

"difference in principles", which, however, you are unable to define, in order to bluff the membership of the party into helping you maintain your clique control. You dare say in your manifesto:

"If there is one outstanding difference between the Second and Third International — aside from the vital differences in tactics — it is, that the Third Communist International, must be and is a living, vital organism, actually functioning in the world-revolutionary movement, guiding and shaping the policies of the Communist parties of all countries".

"Guiding and shaping the policies of the Communist parties of all countries!" — and yet you repudiate the Third International the moment its policies are contrary to your group interests!

MASS ACTION

The present "majority" group, through its caucus, controlled the Chicago convention. What the program of the party says about mass action is something the "majority" is responsible for. When someone challenged the "majority" to say what was meant by "mass action of the revolution" no one of the "majority" group dared rise to his feet and declare that "mass action of the revolution" meant open, armed conflict between the working class and the capitalist state.

The reason which the "majority" group would give for its failure to state fully the implications of the Communist program at the time was that the Communist Party was being organized as a legal party. If this was a good reason for silence at that time, can we now bind those of our members who have been arrested and indicted for their activities during this period of "legality" not to take the same position? This has been the only way in which the issue has become before the Central Executive Committee. Of course the members of the "majority" were not in a position of danger on this account and they were indifferent to the fate of the many hundreds of comrades throughout the country who are held for deportation and imprisonment.

The party must be ready to put into its program the definite statement that mass action culminates in open insurrection and armed conflict with the capitalist state. The party program and the party literature dealing with our program and policies should clearly express our position on this point. On this question there is no disagreement.

There is a difference in viewpoint between the "minority" and "majority" as to when the idea of armed revolt need be and should be projected to the masses. The "minority" holds that if it were to inject this question into such a struggle as the strike of the railwaymen it would be acting as the agent provocateur of the capitalist class.

The position of the Third International was stated as follows in the

official copy of the manifesto and program:

"The revolutionary epoch demands the application of such methods of struggle which concentrate the entire strength of the proletariat; namely the method of mass actions and — their logical outcome — direct collision with the bourgeois state in open combat".

This declaration conceives of mass action in different forms, for the phrase is mass actions. It is the view of the "minority" in harmony with this declaration, that mass action develops by stages of which open, armed conflict is stated to be the final stage; that the Communist Party must suit its propaganda at any given moment to the stage of mass action which can be developed through the existing revolutionary consciousness which the social and industrial conditions have produced.

The "majority" seems to be of the opinion that there is only one kind of mass action, that of armed conflict, for it says,

"With this conception of mass action the "majority" completely disagrees. We maintain, that if the lessons of the history of all revolutions — and particularly — the proletarian revolutions — mean something and teaches us anything (lessons which the Second International completely failed to learn) — we must propagate to the workers the USE OF FORCE as the ONLY MEANS of conquering the power of the state and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat".

Since it conceives of only one form of mass action, the "majority" takes the position that the propaganda of the party must in every instance be that of armed conflict. This is the anarchist position and a perversion of the principles of the Third International.

The members of the "majority" are dogmatists. Even their view of the present situation in our party had to be expressed in language of the Russian Revolution — Kornilov and Kerensky — in order to appeal to their dogmatic minds. If they accept a certain principle they consider that its application is the same under all conditions. They would reject as outrageous Lenin's advice to Bela Kun that the Hungarian Soviets should not slavishly try to imitate the Russian Revolution. In fact some of them are carrying on a propaganda against Lenin as a compromiser. In their opinion he is in the same class as the "minority". The "minority" holds that we should assume the dialectical view and consider each situation by itself. The circumstances under which a certain principle is applied is all-important in determining the course of action to pursue.

In carrying on the work of agitation and education, the social and industrial conditions must be considered. To talk to the workers about armed insurrection at a time when

the masses are still without any revolutionary consciousness (and without arms) is to make a farce of Communism and shows a fundamental lack of understanding of Communist principles.

Mass action is the tactical essence of the entire program adopted at Chicago. It has been the dominant theme of all our party literature. Just why does the "majority" now suddenly come to the realization that all our propaganda and program have been non-Communist? This is nothing but a shallow, cowardly play of being ultra-revolutionary.

It is the same demagogism as the appeal to the Federation members that there is prejudice against "foreigners". Obviously it must be a disdain of "foreigners" by "foreigners". The "minority" group is about 99% "foreign."

Federations

Since our party is a party largely of Federation membership, the "majority" naturally tries to inject the the Federation issue into the controversy, hoping thereby to secure the support of this membership.

What are the facts?

In the past the party has been a Federation of Federations rather than a unified organization. The Central Executive Committee of a Federation could by majority vote take a Federation out of the party whenever it suited the majority. A notable example of this is the desertion of the party by the Hungarian Federation after the January raids. It left the party without so much as saying "good-by". Similarly the Jewish Federation Central Executive Committee withdrew that Federation from the party when the present controversy developed, hoping to remain neutral.

The "minority" believes that the new conditions require a more centralized organization than we have had in the past, closer unity in the Communist Party than a Federation of Federations. It proposed, for this reason, and because experience had shown that it was a more efficient system, that dues payments should be handled through the District Organizations. This would have brought about a closer unity between the membership. In place of having to deal with nine offices located in different cities, the membership of the Federation branches would all transact their business with one central office with which they were in direct connection.

The "minority" also holds that the future development of the party organization must be in the direction of shop units. It is in the industries that we must establish contact with masses of the workers and there our organization must be rooted. With the possibility of nine Federations being represented in a single industry, shop branches and the present form of dues payment cannot exist together.

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