

Pamphlet No. 1

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# Manifesto and Program

CONSTITUTION

REPORT TO THE COMMUNIST  
INTERNATIONAL



Communist Party of America  
Chicago, Ill.

# COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

## Constitutional Provisions

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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."

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

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

Sec. 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 who make application to newly organized branches during the first month.

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

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

Sec. 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 non-political character.

For information regarding the local organization in your city write to

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA**  
1219 BLUE ISLAND AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



# 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.

ing 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 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 non-proletarian 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 non-proletarian 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 of 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 dic-

**tatorship 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 sport 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 trades 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 bourgeoisie 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 pro-war 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 work-

ing class struggle; it can not 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 num-

bers 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, trades 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 antagonizes the bourgeois state, the more it becomes political mass action. Mass action is responsive 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 extra-parliamentary 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 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 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 that 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!

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## 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 reform 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 activity, 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 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 the 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.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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."

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

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

Sec. 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.

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

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

Sec. 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 non-political character.

Sec. 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 Organization.

Sec. 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.)

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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.

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

Sec. 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.

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

Sec. 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 fifteen 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,

Sec. 3. The Central Executive Committee shall elect from its members a sub-committee 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.

Sec. 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.

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

Sec. 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.

Sec. 7. Between conventions of the District, State and Federations the Central Executive Committee of these organizations shall be the supreme bodies.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 9. The City Central Committees 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.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 1. Each applicant for membership shall pay an initiation fee of fifty cents, which shall be received 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.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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 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.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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 per cent of its monthly purchase of regular stamps.

Sec. 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.

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

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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.

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

Sec. 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.

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

Sec. 7. All employes of the party must be party members.

## VIII. Headquarters.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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 Jan. 1, 1920. All who state their intention of joining the Communist Party shall be eligible at this convention.

## X. Conventions.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 5. Delegates to the National Convention shall be paid their traveling expenses and a per diem of \$5.00.

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

## XI. Referendum and Recall.

Sec. 1. Referendums on the question of party platform policy or constitution shall be held upon the petition of 25 or more branches representing 5 per cent of the membership; 2) or by initiative of the Central Executive Committee; 3.) of by initiative of the National Convention.

Sec. 2. All officers of the National Organization or those elected to public office shall be subject to recall upon initiative petition of 25 or more branches, representing 5 per cent of the membership. A recall vote of the membership may also be initiated by the Central Executive Committee.

Sec. 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 then not received the requisite number of seconds, it shall be abandoned. The vote on each referendum shall close sixty days after its submission.

Sec. 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.

Sec. 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 Jan. 1, 1920, shall be accepted as a branch.

The provisions of Art. III, Section 4, shall not be enforced until after Dec. 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.



**Report of Louis C. Fraina, International Secretary of  
the Communist Party of America, to the Executive  
Committee of the Communist International.**

As International Secretary, I make application for admission of the Communist Party of America to the Bureau of the Communist International as a major party.

The Communist Party, organized September 1, 1919, with approximately 55,000 members, issues directly out of a split in the old Socialist Party. The new party represents more than half the membership of the old party.

**1. Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party, I. W. W.**

The Socialist Party was organized in 1901, of a merger of two elements: 1) seceders from the Socialist Labor Party, like Morris Hillquit, who split away in 1899 largely because of the S. L. P.'s uncompromising endeavors to revolutionize the trades unions; 2) the Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin, a purely middle-class liberal party tinged with Socialism, of which Victor L. Berger was representative.

The Socialist Labor Party, organized definitely in 1890, acted on the basis of the uncompromising proletarian class struggle. Appearing at a period when class relations were still in state of flux, when the ideology of independence, created by the free lands of the West, still persisted among the workers, the Socialist Labor Party emphasized the class struggle and the class character of the proletarian movement. Realizing the peculiar problems of the American movement, the Socialist Labor Party initiated a consistent campaign for revolutionary unionism and against the dominant craft unionism of the American Federation of Labor, which, representing the skilled workers—"aristocracy of labor"—sabotaged every radical impulse of the working class. The S. L. P. was a party of revolutionary Socialism, against which opportunist elements revolted.

The Spanish-American War was an immature expression of American Imperialism, initiated by the requirements of monopolistic Capitalism. A movement of protest developed in the middle class, which, unit-

ing with the previous impulses of petty bourgeois and agrarian radicalism, expressed itself in a campaign of anti-Imperialism. There was a general revival of the ideology of liberal democracy. The Socialist Party expressed one phase of this liberal development; it adopted fundamentally a non-class policy, directing its appeal to the middle class, to the farmers, to every temporary sentiment of discontent, for a program of government ownership of the trusts. The Socialist Party, particularly, discouraged all action for revolutionary unionism, becoming a bulwark of the Gompertzian A. F. of L. and its reactionary officials, "the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." This typical party of opportunist Socialism considered strikes and unions as of minor and transitory importance, instead of developing their revolutionary implications; parliamentarism was considered the important thing, legislative reforms and the use of the bourgeois state the means equally for waging the class struggle and for establishing the Socialist Republic. The Socialist Party was essentially a party of State Capitalism, an expression of the dominant moderate Socialism of the old International.

But industrial concentration proceeded feverishly, developing monopoly and the typical conditions of Imperialism. Congress—parliamentarism—assumed an aspect of futility as Imperialism developed and the Federal government became a centralized autocracy. The industrial proletariat, expropriated of skill by the machine process and concentrated in the basic industry, initiated new means of struggle. The general conditions of imperialistic Capitalism developed new tactical concepts—mass action in Europe and industrial unionism in the United States, the necessity for extra-parliamentary means to conquer the power of the state.

The old craft unionism was more and more incapable of struggling successfully against concentrated Capitalism. Out of this general situation arose the Industrial Workers of the World, organized in 1905—an event of the greatest revolutionary importance. The I. W. W. indicted craft unionism as reactionary and not in accord with the concentration of industry, which

wipes out differences of skill and craft. The I. W. W. urged industrial unionism, that is to say, a unionism organized according to industrial division: all workers in one industry, regardless of particular crafts, to unite in one union; and all industrial unions to unite in the general organization, thereby paralleling the industrial structure of modern Capitalism. Industrial unionism was urged not simply for the immediate struggle of the workers, but as the revolutionary means for the workers to assume control of industry.

Previous movements of revolutionary unionism, such as the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance and the American Labor Union, united in the I. W. W. The Socialist Labor Party was a vital factor in the organization of the I. W. W., Daniel De Leon formulating the theoretical concepts of industrial unionism. Industrial unionism and the conception of overthrowing the parliamentary state, substituting it with an industrial administration based upon the industrial unions, was related by De Leon to the general theory of Marxism.

The Socialist Party repeatedly rejected resolutions endorsing the I. W. W. and industrial unionism, although supporting I. W. W. strikes by money and publicity. The Socialist Party supported the A. F. of L. and craft unionism, rejecting the revolutionary implications of industrial unionism—the necessity of extra-parliamentary action to conquer the power of the state.

After the panic of 1907, there was an awakennig of the American proletariat. New and more proletarian elements joined the Socialist Party. Industrial unionism developed an enormous impetus, and violent tactical disputes arose in the party, particularly in the Northwest where the new unionism was a vital factor. These disputes came to a climax at the Socialist Party Convention of 1912. The tactical issue of industrial unionism was comprised in the problem of whether parliamentarism alone constituted political action, whether parliamentarism alone could accomplish the revolution or whether extra-parliamentary means were indispensable for the conquest of political power. The Socialist Party Convention, by a large majority, emasculated the Marxian conception of political action, lim-

iting it to parliamentarism; an amendment to the party constitution defined political action as "participation in elections for public office and practical legislative and administrative work along the lines of the Socialist Party platform." That year the Socialist Party, by means of a petty bourgeois liberal campaign, polled more than 900,000 votes for its presidential candidate; but thousands of militant proletarians seceded from the party in disgust at the rejection of revolutionary industrial unionism, while William D. Haywood, representative of the industrialists in the party, was recalled on referendum vote as a member of the National Executive Committee.

The organization of the Progressive Party in 1912 made "progressivism" a political issue. The Socialist Party adapted itself to this "progressivism." But this progressivism was the last flickering expression of radical democracy; Theodore Roosevelt harnessed progressivism to Imperialism and State Capitalism. A new social alignment arose, requiring new Socialist tactics.

## 2. The War, the Socialist Party and the Bolshevik Revolution.

After 1912, the party officially proceeded on its peaceful petty bourgeois way. Then—the war, and the collapse of the International. The official representatives of the Socialist Party either justified the betrayal of Socialism in Europe, or else were acquiescently silent, while issuing liberal appeals to "humanity."

As the war continued and the betrayal of Socialism became more apparent, and particularly as the American comrades learned of the revolutionary minority elements in the European movement, there was a revolutionary awakening in the Socialist Party, strengthened by new accessions of proletarian elements to the party. The first organized expression of this awakening was the formation of the Socialist Propaganda League in Boston, in 1916, issuing a weekly organ which afterwards became "The New International," with Louis C. Fraina as Editor and S. J. Rutgers as Associate. The League emphasized the necessity of new proletarian tactics in the epoch of Imperialism. In April, 1917, was

started "The Class Struggle," a magazine devoted to International Socialism. In the State of Michigan, the anti-reformists captured the Socialist Party, and carried on a non-reformist agitation, particularly in "The Proletarian."

The enormous exports of war munitions, the development of large reserves of surplus capital, and the assumption of a position of world power financially by American Capitalism forced the United States into the war. There was an immediate revolutionary upsurge in the Socialist Party. The St. Louis Convention of the Party, in April, 1917, adopted a militant declaration against the war, forced upon a reluctant bureaucracy by the revolutionary membership. But this bureaucracy sabotaged the declaration. It adopted a policy of petty bourgeois pacifism, uniting with the liberal People's Council, which subsequently accepted President Wilson's "14 points" as its own program. Moreover, there was a minority on the National Executive Committee in favor of the war; in August, 1918, the vote in the N. E. C. stood 4 to 4 on repudiation of the St. Louis Declaration. The Socialist Party's only representative in Congress, Meyer London, openly supported the war and flouted the party's declaration against the war; but he was neither disciplined nor expelled, in fact secured a renomination. Morris Hillquit accepted the declaration against the war, but converted it into bourgeois pacifism, being a prominent member of the People's Council. In reply to a question whether, if a member of Congress, he would have voted in favor of war, Hillquit answered ("The New Republic," December 1, 1917): "If I had believed that our participation would shorten the world war and force a better, more democratic and more durable peace, I should have favored the measure, regardless of the cost and sacrifices of America. My opposition to our entry into the war was based upon the conviction that it would prolong the disastrous conflict without compensating gains to humanity." This was a complete abandonment of the class struggle and the Socialist con-

ception of war. The war was a test of the Socialist Party and proved it officially a party of vicious centrism.

The Russian Revolution was another test of the party. Officially, the Socialist Party was for the Menshevik policy and enthusiastic about Kerensky; while the New York "Call," Socialist Party daily newspaper in New York City, editorially characterized Comrade Lenin and the Bolsheviki, in June, 1917, as "anarchists." The party officially was silent about the November Revolution; it was silent about the Soviet Government's proposal for an armistice on all fronts, although the National Executive Committee of the Party met in December and should have acted vigorously, mobilizing the party for the armistice. But the revolutionary membership responded, its enthusiasm for the Bolshevik Revolution being magnificent. This enthusiasm forced the party representatives to speak in favor of the Bolsheviki, but always in general terms capable of "interpretation." After the Brest-Litovsk peace, there was a sentiment among the party representatives for war against Germany "to save the Russian Revolution."

The Socialist Party carried on an active campaign against intervention in Russia. However, this campaign did not emphasize the revolutionary implications of the situation in Russia, as making mandatory the reconstruction of the Socialist movement. A campaign against intervention must proceed as a phase of the general campaign to develop revolutionary proletarian action.

### 3. The Left Wing Develops.

During 1918 the Socialist Party was in ferment. The membership was more and more coming to think in revolutionary terms. Then came the armistice and the German Revolution. The response was immediate. On November 7, 1918, a Communist Propaganda League was organized in Chicago. On November 9 Local Boston, Socialist Party, started to issue an agitational paper, "The Revolutionary Age." This paper immediately issued a call to the party for the adoption of revolutionary Communist tactics, emphasizing that



the emergence of the proletariat into the epoch of the world revolution made absolutely imperative the reconstruction of Socialism. In New York City, in February 1919, there was organized the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party. Its Left Wing Manifesto and Program was adopted by local after local of the Socialist Party, the Left Wing acquiring a definite expression. The Left Wing secured the immediate adhesion of the Lettish, Russian, Lithuanian, Polish, Ukrainian, South Slavic, Hungarian and Esthonian Federations of the party, representing about 25,000 members. The official organs of the Federations did splendid work for the Left Wing.

In January, 1919, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party decided to send delegates to the Berne Congress of the Great Betrayal. This action was characteristic of the social-patriot and centrist bent of the party administration. There was an immediate protest from the membership, the Left Wing using the Berne Congress as again emphasizing the necessity for the revolutionary reconstruction of Socialism. In March we received a copy of the call issued by the Communist Party of Russia for an international congress to organize a new International. "The Revolutionary Age" was the first to print the call, yielding it immediate adhesion; while the Left Wing Section of New York City transmitted credentials to S. J. Rutgers to represent it at the congress. Local Boston initiated a motion for a referendum to affiliate the party with the Third International; this was thrown out by the national administration of the party on a technicality; but after much delay another local succeeded in securing a referendum. (The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the Third International.)

The Left Wing was now, although still without a definite organization, a formidable power in the Socialist Party. Previously all revolts in the party were isolated or consisted purely of theoretical criticism; now there was this theoretical criticism united with a developing organization expression. There was not, as yet, any general conception of the organization of a new party; it was a struggle for power within the Socialist Party.

About this time the call for the new Socialist Party elections was issued. The Left Wing decided upon its own candidates. The elections constituted an overwhelming victory for the Left Wing. The national administration of the Socialist Party, realizing the impending disaster, decided upon desperate measures. Branch after branch and local after local of the party, which had adopted the Left Wing Manifesto and Program, was expelled. Morris Hillquit issued a declaration that the breach in the party had become irreconcilable, and that the only solution was to split, each faction organizing its own party. At first the expulsions were on a small scale; then, the danger becoming more acute, the national administration of the party acted. The National Executive Committee met in May determined to "purge" the party of the Left Wing. The N. E. C. was brutal and direct in its means: **it refused to recognize the results of the elections**, declaring them illegal because of "frauds." It issued a call for an emergency national convention on August 30, which was to decide the validity of the elections, meanwhile appointing an "investigating committee." But in order to insure that the convention would "act right," the N. E. C. suspended from the Party the Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarian, South Slavic, Lettish, and Lithuanian Federations, and the Socialist Party of Michigan State. In all, the N. E. C. suspended 40,000 members from the party—a deliberate, brazen move to control the election of delegates to the convention.

The charge of "fraud" was an easily detected camouflage. The elections were so overwhelmingly in favor of the Left Wing candidates as to prove the charge of fraud itself a fraud. For international delegates the vote was (excluding three states, where the returns were suppressed, but which would not alter the results), Left Wing candidates: John Reed, 17,235; Louis C. Fraina, 14,124; C. E. Ruthenberg, 10,773; A. Wagenknecht, 10,650; I. E. Ferguson, 6,490—Right Wing candidates: Victor L. Berger, 4,871; Seymour Stedman, 4,729; Adolph Germer, 4,622; Oscar Amer-

inger, 3,184; J. L. Engdahl, 3,510; John M. Work, 2,664; A. I. Shiplacoff, 2,346; James Oneal, 1,895; Algernon Lee, 1858. Louis B. Boudin, who was pro-war and against the Bolshevik Revolution, secured 1,537 votes. The Left Wing elected 12 out of 15 members of the National Executive Committee. The moderates who had been dominant in the Socialist Party were overwhelmingly repudiated. Kate Richards O'Hare (supported by the Left Wing, although not its candidate) defeated Hillquit for International Secretary, 13,262 to 4,775.

The N. E. C., after these desperate acts and after refusing to make public the vote on the referendum to affiliate with the Communist International, decided to retain office until the convention of August 30, although constitutionally it should have retired on June 30.

The issue was now definite. No compromise was conceivable. Events were directly making for a split and the organization of a new party. The Old Guard was concerned with retaining control of the Socialist Party organization, even if minus the bulk of the membership; the Left Wing was concerned with the principles and tactics.

##### 5. The National Left Wing Conference and After

Just prior to the session of the National Executive Committee, Local Boston, Local Cleveland and the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City, issued a call for a National Left Wing Conference, which met in New York City on June 21. The Conference was composed of 94 delegates representing 20 states, and coming overwhelmingly from the large industrial centers, the heart of the militant proletarian movement.

There was a difference of opinion in the Conference as to whether a Communist Party should be organized immediately, or whether the struggle should be carried on within the Socialist Party until the emergency convention August 30. The proposal to organize a new party immediately was defeated, 55 to 38.

Thereupon 31 delegates, consisting mostly of the Federation comrades and the delegates of the Socialist Party of Michigan, determined to withdraw from the Conference. The majority in the Conference decided to participate in the Socialist Party emergency convention, all expelled and suspended locals to send contesting delegates; but issued a call for a convention September 1 "of all revolutionary elements" to organize a Communist Party together with delegates seceding from the Socialist Party convention.

One important thing was accomplished by the Left Wing Conference—it made definite the issue of a new party, which until that moment was very indefinite. The minority in the Conference emphasized the inexorable necessity for the organization of a new party. This was in the minds of practically all, but it now became a definite conviction. There were centrists in the Conference who still felt that the old party could be captured, who recoiled from a split; and these voted with the majority to go to the Socialist Party convention; but the majority in the majority was convinced of the necessity for a new party, differing with the minority of 31 simply on the right procedure to pursue.

After the Conference, the minority of 31 issued a call for a convention on September 1 to organize a Communist Party, repudiating all participation in the Socialist Party convention.

In the course of its development the Left Wing, while Communist in its impulse, had attracted elements not all Communist. There were conscious centrists; comrades who had for years been waging a struggle for administration control of the party; and comrades who were disgusted with the gangster tactics pursued by the Old Guard in control of the party administration. The situation now began to clarify itself—Right Wing, Centre, Left Wing.

The important factor in this situation was the division in the organized Left Wing—the National Council, elected by the Left Wing Conference, and the minority which had organized a National Organiza-

tion Committee and issued its own call for a Communist Party convention. This constituted more than a split in the Left Wing: **it was a split of the conscious Communist elements in the Left Wing.** This division, if persisted in, meant disaster. Unity was necessary—not simply organization unity, which at particular moments must be dispensed with, but **revolutionary** unity. This unity was accomplished by agreement for the merger of the two factions on the basis of a Joint Call for a Communist Party convention on September 1.

The overwhelming majority of the organizations and delegates represented at the Left Wing Conference accepted the Joint Call.

The Left Wing had found itself, unified itself, determined upon the organization of a real Communist Party.

##### 5. **The Conventions and Revolutionary Reconstruction**

The Socialist Party Convention met on August 30th. The repudiated National Executive Committee manipulated the roster of delegates to insure Right Wing control, dozens of delegates suspected of sympathy for the Left Wing being contested and refused admission to the convention. The police was used against these delegates—an indication of the potential Noske-Scheidemann character of the Old Guard of the Socialist Party. The Left Wing was stigmatized as anarchistic, as consisting of foreigners, as an expression of emotional hysteria. The Socialist Party convention was ruthlessly dominated by the Right Wing, which used the camouflage of greetings to Soviet Russia and words about the "Revolution." It did not adopt a new program in accord with the new tactical requirements of Socialism, avoiding all fundamental problems. The Socialist Party convention adopted a resolution calling for an "international congress" to organize the "Third International," to include the Communist Party of Russia and of Germany, but ignoring the existing Communist International! A minority resolution to affiliate with the Communist International

was decisively defeated. The two resolutions are submitted to referendum vote. (There is a group still in the Socialist Party styling itself "Left Wing" which is unscrupulously trying to garner sentiment for the Communist International to revitalize the old party.) The Socialist Party now represents about 25,000 members.

The delegates refused admission to the Socialist Party convention proceeded to organize their own convention, the first act of which was to proclaim itself the "legal convention" of the Socialist Party—a beautiful centrist twist! These delegates organized themselves as the Communist Labor Party. This was on Sunday, Aug. 31.

On Monday, the Communist Party convention met with 140 delegates representing approximately 58,000 members.

A committee of five from the "Left Wing" convention met with a committee of the Communist Party to discuss unity. The C. L. P. offered unity "on a basis of equality," that is, to combine the two conventions as units, delegate for delegate. This the Communist Party rejected. The delegates in the Communist Labor Party convention were a peculiar mixture, some of them openly repudiating the Left Wing principles and tactics, others notorious Centrists. The Communist Party committee proposed that all delegates at the Communist Labor convention having instructions to participate in the Communist party convention (about 20) should come in as regular delegates; while delegates whose organizations had adopted the Left Wing Manifesto and Program but who were not instructed to organize a Communist Party (about 20) would be admitted as fraternal delegates. The other delegates, representing an unknown constituency, or no membership at all, who were simply disgruntled at the Old Guard for its gangster tactics, could not be allowed to participate in the organization of a Communist Party.

The Communist Labor Party convention refused this offer and proceeded to organize a permanent party. The delegates organizing the C. L. P. represented not more than 10,000 members, many of whom are now joining the Communist Party.

This third party adventure was the result of a number of factors: personal politics, centrism, and the fact that Communist elements from the Western States had not been in close touch with the more rapid developments in the East.

Having consciously organized a third party, the Communist Labor Party is now making "unity" its major campaign. The former Left Wing organizations are almost entirely accepting the Communist Party, achieving unity through membership action. One word more: the C. L. P. speaks much of "an American Communist movement" and fights our party on the issue of "Federation control." This is malicious. There has been one disagreement with the Federation comrades: concerning this, it might be said that the Federation comrades may have been too precipitate and the American comrades too hesitant. But the Federation comrades have worked earnestly for an uncompromising Communist Party. In any event, if the Federations offer any problem, it is a problem of internal party struggle and action. The sincerity of the Federation comrades, all other considerations aside, is attested by their yielding administrative power to the non-Federation comrades.

The Communist Party Manifesto is a consistent formulation of Communist fundamentals; its Program a realistic application of these fundamentals to the immediate problems of the proletarian struggle; its constitution based upon rigorous party centralization and discipline, without which a Communist Party builds upon sand.

## 6. The General Situation

The Communist Party appears at a moment of profound proletarian unrest. There has been strike after strike, developing larger and more aggressive

character. There is now a strike of more than 300,000 workers in the steel industry, a really terrific portent to American Capitalism.

There is a revolutionary upsurge in the old unions: the longshoremen of Seattle have just refused to allow munitions for Kolchak & Co. to be transported. There is a strong sentiment in favor of the Russian Soviet Republic. In the unions the workers are becoming conscious of the reactionary character of their officials, and movements of protest and a sentiment for industrial unionism are developing.

But the American Federation of Labor, as a whole, is hopelessly reactionary. At its recent convention the A. F. of L. approved the Versailles peace treaty and the League of Nations, and refused to declare its solidarity with Soviet Russia. It did not even protest the blockade of Russia and Hungary! This convention, moreover, did all in its power to break radical unions. The A. F. of L. is united with the government, securing a privileged status in the governing system of State Capitalism. A Labor Party is being organized—much more conservative than the British Labor Party.

The Industrial Workers of the World is waging an aggressive campaign of organization. It has decided to affiliate with the Communist International; but its press and spokesmen show no understanding of Communist tactics. The I. W. W. still clings to its old concepts of organizing all the workers industrially, gradually "growing into" the new society, as the only means of achieving the revolution: a conception as utopian as that of the moderate Socialist, who proposes to "grow into" Socialism by transforming the bourgeois state. The Communist Party endorses the I. W. W. as a revolutionary mass movement, while criticising its theoretical shortcomings.

Imperialism is now consciously dominant in the United States. In his recent tour for the League of Nations, President Wilson threw off the mask and spoke in plain imperialistic terms, emphasizing the ab-

solute necessity of crushing Soviet Russia. Congress drifts, and is impotent. The government, federal and local, is adopting the most repressive measures against the proletariat. Armed force, martial law and military invasion are used against strikes. State after state has adopted "Criminal Syndicalism" measures, making almost any advocacy of militant proletarian tactics a crime. On the least pretext agitators are arrested. Deportations occur almost daily; one of our international delegates, A. Stoklitsky, is now under trial for deportation.

American Imperialism is usurping world power, constituting the very heart of international reaction. Reaction in Europe and the campaign against Soviet Russia are supported morally and financially by "our" government. An enormous agitation is being waged for military intervention in Mexico. The American capitalist class is brutal, unscrupulous, powerful; it controls enormous reserves of financial, industrial and military power; it is determined to use this power to conquer world supremacy and to crush the revolutionary proletariat.

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 this, the Communist Party prepares for the struggle.

Long live the Communist International! Long live the world revolution!

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222 E. 5th St., New York, N. Y.

SOUTH SLAVIC: Weekly, "Znanje",  
2741 W. 22nd St., Chicago, Ill.

Monthly, "Glas Komunista", 1219 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.