

3) Up to the present time the American Left Wing Socialists have paid a great deal of attention to propaganda within their own ranks and in this respect they have done important work. But limiting themselves to a more or less narrow circle of comrades, they have to a large degree stood aside from the immediate class struggle of the proletarian masses, which is wide-spread over the country. At any rate they have not played a leading part in the bitterest collisions between capital and labor. We must remember that the period of decisive battle is coming. While uniting within its ranks all the most active and conscious elements of the working class and developing the greatest mass agitation and propaganda of the ideas of Communism, the Communist Party must at the same time aim to assume the role of the leader of the class struggle of the proletariat in all its forms, beginning with the local, industrial strikes, demonstrations, mass meetings, election campaigns in the general political strike and ending with the armed uprising of the proletariat. The main problem of the American Communist at the present moment is to bring the broad proletarian masses into the revolutionary class struggle.

While assisting by every means the speedy split of the American Federation of Labor and other similar trade unions, the party must at the same time endeavor to establish a close contact with those economic organizations of the working class in which there is a tendency toward industrial unionism, (I. W. O., I. O. O. F., U. M. W., I. L. C., individual unions that have split away from the A. F. of L.). The party must work in close contact with them, endeavoring at the same time to unite them and to create strong class conscious economic organizations of the proletariat. While supporting by all means the industrial unions in their veryday struggle for immediate economic demands, the party must endeavor to broaden and deepen this struggle, to transform it into a struggle for the final revolutionary aim of the proletariat the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the abolition of the capitalist order.

5) The party must so far as possible support the formation in the factories, besides Communist party units, of shop committees, which serve, on the one hand, as a basis for the everyday economic struggle, and on the other, as a school for the preparation of the vanguard of the working class for the administration of the industries after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established. It is understood that these shop committees must work in close contact with the industrial unions.

6) The party must not be a conglomerate of independent, autonomous language federations. The federations have played an important historical part in the American Socialist Movement, (their long, systematic opposition within the old parties, the creation of the Socialist Propaganda League, the formation of the Left Wing). But now, with the rapid development of the class struggle, and when the American proletariat is faced with an extremely complicated problem, the language federations will only be in a position to fulfill their duty if they amalgamate as closely as possible with the organizations of the American workers. Of course, it is not desirable to have the old historical form of organization destroyed at one stroke, as this might lead to the complete disappearance of the federations—the constant propagators of Communist ideas in America. That is why the Executive Committee of the Communist International points out that the process of the complete amalgamation of the federations with the rest of the American Communist Movement must be achieved gradually and with a certain degree of carefulness. The language federations may reserve their autonomy regarding the work of propaganda in their respective languages, but in the case of political and economic struggle they must be subordinated to the regular party organs.

In time of intensive class struggle it is necessary to reduce the use of the referendum to a minimum. At any rate, no referendum should be permitted on questions demanding immediate action. In periods between the convocations the C. P. C. must have full power.

7) The ever increasing persecution against the Communists in America brings up the question of illegal work. The Congress of the Communist International of March, 1919, has definitely ruled on this question. Illegal work is necessary, as bourgeois "democracy" the world over has actually established a state of siege against the Communists. Two or three years ago the English workers regarded the idea of illegal work in such a free country as England as absurd. Now the revolutionary workers of England also have learned to conduct illegal work. The same thing happened in Germany, where the Social-Democratic hangmen Noske, Scheidemann and Co. are trying to drive underground the mighty Communist Movement of the German workers. We must learn how to co-ordinate the legal work with the illegal. We must make use of all the legal possibilities. And at the same time we must learn to use illegal leaflets, to form illegal group meetings, to form illegal shop committees, where it is necessary to have an illegal directing centre, etc.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is confident that you, comrades, will solve the problems that are facing you. The victory of the international proletariat depends upon the success of Communism in America.

With Communist Greetings,

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Communist Party Shop Committees

TENTATIVE PROGRAM.

The following program is a tentative outline for the immediate organization of Communist Party Shop Committees. Your Central Executive Committee, in grappling with this problem, has been guided throughout by the necessity of creating a subsidiary organization which must be rigidly and at all times subordinate to the organization, principles and policies of the Communist Party itself. Moreover, it was faced with the task of creating something which is an entirely new departure for Communist organizations in this country.

The plan of organization, its structure—is therefore to be considered as purely temporary and broadly elastic, so as to permit of change and revision as time and experience will dictate.

Its function, as outlined below, must also be considered from the point of view of immediate practicality rather than as ultimate in scope. A more comprehensive program at present before the plan itself has been tested by experience, might lead to stultification and confusion. The present basis has this distinct advantage: correct in theory and principle, new activities will develop out of practice and the experience of the members. It, minimizing as far as possible any tendency of friction between the shop committees and the Communist Party, and the possibility of readjustment before those tendencies have crystallized.

Finally, in order for any plan to succeed—no matter how good, the heartiest co-operation of the rank and file is absolutely essential. A fair period trial alone will determine its soundness or unsoundness. During this trial period, however, the Central Executive Committee will carefully study the results from reports submitted and with the help of suggestions from the membership, which is cordially invited will attempt to shape and mould the C. P. S. C. into an effective adjunct of Communist organization and propaganda among the broad masses of the working class of America.

FORM OF ORGANIZATION.

1) All party units shall immediately distribute and collect all data relative to the OCCUPATION, UNION AFFILIATION AND NAME, AND ADDRESS OF EMPLOYER, as stated on form blanks sent out for this purpose.

2) All party members shall be classified under the following three categories (in code): (a) Occupation; (b) Union affiliation; (c) name and address of employer.

Note: Names and addresses of party members must not be given—but only such designations as each local may decide upon to insure the rank and file from possible spies within the organization.

3) Such files shall be kept solely in the custody of the Central Executive Committee.

4) Not more than FIVE members in a particular shop or factory shall constitute a C. P. S. C.

5) All C. P. S. C. within a given local shall be appointed by the LOCAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

6) Each C. P. S. C. shall elect its own chairman.

7) The C. P. S. C. shall work under the direction of the LOCAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, subject to the supervision and control of the higher party bodies—DISTRICT COMMITTEES and the C. P. C.

8) The chairman of the C. P. S. C. shall meet regularly with the Local Organizers to make reports and receive instructions.

9) Members of C. P. S. C. shall have no party rights other than as regular party members. Note: All party work must be conducted through the regular party units. Under no circumstances shall C. P. S. C. take the place of the party group or branch.

FUNCTION.

1) The C. P. S. C. shall distribute leaflets, pamphlets and literature to the workers in the shops.

Note: Plans for the issuance of a legal paper, suitable for propaganda in the shops and industries are under consideration.

2) The C. P. S. C. shall build up groups of sympathizers within the shop or factory, whose sole function shall be to help them in spreading Communist propaganda.

Note: These groups of sympathizers will be the raw material for future membership in the Communist Party, and should be selected with this end in view. Furthermore, these sympathizers will in many cases do the actual distribution of literature, as any members may be known or suspected of affiliation with the party.

3) The C. P. S. C. shall organize educational meetings of shop workers.

Note: Only such workers as are known to be sympathizers, or show signs of becoming sympathizers, should be included in these plans. These shop educational meetings should prove to be of great value if properly and carefully carried out. Later on, small mass meetings of workers (not mass meetings of party members), combining two or more shops for this purpose—may be organized in order to get more direct contact with the workers. Would recommend that no steps be taken in this direction for the immediate present.

4) The C. P. S. C. shall take steps to organize study classes of the most advanced workers (sympathizers, etc.).

Note: Elementary courses will be submitted for this purpose. Workers who take these courses can be admitted to membership after the usual preliminary conditions are fulfilled.

5) The C. P. S. C. shall act as medium for collecting funds for the party in the shops and factories.

Note: It is absolutely imperative that the workers be called upon to contribute to the Communist Party. The regular income from dues, etc. is insufficient even for the upkeep of the organization. As the Communist Party grows in influence and scope new fields of activity are developed requiring more and more funds. The ways and means for collecting funds in an underground organization are necessarily limited. The C. P. S. C. can supplement the regular party organization for raising funds directly from the workers in the industries.

Caught With the Goods!

U. C. P. IGNORES REQUEST TO RETURN STOLEN C. P. FUNDS.

Dear Comrades:

Under the instructions of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America, I address to you this formal demand for the return of all Communist Party funds and records turned over to you by the former Executive Secretary Damon.

The allegation that the minority, which split away from our Party and participated in the formation of the U. C. P., carried with it the majority of the C. P. membership is absolutely disproved by the figures shown in the inclosed extract from the report of our former Acting Secretary Bunte, certified by him, and accepted by our Convention. For further evidence we are willing to show our books and records to a representative of our Party duly authorized.

The statement of our accounts as shown by Damon in the last issue of your paper is substantially correct, minor adjustments can be made for the getting together for the settlement. Many of the comrades who loaned their meager savings to the Communist Party are applying for their return, and we must insist that you return our funds immediately. Any debts paid by you since the split will be taken into account.

Through the same channels with this letter we are sending an address for your official reply. We demand an immediate response to this letter. Should you fail to comply with above stated demand, we will be compelled to bring the case before the Third International.

By orders of the C. P. C.

L. Bain, Exec. Secy C. P. of A.

ANSWER OF U. C. P.

On this letter the Central Executive Committee of the U. C. P. took the following action as appearing in their official record.

"Communication from the C. P. asking for return of money and records turned over to the U. C. P. by Damon, DECIDED NOT TO ANSWER."