

Impressions of the Convention

(Continued from page 3)

The program speaks about participating in elections for legislative bodies only, such as Congress, City Councils and State Legislatures. Here appeared conflicting opinions. Several delegates took a stand condemning parliamentary action altogether. Brown of the C. L. P. argued against participation in parliamentary actions. He was supported by several from the Communist Party. Other delegates demanded that the elections shall not be limited for legislative bodies only, but shall include executive offices as well, such as President, Governor, and Mayor. Both sides attempted to prove their points of view.

The opponents of executive elections argued that the election of Communists as Governor, Mayor, and Sheriff will corrupt them and will be detrimental to the movement; that we have no right to take upon ourselves the responsibility for the bourgeois state; that a Communist as a mayor would have to carry out the orders of the City Council, in which will be the representatives of capitalist parties; that he will either have to disregard his Communism or else for even one day; that our participation in election is only for propaganda purposes and he will have no opportunity to keep his job that were our representatives even to enter Congress it would be only for purposes of obstruction, in order to destroy the parliament as their slogan there would be: "Down with parliaments. Long live the Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." These were the arguments of those who opposed executive elections. The defenders of executive elections, Raphaeloff (C. L. P.) and Caxton (C. P.) were not left behind in arguments. It was understood by both sides that we would not participate in elections this year. And as everything must come to an end so these debates were also ended. Not because the delegates grew tired of it, no, they could have argued ad infinitum, but some wise fellow made a motion to put the question to a vote and it passed. We felt relieved. And, when the vote was taken, the anti-parliamentarians and supporters of executive elections were defeated.

The question of Industrial Unionism raised forth a great deal of dissent. This was a question that divided even the "left wing" of the convention, which was its directing influence in matters of principle. The left delegates from the East were firmly opposed to any relations with the I. W. W. Their argument was that we can co-ordinate our activity only with such organizations, which recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat, mass action, and stand on the same ground of principles as ourselves. The Chicago left delegation favored co-ordinating our activity with that of the I. W. W. These differences, however, pertained not to matters of principle, but only tactics. It was a very long debate. Two thirds of the delegates were of the opinion that we can enter into relations with the I. W. W., because it is the only movement of American workers, which is of a potentially revolutionary character. Comrade Dawson expressed his opinion very forcefully. He argued that the A. F. L. must be considered from the stand point of the local unions and not as the official Gompers organization; that the I. W. W. is not the only organization which advocates Industrial Unionism; that what we need is the creation of a new General Industrial Union, which would include all the other in "One Big Union." After long debates this was also terminated. The original form was adopted with a few improvements. "A stronger I. W. W. must be created etc." was stricken out. Further, the part reading "A Communist, who belongs to the A. F. L. because of the absolute necessity of a job shall utilize every opportunity to express his opposition to this organization, not to reform it, but to destroy it." Here he words were stricken out "because of the absolute necessity of a job."

The question of a name for the party called forth a brief debate. The delegates of the C. P. decided at their first session to insist on the original name of their party. They carried out this decision and voted for the name "Communist Party." On the other hand the delegates of the C. L. P. demanded that the new party shall be known as "The United Communist Party." The vote resulted in 30 for the Communist Party. Uproar followed. Comrade Flynn speaks heatedly. He threatens not to work in the organization of branches. He does not want to work for the "majority" of the former C. P.; he does not want to be responsible for their doings, their literature and pamphlets. He asks how it would be possible to tell the difference between a paper of the "majority" and our paper. It must be admitted that arguments were sound and—after a second vote it was decided to name the new party "The United Communist Party." A small "surprise" was sprung at this unity convention. While the C. L. P. opposed Federations last year and the C. P. favored them, at this convention the reverse was the case—the C. P. against Federations and the C. L. P. for them. The reason of such a change lies in the fact that several branches, which were expelled

from the C. P. and joined the O. L. P. carried there the spirit of the Federations. As fiery defenders of the Federations stepped forward a few delegates from Russian Branches, who were expelled from the Russian Federation and who were eager to show what they could do in such organizations. Two plans of organization were presented because the "Unity Committee" could not agree on one plan. And we, therefore, had two currents. Our current was for modified Federations and it was supported by the delegates Raphaeloff and Dubner (C. L. P.); a second current was for a complete abolition of Federations as a hindrance to a properly centralized party, and it was strongly defended by the delegates Newman, Dellon, Zlank, Ford and Damon. The result is already known to our comrades—the Federations were abolished.

Were it not the election of party officials, the convention would have remained in the memory of many delegates, especially those of the "left" as a model convention, without any binding caucuses, only the usual, and without machines. But that would be expecting too much. Well, when it came to the "jobs" there started caucuses, big and small. The caucuses of the C. P. delegates were not binding.

As the C. E. C. had to exist of nine members, the "leaders" of the C. P. expected to elect five of their number and four would represent the C. L. P. Five delegates for the C. E. C. were nominated, but during the nomination of alternates there arose a dispute. Comrade Newman asked wherein consisted the difference between electing five from the C. P. or five from the C. L. P. He asked, "Why should we be so interested in electing five delegates instead of four? What will it matter, who has one member more, we or the former C. L. P.? We are now one party. Are there then differences and divisions left according to parties? When we left delegates began our struggle about the question of mass action, we have found supporters among the C. L. P. On the other hand there stood members of the C. P. in opposition to us. In many other questions the same thing happened." "The left elements of the C. P. and of the C. L. P. have joined forces. Why should we be interested in electing a comrade who does not agree with us on fundamental questions of principle? The left comrades of the C. L. P. are a great deal nearer to us than some of our own delegates. We have not now two parties, but only one."

The last words strongly appealed to comrade Damon's emotions and he vigorously applauded. He also expressed the thought that it is one party and advised the comrades to use their own judgment when voting.

The delegates of the C. L. P. were also caucusing a great deal. They also decided to nominate five delegates. And when the election took place, the result indicated that the caucus of the C. P. was no caucus at all—five of the C. L. P. and four of the C. P. were elected. Comrade Brown of the C. L. P. was elected as International Secretary with 50 votes as against Caxton with 23. The defeat was due to the fact that one of the C. P. nominees was not a fit person, and as several nominees of the C. L. P. appeared to be better fit for the office, they succeeded in swinging some C. P. delegates.

Damon immediately resigned and after him Scott and Reinhart. It must be noted here that the delegates of the C. L. P. behaved with tact and honesty. On the contrary, several delegates of the C. P. talked about a split. And all on account of the jobs no questions of principle were involved. The delegates separated. Once more separate caucuses. The "leaders" seemed to prefer to split the movement rather than to allow such a C. E. C. The delegates of the C. L. P. were very obstinate. They argued that it was not their fault that delegates of the C. P. have voted for them. It was up to the left delegates to show once more that he movement was dear to them and that they will not permit a split after so much wasted time and energy. They were disappointed with the leaders of the party, with their conduct. They were indignant about Damon, who used his position to force his demands on the convention. The party is dearer to them than such trifles and they moved that the C. P. caucus be binding. Nominations were resumed. The evening passed and the morning following. A C. E. C. of ten members is now under consideration. The delegates of the C. L. P. are still caucusing. A group of delegates from the O. P. went over to the caucus of the C. L. P. singing the International. That was effective. The other went to meet them. They greeted each other warmly and in this manner a split was avoided. The elections went off quickly. As International Secretary was Caxton elected instead of Brown. Damon and Myer remain International Delegates; Scott is an alternate for Damon and Berry for Myer. The C. E. C. consists of Damon, Scott, Reinhart, Dellon, Caxton; Brown, Dawson, Klein, Flynn, and Myer. The alternates are Zamlin (C. P.), Dubner (C. L. P.), Stone (C. P.), Jones (C. L. P.), Kerger (C. P.), Hill (C. L. P.), Ford (C. P.), (Molkalb (C. L. P.), Kazbock (C. P.), Layon (C. L. P.).

And so everything is well that ends well. Nevertheless, it is difficult to forget the only stain on this unity convention. Perhaps, we shall forget in the future, if our leaders will mend their ways and will be willing to repress

their individual whims. And still we had one of the finest conventions that ever took place. The convention as a whole was enthusiastic, a whole world of enthusiasm, a whole world of selfsacrifice and idealism.

I sit in the train. Opposite to me sits an American delegate. I recollect how he attacked the left delegates on the question of mass action. I asked him, what he thinks in general about the gathering. "We have a model of a program. We need not be ashamed of our program. A real definitely revolutionary program," says he. I see in these words the influence of our delegates on the American comrades. I see that the latter are gradually developing a truly revolutionary spirit.

And all this during a period of one week! It is to be regretted that we could not stay together a little longer....

CASH STATEMENT FOR JULY, 1920.

Cash Recd 4:

Dues:		
English Federation	\$ 188.40	
Russian Federation	421.20	
Russian Federation Back Dues	100.00	709.60
Convention Assessments	2374.83	2,374.83
Organization Fund:		
District II.	89.00	
District III.	269.40	
District IVc.	57.75	
District V.	10.00	
Philadelphia Lithuanian	75.00	
Ukrainian Federation	500.00	1,000.15
Defense Stamps		
District III.	10.00	
Russian Federation	48.75	
N. Y. Lett.	25.00	87.75
Defense Contribution		
District V.	150.00	150.00
"Communist" Returns:		
District I.	39.55	
District III.	6.00	
District IVc.	2.75	
District V.	1.00	
Russian Federation	25.00	74.30
Leaflets:		
District III.	22.65	22.65
Loan from Boston L. B.	100.00	100.00
Returned on Com. Printing	18.95	
Returned on Contingency Fund	15.00	33.95
District Adjustments I.	34.50	
District Adjustments III.	55.32	
District Adjustments IVc.	6.94	
District Adjustments IVab.	27.13	
District Adjustments V.	11.00	134.59
Total Received in July.....		4,689.12
Balance from June		931.17
		\$5,620.29

CASH PAID

Office Expenses:

Sundry ..	\$ 35.97	
Supplies ..	8.00	
Salaries ..	460.00	604.57
Convention Expenses:		
Delegates	1,433.50	
Miscellaneous ..	116.62	1,550.12

Traveling Expenses:

District I.	7.00	
District II.	2.00	
District III.	29.34	
District IVab.	63.91	
District IVc.	47.44	
District V.	3.97	153.66

District Misc. Expenses:

District I.	11.55	
District II.	6.25	
District III.	4.53	
District IVab.	3.50	
District IVc.	5.00	
District V.	26.74	57.57

Salaries:

District I.	160.00	
District II.	285.00	
District III.	270.00	
District IVab.	215.00	
District IVc.	135.00	
District V.	205.00	1,270.00
Communist Printing	201.00	
Editor ..	225.00	
Delivery ..	6.25	432.25
Lit. Printing	225.00	225.00
Leaflet Printing	40.55	40.55
International Delegates	560.00	560.00
C. E. C. Meeting	86.71	86.71
Office F. & F.	76.50	76.50
District Adjustments III.	15.00	
District Adjustments IV.	300.00	
District Adjustments V.	360.25	575.25

Total Paid in July..... 5,530.19

Balance to August

90.10

5,620.29

Boycott the Coming Elections.

Have you contributed your One Day's Pay to carry on the Party work?