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PROGRAM AND CONSTITUTION

Workers Party of America



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Program of the Workers Party of America

The capitalist world, which in 1914 boasted of its great wealth, of its gigantic powers of production, of its smoothly running system of business, of the power and security of its government, is sinking into decay.

Hundreds of billions of wealth have been destroyed by the Great War. The financial structure of many European countries is nearing the point of collapse. Industries produce haltingly or have come to a stop altogether. The capitalist governments try one trick after the other to maintain their power in the face of the wrath of the suffering masses.

The victorious and vanquished countries of the world war present a picture that is different only in the degree of the suffering and misery which is the lot of the workers. Central Europe is a mass of hungry men, women and children. In England, France and Italy an army of workers numbering millions in each instance have no work and daily come closer to the same conditions. In the United States great strikes expressing the resistance of the workers to the capitalist effort to lower their standard of living follow one upon the other. The war clouds still hover over the world and threaten again to engulf mankind in the abyss of bloodshed and destruction.

Soviet Russia alone has freed itself from the forces of destruction, which are inherent in the capitalist system and which threaten the destruction of civilization. In Soviet Russia the foundation has been laid for the new social order and there is being erected that structure which will forever free mankind from the suffering, bloodshed and destruction of the capitalist system.

The Class Struggle

The whole capitalist system of production rests upon the robbery and enslavement of the workers. In the United States, the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Schwabs, the railroad kings, the coal barons, the industrial magnates own the means of production and the workers cannot secure work without their consent. They are unable to earn the means of buying food, clothing and homes to live in without the permission of these financial and industrial kings. The owners of capital are so many czars and kaisers, each with a group of workers ranging from a few hundreds to tens of thousands whose right to life they hold in their hands thru their control of the workers' opportunity to earn a living.

The conditions on which the workers are permitted to work is the

enrichment of the capitalists. They must work for wages which will leave in the hands of the railroad kings, the coal barons, and industrial magnates a large share of what they produce or otherwise they are denied employment. They must add more millions to Rockefeller's billions, they must create new hundreds of millions for Morgan, they must add to the swollen fortunes of the financial and industrial lords of the country.

In the Declaration of Independence, a document underlying the institutions of the country, it was laid down as a principle that all men are endowed with certain inalienable rights, and "that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

These rights do not exist for the thirty million American wage workers and their families. The workers of this country are industrial slaves. They cannot work and earn a living without the consent of the capitalists. That consent is given only upon the conditions that they make the capitalists richer.

It is the struggle against these conditions which is continually breaking out in strikes. The history of this country during the last half century is full of examples of the rebellion of the workers. The capitalists continually seek to secure greater profits for themselves, while the workers struggle to improve the conditions of their life by forcing the capitalists to pay higher wages and to grant better working conditions. The result is the class-struggle which manifests itself on all sides in the United States.

The great strikes at Pullman, Homestead, McKees Rocks, Lawrence, Mass.; Ludlow, Colo.; Calumet, Mich.; Messaba Range, the steel strike and the miners' strike in 1919, the West Virginia miners' strike, are all outstanding incidents in the class struggle, which is being fought daily in every industrial center in the United States.

Since the end of the few months of prosperity for the financial and industrial magnates, which followed the close of the war, the capitalists have been fighting to put upon the working people of this country the burden of the destruction of wealth during the war. They are endeavoring to make the working people, who paid the cost of the war in blood, pay also for the destruction and waste of the war in a lower standard of living. They are trying to make the working people pay by forcing them to work for lower wages and longer hours.

The result has been that the struggle between the workers and the financial lords and industrial magnates has grown even more bitter. The workers are fighting against a lower standard of living. They refuse to eat poorer food, to wear poorer clothes, to live in poorer homes, to have less opportunity for the education of their children. The garment workers' strike, the miners' strike, the railroad shopmen's strike, the textile workers' strike, are evidence of the resistance of the workers to a bitter industrial slavery, resistance which has found expression in such open, violent clashes as the armed struggle in West Virginia and at Herrin, Ill.

The mass power of the exploited class is its strongest weapon in this struggle against the capitalists. If during the strike of the coal miners, the railroad shopmen, and the textile workers, the whole working class had united in mass meetings and mass demonstrations against the use of the courts and soldiers in the strikes, they could have, through such mass pressure, compelled the government to withdraw the troops and recall the injunctions.

When in 1916 the railroad workers, through the threat of general strike, compelled the Congress to pass the Adamson eight-hour day law, they demonstrated the strength of the direct mass power of the workers.

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The West Virginia miners who marched into Mingo County to compel the coal barons and their armed thugs to respect the rights guaranteed the miners under the constitution and the laws of West Virginia and the nation made use of their mass power to establish these rights.

The conflict between the workers and the capitalists cannot be harmonized or compromised while the railroad kings, the coal barons and the industrial magnates own and control the factories, mines, mills and railroads. It can only be ended by abolishing the capitalist system.

The Workers Party will enter into every struggle involving the interests of the exploited class and through its slogans and programs of action will endeavor to develop the mass power of the workers. It will seek to unite ever greater numbers of workers in a common struggle so that each struggle will come to be, not a struggle of a small group of workers against a section of the capitalist class, but a struggle of the working class against the capitalist class.

The Government

In the struggle between the workers and the industrial magnates, the coal barons and the railroad kings, the government is openly on the side of the capitalists.

The miners of West Virginia, fighting for the right to organize against the armed thugs of the coal barons, were forced into submission by the army acting under the orders of the Federal Government.

The railroad workers have had worse working conditions and reductions of wages forced upon them by the Railway Labor Board, created by the United States government to help the capitalists beat the workers into submission. This Board has shown the bankruptcy of capitalism in the declaration, that the railroads cannot pay a "living wage," thus also placing all the power of the government behind the capitalist drive to force down the wages of the workers below the point of a decent existence.

In the miners' strike and the shopmen's strike, the Harding administration used all its power to break the strike. The States Governments filled the strike centers with soldiers to intimidate the workers and force them back to work.

Courts everywhere are issuing injunctions against strikers. In Kansas an Industrial Court denies the workers the right to strike at all. The Supreme Court, through the decision in the Coronado case, gives the capitalists a club with which to destroy any union which dares to strike for better wages and working conditions. Through the Daugherty injunction the government swept aside all the rights of the workers with one stroke of the pen of a capitalist judge.

Government officials conspire with the exploiters of labor to put militant leaders of the working class movement in prison. The Mooney frame-up, the Sacco-Vanzetti prosecution and a score of similar cases show how the government works in close co-operation with the employers to rid them of individuals and movements threatening their interests.

The Capitalist state, that is, the existing government, municipal, state and national, is the organized power of the capitalist class for suppression of the exploited and oppressed workers. A democratic president, Cleveland, used federal troops against the Pullman strikers; a republican president, Roosevelt, threatened the hard coal miners with the iron fist of the government in 1902; another democratic president, Wilson, used all the governmental power, from courts to soldiers, against the steel workers and coal miners in 1919; and the republican president, Harding, did the same in the miners' and shopmen's strikes of 1922.

The workers cannot wage a successful struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression, while the government remains in control of the capitalists. The Workers Party therefore declares that the class struggle is a political struggle, a struggle for the governmental power.

Imperialism

The government of the United States is not only an instrument of aggression against the workers in the class struggle in this country. It is also the instrument through which the capitalists fight their battles against the competing capitalists of other countries.

In the United States capitalism has reached a high degree of development. At this stage of development capitalism produces goods, predominantly tools, machinery, rails, locomotives, the products of iron and steel, which under the conditions of capitalist production must be sold in foreign markets. Coincident with this development of capitalism it becomes increasingly difficult for the capitalists to invest their new capital profitably in home industry. In order to prevent the breakdown of the whole capitalist system, the capitalists must sell their surplus goods and find profitable investment for their surplus capital. They are also faced with the need of finding new sources of raw material for the highly developed capitalist industries. These needs produce the policy of imperialism and have developed American imperialism.

American capital has been invested in Mexican mines and oil fields. It is being used to exploit the resources of China. It is invested in loans to the countries of West Indies, Central and South America. These investments create markets for the surplus products of American industry as well as profitable use for new capital created for the capitalists by the exploited American workers.

The power of the government is openly used by the financial lords of Wall Street to open up weaker countries for these investments and to protect their investments.

Since the Spanish-American war, in which this country acquired the Philippines and Porto Rico, American imperialism, "Dollar Diplomacy," has overthrown the governments of Haiti and Santo Domingo and subjected the people of those countries to the bitterest oppression in order to safeguard the loans of Wall Street. Nicaragua has been reduced to vassalage. Cuba is a protectorate of the United States in the interests of the Sugar Trusts. The Mexican government is coerced to agree in the interests of oil and banking capital.

The World War, which drenched Europe in blood and in which millions of workers lost their lives, was the consequence of the imperialist rivalry between the capitalist governments of the world.

Although capitalism still lies shattered as a result of that war, a new imperialist struggle is already under way, which points to a new war and greater suffering and misery for the masses of the world.

After the Washington conference the imperialists of the world endeavored to harmonize their differences through division of the loot of the Pacific in order that they might reduce the burden of naval armament. This conference has, however, proven a complete fiasco and already the nations participating in it are repudiating its decisions. In spite of all this conference could do, the United States is still in conflict with England over the division of the oil fields of the world and the rivalry between the United States and Japan constantly grows sharper.

The necessity which compelled the capitalists of each nation to hurl

tens of millions of men into the death struggle upon the European battlefields has not been abolished. Driven by the same necessity, the American capitalists are using the governmental power to advance their interests in all parts of the world.

Imperialism with all its horrible consequences in the crippling and maiming and killing of the workers and the great destruction of wealth can only be ended through the workers wresting the power of the government from the hands of the capitalists.

Election Campaign and American Democracy.

The Workers Party will not foster the illusion, as is done by the yellow Socialists and Reformists that the workers can achieve their emancipation from the oppression and exploitation of capitalism through the election of a majority of the members of the legislative bodies of the capitalist government and the executive officials of that government, and by using the existing government to establish the new social order.

The Constitution of the United States was so drafted as to protect the interests of the exploiters of the workers. The merchants, the bankers, and land-owners of 1787 wrote into the Constitutions provisions which they hoped would forever protect the interests of their class.

A majority of the people of the United States cannot change the Constitution. The vote of two-thirds of the members of the legislators of three-fourths of the states is required to pass a constitutional amendment. One-fourth of the states, in which there may live only one-fortieth of the population can prevent any change of the fundamental law of the land.

The Constitution contains a series of checks and balances which are intended to make it impossible for a majority antagonistic to the ruling class to make its will effective. The members of the House of Representatives are elected every two years, the President every four years, the members of the Senate every six years, so that a complete change of the government can be made only through elections spread over six years. The Senate has a veto over the decisions of the House, the President can veto the actions of both bodies, and over and above the House, the Senate and the President stands the Supreme Court, which can nullify laws which all three unite in passing.

The character of the Constitution as a document intended to protect the bankers and industrial magnates of the country has been made clear in many decisions under its provisions. Child labor laws, laws regulating hours of labor, and protecting life and health of the workers, and minimum wage laws have been declared void. A weapon to strike down organized labor has been found in its clauses as shown in the Coronado decision.

In addition to the protection which the Constitution gives to the coal barons, railroad kings, and the industrial and financial lords, millions of workers are disfranchised in this country through naturalization laws. Hundreds of thousands of citizens cannot vote because of residential qualifications, which through the necessity of earning a living wage make it impossible for them to comply with.

The capitalists control thousands of newspapers through which they shape the ideas of the masses in their interests; they control the schools, the colleges, the pulpits, the moving-picture theatres, all of which are part of the machinery through which the capitalists shape the minds of the workers.

When it serves their purpose the capitalists do not hesitate to expel members of the legislative bodies elected by working class votes. This was

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done in the case of the Socialist members of the Cleveland City Council and a member of the School Board of that city. These representatives, elected by the workers, were expelled in violation of all law to stifle their protests against the imperialist war. The expulsion of the Socialist assemblymen of New York state is a case of similar character.

Under these conditions to talk of "democracy" is to throw sand into the eyes of the workers. The much-talked of "American democracy" is a fraud. Such formal democracy as is written into the Constitution and the laws of the country is camouflage to hide the real character of the dictatorship of the capitalists.

While recognizing the impossibility of the workers winning their emancipation through the use of the machinery of the existing government, the Workers Party realizes the importance of election campaigns in developing the political consciousness of the working class. The first step toward revolutionary political action by the working class must be made through independent political action by the workers in election campaigns. The Workers Party will therefore participate in election campaigns and use them for propaganda and agitation to develop their political consciousness of the workers.

It will endeavor to rally the workers to use their power to make real the rights which the fraudulent American democracy denies them. It will use them to carry on the struggle for the right of labor to create a revolutionary political party and for such an organization to function openly in the political life of the country.

The Workers Party will also nominate its candidate and enter into election campaigns to expose the fraudulent character of capitalist democracy and to carry on the propaganda for the soviets. It will use the election campaigns to rally the workers for mass political demands upon the capitalist state. Its candidates, when elected to office, will use the forums of the legislative bodies for the same purpose.

The Labor Party

The open use of the governmental power against the workers and farm laborers, tenant farmers and working farmers of this country has developed a wide-spread movement for the formation of a labor party. This movement is an expression of the awakening class consciousness of the American workers.

The Workers Party favors the formation of a labor party—a working-class political party, independent of, and opposed to all capitalist political parties. It will make every effort to hasten the formation of such a party and to effect admittance to it as an autonomous section.

The mighty centralization of power of the government of the United States, which was brought about by the war, the offensive of the capitalist class, which resulted from the economic crises, make it necessary for the workers to defend themselves politically. The change in the wages of the skilled and unskilled workers have brought them nearer to the same conditions of life, the taking away of the privileges of the "aristocracy" of labor by the capitalist power, the assimilation of the foreign born, the organization of the alien workers as militant trade unionists, have for the first time in the history of the American labor movement produced a uniformity of the working class which makes possible the organization of a labor party.

A real labor party cannot be formed without the labor unions and organizations of exploited formers, tenant farmers and farm laborers must be included. The Workers Party will direct its propaganda and educational

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work to the end of arousing a mass sentiment of the labor party in the labor unions to secure the formation of such a party.

Labor Unions

The division of the organized workers into craft unions is one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of the workers in this country against capitalism.

During the past two years organized labor has been dealt many heavy blows by the employers, who are bent on destroying or at least weakening so as to make ineffective the organization of the workers. In spite of this desperate struggle, each craft has fought alone. There has been no united resistance, no solid united front against the industrial kings, who are striving to reduce the wages and make worse the working conditions of the workers. The example of the seven railroad shop unions, striking while nine other railroad unions continued to serve the railroad kings and help them to whip their fellow workers is but one striking example of a situation which exists everywhere in the ranks of organized labor in this country.

In addition to the weakness of the craft form of organization the labor unions suffer from a fundamental error of policy. In place of waging a class struggle to free themselves from the grip of the capitalists they have pursued the policy of attempting to come to an agreement with the capitalists on the basis of "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work."

No such compromise with capitalism can be permanent. The hunger of the capitalists for greater profits drives them to seek to lower the standard of living of the workers when they have the upper hand. On the other hand when the workers are in strong position their need and their desire for more of the good things they produce results in greater demands upon the capitalists.

The gain of the workers during the war time scarcity of labor and their present losses indicate the futility of the hope that the class struggle can be settled through a compromise.

The labor unions must be revolutionized; they must be won for the class struggle against capitalism; they must be inspired with a new solidarity and united to fight a common battle. The existing craft unions must be amalgamated and powerful industrial unions created in each industry. The reactionary official bureaucracy of the unions must be supplanted by the shop delegates system.

The Workers Party declares one of its chief immediate tasks to be to inspire in the labor unions a revolutionary purpose and to unite them in a mass movement of uncompromising struggle against capitalism. It will use all the resources at its command to educate the organized workers to an understanding of the necessity of amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions.

This end cannot be achieved if the revolutionary workers leave the existing unions to form feeble dual organizations. The work of transforming the labor unions must be carried on inside of the existing unions. The members of the Workers Party will carry on their work within the existing unions to awaken the spirit of class struggle and to bring about a reconstruction of the organization form so as to make of the unions powerful organized centers of the workers' struggle against capitalism.

The Workers Party declares its support for the Red Labor International and adopts as its program for the struggle within the unions the theses of the Red Labor International on the American Labor Unions.

The Working Farmer and Farm Laborer

The struggle of the farm laborers is the same struggle in which the industrial workers are engaged. It is a struggle against those who exploit them through low wages and hard working conditions. The Workers Party will seek to organize the farm laborers into unions of agricultural workers and to unite them with their brothers in the industrial centers for the common struggle against capitalism.

While the exploitation of the working farmer is not so apparent, he suffers in the grip of the same enemy who robs the industrial workers of the cities. The bank, which holds the mortgage on his land, the railroad which transports his product, the grain elevator or the commission house which he must use in marketing his products represent the tentacles of the same capitalist system which is robbing the industrial workers.

The interests of the working farmers, tenant farmers and farm laborers are linked together with those of the exploited industrial workers and it is the aim of the Workers Party to arouse them to a consciousness of this and to unite them with the industrial workers in a common struggle against their common exploiter.

The Negro Worker

The Negro workers of this country are exploited and oppressed more ruthlessly than any other group. The history of the Southern Negro is the history of brutal terrorism, of persecution and murder.

During the war tens of thousands of Southern Negroes were brought to the industrial centers of the North to supply the needs of the employers for cheap labor. In the Northern industrial cities the Negro has found the same bitter discrimination as in the South. The attack upon the Negroes of East St. Louis, Illinois, the riot in Chicago are examples of the additional burden of oppression which is the lot of the Negro workers.

Although the influx of Negro workers in the Northern industrial centers has laid the foundation for a mass movement of Negroes who are industrial workers, because of neglect of this problem by organized labor little progress has been made in organization of these industrial workers. The Negro has despaired of aid from organized labor, and he has been driven either into the camp of the enemies of labor, or has been compelled to develop purely racial organizations which seek purely racial aims.

The Workers Party will support the Negroes in their struggle for liberation and will help them in their fight for economic, political and educational equality. It will seek to end the policy of discrimination followed by some labor unions and all other discriminations against the Negro. It will endeavor to destroy altogether the barrier of race prejudice that has been used to keep apart the black and white workers and to weld them into a solid union for the struggle against the capitalists who exploit and oppress them.

Soviets, or Workers' Councils

The experience of the workers in the struggle against capitalism has proven that the workers cannot take over the ready-made machinery of the Capitalist government and use this machinery to build up a Communist society. The form of organization of the existing government, constitutional basis, its laws, the bureaucracy which has been built up over a century cannot be used by the workers. They are all of a character to aid the capitalists in the struggle against the workers and cannot be transformed into instruments of struggle of the workers against the capitalists.

The workers' revolution in Russia, Hungary, Bavaria, the revolutionary struggle in Germany, all show that the Soviets or Workers' Councils are the organizations of the workers' power which in time of crisis arise naturally out of the previous struggles and experiences of the workers.

The Soviets are first constituted through delegates elected by the workers in the factories and labor unions. They are comparable to a general strike council, which might arise in the case of a strike embracing all the workers of a city. The local councils are federated in state or district councils and these in a national council, or Soviet, which is the supreme organ of the working class government. The Soviets carry on both the legislative and administrative work of the working class government.

The Workers Party will carry on propaganda to bring to the workers an understanding of the necessity of supplanting the existing capitalist government with a Soviet government.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The existing capitalist government is a dictatorship of the capitalists. Today in the United States a comparatively small group of capitalist-financial and industrial kings, with headquarters in Wall Street, control the government of the United States, of the states and municipalities. Through the capitalist government this group of financial and industrial kings enforce their will upon the thirty million workers and their families.

While part of the workers are granted the hollow mockery of voting, they find that whether they vote for the Republican or Democratic candidate, in time of struggle the government is always on the side of the financial and industrial kings.

The Soviet government of the workers will, because of the same necessity—the necessity of suppressing the capitalists—be a dictatorship of the workers. The government expressing the will of the thirty million workers will openly use its power in the interests of the workers and against the capitalists.

The Goal of the Proletarian Dictatorship

It will be the task of the government of the thirty million workers of this country to take from the capitalists the control and ownership of the raw materials and machinery of production upon which the workers are dependent for their life, liberty and happiness and to establish collective ownership.

Together with this collective ownership the Workers' Government will as quickly as possible develop the management of the industries by the workers.

Through the establishment of this Communist system of industry the exploitation and oppression of the workers will be ended. As the power of the capitalists in industry wanes and Communism is established the struggle between the classes will disappear and the dictatorship of the Proletariat will become unnecessary and will cease to function. The government will become an instrument for administration of industry and the full, free Communist society will come into being.

The International

The Workers Party accepts the principle that the class struggle for the emancipation of the working class is an international struggle. The workers of Russia have been obliged to fight against the whole capitalist

world in order to maintain their Soviet Government and to win the opportunity of rebuilding their system of production on a Communist basis. In this struggle they have had the support of the enlightened workers of every country.

The future struggles against capitalism will take the same character. In order to win the final victory in the struggle against world capitalism the working class of the world must be united under one leadership.

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The leadership in the international struggle which inspires hope in the hearts of the workers of the world and arouses fear in the capitalists of every country is the leadership of the Communist International.

The Workers Party declares its sympathy with the principles of the Communist International and enters the struggle against American capitalism, the most powerful of the national groups, under the inspiration of the leadership of the Communist International.

It rallies to the call: "**WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.**"

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 a Workers and Farmers 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 underneath, "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 or works. 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.

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 state), 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 the 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 per cent 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. City convention 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 cited 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.

Section 9—Delegates to district conventions must have been members of the party for one year. Delegates to National Conventions must have been members of the party for two years. Delegates to City Conventions must have been members of the party for six months.

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 thirteen members. Twelve shall be elected by the Convention and the N. E. C. of the Young Workers League shall elect one. 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 co-optation.

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 appointed District Organizers and all national officials. It shall create sub-committees 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 districts 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 propoganda 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 remittances 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, industrial organizer, delegates to the City Central Committee, and such other 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—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.

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 9a)—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 9b)—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 9c)—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 10a)—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 10b)—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 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 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 or assessments 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 organizations shall be allowed exempt stamps in a proportion greater than ten per cent 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.