

the propagation of Communism to the masses of the workers. The task of a Communist Party must be to inculcate and crystallize Communist understanding among the masses over the heads of union officialdom, whether in the A. F. of L. or in the I. W. W. Communist Parties must agitate constantly for Communism and not for industrial unionism. Just as we would enter the bourgeois parliaments for revolutionary propaganda so must we enter the most reactionary trade and industrial unions for our propaganda.

The U. C. P., however, is still flirting with the I. W. W.—still holds syndicalist tendencies. Its position is not based upon any clear-cut conception of industrial unionism but upon a policy of pandering to every element in their party in order to achieve their Centrist conception of unity. We recommend a careful reading of the pamphlet on this subject, published by the C. P., as well as the chapter on Unionism in the program of the Communist Party printed elsewhere in this issue.

#### Mass Action.

It would have been instructive and illuminating to have seen the original clause dealing with this question as brought in by the leaders of the U. C. P. before it underwent any changes at the hands of the delegates. We are under the impression, judging from Caxton's article that no mention of force, or the propagation of it was contained therein. However, prodded by a small aggressive minority, who threatened to split away from the "unity convention," some changes were finally adopted. The changes are slight. The Centrist leaders, by clever word-juggling, succeeded in fooling the delegates, nevertheless. We quote:

"It is through revolutionary mass action of the working class that the power of the capitalist state will be destroyed and the proletarian government established."

Note that it says the power of the capitalist state will be destroyed—not the capitalist state itself.

"At an advanced stage of the class struggle the capitalists realize the futility of other means and resort to widespread use of the armed power of the state. The capitalist government then functions openly as a military dictatorship. The working class must then answer force with force."

Here is a typical Centrist attitude toward the state and the use of force to destroy that state. The U. C. P. considers the use of force as a purely defensive measure—not as an offensive measure for which the Communists must consciously prepare, and which is the highest expression of the class struggle. There, again the bourgeois horror of force emanates strongly from the U. C. P. camp.

"The class struggle, which so long appeared in forms unrecognizable to the millions of workers actively engaged in it, develops into open combat, civil war" (this statement is entirely vitiated by the omission that the open combat, civil war is waged by the armed organized, revolutionary workers against the capitalist state.—Ed.).

"The United Communist Party will systematically and persistently familiarize the working class with the inevitability of armed force in the proletarian revolution" (italics ours.—Ed.).

The word "familiarize" instead of the word propagate or foster, is a deliberate manipulation. The word "familiarize," indicates that the U. C. P. will carry this message in its program, or in its literature dealing with the theoretical aspects of Communism, but it does not mean that the U. C. P. will propagate it in its leaflets and propaganda to the masses.

This sentence is further emasculated by the omission that armed force will be used against the capitalist state. This is highly important, as indicating that the Centrist leaders succeeded in changing the entire meaning of the whole chapter on mass action. Damon, Isaacs & Co. never agreed with the Communist position during the recent split. At that time they stated their opposition to the advocacy of the use of force and the inevitability of a violent revolution for the destruction of the capitalist state. The leopard cannot change his spots. They have not changed. They cannot change.

"The working class must be prepared for armed insurrection as the final form of mass action by which the workers shall conquer the state power and establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

The whole clause on mass action is weakened. It is a mousing of revolutionary phrases. Their complete silence on the question of an underground form of organization, either in their program or constitution, confirms the suspicion that the U. C. P. may eventually give up any pretension to being an illegal, underground party.

#### Immediate Tasks.

It is in this chapter that the U. C. P. really reveal themselves as a party of Centrists. We quote:

"In order to enable the party to function more effectively in the immediate struggles of the workers, shop groups of the party must be organized to secure actual contact with the workers. These shop groups, together with Communist groups within the unions, shall carry on the agitation for industrial unionism and against the A. F. of L."

The substance of the U. C. P. desire "to get contact with the masses is to 'carry on agitation for industrial unionism and against the A. F. of L.' And 'the I. W. W.,' of course, 'is the obvious medium for giving the advocacy of industrial unionism affirmative character.'" The United Communist Party, in other words, will act as a recruiting agency for the I. W. W.—the I. W. W., which has repudiated mass action, which has repudiated the dictator-

ship of the proletariat, which has repudiated Soviet power. The I. W. W. which believes that Communists who advocate and propagate the use of force against the state and the inevitability of a violent revolution are agent provocateurs! It seems as if the U. C. P. considers its primary task to propagate industrial unionism, and not Communism, to the masses.

Here is another example of the subservient position of the U. C. P. towards the I. W. W.

"The unskilled and semi-skilled workers, including the agricultural laborers, constitute the bulk of the working class. It is an important part of the work of the United Communist Party to awaken these workers to industrial union organization and action."

On the question or problem of the Negro workers, although the Communist Party at its second convention saw the fallacy of making it a separate problem and giving it undue prominence, the U. C. P. has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. It still keeps it in its program.

In the paragraph on militarism the U. C. P. program again indulges in revolutionary phrases but evades stating the real Communist position. It speaks of directing "mass protests against imperialist militarism and war toward civil war against the capitalist class and its organs of power." A clear evasion of the issue. Civil war is not directed against the capitalist class and its organs of power (which may mean anything and nothing) but against the capitalist state and its machinery.

But the last paragraph is a gem. There they come out openly and show their kinship with the syndicalists of the I. W. W. and fall down completely as Communists. All the old syndicalist fallacies are again aired—social control by the workers under capitalism—workers' control of capitalist industry under capitalism etc. We quote:

"The Communists must bring into these struggles the tendency toward conscious organization of the workers for taking over complete social control. Such control as the workers can secure of capitalist industry through their mass demands can best be exercised through shop committees, shop stewards or similar organizations. But control of industry won and maintained by the power of the workers must not be confused with the sham 'industrial democracy' established by the employers for the same deceptive purposes as the political democracy of capitalism."

It is interesting to note that the U. C. P. here state the old I. W. W. position of "building the new society within the shell of the old" in a new way. The only difference is that the I. W. W. know what they want and say it much better.

This program is a typical Centrist document, lacking both clearness and understanding of Communism. Framed by unscrupulous word-jugglers, it evades the fundamental issues. Phrases like "civil war," "armed insurrection" and "force" were mechanically inserted here and there, with no real intention of permitting such insertions to change the tone of the document. Not more than three pages of it should properly belong in a program, and those three pages need thorough revision. The rest is merely a background for a bourgeois analysis of the collapse of capitalism and the end, dealing with the Communist reconstruction of society is so much local color in order to give an air of verisimilitude to the whole.

#### The Constitution of the U. C. P.

There are four outstanding features of the constitution which demand consideration. (1) It states nothing about being an underground, illegal organization; (2) the abolition of language federations; (3) a C. E. C. composed of ten members; (4) the election of International Secretary and International Delegates by the Convention itself.

(1) This is evidently a deliberate omission in view of the conditions in this country—the nation-wide raids, the destruction of the open organizations (C. P. and C. L. P.)—and the recent split within the C. P. in which underground, illegal organization was one of the main issues.

Damon, Isaacs, Mayr & Co., have voiced their opposition to underground organization more than once. These Centrist leaders have so framed the program and constitution that the United Communist Party will be ready to become a legal organization at any time. They are not opposed to the formation of legal or cultural organizations; these legal organizations are already in existence and new ones are being formed. As the network of these legal organizations gradually supersedes the groups and branches, the U. C. P. will function openly without any re-transformation of organization machinery.

The clause in their constitution calling for the formation of industrial branches is another indication of their attempt to dispense with the underground, political character of the organization, and swing into an open mass organization.

(2) The abolition of language federations within the U. C. P. (we doubt whether this will be obeyed by the language groups, for the Russian groups have already organized and autonomous federation and the rest will soon follow suit), has been the pet scheme of Damon & Co. for a long time. They tried and failed in the Communist Party, using every trick and artifice known to the politician's trade.

The argument that language federations hamper centralization is fallacious. We are not dealing with the abstract or ideal principle of centralization. We are dealing with specific conditions, with a given population in this country, which can be likened to a Tower of Babel, for they speak many languages and the vast majority of the foreign workers do not speak or understand English. The most advanced and

class conscious among them are within the Communist movement. These workers in each language must be organized in a federation of their language in order that they may be able to function as members and to propagate Communism among the workers in their language.

Language federations have more than a propaganda function to perform in this country at the present time. The membership of the Communist Party as well as the U. C. P. is overwhelmingly composed of foreign comrades who do not speak or understand English. And necessarily so. The majority of the workers in America are foreigners. Especially the workers massed in the basic industries—the unskilled, semi-skilled and unorganized. These foreign workers are the first to react to the revolutionary conditions in Europe—it is from their ranks that the membership of the Communist Party and the U. C. P. can be recruited if at all. These comrades, especially the Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Lettish, South Slavic, Polish, Jewish, Armenian, etc. are fired with old revolutionary spirit of their own countries; many of them have gone through or witnessed the 1905 revolution. These comrades were members of the Socialist Party. They organized the revolt in the old party. They organized the Left Wing—they led in the formation of the Communist Party. These foreign comrades, organized in their federations are the promulgators and carriers of Communism in this country. They gave unstintingly of their time, their money, their energy. No sacrifice was ever too much for them for the sake of their principles.

How did they accomplish this miracle of revolt and formation of a Communist Party (to say nothing of forcing the old Left Wing elements to organize the C. L. P.)? Through their autonomous language federations. Without these language federations, the masses in the S. P. would never have succeeded in revolting and carrying the majority of the membership with them. How did the language federations succeed in organizing and leading these non speaking English elements? Because the language federations built up a machinery and discipline and organization morale among them. The language federations gave them Communist understanding—it taught them to distinguish between Left Wing and Right Wing, between Communist and Centrist—and through their federations they were able to control their own leaders as well as the English-speaking leaders who showed the slightest tendency to backslide on principles and tactics.

The Centrist leaders in the Left Wing, the C. L. P. and those who recently split away from the Communist Party, knew this fact quite well. They had seen the federations in operation against others as well as themselves. They realized from the very beginning, that language federations would always act as a brake upon their designs to lead the Communist movement backwards. The C. L. P. split immediately on this question. Damon, Isaacs & Co. remained in the Communist Party to bore from within, for the abolition of the federations. Failing in their attempt they split. If they had not split away, they knew as sure as fate, that they would have been discredited and deposed from leadership at the next convention.

There was no other recourse left to the Centrist leaders of the U. C. P. than to abolish the federations if they wished to remain in control and leadership of their party.

That is the real reason for the abolition of the language federations in the U. C. P. Language branches, without any centralized body to co-ordinate their activities, organize and give articulation to their protests, are perfectly harmless to any scheme of the Centrist leaders. It gives them control of the foreign membership, who cannot act effectively in any given situation.

Centralization has nothing to do with the question. What centralization can there be where various language branches in a given district or sub-district transact their party business, through the medium of representatives who are not the expression of their point of view, but who can speak English? The test of party officials becomes, not their understanding of Communist principles and tactics, but their ability to speak English. And from the experiences in the Socialist, Left Wing and Communist parties, those who could speak English best were not always the best Communists; sometimes it was the very reverse.

Even the most unsophisticated can see the point. Language federations make for control of leaders by the majority of the membership who cannot speak English but who understand and can express themselves in their own language. The abolition of language federations robs the majority of the membership of exercising control over leaders.

We can safely predict that this clause in the U. C. P. constitution will soon be a dead letter, or they will lose a great part of their membership.

(3) The best proof of the kind of "unity" achieved by the U. C. P. is the clause dealing with the C. E. C. Not unity but an amalgamation of two small organizations was accomplished. Each side was afraid of losing control of the organization to the other. They knew each other and therefore didn't trust each other. The C. L. P. had seen the dastardly act perpetrated by Damon & Co. against the Communist Party and didn't relish a repetition of it at their expense. Damon & Co. for their part, knew they were amalgamating with a bunch of leaders who differed from themselves only in degree, and that only because they didn't have the same opportunity.

Neither side cared a hang for principles or tactics so long as they were able to interpret