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SECTION OF THE THIRD COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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## REPORT OF THE THIRD CONVENTION.

Thirty delegates and seven fraternal delegates met somewhere in the U. S. A., and for ten days thrashed out the problems of tactics and organization of the Communist Party, made history, and passed another milestone of the Communist movement in America. The arrangements for the holding of this convention, made by our technical committee, the silent and secret gathering together of the comrades from all parts of the country, and their safe return to their homes, is in itself a story which some day will be told when the annals of the proletarian revolution in America are compiled.

After waiting in vain for the U. C. P. to comply with the mandate of the Communist International to hold a joint convention upon the basis of proportional representation with the Communist Party, in order to effect unity between these two parties, the convention was called by the C. E. C. in compliance with the twenty-one points for affiliation to the Communist International, and to revise its program and constitution, in conformity with the Theses and Statutes of the C. I.

The convention was called to order by the party secretary, and after a preliminary speech by the party editor, reviewing the history of the labor movement in America, permanent organization was effected by the election of a presidium of three and the various standing committees. The report of the Credentials Committee showed six districts, Canada, and the Pacific Coast, which sent thirty delegates who represented 6819 members having paid the convention assessment. The first order of business was the reading of the twenty-one points for affiliation to the C. I. point by point, which were adopted unanimously by roll call vote of all present. A resolution to the same effect, as presented by the Resolutions Committee later on, was adopted unanimously and appears elsewhere in this issue. The secretary made his financial report covering the period from July 1920 to Jan. 1921, which was accepted as recommended by the Auditing Committee. The secretary made a lengthy and exhaustive report on membership, literature, and propaganda, giving in detail the progress of the party for the past six months. The report of the C. E. C. was divided under the following heads: Important decisions as appearing in the minutes of the C. E. C. On general progress; Developments and decisions on organization questions; On Communist Party Nuclei; On attitude toward Y. P. S. L. and Independent Y. P. S. L.; On attitude towards legal workers' societies; On editorial policy; On removal of Allen from editorship; On Allen's expulsion from the C. E. C. and from the party; On the stand of the C. E. C. on Unity. All these reports and recommendations were accepted. On the question of Allen's removal from the editorship and subsequently from the C. E. C. and the expulsion from the party, the old C. E. C. was closely questioned by the delegates, all the facts in the case were laid before the convention, and it was shown that Allen was expelled for wilfully attempting to block and disrupt the party work; for refusing to accept and carry out the decisions of the party; and for flagrant breaches of party discipline; and his expulsion was confirmed by the convention,

unanimously, upon a roll call vote. The former C. E. C. had kept the membership so well informed upon the unity question during the entire period of negotiation with the U. C. P. that the delegates, being in possession of all the facts, and having previously debated them in the various sub-district and district electors' meetings, that the C. E. C.'s report on this question occasioned little discussion and the stand of the C. E. C. was unanimously approved by a roll call vote of all present. The recommendation that a weekly agitation paper, a monthly theoretical magazine, and an official Party Bulletin, to be issued every two weeks, free to the membership, was adopted.

### Resolution on Unity with the U. C. P.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA, IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED, UNANIMOUSLY DECLARES:

THAT WE ENDORSE AND CONFIRM THE POSITION TAKEN BY THE FORMER C. E. C. OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AGAINST HOLDING OF A UNITY CONVENTION WITH THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY UPON THE ARBITRARY BASIS OF EQUAL REPRESENTATION.

WE MAINTAIN THAT REAL AND ORGANIC UNITY BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA AND THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY CAN BE REACHED ONLY UPON THE BASIS OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

WE INSTRUCT OUR CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO MAINTAIN THIS POSITION, WHICH IS INCLUDED IN THE MANDATE OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, UNLESS THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL SENDS OTHER INSTRUCTIONS.

The reports of the Federations showed the following as to membership: Jewish, 350; Lettish, 700; Lithuanian, 2700; Polish, 400; Russian 1800, Ukrainian, 1500. These reports were given in detail as to literature and propaganda, and showed better than volumes of argument the really constructive work that these federations carry on. The only discussion was occasioned by a demand that the Russian Federation publish a legal paper, a delegate prominent in Russian Federation, maintaining that there were no proletarian Russian masses in this country. This point of view was repudiated by the convention which went on record demanding that the Federation publish an agitation paper as soon as possible.

The Statutes and Theses of the C. I. were read ad seriatum. This was no mere perfunctory matter. The convention spent nearly two days in discussion and debate. The delegates realized that these Theses were the basis of the program of the Communist Party and were adopted by the Second World Congress of the C. I. to be applied and adapted to the needs of the communist movement of the various countries. Stormy debates centered around the

question of our attitude toward the trade and industrial union movement in this country, and it was plain that this convention which had voted and acted with such unanimity on the question of unity and the expulsion of Allen, was not satisfied to have the policy of the party decided by one or two individuals. The whole debate upon the Theses showed that the Communist Party had passed the period of incubation, that it had a thorough understanding of communist principles and tactics, and was prepared to carry these principles into life, and to take its place as the leader and vanguard of the working class of America. The discussion of the Theses paved the way for the consideration of the draft of the new program, which had been prepared by a committee of the old C. E. C. This draft was presented to the convention by the Committee on Program who included those changes indicated by the discussion of the Theses.

Conventions are like revolutions they Section by section the program was adopted, and with minor changes, each clause was adopted, without any serious clash, until the clause on "armed insurrection" was reached. This clause, as originally presented by the Program Committee, read as follows:—"The Communist Party of America will systematically and persistently propagate to the working class the necessity for armed insurrection for the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat based upon soviet power." A delegate made the amendment to be inserted after the word "insurrection" "as the only means for the destruction of the bourgeois state," etc.

The editor of the Novy Mir immediately took the floor, arguing that there were other means, such as the revolutionary use of parliament, the soviets, mass action, etc., etc. After this speech, another delegate made the point of order that the amendment was contradictory to the Theses which had been adopted, and the chairman ruled that the point of order was well taken. Against this decision the reporter for the Program Committee immediately appealed, and the chairman was sustained by a roll call vote of 15 to 14. Another amendment was made to insert the words "for the final destruction of the bourgeois state" and this was accepted by the chairman, and around this motion the question was thrashed out in heated debate. Many new formulations were offered until finally a new committee was elected to reformulate the entire clause. This concluded that day's session, and the next morning the clause was adopted as follows:—"The Communist Party will systematically and persistently propagate to the working class the idea of the inevitability of, the necessity for a violent revolution and will prepare the working class for armed insurrection as the only means for the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship based upon soviet power." This clause was unanimously adopted by roll call vote by all present.

The next and the most serious clash came upon the adoption of the new constitution.



As in our last convention the question of appointments came up again for decision. The Committee on Constitution brought in a minority and majority report on the question of the election or appointment of Local Organizers. No amount of discussion or debate upon this question had the least effect. The minority, who stood for the election of Local Organizers, upon the principle of democratic centralization, were convinced of the correctness of their position. Both the majority and minority quoted the Theses as supporting their position. After lengthy and bitter debate, the appointment of Local Organizers by the Sub-district Organizer was carried by a roll call vote of 20 for and 10 against. The minority withdrew to caucus, and returned the next morning with a signed statement requesting the transmission of their attitude on this question to the E. C. of the C. I. for decision.

A report was made on international matters by the International Committee. Around these reports a determined and lengthy de-

bate took place, in which the International Committee participated. From the tone and character of this discussion which revolved around the question of unity in all its phases, the International Committee must be convinced that the entire membership of the Communist Party is determined to see to it that the U. C. P. shall obey the mandate of the C. I. and that no amount of political trickery, treachery, and falsehood, will save them from the discipline of the C. I. Upon this question there is no division or difference of opinion. The attempt on the part of one of the International Committee to evade and sidetrack this issue met with well-merited rebuke and derision by the convention. The resolution on unity, which was unanimously adopted, is printed in this issue, and shows the position of the convention on this question better than volumes of argument.

The question of the relations of the party with the American Council of the C. I. came up upon the discussion of the report

of the Chairman of the American Council who was present during the entire convention. A resolution was adopted, pledging co-operation and support to the work of the Council.

The various resolutions adopted by the convention (with the exception of those which are not printed for conspiratorial reasons) will be found on another page in this issue.

The convention adjourned with the singing of the "International," and with the mutual assurance that the Communist Party from now on will be a party of action in the fullest sense of the word, building up its units, organizing its nuclei, strengthening its forces, until at last the Communist Party of America will lead all the exploited masses in America to the final onslaught for the destruction of the bourgeois state, the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, and the erection of the American Soviet Republic, as the first step toward the transformation of capitalist society into the Communist Society.

## Resolutions Adopted by C. P. Convention, Feb, 1921

### Resolution on Acceptance of the 21 Points for Affiliation with C. I.

The Communist Party of America, Section of the Communist International, assembled in its Special Convention held in February, 1921, hereby reaffirms its position as an integral part of the Communist International.

The Special Convention, in conformity with the conditions for admission adopted by the Second World Congress of the Communist International, and after discussion and due deliberation, endorses and adopts unanimously, on roll call vote, the 21 Points for Affiliation with the Communist International, as binding upon all the delegates present, and for its entire membership, without any reservations.

### Resolution on Legal Workers Societies

1) The Communist Party reiterates its stand against the formation of legal societies (educational or cultural) as substitutes for the organization of all Party units on an underground basis.

2) ~~and fictitious societies, arms and association may be organized under the direct and full control of underground units, only for purposes of carrying on certain specific Party work on a legal basis.~~

3) As to workers societies already existing, such as educational, cultural, co-operative, etc., Communist Party members are not required to leave any of them to which they may belong, since the working masses in these societies offer a fertile field for Communist agitation and propaganda, for the education and training of our comrades in the work of propaganda, campaign and organization.

4) If Communist Party members are in control of such societies, they should utilize it as an agitation and propaganda instrument, both within and without, and for various technical purposes.

5) If the Communist Party members are not in control of a legal workers society, they should strive to win the other members of such society over to Communist ideas, and to get the society under their control.

6) In either case, the Communist Party members shall form nuclei for planning, concentrating and directing all their activities within the respective societies. They should not reveal their identity as Communist Party members.

### Greetings to Soviet Republics

The Communist Party of America, in Convention assembled, sends fraternal greetings to all the Soviet Republics of the world. We extend our congratulations to the toiling masses of Azerbaijan and Armenia, who recently threw off the yoke of Allied Imperialism and their own bourgeois governments and established the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviet Government.

The Communist Party of America pledges itself to arouse the working class of America to active support of their fellow workers in these countries, and to carry on a persistent propaganda to the toiling masses of the United States in order that they will resist with all their power any attempt on the part of the American capitalist government to overthrow the power of the workers and peasants government in Armenia and Azerbaijan, as well as of the Soviet Republics of Ukraine and Russia.

### Greetings to Political Prisoners

The Communist Party of America, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class of America, from its Third Convention, held in Feb., 1921, sends a message of encouragement and support to the imprisoned revolutionist held behind prison bars by the ruthless capitalist dictatorship and pledges to them, in the name of the exploited masses of America, that the comrades organized in the Communist Party of America will never rest until they have aroused the proletariat of America to forcibly open the doors of the capitalist bastilles, and with arms in their hands destroy the bourgeois state which screens the merciless capitalist dictatorship, thus, not only freeing our imprisoned brothers, but freeing themselves as well from all forms of exploitation and wage slavery.

Down with the American Capitalist State!  
Hail to the Proletarian Revolution!  
Long Live Communism!

## Workers' Soviets in German Austria.

By HILDA WERTHEIM

Immediately after the revolution the Workers' Soviets in German Austria had unlimited scope for action before them. Not only the factory workers took part in the elections which were held soon after the revolution, but whole strata of the petty bourgeoisie, the civil functionaries, employees, men of the learned professions, all strove to participate in the new institution which evidently had a future before it. However, notwithstanding the elevation of public spirit which followed the collapse of Austrian militarism, the greater majority of the Workers' Soviets still continued to remain under the influence of the Social Democratic Party, which adopted peculiar tactics for deceiving and restraining the revolutionary class. Thus the Workers' Soviets, after preparing to send their representatives into all the institutions and organs of the government partly for the purpose of control, and at the same time for the practical study of the vital functions in the economical life of the nation did not carry their intention into effect, obeying the authoritative command of the Social Democratic Central organization of the Workers' Soviets. In this way from the very beginning the sessions of the Workers' Soviets became meetings for mere political discussions. Only several months later, when the newly elected National Assembly manifested a marked change in the practical correlations in favor of the bourgeoisie, did the Workers' Soviets proceed to form Commissions and to intervene in the economical life of the country. From that moment nothing else remained to do even for the plenary meetings, than, properly speaking, to hear the reports of the Workers' Soviet as a whole in relation to concrete questions. But in these respects also the Workers' Soviets remained fully under the tutelage of the Social Democrats and, as before in questions of politics, now in the economic struggle, their actions were remarkable for their timidity and irresolution. The first attacks of the bourgeois press which did not take long to appear filled the Workers' Soviets with such awe that at each new proposition they started

such endless discussions of all the consequences which might follow, that the first zeal generally cooled down, or the best moment for the proposed action was allowed to pass.

The Social Democrats endeavored by all means to condemn the Workers' Soviet to inaction. Thus, for instance, they appointed sessions of the Soviet only very rarely and at such a time of the day when long debates were impossible in view of the prohibition to use the light. At the time set by law, 8 P. M., every meeting had to be closed even if the most urgent needs of the suffering proletariat of Vienna were being discussed. Another method of sabotaging the activity of the Soviet consisted therein that a session of the Workers' Soviet would be transformed into a meeting for the reading of a report on some political subject, the person submitting the report being generally a Social Democrat. There was no need to apprehend any discussions on politics, all those who were present being obliged to hurry home because the house doors were closed very early. Nevertheless, under the untiring pressure of the Communist members of the Soviet, and under the influence of the growing ire of the working masses the Workers' Soviet at last decided to undertake revolutionary action. For the beginning an imposing mass demonstration of the Vienna proletariat was proposed as a sign of protest against the reaction and in favor of the taxation of all property. But even in this case the official leaders of the Social Democratic Party skillfully extricated themselves from the difficult situation. The Executive Committee of the district Workers' Soviet in which the right Social Democrats still predominated convened a "joint meeting," instead of a meeting of the circuit Workers' Soviet, that is, an organization which includes, besides the members of the district Workers' Soviet, a great number of official leaders of the Social Democratic Party, the labor unions, cooperative societies and sick benefit societies. The decisions of this enlarged meeting would certainly bear a greater political

weight. The first session of the "joint meeting" did not have time to transact all the business, a second one was appointed and this would have gone on further if the Communists had not made this plan fail by leaving the Assembly altogether. But the Social Democrats had attained their object; the most favorable moment for the demonstration passed and the district Workers' Soviet did not meet during a whole fortnight. The "joint meeting" pronounced itself against a demonstration of the masses, and, before its collapse, it found time to threaten the district Workers' Soviet with a sabotage of all its resolutions on the part of the powerful organization of labor unions.

Thus from the beginning of March 1920, the Workers' Soviets of German Austria and in particular the Vienna Workers' Soviet have entered into a new phase. The declaration of war against the Workers' Soviets on the part of the right Social Democrats, and their sabotage by the bureaucrats of the labor unions which do not frequent the meetings of the Workers' Soviets, threaten to render the conflict still more acute, and to bring matters to a climax.

Meanwhile the proletariat of Vienna is waiting, livin gin conditions of cold and hunger under an impossible yoke. All the laws and regulations tending in any way to limit the provoking luxury of the bourgeoisie are violated in the most brazen manner and the authorities which should put an end to such a bacchanalia remain inactive. While the proletarian quarters in the town are sunk in darkness and silence, the brilliantly illumined saloons the speculators and traders, which the decaying capitalist order has brought out onto the surface in innumerable quantities, are dancing and rioting madly. But, already amid the strains of music and laughter the first sullen growls of distant thunder may be heard in Vienna. The oppressed and insulted working class of German Austria is beginning to protest and revolt against the accursed system which again and again gives the workers stones instead of bread.



# Program of the Communist Party of America

ADOPTED BY THE THIRD CONVENTION, February, 1921

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

The development of machinery, means of communication and technique, during the last century, led to the extension of the capitalist system of production throughout the entire world, and to the formation of large industrial enterprises, which expropriated the small independent manufacturers, some of whom were reduced to the position of proletarians while the status of their whole class, the petit bourgeoisie in social, political and economic life was reduced to impotency.

The technical development and the increasing use of machinery in production and distribution, led to the division and subdivision of labor; the use of woman and child labor; the substitution of unskilled and semi-skilled workers for the craftsmen and artisans. The relative decrease in the demand for human labor on the part of the capitalists creates a condition wherein the supply of labor exceeds the demand; increases the dependence of labor on capital; and intensifies the degree of exploitation.

This state of affairs within the nation, together with the continual sharpening of rivalry in the world market, makes the sale of goods, the production of which continually increases, more and more difficult. Overproduction is the inevitable outcome of the development of productive power in capitalist society. As a result of overproduction, industrial crises occur which are followed by more or less lasting periods of stagnation. Crises and periods of industrial stagnation ruin the small manufacturers still more, increase the dependence of wage labor upon capital, and lead more quickly to a relative and sometimes to an absolute deterioration of the conditions of the working class.

The perfection of machinery is made compulsory for each manufacturer and is complicated by the constant displacement of laborers—the industrial reserve army. On the other hand the unlimited extension of production is also compulsory for every manufacturer. On both sides; tremendous development of productive forces; excess of supply over demand; overproduction, glutting of the markets; recurring crises;—a vicious circle. Excess; on one hand, of means of production and products, and on the other hand, of laborers, without employment and without means of existence. But these two levers of production and social well-being are unable to work together, because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive forces from working and the products from circulating, unless they are first turned into capital, which their very superabundance prevents. The mode of production rebels against the form of exchange. The bourgeoisie stand convicted of incapacity to further manage their own social productive forces.

As all these contradictions which are inherent in bourgeois society grow and develop, the discontent of the exploited masses with the existing state of things grows also; the number and solidarity of the proletariat increases and the struggle with their exploiters becomes keener. At the same time, as a result of the development of technique, the means of production are concentrated into fewer and fewer hands, and the process of labor becoming more collective, rapidly creates the conditions for the bringing about of a social revolution which provides the opportunity for replacing the capitalist system by the communist society which is the final aim of the Communist Party of America. Capitalism tends to overcome the social anarchy in production within each nation by the more complete organization of production, distribution and exchange. Instead of numerous rival employers, mighty corporations are formed (syndicates, trusts, etc.). Financial capital is combined with industrial capital. The whole economic structure is ruled by the financial oligarchy, which, because of its superior form of organization, becomes the dominant ruling power of the nation. Monopoly supplants free competition. The individual capitalist becomes the corporation capitalist. The anarchy of competition is replaced by organized capital, within each nation.

As competitive capitalist production is superseded by capitalist organization in each nation, the contradictions of the international competitive conflicts, the anarchy of world production and exchange become more acute. The competition between the highly organized imperialist states and groups of states led directly to the world war of 1914-1919. The greed for profit compelled and continues to compel the capitalist-imperialist national groups to fight among themselves for new markets, new fields for the investment of capital, new sources of raw materials for their industries, and for the cheap labor power of the colonial peoples.

The imperialist states, which had already divided among themselves the territory of the entire world, and had reduced to beasts of

burden, millions of proletarians and peasants in Africa, Australasia, Asia, and the Americas, met each other in mortal combat over the division of the spoils. Thus the imperialist world war originated.

This world war marks a new epoch,—the epoch of the collapse of capitalism and the beginning of the proletarian revolution. As imperialism breaks down, uprisings among the exploited masses in the colonies and in the small dependent nations take place. The disintegration of the imperialist armies; the unmasking of the ruling class, exposing their incapacity to longer direct the destiny of the world's working masses; armed insurrection of the proletariat resulting in victorious revolution as in Russia,—this is the present status of conditions throughout the world.

Humanity, its civilization now in ruins, is threatened with complete annihilation. There is only one power that can save it. This power is the proletariat. The old capitalist order is decaying; it can prevail no longer. The final result of the capitalist system of production is chaos, and only the great producing class, the working class, can bring order out of this chaos. To accomplish this the working class must destroy the capitalist state, root and branch, and by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, based upon Soviet power, make capitalist counter revolution and imperialist war impossible; wipe out the boundary lines of states, and realize the brotherhood of man and the liberation of all peoples in the Communist Society.

Against the world revolution imperialism arms itself for the final conflict. Under the guise of the League of Nations it is making a last desperate effort to bolster up the remnants of the capitalist system, and directs all its power against the evergrowing proletarian revolution. In answer to this huge conspiracy of collapsing capitalism the proletariat must conquer political power and direct it against its class enemies setting in motion all the forces of social revolution.

To attain the victory of the proletarian world revolution, the fullest confidence, the closest unity and co-ordination is necessary. These conditions cannot be realized without a complete break with, and bitter opposition to, the bourgeois perversion of socialism which dominates the official social democratic and socialist parties.

One form of this perversion is the current of opportunism and social-chauvinism, socialist in name but chauvinist in fact, disguising the defense of the interests of the bourgeoisie under the false watchwords of the defense of the fatherland, particularly during the imperialist world war of 1914-1918. This current of opportunism is due to the opportunities created by the robbery of colonial and weak nations by imperialist capitalist states. The super-profits acquired by this exploitation by the bourgeoisie enables them to bribe the leaders of the working class and to place the upper strata of the workers in a privileged position by guaranteeing to them in time of peace a tolerable existence and by taking their leaders into the service of the bourgeoisie.

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

The other form is the so-called "centre," which is also a bourgeois perversion of socialism. This current is observed in equal degrees in all capitalist countries, and it fluctuates between the social-chauvinists and the communists. The "centrists," no longer able to revive the Second International, which has now become a stinking carrion, attempt to preserve unity with the opportunists and social chauvinists by striving to organize a spurious international of their own.

The Communist International alone conducts the struggle of the proletariat for its emancipation, and the Communist Party of America is its American section. The Communist International was in fact created when the real proletarian elements of former socialist parties in the different countries formed Communist Parties; and it was formally established in March, 1919, at its first world congress at Moscow. The Communist International, which is more and more gaining the sympathy and support of the proletariat of all countries, not alone in words but in deeds, by its political content and ideology restores Marxism and realizes the revolutionary teachings of Marx, now relieved from all bourgeois and opportunist perversions.

The social revolution, replacing private property by social production and exchange, and introducing the systematic organization of production to secure the welfare of all members of society, will abolish the division into classes and liberate oppressed humanity, and put an end to all exploitation of one part of society by another.

The necessary condition for a social revolution is the dictatorship of the proletariat, which means that the proletariat must seize political power to enable it to crush the resistance of the capitalists. The Communist Party of America aims to make the proletariat capable of fulfilling its great historic mission; it organizes

the proletariat into an independent political party, which opposes all the bourgeois parties, including the opportunist socialist parties; leads the workers in the class struggle; reveals to them the irreconcilable difference of interest between the exploiters and the exploited, and explains the historic significance and the essential conditions of the approaching social revolution. The Communist Party of America, the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, calls upon the toiling and exploited masses who accept its principles and tactics, to join its ranks.

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

## The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Bourgeois Democracy.

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

Bourgeois republics, even the most democratic, and sanctioning such watchwords as: "will of the people", "unity of the nation", "public opinion", "no class privileges", "equality before the law", etc., etc., remain in fact, due to the existence of private property in land and the machinery of production, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and an instrument for the exploitation and suppression of the broad masses of the workers by a small group of capitalists. Contrary to this, the proletarian or Soviet state transforms all purely working class organizations, the organizations of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, comprising the vast majority of the population, into a single and permanent basis of state apparatus, both local and national.

The proletarian revolution comes at the moment of economic or political crisis,—the collapse of the capitalist order. During the revolution and under the impulse of the economic chaos, the proletariat organizes separate organs of working class power, Workers' Soviets (Councils), and by the use of force conquers political power, destroys the machinery of the bourgeois state, and establishes the proletarian dictatorship.

The proletarian state, like every state, is an organ of suppression and coercion, but its machinery is directed against the enemies of the working class. Its aim is to break the desperate resistance of the bourgeoisie and use all the power at their command to drown the revolution in blood; its aim is to make this resistance impossible. The proletarian dictatorship which openly places the working class in a privileged position in society, is on the other hand a provisional institution. When the resistance of the bourgeoisie is broken; when it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the labor strata, all classes vanish, the proletarian dictatorship disappears; the state dies out.

The bourgeois parliamentary state is the organ of the bourgeoisie for the suppression and coercion of the working masses. Parliamentary government is the expression of bourgeois supremacy; the form of authority of the capitalist class over the working class. Bourgeois democracy is nothing but the concealed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary system, defrauds the masses of participation in the administration of the state. The masses, and their organizations are actually deprived of real state administration.

In the Workers' Government—the proletarian dictatorship in the form of Soviet power—the organization of the masses dominate and through them the masses themselves administer. Bourgeois democracy and the parliamentary system separate the masses from the capitalist state by the division of legislative and executive power, and by the toleration of unrecallable mandates. In the Soviet Government, on the contrary, the merging of the legislative and executive functions, the right of recall, the operation of the Soviets as active state apparatus, unite the masses with the administrative organs. This unity is also promoted by the fact that under the Soviet government the elections themselves are conducted, not in conformity with artificial territorial demarcations but in accordance with industrial units. The proletarian dictatorship, in the form of the Soviet Government, thus realizes true proletarian democracy, the democracy for and of the working class and against the bourgeoisie.

The proletarian revolution is a lengthy process which begins with the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and ends only with the transformation of the capitalist system into the Communist Society.

## Political Action

Every class struggle is a political struggle. The object of this struggle, which inevitably develops into civil war, is the conquest of political power. However, this power cannot be acquired, organized and directed, otherwise than by means of a political party. Only when the workers have as their leader an organized and experienced political party, with strictly defined objects, and - practically drawn up



program of immediate action, both in domestic and foreign policy—only then will the acquisition of political power cease to be a casual episode, but will serve as a starting point for the gradual realization of the Communist Society.

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

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

The Communist Party, during the period of the dictatorship, will systematically and constantly direct the work of the Soviets as well as of the revolutionized industrial unions. The Communist Party, the organized vanguard of the working class, must direct the struggle of the entire class on the economic and political fields, and also in the field of education. It must be the animating spirit in the Soviets, the industrial unions, and in all other forms of proletarian organization.

#### Mass Action

In those countries where the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a proletarian revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. But within this process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. The capitalist class shields its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, and in order to gain its ends it has at its command all the means and attainments of centuries of capitalist class rule, multiplied by the wonders of the present technical development, and employing in addition, lies, demagogism, slander, bribery, persecution, torture, and murder.

The revolutionary epoch upon which we have now entered, forces upon the proletariat the application of militant methods, namely mass action, which leads to direct collision with the bourgeois state, developing into armed insurrection and civil war. The centralized power of the capitalist class is exercised through its control of the state machinery, the army, navy, police, courts, bureaucracy, etc., by means of which it imposes its will upon the workers. Mass action is the proletarian revolt against the power and oppression of the capitalist class, and develops as the spontaneous activity of the workers massed in the large industries; the mass strike and mass demonstration being among its initial forms. In these strikes and demonstrations large masses of workers are unified in the struggle. They develop new tactics and a new ideology. As these strikes grow in number and intensity they acquire political character by coming into collision and open combat with the capitalist state, which openly employs all its machinery to break the strikes and to crush the workers organizations. This culminates in armed insurrection and civil war aimed directly at the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

Revolutionary mass action, which culminates in civil war, cannot attain its objective, the destruction of the bourgeois state machinery, unless the entire mass movement is under the control and guidance of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party of America will systematically and persistently propagate to the working class the idea of the inevitability of, and necessity for a violent revolution, and will prepare the working class for armed insurrection as the only means for the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship based upon Soviet power.

#### Parliamentary Action

The Communist Party of America recognizes that in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat it must use all the means of propaganda and agitation to win the exploited masses over to its side. One of these means is the bourgeois parliament. This work within the parliaments consists in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform, the denunciation of the enemies of the masses, the ideological unification of the masses who are still looking up to the parliamentary platform, captivated by democratic illusions, and to win over those elements of the workers, such as tenant farmers, the village proletariat and the semi-proletariat, who have stood far away from

the revolutionary movement and political life. This work in the parliaments must be fully subordinated to the objects and tasks of the mass struggle outside of the parliaments.

The bourgeois parliaments, which constitute one of the most important instruments of the bourgeois state machinery, cannot be won over by the proletariat any more than can the bourgeois order in general. The task of the proletariat consists in destroying the entire machinery of the bourgeois state, including all the parliamentary institutions.

The parliamentary system of the bourgeois government of the United States, being based upon a rigid constitution and the division of authority among forty-eight states, each with its apparatus of independent legislatures, governors, courts, etc., makes the capitalist dictatorship, which is screened behind the bourgeois democracy, a formidable power in the hands of the capitalists for the crushing of working class aspiration. Large masses of the proletariat, such as the negroes, migratory workers, foreign born workers, etc., are disfranchised. The working class of the United States now faces the naked dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

While the Communist Party of America makes its major campaigns and activities among the working class in their mass struggles, outside of the parliaments, it will participate in elections and election campaigns for revolutionary propaganda and agitation only.

The American bourgeois democratic state early recognized in the Communist Party of America its historic and deadly enemy, and used all its power in an onslaught against it. Being outlawed, the Communist Party re-organized its units into an underground illegal party. This fact for the present prevents the Communist Party from participating in the elections under the name of the Communist Party.

#### Trade and Industrial Unions and Factory Committees.

Trade unionism had its origin in the craft divisions of small industry of the handicraft period, and consisted primarily of highly skilled workers. The concentration of industry and the development of industrial technique reduced and made unnecessary the skill of large masses of workers, but the reactionary trade unions still maintain the ideology of property, contract, and obsolete craft divisions. The concentration of industry has produced the machine workers who are massed in the large basic industries and constitute the militant factor in the class struggle. In modern capitalist society the old, petty, isolated, craft strike is useless. The development of machinery and the concentration of industry created the necessity for industrial unions. The Communist Party recognizes that industrial unions are a more efficient weapon in the struggle of the workers for higher wages and improved conditions under capitalism. But the industrial unions alone cannot mobilize the working masses for the proletarian revolution and the overthrow of the bourgeois state. Industrial unionism (Syndicalism) denies the necessity for establishing the proletarian dictatorship and Soviet government during the transition period from capitalist society to Communist society. Syndicalism advocates the Utopian plan of direct seizure of industrial plants when the majority of the workers are organized into industrial unions, entirely ignoring the power of the capitalist state.

Only after the conquest of political power, after the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, can the revolutionized industrial unions become the starting point for the Communist reconstruction of society. That the majority of the working class can be organized into industrial unions, and, under capitalism, leaving the bourgeois state intact, construct the communist society ("building the new society within the shell of the old"), is as utopian and reactionary as the conception of the opportunist socialists of the "gradual growing into socialism."

The historic experience of the socialist movement in America in its relation to the trade unions, its early aim to maintain contact with the organized working masses, and its later impatience with the slowness of the process of educating and leading the workers by working within the reactionary trade unions, developed the attempt during the period of 1895 to artificially stimulate the organization of brand-new, class conscious labor unions, such as the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. While on the other hand, the opportunist official policy of the "yellow" reformist socialists of catering to and supporting the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor and similar organizations led to the abandonment of the struggle within the old unions by the more advanced workers, and to the formation in 1905 of the I.W.W. and the rise of syndicalism (industrial unionism) in the United States.

The Communist Party of America, in its attitude toward the trade and industrial union movement, rejects the tactics of both the reformist, opportunist socialists, and the pseudo-revolutionary syndicalists, and re-affirms its position as adopted at the Second Convention of the Communist Party of America, and as set forth in the theses and decisions of the Second World Congress of the Communist International, viz: of participation within the trade unions in their every-day struggles, maintaining contact at all times with the organized working masses, while incessantly, systematically and mercilessly criticizing and exposing the social patriotic and reactionary leaders, destroying the official trade unions bureaucracy, and carrying

on a continual propaganda to win the trade unions over to the side of the proletarian revolution, and developing the leadership of the trade and industrial unions by the Communist Party of America.

The reactionary unions containing chiefly the skilled workers, the better paid, limited by their craft narrowness, fettered by their bureaucratic machinery which isolates them from the masses, demoralized by their opportunist leaders, these trade unions betrayed not only the cause of the social revolution, but even their own every-day struggle for the improvement of wages and conditions for the workers within their own organizations, foregoing the pure and simple trade union struggle against their employers and substituting the program of collective bargaining and "industrial peace," thus making the trade unions actual bulwarks of capitalism. Notwithstanding this sad state of affairs, and bearing in mind the recent influx of large masses into the unions, and the objectively revolutionary character of the struggle that these masses are carrying on in spite of the trade union bureaucracy, the Communist Party of America makes it obligatory for its members to participate in the activities of such unions in order to make of them effective organs in the struggle against capitalism and for Communism. All voluntary withdrawals from the trade unions, every artificial attempt to organize special unions, unless compelled to do so by exceptional acts of violence on the part of the trade union bureaucracy (such as expulsion of separate revolutionary branches by reactionary officials, their narrow, aristocratic policy, prohibiting unskilled workers from joining the unions, etc.), represents a grave danger to the Communist movement.

The Communist Party of America will develop from its ranks the most determined leaders in the economic struggle of the trade unions, and in this way take the lead in the trade union movement and make of it an organ of the revolutionary struggle for Communism. Only in this manner can the disintegration of the trade unions be prevented. Only by removing the old bureaucratic machinery, now inaccessible to the toiling masses, and replacing it by the system of shop delegates, leaving only the most routine work for the central executives, can the old reactionary trade unions be replaced by industrial unions.

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

The Communist Party will not hesitate before a split in the trade unions, if a refusal to split would mean the abandoning of revolutionary work in the unions and giving up the attempt to organize the most exploited part of the proletariat. If such a split should become necessary, it must be carried out only when the Communists, by incessant agitation against the reactionary leaders and their opportunist tactics, and by their active participation in the economic struggle, have succeeded in persuading the masses that the split is occurring not because of some remote and as yet incomprehensible aim of the revolution, but on account of the concrete, immediate interests of the working class in the development of its economic struggle. The Communist Party will (in case the necessity for a split arises) continuously and carefully consider the question as to whether such a split might not lead to isolation from the working masses.

#### Factory Committees

Out of the economic chaos developing in America, the laboring masses will endeavor to create organizations which will be able to commence a struggle for the alleviation of the situation by means of workers control over production, through the medium of factory committees. This aspiration to create factory committees takes its origin from the most varied causes, namely, struggle against the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy, discouragement after a strike, or the defeat of the unions, or the desire to create an organization embracing all workers, etc., but in the end it results in the struggle for control over industry, which is the special historic task of the factory committees. These factory committees should not be formed exclusively of working men who already understand and are fighting for the proletarian dictatorship, the Communist Party will organize all workers on the basis of the economic crisis, and lead them toward the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat by developing the concrete struggle for workers' control over industry, which they all understand.

These factory committees cannot be substituted for the trade unions. The trade unions are now central fighting organs, although they cannot embrace such broad masses of the workers as the factory committees are capable of, since the factory committees are accessible to all the workers of a given industry. The division of tasks between the factory committees and the trade and industrial unions is the result of the historic development of the social revolution. The trade and industrial unions organize the working masses on a national scale for the struggle to increase wages and shorten the hours of labor. The factory committees are organized for workers' control over production, in the struggle to resist the economic crisis, and embrace all the workers in all the industries; but this movement can only gradually take on national scope. Only



after the overthrow of the bourgeois state can the factory committees become the nuclei of the revolutionized industrial unions which together with the local soviets and the general soviet administration will form the apparatus for carrying on industry throughout the country.

The duty of the Communist Party consists in inspiring the labor unions and the factory committees with the spirit of determined struggle, i. e. with the spirit of Communism. In the execution of this duty the Communist Party must practically subordinate the factory committees and the unions, and thus create a mass organization, a basis for a powerful centralized organ of the proletariat embracing all the organs of proletarian struggle, leading them all to one aim, the victory of the working class, through the dictatorship of the proletariat, to Communism.

The Communist Party, converting the factory committees and the labor unions into powerful weapons of the revolution, prepares these organizations for the great task to be imposed upon them after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the task of being the instrument of the reorganization of the economic life on a communist basis. The labor unions, developed as industrial unions, and supported by their factory committees as their factory organizations, will make the working masses acquainted with their tasks of production; they will educate the more experienced workmen to become the leaders in the factories; control the technical specialists; and together with the representatives of the proletarian state, formulate the plan of the socialist economic policy, and carry it out.

#### Communist Nuclei

The Communist Party of America will organize communist nuclei in every field where there are proletarians and semi-proletarians,—in every trade and industrial union, in the factory committees, in every working class educational or social organization, in government institutions, in the army and navy, among the agricultural laborers and village proletariat, in the organizations of the tenant and poorer farmers, etc. These communist nuclei enable the Communist Party to effectively carry on its propaganda and to lead the working masses in the proletarian revolution. Communist nuclei shall be subordinated one to another in a centralized order and system and under the control, supervision, and discipline of the Communist Party of America.

#### Agricultural Workers and Farmers

The history of the exploited agrarian masses in the United States, beginning with the Greenback movement in the 'seventies, through the Populist movement in the 'ninties and down to the Non-Partisan movement of the present day, is the history of the attempts on the part of the small farmers and tenant farmers, to resist the oppression and exploitation of the financial and industrial oligarchy of the United States.

These small farmers, nominally the owners of small parcels of land, are mercilessly exploited by the banks, commission merchants, transportation companies, farm machinery trusts, the large absentee landlords, etc. All the reform movements, which periodically swept over the country, failed to ameliorate or change the conditions of the exploited rural masses, whose position, like that of the city proletariat, becomes steadily worse under the capitalist system.

These laboring and exploited masses in the country, which the city proletariat must educate and lead in the class struggle and win over to its side, are represented in America by the following groups: 1) The agricultural proletariat; the hired laborers and farm hands, employed by the year, season, or day, as wage workers on the large ranches, plantations, and farms. These consist largely of migratory workers. 2) The semi-proletarians; small farmers and tenant farmers, who make their living partly by working for wages in capitalist agricultural or industrial establishments, and partly by toiling on their own or rented parcel of land which yields only part of the sustenance for themselves and their families, and 3) The small proprietors; small farmers who own small portions of land, usually heavily mortgaged, which is sufficient to satisfy the needs of their families and farming, without requiring additional wage labor. All these three groups together, constitute the vast majority of the agrarian population of the United States, and their co-operation guarantees the success of the proletarian revolution, not only in the cities, but throughout the entire country.

The large landed farmers are capitalists in agriculture, managing their own farms and ranches with foremen and hired laborers. These constitute the most numerous element

of the bourgeoisie and are the open enemies of the revolutionary proletariat.

None but the city proletariat, led by the Communist Party, can emancipate the working masses from the exploitation and oppression of the capitalist and landowners, from privatization and the imperialist wars, which are inevitable as long as the capitalist system endures. There is no salvation for the small farmers, tenant farmers, and farm workers, except to unite with the revolutionary proletariat, to support wholeheartedly their revolutionary struggle to throw off the yoke of the landowners and the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the proletariat becomes a truly revolutionary class only by acting as the vanguard of all those who work and are exploited, and by taking the lead in the struggle for the oppressors of the toiling masses.

The Communist Party of America will establish its nuclei within the organization of the exploited rural masses and win them from the political and moral influence of the agricultural bourgeoisie, carry the struggle into the agricultural districts, and gather the toiling country masses around the standard of Communism.

#### Imperialism and the Colonial Question

Since the imperialist world war the United States has become a creditor nation and is seeking new fields for the investment of capital, and new sources of raw material for its factories, which brings America into conflict with Japanese and English imperialism, and leads to new imperialist wars in the near future. This means the maintenance of huge military and naval establishments.

The imperialist war of 1914-1918 has demonstrated very clearly to all nations and to all oppressed classes of the world, the deceit of bourgeois democratic phraseology. War has been carried on by both sides under the false slogans of the "rights of small nations," and "national self-determination." But the Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest peace, on the one hand, and the Versailles and St. Germain peace on the other, have shown how the bourgeoisie establishes even "national" boundaries in conformity with its own economic interests. The so-called "league of nations" is nothing but an insurance policy in which the victors mutually guarantee each other their prey. National freedom and unity can be achieved by the proletariat only by revolutionary struggle and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The League of Nations and the policy of the imperialist powers after the war, demonstrate this even more clearly and definitely, making the revolutionary struggle in the advanced countries more acute, increasing the ferment of the working masses of the colonies and the subject countries, and dispelling the middle-class nationalistic illusion of the possibility of peaceful collaboration and equality of nations under capitalism.

The political situation of the world at the present time has placed in the foreground the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat and all the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one point, namely, the struggle of the bourgeois world against the Russian Soviet Republic, which is grouping around itself the soviet movement of the vanguard of the workers of all countries, and all national liberation movements of the colonial and subject countries, which have been taught by bitter experience that there can be no salvation for them outside of a union with the revolutionary proletariat and the triumph of the soviet power over imperialism.

The United States was in its origin itself a colony of England, and retained the characteristics of a colonial people, and acted as the hinterland for Europe until after the American Civil War of 1861-65. The American capitalists had their own world to conquer and exploit within the present territorial confines of the United States, which contain fabulous resources in natural wealth. To these shores were attracted millions of European workmen and their families, lured by the false light of bourgeois democracy and the hope of economic security. These immigrant workers were mercilessly exploited in the building up of capitalist America, which added large areas to its original territory by fraud and conquest, forcibly annexing huge territories from its weaker neighbors. After the war with Spain in 1898, the United States definitely entered upon the conquest of world markets, developing an aggressive policy of imperialism, conquering and subjecting Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, Philippines,

etc. The Caribbean and Central American republics are practically dependencies of the United States and together with Mexico are brought under the control of American finance imperialism by the constant threat of military intervention.

The Communist Party of America will support with all its power every movement for liberation on the part of the oppressed peoples in the colonies of the United States. It will seek to cultivate among the American proletariat a truly fraternal feeling toward the oppressed working populations in all the nations now under the iron heel of American capitalists in their economic and military aggressions upon the populations of the weaker American Republics. The Communist Party of America will strive to organize communist nuclei in the army and navy of the United States in order to carry on a systematic agitation against every kind of oppression of the colonial people by American imperialism. The Communist Party will support every armed uprising on the part of the oppressed colonial people to throw off the yoke of American imperialism, and will assist the exploited and toiling masses in the subject countries to link up their struggle with that of the proletariat of the United States against their common enemy, the American capitalists and against the native bourgeoisie in the subject countries, who are the tools of the American capitalist class.

#### The Communist International

The Communist International issuing directly out of the proletarian revolution in action is the central organ of the revolutionary proletariat in their struggle for the conquest of world power. The growth of the revolutionary movement in all countries, the menace of suppression of the proletarian revolution through the coalition of the capitalist states, the attempts of the social-patriotic parties to unite with each other in order to render service to the Imperialist League of Nations, and to betray the revolution, and finally the absolute necessity of coordinating proletarian action all over the world—all these considerations demanded the formation of a really revolutionary Communist International.

The Communist International subordinates the so-called national interests to the interests of the international proletarian revolution and embodies the reciprocal aid of the proletariat of all countries; on the other hand, the Communist International supports the exploited colonial peoples in their struggle against imperialism in order to accelerate the final collapse of the imperialist system of the world.

The Communist International is the concentrated will of the world revolutionary proletariat. Its mission is to organize the working class of the whole world for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of communism. The Communist International is a fighting body which assumes the task of combining the revolutionary forces of all the countries of the world.

The Communist International makes it its aim to conduct an armed struggle for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and the creating of an International Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the Communist Society.

The Communist International forever breaks with tradition of the Second International, which recognized only the white race. The Communist International fraternally invites to its ranks men and women of all colors, the toilers of the entire world. The Communist International declares that for the purpose of the speedy achievement of victory, it must have a firm and centralized organization. The Communist International represents a single universal Communist Party, and the parties operating in various countries are its sections.

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

The Communist International calls.

Arms against arms!

Force against force!

Workers of the world unite!



# Constitution of Communist Party of America.

ADOPTED BY THE THIRD CONVENTION, FEBRUARY, 1921

## Art. I. Name and Purpose

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

Sec. 2. It is the organization of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. Its purpose is to educate, direct and lead the working class of America for the conquest of political power; to destroy the bourgeois state machinery; to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviet Power; to abolish the capitalist system and to introduce the Communist Society.

## Art. II. Emblem

Sec. 1. The emblem of the Communist Party shall be an outline figure of the earth, with a flag across the globe bearing the inscription "All Power to the Workers"; and around the figure of the earth, in the margin, the words "Communist Party of America, Section of the Communist International."

## Art. III. Membership and Dues

Sec. 1. Every person who accepts the principles and tactics of the Communist Party of America and the Communist International; who submits to the party discipline and agrees to engage actively in the party work shall be eligible to membership.

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

Sec. 3. No person who is a member or supporter of any other political organization shall be admitted to membership.

Sec. 4. Applicants for admission as members shall be vouched for by two persons who have been members of the Party not less than six consecutive months, except in newly organized groups in new territory. Acceptance of the applicant shall be determined by the Branch Executive Committee.

Every applicant shall be on probation for three months, with a voice but no vote. Whenever practical applicants shall be assigned to special probationary groups during the period of probation. Candidates admission shall be finally decided by the Branch Executive Committee.

Sec. 5. Special group captains shall be placed in charge of probationary groups. They shall be appointed by the Branch Executive Committee.

Sec. 6. Applicants for membership shall pay one dollar initiation fee (to be remitted to the C.E.C. as dues and assessments during the probationary period).

Sec. 7. Each member shall pay 60 cents per month as dues, and all assessments.

Sec. 8. Dues shall be collected in return for stamps; a sufficient contingency supply being once furnished to all subdivisions of the Party, down to the groups; and further stamps being furnished only to replace those actually sold, and paid for.

Sec. 9. Federations shall make returns to the Central Executive Committee of forty cents for each dues payment collected by the tenth of each month; retaining 20 cents for themselves.

Sec. 10. Federation branches shall purchase stamps and make returns through federation channels.

Sec. 11. Special emergency assessments may be levied by the Convention; by the Central Executive Committee of the Party, or by the Federation Executive Committees (subject to the approval of the C.E.C.). No member shall be considered in good standing unless he pays all such assessments.

Sec. 12. Members unable to pay dues and assessments on account of sickness, unemployment, strikes or for similar reasons, shall be granted exemption upon application to the Branch Executive Committee. Group organizers shall include such requests in their reports, and branch organizers shall report all exemptions granted every time they make their remittances for dues.

Sec. 13. Members who are two months in arrears in payment of dues and assessments shall be dropped from membership, unless within one month after notification by the group organizer he places himself in good standing.

Sec. 14. Branch Executive Committees shall have the right to issue to their members transfers to all Party units.

## Art. IV. Form and Units of Organization

Sec. 1. The Communist Party is an underground, illegal organization. It is highly centralized, with the convention as its supreme body and the Central Executive Committee acting as such between the conventions.

Sec. 2. The basic units of the Party organization shall be groups of approximately ten members, and, wherever possible, not less than five.

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

Sec. 4. Branches within a locality shall form a Local. Locals shall consist of nearly as possible of ten branches each, and shall be formed wherever there are more than one branch within a locality. Single branches in

isolated localities shall connect directly with their sub-district.

Sec. 5. Sub-districts consist of all locals and isolated branches within a territory prescribed by the District Executive Committee.

Sec. 6. All sub-districts within a prescribed territory shall form a district. The limits of districts are determined by the C. E. C. Districts and sub-districts shall be organized within industrial sections regardless of political boundaries.

## Art. V. Conventions

Sec. 1. The Convention is the supreme body of the Party, and shall be called by the C.E.C. at least once a year.

Sec. 2. Emergency conventions, with all the powers of regular conventions, shall be called by the C.E.C., upon its own initiative whenever conditions demand, or upon the demand of three district conventions representing at least 25 per cent of the total membership of the Party.

Sec. 3. Emergency District Conventions shall be held upon the demand of not less than 50 per cent of the membership of the district as expressed through the regular Party channels.

Sec. 4. Elections to the convention shall begin in the groups. Each group shall elect one member to the branch electors meeting, which shall elect delegates to the local electors meeting. Branches that are directly connected with the sub-district shall send their electors to the nearest local and district electors meetings, and in the convention of the Party shall be fixed by the convention call issued by the Central Executive Committee.

Sec. 5. Branch, local, sub-district and district organizers of the Party shall attend the electors meetings of their respective units, and shall have voice but no vote, unless elected as delegates themselves.

Sec. 6. Sub-district and district electors meetings may elect as their delegates members of the Party from any unit outside of their territorial divisions.

## Art. VI. Central Executive Committee

Sec. 1. Between the meetings of the convention, the Central Executive Committee, elected by the convention, shall act as the supreme body of the Party.

Sec. 2. The C.E.C. shall consist of nine members, who shall have the right of co-optation.

Sec. 3. Candidates for the C.E.C. must have been members of the C.P. of A., or of a party affiliated with the Communist International, for two consecutive years, or since the organization of the Party.

Sec. 4. Members who are not delegates to, or not present at the convention, must be supported by not less than four delegates, when nominated for the C.E.C.

Sec. 5. The identity of the C.E.C. members shall not be made known, either by themselves or by those present at the convention.

Sec. 6. Upon presentation and investigation of charges against a member of the C.E.C. he may be suspended from the C.E.C. by a majority vote, pending investigation. He may be expelled by a vote of not less than seven members. The accused C.E.C. member shall not vote.

Sec. 7. The C.E.C. shall elect the Executive Secretary of the Party, the Editor and two other members of the Editorial Committee and the Technician of the Party; also International Delegates as required, who shall work under the direct control of the C.E.C.

Sec. 8. The Technician of the Party shall work in conjunction with and under the supervision of the Executive Secretary.

Sec. 9. The Party Editor shall carry on his work in conjunction with the Editorial Committee. The Editorial Committee shall have power between the meetings of the C.E.C. to decide questions of policy and expression in the Party press and literature, in conformity with the decision of the C.E.C.

Sec. 10. The C.E.C. shall call conferences with district organizers and federation secretaries, or representatives of the Federation Executive Committees as often as necessary.

Sec. 11. The C.E.C. shall make a monthly financial report to the membership.

Sec. 12. A complete audit and accounting of all Party funds shall be made once every six months. The Auditing Committee shall consist of three members elected by the convention. The convention shall also elect three alternates. No member of the C.E.C. and no paid Party official shall be a member of the Auditing Committee. Complete report of the Auditing Committee shall be made to the membership within one month after the completion of its work.

## Art. VII. District and Subordinate Units

Sec. 1. The C.E.C. shall appoint district organizers for each district.

Sec. 2. District organizers shall appoint sub-district organizers, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee. The District Executive Committee shall consist of the Party district organizer and sub-district organizers, and Federation district organizers.

It shall work under the direction of the Party district organizer.

Sec. 3. District organizers shall make complete reports to the District Executive Committee as to the general Party work in his district. He shall transmit and carry out the instructions and decisions of the C.E.C. He shall make remittances, financial statements and reports to the C.E.C. at least once a week. He shall submit financial statements to the membership in his district at least once a month.

Sec. 4. Sub-district organizers shall make remittances, financial statements and reports to the district organizers once a week.

Sec. 5. Federation district organizers shall make financial statements and reports to the district executive committee at least once a month.

The sub-district executive committee shall consist of the sub-district organizer and local organizers, or directly connected branch organizers of the Party, and the Federation sub-district organizers. Sub-district executive committees shall call meetings of the sub-district executive committees twice a month. They shall make complete reports to their committees and transmit and carry out the decisions and the instructions of the C.E.C., the district organizer and the district executive committee.

Sec. 7. The local executive committee shall consist of the branch organizers, and the local organizer, appointed by the sub-district organizer, subject to the approval of the district executive committee. Branch organizers shall be elected by the group organizers. They shall work under the direction of the local organizer and shall meet at least once a week.

Sec. 8. The branch executive committee consists of the branch organizer and the group organizers within the branch. The branch executive committee shall meet at least once a week. Group organizers (captains) shall be Party members at least six months. Branch organizers shall have been Party members at least one year.

Sec. 9. Executive committees of the various Party units have the authority to act within their jurisdiction subject to decisions of higher Party units.

Sec. 10. Each group shall meet at least once every week, under the direction of the group organizer (captain), who shall make a complete report to his group on all party work, on the activities of his branch and of all other Party units.

## Art. VIII. Federations

Sec. 1. Language federations are integral parts of the Communist Party of America and are subject to the dictatorship and control of the Party.

Sec. 2. Shortly after Party conventions, language federations shall hold annual conventions which shall elect their executive committees, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee of the Party.

Sec. 3. Federation executive committees shall consist of not more than seven members, who shall have the right of co-optation.

Sec. 4. The minutes of the Federation Executive Committee shall be regularly submitted to the C.E.C. of the Party.

Sec. 5. Federation by-laws and decisions of their conventions shall conform to the Communist Party program and constitution and shall be submitted to the C.E.C. of the Party for approval.

Sec. 6. Federation executive committees shall appoint their district organizers for each district of the Party.

Sec. 7. Federation Executive Committees shall translate and issue to their membership all statements, circulars and communications addressed to the membership by the C.E.C. of the Party, within one week after their receipt.

Sec. 8. Federations shall make financial returns to the Party C.E.C. by the tenth of each month. They shall make a complete financial report to their membership and to the C.E.C. of the Party once a month.

Sec. 9. Each federation shall issue an underground official organ in its respective language, under the control of the Fed. Exec. Com. to be published at least once a month. The general policy of the federation official organ shall be under the control of the C.E.C. of the Party. Federations may publish books and papers under the general supervision of the C.E.C. of the Party.

Sec. 10. All language branches shall join and become part of their respective federations. There shall be only one federation of each language. No federations shall be formed with less than 250 members.

## Art. IX. Discipline

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

Sec. 2. The following offenses shall be deemed breach of Party discipline: 1) Violation of the fundamental principles of the program and constitution of the Party; 2) Refusal to accept and carry out the decisions of the Party; 3) Wilfully to block and disrupt Party work and the cooperation of the various Party units; 4)



Knowingly and unnecessarily to endanger the underground work of the Party; 6) In any way to betray the Party trust.

Sec. 4. Formal charges and investigation shall be required in all cases. Upon presentation of charges the accused members or units may be suspended pending investigation.

Sec. 4. Branch executive committees shall have the right to expel a member subject to the approval (not to take effect pending approval) of Party sub-district executive committee having jurisdiction.

Sec. 5. Groups may be expelled or re-organized by their respective branch executive committees, subject to the approval of the sub-district executive committee having jurisdiction.

Sec. 5. Groups may be expelled or re-organized by their respective branch executive committees subject to the approval of the sub-district executive committee having jurisdiction.

Sec. 6. Branches may be expelled or re-organized by their sub-district exec. com. subject to the approval of their district exec. com.

Sec. 7. A local or a sub-district may be expelled or re-organized by the district exec. com. subject to the approval of the C.E.C.

Sec. 8. Districts may be expelled or re-organized by the C.E.C. subject to the approval of the convention.

Sec. 9. Sub-district executive committees may take up charges against any member, group or branch in their sub-district. District exec. com. may take up charges against any member or unit in their district.

Sec. 10. Federation executive committees shall have the power to expel any member, and expel or re-organize branches or groups of their federations subject to the approval of the C.E.C. of the Party.

#### Art. X. Party Press and Propaganda

Sec. 1. The C.E.C. shall publish the official underground organ of the Party, which shall be issued at least once month.

Sec. 2. The C.E.C. shall issue a Party bulletin which shall be distributed to the membership free of charge.

Sec. 3. Literature issued by the Party shall be under the supervision of the Editorial Committee and under the control of the C.E.C.

Sec. 4. No subdivision of the Party, except Fed. exec. com., may publish papers or books without the permission of the C.E.C. Over their own signature, locals may issue leaflets, dealing with matters in their locality, subject to the approval of the C.E.C. or such District Committee as may be so empowered by the C.E.C.

Sec. 5. All legal and illegal Party press and publishing machinery, including federation press and establishments shall be unconditionally and fully subject to the Party in general to its C.E.C. or such other Party units as may be expressly authorized by the C.E.C.

Sec. 6. Editors of all central organs of the Party, including legal and Federation organs, shall constitute the Board of Party Editors, which shall function for the unification of policy and expression in the Party press, and to keep them always in conformity with the principles, policies and decisions of the Party.

Sec. 7. No members of the Party shall contribute articles or editorials of a political or economic nature to the bourgeois press, except by permission of the C.E.C. of the Party.

Sec. 8. The C.E.C. shall provide for the organization of classes for the training of propagandists, and study classes in the various Party units for the education of the membership in Communist theory and tactics.

Sec. 9. The C.E.C. shall provide for the organization of Communist Party nuclei, composed of C.P. members only, in the shops, in the unions, and in other workers organizations; within the army and navy, and ex-soldiers organizations.

## Letter to a French Syndicalist on the Communist Party

By L. TROTSKY

Dear Friend!

You are in great doubt regarding the Third International in view of its political and party character. You are afraid that the French Syndicalist movement may be taken in tow by a political party. Allow me to expose my views on the subject.

First of all I must say that the French syndicalist movement, whose independence is causing you such anxiety, is already completely in the tow of a political party. Naturally, neither Jouaux, nor his nearest assistants (Dumoulin, Merheim and others) are members of parliament as yet and formally are not members of any political party. But this is simply a division of labor. In fact, in the matter of syndicalist movement Jouaux is carrying the same policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie, as the French Socialism of the Renaudel-Longuet type is carrying on in parliament. Should the Board of the present Socialist Party be requested to give a programme to the General Confederation of Labor and to appoint its leading personnel—there is no doubt that the party would approve the programme of Jouaux-Merheim and allow these gentlemen to continue to occupy their posts.

Should Jouaux & Co. be elected as members of Parliament and Renaudel and Longuet placed at the head of the Confederation of Labor—nothing whatever would be changed in the internal life of France or in the fate of the French working class. You certainly will not deny this. The above mentioned circumstances prove however, that it is not a question of parliamentarism or anti-parliamentarism, or of a formal party membership. All the old labels are worn out and do not answer to the new contents. Jouaux's anti-parliamentarism resembles Renaudel's parliamentary cretinism like two drops of water. Official syndicalism may repudiate the party—by tradition—as much as it likes, party policy, etc., but the bourgeois parties of France in the secret depths of their hearts can wish for no better representative at the head of the French syndicalist movement than Jouaux, as they cannot wish for any better "Socialist" parliamentarians than Renaudel-Longuet. Naturally, they are criticizing and blaming them. But this is being done only in order not to weaken altogether their position in the labor movement. The matter lies not in parliamentarism or in syndicalism—these are only forms—but in the substance of the policy which the advance guard of the working class is carrying out by means of the syndicates, as well as the parliament. A bona fide Communist policy that is to say, a policy directed towards the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and its state order, will find its revolutionary expression in all branches of life of the working class, in all organizations, institutions and organs, into which its representatives may penetrate: in syndicates, mass meetings, in the press, in the party organizations of Communists, in the secret revolutionary circles, working in the army or preparing an uprising, lastly, in the parliamentary tribune, if the advanced workers will elect a bona fide revolutionary representative.

The task of the working class is to expel the bourgeoisie from the power, to annihilate its apparatus of violence and oppression, to create organs of its own labor dictatorship for crushing the resistance of the bourgeoisie and for a more rapid reconstruction of all social relations in the spirit of Communism. Whoever should under the pretext of anarchism, deny this task—the dictatorship of the proletariat—is no revolutionist, but a petty-bourgeois grumbler. There is no place for him in our midst. We shall speak of this, however, later on.

Hence, the task of the proletariat consists in suppressing the bourgeois order by means of a revolutionary dictatorship. But in the working class itself, as you know, there are different levels of class consciousness. The task of the Communist revolution in its totality is clear only to the more class-conscious revolutionary minority of the proletariat. The strength of this minority lies therein that the firmer, the

more decisively and assuredly it acts the more support does it find on the part of the numerous and more backward working masses. But in order that millions of workers who are artificially retained by capitalism, the Church, Democracy, etc. in the mire of prejudices, should not lose their way, but should find the requisite expression for their desire to obtain a complete liberation, it is necessary that in all the branches of life, the working class should find at its head its best, most class-conscious representatives who always remain true to their colors and are always ready to give up their lives for the cause of the working class.

You, revolutionary French syndicalists, have approached the question rightly when you state circles of the working masses are not sufficient and that the syndicates alone including the wider for the revolution, that an initiative minority is necessary which should educate the masses and give the workers in each concrete case a definite programme of action.

What must such an initiative minority be? It is clear that it cannot be grouped according to professional or local distinctions. The question does not lie in the advanced metallists, railwaymen or joiners, but in the more class-conscious proletariat of the whole country. They must unite, draw up a definite programme of action, strengthen their unity by a firm internal discipline and thus secure their leading influence over the whole struggle of the working class, all its organizations and first of all over the syndicalist unions.

How then would you call this initiative minority of the proletariat, united by the Communist programme and preparing to lead the working class to an open attack against the fortress of capitalism? We call it the Communist Party. —But, you might say, in such case this party has nothing in common with the present French Socialist Party?—That is quite correct. That is why to make the difference appear stronger, we speak of a Communist Party, not of a Socialist Party.

—However, you still speak of a party?

—Of a party, yes. Certainly, one might most successfully prove that the word "party" has been greatly compromised by parliamentarians, professional chatterboxes, petty-bourgeois charlatans, etc., etc. But this relates not only to parties. We have already agreed with you that the labor unions (French syndicates, English trade unions, German Gewerkschaften) have been sufficiently compromised by the shameful role which they, in the person of their leaders, played during the war and for the most part are playing now. However, that is not a reason for repudiating the word "Syndicate." You will agree that the question lies not in the terminology but in the substance of the matter. Under the name of Communist Party we understand a union of the proletarian advance guard in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a Communist revolution.

Very often under arguments directed against politics and party an anarchistic non-comprehension of the role of the state in the class struggle is concealed. Proudhon used to say: that the workshop (l'atelier) would eliminate the state. This is in so far correct, that the society of the future will become a gigantic workshop, liberated from all state elements, because a state is a compulsory organization of a class rule, whereas Communism will suppress all classes. But the whole question is by what means shall we arrive at a Communist society. Proudhon thought that the workshop would gradually by means of association supplant capitalism and the state. This proved to be a purely utopian idea; the workshop was supplanted by powerful factories, and over the latter rose the monopolizing trust. The French syndicalists thought and even partly think now, that the syndicates as such would suppress all capitalist property and abolish the bourgeois state. But this is not correct. Syndicates are a powerful weapon in a general strike, because the ways and methods of a

general strike coincide with those of a syndicalist organization. But in order that a strike should really become a general one, an "initiative minority" is necessary, which would day by day and hour by hour carry on a revolutionary educational work among the masses.

This minority, evidently, must be grouped not in accordance with guild or industrial distinctions, but on the basis of a definite programme of proletarian revolutionary action. This, as we have said, is the Communist Party.

But a general strike which may be conducted best by means of the syndicate apparatus is not sufficient for the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie.\* A general strike is a means of defense, not a means of offense. We must bring down the bourgeoisie, wrench the state apparatus out of its hands. The bourgeoisie, in the person of its state, is supported by the army. Only an open uprising in which the proletariat collides face to face with the army, dealing cruel blows to its counter-revolutionary elements and carrying away with itself the best part of it, such an open uprising of the proletariat is able to make it master of the situation in a country. But for such an uprising an energetic, intense, preparatory work is necessary: agitation, organizing, technical. It is necessary day by day to denounce the crimes and baseness of the bourgeoisie in all the domains of social life: internal politics, colonial brutalities, internal despotism of the capitalist oligarchy, baseness of the bourgeois press—all this must constitute the material for a bona fide revolutionary denunciation with all the ensuing revolutionary conclusions. These themes are broader than a syndicalist organization and its tasks. At the same time it is necessary to create organized supports for the uprising of the proletariat. It is necessary that in each local syndicate, at each factory, in every workshop there should be a group of workers closely bound together by a unity of ideas and capable at the decisive moment by their unanimous movement to carry along with them the masses, to show them the right way, keep them from making mistakes, and guarantee their victory. It is necessary to penetrate into the army. In every regiment there must be a closely welded group of revolutionary soldiers, ready and capable of passing over to the side of the people at the moment of collision and of calling to the whole regiment to follow them. These groups of revolutionary proletarians, united in their ideas, and organized, can act with complete success only as nuclei of a single centralized Communist Party. If we shall succeed in having in the different governmental and military institutions, our own faithful friends, open or secret, who would be in the course of all the events, all the plans and machinations of the ruling cliques and inform us duly of all, this would naturally be of great advantage to us. Equally we would only strengthen our own position if we would succeed in sending into parliament, by a group of workers true and loyal to the cause of the Communist revolution, working in close unity with the lawful and illegal organizations of our party, absolutely subordinate to the party discipline, playing the part of scouts of the revolutionary proletariat in parliament one of the political general headquarters of the bourgeoisie—and ready at any moment to exchange the parliamentary tribune for the barricades.

Certainly, dear friend, this is not Renaudel,

\*One must say however, that history has known general strikes which have been carried through almost without the help of the labor unions (the October strike in 1905). On the other hand the attempts of the French syndicates to carry through a general strike ended generally in non-success, in consequence of the absence in France of a leading revolutionary organization (a Communist Party) which would have day by day systematically prepared the uprising of the proletariat, and not only attempted simply from time to time or improvise decorative mass demonstrations.



nor Samba nor Varenne. But we have Karl Liebknecht. He also was a member of parliament. The capitalist and social-patriotic rabble tried to drown his voice. But the few words of denunciation and appeal which he succeeded in throwing out over the heads of the German oppressors awakened the class consciousness of hundreds of thousands of German workers. From parliament Karl Liebknecht went out to the Potsdam square calling the proletarian masses to an open fight. From the square he was taken to prison, from there he went on to the barricades of the revolution. An ardent partisan of the Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, he considered it necessary to take part in the elections to the German Constituent Assembly, and at the same time he was organizing Communist soldiers. He perished at his revolutionary post. Who was Karl Liebknecht? A syndicalist? A parliamentarian? Journalist? No, he was a revolutionary Communist who finds his way to the proletariat through all obstacles. He appealed to the syndicates denouncing the German Jouaux and Merhelms. He conducted the work of the party among the soldiers, preparing the uprising. He published revolutionary newspapers and appeals, lawful and illegal. He went into parliament to serve the same cause which at other hours he served in secret.

So long as the prime of the French proletariat will not create for itself a centralized Communist Party it will not gain possession of the state power, it will not suppress the bourgeois police, the bourgeois army and private ownership of the means of production. And without all this... the workshop will never supplant the state. Whoever has not mastered this after the Russian revolution, is altogether hopeless. But even after the victorious uprising will have given the state power into the hands of the proletariat, the latter will not be able to liquidate the state immediately, by transferring the legislative power into the hands of the proletariat, the latter will not be able to liquidate the state immediately, by transferring the legislative power to the syndicates. The syndicates are the organizers of the higher stratifications of workers according to the trades and industries. The ruling power must voice the revolutionary interests and needs of the working class as a whole. That is why not syndicates, but Soviets must be an organ of proletarian dictatorship, because they are elected by all the workers, including millions of such of them who never belonged to any unions and who have been awakened for the very first time by the revolution. And it is not enough to elect Soviets. It is not enough that Soviets should carry on a definite revolutionary policy. They must clearly distinguish between friends and foes. They must be capable of decisive, and if need be, relentless measures. The bourgeoisie, as the experience of the Russian revolution and the Hungarian and Bavarian as well, shows, does not lay down its arms after the first defeat. On the contrary, when it begins to see, how much it has lost, its despair doubles and trebles its energy. The Soviet regime is that of a harsh struggle against the counter revolution, both in its own and foreign countries. Who will be able to give the Soviets elected by the workers of different degrees of class consciousness a clear and distinct programme of action? Who will help them to make distinctions among the confused and tangled international conditions and choose the right way? Evidently, only the more class-conscious, more experienced advanced proletarians closely united by their single programme. This is the Communist Party.

Some simpletons (or perhaps they are the sly ones) point out with horror that in Russia the Party is "in command" over the Soviets and Labor unions. "The French syndicates—say some syndicates—demand independence and they will not suffer that any party should be in command over them." How then, dear friend, I repeat—do the French syndicates allow Jouaux to command them, Jouaux—a direct agent of French and American capital? The formal independence of the French syndicates does not preserve them from being under the command of the bourgeoisie. The Russian syndicates desisted from such independence. They overthrew the bourgeoisie. They achieved this by driving away from their midst such gentlemen as Jouaux, Merhelm, Dumoulin and replacing them by loyal experience and reliable fighters, that is, Communists. In this way they guaranteed not only their independence of the bourgeoisie but their victory over the latter. It is quite correct that our party is leading the labor unions, the Soviets. Was it always so? No—the party acquired its leading position during the constant struggle against the petty bourgeois parties—the Mensheviks, Social-revolutionists, and against the non-party, i. e. backward or unprincipled elements. It is true, the Mensheviks whom we have defeated say that we obtain our majorities by "force." But how do the working masses, who have overthrown the rule of the Czar, and afterwards that of the bourgeoisie and the coalition government, although the latter all possessed the apparatus of force, how do they now not only suffer the "enforced" power of the Communist Party, leading the Soviets, but they are even entering our ranks in ever greater numbers? This is to be explained exclusively by the fact that during the course of the last years the Russian working class has passed through a great experience and has had occasion to verify

in practice the policy of the various parties, groups, cliques, and to collate their words and actions, and thus come to the final conclusion that the only party which has remained true to itself at all moments of the revolution, during failure as well as success, was and remains the Communist Party. It is only natural that at all elections, meetings of workers, labor conferences the masses elect Communists to the most responsible posts. This is how the leading role of the Communist Party is to be explained.

At the given moment the revolutionary syndicalists, or more rightly, the Communists like Monatte, Rosmer and others constitute a minority within the limits of syndicalist organizations. They are in the opposition, criticising and denouncing the machinations of ruling majority, which is carrying through reformist, that is to say, purely bourgeois tendencies. The French Communists occupy the same position within the limits of the Socialist Party, which is supporting the ideas of petty-bourgeois reformism.

Have Monatte and Jouaux the same syndicalist policy? Nay, they are enemies. One of them serves the proletariat, the other carries through bourgeois tendencies in a masked form. Have Lorient and Renaudel-Louquet the same policy? No, one is leading the proletariat to a revolu-

tionary dictatorship, the other is subordinating the working masses to a national bourgeois democracy.

In what then does the policy of Monatte differ from that of Lorient? Only in one thing, namely, that Monatte is operating on a syndicalist basis, Lorient chiefly in political organizations. But it is only a simple distribution of labor. A bona fide revolutionary syndicalist to like a bona fide revolutionary Socialist must become united in a Communist Party. They must cease to be in the opposition within other organizations. They must, as an independent organization, adhering to the banner of the Third International, stand face to face with the broader masses, give clear and precise answers to all their questions, be the leaders of their struggle, directing it on its way to a Communist revolution. Syndicalist organizations, cooperative stores, political organizations, the parliamentary tribune, municipalities, etc., etc.—all these are only organization forms, practical methods, different points of support. The struggle remains the same as to its substance, whatever branch it may occupy. The bearer of this struggle is the working class. Its leading advance guard is the Communist Party, in which the bona fide revolutionary syndicalists should occupy a place of honor.

Yours,  
L. TROTSKY.

## The Situation in Eastern Asia.

by R. Member of the Korean Socialist Party

### CHINA.

The war between North and South China is continuing endlessly. The conferences convened several times for the purpose of establishing normal relations between both parts of China have not brought any positive results. Moreover, in consequence of financial difficulties, both the warring governments cannot develop the offensive and thus promptly put an end to the miserable conditions under which the long suffering Chinese people are living; at the same time Japan and the European powers which are interested in the Chinese civil war are assisting both sides and are the chief cause of the continuation of the war. The split between the North and South is rendered more acute by the circumstances that the military circles of the government of Peking, paying no attention to public opinion, are realizing a military dictatorship within the country and continuing to carry on a coalition policy with Japan, whose main object is to oppress and weaken the Chinese nation. In connection with the Shantung question the popular indignation against the Peking government is fast increasing and the hatred of Japan growing ever stronger, including all the classes of the Chinese people, except the official functionaries and the military, who have united in a group called "An-Fu." At the head of the anti-governmental and anti-Japanese movement is the progressive youth—the Chinese studentry. The boycott of Japanese goods by the Chinese merchants is continuing now for two years and is especially felt in South China. Japan tried to stop this movement by all the means in her power, demanding that the Peking government should adopt decisive measures and enforcing her demands by threats. But becoming convinced that the Peking government was powerless to stop the anti-Japanese movement Japan decided to use other methods of struggle. She artfully made use of the power-loving Cossack hetman Semenov for her own interests, by putting him forward as a pretender to the title of "Grand Duke" of "Independent Mongolia." On the other hand she tried to awaken the fears of the Peking government by predicting a "Russian invasion of Mongolia" advising the government to adopt defensive measures against the "Russian Bolshevik invasion" and promising to help China financially in the struggle against Mongolia's attempts at independence supposed to be supported by Russia, and for the reconstruction of a railway between Kolgan and Urga. The Peking government dispatched a detachment of troops to Mongolia under the command of General Su-Tsian, who occupied Urga and by an order received from Peking deprived Mongolia of the right of self-government. But after the Chinese occupation of Mongolia Japan completely changed her tactics. She began to put off indefinitely the fulfilment of her promise of financial assistance, as in reality she had only desired to divert the attention of Chinese society from Shantung, and to direct it towards Mongolia. In this skilful diplomatic strategy she attained quite satisfactory results. Such Semenov and the Chinese "An-Fuists" in their striving after the fictitious power are often simply pawns in the game of Japanese diplomacy. In agreeing to advance a loan to the Peking government for the construction of a railway, Japan proffered the three following demands:

1. All measures of a political-economic nature in Manchuria and Mongolia are to be introduced only subject to the approval of Japan.
2. All the finished and unfinished railways which are now under the temporary control of Japan are to be placed under the jurisdiction of Japan.
3. The Chinese government must guarantee that it will never proceed to the construction of a railway line between the towns Tkhio-Nan and Jrlie-He in the north-west direction to the railway line Kolgan-Urga.

South China, desirous of establishing a Democratic republican order in the country, is struggling against the invasion of all foreigners and particularly the Japanese. The head of the South Government is Tian-Chua-Sian. Without any considerable military forces, not yet recognized by the other powers and torn by intrigues in its own midst, the South Government is becoming exhausted in the fruitless struggle. However, according to latest information the troops of the South have carried a victory over those of Peking.

In Tibet the situation is growing acute owing to the intrigues of the British government which is instigating the local population to insubordination against the Peking government. At the present moment the Tibetan question is one of the chief puzzles in the Far East.

Shanghai is now playing the role of centre in the political life of Eastern Asia, therefore it is also the centre of the Chinese Social movement. Sun-Yat-Tsen is working there, and is practically the leader of the Chinese Youth, which is growing more and more Left Wing. He personifies the intellectual forces of the Chinese revolutionary movement, in particular the anti-Japanese movement. Sun-Yat-Tsen is especially valuable to us in that he was the first to understand clearly the incapacity for state construction of the old Chinese aristocracy infected by Asiatic stagnation and feudal traditions, and he has desisted from all hopes in the possibility of evolving a revolutionary creative power from the elements of the old world. But as an intellectual man he cannot break abruptly and completely with the past, so long as the outlines of the new world are not quite clearly defined in the mists of the future. With all his genius of mind and talents as a statesman and reformer, he is not able to steer resolutely and firmly his political ship to meet the advancing wave in spite of all difficulties and submarine reefs which must inevitably turn up on the long revolutionary road leading to the bright ideal of liberated mankind. The political horizon of China is not clear yet. A bright torch is urgently necessary to dispense the darkness and become the guiding star for the advanced thinkers of revolutionary China. Soviet Russia and the Communist International must help the Chinese intellectual revolutionist by teaching him the simple, clear, proletarian tactics in the internal doctrinal-political struggle, so that he could break all connections, not only with the old past of his own country, but with the entire bourgeois world and undeviatingly adopt the point of view of the Communist International. It is necessary to explain to him the great truth of which we are deeply convinced that the liberation of China and of whole enslaved Asia is possible only if the ideals of the proletariat will triumph. At the same time, while consecutively carrying on our revolutionary policy in the East, we must take account of the peculiarities of Chinese culture.

At present there are four or five Socialist papers published in China, the two principal ones are: "I-Shi-Bo" in Peking and "Dui-Guo-Jiboo" in Shanghai.

With the actual political situation, in China the South is naturally nearer to comrade Arinzo Sun-Yat-Tsen than the reactionary North. However, in watching attentively the work of Sun-Yat-Tsen during the last period it is easy to perceive that in directing the anti-Japanese movement by means of the Studentry (Japan being the most openly barefaced enemy of China) he is hoping to win the sympathies and confidence of the wider circles of the popular masses in order to carry out a third revolution for the overthrow of the power of the feudal nobility and the official functionaries. We must take advantage for this movement, we must render all moral and material assistance to the advent of the joyful day of the victory of the Third Chinese Revolution.