

# Make the Party a "Party of action"

To the members of the Communist Party:

A situation has developed in the party which has compelled the Executive Secretary, supported by district organizers and Executive Secretaries of Federations and a minority of the Central Executive Committee, whose names appear below, to repudiate the authority of the majority members of the Central Executive Committee in order to prevent the disruption of the party.

This statement is submitted to present the facts to the membership and to enlist their co-operation in an effort to preserve the Communist Party of America against the destructive activity of the majority group of the Central Executive Committee.

The immediate circumstances out of which the situation developed will be made clear by the following statement submitted to the majority members of the Executive Council by the Executive Secretary:

April 8, 1920.

## STATEMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY TO THE MAJORITY OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Comrades:—

At the meeting of the Executive Council on Tuesday I withdrew from further participation in the meeting when the Council made a decision which I considered an effort to bolster up the control of a certain group in the Council at the expense of creating a situation which might result in the disruption of the party.

Before stating the course of action which it is my intention to pursue, I wish to review the circumstances which lead up to this situation.

After the recent meeting of the Central Executive Committee opposition to the decisions of the majority group of the committee developed in the Chicago District. This movement, as expressed by the Chicago District Committee, which claims that it is but carrying out the wishes of the membership of that district, was based on the following indictment of the majority group of the Central Executive Committee:

1. That this majority group "packed" the Chicago convention through securing the election of about twice the number of delegates representing its viewpoint than any membership basis gave authority for, and through its caucus controlled the convention and placed its members in control of the party.

2. That since the convention this majority group, in place of devoting its energies to building up the party, has been largely concerned with the work of maintaining its control and has decided every question that has come before the Central Executive Committee from the standpoint of

its interests and the maintenance of its control of the party, rather than from the broader standpoint of building up a strong, unified Communist Party in this country.

3. That within a month after the convention certain individuals of this group, who largely controlled its actions, become more concerned with the question of obtaining for themselves junketing trips to Europe at the party expense than with any interest of the party.

4. That Comrade Andrew, after his designation as one of the delegates who were to go to Europe if a Congress of the Third International was held, began an intrigue to secure party funds to enable him to go to Europe, although no evidence was at hand that a congress was to be held. Immediately after the November meeting he attempted to have himself placed on the party pay roll on the ground that he must go into hiding in order to be able to fulfill his mission. On three occasions, through personal demands and through emissaries, he attempted to secure funds from the Executive Secretary, which were definitely refused by both the Executive Secretary and the Executive Council, then located in Chicago. That in furtherance of these personal schemes Comrade Andrew came to Chicago twice, and each time the money for these trips was voted out of the party treasury — the money for the last trip for two members of the majority group being voted out of the treasury by the majority group of the Central Executive Committee after it had been refused by the Chicago Executive Council. These efforts of Andrew culminated in his plan to leave the country as an International Delegate without authority of the party committee, in which plan, according to statements made before the Central Executive Committee, certain members of the majority group abetted him.

To secure funds for this unauthorized trip the party organizations were resorted to and a member of the Central Executive Committee is charged with having gone to Boston and represented to the District Committee that the Central Executive Committee had assessed the district \$100 for Comrade Andrew's trip. Later Andrew appeared and secured the money. Andrew himself confessed before the C. E. C. that he had secured money from party sources on the representation that a certain group considered the decisions of the governing body of the party wrong and therefore was raising funds for the trip as International Delegate contrary to the decisions of that body, which funds would be repaid by the party should this group be proven right by events.

In spite of the fact that Comrade Andrew's culpability was shown by his own statement, the majority group of which he has been a member has refused to even censure him, while on the other hand it has been quick to move against any member of the minority against whom the slightest pretext for action existed, notably in the Wicks case and the removal of Langley from the Executive Council.

5. At the January meeting of the Central Executive Committee this majority group was prevented from securing control of the Executive Council through an ultimatum from certain Federation representatives, who supported the former Chicago majority of the Council. This control, was, however, established by the removal of Langley, which was part of the plan to further intrench the majority group. The contrast between the prompt action against Langley because he had missed two meetings of the Executive Council and the action in the Andrew case, who succeeded him as a member of the Council, is in itself the best kind of proof of the motives which govern the majority group.

6. That since it has been in office the majority of the C. E. C. has been completely taken up with the forwarding of personal schemes and maintaining its control and have not taken any constructive action in the interest of building a stronger organization. At no time has the committee considered the question of propaganda policy and the relation of the party to the working class movement in this country. What constructive propaganda and organization work has been done in the party has been done by initiative of the Executive Council while in Chicago and not dominated by the present majority group, and by the Executive Secretary.

7. That in dealing with the problems of re-organization after the January raids and the liquidation of the legal organization this majority group has decided all questions on the basis of its continued control rather than from the standpoint of the best interests of the party.

Personally, I am to a large extent in agreement with this indictment of the majority of the committee, but on the other hand I believe that any movement of revolt against the majority group, shortly before a convention at which all elements within the party would have the opportunity to present their case and at which the party will be definitely reorganized, cannot be justified, and would only result in the disruption of the party at a time when all our energies should be devoted to rebuilding our organization.

I went to Chicago with the purpose of presenting this viewpoint and convinced the committee that the only course to pursue, no matter how bitter the opposition to the majority group of the C. E. C. — and the opposition is bitter, was to go to the convention and fight for its viewpoint. I