

the organization began with an indebtedness of about \$2,000, taken over from the National Organizing Committee and the Left Wing Council and closed this period with assets of \$11,705.48.

During the same period the party issued five proclamations dealing with important issues which arose in the working class struggle. Four of these were circulated to the extent of a million and a half copies. Leaflet No. 4, "The State, Strike-Breaker," was confiscated by the federal government when on the press and before new arrangements for publication could be perfected the crisis had passed. Leaflet No. 3, "Your Shop," attained the largest circulation. Three editions, totaling over a half million, were printed.

Two pamphlets were printed, the Manifesto, Program and Constitution, in an edition of 25,000, which were practically all sold, and Radek's "The Development of Socialism from Science to Action." A third pamphlet was in the hands of the printer.

This record of achievement during a period of three and a half months proved that the party had behind it a membership ready to actively participate in the struggle to build up a strong Communist Movement in this country. The membership was not a membership in name only, but a membership of active workers in the revolutionary struggle.

In 1920

With the year 1920 the party begins a new existence. Through the decision of the Secretary of Labor in the deportation cases and the action of state authorities in indicting the party

officials for their Communist activities, the program of the party has been declared illegal and the party organization is under the ban.

Our program states the fundamental principles of the Communist International. This program will not be changed because it is declared illegal by the agents of our enemy. Our program outlines the road that the workers must follow in order to achieve their emancipation through the social revolution. We believe there is no other road and will continue our propaganda to educate the workers to a consciousness of that fact irrespective of the actions of the government of the capitalists.

But the form of our organization can be changed, and must be changed, to meet the new condition of illegality.

The party organization must go underground. It can no longer expose itself to the easy attack of its enemies. It must protect itself against attack in every way possible.

Open branch meetings should be discontinued at once. The membership should be divided in groups with a group organizer in charge to keep them in contact with the organization and to control their propaganda activities. The distribution of leaflets and papers and the sale of pamphlets must be so conducted as to expose the members to the minimum of attack. All membership cards and charters should be destroyed. The details of the organization plan will be communicated to the party units through new channels.

The national organization will go out of existence as a shining mark for the

attack of the capitalist government. But capitalism will face a new organization, stronger and more dangerous to its interests.

The Future

During the three and a half months of 1919 the party membership showed their spirit under the conditions of open propaganda for Communism. The results were of such a character that they had a right to be proud of them.

The new conditions of the existence of our organization will mean even a

harder test of our membership. Each party member who engages in the activities of the organization must do so with the understanding that he is risking deportation or imprisonment. This may mean a smaller party membership but it will mean a stronger party.

Let us go forward under the new condition of our organization work conscious that no matter what our enemy may do, the Communist Movement is invincible and we are marching forward to power and victory.

We Must Organize Shop Branches

THE form of organization adopted by the Communist Party was inherited from the Socialist Party, so far as the unit of organization was concerned. Most of the organization existed in the form of branches which had been expelled from or had left the Socialist Party.

It was necessary to use these units of organization as the basis for the Communist Party organization because they already existed, not because they were the best form for the new organization.

Branches made up of members of the same nationality or members living in the same section of a city were well enough for a purely parliamentary organization such as the Socialist Party of such language branches which considered their work merely to promote the social life of the workers of certain nationalities, but they are not the best form of organization for a party which seeks to organize the masses for the revolutionary program of Communism.

These branches still exist in the Communist Party. Even though some modification has been necessary through the new form of organization, the unit is still the branch. The most important task that lies before the organization is to transform these territorial or language organizations into shop branches.

The Communist Party program emphasizes the industrial power of the workers. The purpose of the Communist Party is to organize the power of the workers to achieve political power. It is from the industries that this organization must proceed. It is in the shop that the party can come in contact with the lives of the masses of workers.

Through the organization of shop branches the party propaganda will reach those men and women whom the party must educate to an understanding of its aims and organize to achieve those aims.

The shop branch is also best suited to meet the existing conditions under which our organization must work. The members of the branch will be in touch with each other daily. Communication becomes easy. Arrangements for propaganda and organization work are readily made. Detection in the work of propaganda is less likely.

The work of transforming the present organization in an organization of shop branches does not present insurmountable difficulties. Organizers of branches should at once instruct

their group organizers to secure information as to the place of employment of each member. This information should be brought together in the hands of the organizer of the city, who will make arrangements to place the members of various branches in one shop in touch with each other and to organize them as a shop branch.

Where it is found that there are only three or four members in a certain factory, these members should be constituted a committee for that factory and entrusted with the propaganda there until such time as a shop branch can be organized.

Until the work of transformation is complete the present party units will remain, but the beginning should be made at once. Until the party sinks its roots deep into the industrial life of the country it will be unable to develop power to influence the actions of the workers. The shop branches will give us the connections with the industrial life of the workers that we must have.

Every party unit is urged to quickly take up the question and act at once to transform their branches into shop branches.

Not the First Time

WHETHER the Socialist Assemblymen are finally expelled at Albany is a matter of little moment. The capitalist class, through its representatives in the Legislature, have definitely proven that the Legislature in the parliamentary state is a capitalist institution in which the enemies of capitalism can sit only by permission of the capitalists—thus justifying the Communist position that the working class cannot emancipate itself through parliaments.

The Albany incident is not the first of its kind. What many liberals, and even some capitalist newspapers, are calling "a crime against representative government" was actually carried through in Cleveland.

The Cleveland Socialists in the 1917 campaign elected two councilmen in an anti-war campaign. These two councilmen were expelled from the city council, because they kept their platform promises and voted against war legislation.

There was no howl about the crime against "representative government" then.

There was one result, however. The Cleveland Socialist local turned left and later came into the Communist Party by practically unanimous action.

Albany will help more workers along the same road.

The Question of Unity with the C. L. P.

THE question of unity between the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party came before a recent meeting of the Central Executive Committee in the form of a report by the Executive Secretary, stating that the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party had requested a joint meeting and that it was his impression that unity could be achieved on the following basis:

1. Acceptance by the C. L. P. of the Manifesto, Program and Constitution of the Communist Party, with such modifications in the constitution as are made necessary by the new form of organization.

2. Combination of the Executive Committee of five of the C. L. P. with the Central Executive Committee of 15 of the Communist Party as the joint Central Executive Committee of the combined organization.

3. All other problems to be worked out by the combined committee after unity is achieved.

The Executive Secretary recommended that the Central Executive Committee enter into a joint meeting for the purpose of bringing about unity on the basis outlined.

This recommendation was rejected and the following proposal adopted:

That in response to the request of the Communist Labor Party National Executive Committee, we elect a committee of three to inform this committee that if it is ready to accept our manifesto, program, constitution and form of organization as the basis for a call for a joint convention, we agree to hold a joint convention, and for this purpose, upon receipt of its agreement, we are prepared to elect a joint conven-

tion committee. (Our manifesto, program and constitution to be effective for the C. L. P. only as the basis for a joint call, the form of organization, in so far as it means underground organization and the basis of admitting members, to go into effect at once.)

The statement made by the National Executive Committee of the C. L. P. in reply is not available for this issue. The proposal made, however, was as follows:

1. The National Executive of the C. L. P. stated its view that there were no fundamental differences of principle between the C. L. P. and the C. P. and therefore proposed that the two organizations unite.

2. It agreed to accept the Manifesto and Program of the Communist Party, but suggested that inasmuch as the constitution of neither organization was workable under the new conditions, that it be left to the convention to draft a new constitution.

3. It proposed that pending the holding of a convention the two organizations unite so far as possible through uniting of the Executive Committees and the national offices, propaganda and defense work.

This reply was considered at a meeting of the C. E. C. of the Communist Party. A motion to accept the proposition as to point No. 3 was lost and the following motion adopted:

That we reaffirm our previous position with instructions to our committee to make such modifications in regard to the constitution as were indicated in the discussion.

At the time of printing this issue of the party organ the matter has not developed any further.