

(All the documents relating to this controversy in the party are enclosed as they throw further light on the situation existing in the Communist movement at the present time.)

The "minority" group led by Damon, Y. F. and Fisher and Co. then split and made a deal with the leaders of the C. L. P. not to negotiate with the C. E. C. of the Communist Party relative to the consummation of unity negotiations then pending, thus cutting off any chance of effective unity at the coming party conventions.

This secret deal is herewith reprinted from the May 15 issue of the "Communist Labor," official organ of the C. L. P. as incontrovertible proof that real organic unity of Communist forces was deliberately blocked by the very group of Communist leaders who are now in control of the U. C. P.

In conformity with the two following motions of the C. E. C. immediately after the split, the Acting Secretary sent a letter to the C. L. P. requesting information as to the status of the unity negotiations.

Motion: That we fill vacancies on the joint convention committee to proceed with the arrangements with the C. L. P. Carried.
 Motion: In case C. L. P. refuses to continue, we instruct the Executive Council to proceed with all necessary arrangements for the convening of the Communist Party, changing the basis of representation, if necessary. Carried.
 The Acting Secretary's letter follows:

Executive Secretary,
 Communist Labor Party.

Dear Comrade:-
 This is to notify you of a change in our joint convention committee. It consists now of... We are very anxious to know what have you done in the matter or when you expect to take action.

You can meet me at... and I would very much like to see you there as soon as you can come. I want to give you a new address for communicating with us also.

Fraternally yours,

Communist Party of America.

THIS COMMUNICATION WAS NEVER ANSWERED BY THE C. L. P. but instead they entered into negotiation with the "minority" and agreed upon the following secret pact which was not published until May 15th.

FROM THE COMMUNIST LABOR, OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE C. L. P.

Several meetings were held between representatives of the C. L. P. and representatives of the "minority" group as represented by...

At this conference AGREEMENT WAS REACHED NOT TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE "MAJORITY" GROUP OF THE C. E. C. of the C. L. P. those who attempted to continue their control in opposition to rank and file desires. It was also agreed to hold a unity conference between the C. L. P. and the "minority" group and the following call and basis were agreed upon:

These exhibits speak for themselves and require no comment.

As you will see from the enclosed statements of the "minority" they were actually actually opposed to the C. E. C. not on the above grounds they pretended to be, but on questions of fundamental significance, such as the nature of mass action and its propagation to the masses; party discipline; language federations; international relations with the Communist International, etc., and finally the incident of the Chicago District Organizer as a means of splitting the party for their Communist purposes.

We shall only cite the following from the "minority" statement at the time of the split to prove out of their mouths how vitally we disagreed on the question of Mass Action and their conception of propagating the USE OF FORCE and the "INEVITABILITY OF A VIOLENT REVOLUTION" to the masses. It will also illustrate that they accept the principles of Communism in words but not in deeds. The fact that they finally wrote it into the U. C. P. program under the compulsion of our criticism and attack then becomes clear as a Communist dodge to humbug the membership:

"The 'minority' is ready to put into the program of the party a 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 the program and policies should clearly express our position on this point. On this question there is no disagreement, if the 'majority' is ready to take the same step.

But there is a difference in viewpoint between the "minority" and "majority" AS TO WHEN THE IDEA OF ARMING THEMSELVES AND ARMED REVOLT SHALL BE PROJECTED TO THE MASSES OF THE WORKERS. The "majority" 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.

This is the anarchic position and a perversion of the principles of the Third International.

"In carrying on the work of agitation and education on the question of armed insurrection the social and industrial conditions must be considered. To talk to the workers about arming themselves and armed insurrection at a time when the masses are still without any revolutionary consciousness is to make a farce of and discredit Communism and shows a fundamental lack of understanding of Communist principles."

It is also important to note that these same Communist leaders who believe that it is "agent

provocateurs" work to preach armed insurrection and armed force to the masses, tried their utmost to keep out all reference to this question in the U. C. P. program and were defeated only by the threat of a split at their convention. For confirmation we enclose a copy of an article written by a member of the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. in one of their official organs in answer to Damon and Y. F.'s articles on their convention. A careful perusal of this frank article will further enlighten the Executive Committee of the Communist International as to the character and tendencies of the present leaders of the U. C. P.

We may add that in addition to the disagreement on fundamental questions as already expressed in the enclosed documents, the deliberate robbery of the C. E. C. treasury of the U. C. P. by the former Executive Secretary Damon (leader of the split and chief theoretician of the U. C. P.) further intensified the resentment of the rank and file of our party towards these men. We quote from a letter from a comrade in Chicago which crystallizes the sentiment in the Communist Party membership:

"Very important reasons must be shown by those who stand for a split at this moment when the Third International comes out with a proposal to unite into the Party even those Communist elements which stand outside chiefly in the rank of the Communist Labor Party."

"The National Executive Secretary together with two other members of the Central Executive Committee have taken upon themselves the responsibility, as against the other members of the C. E. C., an overwhelming majority of ten, yet the Secretary had the funds of the Party, the addresses, and other connections, which were all seized by the majority and greatly helped them by disorganizing the party."

"The Secretary claims to be acting quite properly, because, elected directly by the convention, he says, he will be responsible only to a convention. But the funds were entrusted to him not by the convention, but by the Central Executive Committee for the sake of greater efficiency. Why doesn't he turn them over where they belong? Well, because 'the majority has means enough from the Language Federations remittances,' as stated by the Secretary himself."

"The split is still more unjustified because the next convention of the party was right at the door. It was brought about for an obvious purpose—on their own hook to arrange the convention and to turn over the Communist Party into the hands of the Communist Labor Party."

The only justification for this act of vandalism is the "minority" claim that they represent the majority of the Communist Party membership. How true this contention is can be gleaned from the following official report submitted by the then Acting Secretary Hunte to the second convention of the Communist Party.

The Secretary's report.

The secretary's analysis of membership on the basis of dues paid to June 1, 1929, is as follows:

MEMBERSHIP.

Number of members for which dues were paid during and for each month since the first convention of the Party, as follows:			
Oct. 27,741	Average	Jan. 1,714	Average for
Nov. 29,281	for 3 mo.	Feb. 2,296	the 4 mos.
Dec. 27,824	27,714	Mar. 3,517	6,684.
		Apr. 5,223	
		May—4,743.	

Taking the highest number of dues paid since the January raids, the Party has lost through them and through the subsequent organization on underground basis about 16,000 members, or 56 per cent of the initial membership. The Hungarian Federation and Michigan group (3,000 and 1,000 respectively) dropped out of the Party altogether, Russian Federation lost 4,000 out of their 7,000 membership, South Slavic and Polish Federation ceased to pay dues after February. If the split in our ranks had not been brewing ever since the raids, and if it had not come before the convention, the recovery might have come up to 50 per cent of the October, November and December figures, but certainly not higher.

Let us see now what was the number of members that left the party in the split.

Taking the first number of dues paid we find that the highest month before the split was April with 8,223 dues; the first month after the split May, showed up with 6,719 dues; according to this, we lost in the split only 1,474 members, or 18 per cent of the total membership before it. Taking the figures estimated by federations and districts, and verified by reports from these subdivisions and by the number of members represented in our convention, we arrive at the following figures:

	Before Raids	After Raids	After Went to Split	U.C.P.
English (incl. 800 Mich.)	1900	700	300	300
Non-Eng. lang. members	1100	400	200	200
Estonian	280	140	—	140
German	850	500	—	280
Hungarian	1000	—	—	—
Jewish	1000	500	350	—
Latvian	1200	1000	1000	—
Lithuanian	4,400	2600	2500	—
Polish	1750	1000	—	—
Russian	7000	3000	2000	1000
So. Slavic	2,200	1000	—	1000
Ukrainian	4000	2000	1500	500
TOTAL	28000	12700	8300	3400

(Note: These figures are the secretary's estimate. The report of the Secretary of the Russian Federation shows 2,600 paid members, and of the secretary of the Ukrainian Federation 2,000 paid members.—Ed.)

"According to this we lose about 3,400 or a little over one-third of our members, but of this the 'minority' carried with it into the U. C. P. by no means over 3,500, or positively not more than 25 per cent.

These are fair and unbiased figures, and they prove beyond a doubt the fallacy of the claims of Damon and Co. that they split away with a majority of the C. P., or that they were justified on that account in taking the funds and records of the party with them.

"In all their statements they find it absolutely necessary to repeat this lie in order to justify their position and to maintain their standing with the former C. L. P. elements.

"We should expose this fraud fully to all the parties concerned and we should demand, on the strength of these figures, officially from the U. C. P. that they return to us all our funds and records. If they should refuse our just claims, we ought to present the case to the Third International, or take determined steps to serve drastic punishment upon those guilty of the flagrant breach of the discipline and trust of our party."

This report was unanimously adopted, leaving the necessary action to the new C. E. C. after the convention.

Since this report was given to the convention the auditing committee has made its report (which will be submitted to the membership in due course) carrying the following comments:

"The auditing committee has examined the cash receipts and disbursements for the six months ending June 30, 1929, and has found the entries, vouchers and statements entirely satisfactory and correct, as far as the Acting Secretary is concerned.

"For a period from March 2 to April 10, when Damon was Executive Secretary, there ARE NO OTHER VOUCHERS FOR CASH RECEIVED EXCEPT STATEMENTS OF DAMON AND THE SAME IS TRUE OF MANY ITEMS OF CASH PAID DURING THAT PERIOD. THE BALANCE WHICH DAMON TOOK AWAY WITHOUT AUTHORITY IS CORRECT AS STATED ON PAGE 27,—\$7,095.16.

(Signed) Auditing Committee.
 This report was unanimously carried in the recent Communist Party convention.

The U. C. P. by its silence acquiesce in this dastardly act. A letter demanding restitution and an accounting remains unanswered up to the present time. The following motion by the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. relative to this matter is certainly damning in itself as showing that they have no ground to stand upon and resort to the usual refuge of their kind when caught with the goods:

FROM THE C. P. ASKING FOR RETURN OF MONEY AND RECORDS TURNED OVER TO THE U. C. P. BY DAMON, DECIDED NOT TO ANSWER.

3.

In point 2 of your appeal your committee makes the following broad statement:

"The Communist Party must be a mass organization not a narrow closed circle."

Urging by the later thesis issued by your committee and printed in No. 11 of the "Communist International" you cannot actually mean these words literally but in the sense of aiming to make the Communist Party representative of the broad masses of the working class without actually organizing them into the Communist Party.

Our understanding is that the Communist Party cannot be a "mass organization" or a "narrow closed circle". One would be just as injurious to the proletarian revolutionary movement as the other. Our position is in entire agreement as expressed in the following quotation from the above-mentioned thesis:

"The Communist Party is a section of the working class. To be more precise, its most advanced, its most class conscious and therefore its most revolutionary section.... The Communist Party is that lever of political organization with the help of which the foremost section of the working class guides along the right road the whole mass of the proletariat and semi-proletariat.... Until the time when state power has been conquered by the proletariat, until the time when the proletariat has once and for all firmly established its supremacy and has secured the working class against a Communist Party will naturally include in its organized ranks ONLY A MINORITY OF THE WORKERS....

Until the seizure of power, and in the transitional period, the Communist Party may, under favorable circumstances, enjoy an undivided ideological influence on all proletarian and semi-proletarian elements of the population. BUT CANNOT UNITE THEM IN AN ORGANIZED FASHION WITHIN ITS RANKS.... The idea of a party must be very strictly distinguished from the idea of a class."

Surely, the above quotations nowhere imply the idea of a "mass organization".

On the other hand, we have no intention of becoming a "narrow closed circle", in the present period of reaction and outlawing of the party we very naturally take all precautions consistent with maintaining the safety of our party and the membership from spies and agent-provocateurs. Far from being a "narrow closed circle" the Communist Party strives to get into its ranks all convinced Communists. But at the present time, we are more likely to lose than to gain members. Since the raids and the illegal, underground organization of the party