

MOTIONS AND RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT  
THE SECOND CONVENTION OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

Greetings to the Communist International

In the name of the membership and the organization, we, the delegates assembled at the Second Convention of the Communist Party of America, send fraternal greetings to the Third International.

We stand firmly determined to fight under the Red Banner of the Communist International till the victory of the proletariat and the Communist ideal is attained.

Down with capitalism!  
Long Live the Proletarian Dictatorship!  
Long Live the Communist International!  
Long Live the Communist Party of America!  
Long Live Communism!

Resolution on the Relation of Communist  
Parties to Soviet Government  
Representatives.

The Communist Parties of the various countries are the direct representatives of the Communist International, and thus, indirectly of the aims and policies of Soviet Russia.

Representatives of Soviet Russia in various countries, engaging in political activities, should co-ordinate these activities in some form or other with the activities and policies of the respective Communist parties, so as not to harm the Communist movement in those countries; if, however, this co-ordination is impossible in case of commercial representatives, they should refrain from any political activities.

Our Attitude Toward Workers' Councils  
(Soviets), Before, During, and After  
the Revolution.

Workers' Councils are the organs of the proletarian revolution and are created the time of revolution, developing out of the revolutionary situation itself and through the Communist Party Shop Committees, which become the nucleus for the formation of Workers' Councils.

Before the revolution the Workers' Councils tend to degenerate into philanthropic and cultural institutions because they have no revolutionary function to perform. The Communist Party alone has a revolutionary function to perform before the revolution—the task of building up the revolutionary movement by means of Communist propaganda and agitation that will lead the working class to the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

After the proletarian revolution the Workers' Councils (Soviets) themselves become the proletarian state—the organ of proletarian dictatorship (1) for the suppression and coercion of the capitalist class and (2) for the economic reconstruction of society.

Our Attitude Toward Legal and Other  
Workers' Organizations.

We are opposed to legal cultural or educational organizations. Party committees, consisting of not more than fifteen in number, with approval of the C. E. C., may use the legal forms for special work.

Greetings to Soviet Russia.

We, the delegates assembled at the Second Convention of the Communist Party of America send our fraternal greetings to the proletariat and poorer peasantry of Russia through the Soviet Government—the Peoples' Commissars and the C. E. C. of the All-Russian Soviets—led by the Communist Party of Russia—the revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

Your struggle has brought you great victories. In a comparatively short time you have defeated on the field of battle all the internal and external foes that fought against you. You have crushed the counter-revolutionary hordes of Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenitch.

Now you are hurling your heroic Red Armies against the forces of the Polish bourgeoisie and social-patriots, who with the support, both open and tacit, of the Allied Imperialists have decisively attacked you. We feel confident that you will defeat the Polish bourgeoisie and thus assist the Polish proletariat and poorer peasantry in overthrowing their bourgeois government and establish the proletarian dictatorship in the form of a Soviet Government of Poland.

The victories of your Red Armies, backed by the awakening Western proletariat, may force the Allied Imperialists to accept peace in some form.

We feel confident that the proletariat and poorer peasantry will not expect such a peace to be permanent. Such peace can only be an armistice.

The world imperialists will not give up the fight against you. The proletarian world revolution alone will finally bring victory to the workers of Russia and the working class of the entire world.

The Communist Party of America will bend all its energies toward building up a strong revolutionary movement in this country that will lead the working class in their struggle against their own capitalist class and government—and play its part in the world proletarian revolution which will establish the proletarian dictatorship throughout the world and through it introduce the Communist Society.

Long live Soviet Russia!  
Long live the Communist Party of America!  
Long live the Communist Party of Russia!

THE COMMUNIST CONVENTION OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY  
(Continued from page 6)

Thereupon a motion was made to adjourn in order for both sides to consider their subsequent action. This motion carried and the meeting adjourned.

At no time was there any intention or the slightest reference to splitting or bolting the convention from either side. Both sides agreed on all fundamental questions of principles and tactics. Both sides were consciously Communist—had withstood the demoralization and persecution of the government raids and the subsequent disruptive tactics of the "minority" Centrists who had split away from the party. The disagreement was on an organization question, which though important in itself, could be solved by mutual agreement without in any way hindering the party work.

As a result of this both caucuses considered not the question of a split but the question of reaching a solution which would not interfere with the process of underground organization and propaganda. This solution was quickly reached the following morning and the convention resumed its sessions without further interruption. It was agreed by both sides to accept appointment of district and sub-district organizers and the election of local organizers by the branch organizers, the branch organizers by the group captains and the election of the group captain by the groups.

The constitution was quickly adopted with one important modification, namely: the election of four alternates, who could be chosen to fill vacancies in the C. E. C. in any order, and the right of co-operation after these alternates were exhausted, instead of the committee recommendation not to elect any alternates at all.

The Program and Resolutions Committee then submitted its resolutions (printed elsewhere in this issue), which were adopted with slight corrections and revisions.

The Committee brought in the following resolution on Unity:

"Communist Unity is based upon the organic unity of principles and tactics. Communist unity means unity with the rank and file and not with leaders. Our aim must be to separate the rank and file from their Centrist leaders."

This resolution was carried and then the following resolution on Unity with the U. C. P. was submitted:

"Unity with the U. C. P. as a party of Centrists, is impossible. We can unite only with such membership, or parts of the U. C. P. that will repudiate their Centrist leadership and join the Communist Party on the basis of our principles, program and tactics."

On the whole this constitution is a worthy companion to the program of the U. C. P. And the program and constitution are concrete proof of the Centrist character of the U. C. P. as an organization, and of the leaders who are in control of it.

An amendment was brought in as follows:

"We recommend that those groups or branches of the U. C. P. which repudiate officially their previous stand with the U. C. P. shall be admitted in the Communist Party. But we are absolutely against unity with the U. C. P. as a whole as represented by their C. E. C."

The first resolution was introduced by delegates from District 1, under instructions, and the last resolution was introduced by the delegates from District 5, under instructions. Nothing could better illustrate the attitude of our membership on the question of Unity than these resolutions.

A roll call on resolution and amendment was demanded and sustained with the following results:

In favor of amendment: 3, against 20.

In favor of resolution: 20; against 4.

Those who voted against the resolution and in favor of the amendment did so only because they were under instructions to vote for it, and because they saw no difference between the two. But all the delegates were absolutely opposed to unity with the U. C. P.

The Ukrainian Federation sent greetings and \$500 to the national convention.

The Lithuanian Sub-district of Philadelphia sent greetings and a \$50 contribution.

The 1st Lithuanian Branch of Phil. sent greetings and \$25.

The Russian Federation sent greetings.

The Lithuanian Federation sent greetings.

The Jewish Federation fraternal delegate and the Lettish fraternal delegate were not present, having missed connections.

The convention then proceeded to the election of a C. E. C. of 9 members and 4 alternates. The following were elected: C. E. C.: Sullivan, Greenwald, Allen, Morris, Leon, Bain, Johnson, Thompson, Baldwin.

Alternates: Adrian, Larin, Willey, Klints.

An auditing committee of five, were also elected to serve for one year. Book, Steinberg, Pavlov, Retap, and Narrow.

Thus closed the second convention of the Communist Party, just as it had begun, without flourish or ostentation, song or hysteria.

CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF AMERICA

(Continued from page 3)

Section 7. No Federation shall be formed with less than 250 members.

Section 8. Federation secretaries or representatives of their C. E. C. should attend the meetings of the Central Executive Committee of the party, with voice but no vote.

Section 9. Federation C. E. C. shall appoint district organizers for each district.

Federation district organizers must maintain contact with the party district organizer at all times.

Section 10. 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.

Section 11. Each federation shall issue an underground, official organ in its respective language, under the control of the federation C. E. C.; to be published at least once a month.

The general policy of the federation official organ shall be under the control of the Central Executive Committee of the party.

Art. IX. Conventions.

Section 1. The convention of the party shall be called annually by the C. E. C.

Section 2. Upon the demand of a majority of branches within a sub-district an emergency convention shall be called by the sub-district organizer.

Upon the demand of three sub-district conventions a district emergency convention shall be called by the district organizer.

Upon the demand of three district conventions the C. E. C. shall call an emergency convention of the party.

The C. E. C. shall notify all districts of the actions of an emergency district convention.

The C. E. C. may call an emergency convention, such convention shall have all the powers of a regular party convention.

Section 3. Elections to the convention shall begin in the groups. Each group shall elect an elector to the branch electors meeting. The branch electors meeting shall elect a delegate to the local convention.

The local convention shall elect delegates to the sub-district convention which in turn shall elect delegates to the district convention.

The district convention shall elect the delegates to the Convention of the Communist Party.

Representation in the conventions shall be in proportion to membership, upon a basis as fixed by the convention call issued by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 4. Local, sub-district and district organizers shall attend the conventions of their respective districts and shall have voice but no vote; unless they are elected as delegates.

Section 5. Sub-district and District Conventions may elect as their delegates members of the party from any unit outside of their territorial divisions.

Section 6. Federations shall hold annual conventions to be called in conformity with their respective constitutions.

Art. X. Party Press.

Section 1. The C. E. C. shall publish the official underground organ. It shall be issued not less than twice a month.

Section 2. The head of the Editorial Department shall be appointed by the C. E. C. from its membership.

Section 3. See Section 11, Art. VII. (Federations).

Section 4. The C. E. C. shall, when feasible, issue a legal paper to be under the supervision of the Editorial department and under the control of the C. E. C.

Section 5. Literature issued by the party shall be under the supervision of the Editorial Department, controlled by the C. E. C.

Section 6. No subordinate unit of the party shall issue any leaflet or pamphlet without the consent of the C. E. C. This provision shall not apply to the C. E. C. of the Federations.

Art. XI. Communist Party Shop Committees.

Section 1. The C. E. C. shall provide for the organization of Communist Party shop committees, for the purpose of propaganda and agitation. They shall be composed of members of the Communist Party only.

Section 2. Communist Party Shop Committees shall not be entitled to any of the rights of regular party organizations.

Art. XII. Propaganda and Education.

Section 1. The C. E. C. shall provide for the organization of classes for the training of propagandists, and study classes in the several party units for the education of the membership in Communist theory and tactics.

RESOLUTION BOYCOTTING ELECTIONS.

"Taking as a basis the position of the Third International of which the Communist Party of America is an integral part, we consider the use of the bourgeois parliament as of secondary importance, and for revolutionary propaganda and agitation only. At the same time, due to specific political circumstances in the United States, the outlawing of our party and the prevailing reaction in this country, we are forced to boycott the coming elections."

Young Peoples' Groups.

We recommend that young people of 17 or over shall join the party as regular members. Young people under 17 shall be placed in special groups without membership rights, with special captains appointed by the Sub-district Committee who shall conduct classes among them.