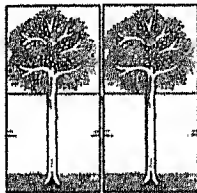


Program and Constitution
of the
United Communist Party
of America



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The United Communist Party came into existence at the close of the world war that has doomed capitalist civilization.

It is steadily perfecting its machinery for assault upon the American capitalist system, the most powerful remaining stronghold of world imperialism.

In the short period of this party's existence as the American section of the Communist International, it has accomplished much of the preliminary labor of organization, and has begun its historic role as the aggressive, class-conscious vanguard of the American proletariat.

American capitalism is the most ruthless and formidable expression of world-wide capitalism. In resolutely confronting this enemy, it is necessary to understand the nature and development of its being.

The essential characteristic of capitalism is production for profit, on the basis of private property in the principal means of production and exchange. This property is concentrated in the hands of a few.

Starting as the simple tool of the handicraftsman, the means of production have developed into huge and complicated masses of machinery, around which have gathered hosts of workers whose sole part in the productive process is that of burdensome labor, for which they receive the scanty pittance allowed them by their taskmasters in the form of wages. The enormous values accruing from industry, apart from that portion allotted to the workers as wages, are appropriated by the numerically small, but politically and economically powerful employing class.

Thus we have, on the one hand, a small class of idle capitalists, living luxuriously on the proceeds of the labor of the toilers; and, on the other, the great mass of workers, whose sole asset is their power to labor, which they are compelled to sell to their masters for a bare sustenance.

The economic grouping of these two classes inevitably generates irreconcilable antagonism. On the part of the capitalists, the desire is to extort the fullest value for a minimum return; and, on the part of the workers, a constant effort to increase the wage for which they are forced to sell their labor-power.

Owing to the existence of the capitalist system, a small group of imperialist governments had the opportunity for four long years

to compel the workers of various countries to cut each other's throats. The bourgeois war has cast the entire world into a state of extreme destitution and starvation. Unless the capitalist system is overthrown, the repetition of such a criminal war is not only possible, but inevitable. The war has mechanically destroyed economic ties the world over, the development of which was one of the most important conquests of capitalism.

Meanwhile, the ruination of mankind is going on. The growing burden of the destructive forces of imperialism and increasing exploitation are gradually drawing the workers closer to an understanding of social forces and a revolutionary determination to overthrow the whole capitalist system instead of bettering their standard of life within the limits of the present system. To develop and direct this struggle for the seizure of the instruments of production and exchange, by means of the overthrow of the capitalist State and the establishment of the Proletarian Dictatorship through the Soviets; the complete abolition of classes and the realization of Socialism—the first step of Communist society—is the responsible task of the United Communist Party.

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY.

The form of government of the United States, and of its constituent states, is the model for capitalist democracy. It places the law-making power into the hands of "representative parliaments," i. e., congresses, assemblies, city councils, etc. The placing of this law-making power in the hands of a body elected, ostensibly, by popular vote, is the basis of the contention of the ruling class and the democratic reform socialists, that this government is, or by reforms can be made, a government "by the people." In this confusion lies the greatest obstacle to the working class understanding its situation and liberating itself. "The people" is a collective name for two antagonistic and irreconcilable forces that have no common object, and therefore cannot hold power together,—the class that lives by its own labor and the class that lives by exploiting labor. "Government" consists in the domination of one of these classes over the other; therefore, both classes cannot at the same time "govern." These two irreconcilable classes cannot be summed up under the one term, "the people."

The "democratic parliament" or congress is but a blind to obscure the fact of class division. Congress functions, and can only function as the clearing house for petty differences, within the sphere of capitalist influence. The slight latitude to "popular will" is a lati-

tude allowed only within the boundaries of basic capitalist interest. Exercise of that will, outside of these limits, is punished as a crime.

The American Congress is only the means of concealing the dictatorship of the capitalist class. It cannot be the arena for the struggle of the proletariat for power. Nor can parliamentarism be one of the forms of proletarian rule during the period of transition. Least of all can it be part of a Communist order in which there will be no class struggle and no State.

Therefore the attitude of the United Communist Party toward parliament is hostile. It recognizes that at a future time industrial crises and revolutionary mass manifestations may compel the capitalist government, for the sake of reawakening faith in bourgeois government, to permit a party of avowed revolutionary aims to participate in elections. In that case, the United Communist Party will nominate candidates to go into election campaigns only for propaganda purposes. If elected, these Communists will enter the legislative bodies not to legislate reforms, but to expose the futility of parliament and prove the necessity of its overthrow.

Until such time as legal participation in electoral activities becomes possible, if such time ever occur, the Party will make use of election campaigns as occasions for widespread propaganda, revealing to the workers the deceptive character of this "exercise of popular will."

Although realizing the usefulness of the parliamentary platform as an auxiliary in its revolutionary work, the United Communist Party, nevertheless, will decide the question of participation in parliament, in each instance, according to the specific conditions of the moment.

Representatives of the United Communist Party of America, if elected to public office, remain under the full control of the Party. Their activities, in all instances, are subordinate to the needs of the mass struggles of the workers outside parliament. These mass struggles are the essential weapons of the revolutionary proletariat against the capitalist State.

"SOCIALIST" REFORM PARTIES.

On the eve of the clash that will settle forever the issue between capitalism and Socialism, it becomes necessary to clear the revolutionary ranks of all confusing and betraying leadership. Bourgeois reform parties making sentimental use of the name "Socialist," but ready at the moment of crisis to accept leadership of the capitalist State and to defend capitalist "democratic institutions," must, before the crisis develops, be exposed and deprived of all influence.

The American bourgeoisie is slow to learn the trickery already known and used with death-dealing effect by the bourgeoisie of Germany, Hungary, France, Poland, etc.,—the trickery of employing "Social Democratic" parties and leaders at the last moment to prevent a violent overthrow (i. e., any overthrow) of the capitalist State. Only recently has American capitalism begun to see the shortsightedness of its way, and to show signs of willingness to permit its misunderstood and mistreated servants, such as the "Socialist" assemblymen of New York State, to enter legislative bodies. Capitalism has compelled its humble "Socialist" servants publicly, and as a party, to promise fidelity to the capitalist constitution, publicly to declare their willingness to defend the existing bourgeois State against "attack of foreign Bolshevik governments," and to amend their Socialist Party constitution so as to permit the voting of war credits for the defense of the capitalist government. The American bourgeoisie has done itself an ill turn in requiring its Noskes publicly to admit in advance their willingness to butcher workingmen in defense of the existing State.

The United Communist Party makes use of this unusual opportunity to teach all intelligent workers that "The American Socialist Party," the "Socialist Labor Party," and any other party pretending to bring Socialism through means prescribed by capitalist law, are but the last trench in the bourgeois fortification. Communists will, at the same time, make clear to the toilers of city and country the futility of such frankly bourgeois reform parties as the "Farmer-Labor Party" and the "Single Tax League."

Where the yellow leaders of the Socialist Party advance their project for a "Fourth International," Communists will ruthlessly expose the project as a cowardly evasion advanced for the sole purpose of preventing the alignment of the American working class with the only revolutionary International, the Third (Communist) International. Communists will point out to Socialist Party rank and file members that there is no difference in principle or program between the projected "Fourth International" and the old Second International that co-operated in most countries with the respective capitalist governments in dragging the working class to the destruction and murder of war. In the United States, where the "left" elements of the Socialist Party as it then existed, succeeded in obtaining a mild official and perfunctory opposition to the war, the Socialist Party officials have since succeeded in expelling all these "left" elements, and have revised their party program to its complete debasement. Having lost most of their working class following by this servility, the Socialist Party leaders now strive to avoid the

loss of the rest of their following by building a new "International" that is but a duplicate of the Noske-Scheidemann Second International. United Communist Party members will hold up the "Fourth" as well as the Second, International to the contempt of the world, which all such "Internationals" deserve.

MASS ACTION.

The mass struggle of the proletariat grows out of the ever-increasing antagonism between the workers and the capitalist class. The capitalist State is the expression of the organized power of the ruling class. Standing apparently over and above both classes, it is, in reality, an instrument of coercion for the ruling class against the ruled.

The power of the State is used more and more openly and aggressively in this class struggle. Finally, it is revealed in its true role as standing in the way of a proletarian victory. The economic forces of the workers, organized and directed against the forces of capitalism, are combatted by the forces of the State. Strikes are declared unlawful; injunctions are issued against the workers; police and military units of the State are openly used against strikers, to drive them back into submission. Thus the workers are forced to recognize the capitalist State as their enemy, and the economic struggle of the working class takes on political significance. The battles for higher wages and better working conditions are transformed into a struggle for political power. The scattered struggles of groups of workers against groups of capitalists now grow into revolutionary conflicts between the working class and the capitalist class defended by the capitalist State. The conquest of that State and the annihilation of its governmental machinery becomes the immediate object of the struggle.

Consciously to direct this inevitable development and to lead the working class in the final conflict is the historic mission of the United Communist Party. To this end, the party makes the great industrial struggles of the workers its major campaigns. It will strive to give them conscious revolutionary direction. It will endeavor to develop an understanding of the strike in relation to the overthrow of capitalism and the capitalist State. It will enter into, organize, and lead mass protests and demonstrations, constantly, to disturb capitalist society. A whole system of mass demonstrations must be developed, growing ever more acute in form, and logically leading to an uprising against the capitalist State. The government will then function openly as a military dictatorship. The class strug-

gle, which so long appeared in forms unrecognizable to the millions of workers directly engaged in it, develops into open combat, **CIVIL WAR.**

The United Communist Party will systematically and persistently familiarize the working class with the fact of the inevitability of armed conflict in the proletarian revolution. The United Communist Party must prepare the working class for armed insurrection as the final form of mass action, by which the workers shall conquer the State.

At the proper time, the United Communist Party will initiate the formation of Councils—Soviets—through which the whole power of the working class can be united into one overwhelming offensive against the military and police power of the capitalist State. Through the Soviets, the working class will exercise its dictatorial powers for a successful termination of the civil war against the capitalist class, and for the reconstruction of society on a Communist basis.

Workers' Council will be formed in time of revolutionary crisis as the instruments of the revolution. They will be used to organize the insurrection of the workers against the State and become the organ of the working class government under the guidance of the United Communist Party. As the proletarian State, the Workers' Councils will maintain order during the transition, and will transform capitalist society into Communism.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat through the Workers' Councils is only a transitional instrument for the fulfillment of an historic mission. After private property shall have been expropriated and converted to Communist use, class divisions will disappear. With the passing of class antagonism, the State—which is at any given period in history but the organ of domination of one class over another—will also pass out of existence. The Workers' State ceases to exist as a State, ceases to exercise the now unnecessary police and military compulsion, and is converted into the administrative organ, regulating social production and distribution.

PENETRATION OF MILITARY UNITS.

The capitalist class of this country fully realizes the danger threatening it from the growing unrest among the workers suffering from the effect of economic depression.

The strengthening of the police; the creation of, and demand for, State constabulary forces; the formation of private armies of spies and thugs; all this—ostensibly planned for the purpose of suppressing "race riots," or combatting a "crime wave"—in reality, has

no other object than that of preparation for the inevitable clash with the workers.

This clash is being forced by the capitalist class, by the gigantic struggle it has undertaken to crush all labor organizations, thus reducing the working class to a condition of complete slavery.

In this struggle, as in all other class struggles, the military forces of the State will be at the disposal of the capitalist class.

The United Communist Party must take into account the various military organizations which are at the disposal of the capitalists. It must analyze their character and formulate towards them a policy of action which would win some of them from the side of the capitalists, and render others harmless to the workers.

Such organizations as the police, constabulary, and public and private forces of spies and thugs are counter-revolutionary to the core; and the United Communist Party has no illusion as to the possibility of converting them to the workers' cause. On them the Party declares relentless war.

The Party must also recognize the class character of such semi-military organizations as the American Legion, which have, in many instances, played a part in the suppression of the workers' movement. The membership of the American Legion, consisting mainly of former enlisted men, has been misled by the ex-officers who have seized control of the organization, and who have diverted the former private soldiers from their natural post-war class resentment. The cynical denial by the government of the ex-soldiers' demand for a war bonus, has somewhat weakened the blind reliance of the ex-soldiers upon their officer leaders. By propaganda among the members, stressing the class distinction between their officers and themselves, some of them may be won away from their leaders. However, it appears certain that some of the units of the American legion, at least, will be used, to a considerable extent, as a recruiting ground for the American White Guard.

The United Communist Party recognizes the fundamental difference between a conscript and a mercenary army and navy. The former, drafting its recruits by compulsion, furnishes a fertile field for Communist propaganda, and by its character and structure clearly reflects the economic class relationships of capitalist society.

In the mercenary army and navy and the "National Guard" (militia), although the same relations exist, they are to some extent obscured by the fact that membership is voluntary. Yet they contain many workers who were attracted into the service by the prestige enjoyed by a uniform, by the seductive promises of good pay and adventure, or by sheer economic necessity and starvation. The

Party should conduct a systematic propaganda in all military units, making clear to them the real function of military organizations, in order to awaken class-consciousness in them and bring them over to the side of the Proletarian Revolution.

The United Communist Party will issue special appeals to the soldiers and sailors, which will be distributed among them and will create Communist groups in the army and navy, which shall be closely connected, in order to establish a unified revolutionary body within the armed force of the State.

Hundreds of thousands of workers who were drawn into the world conflict, or who voluntarily participated in it, were deceived by the capitalist class into the belief that they were striving to "Make the World Safe for Democracy," that a new and better world would be the result of this struggle.

The war now having terminated, and the illusions of the great mass of former soldiers and sailors having been shaken to a great extent, certain organizations have been formed which have as their aim the attainment of the same naive ideals for which they fought in the war. Such organizations are the World War Veterans, the Private Soldiers' and Sailors' Legion, etc. These organizations, although not fully class-conscious, and still professing much of the liberal idealism of the bourgeoisie, nevertheless align themselves with the organized working class. In the approaching decisive struggle, these organizations, if thoroughly permeated with Communist understanding, will fight in the ranks of the working class; due to their military experience, they will be invaluable in the struggle. The United Communist Party will carry on an extensive propaganda among them, organizing Communist groups within their membership and striving to transform them into fighting units of the working class—the nuclei of a Red Army.

Outside of the bourgeois military organizations, the party will carry on a propaganda of exposing their true nature, discouraging voluntary enlistment, and systematically destroying the false prestige which these institutions still enjoy in the eyes of the workers.

The United Communist Party will oppose, with all measures at its disposal, any attempts of the capitalists to involve the workers of this country in an imperialist war. If, despite the Party's efforts to arouse the working class into open rebellion against the designs of the imperialist bourgeoisie, the latter succeeds in conscripting the workers into its army, the members of the Party must not evade conscription, but shall work actively for Communism among their fellow conscripts, that their arms and military training may be used against the capitalist State.

IMPERIALISM AND WAR.

Two great powers remain in the world. Russian imperialism met death in October, 1917. German and Austrian imperialism were buried alive in the close of 1918. Crippled France and Italy are called great by courtesy, while adolescent Japan is flattered among the nations for its growth in stature and knowledge of cheating, but the two truly Great Powers carefully watch and thwart its further growth.

The two Anglo-Saxon Powers rise high above the rest of the imperialist world. Britain, the older, and possessing the shrewder political engineers, moves faster and seizing, by political trickery and force, the remaining valuables of the world.

Shattered and hysterical imperialist France, terrified in finding her war winnings worthless, hurls her militarized black colonials into Germany, the resulting accounts of violations of women supplying jokes for the jaded Parisian bourgeois. Unable to trust its conscripted troops within the radius of the Russian Revolution, the French government pours out its remaining treasure to any brigand that applies with a plan to slaughter Russian workers and retrieve the Tzarist loans. Losing wealth and prestige at every venture, imperialist France sinks fast to insignificance as a beggar at England's door.

But while all imperialisms are equal enemies of the working class, the working class of each country must objectively recognize that its own imperialism is the nearest at hand and is, therefore, the more immediate enemy. The old, loosely federated Second International pursued the policy: "Let each proletariat curse the OTHER imperialism and remain silent about its own" (thus really serving its own master class, which wants the workers to hate foreign imperialism and so be the readier to stampede into war). The war-born Communist International holds to the policy: "Let each proletariat spring to the attack of its OWN imperialism!" In this spirit, the United Communist Party centers its critical analysis and condemnation upon the comparatively newly fledged imperialism of the United States.

The entry of the United States into the world war and into the consequent diplomatic intrigues of Europe, marks the maturity of American imperialism. The rest of the life of American capitalism must be devoted to foreign military adventures. And yet, capitalism as the whole world fears the next war. It dimly foresees that the next world war will end in world revolution, and for that reason

seeks such a method as would not again put arms into the hands of the exploited masses.

The world capitalist class has found its one "peace measure." This measure is a league or "Association of Nations," by which to settle capitalist rivalries in committee, so to speak, instead of upon the battlefield. This scheme does not for one moment even contemplate full peace, but only peace between capitalist classes of the various countries.

To the working class, the league or association of nations does not offer peace, but more terrible and unrelenting warfare. To avoid putting weapons into the hands of the slowly awakening and dangerous masses, the capitalist class strives to establish an international military body, professionalized and rid of working class elements.

The plan announced and already in several instances put into practice is to shift this international army from country to country, as occasion and rebellion of a tortured people may require, to shoot, rape, burn, and loot at the pleasure of the old men sitting at Versailles. Five times this League of Nations' army, in embryo form and not yet given its name, has been launched on murder-junkets against the most advanced and only free people on earth—Soviet Russia. Kolchak, Yudenitch, Denikin, Wrangel, and the Polish Government, each led its international brigands into Russia, and each fell before this mightiest army now on earth—the army of the first Socialist Republic—the army of the Third International.

The League of Imperialists that exterminated the Hungarian Soviet Republic has failed in its attempts to crush the Russian nation of free workers. The Communist International grows stronger, and commands the loyalty of more and more thousands of workers in the great cities that are the strategic centers of capitalist governments. Neither industrial populations nor conscripted armies can now be trusted by capitalist governments. National loyalty cannot much longer be the popular teaching of governments that have violated every nationalism—even surrendered their own national sovereignty to a mechanical, soulless, international league. There are only two loyalties left—the fragile loyalty to international capitalism, and the loyalty to International Communism.

Capitalism can no longer teach belligerency to a popular mass that it cannot trust; pacifism, more especially civil pacifism, must now be taught to its exploited and restless subjects. Under the circumstances, workers of humane instinct must leave the utopian attitude of pacifism and must take the enlightened attitude of international working class resistance by armed force. No more "con-

scientious objection" by individuals, but conscientious insurrection by masses outside or inside of military units.

The United Communist Party warns the workers not to be lulled by bourgeois "peace" agreements into expecting peace between capitalist nations. The very nature of capitalist production calls for competitive exploitation of ever new fields. The enormous and rapid accumulations of investment capital, with a simultaneous diminishing of available, undeveloped territories, guarantees not even capitalist peace, but more wars of greater frequency, greater intensity and of more terrible consequence if the capitalist system survives. We must expect these wars as a moral certainty and must prepare that the workers, acting internationally, may transform them from wars between nations into wars between classes, to overthrow the governing classes and all capitalist governments, establish Socialism and put an end to all wars.

The machine for that international action is the Communist International.

COLONIAL PROBLEMS.

Because of the late coming of American capitalism's need for foreign expansion, America has (as yet) a much smaller colonial problem than have the other large powers, and little understanding of the question. The brutality of American military rule in the colonies recently wrested from Spain, has attracted little attention. The subjection of the people of the Philippine Islands to a reign of fire and sword was accomplished without the American workers being awakened to understanding and sympathy. The recent cruelties of American rule in Haiti have been successfully covered with lies.

But the American workers' respite from thought on the colonial question will soon end. The impending assault upon, and subjugation of, Mexico promises the American workers a big enough and serious enough colonial problem in the near future.

The precarious truce between Mexican politicians and the agent of oil mining companies who has just been placed in the presidency of the United States, will soon be broken by pressure of American capital for greater profits than can be gained without direct administration of Mexican affairs and full enslavement of the Mexican workers. The indispensability of large petroleum supplies to present-day industry, and the fact that Mexico contains a large share of what petroleum has not already been monopolized by the British, dooms the Mexican people to assault, devastation and robbery by American oil and mining interests, backed by the United States Army.

If the American workers and their brother-workers of Mexico do not successfully resist the attack upon that country, we shall soon have upon our hands as deadly a colonial problem as has any nation of the world.

But wider fields than Mexico are sought by the Imperialism that ripened in the United States through the war. Already most unidealistic politicians mutter of the "ideal of the Monroe Doctrine." South America must be taken by United States capital, first through intrigue, then through war. China, Siberia, and even the island possessions of the rival thief Japan, are eyed feverishly for anything in them that American capital can steal. The United Communist Party must warn the workers against the anti-Japanese race-war propaganda now being stimulated on the Pacific Coast, couched in soft words of democracy, to lure the workers into a capitalist adventure for loot in Asia. America is already bursting with new colonial ambition.

The United Communist Party is, therefore, doubly obliged to give its attention to the colonial problem in general and especially, at the earliest possible moment, to give help to the peoples of Haiti, Porto Rico, Santo Domingo, Hawaii, Samoa, St. Thomas, Guam, etc., as well as a shamefully belated assistance to the people of the Philippines.

This task can only be accomplished through a careful study of historical, social, and economic conditions in each separate colony upon its own peculiarities. Propaganda must be made to clarify the minds of the proletarian and rural peon class as well as landholding farmers not of the employer class. They must be made to see the class division rather than the racial division of peoples. By the example of Communist workers in their midst, they must be brought to understand their interests in common with the white and black proletariat of the United States. At the same time the American proletariat must be brought to understand its interest in common with exploited colonials, by means of the United Communist Party press. American workers must be brought to support, by all means in their power, any insurrection in colonial possessions, and at a proper time incite effective insurrection. By communications and co-operation with American proletarian organizations, the exploited classes in colonial possessions will learn to understand that the parasitic class of their own race is not their friend but their betrayer to the enemy, for a share of the loot.

By cultivation of class-consciousness of the propertyless masses, even among peoples where capitalist forms have not developed, a distinct progress towards Communism can be made, as has been

demonstrated by the Russian Soviet Republic in its handling of the problem of backward peoples.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Capitalist society, staggering under the effect of the great war, reveals itself ever more clearly as incapable of fulfilling those functions which its apologists have always advanced as the excuse for its existence. It has now failed, more dismally than ever, in its pretended mission of supplying the world with the world's needs. In its self-imposed task of the organization of production, the capitalist class has revealed itself a failure.

The dislocation of production, and the breakdown of the delicate and intricate fabric of international credit, as a result of the war, has plunged the industrial world into a crisis. Capitalism, by the very nature of its being, has always been attended by periodical "panics," but the present crisis is of an essentially different nature from those crises which previously appeared and which eventually ended by the disposal, in various ways, of the surplus of commodities. This is no ordinary case of "over-production." The world's stock of commodities is abnormally low, but despite their need, the hopelessly insolvent foreign nations can no longer purchase the surplus of American industries.

In every other land, large masses of the people suffer for want of food, clothing and shelter, but a partly paralyzed industry can provide neither work nor subsistence for them. American capitalism cannot be immune from this infection, and we are confronted with a crisis rapidly growing to the proportions of the great social disasters of Europe.

The capitalist press, despite its evident desire to conceal the extent of the evil, daily carries the news of more and more stoppages in various industries. With increasing frequency, large numbers of workers are being thrown out of employment, owing to the shut-down of industrial enterprises. At the same time, the cheapening of money, with the consequent "high prices" and "high rents" is adding to the dissatisfaction of the masses.

Already the strings of this widespread discontent are heard. Rent strikes, popular manifestations against "the high cost of living," are symptoms of restlessness which will increase as the unemployed workers exhaust the small savings of the period of "war prosperity." We may expect with assurance a series of popular demonstrations on an unparalleled scale, as a result of unemployment.

It is the task of the United Communist Party to crystallize and

co-ordinate these scattered manifestations of discontent, by directing them into channels of definite revolutionary action. The mass of the unemployed is not stable in composition. It is a fluid body of drifting and changing membership. The Party, on the other hand, is stable, and possesses a permanent machinery of action. Thus it will be comparatively easy for Communists to earn the confidence of the unemployed toilers and be entrusted by them with the guidance of their activities.

It shall be the duty of the Communist units in each locality to initiate the formation of unemployed committees. Where such committees already have been formed, through the efforts of other organizations or individuals, Communists should secure as large a representation as possible, in order to influence materially the local policy. It is the task of the Party to formulate a program of unemployment agitation and action, which will unify the procedure of all local bodies and conform with the revolutionary policies of Communism.

The active participation of the United Communist Party in the unemployed movement will offer it wide opportunity for the revolutionary enlightenment of the masses, by interpreting to them the real cause and nature of their situation, and by showing them that there can be no lasting mitigation of their lot, except by the overthrow of the capitalist system through the aggressive action of the revolutionary workers. By pointing out the assistance which the State lends to the master class, in repressing any effort of the unemployed workers to attain relief from their suffering by the seizure of food or clothing or the forcible occupation of the houses of the bourgeoisie, the Communists will be able to illustrate powerfully the necessity for the destruction of the capitalist State and the establishment of proletarian power.

NEGRO PROBLEM.

The negro population of the United States, about 13 millions, is principally composed of unskilled laborers. It is the most exploited people in America. In the southern states, the former slave owners' descendants, who have inherited all the hatred and contempt of their fathers for this helpless people, ruthlessly exploit them. Negroes are denied even the formal protection of the law accorded to their brothers, the white laborers. Scarcely a pretense is made of even permitting them to vote. They are an outlaw race. Organized illegal societies, secret or open, are formed by leading citizens, to exercise over them a frank mob rule. They are lynched,

shot, hanged, and publicly burned at the stake, and their women are outraged with impunity. They are deliberately kept in a state of illiteracy by open and insidious methods, and those exceptional individuals who overcome these tremendous handicaps face the insuperable barrier of race prejudice. After attaining skill at a profession, they are compelled, in many instances, to labor at unskilled callings. The leadership of reactionary politicians of their own race and the degrading influence of their church organizations only perpetuate their economic and social subjection.

The capitalist class in order to maintain its power and reap its profits, deliberately encourages, cultivates, and incites the white wage slave against the negro wage slave. As a result, the negro is placed between the two fiercely contending forces of capital and white labor. Beaten and cajoled in turn by both, he is used by the master class as a strike-breaker either in the uniform of the United States soldier, or in overalls. Under these conditions, the negro is used in such a manner as to obscure from his own eyes as well as from the eyes of his white brother laborer, the nature of the class struggle.

The United Communist Party will actively support the negroes in their desperate struggle against these hellish conditions. It points to the only possible solution of the negro problem, namely: the abolition of wage slavery, through the overthrow of the capitalist State and the erection of a Communist society.

The task of the United Communist Party is to break down the barrier of race prejudice that separates and keeps apart the white and the negro workers, and to bind them into a union of revolutionary forces for the overthrow of their common enemy.

The United Communist Party must find the revolutionary and potential revolutionary elements among the negroes and select those most likely to develop into revolutionary propagandists. These shall be trained for revolutionary work. Negro Communists must enter lodges, unions, clubs, and churches (which, among negroes, are not essentially ecclesiastic institutions, but, in effect, are social clubs and forums), etc., to expose the reactionary leaders, who, for the purpose of betraying their race, infest these institutions. Negro Communists must combat in these gathering places the ideas of patriotism, religion, etc., which aid in the subjection of the negro people.

Communists shall use the negro press as a means of presenting revolutionary ideas. Communists are to aid every movement that tends toward the cultivation of the spirit of revolt among the negroes, and especially must organize revolutionary direct-action bodies of negroes and whites for resistance to lynching, mob rule, etc. Great care must be exercised to avoid race wars, and to culti-

vate the spirit of self-protection and solidarity with the white workers in the class war.

Especial attention must be given to those that have military experience, in order that their talent may be used for training their people for the inevitable revolutionary outbreak.

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION.

Capitalism dominates agricultural production as well as all other functions of the economic life of society. The exploitation of the agricultural proletariat links up the interests of this class inseparably with the interests of the industrial proletariat of the cities. The forces which drive the city workers into conflict with the capitalist State are also at work in rural districts. There, too, capitalism compels revolutionary action on the part of the workers.

The toilers on the farms cannot solve their problems alone. Only the industrial proletariat, led by the Communists, can release them from the bondage of capitalism. Only by joining hands with the workers of the cities can they throw off their yoke and achieve a more abundant life.

It is equally true that the industrial workers cannot fulfill their historic mission of liberating humanity from the domination of capitalism, if they limit their interest to the narrow confines of their own industrial lives. The proletariat becomes a truly revolutionary class when it acts as the vanguard of ALL the exploited. The United Communist Party must, therefore, foster the revolutionary tendencies of the agricultural workers. It must co-ordinate their struggle with that of the workers in other industries. Successful action against the capitalist State can be achieved only through the united efforts of ALL workers.

In order to promote this solidarity of action, the United Communist Party must make the agricultural workers conscious of their interests in common with the whole of the working class. The Party must inaugurate a special campaign to organize units among the agricultural proletariat, to develop the struggle of those workers into revolutionary action.

The agricultural proletariat (farm hands, migratory laborers, harvest hands, etc.) does not constitute the only element of the country population which has interests in common with the industrial proletariat, and which must be reached by the United Communist Party. The small tenant and the poor farmer also face a problem of capitalist exploitation no less cruel than that which robs the wage worker. These two are also the prey of profit-hungry capitalism. They are the victims of the landlords and mortgage hold-

ers. They are harassed by farm machinery trusts, produce monopolies and usurious bankers. They have not the necessary capital to produce their products with modern machinery, nor up-to-date methods by which to compete successfully in the markets.

The small tenant and poor farmer try to make up for this lack of capital by toiling from dawn till dark, as no wage slave would labor for any master; and their children and wives are forced to a never-ending grind of unpaid labor. Yet they cannot compete successfully with the capitalist farmer, even though they sell in the same market. Inevitably and inexorably they are being crushed in the race of life, under the existing capitalist rules of the game. The process of degeneration of the small farmer into the mortgaged farmer, then the tenant-farmer, then the farm-hand and migratory worker, is one of the unceasing tragedies of the capitalist system of exploitation.

To a certain extent, these classes of farmers find consolation for their present misery in dreams of a prosperous future, dreams of times of "busted trusts" and "people's rule." Numerous varieties of fake reformers, including the yellow Socialists, encourage these dreams, with promises of what "they will do" for the small farmer, if only elected to office.

It is not the function of the United Communist Party to curry favor with these small farmers through promises of easy success. It is the duty of the Party to point out to them that between them and the capitalist farmers there exists an antagonism of interests, an impassable gulf that cannot be bridged. By the very conditions of their existence, these elements of the country population will be drawn into the maelstrom of revolution against capitalism. Rapidly they are becoming conscious of the fact that there is no hope for them under capitalism, that, as long as this system endures, they are doomed.

It is the duty of the United Communist Party to organize widespread propaganda among these classes. It must bring the small farmers and tenants together with the farm proletariat, and must make clear to them the identity of their interests with those of the industrial proletariat. It must point out to them that only through a Communist revolution can tenantry be abolished, the use of the land restored to the workers without the payment of tribute to any exploiters, and the great estates of the capitalist farmers be seized for the purpose of large scale co-operative production. The United Communist Party must organize them to take their place with the militant working class under the banner of the Proletarian Revolution.

In addition to these classes of agrarians, there are the middle-class farmers, who, while working on their land themselves, occasionally hire labor. The natural tendency of this class is hostility to revolutionary change. They have the psychology of the petty bourgeoisie. Their inherent antagonism toward the proletariat is constantly fostered by the dominant capitalist class.

Although it is not the function of the United Communist Party to cater to these middle-class farmers by taking up their competitive struggle against the great capitalist interests, the United Communist Party must neutralize as far as possible the effects of capitalist propaganda, by spreading among them the facts about capitalism and its institutions, and the truth about Communism and the revolutionary movement.

Lastly, there is the large class of bourgeois farmers, landed proprietors and employers of labor, whose interests lie clearly with those of the industrial capitalists as opposed to the proletariat. This class is not susceptible to Communist propaganda. It will be our bitterest foe. Against this class, the United Communist Party must lead the workers in an uncompromising struggle.

In the United States, the lines between these different classes of the agrarian population are not as distinctly drawn as in the older settled countries of Europe; in the Western states especially, the ranks of small farmers are honeycombed with veterans of the industrial struggle, blacklisted machinists, railroadmen and miners, workers who find it impossible to sell their labor-power to a capitalist for wages and who have "gone back to the land." These furnish a ferment among their neighbors, which makes a very favorable field for Communist propaganda.

In spite of the fact that lines are not entirely crystallized and that there is a constant flux from one class to the other, in general the attitude that the United Communist Party must assume toward the agrarian question may be summed up as follows:

1) Active championship of the agricultural proletariat and the poor tenant farmer;

2) Neutralization of the hostility of middle-class farmers;

3) Relentless warfare against capitalist farmers and landlords, in the name of the Proletarian Revolution.

LABOR UNIONS AND SHOP COMMITTEES.

The official leaders of the American labor movement have long been the puzzle and the despair of the international revolutionary movement. Labor union officering as a lucrative profession in the

United States ranks well with the lawyer's profession, stockbrokerage, or real estate.

The heads of the American Federation of Labor, counting themselves the voice of the workingman, amaze the leaders of even the yellow Amsterdam International Labor-Suppressing Secretariat by refusing to co-operate with that yellow International on the ground that it seeks to gain too much for labor. With a compact union-political machine almost entirely divorced from and subjecting the mass of the membership, the Gompers type has led a merry and prosperous life these many years. Labor leaders hold lifetime sinecures and when they pass away, their probated wills often reveal fortunes worthy of Wall Street operatives. Occasional accidental exposures bring to light labor kings by whom the craft unions are hired out for a percentage, are withdrawn from one employer for a consideration paid by another, voted in the elections, and disciplined either by the labor king's private thugs or through tips given to employer or police. Labor leaders holding government positions during the war systematically worked with the government secret service in the arrest of militant labor unionists for disturbing production. Heads of the large Railroad Brotherhoods published in the capitalist press signed statements calling for union members to act as strikebreakers in the recent "outlaw strike."

With such leaders as their mouthpiece, the vast majority of the trade unions of America manifest no purpose further than that of conserving the capitalist system and, in lawful manner, gaining slight concessions in wages and working conditions. The destiny of the American labor unions is, nevertheless, a revolutionary one.

Split up into isolated craft groups within one shop, holding union meetings one or two evenings per month in places far removed from both residence and shop, the workers attend union gatherings only in handfuls, and leave the affairs of the organization to the unrestrained will of officials.

Facing such paralysis of the body of organized labor, and yet knowing that organized labor can and must take a large part in overthrowing capitalism, sustaining the dictatorship of the working class and reconstructing industry in the Workers' Republic, the United Communist Party considers as one of the most serious and immediate problems the question of the best method of breaking the bureaucratic control of organized labor and transforming the union structure into a machine of revolutionary action.

Not only can the revolution not come about without the active participation of the larger part of organized labor, but the experience of Hungary and of Germany would prove, even if American experience

did not forecast, that labor unions neglected in such a condition and left under control of such leaders, would be manipulated as a deadly implement for the defeat of the Workers' Revolution. The Workers' Revolution cannot succeed without the support of the great bulk of whatever labor organizations may exist at the time.

For these reasons, the United Communist Party cannot be satisfied with the formation of a few new unions of declared revolutionary purpose, but of small membership and slight relation to key industries. The exceedingly discouraging surface indications of the old labor movement have led to the springing up of several new unions comparatively small in size, of more or less revolutionary intent. It had become almost an axiom of radical workingmen that the old craft unions were corrupt and impotent beyond redemption, and should be deserted in favor of new organizations. But, as a rule, the members do not desert the old unions for the new. The most typical of the new unions do not grow in size. Therefore, dialectic reasoning brings the conclusion that reliance upon the formation of unions confined in membership to workers who are theoretical revolutionists, is a mistake in policy.

The old unions grow more reactionary when the revolutionary workers leave them. The opportunist officials discern this and seek by every means to expel the Communists from the unions, in order that their influence over the mass may be weakened by their isolation. Bearing in mind the necessity of the closest contact of Communists with those workers who have not yet reached the viewpoint of the class struggle, Communists must not foster artificial division in the labor movement, nor deliberately bring it about. On the contrary, they must use all measures, short of abandoning Communist work in the unions, to avoid giving to the bureaucracy the pretext to expel them. On this most important question, the thesis adopted at the Second World Congress of the Communist International points out the proper tactics: "Placing the object and the essence of labor organizations before them, Communists ought not to hesitate before a split in such organizations, if a refusal to split would mean abandoning revolutionary work in the trade unions, and giving up the attempt to make of them an instrument of revolutionary struggle, the attempt to organize the most exploited part of the proletariat. But even if such a split should be necessary, it must be carried into effect only at a time when the Communists have succeeded by incessant warfare against the opportunist leaders and their tactics, by their most active participation in the economic struggle, in persuading the wider masses of workmen that the split is occurring not because of the remote and as yet incomprehen-

sible aims of the revolution, but because of the concrete, immediate interests of the working class in the development of its economic struggle. Communists, in case necessity for a split arises, must continuously and attentively discuss the question as to whether such a split might not lead to their isolation from the working mass." When bodies of militant workers are forced out of the old unions by the reactionary officialdom, Communists are bound to support them.

The United Communist Party must work within the industrial unions of the I. W. W., where these are unquestionably established; and must give Communist support to its revolutionary rank and file, especially during strikes and mass movements. At the same time, narrow syndicalist teachings in opposition to the violent overthrow of capitalism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat must be discouraged and combatted.

The United Communist Party confirms the present necessity of militant workers remaining with the large mass of organized workers, regardless of the declared reactionary aims of these unions and, by determined and co-ordinated strength, turning these unions to a revolutionary course. The United Communist Party, section of the Communist International, is the instrument for that co-ordination of revolutionary work within the unions.

Militant workers must remember that the fabric of labor organizations is undergoing a change. Improvements in the machine process are throwing the burden of production more and more upon the unskilled worker, breaking down the aristocratic power of the highly skilled craftsman, which has so frequently led him to form tight little unions enjoying the special favor of employers and has often impelled him to return to work in the midst of a strike on the plea of "keeping contracts." Great masses of semi-skilled workers are flocking into unions formerly reserved to the skilled. They are driven there in quest of relief from the pressure of collapsing capitalist economy. Since the unskilled or semi-skilled are able to perform the new machine tasks, the unions are compelled to admit them in self-protection. In this way, the substance of the unions is changing in character.

At the same time, imperialist capitalism, with its increasingly powerful co-ordination and control of exploitation, is able to defeat strikes or to deflate the workers' victories of all value. The lessons of defeat and of sterile victories alike turn the workers' minds to restless thoughts of new methods. Such opportunities to open the minds of the mass of organized workers must not be wasted by

Communists withdrawing from the mass into small "revolutionary" unions.

A militant union preamble will not suffice as a substitute for membership. It is demonstrated that a labor union, craft or industrial, cannot fulfill the task of a political party. In order to function at all, a labor union must take in every worker on the job, regardless of his political or social opinions. Obviously, many non-revolutionary workers must be taken into the most "revolutionary" of unions, and even be compelled to join against their wills.

The principle in regard to labor unions is exactly the opposite of that of the revolutionary political party. A revolutionary political party must confine its membership to workers of absolutely known revolutionary devotion and clear understanding. Labor union membership must be spread to the broadest possible masses. A revolutionary political party must function at least partly underground and secretly. A labor union can function efficiently only in the open.

A tangle between these two principles has brought the I. W. W. to much trouble and hampered its growth. Trying to function as a revolutionary propaganda body (i. e., political party, whether it admits the term or not), and at the same time as an open union, the I. W. W. has wavered between a propaganda too revolutionary for an open organization, and one too moderate for a revolutionary purpose.

The remedy for this is a clear distinction between the political party and the labor union. The labor union should function in the open, as it must. The revolutionary political party should function under the protection of secret membership, and thus give the workers, through its underground press, a full understanding of the science of revolution, which the workers can never get until the propaganda is made without reservation or camouflage. A revolutionary party must discard all camouflage and cloudy circumvention, and say what it means—that the workers must prepare for armed insurrection.

Members of the United Communist Party will form the revolutionary group within each union, regardless of what kind of union it may be. The United Communist Party caucuses within the unions shall have the power of discipline to compel Communists regularly to attend union meetings. By discipline, they shall regulate the activities of Communists upon the floor, and in voting in the union assembly. Upon every important question affecting the welfare of the union and labor in general, the caucus shall formulate a policy and all members shall strictly adhere to the decision.

In all industrially developed countries, the increasing pressure

of the class struggle compels common action of all the workers in a given industry, in spite of the craft divisions fostered by the craft unions and in spite of the sabotage of the union bureaucracy. This intensifying of the labor struggle necessitates the development from craft unionism to industrial unionism. In striving to transform the unions into more efficient instruments of the class war, the workers are hindered by the method of union management, which puts all power within the union into the hands of the officials. In order to overcome this condition, the workers make use of the shop committee and the shop delegate system of union management. Under the shop delegate system, power in the union rests in the hands of delegates elected by the workers in the shops. In this manner, the workers are enabled to gain control of the union and to transform it into a more powerful weapon for the revolutionary struggle. Through the shop committees, the workers in the shop deal directly with the employers without the intervention of the union officials. The shop committee is a form of organization especially adapted to the struggle of the workers for control in the shop. Where the shop is organized into a number of craft unions, as is generally the case in the United States, the shop committee will consist of members from all the crafts, and thus become a force for their transformation from the craft to the industrial form. The experience of revolutionary workers in European countries shows that, in the course of the struggle, the shop committee takes on more and more authority, and eventually becomes the medium through which workers' control over production is established. In the inevitable struggle for that control, the most determined resistance on the part of the bourgeoisie through the State will be directed against the workers, and will thus force them into a struggle for political power. Clearly keeping in mind their special functions as instruments, first for control of the unions by the workers in the shop, and ultimately for workers' control over production, the Communist must strive in every way to popularize the shop committees and the shop delegate system and take the leading part in organizing them.

Members of the United Communist Party must aim to subordinate the general activities of the labor unions to the revolutionary struggle of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Communism.

While two Internationals of political parties contend for the leadership of the working class (the yellow "Second International" striving to hold the workers in loyalty to the various capitalist States and to the Capitalist League of States, while the Communist International rouses the workers everywhere to disobedience to their en-

slavers and to loyalty to the cause of World Socialism), another and parallel struggle is going on between two Internationals of labor unions (economic organizations).

On the one hand, the "International Federation of Trade Unions," with headquarters at Amsterdam, endeavors with a subtle program of mild "socialistic" reform to lure the economic labor unions into collaboration with the capitalist governments and league of governments, seeking, in case of revolutionary crisis, to paralyze and demoralize the working class of all countries simultaneously, in the interest of the capitalist class.

On the other hand is the Red Trade Union International, with headquarters at present located in Moscow. This International of Trade and Industrial Unions seeks to do for the trade unions what the Third (Communist) International is doing for the revolutionary political parties; that is, to ally the economic organizations of the workers of the world into a single front for the carrying on of the labor struggle on the economic field in the interest of the working class, renouncing loyalty to the capitalist class and governments, and co-operating with the Communist International in all respects.

The American Federation of Labor officials have as yet been displeased even with the mild "socialistic" phrases of the yellow Amsterdam International, and have expressed unwillingness to affiliate with it; while they do not so much as dare to mention the Red International of Trade Unions.

The United Communist Party, vigorously opposing any suggestion of affiliating American organized labor with the Amsterdam International, will carry on a wide propaganda for affiliation of all organized labor with the Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions. Members of the United Communist Party within unions shall work accordingly.

Where revolutionary minorities within American organized labor adhere to the Red Trade Union International and affiliate with it, United Communist Party members will pursue the policy of keeping these revolutionary minorities within their national organizations, there to combat any efforts at affiliation with the Amsterdam International and to bring the entire American labor movement into the Red International.

The winning of the organized labor masses away from their misleaders becomes each day more feasible. Already labor leaders have frequently had to resort to the aid of the police power of the government to compel obedience to the "lawful" (!) union heads; already the capitalistic labor leaders have gone to law courts for anti-labor injunctions which they formerly denounced as enslaving.

Already "outlaw" strikes have been directed mainly not against the employers, but against labor officials. A vast mass of the workers within the unions is not willingly under the influence of the labor officials, but is restlessly searching for fellow-workers upon whom they can pin their faith for leadership in revolt. Often these revolts fail through the incapacity of the untried new leaders chosen at random. The work of the United Communist Party is to train its members to take this leadership. "Outlaw" movements may, by intelligent direction, often be made to burst the bureaucratic shell, instead of filtering out in schisms, or resulting in the discharge of the employees involved.

Communists must seize every opportunity to show their fellow-workers that the historic function of the labor movement is not to gather crumbs from the capitalist table, but to expropriate from private hands the means of production and exchange. Communists must utilize every example of violence against the workers by the State to convince them that the necessary overthrow of capitalism cannot be accomplished by unarmed and passive opposition, but only by superior armed mass action on the part of the organized toilers.

"The economic struggle of the proletariat becomes political struggle during an epoch of the decline of capitalism much quicker than during an epoch of its peaceful development. Every serious economic clash may immediately place the workers face to face with the question of revolution. Therefore it is the duty of the Communists in all the phases of the economic struggle to point out to the workers that the success of the struggle is only possible if the working class conquers the capitalists in open fight, and by means of dictatorship proceeds to the organization of a Socialist order."—Theses and Statutes of the Second Congress of the Third International.

In all its work, the United Communist Party of America is guided and aided by the Communist International, a part of which it is and to whose principles and tactics it unreservedly subscribes.

The United Communist Party of America calls upon the workers of America to take their place in the ranks of the world revolutionary proletariat under the red banner of the Communist International.

There is but one solution for the ills of capitalist society, but one way for the workers to achieve freedom: the way of revolution and the workers' dictatorship.

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!
HAIL TO COMMUNISM!

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

ARTICLE I. NAME, PURPOSE, and EMBLEM

Section 1. The name of the Organization shall be the United Communist Party of America—Section of the Communist International.

Section 2. The United Communist Party of America is the organization of the vanguard of the class-conscious workers. Its purpose is the organization and education of the workers for the forcible overthrow of the capitalist State; the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the abolition of the capitalist system, and the development of the Communist Society.

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

ARTICLE II. MEMBERSHIP.

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

Section 2. Applicants must be accepted with due care, and only upon recommendation of two members who have been members for at least three months, except in newly organized groups in new territories. Every applicant shall be assigned to a recruiting group on probation for two months. Before being admitted to full membership, the applicant must familiarize himself with the program and constitution of the Party. The applicant can be accepted only upon the examination and recommendation of the recruiting group instructors, and by unanimous vote of the group to which he has been assigned.

Section 3. Three reliable members shall be assigned to each recruiting group; they shall participate in these groups as instructors only, and, at the same time, remain members of their respective groups.

Section 4. Applicants shall pay an initiation fee of one dollar and monthly dues of seventy-five cents, including the month of initiation.

Section 5. Members may transfer from one party unit to another only upon permission of the party unit to which they belong. The unit granting the transfer shall notify the unit to which the member transfers, through the regular party channels.

Section 6. No member of the party, without the consent of the Central Executive Committee, shall accept or hold any appointive public office, honorary or remunerative, otherwise than through civil service, nor enter the service of the government in any way except through legal compulsion. No member shall be a candidate for any public office except by instructions of the Party.

ARTICLE III. UNITS OF ORGANIZATION.

Section 1. The basic unity of the Party shall be a group of approximately ten members, and whenever possible not less than five.

Section 2. Each Party group shall elect a group organizer to serve as connecting link between the group and the unit above.

Section 3. Not more than ten groups shall constitute a branch, and not over ten branches a section, not over ten sections a sub-district, and not over ten sub-districts a district. Districts shall be organized around the industrial centers rather than along state lines.

Section 4. Groups may consist of members speaking the same language.

ARTICLE IV. ADMINISTRATION.

Section 1. The supreme administrative body shall be the Convention of the Party.

Section 2. Between Conventions, the supreme body of the Party shall be the Central Executive Committee, which shall consist of nine members elected by the Convention. The Convention shall also elect nine alternates for the Central Executive Committee. In case the list of alternates is exhausted, the Central Executive Committee shall have power to fill vacancies. All Central Executive Committee members shall be employed by the Party, and shall live in the city in which the national headquarters is located, or in adjacent cities. Their work shall be entirely confined to that of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 3. The Central Executive Committee shall direct all the activities of the Party. It shall establish such departments as Organization, Industrial, Agrarian, Propaganda, Literature, Editorial, Educational, Research, Intelligence, Technical, Defense, Young Communist League. At the head of each department shall be placed a member of the Central Executive Committee, who will be held responsible to the Central Executive Committee for the proper functioning of his department.

Section 4. The Central Executive Committee shall have the power to

(a) Divide the country into districts.

(b) Appoint district organizers as the representatives of the National Organization in these districts.

(c) Provide ways and means to satisfy the Party needs of the language groups.

(d) Consider language editors recommended by District Committees.

(e) All editors of official Party organs shall form a general editorial board. The Central Executive Committee shall invite this board to the session at which the policy of the Party press and literature is discussed.

Section 5. It shall be the duty of the Central Executive Committee to make a monthly report of its activities, and of Party finances itemized by districts.

Section 6. The administrative power of the district shall be vested in the District Convention to be held at least once each year. Between the District Conventions, the work of administration shall be vested in the District Executive Committee elected by the District Convention and consisting of no less than five and no more than nine members. The District Executive Committee shall supervise the work of the District Organizer; it shall also appoint sub-district organizers subject to the approval of the sub-district committee. Every three

months, all district organizers shall be called in for a conference by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 7. The administrative power of the Sub-district shall be vested in the Sub-district Convention to be held once every six months. Between Sub-district Conventions, the work of administration shall be vested in the Sub-district Executive Committee composed of section organizers and such others as the convention may elect. Every three months, the District Committee shall call a conference of all sub-district organizers of the respective districts.

Section 8. The Section Committees shall consist of branch organizers and shall elect the section organizers. Branch Committees shall consist of group organizers and shall elect the branch organizers.

ARTICLE V. EDUCATION AND PROPAGANDA.

Section 1. Every branch shall elect an Educational-Propaganda Director. The directors shall form the Sub-district Educational-Propaganda Committee in their respective languages, and these shall be combined into District Educational-Propaganda Committees. The secretaries of the District Educational-Propaganda Committees shall constitute the General Educational-Propaganda Board for the district. At least one member of the District Executive Committee shall also serve on the General Educational-Propaganda Board.

Section 2. The functions of these committees shall be to conduct the work of Communist education in their respective languages. They may also recommend plans for agitation and organization in their languages to be carried out through the regular Party channels.

Section 3. All subordinate committees shall follow instructions of their superior committees; they must at all times subordinate themselves to the regular Party organization.

Section 4. All committees may select any member of the Party to co-operate with them.

ARTICLE VI. DISCIPLINE.

Section 1. Every unit of the Party is responsible for the maintenance of Party discipline over its members and subordinate groups. Members expelled from groups or refused transfers may appeal to the Branch Committee, and subordinate units to the next higher units. All acts of discipline must be reported automatically to the next higher unit for action. Final action is to be taken by the sub-district.

Section 2. Every Communist elected or appointed to an official position in a labor union or any other organization shall be under strict Party control and the immediate instructions of the Party caucus of his labor union or other organization.

Section 3. No delegates to National Conventions shall be bound by decisions of the units by which they are elected. Delegates are obligated to present instructions as recommendations to the Convention.

Section 4. Party policies shall be formulated by the Party Convention and the Central Executive Committee. All subordinate Party units are bound by the decisions of the Convention and the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5. All Party units shall confine their activities to their respective territorial limits.

Section 6. The Central Executive Committee shall maintain discipline

over its members; it may remove any one of its members by a unanimous vote of the remaining members of the Committee.

Section 7. No unit of the Party shall publish a Party organ without the consent of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 8. All papers published by the Party shall be under the editorial control of the Central Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII. FINANCE.

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

Section 2. Monthly dues shall be seventy-five cents, which shall be paid into the treasury of the National Organization. Dues shall be received for by due stamps issued by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 3. An organization stamp shall be issued by the Central Executive Committee, which shall be used as a receipt for special contributions from the membership.

Section 4. Special assessments may be levied by the Convention and the Central Executive Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he pays such assessments. Organization stamps shall be used as receipts for these assessments.

Section 5. The Central Executive Committee shall make no special levies on language units of the Party for literature or otherwise.

Section 6. Husband and wife belonging to the same group shall be obligated to pay only seventy-five cents dues monthly.

Section 7. Unemployed and imprisoned members shall be so reported by the group organizer and shall not be considered in bad standing because of non-payment of dues.

Section 8. Dues shall be paid monthly. No advance payments shall be made, and members who have not paid dues by the first of the month for the previous month, shall be considered in bad standing. Members three months in arrears shall be excluded from their groups.

ARTICLE VIII. CONVENTIONS.

Section 1. A National Convention shall be held annually at a time and place designated by the Central Executive Committee. The Central Executive Committee shall call emergency conventions when requested by District Committees representing a majority of the membership.

Section 2. In case of emergency, the Central Executive Committee may call special National Language Conferences, the expense of which shall be borne by the regular party treasury.

Section 3. The number of delegates shall be determined by the Central Executive Committee according to the circumstances. Delegates shall be apportioned to the districts in proportion to the membership.

Section 4. All delegates shall be elected at District Conventions.

Section 5. Delegates to National Conventions shall be paid railroad expenses and the same per diem as party officials.

Section 6. The Convention call and apportionment of delegates must be issued not less than sixty days before the regular Convention.

Section 7. At the same time as the call for the Convention is issued, the Central Executive Committee shall submit to every group for discussion propositions that are to come before the Convention, as well as provide the Party press with agenda and problems to be placed before the Convention.

ARTICLE IX. INTERNATIONAL

Section 1. Delegates and alternates to the International Congress of the Communist International and an International Secretary, shall be elected by the Central Executive Committee.

ARTICLE X. COMMUNIST INDUSTRIAL AND OTHER UNITS.

Section 1. Party members must be organized into Communist Industrial Units (Caucuses) within the locals of the union to which they belong.

Section 2. Every Party Caucus of a union local shall be connected with other locals of the same trade through elected or appointed Caucus Organizers.

Section 3. These organizers shall constitute the Trade Branch and shall elect or appoint Trade Organizers, who shall constitute the Industrial Council.

Section 4. The Industrial Councils shall elect Industrial Organizers, who shall constitute the District Council of Industry.

Section 5. The Directors of the District Councils of Industry shall be appointed by the Party District Executive Committee.

Section 6. All Party Industrial Units shall work under the direction of the Central Executive Committee through the respective District Executive Committees and the various industrial sub-divisions.

Section 7. In all cases where there are less than three party members to which this form of organization is to be applied, a member shall be appointed by his higher unit as a Caucus organizer.

Section 8. Party shop units, functioning under the direction of their respective trade branches, shall have representatives in their trade branches, provided that these shop units comprise at least five Party members.

Section 9. Party members in other mass organizations, such as Tenants' Leagues, Co-operatives, Sporting Clubs, Soldiers' Clubs, etc., must also function as organized Communist Units (Caucuses), centralizing their activities in the same form as the Communist Industrial Units.

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