entire party membership was called upon to organize branches of the American Labor Alliance, a purely propaganda organization, as a first step in creating an open legal political party.

This did not end the factional fights over whether the Communist movement should remain underground. Finally the matter was submitted to Moscow for decision and with the support of Lenin and Trotsky it was decided that the Communist movement in the United States should be placed in the hands of a legalized party.

The Communist International transmitted a program for the guidance of the comrades in the United States. This program was entitled "Concerning the Next Task of the Communist Party of America (a Thesis by the Executive Committee of the Communist International)."

PARTY ORGANIZATION

Under the heading of "Party Organization" the instructions, in part, were:

1. The Communist Party of America is yet far from having satisfactory connections with the masses. The means of contact must be constructed with the greatest possible speed.

2. Connection with the masses essentially implies a public operation. Secret operations, even with the widest possible ramifications cannot be satisfactory mass operations. The means of public contact with the masses must be principally:

a. A legal press, including at least one daily English newspaper.

b. Organized groupings of sympathizers within the trade unions.

3. * * * The Government of the United States will not permit a "Communist Party" to exist, but it is compelled to permit "Parties" to exist in an otherwise almost unrestricted variety for the purpose of its own preservation * * * the state attempts, wherever it can, to exclude a truly revolutionary party from the public field. It attempts, first, to exterminate the revolutionary party if possible; or, second, to terrorize and corrupt the revolutionary party into subservience to capitalist law which makes revolution impossible; or, third, at least to confine the Revolutionary Party's operations to the narrow sphere that can be reached secretly. A Communist Party must defeat all these attempts. It must not be exterminated. It must unequivocally refuse to obey capitalist law, and must urge the working class to the violent destruction of the entire legal machinery. It is equally the duty of a Communist Party to defeat by any means that may be necessary the Capitalist Government's attempt to confine the revolutionary party to the underground channels in which it is even more concealed from the masses than it is from the Government. The program of the legal party will have to be somewhat restricted. Special measures and slogans which, while not stating the illegal Communist purpose, will objectively have the revolutionary effect upon the masses, must be adopted. The legal party must, at all times, go as far toward the Communist program as is possible while continuing a legal existence.

In December 1921, the Workers Party of America was formed as an open and legal organization while the Communist Party of America remained underground.

Gitlow, who at that time was one of the top functionaries of the Communist Party, gives, in his book, "I Confess," written after he had left the party, more detailed information on these instructions from the Communist International. He says that whatever the decision of the supreme clique of the Communist International, it was couched in such equivocal terms that, far from terminating the factional controversy, it merely added fuel to the fire. Further, Gitlow says that the Communist International sent three representatives to the United States to enforce its decision. The first was a Pole named Walecki, the second a Hungarian named Joseph Pogany who came to the United States under the name of John Pepper, and who, as John Pepper, played a major role in the American Communist movement. The third representative of the Communist International was Boris Reinstein, a druggist from Buffalo, who had been active in the Socialist Labor Party for many years, but who returned to his native Russia shortly after the overthrow of the Czar.

It is to be remembered that the Communist Party of America was an illegal underground organization and that the Communist International decided that in order to reach the masses there should be an open legal party in the United States. Nothing was said about abolishing the illegal organization.

CONVENTION CALL

The December 3, 1921, issue of the Toiler contained the following call to action:¹²

¹² Copy in committee files.

A CALL TO ACTION

CONVENTION CALL TO ORGANIZE THE WORKERS' PARTY OF AMERICA

A fierce class war is raging throughout the world. All capitalist governments are openly fighting the battles of the exploiters.

The struggle of the workers, even for the most elementary needs, is today met with merciless suppression, and develops into a fight for political power.

Inspired by the proletarian revolution in Russia, and impelled by the cowardly and traitorous conduct of their leaders, the workers of the world have organized the Communist International as an answer to the unholy alliance of their capitalist oppressors. Despite the bitter opposition of the capitalists and their labor lieutenants, the Communist International is growing rapidly. It has become a world power.

The American capitalists are using the present economic crises to increase their power of exploitation and oppression. The whole working class is being crushed under the iron heel of a brutal capitalist dictatorship.

At this critical moment we must have an organization that will not only valiantly defend the workers, but will also wage an aggressive struggle for the abolition of capitalism. Only a revolutionary workers' political party can fulfill this task.

Such a party will and must grow out of all political groups which stand on the platform of the militant class struggle. It is not necessary to create this desire for unity. It is already a living reality, grown out of the very struggle of the masses during the years since the ending of the world war and the inauguration of Soviet Rule in Russia.

With a full realization of these facts, the undersigned join in issuing this call for the organization of the Workers' Party of America, pledged to the following principles:

1. *The Workers' Republic:* To lead the working masses in the struggle for the abolition of capitalism, through the establishment of a government by the working class and for the working class—A WORKERS' REPUBLIC IN AMERICA.

2. *Political Action:* To participate in all political activities, including electoral campaigns, in order to utilize them for the purpose of carrying our messages to the masses. The elected representatives of the Workers' Party will unmask the fraudulent capitalist democracy and help mobilize the workers for the final struggle against their common enemy.

3. *The Labor Unions:* To develop the labor organizations into organs of militant struggle against capitalism, expose the reactionary labor bureaucrats, and educate the workers to militant unionism.

4. *A Fighting Party:* It shall be a party of militant, class-conscious workers, bound by discipline and organized on the basis of democratic centralization, with full power in the hands of the Central Executive Committee between conventions. The Central Executive Committee of the party shall also coordinate and direct the work of the party members in trade unions.

5. *Party Press:* The party's press shall be owned by the party, and all of its activities shall be under the control of the Central Executive Committee.

All working-class bodies that accept the above program are invited to join in the first national convention of the Workers' Party, to be held in New York City, December 23-26, 1921.

Working men and women! Help build the political party that will lead the oppressed masses to achieve their own complete emancipation! Let us raise the banner of the militant workers of the world with the immortal rallying cry of—

"WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE! YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS! YOU HAVE A WORLD TO GAIN!"

(Signed by)

AMERICAN LABOR ALLIANCE

Affiliated Organizations:

Finnish Socialist Federation,
Hungarian Workers' Federation,
Italian Workers' Federation,
Jewish Workers' Federation.

THE WORKERS COUNCIL OF THE U. S. A.

THE JEWISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSN.

(Arbeiter Bildungs Verein).

CONVENTION AND CONSTITUTION

A convention was held in New York City December 24-26, 1921; the Workers Party of America was created and the following constitution adopted:²³

CONSTITUTION OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

Article I—Name and Purpose

SECTION 1—The name of this organization shall be THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA. Its purpose shall be to educate and organize the working class for the abolition of capitalism through the establishment of the Workers' Republic.

Article II—Emblem

SECTION 1—The emblem of the party shall be the crossed hammer and sickle with a circular margin having at the top, "Workers Party of America," and under neath, "Workers of the World, Unite."

Article III—Membership

SECTION 1—Every person who accepts the principles and tactics of the Workers Party of America and agrees to submit to its discipline and engage actively in its work shall be eligible to membership.

SECTION 2—Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows:

"The undersigned declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of the Workers Party of America as expressed in its program and constitution, and agrees to submit to the discipline of the party and to engage actively in its work."

SECTION 3—Every member shall join a duly constituted branch of the party if such exists in the territory where he lives. Applicants living in territories where the Workers Party of America has no organized branch may become members at large.

SECTION 4—All applicants for membership must be endorsed and recommended by two persons who have been members for not less than three months. An applicant must be present in person when his application is acted upon.

SECTION 5—Applications for membership shall not be acted upon finally until one month after presentation. In the meantime, the applicant shall pay initiation fees and dues and shall attend all meetings. This rule shall not apply to charter members of new branches nor to those who make application to the newly organized branches during the first month.

Article IV—Units of Organization

SECTION 1—The basic units of organization of the Workers Party of America shall be:

(a) The Branch, to consist of not less than five members.

(b) Members-at-large, who shall be connected with the nearest district organization.

(c) Such special forms of local organization as may be authorized by the Central Executive Committee.

SECTION 2—Two or more branches in the same city shall form a City Central Committee. The City Central Committee may also include branches in adjacent territory.

²³ Report of Special Committee on Un-American Activities, appendix I, p. 239.

SECTION 3—The Central Executive Committee is empowered to designate the boundaries of the district organizations (which may include more than one state or parts of states), such boundaries to be fixed with regard to economic rather than state divisions. For the purpose of carrying on parliamentary activity, the City Central Committees and branches in any state shall constitute the state organization. The entire supervision of this activity shall be assigned by the Central Executive Committee to the district organization best equipped for this purpose.

Article V—Administration

SECTION 1—The supreme body of the Workers Party of America shall be the Convention of the Party.

SECTION 2—Between conventions the Central Executive Committee elected by the convention shall be the supreme body of the Party and shall direct all activities of the Party.

SECTION 3—The administrative power of the district shall be vested in the Annual District Convention.

SECTION 4—Between District Conventions the administrative powers of the district shall be vested in the District Committee elected by the District Convention. District organizers appointed by the Central Executive Committee shall be members of the District Committee and carry on their work under its supervision.

SECTION 5—The City Central Committee shall consist of delegates elected by the branches. Every branch shall have at least one delegate. The City Central Committee shall meet at least twice a month. The City Central Committee shall elect a secretary, executive committee, and such other officers as may be found necessary. The District Executive Committee reserves the right of approval of secretary.

Article VI—Conventions

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

SECTION 2—Emergency conventions, with all the powers of regular conventions, may be called by the Central Executive Committee or upon demand of District Organizations representing 40 percent of the membership.

SECTION 3—The number of delegates to the National Convention shall be determined by the Central Executive Committee. Delegates shall be apportioned to the districts according to membership based upon average dues paid for the period of four months prior to call for the convention. The districts shall apportion the number to be elected by city conventions on the same basis.

SECTION 4—Delegates to the national convention shall be elected by district conventions. Branches in organized cities shall elect delegates to a city convention which in turn shall elect the delegates to the district conventions. The number of delegates to which each branch is entitled shall be decided by the City Central Committee according to membership as above. When there is no city central organization the branch shall elect delegates directly to the district convention.

SECTION 5—City and district secretaries and organizers shall attend the conventions of their respective units and shall have a voice but no vote unless elected as delegates themselves.

SECTION 6—City and district conventions may elect as their delegates members of the Party from units 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 branch 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. District Committees may submit propositions to be included in the Agenda.

SECTION 8—Delegates to the National Convention shall be paid railroad expenses and a certain amount per diem to be determined by the Central Executive Committee.

Article VII—Central Executive Committee

SECTION 1—Between Conventions the Central Executive Committee shall be the supreme body of the Party and shall direct all its activities.

SECTION 2—The Central Executive Committee shall consist of seventeen members elected by the Convention. The Convention shall also elect seven alternates,

to fill vacancies in order of vote. When the list of alternates are exhausted the Central Executive Committee shall have the right of cooptation.

SECTION 3—The Central Executive Committee shall elect the Executive Secretary and Chairman of the Party, and all other officers.

SECTION 4—The Central Executive Committee shall appoint District Organizers and all national officials. It shall create subcommittees for the proper direction of its activities.

SECTION 5—The Central Executive Committee shall make a monthly report of the Party activities and of Party finances, itemized by districts.

SECTION 6—The Central Executive Committee shall divide the country into districts in accordance with Article IV, Section 3, provided that the boundary lines of the district shall not be changed within a period of four months prior to the national convention.

SECTION 7—A complete audit and accounting of all Party funds shall be made every six months.

SECTION 8—All press and propaganda activities shall be under the full control of the Central Executive Committee.

Article VIII—District and Subordinate Units

SECTION 1—The Central Executive Committee shall appoint District Organizers for each district.

SECTION 2—Every district organizer shall make complete reports to the District Executive Committee as to the general Party work in his district. He shall submit and carry out the instructions and decisions of the Central Executive Committee. He shall make remittance and financial statements regularly to the Central Executive Committee and shall also submit financial statements to the membership in his district at least once a month.

SECTION 3—District conventions shall be held within thirty days of the national convention. The district convention shall elect six members to the District Executive Committee.

SECTION 4—These six members, together with the District Organizer, who shall be a member of the District Executive Committee with voice and vote, shall supervise the activities of the district and shall regularly submit the minutes of their meetings to the Central Executive Committee. All actions of the District Committee are subject to review by the Central Executive Committee.

SECTION 5—The District Executive Committee shall determine the boundaries of the city locals.

SECTION 6—The City Central Committee shall consist of delegates representing branches in accordance with their relative memberships. Each branch shall be represented by at least one delegate. The City Central Committee shall have supervision of all activities in the local and shall make regular reports of its work to the District Executive Committee.

SECTION 7—The City Central Committee shall elect a city executive committee, consisting of from 5 to 7 members, which shall act for the city central committee between meetings.

SECTION 8—The Branch shall consist of members, as provided in Article III, Section 1. It shall elect an executive committee, branch organizer, delegates to the City Central Committee, and such officers as may be considered necessary.

Article IX—Language Sections

SECTION 1—Members speaking a common language other than English may organize into a "Language Branch."

SECTION 2—Language branches of the same language, with an aggregate membership of at least 400, shall be formed into a Language Section. There shall be only one section in each language, and all language branches must affiliate with their respective language sections.

SECTION 3—All language branches shall be integral parts of the party structure in their localities, and shall perform and carry out all Party functions and obligations.

SECTION 4—Shortly after Party Conventions, national language conferences shall be held. Those conferences shall formulate plans for education and propaganda in their respective languages, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee. All actions of these conferences shall be in strict conformity with the decisions of the Party Convention and the Central Executive Committee. Expenses of these conferences shall be borne by the language sections.

SECTION 5—The language section conference shall elect a bureau to administer its affairs and a suitable number of alternates. The bureau shall elect the editors and officers and shall supervise all activities of their respective language sections, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

SECTION 6—The Central Executive Committee shall have the right to disapprove the members elected by the conference to the language bureaus and fill such vacancies from among the alternates.

SECTION 7—The Central Executive Committee may appoint a fraternal member to every language section executive committee with voice but no vote.

SECTION 8—The bureau shall have the right to appoint district language section organizers subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee. All organizers shall work under the supervision of the Party District Organizers in the various districts.

SECTION 9 (a)—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.

SECTION 9 (b)—Language branches shall purchase their due stamps directly from their national bureau, which shall purchase due stamps from the Central Executive Committee at 30 cents each, and sell same to its branches at a price determined by the Language Section conference. The branches to sell due stamps to members at 50 cents. The national office shall remit to the district organization ten cents, and to the city local five cents for each stamp sold to language sections.

SECTION 9 (c)—The National Language Bureau shall account to the Central Executive Committee regularly for all funds entrusted to it and shall make regular financial reports to the Central Executive Committee regarding all the institutions under its control. Its accounts shall be subject to the audit of the Central Executive Committee. Special assessments may also be levied by the National Language Bureaus on the membership with the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

SECTION 10 (a)—Language Bureaus and Language Sections shall have no power to suspend, expel or reorganize affiliations. All disciplinary powers are vested exclusively in the regular Party organization machinery.

SECTION 10 (b)—Language Bureaus and Sections may recommend such suspension, expulsion or reorganization to the party units having jurisdiction.

Article X—Discipline

SECTION 1—All decisions of the governing bodies of the Party shall be binding upon the membership and subordinate units of the organization.

SECTION 2—Any member or organization violating the decisions of the Party shall be subject to suspension or expulsion by the organization which has jurisdiction. Charges against members shall be made before branches, subject to appeal by either side to the City Central Committee or to the District Executive Committee, where there is no city organization. Charges against a branch shall be made before the City Central Committee or before the District Executive Committee where there is no city organization. Decisions of the City Central Committee in the case of branches shall be subject to revision by the district organization. Charges against state or district organization shall be made before the Central Executive Committee.

SECTION 3—Each unit of the Party shall restrict its activities to the territory it represents.

SECTION 4—A member who desires to transfer his membership to another branch shall have a transfer card from the financial secretary or organizer of his branch. No branch shall receive a member from another branch without such transfer card and upon presentation of the card the secretary of the branch receiving same shall make inquiries about the standing of the member to the secretary issuing the card.

SECTION 5—All party units shall use uniform application cards, dues books and accounting records, which shall be printed by the National Organization.

SECTION 6—Any suspended or removed member of the Central Executive Committee shall have the right to appeal in writing or in person to the next National Party Convention.

Article XI—Dues

SECTION 1—Each applicant for membership shall pay initiation fees of fifty cents, which shall be received for by an initiation stamp furnished by the Cen-

tral Executive Committee. The entire sum shall go to the National Organization.

SECTION 2—Each member shall pay fifty cents per month in due stamps, which shall be sold to the state or district organizations at 25 cents. State or District Organizations shall sell stamps to the City Central Committee and to the branches where there is no city central committee at 35 cents. The City Central Committee shall sell stamps to branches at 40 cents.

SECTION 3—Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or Central Executive Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases such special assessment stamps.

SECTION 4—Husband and wife belonging to the same branch may purchase dual stamps, which shall be sold at the same price as the regular stamps. Special assessments must be paid by both husband and wife.

SECTION 5—Members unable to pay dues on account of unemployment, strikes, sickness or for similar reasons shall upon application to their financial secretary be furnished with exempt stamps. Provided that no state or district organization shall be allowed exempt stamps in a proportion greater than ten percent of its monthly purchases of regular stamps.

SECTION 6—Members who are three months in arrears in payment of their dues shall cease to be members of the Party in good standing. Members who are six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls. No member shall pay dues in advance for a period of more than three months.

Article XII—Headquarters

SECTION 1—The National Headquarters of the Party shall be located in the city designated by the Convention.

Article XIII—Qualifications

SECTION 1—Members of the Central Executive Committee, Executive Secretary, Editor, and all candidates for political office, must have been (a) members of the party for two years at the time of their nomination, or (b) members of a charter organization, or members of any organization affiliating as a body within sixty days after the first convention.

SECTION 2—One year's membership in the Party shall be necessary to qualify for membership on the District Executive Committee; six months for city central delegates and officers, three months (in the branch) for branch officers. This section shall not apply to branch officers or city central delegates of new branches.

AN OPEN PARTY AND AN UNDERGROUND PARTY

(Workers Party of America—Communist Party of America)

Shortly after the convention of the Workers Party of America, or on January 12, 1922, the Communist Party of America sent secret instructions which were binding on all their members, instructing them as to the part they were to play in the Workers Party so as to insure absolute control. These instructions established the fact that the Workers Party was controlled by the Communist International through its American Section, the Communist Party of America.

That the American Comrades were directed to affiliate with the open, legal organization, the Workers Party of America, is made clear by an official bulletin of the Communist Party of America released March 9, 1922. The following is quoted from that bulletin:

Number 2 (Workers Party of America) must be firmly controlled and directed by Number 1 (Communist Party of America). All policies as to principles and tactics of Number 2, as well as activities of the everyday struggle, must be discussed and decided upon by Number 1 before carried into action. This is as important for the lower units as it is for the higher committees. In order to establish a practical combination, the following rules are to be observed and carried out without delay: All members of Number 1 must join Number 2 and activities of the latter are to be broadened as extensively as possible. Every member of Number 1 must submit to iron discipline in both Number 1 and Number 2.

DOMINATION BY COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The dissension among the American Communists mentioned by Gitlow is apparent from a bulletin entitled "The issue between the minority and the party" issued by the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America in May 1922, wherein it was said that the minority faction of the Communist Party of America voted not to obey the instructions of the executive committee of the Communist International and that the executive committee of the Communist International made a final decision to the effect that every member must obey within a set time limit or stand expelled from the Communist Party of America and the Third International.

CONVENTION OF UNDERGROUND PARTY

As related by Gitlow, the Communist International sent three representatives to enforce their mandate. These representatives arrived shortly before the National Convention of the Communist Party of America. Being an illegal underground party, the convention of necessity, would also be illegal. Arrangements were made to hold the convention in the woods near Bridgman, Mich., and the time set for the latter part of August 1922. In addition to the three Comintern representatives, others who attended this convention were Benjamin

Gitlow, Louis E. Katterfield, Harry Winetsky, Charles E. Ruthenberg, Jay Lovestone, Bertram D. Wolfe, Edward Lindgren, Anthony Bimba, William F. Dunne, Rose Pastor Stokes, John J. Ballam, Shachno Epstein, and others. William Z. Foster, not openly a member of the Communist Party at that time, addressed the convention on the Trade Union Educational League. The convention came to a sudden end when State and Federal authorities raided the convention and arrested the Communist leaders.

WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA—1923

(Merger of Communist Party of America and Workers Party of America)

Faced with the prosecution and possible imprisonment of the top officials of its American section, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, on December 3, 1922, decided that the Communists in America should function as an open, legal party. When the legal Workers' Party met in convention in New York later that month, all elements were united and agreed to follow out the Comintern's decision. Three months later, on April 7, 1923, the Communist Party of America voted to dissolve and merge with the Workers' Party of America, and authorized the Workers' Party, when desirable, to adopt the name of the Communist Party of America.

However, the merger of the two Communist Parties and the elimination of the underground organization did not put an end to the everlasting disagreements among the top leadership—the constant bickering, open fighting, and behind-the-scenes maneuvering for control within the party. Although they accepted, without reservation, the right of the Russian Communists to boss them, the leading American Communists continued to fight among themselves as to who was to be their American boss.

TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

In 1920, William Z. Foster, who had led the disastrous strike in the steel industry in 1919, organized the Trade Union Educational League. Without funds and with but little following in the trade unions, his organization was destined to be a failure. However, Foster, with Earl Browder and Ella Reeve Bloor, made a trip to Moscow in 1921. (Foster had been employed by Sidney Hillman as organizer of his unsuccessful Amalgamated Textile Workers Union. Hillman sent Foster to represent this union at the Congress of the Red International Labor Union then being held in Moscow.) Foster, with Russian leaders, worked out a plan to capture the American Federation of Labor. Foster's Trade Union Educational League was accepted by the Russian Communists as the organization through which the Communists were to operate. Foster left Russia in the autumn of 1921, supplied with Soviet funds and with the full support of Moscow. On his return to the United States he joined the Communist Party, became secretary-treasurer of the Trade Union Educational League, and editor of its journal, the *Labor Herald*. He placed Earl Browder in the position of managing editor of the publication.

When Foster's effort to capture the American Federation of Labor failed he developed another ambition—to capture the Communist Party and become America's No. 1 Communist leader. By skillful manipulation, he finally obtained a majority of delegates to the national convention, elected a new central executive committee, and had himself designated as chairman of the party.

WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA—1925

The Daily Worker of August 18 and 19, 1925, carried a letter from the Communist International to the central executive committee of the Workers Party of America, directing that the Workers Party be reorganized. A convention was held in Chicago, August 21, 1925, and a resolution was passed on the Bolshevization of the party. One paragraph of the resolution reads:

The Central Executive Committee accepts in its entirety the special letter to the Party from the organization department of the Communist International and declares its opinion that this letter, which was drawn up with the cooperation of the American delegation, lays down the correct line in regard to the reorganization of the Party structure.¹⁴

CONSTITUTION OF WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY

The Daily Worker of September 19, 1925, contains the following proposed constitution of the Workers (Communist) Party:

Article 1. Name of the Party

SECTION 1. The name of this organization shall be the WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA, the American section of the Communist International.

Article 2. Emblem

SECTION 1. The emblem of the Party shall be the crossed hammer and sickle with a circular margin having at the top: "WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA" and underneath "WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE."

Article 3. Membership

SECTION 1. Every person who accepts the program and statutes of the Communist International and of the Workers (Communist) Party, who becomes a member of a basic suborganization of the Party, who is active in this organization, who subordinates himself to all the decisions of the Comintern and of the Party, and regularly pays his membership dues may be a member of the Party.

SECTION 2. Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows:

"The undersigned declares his adherence to the program and statutes of the Communist International and of the Workers (Communist) Party and agrees to submit to the discipline of the Party and to engage actively in its work."

At the time of being accepted as a member of the Party this pledge shall be read to the applicant who shall indicate his endorsement of same.

SECTION 3. New members must join a shop nucleus or a street nucleus (international branch) of the Party and the application must be accepted by a vote of the membership of the unit to which application is made and the acceptance ratified by the leading committee of the territorial division of the Party in which membership is held.

SECTION 4. Members who change their place of work, or in case they are members of an international branch, their place of residence, must secure a transfer card from the Party unit in which they have held membership and present this card to the unit to which they transfer. A duplicate of the transfer card

¹⁴ Fish Committee Reports, pt. II, vol. 8, p. 176.

given the member shall be sent to the leading committee of the territorial section from which the member transfers and transmitted by this committee to the territorial section to which the member transfers.

If the member transfers from one section of a city organization to another, the transfer card shall be transmitted thru the city executive committee; if the member transfers from one city in a district to another the transfer card shall be transmitted thru the district executive committee; if the member transfers from one district to another the transfer card shall be sent thru the Central Executive Committee.

SECTION 5. Members of the Party who desire to leave the country and go to another country must obtain the permission of the Central Executive Committee of the Party.

SECTION 6. Every member of the Party who is eligible to be a member of a trade-union must become a member of the union to which he is eligible.

Article 3. The Structure of the Party

SECTION 1. The Workers (Communist) Party, like all sections of the Comintern is built on the principle of democratic centralization. These principles are:

(a) Election of the subordinate as well as the upper party organs at general meetings of the Party members, conference and conventions of the Party.

(b) Regular reporting of the Party committees to their constituents.

(c) Acceptance and carrying out of the decisions of the higher Party committees by the lower, strict Party discipline, and immediate and exact application of the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and of the Executive Committee of the Party.

(d) Any Party committee whose activities extend over a certain area is considered superior to those Party organizations whose activity is limited only to certain parts of this area.

(e) The discussion on Party questions can be carried on by the members only until the proper Party committee has decided them. After a decision has been adopted at the Congress of the Comintern, the Party convention, or by the leading Party committee, it must be carried out unconditionally even if some of the members or some of the local organizations are not in agreement with the decision.

SECTION 2. The highest authority of each unit of the Party is the general meeting of Party members, conference, or Party convention.

SECTION 3. The membership meeting, conference, or Party convention elects the leading committee which acts as the leading Party organ in the interim between the membership meeting, conferences or conventions and conducts the work of the Party organization.

SECTION 4. The units of the Party organization shall be as follows:

(a) The shop nucleus, of which the leading committee is the nucleus bureau.

(b) The street nucleus (the international branch) of which the leading committee is the street nucleus bureau.

(c) In small cities having not more than two hundred members the shop nuclei and the street nuclei (international branches) shall send delegates to a city conference, or if the membership is not large a general membership meeting shall be held at which a city executive committee shall be elected.

(d) Larger cities shall be divided into sections and subsections. The shop nuclei and the street nuclei (international branches) in each of these sections and subsections shall hold conference of delegates which shall elect the section and subsection executive committee. The sections of the city organization shall hold conferences of delegates which shall elect the city executive committee, except in the headquarters city of a district organization in which case the District Executive Committee acts as the City Executive Committee.

(e) The city organization in each district shall send delegates to a conference which shall elect the district executive committee.

(f) The delegates from the district organization shall send delegates to the national convention which elects the Central Executive Committee.

SECTION 5. For the conduct of special work each leading committee organizes departments, such as the Agitprop Department, Organization Department, Trade Union Department, Women's Work Department, and such other departments, the need for which arises. These departments are subordinate to the leading committee and work in accordance with its instructions and carry out its decisions.

Article 4. The Shop Nucleus and the Street Nucleus

(International Branch)

SECTION 1. The basis of the Party organization is the shop nucleus (in factories, mines, workshop, offices, stores, agricultural enterprises, etc.) which all Party members working in these places must join. The nucleus must consist of at least three members. Newly organized shop nuclei must be endorsed by the leading committee of the territorial section in which the shop nuclei are organized.

SECTION 2. In factories where only one or two members are employed, these members are affiliated to the nearest working nucleus or form a factory nucleus jointly with the members working in neighboring factories.

SECTION 3. Party members who cannot be immediately affiliated with a shop nucleus, shall join the street nucleus (international branch) in the section of the city in which they reside.

SECTION 4. The nucleus is the organization which links up the Party with the workers and poor farmers. The tasks of the nucleus are to conduct Party work among the nonparty masses of workers and peasants by means of systematic communist agitation and propaganda, to recruit new members to distribute and sell Party literature, to issue a factory newspaper, to conduct cultural work, to discuss Party problems, to carry on the work of enlightenment and education of the Party members in the fundamental principles of Communism. The members of the nucleus should strive for all official positions in the workers' organizations in the factory, participate in all economic conflicts and demands of the employees, interpret these from the standpoint of the revolutionary class struggle and seek to win the leadership of all the struggles of the workers by tireless nucleus work.

SECTION 5. The street nucleus (international branch) conducts similar work among the workers living in that section of the city in which it is organized.

SECTION 6. The shop nucleus and street nucleus (international branch) elects a bureau to conduct its work. This bureau should consist of from three to five members and conducts all nucleus work, assigns it to the individual members of the nucleus or international branch, as, for instance, propaganda, distribution of papers, fraction work in the trade unions, shop committee work, work among women, defense work, connection with the youth nucleus, etc. The nucleus bureau is responsible for this work and makes periodical reports to the next higher committee.

SECTION 7. The shop nucleus or street nucleus (international branch) bureau elects an organizer-secretary, whose duty it is to maintain the connections between the shop nucleus or street nucleus (international branch) and the next higher committee, conduct the correspondence of the shop nucleus or street nucleus and to carry out the decisions of the bureau.

Article 5. Subsection, Sections and City Organizations

SECTION 1. In the small cities (of not more than two hundred members), the shop nuclei and street nuclei (international branches) shall each hold general membership meetings periodically, not less often than each three months. These membership meetings in January and July shall elect the city executive committee which shall direct the Party work in such cities.

SECTION 2. Larger cities shall be divided into sections by the city executive committee of such cities. The party members affiliated with the shop nuclei or street nuclei (international branches) in each section of such cities shall meet in a general membership meeting once each three months to discuss general Party problems. At the membership meetings held in January and July or at a special conference of elected delegates from the shop and street nuclei a section executive committee which shall direct the work of the Party in this section, shall be elected.

SECTION 3. In the very large cities such as New York and Chicago, the city shall be divided into sections and subsections. The shop nuclei and street nuclei (international branches) in each subsection shall hold periodic membership meetings in January and July, shall elect a subsection executive committee which shall direct the work of the Party in the subsection.

(b) There shall also be held periodic conferences of delegates from the shop nuclei and the street nuclei (international branches) in each section, and the conferences in January and July shall elect a section executive committee which shall direct the work of the Party in the section.

(c) In January and July of each year, there shall be held a conference of delegates elected by the section or subsection conferences (of representatives of the shop and street nuclei) in the city, which shall elect the city executive committee, except in those cities which are the headquarters of the district executive committee. In the latter cities, the district executive committee functions as the leading committee.

SECTION 4. The size of the subsection, section, and city executive committees, shall be determined by the respective conferences which elect these committees.

SECTION 5. As soon as the Party reorganization progresses so that at least 25 percent of the Party members are organized in shop nuclei, at least 50 percent of the members of the subsection, section and city executive committee shall be elected from the shop nuclei.

SECTION 6. The subsection, section, and city executive committees elect a secretary-organizer, who is responsible for the maintenance of connections with the next higher unit and for the execution of the decisions of the committees.

Article 6. Subdistrict Organization

SECTION 1. Wherever the district executive committee considers that the functioning of the Party organization will be improved, it may with the consent of the Central Executive Committee, create a subdistrict organization, through the combination of several cities. Such subdistrict organizations shall hold a conference of delegates from the city organizations or from shop nuclei and street nuclei (international branches) in the subdistrict in January and July of each year and elect a subdistrict executive committee.

SECTION 2. The number of members of which the subdistrict executive committee shall consist shall be determined by the subdistrict conference. Where the basic organizations of a subdistrict are made up of shop nuclei to an extent of at least twenty-five percent, fifty percent of the members of the subdistrict executive committee shall be elected from the shop nuclei.

SECTION 3. The subdistrict executive committee shall elect a secretary-organizer who shall maintain connections with the next higher unit of the Party, and execute the decisions of the subdistrict executive committee.

SECTION 4. In the city in which the subdistrict committee has its headquarters, the subdistrict committee acts as the executive committee of that city.

Article 7. District Organization

SECTION 1. The Central Executive Committee of the Party shall divide the country into districts. Once each year there shall be held a district conference made up of delegates from the city organizations in the district and such unattached nuclei and international branches as there may be in the district. This district conference shall elect a district executive committee. Special conferences may be called by the district executive committee or by the Central Executive Committee.

SECTION 2. The district conference also elects the District Control Committee which shall be charged with the control of the financial accounts of all the Party units in the district and which also deals with the appeals from the decisions of lower Party units against disciplinary action.

SECTION 3. The District Executive Committee is the highest Party authority in the district between district conferences. The District Executive Committee must be composed partially of factory workers and should include representatives of the chief towns of the district. The district committee determines how often full meetings of the district committee are to be held. But these must be held at least once a month. The district committee where composed in part of members not residing in the city of the district headquarters shall elect an executive council for the conduct of its current business.

SECTION 4. The District Executive Committee elects the district organizer in agreement with the Central Executive Committee. The district organizer must have been a member of the Party for two years. If a district paper is published the District Executive Committee elects the editor of the paper with the agreement of the Central Executive Committee.

SECTION 5. The district executive committee shall organize such departments for the conduct of the Party work as Agitprop, organization, trade-union work, woman's work, etc. As a rule members of the district committee should be placed at the head of these departments. These departments carry on their work under the direction of the District Executive Committee and submit periodic reports to the District Executive Committee.

SECTION 6. The District Executive Committee is responsible for its work to the district conference and the Central Executive Committee. It must submit a monthly report of its activities to the Central Executive Committee.

SECTION 7. In the city in which the District Executive Committee has its headquarters the city organization does not elect a city executive committee and the Party work in this city is directed by the District Executive Committee.

Article 8. The Party Conference

SECTION 1. The Central Executive Committee may, when it deems it necessary, call party conferences. The delegates to these party conferences from the districts shall be elected by the district committee. The Central Executive Committee may coopt individual party workers to attend the party conferences in an advisory capacity without voting rights.

SECTION 2. The decisions of the Party conference are not valid and binding on the party unless endorsed by the Central Executive Committee.

Article 9. The Party Convention

SECTION 1. The party convention is the highest authority of the Party and shall be called by the Central Executive Committee at least once a year in agreement with the executive committee of the Communist International.

SECTION 2. Special conventions which shall have all the powers of regular conventions may be called by the Central Executive Committee either at its own initiative and in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Communist International or at the initiative of the Communist International, or upon the demand of party organizations representing half the members of the Party. Special conventions, however, can only be called with the agreement of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

SECTION 3. The call for the national convention and the proposed agenda of the convention shall be submitted to the membership at least one month before the date of the convention.

SECTION 4. The number of delegates to the convention shall be determined by the Central Executive Committee. Delegates shall be apportioned to the districts in proportion to the membership to be decided in accordance with the provision of article 10 of this constitution.

SECTION 5. The party convention shall hear the reports of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Control Committee, decide the questions of Party program, formulate resolutions on all political, tactical, and organizational questions, elect the Central Executive Committee and the Central Control Committee.

Article 10. Elections of Delegates

SECTION 1. Election of delegates to all party conferences and conventions shall be based upon the number of members in good standing on the first of the month prior to the date of the election. No party member can vote in the election if more than two months in arrears in dues payments. The secretary of the Party unit shall submit with the results of the election a certified list stating the names of the good-standing members in the Party unit. No election of delegates to any conference or convention shall be valid unless 5 percent of the good-standing members in the Party unit participated in the elections.

SECTION 2. The highest committee of the unit of the Party in which a conference or convention is to be held shall decide the basis of representation, that is, the number of good-standing members necessary to elect delegates.

SECTION 3. The shop nucleus and the street nucleus (international branch) or in case of large cities the subsection, shall elect delegates to the city convention in accordance with the number of delegates they are entitled to based upon the certified list of good-standing members which the secretary shall send to the city convention in certifying the results of the elections.

SECTION 4. The city convention shall elect the number of delegates it is entitled to according to the ratio fixed for the election of delegates from the city convention to the district convention based upon the number of members in good standing in the city as certified by the shop nuclei and the street nuclei (international branches).

SECTION 5. The district convention shall elect the number of delegates it is entitled to according to the ratio fixed for the election of delegates from the district convention to the national convention based upon the number of good-standing members in the district as certified by the city convention.

SECTION 6. The same rule shall apply in the election of delegates to section and city conferences, provided for in Article 5.

Article 11. Central Executive Committee

SECTION 1. The Central Executive Committee of the Party shall be elected by the Party convention and shall consist of 19 members elected by the convention, a representative of the Young Workers League, and a neutral chairman with decisive vote. The convention shall also elect six candidates who shall have a right to participate in the full sessions of the C. E. C. with a voice but no vote. In case of vacancies the candidates shall become members of the C. E. C.

SECTION 2. The Central Executive Committee is the highest authority of the Party between the party conventions. It represents the Party as a whole over and against other Party institutions and other institutions, organizes various organs of the Party, conducts all its political and organizational work, appoints the editors of its central organs who work under its leadership and control, organizes and guides all undertakings in importance for the entire Party, distributes all the Party forces and controls the Central Treasury. The Central Executive Committee conducts the work of the Party fractions within bodies of a central nature.

SECTION 3. The Central Executive Committee elects from among its numbers a Political Committee for conducting the work of the C. E. C. between its full sessions. The Central Committee shall elect a general secretary, and a secretariat for conduct of the permanent current work, and establish an agitprop department, organization department, and such other departments as the Party requires. The members of the Central Executive Committee should be the heads of these departments wherever possible.

SECTION 4. The Central Executive Committee shall divide the country into districts and create district organizations. The Central Executive Committee has the right to combine or divide existing organizations, either according to territory or otherwise in conformity with their political and economic characteristics.

Article 12. The Central Control Committee

SECTION 1. The Party convention shall elect a Central Control Committee of four members which shall audit the books and accounts of the national organization and supervise similar control of the financial accounts of the Party as a whole.

SECTION 2. The Central Control Committee shall also pass upon appeals from decision of lower party units in reference to breaches of discipline. The decisions of the Central Control Committee in such matters are subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Article 13. Qualifications

SECTION 1. Members of the Central Executive Committee, general secretary, editor, and all candidates for political office must have been members of the Party for two years at time of their nomination.

SECTION 2. Members of the District Executive Committee, must have been members of the Party for two years at the time of their nomination.

SECTION 3. Members of City Executive Committees must have been members of the Party for one year at the time of their nomination, and of section and subsection committees must have been members of the Party for six months at the time of their nomination.

Article 14. Party Discipline

SECTION 1. The strictest party discipline is the most solemn duty of all Party members and all Party organizations. The decisions of the Communist International and the Party convention, of the Central Executive Committee and all the leading committees of the Party must be promptly carried out. Discussion of questions over which there have been differences must not continue after the decision has been made.

SECTION 2. Breaches of party discipline by individual members may be punished by censure, public censure, dismissal from office, suspension from the Party, and expulsion from the Party. Breaches of discipline by Party committees may be punished by removal of the committee by the next higher Party committee,

SECTION 3. Charges against individual members shall be made in the shop nucleus or international branch and the decision of the Party unit shall be confirmed by the Party committee in the territory in which the unit is located. Charges against individual members may also be made in any leading committee of the Party and such committees have full power to act. The member expelled may appeal to the next higher committee. Appeals can be made only by the punished members themselves or by a party organization in his behalf.

SECTION 4. No leading committee of the Party has power to suspend any of its members from the committee. Charges against members of committees must be filed with the next higher committee.

Article 15. Dues

SECTION 1. Each applicant for membership shall pay an initiation fee of 50¢ which shall be receipted for by an initiation stamp furnished by the Central Executive Committee. The entire sum shall go to the national organization.

SECTION 2. Each member shall pay 50¢ per month dues, which shall be receipted for by dues stamps issued by the Central Executive Committee. Members whose earnings are more than \$100.00 per month shall pay additional dues to the amount of one percent of their earnings above \$100. The payment of the additional dues shall be receipted for by special stamps issued by the Central Executive Committee.

SECTION 3. The district organization shall purchase regular dues stamps from the Central Executive Committee at 25¢ per stamp, the city organization shall purchase dues stamps from the city organization at 40¢; the subsection organization shall purchase dues stamps from the section organization at 42½¢; and the shop nuclei and the street nuclei (international branches) shall purchase stamps from the subsection organization at 45¢. Where no subsections exist, the shop nuclei and international branch purchase their stamps from the section organization at 45¢. Where no sections exist, the shop nuclei and street nuclei (international branches) purchase stamps from the city organization at 45¢.

SECTION 4. Special assessments may be levied by the national convention or the Central Executive Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases such special assessment stamp.

SECTION 5. Members unable to pay dues or assessments on account of unemployment, strikes, sickness, or similar reason shall by vote of the nucleus or international branch be furnished with exempt stamps. No district organization shall be allowed exempt stamps in a proportion greater than ten percent of its monthly purchase of regular stamps, except by decision of the C. E. C.

SECTION 6. Members who are three months in arrears in payment of dues shall cease to be members of the Party in good standing. Members who are six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls. No member of the Party shall pay dues in advance for a period of more than three months.

Article 16. Language Fractions

SECTION 1. All members of the Party now members of language branches must become members in either shop nuclei or international branches in the re-organization of the Party on the basis of this constitution, in order to retain their membership in the Party.

SECTION 2. The former members of the language sections of the Party, in addition to their membership in the Party, through affiliation with the shop nuclei or international branch shall form language fractions.

SECTION 3. The language fraction shall consist of all the members of the Party who speak a certain language, who are members of a subsection, section, or city organization of the Party. The units of the language fraction should be formed on the basis of the most efficient method of working among their particular language group. The D. E. C. or City Executive Committee shall decide as to the units to be formed.

SECTION 4. Where there is more than one subsection in a section organization, in which language fractions of a particular language group are organized, these language fractions shall hold general membership meetings of all the members of the language fraction in the section in January and July of each year, and elect an executive committee of the language fraction for the section. Where there are several sections of a city in which fractions are organized, the members of the language fraction shall hold a city membership meeting in January and July of each year, and elect a city executive committee of the language fraction, subject to the approval of the respective Party committee.

SECTION 5. Once each year, there shall be held a district conference of delegates from the language fractions in the party districts which shall elect a district executive committee for the language fraction. The D. E. C. for the language fraction must be approved by the Party D. E. C.

SECTION 6. The Central Executive Committee of the Party may, if it deems it advisable, permit the holding of a national conference of a language fraction of a particular language group. When such national conferences are held they shall elect, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee, a national language bureau. In cases where the Central Executive Committee does not deem it advisable to hold national conferences of a language fraction, it shall appoint a national bureau for the language fraction.

SECTION 7. The language fraction is an auxiliary organization of the Party, for work among a particular language group. Only Party members who are affiliated to the shop nuclei or the street nuclei (international branches) and pay dues to the basic units of the Party, can be members of the language fraction of the Party. The language fraction of the Party does not collect dues, but may, with the consent of the Central Executive Committee carry on special campaigns among their language groups for funds to carry on the work of the language fraction. The Central Executive Committee shall also provide a definite monthly appropriation from the dues receipts for the work of the language fraction national bureaus.

SECTION 8. It is the work of the language fraction to carry on agitation, propaganda, and organization work among the working masses of its language group. The language fraction must also organize fractions of party members in the fraternal and benevolent organizations of its language group, as provided for in the section of this constitution dealing with the organizational question, and carry on a systematic campaign to establish Communist influence and bring these organizations under the influence of the party, ideologically and organizationally.

SECTION 9. The language fractions of each language group shall also organize a workers' club of their particular language group in each city or the sections of the city. These workers' clubs shall consist of both party and nonparty members. The language fraction shall function as a fraction in these clubs to carry on agitation and propaganda and bring the non-Party members under Communist influence and recruit them for membership in regular Party units.

Article 17. Fractions

SECTION 1. In all non-Party workers' and farmers' organizations (trade unions, cooperatives, cultural societies, educational societies, fraternal and benevolent societies, sports and other clubs, war veterans' organizations, factory councils, unemployed councils, at conferences and conventions, in local administrative bodies, state legislatures and the national congress) where there are at least two Communists, a Communist fraction must be organized for the purpose of increasing the influence of the Party in applying its policy in the non-Party sphere.

SECTION 2. The fractions are organs of the Party within non-Party organizations. They are not independent fully authorized organizations, but are subordinate to the competent local Party committee.

SECTION 3. In case of differences arising between the Party committee and the fraction, the Party committee must investigate the questions anew, together with the representatives of the fraction and come to a decision which must be carried out unconditionally by the fraction. In case an appeal is made against the decision by the fraction, the question shall be finally settled by the next higher Party committee.

SECTION 4. If questions are discussed by a Party committee which concerns a fraction, the committee shall accept a representative of the fraction concerned, who shall attend the meeting of the committee in an advisory capacity.

SECTION 5. The fractions elect their own officers who, however, must be endorsed by the Party committee in the section in which the fraction operates. The officers of the fraction are responsible for their activities to the fraction and to the Party committee.

SECTION 6. The Party committee, which directs the Party work in the territory in which a fraction is organized, has the right to send its representatives into the executive committee of any fraction or to recall any member of that body, after the reason for such action has been explained to the fraction.

SECTION 7. Candidates for all important positions in the organization in which the fractions are working are selected by the fraction, in agreement with the Party committee for the section.

SECTION 8. Questions which come up for decision in the organization in which a fraction is working must be discussed in advance in the meeting of the fraction, or by its leading committee. On every question on which a decision is reached in the fraction, or a decision made by the leading committee, the fraction members must act unanimously in the meeting of the organization and vote together solidly. Members who break this rule are subject to disciplinary measures by the Party.

Article 18. Relations to the Y. W. L.

SECTION 1. A corresponding committee of the Young Workers League shall be entitled to send one representative with voice and vote into all subsections, sections, city and district and central executive committees of the Party, provided there is a corresponding Y. W. L. organization to the organization of the party to which the representative is sent.

SECTION 2. The Party executive committee, in the subsection, section, city, district, and the Central Executive Committee shall send a representative with voice and vote into the corresponding Y. W. L. committee.

SECTION 3. The corresponding Y. W. L. organization shall be entitled to send representatives to all conferences and conventions of the Party organization. The number of representatives which shall be given to the Y. W. L. in such conferences and conventions shall be decided by the Party committee which calls the conference or convention.

SECTION 4. All members of the Party under 21 years of age must join the Young Workers League. All members of the Young Workers League over 21 years of age, should join the Party and must join the Party if 23 years of age or over, or be excluded from the League.

SECTION 5. Members of the Y. W. L. who are under 11 [sic] years of age and who are also members of the Party, shall be exempt from paying Party dues upon presentation of their Y. W. L. dues card, with dues stamp affixed. An exempt stamp, marked "Y. W. L." shall be affixed to the Party card of such member.

Schedule

1. The provisions of this constitution in relation to purchase of dues stamps from the district committee and city organizations by the basic units of the Party go into effect on October first. Language branches which have not been reorganized by that date must purchase their dues stamps from the district and city organizations.

SECTION 2. The provisions of this constitution in regard to the elections of the subsection, section, city and district committees go into effect as fast as the reorganization of the Party on the basis of this constitution takes place in a locality. This provision also applies to the organization of language fractions which must be organized as fast as the Party reorganization takes place. The provisions of the previous constitution of the Party apply in a locality until such time as the reorganization takes place, except that the City Central Committee shall hold one session to constitute a City Executive Committee and then be abolished.

SECTION 3. The reorganization of the entire Party on the basis of the provisions of this constitution shall be completed within six months from the time of its adoption. The Central Executive Committee is instructed to take all the necessary steps to carry out the reorganization in the period allotted.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, SECTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL— 1929

The constant bickering and manipulation for control of the party brought numerous rebukes from Moscow. On July 1, 1927, the presidium of the executive committee of the Communist International endorsed a resolution of the Comintern calling the Workers (Communist) Party of America to task for "deviations" and other "mistakes."¹⁵

The Daily Worker of August 3, 1927, published a declaration of the political committee of the Workers (Communist) Party declaring its complete acceptance of the Communist International resolution, closing the declaration with a plea for a unified Communist Party in America.

OPEN LETTER FROM EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Some time prior to the 1929 convention the Workers (Communist) Party received an open letter from the executive committee of the Communist International. The following paragraphs from this open letter not only illustrate the existence of constant factional fights within the ranks of the American Communists, but they also illustrate the strict and unyielding control of the Comintern over the comrades in America:¹⁶

The struggle against the right and "left" dangers has to contend with factionalism in the Workers (Communist) Party of America and cannot be developed in a truly Bolshevik manner until this main hindrance is eliminated.

The Communist International has several times requested the Party in the most decisive manner to put an end to the factional struggle. The sixth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International demanded from the Party a "complete and unconditional cessation of the factional struggle." The American Commission during the eighth Plenum confirmed that decision. The Polit-Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International declared in April, 1928, that: "It is the opinion of the Executive Committee of the Communist International that the main problem of the Party in the field of organization is to kill all remnants of factionalism". Finally the Sixth Congress decided that "The most important task confronting the Party is to put an end to the factional strife, which is not based on any serious differences, and at the same time, to increase the recruiting of workers into the Party and to give a definite stimulus to the promotion of workers to leading Party posts."

The existing factions must be resolutely and definitely liquidated. The factional struggle must be unconditionally stopped. Without this no mass Communist Party of the American Proletariat can be organized.

This is the most urgent task of the Party. The sixth convention of the Workers Party must categorically prohibit any further factional struggle under threat of expulsion from the Party, and lay the foundation of a normal party life, especially internal democracy, self-criticism and iron party discipline, based on the unconditional subordination of the minority to the majority and an unconditional recognition of the decisions of the Comintern.

¹⁵ Fish Committee Reports, pt. II, vol. 3, p. 226.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

According to the Daily Worker of March 11, 1929, the convention¹⁷ accepted, without reservation, the open letter of the Comintern and agreed to all the conditions and mandates set forth in the letter.¹⁸

Out of this convention, which was held in New York City, March 1-10, 1929, emerged the Communist Party of the United States of America, section of the Communist International.

CONSTITUTION

The Daily Worker of February 21, 1929, published the following as the constitution of the new party:

I. NAME OF THE PARTY

1.—The name of this organization shall be the COMMUNIST PARTY OF U. S. OF AMERICA, section of the Communist International.

II. EMBLEM

1.—The emblem of the Party shall be the crossed hammer and sickle with a circular margin having at the top: "COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA" and underneath "WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE."

III. MEMBERSHIP

1.—A member of the Party can be every person from the age of eighteen up who accepts the program and statutes of the Communist International (Comintern) and the Communist Party of America, who becomes a member of a basic suborganization of the Party, who is active in this organization, who subordinates himself to all the decisions of the Comintern and of the Party, and regularly pays his membership dues.

2.—Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows:

"The undersigned declares his adherence to the program and statutes of the Communist International and of the Communist Party and agrees to submit to the discipline of the Party and to engage actively in its work."

At the time of being accepted as a member of the Party this pledge shall be read to the applicant who shall indicate his endorsement of the same.

3.—The question of acceptance must first be discussed by the shop nucleus or street nucleus of the Party and the application must be accepted by a vote of the membership of the unit to which application is made and the acceptance ratified by the leading committee of the territorial division of the Party in which membership is held.

4.—Members who change their place of work, or in case they are members of a street nucleus, their place of residence, must secure a transfer card from the Party unit in which they have held membership and present this card to the unit to which they transfer. A duplicate of the transfer card given the member shall be sent to the leading committee of the territorial section from which the member transfers and transmitted by this committee to the territorial section to which the member transfers.

If the member transfers from one section organization to another, the transfer card shall be transmitted thru the district executive committee; if the member transfers from one district to another the transfer card shall be sent thru the Central Executive Committee.

5.—Members of the Party who desire to leave the country and go to another country must obtain the permission of the Central Executive Committee of the Party.

6.—Every member of the Party who is eligible to be a member of a trade union must become a member of the union to which he is eligible.

¹⁷ Fish Committee Reports, pt. II, vol. 3, p. 255.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 256.

IV. THE STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY

1.—The Communist Party, like all sections of the Comintern, is built upon the principle of democratic centralization. These principles are:

(a) Election of the subordinate as well as the upper Party organs at general meetings of the Party members, conferences and conventions of the Party.

(b) Regular reporting of the Party committees to their constituents.

(c) Acceptance and carrying out of the decisions of the higher Party committees by the lower, strict Party discipline, and immediate and exact application of the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and of the Executive Committee of the Party.

(d) Any Party committee whose activities extend over a certain area is considered superior to those Party organizations whose activity is limited only to certain parts of this area.

(e) The discussion on basic Party questions or general Party lines can be carried on by the members only until the Central Executive Committee has decided them. After a decision has been adopted at the congress of the Comintern, the Party convention, or by the leading Party committee, it must be carried out unconditionally, even if some of the members or some of the local organizations are not in agreement with the decision.

(2e) The highest authority of each unit of the Party is the general meeting of Party members, conference, or Party convention.

(3e) The membership meeting, conference, or Party convention elects the leading committee which acts as the leading Party organ in the interim between the membership meetings, conferences, or conventions and conducts the work of the Party organization.

V. THE PARTY NUCLEUS

1.—The basis of the Party organization is the nucleus (in factories, mines, workshops, offices, stores, agricultural enterprises, and so forth) which all Party members working in these places must join. The nucleus consist of at least three members. Newly organized nuclei must be endorsed by the leading committee of the territorial section in which the shop nuclei are organized.

2.—In factories where only one or two members are employed, these members are affiliated to the nearest working nucleus or form a factory nucleus jointly with the members working in neighboring factories.

3.—Party members who cannot be immediately affiliated with a shop nucleus, shall join temporarily the street nucleus in the section of the city in which they reside; until it shall be possible to create a shop nucleus in the factory.

4.—The nucleus is the organization which links up the Party with the workers, poor farmers, and laborers. The tasks of the nucleus are: to spread Party influence among the non-Party masses of workers and peasants, to carry out Party slogans and decisions among them, by means of systematic Communist agitation and propaganda to recruit new members to distribute and sell Party literature, to issue a factory newspaper, to conduct cultural work, to discuss Party problems, to carry on the work of enlightenment and education of the Party members in the fundamental principles of Communism.

The members of the nucleus should strive for all official positions in the workers' organizations in the factory, or in their territory, participate in all economic conflicts and demands of the employees, interpret these from the standpoint of the revolutionary class struggle, and seek to win the leadership of all the struggles of the workers by tireless nucleus work.

5.—The street nucleus conducts similar work among the workers living in that section of the city in which it is organized.

6.—The leading organ of the nucleus, the nucleus bureau, is to be elected at the membership meeting of the nucleus and is to consist of 3 to 7 members depending upon the size of the nucleus. As a rule, the nucleus bureau should be elected for a period of 6 months and during this period is to make a complete report to the full meeting of the nucleus at least twice, giving the results of its activity.

7.—The nucleus bureau elects an organizer-secretary and divides the Party work of the nucleus among the other members of the bureau. The organizer-secretary of the nucleus must be an active Party member for not less than six months and must be approved by the higher Party committee.

VI. THE SECTION ORGANIZER

1.—The next body following the nucleus shall be the section organization. The subdistrict, city, and subsection shall be abolished. Under this system, a section will be either the division of a larger city, a single city, or a number of cities with the larger city as the center of the section. This new division of the districts into sections makes it necessary that, after the DEC shall divide its territory, it submit its proposals for approval to the CEC. Exception to this structure may be made only with the permission of the CEC.

2.—The leading organ of the section is Section Executive Committee which is to be elected either at a section conference consisting of representatives of the nuclei, or at the general membership meeting of the section. The committee should consist of 5 to 9 members and 2 to 3 candidates. The Plenum (full Section Executive) elects a bureau of 3 to 5 members. No other organs (such as secretariat) should exist in the Section Executive.

3.—The Section Executive Committee at its first plenum elects a secretary-organizer, who must be not less than one year an active member of the Party, and elects other members of the bureau. The secretary-organizer must be approved by the District Executive Committee.

4.—The section conference or section general membership meeting shall be called once a year by the Section Executive, with the approval of the D. E. C., for the purpose of discussing the report and plans of the Section Committee, electing a new Section Executive Committee and also delegates to the District Conference.

5.—The section Party organization and the Section Committees shall have all rights as leading bodies in their territory. They are the political leaders of the given territory, working under the leadership of the District Executive Committee and the Central Executive Committee.

6.—The regular meetings of the Plenum of the Section Committee shall be for a part of a city or a single city—not less than once in six weeks; for section organizations, which consist of a number of cities—not less than once in three months.

7.—The meetings of Section Bureaus shall be called as often as it is necessary, but not less than once in two weeks.

VII. DISTRICT ORGANIZATION

1.—The district organization, which should be either a single state, or a number of states, is the next Party body following the section.

2.—Regular district conferences, which shall elect members of the District Executive Committee, discuss reports of the work of the District Committee and other important Party matters, and also elect delegates to the Party Convention, shall be called by the District Committee, with the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

3.—The district conference also elects the District Control Committee, which shall be charged with the control of the financial accounts of all the Party units in the district, and which also deals with the appeals from the decisions of lower Party units against disciplinary action.

4.—Special District Conferences may be called by the District Committee by the demand of not less than one-half of the membership, or by the Central Executive Committee.

5.—The District Conferences consist of delegates, elected at Section Conferences, general section membership meetings, or in some instances directly from the Party nuclei.

6.—The District Executive Committee is the highest Party authority in the district between District Conferences. The District Executive Committee must be composed primarily of factory workers, disciplined and active Party members, and should include representatives of the chief towns, of some mass organizations, and important shop nuclei of the district.

7.—The District Executive Committee is elected at the District Convention and should consist of 9 to 15 members and 3 to 5 candidates. Exceptions in some cases may be made, with the approval of the CEC. The frequency of the meetings of the Plenum will, of course, depend largely on the local conditions, but the full DEC must meet no less than 3 times during the year.

8.—The leading organs of the District shall be the following: 1, DEC (Plenum); 2, District Bureau; 3, Secretariat. Names "Polbureau," and "Polcom" shall not be used by any of the Districts. There is only one Polbureau, the Polbureau of the CEC.

9.—The DEC Plenum is to elect a District Bureau of 5 to 7 members and a Secretariat of 3 members, which should be composed of the chief functionaries of the District: Organizer, head of the Trade Union Department, head of the Organization Department. In some districts, as, for example, the agricultural district, other arrangements may be made.

10.—The District Executive Committee elects the District Organizer in agreement with the Central Executive Committee. The district organizer must preferably be a worker and must have been an active member of the Party not less than three years. The District Organizer and the other members of the Secretariat must be approved by the Central Executive Committee.

11.—The District Bureau must meet at least once a month. The Secretariat should be called together as often as necessary, but at least once a week.

12.—If a district paper in any language is published, the District Executive Committee appoints the editor of the paper with the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

13.—The Secretariat of the District Committee shall organize an apparatus which must consist of a maximum of five departments (organization, agitprop, trade union, etc.). As a rule, members of the District Committee should be placed at the head of these departments. These departments carry on their work under the direction of the Secretariat and Bureau of the District Executive Committee and submit periodic reports to them.

VIII. THE CENTRAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE PARTY

1.—The Party Convention is the highest authority of the Party and shall be called by the Central Executive Committee at least once a year, in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

2.—Special conventions which shall have all the powers of regular conventions, may be called by the Central Executive Committee, either at its own initiative and in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Communist International, or upon the demand of Party organizations representing not less than half the members of the Party. Special conventions, however, can only be called with the agreement of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

3.—The call for the national convention and the proposed agenda of the convention shall be submitted to the membership at least one month before the date of the convention.

4.—The number of delegates to the convention shall be determined by the Central Executive Committee.

5.—The Party Convention shall hear reports of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Control Committee, decide the questions of Party program, formulate resolutions on all political, tactical and organizational questions, and elect the Central Executive Committee and the Central Control Committee.

6.—The Central Executive Committee of the Party shall be elected by the Party Convention and shall consist of 37 members elected by the convention, including a representative of the Young Workers League. The convention shall also elect nine candidates who shall have a right to participate in the full sessions of the C. E. C. with a voice but not vote. In case of vacancies the candidates shall become members of the C. E. C.

7.—The Central Executive Committee must have as members and candidates not less than fifty-one percent workers, especially from basic industries. All the members of the Central Executive Committee must have been active members of the Party at least three years at the time of their nomination.

8.—The Central Executive Committee is the highest authority of the Party between the Party Conventions. It represents the Party as a whole over and against other Party institutions, and other institutions, organizes various organs of the Party, conducts all its political and organizational work, appoints the editors of its central organs, who work under its leadership and control, organizes and guides all undertakings of importance for the entire Party, distributes all the Party forces and controls the Central Treasury. The Central Executive Committee conducts the work of the Party fractions within bodies of a central nature. The Central Executive Committee has the right to combine or divide existing organizations, either according to territory or otherwise in conformity with their political and economic characteristics.

9.—The Central Executive Committee elects from among its members a Political Committee of 7 members and 3 candidates for conducting the work of the

C. E. C. between its full sessions. The Central Committee shall elect also a general secretary and members of a secretariat for conduct of the permanent current work.

10.—The general secretary of the C. E. C. must have been an active member of the Party not less than seven years and members of the Political Committee, the Secretariat, and editors of central organs, not less than five years.

11. There shall be arranged approximately once in four months plenary sessions of the Central Executive Committee for the discussion of urgent and basic Party questions.

12. The Polbureau of the C. E. C. must meet at least once in a month and the Secretariat should be called as often as necessary, but at least once a week.

13.—The Central Executive Committee may, when it deems it necessary, call Party Conferences. The delegates to these Party Conferences from the Districts shall be elected by the District Committees. The Central Executive Committee may co-opt individual Party workers to attend the Party conferences in an advisory capacity, without voting rights.

14.—The decisions of the Party Conference are not valid and binding on the Party unless endorsed by the Central Executive Committee.

IX. CONTROL COMMITTEES

1.—In order to help the Party to unify its ranks, and for a ruthless eradication of factionalism and oppositionism—a struggle against the breaking of constitutional rules and program of the Party, for the cleansing of the Party of non-Communist elements, for a careful review of the Party's financial standing—National and District Control Committees must be organized, which are to be elected at the National Convention and District Conferences.

2.—All the matters in connection with systematic refusal to carry out Party decisions, creation of opposition groups and factions, and systematic carrying on of destructive activities within the Party, which weakens Party unity—come before the Control Committees, while the decisions of the Control Committees in connection with all these matters must be in agreement with the respective Party committees.

3.—In Section Party organizations and in nuclei no Control Committees are to be organized, but all the actions on the questions mentioned in point one, are to be taken up in corresponding committees, the decisions of which are to be approved by the District or National Control Committees.

NOTICE: All decisions of Party organs and District Control Committees about expulsions of Party members are to be enforced only after the approval by the National Control Committee and the Secretariat of the C. E. C.

4.—In some cases, in the most important Section Committees, special representatives can be assigned by the District Control Committees, who are to work on the basis of special instructions and in full accordance with the decisions of the Party Committee.

5.—The Party Convention shall elect a Central Control Committee of 7 members and 2 candidates, five of whom at least shall be workers, active and disciplined Communists, and have been in the Party not less than five years.

6.—Members of the Central Control Committee cannot be at the same time members of the C. E. C., or District Organizers, etc.

7.—Members of the Central Control Committee shall have the right to participate in the sessions of the C. E. C. with a voice but no vote.

8.—The C. C. C. elects from among its members a Presidium of three comrades, the chairman of which shall be an active Party member not less than seven years.

9.—Meetings of the C. C. C. must take place approximately once every 4 months, and its Presidium as often as necessary, but not less than once each month.

10.—The District Conferences shall elect District Control Committees of from 3 to 5 members and 2 candidates in each District, mostly workers, disciplined and active Communists, and having been in the Party not less than 3 years.

X. ELECTIONS OF DELEGATES

1.—Election of delegates to all Party conferences and conventions shall be based upon the number of members in good standing on the first of the month prior to the date of the election. No Party member can vote in the election if more than two months in arrears in dues payments. The secretary of the Party unit shall submit with the results of the election a certified list stating the names of the good-standing members in the Party unit. No election of delegates to any

conference or convention shall be valid unless 55 per cent of the good-standing members in the Party unit participated in the elections.

2.—The highest committee of the unit of the Party in which a conference or convention is to be held shall decide the basis of representation, that is, the number of good-standing members necessary to elect delegates.

3.—The shop nuclei and the street nuclei shall elect delegates to the section conference in accordance with the number of delegates they are entitled to, based upon the certified list of good-standing members which the secretary shall send to the Section Conference in certifying the results of the elections.

4.—The Section Conference shall elect the number of delegates it is entitled to according to the ratio fixed for the election of delegates from the Section Conference to the District Conference based upon the number of members in good standing in the city as certified by the shop nuclei and the street nuclei.

5.—The District Conference shall elect the number of delegates it is entitled to according to the ratio fixed for the election of delegates from the District Conference to the National Convention, based upon the number of good-standing members in the district.

XI. THE PARTY APPARATUS

1.—It is necessary to build the Party apparatus which must be so constructed that it will correspond to the conditions of work of the Party. It must be flexible and carry out the Party work in a systematic manner.

2.—The apparatus of the Party Committees must consist of a maximum of five departments: Organization, Agitprop, Trade Union, Women's and Negro. Such districts as North Dakota, Minnesota, etc., should also establish an Agrarian Department.

The work of each department must be clearly defined. There should be no parallels, but rather coordination.

3.—The heads of the departments are to work under the direct supervision of the Party Committee (Secretariat-Bureau-Plenum).

4.—Every Party department should work in conjunction with a committee of five to seven members whose duty should be not administrative, but exclusively consultative. The head of the department is also to be the chairman of this committee. Special attention must be paid to the selection of a competent head for each department, a comrade who must be energetic and work systematically.

XII. PARTY DISCIPLINE

1.—The strictest Party discipline is the most solemn duty of all Party members and all Party organizations. The decisions of the Communist International and the Party Convention, of the Central Executive Committee and of all the leading committees of the Party must be promptly carried out. Discussion of questions over which there have been differences must not continue after the decision has been made.

2.—Breaches of Party discipline by individual members may be punished by censure, public censure, dismissal from office, suspension from the Party, and expulsion from the Party. Breaches of discipline by Party committees may be punished by removal of the committee by the next higher Party committee.

3.—Charges against individual members shall be made in the shop nucleus or street nucleus and the decision of the Party unit shall be confirmed by the Party committee in the territory in which the unit is located. Charges against individual members may also be made in any leading committee of the Party or by the Central Committee and such committees have full power to act. The member expelled may appeal to the next higher Party or Control Committees. Appeals can be made only by the punished members themselves or by a Party organization in his behalf.

4.—No leading committee of the Party has power to suspend any of its members from the committee. Charges against members of committees must be filed with the next higher committee.

XIII. DUES

1.—Each applicant for membership shall pay an initiation fee of \$1, which shall be receipted for by an initiation stamp furnished by the Central Executive Committee. The entire sum shall go to the national organization.

2.—Each member shall pay 50 cents per month dues, which shall be receipted for by dues stamps issued by the Central Executive Committee. Members whose earnings are more than \$100 per month shall pay additional dues to the amount of one per cent of their earnings above \$100. The payment of the additional

dues shall be receipted for by special stamps issued by the Central Executive Committee.

3.—The district organization shall purchase regular dues stamps from the Central Executive Committee at 25¢ per stamp, the section organization shall purchase dues stamps from the district organization at 40¢; and the nuclei shall purchase dues stamps from the section organization at 45¢. Dues stamps of a higher denomination shall be sold to the various organizations in the same rates.

4.—Special assessments may be levied by the national convention or by the Central Executive Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases such special assessment stamps.

5.—Members unable to pay dues or assessments on account of unemployment, strikes, sickness, or similar reason shall by vote of the nucleus be furnished with exempt stamps. No district organization shall be allowed exempt stamps in a proportion greater than ten per cent of its monthly purchase of regular stamps, except by decision of the CEC.

6.—Members who are three months in arrears in payment of dues shall cease to be members of the Party in good standing. Members who are six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls. No member of the Party shall pay dues in advance for a period of more than three months.

XIV. FRACTIONS

1.—In all non-Party workers' and farmers' organizations (trade unions, cooperatives, cultural societies, educational societies, fraternal and benevolent societies, sports and other clubs, war veterans' organizations, factory councils, unemployed councils, at conferences and conventions, in local administrative bodies, state legislature and the national congress) where there are at least two Communists, a Communist fraction must be organized for the purpose of increasing the influence of the Party in applying its policy in the non-Party sphere.

2.—The fractions are organs of the Party within non-Party organizations. They are not independent, fully authorized organizations, but are subordinate to the competent local Party committee.

3.—In case of differences arising between the Party committee and the fraction, the Party committee must investigate the question anew, together with the representatives of the fraction and come to a decision which must be carried out unconditionally by the fraction. In case an appeal is made against the decision by the fraction, the question shall be finally settled by the next higher Party committee.

4.—If questions are discussed by a Party committee which concern a fraction, the committee shall accept a representative of the fraction concerned, who shall attend the meeting of the committee in an advisory capacity.

5.—The fractions elect their own officers who, however, must be endorsed by the Party committee in the section in which the fraction operates. The officers of the fraction are responsible for their activities to the fraction and to the Party committee.

6.—The Party committee, which directs the Party work in the territory in which a fraction is organized, has the right to send its representatives into the executive committee of any fraction or to recall any member of that body.

7.—Candidates for all important positions in the organization in which the fractions are working are selected by the fraction, which must be approved by the Party committee for the territory.

8.—Questions which come up for decision in the organization in which a fraction is working must be discussed in advance in the meeting of the fraction, or by its leading committee. On every question in which a decision is reached in the fraction, or a decision made by the leading committee, the fraction members must act unanimously in the meeting of the organization and vote together solidly. Members who break this rule are subject to disciplinary measures by the Party.

XV. RELATIONS TO THE Y. W. L.

1.—A corresponding committee of the Young Workers League shall be entitled to send one representative who is a member of the Communist Party with voice and vote into all Nucleus, Section, District and Central Executive Committees of the Party, provided there is a corresponding Y. W. L. organization to the organization of the Party to which the representative is sent.

2.—The Party Executive Committee, in the Nucleus, Section, District and the Central Executive Committee shall send a representative with voice and vote into the corresponding Y. W. L. committee.

3.—The corresponding Y. W. L. organization shall be entitled to send representatives to all conferences and conventions of the Party organization. The number of representatives which shall be given to the Y. W. L. in such conferences and conventions shall be decided by the Party committee which calls the conference or convention.

4.—All members of the Party under 21 years of age must join the Young Workers League. All members of the Young Workers League over 18 years of age may join the Party and must join the Party if 23 years of age or over, or be excluded from the League.

5.—Members of the Y. W. L. who are under 21 years of age and who are also members of the Party shall be exempt from paying Party dues upon presentation of their Y. W. L. dues cards, with dues stamps affixed. An exempt stamp, marked "Y. W. L." shall be affixed to the Party card of such member.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL CHANGES ITS TACTICS

From 1919 to approximately 1935 the Communist Parties in America received their instructions from the Communist International in the form of directives, letters, and so forth. This practice ceased about 1935 when the Soviet Union began to seek the support of the democracies against the rising threat of Nazi aggression. A new method of transmitting instructions was adopted. Pronouncements by leading spokesmen of the International Communist movement and such internationally circulated Communist publications as International Press Correspondence, World News and Views, Communist International, War and the Working Class, New Times, For a Lasting Peace—For a Peoples Democracy, and International Affairs subsequently served as a means of conveying instructions to the disciplined Communist Parties throughout the world.

The American comrades received their directives not only by word of mouth from the higher echelons within the party, but also through such party publications as the Daily Worker, Daily People's World, Political Affairs, Masses and Mainstream, Soviet Russia Today (now known as New World Review), and others, well known and recognized as party propaganda sheets. Some of these newspapers and publications, too numerous to mention, are printed in foreign languages.

Because of these and other changes in the position of the Soviet Union on world affairs, some changes were necessary in the constitution of the Communist Party in the United States. Among others, the party dropped from its name the designation, "Section of the Communist International."

These changes in the Communist Party constitution also illustrate that the Communist International had begun to disguise its role as the center of world revolution and to lull other governments into believing that the Soviet leaders were no longer interested in organizing the Communist conspiracy in other countries.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—1938

THE 1938 CONSTITUTION

At the tenth national convention held in New York City, May 27-31, 1938, a new constitution was adopted. The constitution which was subsequently ratified by the party membership is as follows:¹⁹

PREAMBLE

The Communist Party of the United States of America is a working-class political party carrying forward today the traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Jackson, and Lincoln, and of the Declaration of Independence; it upholds the achievements of democracy, the right of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and defends the United States Constitution against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and all popular liberties; it is devoted to defense of the immediate interest of workers, farmers, and all toilers against capitalist exploitation, and to preparation of the working class for its historic mission to unite and lead the American people to extend these democratic principles to their necessary and logical conclusions:

By establishing common ownership of the national economy, through a government of the people, by the people, and for the people; the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, nation by nation, and race by race, and thereby the abolition of class divisions in society; that is, by the establishment of socialism, according to the scientific principles enunciated by the greatest teachers of mankind, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, embodied in the Communist International; and the free cooperation of the American people with those of other lands, striving toward a world without oppression and war, a world brotherhood of man.

To this end, the Communist Party of the United States of America establishes the basic laws of its organization in the following Constitution.

ARTICLE I

Name

The name of this organization shall be the COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

ARTICLE II

Emblem

The emblem of the Party shall be the crossed hammer and sickle, representing the unity of worker and farmer, with a circular inscription having at the top "Communist Party of the U. S. A." and in the lower part "Affiliated to the Communist International."

ARTICLE III

Membership

SECTION 1. Any person, eighteen years of age or more, regardless of race, sex, color, religious belief, or nationality, who is a citizen or who declares his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States, and whose loyalty to the working class is unquestioned, shall be eligible for membership.

SECTION 2. A Party member is one who accepts the Party program, attends the regular meetings of the membership Branch of his place of work or of his territory or trade, who pays dues regularly, and is active in Party work.

SECTION 3. An applicant for membership shall sign an application card which shall be endorsed by at least two members of the Communist Party. Applications are subject to discussion and decision by the basic organization of the Party (shop, industrial, neighborhood Branch) to which the application is presented.

¹⁹ Copy in files of committee.

After the applicant is accepted by a majority vote of the membership of the Branch present at a regular meeting he shall publicly pledge as follows:

"I pledge firm loyalty to the best interests of the working class and full devotion to all progressive movements of the people. I pledge to work actively for the preservation and extension of democracy and peace, for the defeat of fascism and all forms of national oppression, for equal rights to the Negro people and for the establishment of socialism. For this purpose, I solemnly pledge to remain true to the principles of the Communist Party, to maintain its unity of purpose and action, and to work to the best of my ability to fulfill its program."

SECTION 4. There shall be no members-at-large without special permission of the National or State Committee.

SECTION 5. Party members two months in arrears in payment of dues cease to be members of the Party in good standing, and must be informed thereof.

SECTION 6. Members who are four months in arrears shall be stricken from the Party rolls. Every member three months in arrears shall be officially informed of this provision, and a personal effort shall be made to bring such member into good standing. However, if a member who for these reasons has been stricken from the rolls applies for readmission within six months, he may, on the approval of the next higher Party committee, be permitted to pay up his back dues and keep his standing as an old member.

ARTICLE IV

Initiation and Dues

SECTION 1. The initiation fee for an employed person shall be 50 cents and for an unemployed person 10 cents.

SECTION 2. Dues shall be paid every month according to rates fixed by the National Party Convention.

SECTION 3. The income from dues shall be distributed to the various Party organizations as follows:

a. 25 percent to the Branch.

b. 35 percent to the National Office.

c. The remaining 40 percent shall be distributed among the respective State, County, City, and Section Organizations in accordance with decisions of the State Conventions.

SECTION 4. Fifty percent of the initiation fee shall be sent to the National Committee and 50 percent shall remain with the State Organization.

ARTICLE V

International Solidarity and Assessment

SECTION 1. Every four months, all members of the Party shall pay an assessment equal to the average dues payment per month for the previous four months, for an International Solidarity Fund. This money shall be used by the National Committee exclusively to aid our brother Communist Parties in other countries suffering from fascist and military reaction.

SECTION 2. All local or district assessments are prohibited, except by special permission of the National Committee. Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or the National Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases stamps for such special assessments.

ARTICLE VI

Rights and Duties of Members

SECTION 1. The Communist Party of the U. S. A. upholds the democratic achievements of the American people. It opposes with all its power any clique, group, circle, faction, or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken, or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy whereby the majority of the American people have obtained power to determine their own destiny in any degree. The Communist Party of the U. S. A., standing unqualifiedly for the right of the majority to direct the destinies of our country, will fight with all its strength against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within, to impose upon our people the arbitrary will of any selfish minority group or party or clique or conspiracy.

SECTION 2. Every member of the Party who is in good standing has not only the right, but the duty, to participate in the making of the policies of the Party and in the election of its leading committees, in a manner provided for in the Constitution.

SECTION 3. In matters of state or local nature, the Party organizations have the right to exercise full initiative and to make decisions within the limits of the general policies and decisions of the Party.

SECTION 4. After thorough discussion, the majority vote decides the policy of the Party, and the minority is dutybound to carry out the decision.

SECTION 5. Party members disagreeing with any decision of a Party organization or committee have the right to appeal that decision to the next higher body, and may carry the appeal to the highest bodies of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., its National Committee and the National Convention. Decisions of the National Convention are final. While the appeal is pending, the decision must nevertheless be carried out by every member of the Party.

SECTION 6. In pre-Convention periods, individual Party members and delegates to the Convention shall have unrestricted right of discussion on any question of Party policy and tactics and the work and future composition of the leading committees.

SECTION 7. The decisions of the Convention shall be final and every Party member and Party organization shall be dutybound to recognize the authority of the Convention decisions and the leadership elected by it.

SECTION 8. All Party members in mass organizations (trade unions, farm, and fraternal organizations, etc.), shall cooperate to promote and strengthen the given organization and shall abide by the democratic decisions of these organizations.

SECTION 9. It shall be the duty of Party members to explain the mass policies of the Party and the principles of socialism.

SECTION 10. All Party members who are eligible shall be required to belong to their respective trade unions.

SECTION 11. All officers and leading committees of the Party from the Branch Executive Committee up to the highest committees are elected either directly by the membership or through their elected delegates. Every committee must report regularly on its activities to its Party organization.

SECTION 12. Any Party officer may be removed at any time from his position by a majority vote of the body which elected him, or by the body to which he is responsible, with the approval of the National Committee.

SECTION 13. Requests of release of a Party member from responsible posts may be granted only by the Party organization which elected him, or to which he is responsible, in consultation with the next higher committee.

SECTION 14. No Party member shall have personal or political relationship with confirmed Trotskyites, Lovestonéltes, or other known enemies of the Party and of the working class.

SECTION 15. All Party members eligible shall register and vote in the elections for all public offices.

ARTICLE VII

Structure of the Party

SECTION 1. The basic organizations of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. are the shop, industrial, and territorial Branches.

The Executive Committee of the Branch shall be elected once a year by the membership.

SECTION 2. The Section Organization shall comprise all Branches in a given territory of the city or state. The Section territory shall be defined by the higher Party committee and shall cover one or more complete political divisions of the city or state.

The highest body of the Section Organization is the Section Convention, or special annual Council meeting, called for the election of officers, which shall convene every year. The Section Convention or special Council meeting discusses and decides on policy and elects delegates to the higher Convention.

Between Section Conventions, the highest Party body in the Section Organization is the Section Council, composed of delegates elected proportionately from each Branch for a period of one year. Where no Section Council exists, the highest Party body is the Section Committee, elected by a majority vote of the Section Convention, which also elects the Section Organizer.

The Section Council or Section Committee may elect a Section Executive Committee which is responsible to the body that elected it. Nonmembers of the Sec-

tion Council may be elected to the Executive Committee only with the approval of the next higher committee.

SECTION 3. In localities where there is more than one Section Organization, a City or County Council or Committee may be formed in accordance with the By-Laws.

SECTION 4. The State Organization shall comprise all Party organizations in one state.

The highest body of the State Organization is the State Convention, which shall convene every two years, and shall be composed of delegates elected by the Conventions of the subdivisions of the Party or Branches in the state. The delegates are elected on the basis of numerical strength.

A State Committee of regular and alternate members shall be elected at the State Convention with full power to carry out the decisions of the Convention and conduct the activities of the State Organization until the next State Convention.

The State Committee may elect from among its members an Executive Committee, which shall be responsible to the State Committee.

Special State Conventions may be called either by a majority vote of the State Committee, or upon written request of the Branches representing one-third of the membership of the state, with the approval of the National Committee.

SECTION 5. District Organizations may be established by the National Committee, covering two or more states. In such cases the State Committees shall be under the jurisdiction of the District Committees, elected by and representing the Party organizations of the states composing these Districts. The rules of convening District Conventions and the election of leading committees shall be the same as those provided for the State Organization.

ARTICLE VIII

National Organization

SECTION 1. The supreme authority in the Communist Party of the U. S. A. is the National Convention. Regular National Conventions shall be held every two years. Only such a National Convention is authorized to make political and organizational decisions binding upon the entire Party and its membership, except as provided in Article VIII, Section 6.

SECTION 2. The National Convention shall be composed of delegates elected by the State and District Conventions. The delegates are elected on the basis of numerical strength of the State Organizations. The basis for representation shall be determined by the National Committee.

SECTION 3. For two months prior to the Convention, discussions shall take place in all Party organizations on the main resolutions and problems coming before the Convention. During this discussion all Party organizations have the right and duty to adopt resolutions and amendments to the Draft Resolutions of the National Committee for consideration at the Convention.

SECTION 4. The National Convention elects the National Committee, a National Chairman and General Secretary by majority vote. The National Committee shall be composed of regular and alternate members. The alternate members shall have voice but no vote.

SECTION 5. The size of the National Committee shall be decided upon by each National Convention of the Party. Members of the National Committee must have been active members of the Party for at least three years.

SECTION 6. The National Committee is the highest authority of the Party between National Conventions, and is responsible for enforcing the Constitution and securing the execution of the general policies adopted by the democratically elected delegates in the National Convention assembled. The National Committee represents the Party as a whole, and has the right to make decisions with full authority on any problem facing the Party between Conventions. The National Committee organizes and supervises its various departments and committees; conducts all the political and organizational work of the Party; appoints or removes the editors of its press, who work under its leadership and control; organizes and guides all undertakings of importance for the entire Party; distributes the Party forces and controls the central treasury. The National Committee, by majority vote of its members, may call special State or National Conventions. The National Committee shall submit a certified, audited financial report to each National Convention.

SECTION 7. The National Committee elects from among its members a Political Committee and such additional secretaries and such departments and committees

as may be considered necessary for most efficient work. The Political Committee is charged with the responsibility of carrying out the decisions and the work of the National Committee between its full sessions. It is responsible for all its decisions to the National Committee. The size of the Political Committee shall be decided upon by majority vote of the National Committee.

Members of the Political Committee and editors of the central Party organs must have been active members of the Party for not less than five years.

The National Committee shall meet at least once in four months.

The Political Committee of the National Committee shall meet weekly.

The National Committee may, when it deems it necessary, call Party Conferences. The National Committee shall decide the basis of attendance at such Conferences. Such Conferences shall be consultative bodies auxiliary to the National Committee.

ARTICLE IX

National Control Commission

SECTION 1. For the purpose of maintaining and strengthening Party unity and discipline, and of supervising the audits of the financial books and records of the National Committee of the Party and its enterprises, the National Committee elects a National Control Commission, consisting of the most exemplary Party members, each of whom shall have been an active Party member for at least five years. The size of the National Control Commission shall be determined by the National Committee.

SECTION 2. On various disciplinary cases, such as those concerning violations of Party unity, discipline, or ethics, or concerning lack of class vigilance and Communist firmness in facing the class enemy, or concerning spies, swindlers, double-dealers and other agents of the class enemy—the National Control Commission shall be charged with making investigations and decisions, either on appeals against the decisions of lower Party bodies, or on cases which are referred to it by the National Committee, or on cases which the National Control Commission itself deems necessary to take up directly.

SECTION 3. The decisions of the National Control Commission shall go into effect as soon as their acceptance by the National Committee or its Political Committee is assured.

SECTION 4. Members of the National Control Commission shall have the right to participate in the sessions of the National Committee with voice but no vote.

SECTION 5. Meetings of the National Control Commission shall take place at least once every month.

ARTICLE X

Disciplinary Procedure

SECTION 1. Breaches of Party discipline by individual members, financial irregularities, as well as any conduct or action detrimental to the Party's prestige and influence among the working masses and harmful to the best interests of the Party, may be punished by censure, public censure, removal from responsible posts, and by expulsion from the Party. Breaches of discipline by Party Committees may be punished by removal of the Committee by the next higher Party Committee, which shall then conduct new elections.

SECTION 2. Charges against individual members may be made by any person—Party or non-Party—in writing, to the Branches of the Party or to any leading committee. The Party Branch shall have the right to decide on any disciplinary measure, including expulsion. Such action is subject to final approval by the State Committee.

SECTION 3. The Section, State, and National Committees and the National Control Commission have the right to hear and take disciplinary action against any individual member or organization under their jurisdiction.

SECTION 4. All parties concerned shall have the fullest right to appear, to bring witnesses and to testify before the Party organization. The member punished shall have the right to appeal any disciplinary decision to the higher committees up to the National Convention of the Party.

SECTION 5. Party members found to be strikebreakers, degenerates, habitual drunkards, betrayers of Party confidence, provocateurs, advocates of terrorism and violence as a method of Party procedure, or members whose actions are detrimental to the Party and the working class, shall be summarily dismissed from positions of responsibility, expelled from the Party and exposed before the general public.

ARTICLE XI

Affiliation

The Communist Party of the U. S. A. is affiliated with its fraternal Communist Parties of other lands through the Communist International and participates in International Congresses, through its National Committee. Resolutions and decisions of International Congresses shall be considered and acted upon by the supreme authority of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., the National Convention, or between Conventions, by the National Committee.

ARTICLE XII

Amending the Constitution

Section 1. This Constitution and By-Laws may be amended as follows: (a) by decision of a majority of the voting delegates present at the National Convention, provided the proposed amendment has been published in the Party press or Discussion Bulletins of the National Committee at least thirty days prior to the Convention; (b) by the National Committee for the purpose of complying with any law of any state or of the United States or whenever any provisions of this Constitution and By-Laws conflict with any such law. Such amendments made by the National Committee shall be published in the Party press or Discussion Bulletins of the National Committee and shall remain in full force and effect until acted upon by the National Convention.

Section 2. Any Amendment submitted by a State Committee or State Convention within the time provided for shall be printed in the Party press.

ARTICLE XIII

By-Laws

Section 1. By-Laws shall be adopted, based on this Constitution, for the purpose of establishing uniform rules and procedure for the proper functioning of the Party organizations. By-Laws may be adopted or changed by majority vote of the National Convention, or between Conventions by majority vote of the National Committee.

Section 2. State By-Laws not in conflict with the National Constitution and By-Laws may be adopted or changed by majority vote of the State Convention or, between Conventions, by majority vote of the State Committee.

ARTICLE XIV

Charters

The National Committee shall issue Charters to State or District Organizations and at the request of the respective State Organizations, to County and City Organizations, defining the territory over which they have jurisdiction and authority.

Rules and By-Laws

The following are the Rules and By-Laws adopted by the Communist Party of the United States of America, in accordance with its Constitution, for the purpose of carrying out the principles, rights, and duties as established in the Constitution in a uniform manner in all Party organizations.

Basic Organizations

The basic organizations of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. are the shop, territorial, and industrial Branches. A shop Branch consists of those Party members who are employed in the same place of employment. Shop Branches shall be organized in every factory, shop, mine, ship, dock, office, etc., where there is a sufficient number of Party members, but no less than seven.

A territorial Branch consists of members of the Party living in the same neighborhood or territory. Territorial Branches shall be organized on the basis of the political division of the city or town (assembly district, ward, precinct, election district, town, or township, etc.).

Industrial Branches may be organized and shall consist of Party members employed in the same trade or industry and shall be composed of those Party members who are employed in places where shop Branches have not yet been formed. Shop Branches shall be organized wherever possible.

Every Branch of the Party shall elect an Executive Committee, which shall consist of at least the following officers: chairman, treasurer, educational director, membership director. There may be a recording secretary whose functions may be filled by one of the other officers. The size of the Executive Committee shall be determined by the size of the Branch, but shall not be less than four.

The Executive Committee has the duty of preparing the agenda and proposals for the membership meeting, administering and executing the decisions of the membership and the higher Party committee, and, between Branch meetings, of making decisions concerning matters which require immediate action. The Executive Committee of the Branch shall report regularly on its work, which shall be subject to review and action by the membership.

Regular election of Branch officers shall take place yearly, but not more than twice a year. All officers shall be elected by majority vote of the membership at a specially designated meeting of which the whole membership shall be notified. Officers may be replaced by majority vote of the Branch membership at any time, with the approval of the higher Party committee.

Financial statements shall be submitted to the Branch by the Executive Committee at least quarterly.

The order of business at the Branch meeting shall include the following:

1. Reading of minutes of previous meeting;
2. Dues payments and initiation of new members;
3. Report of Executive Committee:
 - a. Checkup on decision (old business);
 - b. Assignments and tasks, reports on communications, literature and press (new business);
4. Good and welfare;
5. Regular educational discussion (educational discussion may be moved to any point on the order of business).

Collections within Party organizations in a given territory may be made only with the approval of the next higher body.

One-third of the Branch membership shall constitute a quorum.

Branches shall meet at least once every two weeks.

Section Organizations

Delegates to the Section Convention or Council shall be elected by all Branches in proportion to their membership. The basis of representation shall be decided upon by the Section Committee in consultation with the higher Party Committee.

Any delegate to the Section Council may be recalled by a majority vote of his Branch. The Section Council meets regularly once a month.

The Section Council shall make a report at least once in three months to the general membership meeting of the Section. All Party members residing in the territory may be invited to these meetings.

The Section Council shall submit financial reports to the Branches and to the higher Party Committee at least once in three months.

City or County Organizations

In cities where there is more than one Section Organization, a City Council may be formed by the election of delegates either from the Section Councils or directly from the Branches. The role of this form of organization is to coordinate and guide the work on a citywide scale, and actively participate in or supervise Party activity in all public elections and civic affairs within its territory.

The City Council elects from among its members a City Executive Committee with the same rights and duties on a citywide scale as the section Executive Committee has on a Sectionwide scale.

The State Committee may form County Councils with the same rights and duties on a county scale as the City Council has on a city scale.

The structure of the County Council shall be the same as of the City Council.

State or District Organizations

For two months prior to the State Convention, discussion shall take place in all Party organizations on the main resolutions and problems coming before the Convention. During this discussion, all Party organizations have the right and duty to adopt resolutions and amendments to the Draft Resolutions of the State Committee, for consideration at the Convention.

Only members who are at least two years in the Party shall be eligible for elections to the State Committee. Exceptions may be made only by State or

National Conventions. The size of the State Committee shall be decided upon by the Convention, in consultation with the National Committee.

The State Committee shall meet at least once every two months. It shall elect from among its members an Executive Committee to function with full power, which shall be responsible to the State Committee.

The State Committee, by a majority vote of its members, may replace any regular member who is unable to serve because of sickness or other assignment, or who is removed from office. New regular members shall be chosen from among the alternate members of the State Committee.

An auditing committee, elected by the State Committee shall examine the books of the State Financial Secretary once every month. A certified Public Accountant shall audit these books at least once a year, and his report shall be presented to the State Committee and Conventions.

Special State Conventions may be called by a majority vote of the State Committee, or by the National Committee.

Upon written request of Branches representing one-third of the membership of the State Organization, the State Committee shall call a special State Convention.

The call for a special Convention shall be subject to the approval of the National Committee.

The State Committee shall have the power to establish an official organ with the approval of the National Committee.

The State Committee shall conduct or supervise Party activity in all public elections and statewide public affairs within the State.

In states having more than one thousand members, the State Committee shall appoint a Disciplinary Committee with the task of hearing disciplinary cases, and reporting its findings and recommendations to the State Committee. In States with less than one thousand members, a committee may be appointed if it is considered necessary.

The rules governing the organization and functioning of District Organizations shall be the same as those provided for the State Organizations.

Qualifications for Delegates to Conventions

Delegates to the State Conventions must be in good standing and have been members of the Party for at least one year.

Delegates to the National Convention must be in good standing and have been members of the Party for at least two years.

In special cases, the latter qualification (length of time in Party) may be waived, but only with the approval of the leading committee involved (National Committee for the National Convention, State Committee for the State Convention).

Membership

It is within the provision of Article III, Section 1 of the Constitution that the following are eligible to membership in the Communist Party:

a. Persons who, by some present unjust and undemocratic laws, are excluded from citizenship and disbarred from legally declaring their intentions of becoming citizens;

b. Students and others temporarily residing in the country;

c. All persons coming from countries contiguous to the United States, engaged in migratory work, and temporarily in the country.

Rate of Dues

Dues shall be paid every month according to the following rates:

a. Housewives, unemployed, and all members earning up to \$47.00 a month, shall pay 10 cents a month.

b. All members earning from \$47.01 to \$80.00 a month inclusive shall pay 25 cents a month.

c. All members earning from \$80.01 to \$112.00 a month inclusive shall pay 50 cents a month.

d. All members earning from \$112.01 to \$160.00 a month inclusive shall pay \$1.00 a month.

e. Members earning more than \$160.00 per month shall pay, besides the regular \$1.00 dues, additional dues at the rate of 50 cents for each additional \$10.00 or fraction thereof.

All dues payments must be acknowledged in the membership book by dues stamps, issued by the National Committee.

Transfers and Leaves of Absence

Members who move from one neighborhood, shop or industry to another and have to go from one Branch to another, shall obtain transfers from their Branches. No member shall be accepted by the new Branch without a properly filled out transfer card. Before receiving transfers, members shall be in good standing and have paid up all other financial obligations to their Branches. If a member transfers from one Section or City Organization to another, a duplicate transfer card shall be transmitted through the State or District Committee. If a member transfers from one State or District to another, this shall be recorded in the membership book, and a duplicate transfer card shall be sent through the National Committee.

No member has the right to take a leave of absence without the permission of his Branch. Leaves of absence not exceeding one month may be granted by the Branch. An extended leave of absence, upon the recommendation of the Branch, shall be acted upon by the next higher committee of the Party. Before a leave of absence is given the member shall pay up dues, and settle his financial obligations up to and including the end of the leave of absence period.

Readmittance

Expelled members applying for readmittance must submit a written statement and their applications may not be finally acted upon except with the approval of the National Control Commission.

Former members whose membership has lapsed must submit a written statement on application for readmission, to be finally acted upon by the respective State Committees.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—1940

On October 17, 1940, the Voorhis Act became effective. This act provided for the registration of every organization subject to foreign control which engages in political activity. Inasmuch as the constitution of the Communist Party, U. S. A., provides that the party be "affiliated to the Communist International" the question arose as to whether the party came within the purview of the Voorhis Act. This situation was remedied by the calling of a special convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., on November 16-17, 1940, at which time the following constitution was adopted:²⁰

THE 1940 CONSTITUTION

PREAMBLE

THE COMMUNIST PARTY of the United States of America is a working class political party carrying forward today the traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Jackson, and Lincoln, and of the Declaration of Independence; it upholds the achievements of democracy, the right of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and defends the United States Constitution against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and all popular liberties; it is devoted to defense of the immediate interests of workers, farmers, and all toilers against capitalist exploitation, and to preparation of the working class for its historic mission to unite and lead the American people to extend these democratic principles to their necessary and logical conclusions:

By establishing common ownership of the national economy, through a government of the people, by the people, and for the people; the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, nation by nation, and race by race, and thereby the abolition of class divisions in society; that is, by the establishment of socialism, according to the scientific principles enunciated by the greatest teachers of mankind, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, embodied in the Communist International; and the free cooperation of the American people with those of other lands, striving toward a world without oppression and war, a world brotherhood of man.

To this end, the Communist Party of the United States of America establishes the basic laws of its organization in this Constitution.

ARTICLE I

Name

The name of this organization shall be COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

ARTICLE II

Party Emblems

The highest Party authority in each State shall have power to select the emblem of the Communist Party of that State, taking into consideration the Statutes of said State applying thereto. Its design shall be in such form as shall represent the idea of the unity of worker and farmer.

²⁰ Copy in files of the committee.

ARTICLE III

Membership

SECTION 1. Any person twenty-one years of age or more, regardless of race, color, national origin, sex, or religious belief, who is a citizen of the United States, and whose loyalty to the working class is unquestioned, shall be eligible for membership.

SECTION 2. A Party member is one who accepts the Party program, as determined by the Constitution and the conventions of the Party, attends the regular meetings of the membership Branch, pays dues regularly, and is active in Party work.

SECTION 3. An applicant for membership shall be endorsed by at least two members of the Communist Party. Applications are subject to discussion and decision by the basic organization of the Party to which the application is presented.

SECTION 4. There shall be no members at large without special permission of the National Committee or of a State Committee.

SECTION 5. Party members two months in arrears in payment of dues cease to be members of the Party in good standing, and shall be informed thereof.

SECTION 6. Members who are four months in arrears shall be dropped from Party membership. Every member three months in arrears shall be officially informed of this provision, and a personal effort shall be made to bring such member into good standing. However, if a member whose membership is terminated for these reasons applies for readmission within six months, he may, on the approval of the next higher Party committee, be permitted to pay up his back dues and keep his standing as an old member.

ARTICLE IV

Initiation and Dues

SECTION 1. The initiation fee for an employed person shall be 50 cents and for an unemployed person 10 cents.

SECTION 2. Dues shall be paid every month according to rates fixed by the National Committee.

SECTION 3. The income from dues shall be distributed to the various Party organizations as determined by the National Committee.

SECTION 4. Fifty percent of the initiation fee shall be sent to the National Committee and 50 percent shall remain with the State Organization.

ARTICLE V

International Solidarity and Assessment

SECTION 1. Every four months all members of the Party shall pay an assessment equal to the average dues payment per month for the previous four months, for an International Solidarity Fund. This money shall be used by the National Committee exclusively to aid the workers and toilers of other lands, and their organizations, who may be victimized in their struggles against fascism and military reaction, for national and social emancipation, for peace and freedom.

SECTION 2. All local or district assessments are prohibited, except by special permission of the National Committee. Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or the National Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases stamps for such special assessments.

ARTICLE VI

The Party: Rights and Duties of Members

SECTION 1. The Communist Party of the U. S. A. upholds the democratic achievements of the American people. It opposes with all its power any clique, group, circle, faction, or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken, or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy whereby

the majority of the American people have obtained power to determine their own destiny in any degree. It condemns and opposes all policies and acts of sabotage, espionage, and all other forms of "Fifth Column" activity. The Communist Party of the U. S. A., standing unqualifiedly for the right of the majority to direct the destinies of our country, will fight with all its strength against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within, to impose upon our people the arbitrary will of any selfish minority group or party or clique or conspiracy.

SECTION 2. Every member of the Party who is in good standing has not only the right, but the duty, to participate in the making of the policies of the Party and in the election of its leading committees, in a manner provided for in the Constitution.

SECTION 3. In matters of state or local nature, the Party organizations have the right to exercise full initiative and to make decisions within the limits of the general policies and decisions of the Party.

SECTION 4. After thorough discussion, the majority vote decides the policy of the Party, and the minority is dutybound to carry out the decision.

SECTION 5. Party members disagreeing with any decision of a Party organization or committee have the right to appeal that decision to the next higher body, and may carry the appeal to the highest bodies of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., its National Committee and the National Convention. Decisions of the National Convention are final. While the appeal is pending, the decision must nevertheless be carried out by every member of the Party.

SECTION 6. In pre-Convention periods, individual Party members and delegates to the Convention shall have unrestricted right of discussion on any question of Party policy and tactics and the work and future composition of the leading committees.

SECTION 7. The decisions of the Convention shall be final and every Party member and Party organization shall be dutybound to recognize the authority of the Convention decisions and the leadership elected by it.

SECTION 8. All Party members in mass organizations (trade unions, farm and fraternal organizations, etc.), shall cooperate to promote and strengthen the given organization and shall abide by the democratic decisions of these organizations.

SECTION 9. It shall be the duty of Party members to explain the mass policies of the Party and the principles of socialism.

SECTION 10. It shall be the duty of Party members to struggle against the national oppression of the Negro people; to fight for complete equality for Negroes in all phases of American life and to promote the unity of Negro and white toilers for the advancement of their common interests.

SECTION 11. All Party members who are eligible shall be required to belong to their respective trade unions.

SECTION 12. All officers and leading committees of the Party from the Branch Executive Committee up to the highest committees are elected either directly by the membership or through their elected delegates. Every committee must report regularly on its activities to its Party organization.

SECTION 13. Any Party officer may be removed at any time from his position by a majority vote of the body which elected him, or by the body to which he is responsible, with the approval of the National Committee.

SECTION 14. Requests for release of a Party member from responsible posts may be granted only by the Party organization which elected him, or to which he is responsible, in consultation with the next higher committee.

SECTION 15. No Party member shall have personal or political relationship with confirmed Trotskyites, Lovestoneites, or other known enemies of the Party and of the working class.

SECTION 16. All party members eligible shall register and vote in the elections for all public offices.

ARTICLE VII

Structure of the Party

SECTION 1. The basic organization of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. is the Branch.

The Executive Committee of the Branch shall be elected once a year by the membership.

SECTION 2. The State Organization shall comprise all Party organizations in one state.

The highest body of the State Organization is the State Convention, which shall convene every two years, and shall be composed of delegates elected by the Conventions of the subdivisions of the Party or Branches in the State. The delegates are elected on the basis of numerical strength.

A State Committee of regular and alternate members shall be elected at the State Convention with full power to carry out the decisions of the Convention and conduct the activities of the State Organization until the next State Convention.

The State Committee may elect from among its members an Executive Committee, which shall be responsible to the State Committee.

Special State Conventions may be called either by a majority vote of the State Committee, or upon written request of the Branches representing one-third of the membership of the state, with the approval of the National Committee.

SECTION 3. District Organizations may be established by the National Committee, covering two or more states. In such cases the State Committees shall be under the jurisdiction of the District Committees, elected by and representing the Party Organizations of the states composing these Districts. The rules of convening District Conventions and the election of leading committees shall be the same as those provided for the State Organization.

SECTION 4. State and District Organizations shall have the power to establish all necessary subdivisions such as County, City, and Section Organizations and committees.

SECTION 5. The State Organization shall have full autonomy and power within the framework of the program, policies, and Constitution of the National Organization.

ARTICLE VIII

National Organization

SECTION 1. The supreme authority in the Communist Party of the U. S. A. is the National Convention. Regular National Conventions shall be held every two years. Only National Conventions are authorized to make political and organizational decisions binding upon the entire Party and its membership, except as provided in Article VIII, Section 6.

SECTION 2. The National Convention shall be composed of delegates elected by the State and District Conventions. The delegates are elected on the basis of numerical strength of the State Organizations. The basis for representation shall be determined by the National Committee.

SECTION 3. For two months prior to the Convention, discussion shall take place in all Party organizations on the main resolutions and problems coming before the Convention. During this discussion all Party organizations have the right and duty to adopt resolutions and amendments to the Draft Resolutions of the National Committee for consideration at the Convention.

SECTION 4. The National Convention elects the National Committee, a National Chairman and General Secretary by majority vote. The National Committee shall be composed of regular and alternate members. The alternate members shall have voice but no vote.

SECTION 5. The size of the National Committee shall be decided upon by each National Convention of the Party. Members of the National Committee must have been active members of the Party for at least three years.

SECTION 6. The National Committee is the highest authority of the Party between National Conventions, and is responsible for enforcing the Constitution and securing the execution of the general policies adopted by the democratically elected delegates in the National Convention assembled. The National Committee represents the Party as a whole, and has the right to make decisions with full authority on any problem facing the Party between Conventions. The National Committee organizes and supervises its various departments and committees; conducts all the political and organizational work of the Party; appoints or removes the editors of its press, who work under its leadership and control; organizes and guides all undertakings of importance for the entire Party; distributes the Party forces and controls the central treasury. The National Committee, by majority vote of its members, may call special State or National Conventions. The National Committee shall submit a certified, audited financial report to each National Convention.

SECTION 7. The National Committee elects from among its members a Political Committee and such additional secretaries and such departments and committees as may be considered necessary for most efficient work. The Political Committee

is charged with the responsibility of carrying out the decisions and the work of the National Committee between its full sessions. It is responsible for all its decisions to the National Committee. The size of the Political Committee shall be decided upon by majority vote of the National Committee.

Members of the Political Committee and editors of the central Party organs must have been active members of the Party for not less than five years.

The National Committee shall meet at least once in four months.

The National Committee may, when it deems it necessary, call Party Conferences. The National Committee shall decide the basis of attendance at such Conferences. Such Conferences shall be consultative bodies auxiliary to the National Committee.

ARTICLE IX

Disciplinary Procedure

SECTION 1. Breaches of Party discipline by individual members, financial irregularities, as well as any conduct or action detrimental to the Party's prestige and influence among the working masses and harmful to the best interests of the Party, may be punished by censure, public censure, removal from responsible posts, and by expulsion from the Party. Breaches of discipline by Party committees may be punished by removal of the committee by the next higher Party committee, which shall then conduct new elections.

SECTION 2. Charges against individual members may be made by any person—Party or non-Party—in writing, to the Branches of the Party or to any leading committee. The Party Branch shall have the right to decide on any disciplinary measure, including expulsion. Such action is subject to final approval by the State Committee.

SECTION 3. The State and National Committees have the right to hear and take disciplinary action against any individual member or organization under their jurisdiction.

SECTION 4. All parties concerned shall have the fullest right to appear, to bring witnesses and to testify before the Party organization. The member punished shall have the right to appeal any disciplinary decision to the higher committees up to the National Convention of the Party.

SECTION 5. Party members found to be strikebreakers, degenerates, habitual drunkards, betrayers of Party confidence, provocateurs, persons who practice or advocate terrorism, sabotage, espionage, and force and violence, or members whose actions are otherwise detrimental to the Party and the working class, shall be summarily dismissed from positions of responsibility, expelled from the Party, and exposed before the general public.

ARTICLE X

Amending the Constitution

This Constitution may be amended as follows: (a) by decision of a majority of the voting delegates present at the National Convention; or (b) by the National Committee for the purpose of complying with any law of any state or of the United States or whenever any provisions of this Constitution and By-Laws conflict with any such law. Such amendments made by the National Committee shall be published in the Party press or Discussion Bulletins of the National Committee and shall remain in full force and effect until acted upon by the National Convention.

ARTICLE XI

By-Laws

SECTION 1. By-Laws may be adopted, based on this Constitution, for the purpose of establishing uniform rules and procedure for the proper functioning of the Party organizations. By-Laws may be adopted or changed by majority vote of the National Convention, or between Conventions by majority vote of the National Committee.

SECTION 2. State By-Laws not in conflict with the National Constitution and By-Laws may be adopted or changed by majority vote of the State Convention or, between Conventions, by majority vote of the State Committee.

ARTICLE XII

Charters

The National Committee shall issue Charters to State or District Organizations and, at the request of the respective State Organizations, to County and City Organizations, defining the territory over which they have jurisdiction and authority.

THE COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION—1944

The attack on Russia by Germany in June 1941 followed by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor placed the American Communists in the unusual position of supporting a capitalist government. The national committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., met in a plenary session in January 1944. Earl Browder, general secretary of the party, in his report to the national committee said: ²¹

The Communist Party commits itself in full good faith to work with the overwhelming majority of our nation for the most successful realization of our enormous national task of war and postwar construction on this basis.

It is equally evident that the political issues of this time will be decided within the form of the two party system traditional in our country. In this framework can be fought out and won the necessary struggle of the American people to safeguard our country's victory and the preservation of its institutions through such measures as the restoration of universal suffrage to the southern people, the elimination of the anti Negro and of all undemocratic restrictions in the primary elections and total removal of all antilabor laws and racial discrimination.

The Communist Party's contribution in the election will be to aid the struggle for the unity of the people in support of the nation's war policy, without partisan or class advantages.

The win the war policy of the nation are under challenge in this election. A rejection by the people of all defeatist attacks on the President and the nation's war policy is an inseparable part of the successful and speedy victorious conclusion of the war. The national election of 1944 is as much a test of the peoples' support of the war as was the election of 1864.

The war is not yet won. The really decisive fighting lies ahead. The Communist Party places ahead of all other considerations the consolidation of our national unity to guarantee the speedy victorious conclusion of the war in Europe and Asia, uninterrupted and full war production and the consolidation of the peace and collaboration between nations which the agreements have made possible.

The National Committee calls the National Convention of the Communist Party to meet in May, the day and place to be fixed by the Political Committee by February 1. Before this convention the National Committee will place a number of proposals, among which will be that the Communist organization cease to carry the word "Party" in its name, and, instead, adopt a name more exactly representing its role as a part of a larger unity in the nation, not seeking any partisan advancement—a name, for example, like American Communist Political Association.

The National Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., unanimously adopted Browder's report. A committee consisting of Roy Hudson, John Williamson, Gilbert Green, Eugene Dennis, Ann Burlak, Pat Toohy, Sam Darcy, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Ben Gold, and Peter Cacchione was appointed to submit recommendations to the national convention on possible changes in the preamble, name, articles, and sections of the constitution.

The Communist Party, U. S. A., met in convention in New York City, May 20-22, 1944, formed the Communist Political Association and adopted the following constitution: ²²

²¹ The Communist, February 1944, pp. 98-101.

²² Copy in files of committee.

CONSTITUTION

PREAMBLE

The Communist Political Association is a nonparty organization of Americans which, basing itself upon the working class, carries forward the traditions of Washington, Jefferson, Paine, Jackson, and Lincoln, under the changed conditions of modern industrial society.

It seeks effective application of democratic principles to the solution of the problems of today, as an advanced sector of the democratic majority of the American people.

It upholds the Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights, and the achievements of American democracy against all the enemies of popular liberties.

It is shaped by the needs of the nation at war, being formed in the midst of the greatest struggle of all history; it recognizes that victory for the free peoples over fascism will open up new and more favorable conditions for progress; it looks to the family of free nations, led by the great coalition of democratic capitalist and socialist states, to inaugurate an era of world peace, expanding production and economic well-being, and the liberation and equality of all peoples regardless of race, creed, or color.

It adheres to the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism, the heritage of the best thought of humanity and of a hundred years' experience of the labor movement, principles which have proved to be indispensable to the national existence and independence of every nation; it looks forward to a future in which, by democratic choice of the American people, our own country will solve the problems arising out of the contradiction between the social character of production and its private ownership, incorporating the lessons of the most fruitful achievements of all mankind in a form and manner consistent with American traditions and character.

For the advancement of these aims, the Communist Political Association establishes the basic laws of its organization in the following Constitution.

ARTICLE I

Name

SECTION 1. The name of this organization shall be Communist Political Association.

ARTICLE II

Purposes

SECTION 1. The purposes of the Association are to assure to its membership adequate information, education, and organized participation in the political life of our country in cooperation with other Americans for the advancement and protection of the interests of the nation and its people.

ARTICLE III

Membership

SECTION 1. Any resident of the United States, eighteen years of age or more, regardless of political affiliation, race, color, national origin, sex, or religious belief, who subscribes to the purposes of the Association shall be eligible for membership.

SECTION 2. Any person eligible for membership according to Section 1, who accepts the program policies of the Association as determined by its Constitution and Conventions, who is active on their behalf, reads the press and literature; pays dues regularly and holds membership in an Association club shall be considered a member.

ARTICLE IV

Initiation Fees, Dues and Assessments

SECTION 1. Initiation fees and dues shall be paid according to rates fixed by the National Convention.

SECTION 2. The income from dues and initiation fees shall be distributed to the various subdivisions of the Association as determined by the National Convention.

SECTION 3. Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or by a two-thirds vote of the National Committee. All local or district assessments are prohibited except by special permission of the National Committee.

ARTICLE V

Rights and Duties of Members

SECTION 1. Every member of the Association who is in good standing has the right to participate in the making of its policies and in the election of its leading committees, in a manner provided for in this Constitution.

SECTION 2. After thorough discussion in any club, committee, or convention, decisions are made by a majority vote, and all members are dutybound to carry out such decisions.

SECTION 3. Association members disagreeing with any decision of a club, state or county committee have the right to appeal such decision to the next higher body, until they reach the National Committee and the National Convention. Decisions of the National Convention are final.

SECTION 4. No member shall be eligible to be elected to an office or committee, or to vote in the adoption of policies or in the election of officers, committees, or delegates who is three months or more in arrears in the payment of dues.

SECTION 5. Every member is obligated to fight with all his strength against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within, to impose upon the American people the arbitrary will of any selfish minority group or party or clique or conspiracy, or to interfere with the unqualified right of the majority to direct the destinies of our country.

ARTICLE VI

Structure

SECTION 1. The basic organization of the Association is the club, which shall be organized on a community basis in cities, townships, or rural areas.

The officers and executive committees of the clubs shall be elected by the membership by secret ballot once a year. Except for newly organized clubs, these elections shall take place in January of each year.

The clubs shall meet at least monthly, but shall establish standing committees, to be provided by the By-Laws, whose task shall be to function continuously and develop activity under the direction of the club executive committee.

SECTION 2. The state organization shall comprise all clubs in one state organized in such subdivisions as may be established, as provided for in this Constitution.

The highest body of the state organization is the State Convention, which shall convene every two years, and be composed of delegates elected by the conventions of the subdivisions of the Association or by the clubs in the state. The delegates shall be elected on the basis of numerical strength.

The State Convention shall elect, by majority vote, a State Committee, a President, Secretary, Treasurer, and such other state officers as it may determine. The State Committee may be composed of regular and alternate members. It has the responsibility to carry out the Convention decisions and direct the activities of the state organization between state conventions.

The State Committee shall elect from among its members a State Board, which shall be responsible to the State Committee.

Special state conventions may be called by either a majority vote of the State Committee, or upon written request of clubs representing one-third of the membership of the state.

SECTION 3. District organizations may be established by the National Committee. Where these cover two or more states, the State Committees shall be under the jurisdiction of the District Committees, elected by and representing the Association membership of the states composing these districts.

The rules for convening the District Conventions and the election of leading committees shall be the same as those provided for the state organizations.

SECTION 4. State and District Committees shall have the power to establish all necessary subdivisions, such as county and city organizations and committees, and the rules for election of such committees shall be the same as those provided for the State Committees.

SECTION 5. In matters of a state or local nature, the clubs, state and county committees have full autonomy and the right to make decisions within the limits of the general policies and Constitution of the Association and its Convention.

SECTION 6. All officers and leading committees of the Association, from the club executive committees to the highest committees, shall be elected either directly by the membership or through their elected delegates. Every committee must report regularly on its activities to the body that elected it.

SECTION 7. Any Association officer may be removed at any time from his position by a majority vote of the body which elected him, or by the committee to which he is responsible.

ARTICLE VII

National Organization

SECTION 1. The highest authority of the Association is the National Convention. Regular National Conventions shall be held every two years. Only National Conventions are authorized to make political and organizational decisions binding upon the entire Association and its membership, except as provided in Article VII, Section 7.

SECTION 2. The National Convention shall be composed of delegates elected by the State and District Conventions. The delegates shall be elected on the basis of the numerical strength of the state or district organizations. The basis for representation shall be determined by the National Committee.

SECTION 3. Prior to conventions, adequate time shall be allowed for discussion in all Association clubs of the main resolutions and problems coming before the convention. During this discussion all Association organizations have the right to adopt resolutions and propose amendments to the draft resolutions of the National Committee for consideration at the convention.

SECTION 4. The National Convention shall elect a National Committee by a majority vote. The National Committee shall be composed of the national officers and other regular and alternate members. Alternate members shall have voice but no vote, except where they replace regular members absent from meetings of the National Committee.

SECTION 5. The officers of the Association shall be: President, Vice Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer, and shall be elected by a majority vote of the convention.

SECTION 6. The number of members of the National Committee and the number of Vice Presidents shall be determined by a majority vote of each National Convention.

SECTION 7. The National Committee is the highest authority of the Association between National Conventions and is responsible for the enforcement of the Constitution and the execution of the general policies adopted by the National Convention. The National Committee represents the Association as a whole and has the right to make decisions with full authority on any problem facing the Association between conventions. The National Committee organizes and supervises its various departments and committees; conducts all the political-educational and organizational work of the Association; elects or removes editors of its press, who work under its leadership and guidance; organizes and directs all undertakings of importance to the entire Association; administers the national treasury. Special conventions may be called by the National Committee by a majority vote or by a vote of two-thirds of the State Committees. The National Committee shall submit a certified, audited financial report to each National Convention.

SECTION 8. The National Committee shall elect a National Board. The National Board shall be charged with the responsibility of carrying out the decisions and work of the National Committee between its sessions. The number of members of the Board shall be determined by the National Committee by majority vote. It shall be responsible for all its decisions to the National Committee. The duties and responsibilities of the Vice Presidents shall be determined by the National Committee or National Board.

ARTICLE VIII

Disciplinary Procedures

SECTION 1. Conduct or action detrimental to the working class and the Nation, as well as to the interests of the Association, violation of decisions of its leading committees or of this Constitution, financial irregularities, or other conduct unbecoming a member of the Association, may be punished by censure, removal from posts of leadership, or by expulsion from membership. Such conduct or action by any committee may be punished by removal of the committee by the State or National Committee, which shall then order new elections for said committee.

SECTION 2. Adherence to or participation in the activities of any clique, group, circle, faction, or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken, or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy, whereby the majority of the American people have maintained power to determine their destinies in any degree, shall be punished by immediate expulsion.

SECTION 3. The practice or advocacy of any form of racial or religious discrimination shall be grounds for expulsion from membership.

SECTION 4. No member shall have personal or political relations with enemies of the working class and Nation.

SECTION 5. Charges against individual members or committees may be made by any member in writing to the club of which he is a member, or to the leading committee having jurisdiction. Clubs shall act upon charges directed against anyone holding membership in that club.

SECTION 6. All parties concerned in disciplinary cases shall have the fullest right to appear to bring witnesses, and testify.

SECTION 7. The club or leading committee having jurisdiction shall have the right to decide by majority vote upon any disciplinary measure including expulsion. Disciplinary measures taken by leading committees are subject to approval by the body to which they are responsible.

ARTICLE IX

Appeals

SECTION 1. Any member who has been subject to disciplinary action has the right to appeal to the next higher body up to the National Convention, whose decision shall be final.

ARTICLE X

Amending the Constitution

SECTION 1. This Constitution may be amended by a majority vote at any regular or special National Convention.

ARTICLE XI

Relations and Affiliations With Other Organizations

SECTION 1. The Association shall cooperate locally and nationally with all organizations whose activities contribute to the welfare and furtherance of the interests of the working people and the Nation.

SECTION 2. Organizations—local, State, or national—which subscribe to the purposes of the Association as set forth in this Constitution and desire to become affiliated with it may be accepted, upon such conditions as the National Committee may adopt, by Association Committees in whose jurisdiction the application is made.

ARTICLE XII

By-Laws

SECTION 1. By-Laws may be adopted, based on this Constitution, for the purpose of establishing uniform rules and procedure for the proper functioning of the Association organizations. By-Laws may be adopted or changed by majority vote of the National Convention, or, between conventions, by majority vote of the National Committee.

SECTION 2. State By-Laws not in conflict with the National Constitution and By-Laws may be adopted or changed by majority vote of the State Convention, or, between conventions, by majority vote of the State Committee.

RETURN TO STATUS QUO ANTE BELLUM

The end of the war in Europe brought about another change in the ranks of the American Communists.

DUCLOS LETTER

In the April 1945 issue of "Cahiers du Communisme," theoretical organ of the Communist Party of France, appeared an article by Jacques Duclos entitled "On the Dissolution of the Communist Party of the United States." This article was reprinted in the Daily Worker of May 24, 1945. After reviewing the reasons advanced by Browder for the dissolution of the Communist Party and the formation of the Communist Political Association, Duclos said, in part: ²³

We, too, in France, are resolute partisans of national unity, and we show that in our daily activity, but our anxiety for unity does not make us lose sight for a single moment of the necessity of arraying ourselves against the men of the trusts. Furthermore, one can observe a certain confusion in Browder's declaration regarding the problems of nationalization of monopolies and what he calls the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Nationalization of monopolies actually in no sense constitutes a socialist advancement contrary to what certain people would be inclined to believe. No; in nationalization it is simply a matter of reforms of a democratic character, achievement of socialism being impossible to imagine with the preliminary conquest of power.

Everyone understands that the Communists of the United States want to work to achieve unity in their country, but it is less understandable that they envisage the solution of the problem of national unity with the good will of the men of the trusts and under quasi-idyllic conditions as if the capitalist regime had been able to change its nature by some unanimous miracle.

In truth, nothing justifies the dissolution of the American Communist Party, in our opinion. Browder's analysis of capitalism in the United States is not distinguished by a judicious application of Marxism-Leninism. The predictions of regarding a sort of disappearance of class contractions in the United States corresponds in nowise to a Marxist-Leninist understanding of the situation.

As to the argument consisting of a justification of the party's dissolution by the necessity of not taking part in the presidential elections, this does not withstand a serious examination.

Nothing prevents a Communist Party from adopting its electoral delegates to the requirements of a given political situation. It is clear that American Communists were right in supporting the candidacy of President Roosevelt in the last election but it was not at all necessary for this to dissolve the Communist Party.

It is beyond doubt that if instead of dissolving the Communist Party of the United States all had been done to intensify its activity in the sense of developing an ardent national and antifascist policy it would very clearly have consolidated its position and considerably extended its political influence. On the contrary formation of the Communist Political Association could not but trouble the minds and obscure the perspectives in the eyes of the working masses. * * *

And it is clear that if Comrade Earl Browder had seen, as a Marxist-Leninist, this important aspect of the problems facing the liberty-loving peoples in this moment of their history, he would have arrived at a conclusion quite other than the dissolution of the Communist Party of the United States.

²³ Daily Worker, May 24, 1945, p. 7.

BROWDER'S REPLY

The question has often been asked as to why a member of the French Communist Party should criticize the methods of the American Communists unless he had the authority from Moscow. The following article by Earl Browder, appeared in the same issue of the Daily Worker as the Duclos letter and is more or less an admission by Browder that the Duclos article was the voice of the Kremlin. Browder wrote, in part:

Unquestionably, while this is a personal article of Jacques Duclos it reflects the general trend of opinion of European Marxists in relation to America, and thus demands our most respectful attention. * * *

It has been clear at all times that the end of the war in Europe would require a fundamental review of all problems by American Marxists. We must estimate our past work, and face the tasks of the future. We must make the most careful inventory, balance our political books, and know clearly how we stand as we enter a new period of sharpening struggles, crises and profound changes. The article of Duclos may conveniently provide a starting point for this fundamental review, which the C. P. A. leadership had independently begun some time ago on the basis of accumulating threats against the unity of the great coalition. * * *

The National Committee will meet to draw conclusions after a period of discussion sufficient to crystallize the basic Marxist understanding of the C. P. A. membership, and at that time undertake to focus this understanding into a clear perspective for the coming period of new storms. * * *

Browder in saying that the Duclos letter reflected the opinion of European Marxists said, in effect, that the Duclos letter reported the opinion of Stalin, *the* leading European Marxist. If, as claimed by the Communists, that the Comintern had been dissolved, that the American Communist Party had no connection with Russian Communists, why would the opinions of European Marxists demand the most respectful attention of the American Communists? The answer is obvious.

END OF COMMUNIST COOPERATION WITH CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

The war in Europe was over. The Soviet Union was in no danger of a "Fascist Aggressor" and therefore the period of cooperation with capitalist countries was over. Those who had a short while before hailed Earl Browder as a great American Marxist now renounced him as a "revisionist." The doctrine of Marxism-Leninism must be revised.

COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION 1945 CONVENTION

The Communist Political Association met in convention in New York City July 26-28, 1945. The results of this convention were reflected in the Daily Worker of July 30, 1945, at page 2. The Daily Worker said:

With William Z. Foster, veteran leader of the American labor movement, at the helm, an invigorated and strengthened National Committee yesterday took over direction of the Communist Party of the United States.

Election of a new national leadership climaxed an historic three-day national convention which reconstituted the Communist Party and adopted a new constitution. An over-all policy resolution committed the organization to struggle against reaction and fascism and pledged extensive education for the ultimate realization of Socialism.

The policies of Earl Browder, former leader of the Communist movement, were condemned as a "revision of Marxism" and a negation of the independent role of the labor movement and the Communist Party. They were rejected unanimously by the 93 delegates.

A new national committee of 55 members to map out the policies between conventions was selected. A national board of 11 members and a secretariat of 4 members was selected to direct the activities of the organization.

Those selected to the secretariat were: William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, John Williamson, and Robert Thompson.

Those selected to the national board were, in addition to the four members of the secretariat: Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Jack Stachel, Louis Weinstock, Irving Potash, Steve Nelson, and Josh Lawrence.

Those selected to the national committee, in addition to the members of the national board, were:

Gil Green	H. Smith	Gus Hall
William Schneiderman	Joe Dougher	William Patterson
Ella Reeve Bloor	Frederick N. Myers	John Gates
Aun Burlak	Mickie Lima	Henry Winston
David Davis	Sam Donchin	Fred Blair
Ben Gold	I. Amter	A. W. Berry
Arnold Johnson	Hal Simon	George Kane
Doxey Wilkerson	Roy Hudson	Ted Russell
Rose Gauden	Morris Childs	Clarence Sharp
Martin Mackie	Alice Burke	Ralph Shaw
Carl Ross	Peter V. Cacchione	N. Kovac
Robert Hall	Nat Ganley	Albert Lannon
Alexander Bittelman	Henry Huff	Bella Dodd
Claudia Jones	Max Weiss	
Nat Cohen	Carl Winter	

The national committee was approved by the convention and the national committee then selected Foster as chairman of the party and its national board.

The following were selected as a review commission in charge of training personnel and checking on finances:

Helen Allison	Alexander Trachtenberg	William Norman
Phil Burt	Saul Wellman	R. Roberts
James Ford	Rose Wortis	N. Sparks
Charles Krumbein	David Carpenter	A. Wagenknecht
J. Mindel	William McKie	Anita Whitney
George Morris	Roy Honsborough	
Dan Slinger	Dora Lipshitz	

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—1945

The constitution follows:²⁴

CONSTITUTION

PREAMBLE

The Communist Party of the United States is the political party of the American working class, basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism. It champions the immediate and fundamental interests of the workers, farmers, and all who labor by hand and brain against capitalist exploitation and oppression. As the advanced party of the working class, it stands in the forefront of this struggle.

The Communist Party upholds the achievements of American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and popular liberties. It uncompromisingly fights against imperialism and colonial oppression, against racial, national, and religious discrimination, against Jim Crowism, anti-Semitism, and all forms of chauvinism.

The Communist Party struggles for the complete destruction of fascism and for a durable peace. It seeks to safeguard the welfare of the people and the nation, recognizing that the working class, through its trade unions and by its independent political action, is the most consistent fighter for democracy, national freedom, and social progress.

The Communist Party holds as a basic principle that there is an identity of interest which serves as a common bond uniting the workers of all lands. It recognizes further that the true national interests of our country and the cause of peace and progress require the solidarity of all freedom-loving peoples and the continued and ever closer cooperation of the United Nations.

The Communist Party recognizes that the final abolition of exploitation and oppression, of economic crises and unemployment, of reaction and war, will be achieved only by the socialist reorganization of society—by the common ownership and operation of the national economy under a government of the people led by the working class.

The Communist Party, therefore, educates the working class, in the course of its day-to-day struggles, for its historic mission, the establishment of Socialism. Socialism, the highest form of democracy, will guarantee the full realization of the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and will turn the achievements of labor, science, and culture to the use and enjoyment of all men and women.

In the struggle for democracy, peace, and social progress, the Communist Party carries forward the democratic traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln, and Frederick Douglass, and the great working-class traditions of Sylvis, Debs, and Ruthenberg. It fights side by side with all who join in this cause.

For the advancement of these principles, the Communist Party of the United States establishes the basic laws of its organization in the following Constitution:

ARTICLE I

Name

SECTION 1. The name of the organization shall be Communist Party of the United States of America.

²⁴ Copy in files of the committee.

ARTICLE II

Purposes

SECTION 1. The purposes of this organization are to promote the best interests and welfare of the working class and the people of the United States, to defend and extend the democracy of our country, to prevent the rise of fascism, and to advance the cause of progress and peace with the ultimate aim of ridding our country of the scourge of economic crises, unemployment, insecurity, poverty, and war, through the realization of the historic aim of the working class—the establishment of Socialism by the free choice of the majority of the American people.

ARTICLE III

Membership

SECTION 1. Any resident of the United States, 18 years of age or over, regardless of race, color, national origin, sex, or religious belief, who subscribes to the principles and purposes of the Communist Party, shall be eligible for membership.

SECTION 2. Any person eligible for membership according to Section 1, who accepts the aims, principles and program of the Party as determined by its constitution and conventions, who holds membership in and attends club meetings, who is active on behalf of the Party, who reads the Party press and literature and pays dues regularly, shall be considered a member.

SECTION 3. An applicant for membership shall be indorsed by at least one member of the Communist Party. Such application is subject to discussion and decision by the Club to which it is presented.

SECTION 4. Party members three months in arrears in payment of dues cease to be members in good standing and shall be so informed. Members who are six months in arrears shall be dropped from Party membership after a personal effort has been made to bring such members into good standing. If members who terminated their membership for these reasons apply for readmission within six months, they may, upon approval of the Club Executive Committee, be permitted to pay up back dues and maintain standing as old members.

ARTICLE IV

Rights and Duties of Members

SECTION 1. Every member of the Party who is in good standing has not only the right but the responsibility to participate in the making of its policies and in the election of its leading committees in the manner provided for in this Constitution.

SECTION 2. After thorough discussion in any Club, committee, or convention, decisions are made by a majority vote of those in attendance, and all members are duty-bound to carry out such decisions.

SECTION 3. Party members disagreeing with any decision of a Club, County, or State committee have the right to appeal such decision to the next higher body until they reach the National Committee and the National Convention. Decisions of the National Convention are final. While the appeal is pending, members shall adhere to the decision already rendered. All appeals must be heard by the respective committee within 30 days.

SECTION 4. In preconvention discussions, members have the unrestricted right and duty to discuss any and all Party policies and tactics, the right to criticize the work and composition of all leading committees, the right of full expression in the Party press or other organs provided for such discussion.

SECTION 5. In accord with the principles of democratic centralism, and in accord with Article VII, Section 6, Communist Party members shall be involved in the formulation of major policies and shall have the right and duty to examine the execution of policies.

SECTION 6. Communist Party members in good standing have the right to vote on the adoption of policies and in the election of officers, committees, and delegates.

SECTION 7. Communist Party members, in accord with the provisions set forth in this Constitution, have the right to be nominated and elected to all offices or committees.

SECTION 8. The members of a Club, by majority vote, have the right to recall any of the Club officers or committees.

SECTION 9. A Party member shall have the right to prefer charges against any other member of the organization. Any member who has been subject to disciplinary action has the right to appeal to the next higher body up to the National Convention, including the right to testify and bring witnesses.

SECTION 10. Every member is obligated to fight with all his strength against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within our country, to destroy the rights of labor and the people, or any section thereof, or to impose upon the United States the arbitrary will of any group or party or clique or conspiracy, thereby violating the unqualified right of the majority of the people to direct the destinies of our country.

SECTION 11. Every Party member in a mass organization shall work to promote and strengthen the given organization and protect the interests of its members.

SECTION 12. All members shall strive to acquire an understanding of the fundamentals of Marxism and at all times aim to apply Communist consciousness, understanding, responsibility, and initiative in their work and activity.

SECTION 13. It shall be the obligation of all Party members to struggle against all forms of national oppression, discrimination, and segregation, against all ideological influences and practices of "racial" theories, such as white chauvinism and anti-Semitism. It shall be the duty of all Party members to fight for the full social, political, and economic equality of the Negro people; and promote the unity of the Negro and white people as essential for the advancement of their common interests.

SECTION 14. All members shall be required to belong to the respective trade unions to which they are eligible.

SECTION 15. All members eligible shall register and vote in the elections for all public offices.

SECTION 16. The Party shall give full aid in the acquisition of U. S. citizenship to those of its members who, because of unjust and undemocratic laws and practices, are deprived of this right.

ARTICLE V

Initiation Fees, Dues, and Assessments

SECTION 1. Initiation fees and dues shall be paid according to rates fixed by the National Convention.

SECTION 2. The income from dues and initiation fees shall be distributed to the various subdivisions of the Party as determined by the National Convention.

SECTION 3. Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or by a two-thirds vote of the National Committee. All local or district assessments are prohibited except by special permission of the National Committee.

ARTICLE VI

Structure

SECTION 1. The basic organization of the Party is the Club, which shall be organized on a community basis in cities, townships, rural areas, or on a shop basis.

The officers and executive committees of the Clubs shall be elected by the membership by a secret ballot once a year. Except for newly organized Clubs, these elections shall take place in January of each year.

The Clubs shall meet at least twice a month. Standing committees shall be established as provided by the By-Laws, and shall function under the direction of the Club Executive Committee.

SECTION 2. The state organization shall comprise all Clubs in one state and shall be organized in such subdivisions as may be found necessary in accord with the Constitution.

The highest body of the state organization is the State Convention, which shall convene at least once every two years and be composed of delegates elected by the conventions of the subdivisions of the Party or by the Clubs in the state. The delegates shall be elected on the basis of numerical strength. Delegates to the state conventions shall have been members of the Party in continuous good standing for at least one year.

The State Convention shall elect, by secret ballot and majority vote, a State Committee. The State Committee may be composed of regular and alternate members. To be eligible to the State Committee, one shall have been a member of the Party in continuous good standing for at least two years. The State Committee has the responsibility to carry out the Convention decisions and direct the activities of the state organization between state conventions.

The State Committee shall elect from among its members a State Board, Chairman, and such other officers as it decides upon. These shall be responsible to the State Committee.

Special State Conventions may be called by either a majority vote of the State Committee, or upon written request of Clubs representing one-third of the membership of the state.

SECTION 3. District organizations may be established by the National Committee. Where these cover two or more states, the State Committee shall be under the jurisdiction of the District Committees, elected by and representing the Party membership of the states composing these districts. The rules for convening the District Conventions and the election of leading committees shall be the same as those provided for the state organization.

SECTION 4. State and District Committees shall have the power to establish all necessary subdivisions, such as county and city organizations and committees, and the rules for election of such committees shall be provided in the By-Laws.

SECTION 5. In matters of a state or local nature, the Clubs, County and State Committees, have the right to make decisions within the limits of the general policies and Constitution of the Party and its Convention.

SECTION 6. All officers and leading committees of the Party, from the Club Executive Committees to the highest committees, shall be elected either directly by the membership or through their elected delegates. Committees and officers must report regularly on their activities to the body which elected them.

SECTION 7. Any Party officer may be removed at any time from his position by a majority vote of the body which elected him, or by the committee to which he is responsible.

ARTICLE VII

National Organization

SECTION 1. The highest authority of the Party is the National Convention. Regular National Conventions shall be held every two years. The National Conventions are authorized to make political and organizational decisions binding upon the entire Party and its membership, except as provided in Article VII, Section 6.

Special conventions may be called either by a two-thirds vote of the National Committee or by a two-thirds vote of all State Committees.

SECTION 2. The National Convention shall be composed of delegates elected by the State and District Conventions. The delegates shall be elected on the basis of the numerical strength of the state or district organizations. The basis for representation shall be determined by the National Committee. Delegates to the National Convention shall have been members of the Party in continuous good standing for at least two years.

SECTION 3. Prior to conventions, at least 60 days shall be allowed for discussion in all Party Clubs of the main resolutions and problems coming before the convention. During this discussion all Party organizations have the right to adopt resolutions and propose amendments to the draft resolutions and the Constitution for consideration by the convention.

SECTION 4. The National Convention shall elect a National Committee by a majority vote. To be eligible for election to the National Committee, one must have been a member of the Party in continuous good standing for at least four years.

SECTION 5. The number of members of the National Committee shall be determined by a majority vote of each National Convention.

SECTION 6. The National Committee is the highest authority of the Party between National Conventions and is responsible for the enforcement of the Constitution and the execution of the general policies adopted by the National Convention. The National Committee represents the Party as a whole and has the right to make decisions with full authority on any problem or development facing the Party between conventions. The National Committee organizes and supervises its various departments and committee; guides and directs all the political and organizational work of the Party; elects or removes editors of its press, who

work under its leadership and guidance; organizes and directs all undertakings of importance to the entire Party; administers the national treasury. The National Committee shall submit a certified, audited financial report to each National Convention.

SECTION 7. The National Committee shall elect a Chairman and such other officers as it decides upon. The National Committee shall elect a National Board. To be eligible for election to the National Board, one must have been a member of the Party in continuous good standing for at least five years.

The National Board shall be charged with the responsibility of carrying out the decisions and work of the National Committee between its sessions. The number of members of the National Board shall be determined by the National Committee by majority vote. The officers and the National Board are responsible for all their decisions and actions to the National Committee. The officers and members of the National Board may be removed by a majority vote of the National Committee.

SECTION 8. The National Committee shall meet at least three times each year.

ARTICLE VIII

National Review Commission

SECTION 1. In order to strengthen, as well as review the integrity and resoluteness of our cadres, to guard against violations of Party principles, to maintain and strengthen discipline, to supervise the audits of the financial books and records of the National Committee of the Party, the National Convention shall elect a National Review Commission. This Commission shall consist of tested members with exemplary records. The size of this Commission shall be determined by the National Convention.

SECTION 2. The National Review Commission may meet jointly with the National Committee, but between conventions shall be subordinate to the National Committee and its decisions shall be subject to review by the National Committee or its National Board.

SECTION 3. To be eligible for election to this Commission one shall have been an active member of the Party for at least five years.

SECTION 4. Full meetings of the National Review Commission shall be held at least once every four months, with a resident committee meeting at least semi-monthly.

ARTICLE IX

Disciplinary Procedures

SECTION 1. Conduct or action detrimental to the working class and the nation, as well as to the interests of the Party, violation of decisions of its leading committees or of this Constitution, financial irregularities, or other conduct unbecoming a member of the Party, may be punished by censure, removal from posts of leadership, or by expulsion from membership. Such conduct or action by any committee may be punished by removal of the committee by the State or National Committee, which shall then order new elections for said committee.

SECTION 2. Adherence to or participation in the activities of any clique, group, circle, faction or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy, whereby the majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destinies in any degree, shall be punished by immediate expulsion.

SECTION 3. The practice or advocacy of any form of racial, national or religious discrimination shall be grounds for expulsion from membership.

SECTION 4. Personal or political relations with enemies of the working class and nation are incompatible with membership in the Communist Party.

SECTION 5. Charges against individual members or committees may be made by any member in writing to the Club of which he is a member, or to the leading committee having jurisdiction. Clubs shall act upon charges directed against anyone holding membership in that club. All such charges shall be handled expeditiously.

SECTION 6. All persons concerned in disciplinary cases shall have the fullest right to appear, to bring witness and testify.

SECTION 7. The Club or leading committee having jurisdiction shall have the right to decide by majority vote upon any disciplinary measure, including expulsion. Disciplinary measures taken by leading committees are subject to approval by the body to which they are responsible.

ARTICLE X

Appeals

SECTION 1. Any member who has been subject to disciplinary action has the right to appeal to the next higher body up to the National Convention, whose decision shall be final.

ARTICLE XI

Amending the Constitution

SECTION 1. This Constitution may be amended by a majority vote at any regular or special National Convention.

ARTICLE XII

By-Laws

SECTION 1. By-Laws may be adopted, based on this Constitution, for the purpose of establishing uniform rules and procedure for the proper functioning of the Party organizations. By-Laws may be adopted or changed by majority vote of the National Convention or, between conventions, by majority vote of the National Committee.

SECTION 2. State By-Laws not in conflict with the National Constitution and By-Laws may be adopted or changed by majority vote of the State Convention or, between conventions, by majority vote of the State Committee.

ARTICLE XIII

SECTION 1. The National Committee shall issue charters to State or district organizations defining the territory over which they have jurisdiction and authority. State or District Committees shall issue charters to the Clubs.

ARTICLE XIV

SECTION 1. The Communist Party is not responsible for any political document, policy, book, article, or any other expression of political opinion except such as are issued by authority of this and subsequent national conventions and its regularly constituted leadership.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.—1958

The Communist Party in the United States today is once again embroiled in bitter factional disputes. In order to discuss the present troubles besetting the Communist Party, U. S. A., it is necessary to examine developments in the Soviet Union and its satellites during the past 5 years.

Following the death of Stalin on March 5, 1953, a so-called collective leadership ruled the Soviet Union. However, a bitter struggle for power ensued within the leadership, which was composed of high ranking officials of the Soviet Communist Party no longer required to be "loyal" and subservient to Stalin. Georgi M. Malenkov, apparently in a strong position as First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, immediately became Premier after Stalin's death. Nikita S. Khrushchev, next in line, became First Secretary of the party.

Using the powers of his new position, Khrushchev installed his supporters in key posts in the Government and in the party's Central Committee as another step in his upward climb. In the meantime Lavrenti Beria, head of the Soviet secret police, also sought to gain personal power. His attempt failed, however, and he was summarily purged, tried in secret, and executed in December 1953. The main contenders for power were then Malenkov and Khrushchev. Malenkov lost out and his "resignation" as Premier in February 1955 elevated Nikolai A. Bulganin to the Premiership, a figurehead behind which Khrushchev wielded the real control.

When the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party was held in February 1956, Khrushchev appeared as undisputed leader. It was at this Congress that he delivered his now famous "secret speech" (later released), in which he denounced Stalin, accusing him of heinous crimes during his reign. This came as a distinct shock to Communists throughout the world who had loyally and blindly followed the dictates of Stalin.

Signs of rebellion against Moscow were evidenced by many Communists in the satellite countries and in the free nations of the world. The most serious reactions were the uprising in Poznan, Poland, in June 1956, and the violent Hungarian revolt in December 1956. It was the Kremlin's barbaric use of its army to quell the Hungarian revolt which has caused a great number of prominent Communists throughout the world to denounce communism and quit the party organization. East Germany had already displayed dissatisfaction with Soviet rule by a revolt and uprising on June 17, 1953.

In June 1957, an organized effort to depose Khrushchev as First Secretary was attempted by some of the so-called old guard. However, he managed to thwart the plot, and effected the demotion of Malenkov, V. M. Molotov, Lazar M. Kaganovich, and Dmitri T. Shepilov to minor posts.

After he had ended the opposition from the secret police and various top party leaders, Khrushchev eliminated another threat in the

person of the popular marshal of the Soviet Army, Georgi K. Zhukov, who had backed Khrushchev in his struggle with Malenkov and company. Zhukov was removed as Defense Minister on October 26, 1957, for the ostensible reason that Zhukov was subordinating political indoctrination to combat training.

On March 27, 1958, all pretense at a "collective leadership" in the Soviet Union came to an end when Khrushchev, already First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, took over Bulganin's post as Premier of the Soviet Union. A monopoly of the top posts in the party and the Government had been achieved previously only by Stalin and (for 10 days after Stalin's death) by Malenkov. Thus, Khrushchev has emerged from the power struggles as undisputed dictator of the Soviet Union. It remains to be seen whether the new dictator can make his position as secure as Stalin's was, or whether he will in turn become a victim of new power struggles in the Soviet political volcano.

This post-Stalin power struggle threatened the control which the Soviet Communist Party had always maintained over the Communist Parties located outside of the Soviet Union. While many Communists throughout the world chose to resign from the party organizations, many others remaining in the parties began calling for local "autonomy" from Moscow guidance. The Soviet leadership fought against any tendencies toward a disaffection in its worldwide network of conspiratorial Communists loyal to the Soviet Union. The most recent Soviet action toward this end resulted in the so-called Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries, issued on November 22, 1957. This declaration, signed in Moscow by Communist leaders of 11 satellite nations, confirmed Moscow's leadership in the Communist world.

The reaction of the Communist Party, U. S. A. to developments in the Soviet Union was profound. Thousands of members left the party,²⁵ and those in the party were divided into factions.

The 16th Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., held in New York February 9-12, 1957, brought to a head the differences among leaders within the party. A so-called right-wing or revisionist faction led by John Gates, then editor of the *Daily Worker*, contained those dissatisfied and disillusioned with party ideology and policies. Included in this faction were Communists who resented the brutal action and intervention of Soviet troops in the Hungarian revolt; who sought independence from Moscow while still adhering to the principles of Marx and Lenin; and who sought to change the name of the party to a political association. William Z. Foster, head of the party since 1945, led another faction which still looked to Moscow for guidance. A middle-of-the-road group led by Eugene Dennis joined with Foster to defeat Gates at the convention. Gates and other rebellious Communists subsequently resigned from the party, leaving it firmly controlled by the Foster faction and still blindly obedient to the will of Moscow. The following constitution was adopted by the 16th Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A. :

²⁵ Gates, former Communist Party leader, has stated that during the past 2 years 10,000 of the party's 17,000 members left the party, leaving the present membership approximately 7,000.

CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—1957

PREAMBLE

The Communist Party of the United States is an American working-class political organization which bases itself upon the principles of scientific socialism. It champions the immediate and fundamental interests of the workers, farmers, the Negro people and all others who labor by hand and brain, against capitalist exploitation and oppression.

The Communist Party believes that the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, of poverty, war, racism, and ignorance will be finally achieved by the socialist reorganization of society—by the common ownership and operation of the national economy under a government of the people led by the working class. The Communist Party holds that there are various roads to socialism and that the working people of our Nation will find their own road to socialism. We advocate a peaceful, democratic road to socialism through the political and economic struggles of the American people within the developing constitutional process.

The Communist Party seeks to advance the understanding of the working class in its day-to-day struggles for its historic mission, the establishment of socialism. Socialism, through the achievement of a vastly widened democracy, will fulfill the promise of an atomic age and guarantee the realization of the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," turning the epic achievements of American labor, science and culture to the use and enjoyment of all men and women.

The Communist Party upholds the achievements of American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights, particularly the 14th and 15th Amendments which guarantee equality to the American Negro, against those who would destroy democracy. It fights uncompromisingly against imperialism and colonial oppression, for curbing and breaking the power of monopoly, against racial, national and religious discrimination, anti-Semitism and all forms of chauvinism. It regards the struggle to wipe out the system of Jim Crowism and to win immediate and full citizenship and unconditional equality for the Negro people as basic to the fight for democracy.

The Communist Party holds as a cardinal principle that there is an identity of interest which serves as a common bond uniting the workers of all lands. It recognizes that this common bond is strengthened when working-class movements operate in an atmosphere of independence and equality and exercise the right of fraternal and constructive criticism. It holds further that the true national interest of our country and the cause of peace and progress require the solidarity of all freedom-loving peoples, peaceful coexistence of all nations, and the strengthening of the United Nations as a universal instrument of peace.

The Communist Party bases its theory generally on the scientific, humanist and democratic heritage of mankind and particularly on the principles of scientific socialism as developed by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and V. I. Lenin. These universally valid principles the Communist Party of the U. S. A. interprets, applies and strives to develop further in accordance with the requirements of the American class struggle, democratic traditions and customs. In the struggle for democracy, peace and social progress, the Communist Party strives to carry forward the democratic traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, and the great working-class and socialist traditions of William Sylvius, Eugene V. Debs and Charles E. Ruthenberg. In the struggle for socialism the Communist Party seeks no narrow partisan monopoly. It fights side by side with all who struggle for socialism and seeks to cooperate with all socialist-minded Americans to achieve socialism.

For the advancement of these principles, the Communist Party of the United States establishes the basic laws of its organization in the following Constitution :

ARTICLE I

Name

SECTION 1. The name of this organization shall be the Communist Party of the United States of America.

ARTICLE II

Purposes

SECTION 1. The purposes of this organization are: through the exercise of democratic and constitutional rights and participation in the electoral process and other forms of political activity, to promote the welfare of the working people of the United States, defend and extend their democratic rights, help unite them against monopoly control of the political and economic life of our nation, and organize to eliminate the scourge of economic crises, unemployment, poverty, racism and war through the establishment of socialism by the free and democratic choice of a majority of the people.

ARTICLE III

Membership

SECTION 1. Any resident of the United States, 18 years of age or over, regardless of race, color, national origin, sex or religious belief, who subscribes to the principles and purposes of the Communist Party, shall be eligible for membership.

SECTION 2. An applicant for membership shall be endorsed by at least two members of the Communist Party. Such application shall be subject to approval by a majority vote of the club to which the new member is presented.

SECTION 3. A Party member shall accept the Party program as determined by the Constitution and conventions of the Party, belong to a Party club and pay dues.

SECTION 4. Party members three months in arrears in payment of dues, cease to be members in good standing and shall be so informed. Members who are six months in arrears shall be dropped from Party membership after effort has been made, by personal interviews if feasible, to bring such members into good standing.

ARTICLE IV

Structure

SECTION 1. The Communist Party shall be organized on the basis of clubs. Clubs may be constituted on an electoral sub-division, neighborhood, town, shop or industry basis.

The officers and executive committees of the clubs shall be elected by the membership by secret ballot annually. Nominations shall take place at one meeting, and elections at the following meeting.

All clubs shall have as a minimum the following officers: club chairman, financial secretary and educational director. Additional officers and committees shall be determined by the size and needs of the club.

Any officer or executive committee member may be recalled for cause by the affirmative vote of a majority of the members of the club.

Financial reports shall be submitted to the club membership quarterly.

SECTION 2. The State organization shall comprise all clubs in one State and shall have the power and duty to establish all necessary sub-divisions such as county, city, regional or section organizations.

The highest body of the state organization is the state convention which shall meet at least once every two years. Each sub-division or club in the state shall elect delegates to the convention in such number as the state committee may determine, provided that the number of delegates to which each sub-division or club is entitled shall be in proportion to its membership. To be eligible for election as a delegate, a member shall have been in good standing for at least one year preceding the date of the convention.

Members of the State Committee shall be elected, in such manner and number as the state by-laws, state convention or state committee may determine; by clubs, or section conventions of other sub-divisions of the state organization, provided that the number to be elected by each club, section, or sub-division convention shall be in approximate proportion to the membership it represents.

The members so elected shall be subject to approval by the State Convention. After such approval, the convention shall elect committee members-at-large in such number as the convention may determine but not in excess of one-third of the total membership of the state committee.

All elections to the state committee shall be by majority vote and secret ballot.

The state convention shall elect by secret ballot and majority vote such officers as it may determine. Officers so elected shall be members of the state committee by virtue of their offices, shall be responsible to the state committee, and shall be subject to recall for cause by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the state committee.

A vacancy among the officers or members-at-large of the state committee may be filled, until the next convention, by secret ballot and majority vote of the members of the state committee. A vacancy among members of the state committee elected by lower organizations may be filled, until the next convention, by majority vote and secret ballot of the club or leading committee of the subdivision with respect to which the vacancy occurred.

To be eligible for election as a state officer or member of the state committee, a member shall have been in good standing for at least two years preceding the date of the election.

Special state conventions may be called by majority vote of the state committee or upon the written request of clubs representing one-third of the membership of the state.

The state committee shall name a committee to administer the finances of the organization and such other officers and committees as it deems necessary, all of which shall be responsible to the state committee. The State Committee shall make a financial report to all regular state conventions.

State committees shall meet at least four times a year. Policy questions shall be reviewed, and new policies may be submitted for adoption on the initiative of one-third of the members of the state committee or by 10% of the clubs. In the event that a club desires the adoption of a policy change it shall submit the proposed change in writing to the next higher body, which shall distribute copies of the proposal to all clubs in its jurisdiction for their action.

SECTION 3. District organizations may be established by the National Committee. District organizations may cover part of one state, or two or more states. Where a district organization covers two or more states, the State Committees shall be under the jurisdiction of the District Committee. The rules for convening District conventions and the election of district officers and committees shall be the same as those provided for the State organization.

SECTION 4. In matters of a local, state or district nature, clubs and section, county, state and district committees have the right to make decisions within the limits of the general policies of the Party as determined by this Constitution, national conventions and the national committee.

SECTION 5. All officers of leading committees are subordinate to these committees. Policy decisions shall be made only by the respective committees. Committees and officers must report regularly on their activities to the body which elected them, or the body to which they are responsible.

SECTION 6. Decisions of the District and State Committees shall regularly be made available to the membership in a manner to be determined by each State and District Committee.

ARTICLE V

National Organization

SECTION 1. The highest authority of the Party is the National Convention which is authorized to make political and organizational decisions binding upon the entire Party and its membership. Regular National Conventions shall be held every two years within the first six months of the year.

SECTION 2. The National Convention shall be composed of delegates elected by each state or district convention by secret ballot and majority vote in such number, in approximate proportion to the membership it represents, as the National Committee may determine. To be eligible for election as a delegate, the members shall have been in good standing for at least two years prior to the date of the convention.

SECTION 3. Special National Conventions may be called either by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the National Committee or by majority vote of two-thirds of all State committees not within a District organization and District Committees. It is incumbent upon the National Office to circulate any official request from any State or District Committee for a Special National Convention to all other State or District Committees for their action. The time and place of such special conventions shall be fixed by the National Committee. The basis for representation shall be determined in the same way as that of regular conventions.

SECTION 4. Prior to regular National Conventions, at least 90 days shall be provided for discussion in all Party clubs and leading committees on the main resolutions and problems coming before the Convention. During this discussion all Party organizations have the right to adopt resolutions and propose amendments to the draft resolutions and the Constitution for consideration by the Convention.

SECTION 5. The National Committee shall be elected in the following manner: Each State and District organization shall hold its convention in advance of the National Convention and shall elect members of the National Committee in a number determined in accordance with a scale of representation determined by the previous National Convention. The names of all members of the National Committee so elected shall be submitted for approval to the National Convention which follows their election. In addition to the members of the National Committee so elected, the National Convention shall elect members of the National Committee-at-large in a number determined by it, but not to exceed one third of the total membership of the National Committee. All elections to the National Committee shall be by secret ballot and majority vote.

The scale of representation shall be determined by the previous national convention.

SECTION 6. Members of the National Committee elected by a District or State organization shall be subject to recall for cause by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the District or State committee or by two-thirds vote of the District or State convention. Vacancies shall be filled by the same body by majority vote. Members-at-large may be recalled for cause by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the National Committee. The National Committee has the right to recommend the recall for cause of National Committee members elected by District or State Committees.

SECTION 7. The National Convention shall elect by secret ballot and majority vote such officers as it decides upon, all of whom shall be members of the National Committee by virtue of their offices. The National Committee shall name an executive committee and any other officers and committees it deems necessary. The officers and committees named by the convention and the National Committee shall be responsible to the National Committee, and may be removed for cause by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the National Committee. Vacancies may be filled by majority vote of the National Committee.

SECTION 8. To be eligible for election as a national officer or member of the National Committee, the member shall have been in good standing for at least five years preceding the election.

SECTION 9. Between National Conventions, the National Committee is responsible for the enforcement of the Constitution and the execution of the general policies adopted by the National Convention.

Between National Conventions, the National Committee is the highest authority of the Party, representing the Party as a whole, and as such has the authority to make decisions and take actions necessary and incidental to the good and welfare of the entire Party, and to act upon all problems and developments occurring between Conventions. In connection with its duties, and in the exercise of its responsibilities, the National Committee shall guide and direct all the political, organizational and educational work of the Party; organize and supervise its various departments and committees; elect or remove editors of its publications who shall work under its leadership and guidance; organize and direct all undertakings of importance to the entire Party; and administer the national treasury. The National Committee shall submit a certified audited financial report to each National Convention.

Except in the event of an emergency found to exist by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the National Committee, the National Committee shall not make any major policy change until it has submitted the proposed change in draft form to either the District or State Committees or the membership as a whole for debate for specified periods and for recommendations thereon. Conflicting views within the National Committee on all major policy questions and arguments advanced for and against the proposed policy shall be made known to the membership.

When in the judgment of the National Committee, the best interests of the organization require it, major policy changes shall be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership or to special enlarged, delegated conferences on a National or Regional basis.

SECTION 10. The National Committee shall meet at least four times a year and as often as necessary at the call of the officers or at the request of one-third of its members.

SECTION 11. Summaries and reports of National Committee meetings shall be made available to District and State Committees and shall appear in digest form in some Party publication available to the Party membership.

All Departments and leading committees shall submit reports regularly in writing to the National Committee. Such reports may be published in a Party publication when the National Committee so determines.

SECTION 12. Policy questions shall be reviewed, or new policies submitted for adoption, upon the initiative of one-third of the members of the National Committee.

The duly constituted officers of the National Committee shall make known to the members of the National Committee any request of any individual member of the National Committee for either a review of or the introduction of new major policy questions.

SECTION 13. The National Committee shall issue a special publication on a regular basis to facilitate reporting by the National Committee to the Party membership and the discussion of Party policies by the membership.

ARTICLE VI

Rights and Duties of Members

SECTION 1. Every member of the Party who is in good standing has the right to participate in the making of its policies and in the election of its leading committees, officers, and delegates.

Members have the right and duty, within the Party organization, to discuss any and all Party policies and tactics, to criticize the work and composition of all leading committees, to participate fully in the discussion in the Party press or any other authorized Party publications. They also have the right, in accordance with Section 2 of this Article, to dissent from decisions which have been made.

Members shall strive to be active in carrying out the program of the Party, to circulate its press and literature, to increase their knowledge of scientific socialism and to attend club meetings regularly.

SECTION 2. All decisions of any club, committee or convention are made by a majority vote after thorough discussion, unless otherwise specified in this Constitution, and all members are to abide by such decisions.

Every officer and member shall have the right to express a dissenting opinion on any matter of Party policy with respect to which a decision has been made by majority vote of the appropriate Party committee or convention, provided that such dissenting officer or member does not engage in factional or other activity which hinders or impedes the execution of such policy. The guarantee of the right of dissent provided for by this Section shall be implemented by providing for the expression and discussion of dissenting views in Party publications, including the publication provided for in Section 13 of Article V, and in authorized Party meetings arranged for that purpose.

SECTION 3. Party members disagreeing with any decision of a club, section, county, state or district committee have the right to appeal such decision, successively, to the next higher body, including the National Convention. Decisions of the National Convention are final. While the appeal is pending, members shall not act contrary to the decision already rendered. All appeals should be heard by the respective body within 90 days.

SECTION 4. At regular intervals in the period between conventions, the various Party organizations from Section to National Committees should organize delegated conferences to re-evaluate policy or develop a position on new issues which arise.

SECTION 5. Decisions of higher bodies on major questions shall be reported to lower bodies with the positions of individual members indicated. The lower bodies on finding the decision of higher bodies incorrect or inadequate shall have the right to request their review and amendment.

SECTION 6. In matters of state or local nature, the Party organizations have the right to exercise full initiative and to make decisions within the limits of the general policies and decisions of the Party.

SECTION 7. It shall be the obligation of all Party members to struggle against all forms of national oppression, national chauvinism, discrimination and segrega-

tion, against all ideological influences and practices of "racial" theories, such as white chauvinism and anti-Semitism. It shall be the duty of all Party members to fight for the full social, political and economic equality of the Negro people and promote the unity of the Negro and white people as essential for the advancement of their common interests.

SECTION 8. All Party members who are eligible shall be required to belong to their respective trade unions.

SECTION 9. All Party members in organizations (trade unions, farm and fraternal organizations, etc.) shall cooperate to promote and strengthen the given organization.

SECTION 10. All members eligible shall register and vote in elections for public office.

SECTION 11. The Party shall give full aid in the acquisition of U. S. citizenship to those of its members who, because of unjust and undemocratic laws and practices, are deprived of this right.

SECTION 12. The Communist Party recognizes the right of any member to resign without prejudice.

ARTICLE VII

Disciplinary Procedure and Appeals

SECTION 1. Subject to the provisions of this Article, any member or officer of the Party may be reprimanded, put on probation, suspended for a specified period, removed from office or expelled from the Party for actions detrimental to the interests of the Party and the working class, for making false statements in an application for membership, for financial irregularities, or for advocacy or practice of racial, national or religious discrimination.

SECTION 2. Subject to the provisions of this Article, any member shall be expelled from the Party who is a strike-breaker, a provocateur, engaged in espionage, an informer, or who advocates force and violence or terrorism, or who adheres to or participates in the activities of any group or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any institutions of American democracy through which the majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destinies.

SECTION 3. Charges against individual members or committees may be made by any member to the club of which the accused is a member or to the appropriate higher committee having jurisdiction. Clubs shall act upon charges directed against anyone holding membership in that club. All such charges shall be handled expeditiously by an elected trial committee. The trial committee shall hear charges, make recommendations for action to the body which elected it, and then disband.

SECTION 4. All accused persons concerned in disciplinary cases shall have the right to appear, to bring witnesses and testify. The burden of proof shall be on the accuser.

SECTION 5. After hearing the report of the trial committee, the club or leading committee having jurisdiction shall have the right to decide by a two-thirds vote upon any disciplinary measure, including expulsion. Disciplinary measures taken by leading committees are subject to approval by the body to which they are responsible.

There shall be an automatic review of all expulsions by the next higher body.

SECTION 6. Any member who has been subject to disciplinary action has the right to appeal to the next higher body up to the National Convention, whose decision shall be final. Upon receipt of an appeal, the national, state or county committee shall set a hearing and notify the appellant within sixty days from the date of receipt of the appeal except in cases where the appeal is to a state or national convention. Then the appeal shall be acted upon by the convention following the filing of the appeal.

ARTICLE VIII

Initiation Fees, Dues and Assessments

SECTION 1. Initiation fees and dues shall be paid according to rates fixed by the National Convention.

SECTION 2. The income from dues and initiation fees shall be apportioned among the various sub-divisions of the Party as determined by the National Convention.

SECTION 3. Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or by a two-thirds vote of the National Committee. All local or district assessments are prohibited except by special permission of the National Committee.

ARTICLE IX

SECTION 1. This Constitution may be amended by a majority vote of any regular or special national convention, or by referendum initiated by the National Committee or one-third of the state or district organizations.

State and District organizations or their sub-divisions may adopt by-laws provided they are in accord with the National Constitution.

ARTICLE X

SECTION 1. The Communist Party is not responsible for any political document, policy, book, article, or any other expression of political opinion except such as are issued by authority of this and subsequent national conventions and its regularly constituted leadership.

VOICE OF THE KREMLIN IN AMERICAN COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES

The reasons for the formation of the Communist Political Association followed the reasons advanced by Stalin for the dissolution of the Communist International—the promotion of Soviet-American friendship, cooperation against Nazi aggression and the new concept that it was possible for communism and capitalism to coexist peacefully.

William Z. Foster opposed the formation of the Communist Political Association and submitted a lengthy letter to the national committee in support of his position. His letter was suppressed and a year later, when the Communist Party was reconstituted, Foster stated that one of the reasons he agreed to the suppression of his letter was that the formation of the Communist Political Association had been approved by Moscow and he therefore bowed to the decision.

The revival of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which was instigated by the Duclos letter was just another instance of how the American Communists bowed to the voice of the Kremlin and once again adopted the Soviet program of revolutionary communism.

Back in 1929, the selection of Earl Browder as general secretary of the new and revitalized Communist Party of the United States of America was made by Stalin, who was said to have been of the opinion that Browder could be trusted to carry out orders implicitly because he lacked independence of both thought and spirit. Following Browder's elevation to the top-ranking position in the American Communist movement, Jay Lovestone and a number of his cohorts were expelled from the party. (Now, Browder has been thrown into the discard, also.)

Driving all the followers of Trotsky from the ranks of the American Communist Party in 1928, threats of expulsion of all those who did not follow the dictates of the Comintern in 1929, the selection of Earl Browder to be the general secretary of the American section of the Communist International, and the expulsion of Lovestone and his followers gave Moscow complete domination of the Communists in America, a stranglehold that has been maintained ever since.

After Stalin acted personally and through the Comintern in 1929, factionalism did not again rear its ugly head in the ranks of the American comrades to the extent of becoming an issue and effecting the work and devotion of American Communists to the Soviet cause until recent years.

But the faction dedicated to complete subservience to Moscow has always prevailed, even today.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM TO THE SOVIET UNION

The historical facts on organized communism in America leave no room for doubt that the Communist Party in the United States from the time of its inception has been a part and parcel of the world Communist movement directed from Moscow.

THIRD (COMMUNIST) INTERNATIONAL

The Third or Communist International was established in March 1919. The Second Congress, held July 17 to August 7, 1920, set up 21 conditions for joining the Communist International. The conditions were:²⁶

1. The general propaganda and agitation should bear a really Communist character, and should correspond to the programme and decisions of the Third International. The entire party press should be edited by reliable Communists who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the Proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be spoken of simply as a current hackneyed formula, it should be advocated in such a way that its necessity should be apparent to every rank-and-file working man and woman, to each soldier and peasant, and should emanate from everyday facts systematically recorded by our press day by day.

All periodicals and other publications, as well as party publications and editions, are subject to the control of the presidium of the party, independently of whether the party is legal or illegal. The editors should in no way be given an opportunity to abuse their autonomy and carry on a policy not fully corresponding to the policy of the party.

Wherever the followers of the Third International have access, and whatever means of propaganda are at their disposal, whether the columns of newspapers, popular meetings, labor unions, or cooperatives—it is indispensable for them not only to denounce the bourgeoisie, but also its assistants and agents—reformists of every color and shade.

2. Every organization desiring to join the Communist International shall be bound systematically and regularly to remove from all the responsible posts in the labor movement (Party organizations, editors, labor unions, parliamentary factions, cooperatives, municipalities, etc.), all reformists and followers of the "centre," and to have them replaced by Communists, even at the cost of replacing at the beginning "experienced" men by rank-and-file workingmen.

3. The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus, which at the decisive moment should do its duty by the party, and in every way possible assist the revolution. In every country where in consequence of martial law or of other exceptional laws, the Communists are unable to carry on their work lawfully, a combination of lawful and unlawful work is absolutely necessary.

4. A persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation is necessary in the army, where Communist groups should be formed in every military organization. Wherever, owing to repressive legislation, agitation becomes impossible, it is necessary to carry on such agitation illegally. But refusal to carry on or participate in such work should be considered equal to treason to the revolutionary cause, and incompatible with affiliation with the Third International.

5. A systematic and regular propaganda is necessary in the rural districts. The working class can gain no victory unless it possesses the sympathy and

²⁶ Report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Appendix I, p. 121.

support of at least part of the rural workers and of the poor peasants, and unless other sections of the population are equally utilized. Communist work in the rural districts is acquiring a predominant importance during the present period. It should be carried on through Communist workingmen of both city and country who have connections with the rural districts. To refuse to do this work, or to transfer such work to untrustworthy half reformists, is equal to renouncing the proletarian revolution.

6. Every party desirous of affiliating with the Third International should renounce not only avowed social patriotism, but also the falsehood and the hypocrisy of social pacifism; it should systematically demonstrate to the workers that without a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no international arbitration, no talk of disarmament, no democratic reorganization of the League of Nations will be capable of saving mankind from new Imperialist wars.

7. Parties desirous of joining the Communist International must recognize the necessity of a complete and absolute rupture with reformism and the policy of the "centrists," and must advocate this rupture amongst the widest circles of the party membership, without which condition a consistent Communist policy is impossible. The Communist International demands unconditionally and peremptorily that such rupture be brought about with the least possible delay. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself to the fact that such avowed reformists as for instance Turati, Modigliani, Kautsky, Hillquit, Longuet, Macdonald, and others should be entitled to consider themselves members of the Third International. This would make the Third International resemble the Second International.

8. In the Colonial question and that of the oppressed nationalities there is necessary an especially distinct and clear line of conduct of the parties of countries where the bourgeoisie possesses such colonies or oppresses other nationalities. Every party desirous of belonging to the Third International should be bound to denounce without any reserve all the methods of "its own" imperialists in the colonies, supporting not only in words but practically a movement of liberation in the colonies. It should demand the expulsion of its own Imperialists from such colonies, and cultivate among the workingmen of its own country a truly fraternal attitude towards the working population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on a systematic agitation in its own army against every kind of oppression of the colonial population.

9. Every party desirous of belonging to the Communist International should be bound to carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in the labor unions, cooperatives and other labor organizations of the masses. It is necessary to form Communist groups within the organizations, which by persistent and lasting work should win over labor unions to Communism. These groups should constantly denounce the treachery of the social patriots and of the fluctuations of the "centre." These Communist groups should be completely subordinated to the party in general.

10. Any party belonging to the Communist International is bound to carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam "International" of the yellow labor unions. It should propagate insistently amongst the organized workers the necessity of a rupture with the yellow Amsterdam International. It should support by all means in its power the International Unification of Red Labor Unions, adhering to the Communist International, which is now beginning.

11. Parties desirous of joining the Third International shall be bound to inspect the personnel of their parliamentary factions, to remove all unreliable elements therefrom, to control such factions, not only verbally but in reality, to subordinate them to the Central Committee of the party, and to demand from each proletarian Communist that he devote his entire activity to the interests of real revolutionary propaganda.

12. All parties belonging to the Communist International should be formed on the basis of the principle of democratic centralization. At the present time of acute civil war the Communist Party will be able fully to do its duty only when it is organized in a sufficiently thorough way when it possesses an iron discipline, and when its party centre enjoys the confidence of the members of the party, who are to endow this centre with complete power, authority and ample rights.

13. The Communist parties of those countries where the Communist activity is legal, should make a clearance of their members from time to time, as well as those of the party organizations, in order systematically to free the party from the petty bourgeois elements which penetrate into it.

14. Each party desirous of affiliating with the Communist International should be obliged to render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their

struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport any kind of military equipment intended for fighting against the Soviet Republics, and should also by legal or illegal means carry on a propaganda amongst the troops sent against the workers' republics, etc.

15. All those parties which up to the present moment have stood upon the old social and democratic programmes should, within the shortest time possible, draw up a new Communist programme in conformity with the special conditions of their country, and in accordance with the resolutions of the Communist International. As a rule, the programme of each party belonging to the Communist International should be confirmed by the next congress of the Communist International or its Executive Committee. In the event of the failure of the programme of any party being confirmed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the said party shall be entitled to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

16. All the resolutions of the congresses of the Communist International, as well as the resolutions of the Executive Committee are binding for all parties joining the Communist International. The Communist International, operating under the conditions of most acute civil warfare, should be centralized in a better manner than the Second International. At the same time, the Communist International and the Executive Committee are naturally bound in every form of their activity to consider the variety of conditions under which the different parties have to work and struggle, and generally binding resolutions should be passed only on such questions upon which such resolutions are possible.

17. In connection with the above, all parties desiring to join the Communist International should alter their name. Each party desirous of joining the Communist International should bear the following name: Communist Party of such and such a country, section of the Third Communist International. The question of renaming of a party is not only a formal one, but is a political question of great importance. The Communist International has declared a decisive war against the entire bourgeois world, and all the yellow Social Democratic parties. It is indispensable that every rank-and-file worker should be able clearly to distinguish between the Communist parties and the old official "Social Democratic" or "Socialist" parties, which have betrayed the cause of the working class.

18. All the leading organs of the press of every party are bound to publish all the most important documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

19. All those parties which have joined the Communist International, as well as those which have expressed a desire to do so, are obliged in as short a space of time as possible, and in no case later than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International, to convene an Extraordinary Congress in order to discuss these conditions. In addition to this, the Central Committees of these parties should take care to acquaint all the local organizations with the regulations of the Second Congress.

20. All those parties which at the present time are willing to join the Third International, but have so far not changed their tactics in any radical manner, should prior to their joining the Third International, take care that not less than two-thirds of their committee members and of all their central institutions should be composed of comrades who have made an open and definite declaration prior to the convening of the Second Congress, as to their desire that the party should affiliate with the Third International. Exclusions are permitted only with the confirmation of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has the right to make an exception also for the representatives of the "centre" as mentioned in paragraph 7.

21. Those members of the party who reject the conditions and the theses of the Third International, are liable to be excluded from the party. This applies principally to the delegates at the Special Congresses of the party.

Subsequently, Louis C. Fraina, later to be known as Louis Corey, as international secretary of the Communist Party of America, made application for admission to the Communist International. In this application, Fraina reviewed the history of the Socialist Party of

America, the formation of the Communist Party of America, and closed his petition with the following:

The Communist Party realizes the immensity of its task; it realizes that the final struggle of the Communist Proletariat will be waged in the United States, our conquest of power alone assuring the world Soviet Republic. Realizing all of this the Communist Party prepares for the struggle. Long live the Communist International. Long live the world Revolution.

RELATIONSHIP OF AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTIES TO COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

While the constitution of the first Communist Party of America provided that the members must declare their adherence to the principles and tactics of the party and the Communist International, the constitution of the United Communist Party specifically provided that the United Communist Party of America was the American section of the Communist International.

The constitution of the Communist Party of America, adopted in May 1921; the constitution of the Workers (Communist) Party, adopted in 1925; and the constitution of the Communist Party U. S. A., adopted in 1929, all provided that these parties were the American section of the Communist International. A new constitution of the Communist Party U. S. A., adopted in 1938, provided that the party was an affiliate of the Communist International.

With the passage of the Voorhees Act in 1940, the Communist Party merely called a special convention and adopted a resolution withdrawing from the Communist International. Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party at that time, explained that this legalistic disaffiliation was in no way intended to alter the real relationship of the Communist Party USA with the Communist International and the world Communist movement in any particular.

ALLEGED DISSOLUTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Second World War, in which the Soviet Union engaged in a life-and-death struggle with Nazi Germany, brought to a temporary halt the Communist plan to Sovietize the world. Sorely in need of financial and military assistance from non-Communist countries, the Soviet Union found the Communist International a hindrance under the circumstances. In order that the Soviet Union might live, the Communist International had to die, or at least pass through all the phases of a respectable demise.

The New York Times of May 23, 1943, carried the text of a resolution of the presidium of the executive committee of the Communist International, released the previous day, regarding the dissolution of the Communist International. The resolution follows:

The historic role of the Communist International, which was founded in 1919 as a result of a political union of the great majority of the old prewar working class parties, consisted in upholding the principles of the working class movement, in helping to promote consolidation in a number of countries of the vanguard of the foremost workers in the real working class parties, and in helping them mobilize workers for the defense of their economic and political interests, and for the struggle against Fascism and the war which the latter was preparing, and for the support of the Soviet Union as the chief bulwark against Fascism.

The Communist International from the first exposed the real meaning of the Anti-Comintern Pact as a weapon for the preparation of war by the Hitlerites. Long before the war it ceaselessly and tirelessly exposed the vicious subversive work of the Hitlerites, who masked it by their screams about so-called interference of the Communist International in the internal affairs of these states.

INTERNATIONAL WORK HANDICAPPED

But long before the war it became more and more clear that, with increasing complications in internal and international relations of various countries, any sort of international center would encounter insuperable obstacles in solving the problems facing the movement in each separate country.

Deep differences of the historic paths of development of various countries, differences in their character and even contradictions in their social orders, differences in the level and the tempo of their economic and political development, differences finally in the degree of consciousness and organization of workers, conditioned different problems affecting the working class of the various countries.

The whole development of events in the last quarter of a century and the experience accumulated by the Communist International convincingly showed that the organizational form of uniting workers, chosen by the First Congress of the Communist International, answered conditions of the first stages of the working-class movement, but it has been outgrown by the growth of this movement and by the complications of its problems in separate countries and has even become a drag on the further strengthening of the national working class parties.

NATIONS IN TWO GROUPS

The World War that the Hitlerites have let loose has still further sharpened the differences in the situation of the separate countries and has placed a deep dividing line between those countries that fell under the Hitlerite tyranny and those freedom-loving peoples who have united in a powerful anti-Hitlerite coalition.

In countries of the Hitlerite bloc the fundamental task of the working class, toilers and all honest people consists in giving all help for the defeat of this bloc by sabotage of the Hitlerite military machine from within and by helping to overthrow the governments guilty of war.

In countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition the sacred duty of the widest masses of the people, and in the first place of foremost workers, consists in aiding by every means the military efforts of the governments of these countries aimed at the speediest defeat of the Hitlerite bloc and the assurance of the friendship of nations based on their equality.

At the same time the fact must not be lost sight of that the separate countries that are members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition have their own particular problems. For example, in countries occupied by the Hitlerites that have lost their state of independence the basic task of the foremost workers and of the wide masses of people consists in promoting the armed struggle developing into a national war of liberation against Hitlerite Germany.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FAVORED

At the same time the war of liberation of freedom-loving peoples against the Hitlerite tyranny, which has brought into movement the masses of people, uniting them without difference of party or religion in the ranks of the powerful anti-Hitlerite coalition, has demonstrated with still greater clearness that the general national uprising and mobilization of people for the speediest victory over the enemy can be best of all and most fruitfully carried out by the vanguard of the working-class movement of each separate country, working within the framework of its own country.

Already the Seventh Congress of the Communist International meeting in 1935, taking into account the change that had taken place both in the international situation and in working-class movements that demanded great flexibility and independence of its sections in deciding the problems confronting them, emphasized the necessity for the Executive Committee of the Communist International in deciding all questions of the working-class movement arising from concrete conditions and peculiarities of each country, to make a rule of avoiding interference in the internal organizational affairs of the Communist parties.

These same considerations guided the Communist International in considering the resolution of the Communist party of the United States of America of November 1940, on its withdrawal from the ranks of the Communist International.

ORGANIZATION HELD FLEXIBLE

Guided by the judgment of the founders of Marxism and Leninism, Communists have never been supporters of the conservation of organizational forms that have outlived themselves. They have always subordinated forms of organization of the working-class movement, and methods of working of such organization, to the fundamental political interest of the working-class movement as a whole, to peculiarities of the concrete historical situation and to problems immediately resulting from this situation.

They remember the example of the great Marx, who united foremost workers in the ranks of the Working Men's International Association, and when the First International had fulfilled its historical task of laying the foundations for the development of working-class parties in the countries of Europe and America, and, as a result of the matured situation creating mass national working-class parties, dissolved first the International, inasmuch as this form of organization already no longer corresponded to the demands confronting it.

In consideration of the above and taking into account the growth and the political maturity of Communist parties and their leading cadres in separate countries, and also having in view the fact that during the present war some sections have raised the question of the dissolution of the Communist International as the directing centre of the international working-class movement, the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in the circumstances of the World War, not being able to convene a Congress of the Communist International, puts forward the following proposal for ratification by the sections of the Communist International:

The Communist International, as the directing center of the international working-class movement, is to be dissolved, thus freeing the sections of the Communist International from their obligations arising from the statutes and resolutions of the Congresses of the Communist International.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International calls on all supporters of the Communist International to concentrate their energies on the wholehearted support of and active participation in the war of liberation of the peoples and the states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition for the speediest defeat of the deadly enemy of the working class and toilers—German Fascism and its associates and vassals.

Among those signing the resolution of dissolution were:

Clement Gottwald, former deputy in the Czechoslovakian Parliament and a chairman of the Communist Party Control Committee in that country;

Georgi Dimitrov, Bulgarian Secretary General of the Comintern;

Andrei A. Zhdanov, member of the Russian Politburo and head of the Leningrad Communist Party City Committee;

Otto Kuusinen, Finnish Premier of the Karelio-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic;

Dimitri Z. Manuilsky, a former Secretary of the Comintern;

André Marty, French exile and former Communist member of the Chamber of Deputies;

Wilhelm Pieck, an exiled former member of the German Reichstag;

Dolores Ibarruri, former Communist Deputy on the Spanish Cortez, where she gained the title of "La Pasionaria" for her impassioned speeches;

Mathias Rakosi, a people's commissar during the brief Bolshevik regime in Hungary in 1919, and exiled from that country after being convicted in 1926 of an attempt to restore the Soviet regime there.

The action of the Comintern resulted in the presentation of the following resolution to the Plenary Session of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., by the political committee on June 13, 1943:

1. The Communist Party of the United States through its National Committee declares its full approval and agreement with the proposal of May 15, 1943, by the Presiding Committee of the Communist International for the dissolution of the International. The CPUSA discontinued its international affiliation in November 1940, and is therefore not called upon to participate in the decision. The proposal is, however, of the greatest political importance, since it profoundly influences all political relationships, promotes the unification of the anti-Hitler coalition, disarms the Axis of its most potent weapon of disruption—the anti-Communist bogey—and opens the way within each nation toward more complete national unity in the prosecution of the war to victory. It also clears the way for the continuance of democratic unity in the postwar period, and thus adds to the momentum of the war effort. It facilitates the emergency of more effective forms of international unity of labor, which begins with the immediate task of completing the Anglo-Soviet-American trade union unity corresponding to the coalition of peoples and nations.

2. Within the United States this new stage of world relationships places new and urgent emphasis on many tasks of the day. High among these is the common duty of Communists and all other responsible groups and leaders within the democratic camp to abolish the remnants of the "bogey of communism" which continue to be a weapon against national unity and the war effort. To this end it is necessary to secure the full acceptance of the Marxist workers' party within the national framework of American democratic institutions, thus safeguarding in harmony with the war effort the general right of free political association. The CPUSA pledges its full effort to this task and welcomes all cooperative efforts to this end from any and all sections of the democratic, patriotic, anti-Axis camp of the American people.

3. The Communist Party of the United States will continue to fight with all its strength, as it has in the past period, for the complete unity of the United

Nations, for international labor unity, and for national unity within our country, to win the unconditional surrender of the Hitler regime and its allies, Japan and Italy, and an ordered and peaceful world when victory is achieved.

Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A., issued a statement on May 26, 1943, regarding the dissolution of the Communist International. This statement, published in the Worker of June 6, 1943, was in the form of a reply to an editorial appearing in the New York Times on May 24. Browder said:

The record shows that few Americans are disturbed by the existence and activity of the Communist Party, which is unconditionally aiding the war effort, but that they are disturbed by the fable of a "conspiracy to overthrow our government by force and violence." That fable is the "specter of Communism" which has been the powerful secret weapon of the Axis * * *. May I express the hope that there are responsible groups and leaders in American public life with courage and intelligence enough to accept the offer of the Communist Party of cooperative effort to lay the "specter of Communism." This is the task not only of the Communists. It is a common task of this people's war of national liberation.

On June 10, 1943, Moscow announced that the Communist International was formally dissolved as of that day, after a meeting of the presiding committee noted that the leading Communist Parties throughout the world had approved the proposal for dissolution made on May 15. It was noted that not one of the existing sections of the Communist International raised any objection to the proposal of the presidium of the executive committee. Communist Parties from the following countries approved the dissolution:

Argentina	Cuba	Poland
Australia	Czechoslovakia	Rumania
Austria	Finland	Soviet Union
Belgium	France	Spain
Bulgaria	Germany	Sweden
Canada	Great Britain	Switzerland
Catalonia	Hungary	Syria
Côte	Ireland	Union of South Africa
China	Italy	Uruguay
Colombia	Mexico	Yugoslavia

Enrique Castro Delgado, a leader of the Spanish Communist Party, fled to Russia in the spring of 1939 after the defeat of the Spanish Republic. In Moscow he represented the Spanish Communist Party in the Comintern. He left Moscow in 1945 for Mexico.

Castro Delgado, known in Spain as Louis Garcia, in his book "I Have Lost Faith in Moscow," (1950) says, that the nominal disbanding of the nerve center of the world Communist movement was abruptly announced in the newspapers after a closed session of the organization's small secretariat, and that instead of being dissolved, the Communist International only altered some of its operating procedures:

That the Comintern boss, Georgi Dimitrov, moved his office to the third floor of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union;

That the other secretaries set up their offices in different places;

That those who edited the secret broadcasts served under Friederich instead of Togliatti;

That Friederich transmitted the scripts to Togliatti who in turn transmitted them to Dimitrov;

That the chiefs of the foreign delegations continued to confer daily with Dimitrov;

That the leading figures in the various Communist Parties continued their activities;

That the foreign reporters of the Communist press continued to file regular reports with the information and propaganda section of the "dissolved" Comintern;

That the secret section of the "dissolved" Comintern remained on the main floor of the old Comintern and continued to receive reports from the foreign Communist Parties, sending one copy to Dimitrov and another copy to Zhdanov;

That the secret section continued to send Dimitrov's instructions to the various Communist Parties abroad and to organize trips to and from Moscow;

That the Comintern's agents abroad, such as Codavilla in Latin America and Browder in North America continued to go on with their work—precisely as before the Comintern was "dissolved."

Igor Gouzenko, a cipher clerk attached to the office of the Soviet military attaché in the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, in a statement made on October 10, 1945, to the Canadian Royal Commission investigating the Communist spy system in Canada, said:

The announcement of the dissolution of the Comintern was probably the greatest farce of the Communists in recent years. Only the name was liquidated, with the object of reassuring public opinion in the democratic countries. Actually the Comintern exists and continues its work.

THE COMINFORM

In September 1947, Moscow created the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers Parties. Popularly known as the Cominform, it was the first open international organization of Communist Parties since the alleged dissolution of the Comintern in 1943. The new Cominform had representatives from 9 nations, and only 2 of them—Italy and France—were outside of the Iron Curtain. Its birth constituted a declaration of economic and political war against the United States.

Moscow's major problem of foreign policy began in March 1947, when the United States announced a doctrine of "containment" of the Soviet Union by military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. The following June, the Marshall plan for European reconstruction was announced. On July 3, in Paris, 16 nations proceeded on Europe's part in the Marshall plan without their eastern neighbors. Thus, the East-West split was formally acknowledged.

Shortly after the Marshall plan was announced, Jacques Duclos, French Communist, made a visit to Warsaw and conferred with government officials and leaders of other countries who "happened" to be in Warsaw. In October, the reason for the appearance of Communist Party leaders in Warsaw was made known. The Soviet newspaper, Pravda, announced on October 5 that an informational conference of the Communist Parties of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, the Soviet Union, France, and Italy, had been held the latter part of September in Poland, and then and there established an Information Bureau consisting of representatives of the Central Committees of the above-mentioned Communist Parties.

The following resolution was adopted:

Essential changes have taken place in the international situation as a result of the Second World War and the postwar period.

These changes are characterized by the new disposition of the main political forces operating on the world stage, by changing relations between victor states in the Second World War and by their regrouping.

While the war was going on, allied states in the war against Germany and Japan joined together and formed one camp. However, in the Allied camp, even during wartime, there existed different war aims and also of tasks of the postwar organization of peace.

The Soviet Union and democratic countries considered as the main aims of the war the setting up and strengthening of democratic structures in Europe, the liquidation of fascism and the prevention of the possibility of a new aggression on the part of Germany, the creation of prolonged cooperation (among) the peoples of Europe on all sides.

The United States, and in agreement with them England, set for themselves another aim—to get rid of competitors at markets (Germany and Japan) and establish their dominating position. This difference in war aims and tasks of the postwar organization became deeper in the postwar period.

TWO OPPOSITE POLITICAL LINES FORMED

On the one side is the policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and democratic countries directed toward undermining imperialism and strengthening democracy, on the other side is the policy of the United States and England directed toward strengthening imperialism and strangling democracy.

Since the U. S. S. R. and countries of the new democracy became a hindrance in carrying out imperialistic plans for the struggle for world domination and the smashing of democratic movements, there was proclaimed a campaign against the U. S. S. R. and countries of the new democracy, reinforced also by threats of a new war on the part of most zealous imperialistic politicians in the United States and England.

In such way, two camps formed, the imperialistic and antidemocratic camp which has as a main aim the establishment of world domination of American imperialism and democratic camp which has as a main aim the undermining of imperialism and the strengthening of democracy and the liquidation of the remnants of fascism.

The struggle of the two opposite camps—of imperialist and anti-imperialist—is going on in a situation of further sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, of the weakening of the forces of capitalism and the strengthening of the forces of socialism and democracy. This way, the imperialistic camp and its leading force, the United States, is displaying especially aggressive activity.

This activity is developing simultaneously along all lines—in the direction of military and strategic measures, or economic expansion and the ideological struggle.

The Truman-Marshall plan is only a constituent part, the European section, of the general plan of world expansionist policy carried on by the United States in all parts of the world. The plan of economical and political enslavement of Europe by American capitalism is supplemented by plans for the economical and political enslavement of China, Indonesia, and South America.

The aggressors of yesterday—the capitalistic magnates of Germany and Japan—are being prepared by the United States for a new role—to become the instrument of the imperialistic policy of the United States in Europe and Asia.

The arsenal of tactical measures utilized by the imperialistic camp has very many forms. Here are combined the direct threat by force, blackmail and extortion, all measures of political and economic pressure, or bribery, of utilization of internal contradictions and controversy for the reinforcement of their positions—and all this which is covered by the liberal-pacifist mask designed for deceit and fooling of people who are not experienced in politics.

A special place in the tactical arsenal of imperialists is occupied by the utilization of the treacherous policy of right-wing Socialists of the type of (Leon) Blum (former French Premier and Socialist Party leader) in France, (Prime Minister Clement) Attlee and (Foreign Secretary Ernest) Bevin in England, (Dr. Kurt) Schumacher (head of the Social Democratic Party) in Germany, (President Dr. Karl) Renner (Socialist), and Scherf (Vice Chancellor Adolf Schaerf, Socialist) in Austria, (Right-Wing Socialist Giuseppe) Saragat in Italy, etc., who try to hide the real bandit essence of imperialistic policy under the mask of democracy and Socialist phraseology and who, in reality, in all respects are loyal assistants of imperialists introducing disintegration into the ranks of the working class and poisoning its conscience.

It is not accidental that the foreign policy of English imperialism has found in the person of Bevin its most consistent and zealous executor. In these conditions, the anti-imperialistic, democratic camp must rally together and work out a coordinated platform of actions to work out its tactics against the main forces of the imperialistic camp, against American imperialism, against its English and French allies, against right-wing Socialists—first of all those in England and France.

In order to turn into failure the plan of imperialistic aggression, the efforts of all democratic, anti-imperialistic forces in Europe is necessary. Right-wing Socialists are traitors in this cause.

With the exception of those countries of the new democracy where the bloc of Communists and Socialists with other democratic progressive parties forms the foundation of resistance of these countries to imperialistic plans, Socialists in the majority of other countries, and first of all French Socialists and English Laborites—(French Premier Paul) Ramadier, Blum, Attlee and Bevin—by their slavishness and officiousness are facilitating the task of American capital, are provoking it to extortions and are pushing their countries along the road of vassal dependency on the United States.

Hence, it follows that a special task falls upon Communist Parties. They must take into their hands the banner of defense of national independence and sovereignty of their countries.

If the Communist Parties strongly stand on their positions, if they do not permit themselves to be frightened or blackmailed, if they stand bravely on guard for the democracy, national sovereignty, freedom and independence of their countries, if they succeed in their struggle against the attempts of economic and political enslavement of their countries and head all forces which are ready to defend the cause of honor and national independence, then no plans for the enslavement of the countries of Europe and Asia can be realized.

At present this is one of the main tasks of Communist Parties.

It is necessary to remember that between the desire of imperialists to develop a new war and the possibility of organizing such a war there is a great gap.

The peoples of the world do not want war. The forces which stand for peace are so considerable and great that if they are firm and solid in the cause and defense of peace, if they will display firmness and solidarity, then the plans of the aggressors will suffer complete collapse.

It must not be forgotten that the noise of imperialistic agents over the war danger is designed to frighten weak-nerved and unstable ones and obtain by means of blackmail concessions to the aggressor.

The main danger to the working class at the present consists in underestimation of its forces and in overestimation of the forces of the imperialistic camp.

As the Munich policy in the past unbound the hands of Hitlerite aggression, so concessions to the new course of the United States and the imperialistic camp may make its inspirers still more insolent and aggressive.

This is why the Communist Parties must head the resistance to plans of imperialistic expansion and aggression along all lines—state, political, economic, and ideologic—they must rally together, uniting their efforts on the basis of a common, anti-imperialistic and democratic platform and must gather around themselves all democratic and patriotic forces of the people.

The "21 conditions for admission to the Communist International," the purging of the followers of Trotsky in 1928 and Lovestone in 1929, the consolidation of the several Communist Parties in the United States on orders from Moscow, the dissolution of the Communist International in 1943, the formation of the Communist Political Association in 1944, the revival of the Communist Party of the United States in 1945, the resurrection of the Communist International as the Cominform in 1947, and the continued subservience of American Communist leadership to the whims and views of the revived Comintern, now called the Cominform, all serve as proof that the Communist Party in America is dominated by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the real leader of the world Communist conspiracy.

SPLINTER GROUPS

As heretofore stated, the history of the Communist movement in the United States is replete with constant bickerings, recriminations, denunciations, charges, and countercharges.

From the very beginning, the leaders within the left-wing group of the Socialist Party disagreed, with the result that two Communist Parties were created the same day, the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party. The Communist Party of America had its group of dissenters who withdrew and with the Communist Labor Party formed the United Communist Party. However, dissenting groups did not always stay within the organization or merge with other groups. Some broke off completely and formed other organizations.

PROLETARIAN PARTY OF AMERICA

One of the first groups thus created was the Proletarian Party of America, formed in 1920. John Keracher had been a member of the national organizing committee that issued the call for a convention to create a Communist Party in the United States. Later, Keracher became one of the outstanding leaders of the Proletarian Party.

Like most splinter groups, the Proletarian Party claims to be the real Marxist party and that all other so-called Communists are imposters. The organization is still active, but its field is limited to but few States, including Illinois and Michigan.

COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA (OPPOSITION)

The expulsion of Trotsky by the Russian Communists in the fall of 1927 had its effect on the Communist movement in the United States. Campaigns against Trotskyism were ordered from Moscow in all the Communist Parties of the world, with the implied threat of reprisals against any individual or group failing to take a position against expulsion.

The Communist Party of the United States was not immune from the purge virus. The first to fall were James P. Cannon and some of his followers, including Martin Abern and Max Shachtman, who were expelled on October 28, 1928, on charges of having organized a Trotskyite opposition.

On May 17, 1929, a call was issued for the first national conference of the left-wing opposition in the United States. The conference met in Chicago and formed the Communist League of America, left-wing opposition of the Communist Party.

The history of this group of Trotskyites has been a stormy one. In December 1934, the Communist League of America merged with the American Workers' Party. In March 1936, the American Workers' Party merged with the Socialist Party, and in June 1938 the Socialist Party began a series of wholesale expulsions of the Trotskyites. On

New Year's Day, 1938, Cannon and his followers formed the Socialist Workers' Party, and in December 1941, with 17 of his followers, Cannon was convicted in Minneapolis on charges of conspiracy to create insubordination in the Armed Forces of the Government—the first convictions under the Smith Act.

SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

The Socialist Workers' Party is still active today, but is not a large organization and very limited in its activities.

The program of the Socialist Workers' Party rests on the principles of Marxism as expounded by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky, and on the basic documents of the Third Communist International from its founding through its first four world congresses. At this point the Socialist Workers' Party breaks with the Communist International for the alleged reason that the latter, under the leadership of Stalin, has become "reactionary" and "bureaucratic" and has lost its "revolutionary" character.

While Cannon was probably the most dominant figure within the Socialist group within the United States, he was unable to maintain unity. B. J. Field left to form his own group, as did Hugo Oehler, Stamm, and Marlen.

COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE

Albert Weisbord was expelled from the Communist Party. Although he was an ardent admirer of Trotsky, he had visions of being a great leader in the radical movement. He could not stand to be bossed by Cannon; so he formed his own organization, the Communist League of Struggle. In December 1934 this league adopted a "thesis." This 54-page document contained still another version of the many factional fights within the American Communist movement. The Communist League of Struggle referred to the Communist Party of the United States as "a bureaucratic centrist organization," to the Lovestone group as "right centrist," and to the Cannon group as "fake left centrist."

THE AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

In December 1933, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action held a meeting in Pittsburgh and announced the formation of a new political party. A provisional committee was elected and charged with the task of organizing the American Workers Party. An outstanding leader in this new party was A. J. Muste, onetime preacher, while another very able personality was J. B. Slutsky, later to be known as J. B. S. Hardman.

A unity convention was held in December 1934 when the members of the Communist League of America were taken into the American Workers Party and became known as Workers Party of the United States. In March 1936, the Workers Party of the United States merged with the Socialist Party and thus disappeared from the scene.

UNITED TOILERS

During the period of existence of the Workers Party, a group within that party felt that the program was no more than a remote approach to the Communist program. They left the Workers Party and formed

the United Toilers. The official organ was the Workers Challenge, edited by Harry Wicks. Like most splinter groups, the United Toilers withered away.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A. (OPPOSITION)

Factional fights in the Communist Party of Russia and in the Communist International carried over into the Communist Party in America. The expulsion of Trotsky by the Russian Communist Party was followed by the wholesale expulsion of the followers of Trotsky from the American Party. The factional fight between Stalin and Bukharin also affected the Communist Party in the United States.

Jay Lovestone, who was suspected of sympathy with Bukharin, was ordered to Moscow for work in the Comintern.

On May 12, 1929, the Comintern reported an "Address" it had decided to send to the American Communist Party. Lovestone and others were asked to give their endorsement to this "Address," which was nothing more nor less than a condemnation of the Lovestone group. When Lovestone refused, he was removed from all positions in the American Communist Party and the Communist International and was ordered to remain in Moscow. Several weeks later, Lovestone, without the knowledge or permission of the Comintern, left Moscow and returned to the United States. For this breach of discipline, he was expelled by the Communist Party of the United States.

Lovestone, with some of his followers, formed the Communist Party U. S. A. (majority group); later changed to the Communist Party U. S. A. (opposition); still later changed to the Independent Communist Labor League of America, and finally to the Independent Labor League of America. In January 1941, the Independent Labor League of America, through its general secretary, Jay Lovestone, issued a declaration of dissolution and expressed the belief that radicalism in the United States was "in a hopeless blind alley from which there is no escape along the old lines."

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