

As in our last convention the question of appointments came up again for decision. The Committee on Constitution brought in a minority and majority report on the question of the election or appointment of Local Organizers. No amount of discussion or debate upon this question had the least effect. The minority, who stood for the election of Local Organizers, upon the principle of democratic centralization, were convinced of the correctness of their position. Both the majority and minority quoted the Theses as supporting their position. After lengthy and bitter debate, the appointment of Local Organizers by the Sub-district Organizer was carried by a roll call vote of 20 for and 10 against. The minority withdrew to caucus, and returned the next morning with a signed statement requesting the transmission of their attitude on this question to the E. C. of the C. I. for decision.

A report was made on international matters by the International Committee. Around these reports a determined and lengthy de-

bate took place, in which the International Committee participated. From the tone and character of this discussion which revolved around the question of unity in all its phases, the International Committee must be convinced that the entire membership of the Communist Party is determined to see to it that the U. C. P. shall obey the mandate of the C. I. and that no amount of political trickery, treachery, and falsehood, will save them from the discipline of the C. I. Upon this question the Communist Party is a unit. Upon this question there is no division or difference of opinion. The attempt on the part of one of the International Committee to evade and sidetrack this issue met with well-merited rebuke and derision by the convention. The resolution on unity, which was unanimously adopted, is printed in this issue, and shows the position of the convention on this question better than volumes of argument.

The question of the relations of the party with the American Council of the C. I. came up upon the discussion of the report

of the Chairman of the American Council who was present during the entire convention. A resolution was adopted, pledging co-operation and support to the work of the Council.

The various resolutions adopted by the convention (with the exception of those which are not printed for conspiratorial reasons) will be found on another page in this issue.

The convention adjourned with the singing of the "International," and with the mutual assurance that the Communist Party from now on will be a party of action in the fullest sense of the word, building up its units, organizing its nuclei, strengthening its forces, until at last the Communist Party of America will lead all the exploited masses in America to the final onslaught for the destruction of the bourgeois state, the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, and the erection of the American Soviet Republic, as the first step toward the transformation of capitalist society into the Communist Society.

Resolutions Adopted by C. P. Convention, Feb., 1921

Resolution on Acceptance of the 21 Points for Affiliation with C. I.

The Communist Party of America, Section of the Communist International, assembled in its Special Convention held in February, 1921, hereby reaffirms its position as an integral part of the Communist International.

The Special Convention, in conformity with the conditions for admission adopted by the Second World Congress of the Communist International, and after discussion and due deliberation, endorses and adopts unanimously, on roll call vote, the 21 Points for Affiliation with the Communist International, as binding upon all the delegates present, and for its entire membership, without any reservations.

Resolution on Legal Workers Societies

1) The Communist Party reiterates its stand against the formation of legal societies (educational or cultural) as substitutes for the organization of all Party units on an underground basis.

2) and fictitious societies, firms and associations may be organized under the direct and full control of underground units, only for purposes of carrying on certain specific Party work on a legal basis.

3) As to workers societies already existing, such as educational, cultural, co-operative, etc., Communist Party members are not required to leave any of them to which they may belong, since the working masses in these societies offer a fertile field for Communist agitation and propaganda, for the education and training of our comrades in the work of propaganda, campaign and organization.

4) If Communist Party members are in control of such societies, they should utilize it as an agitation and propaganda instrument, both within and without, and for various technical purposes.

5) If the Communist Party members are not in control of a legal workers society, they should strive to win the other members of such society over to Communist ideas, and to get the society under their control.

6) In either case, the Communist Party members shall form nuclei for planning, concentrating and directing all their activities within the respective societies. They should not reveal their identity as Communist Party members.

Greetings to Soviet Republics

The Communist Party of America, in Convention assembled, sends fraternal greetings to all the Soviet Republics of the world. We extend our congratulations to the toiling masses of Azerbaijan and Armenia, who recently threw off the yoke of Allied Imperialism and their own bourgeois governments and established the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviet Government.

The Communist Party of America pledges itself to arouse the working class of America to active support of their fellow workers in these countries, and to carry on a persistent propaganda to the toiling masses of the United States in order that they will resist with all their power any attempt on the part of the American capitalist government to overthrow the power of the workers and peasants government in Armenia and Azerbaijan, as well as of the Soviet Republics of Ukraine and Russia.

Greetings to Political Prisoners

The Communist Party of America, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class of America, from its Third Convention, held in Feb., 1921, sends a message of encouragement and support to the imprisoned revolutionists held behind prison bars by the ruthless capitalist dictatorship and pledges to them, in the name of the exploited masses of America, that the comrades organized in the Communist Party of America will never rest until they have aroused the proletariat of America to forcibly open the doors of the capitalist bastilles, and with arms in their hands destroy the bourgeois state which screens the merciless capitalist dictatorship, thus, not only freeing our imprisoned brothers, but freeing themselves as well from all forms of exploitation and wage slavery.

Down with the American Capitalist State!
Hail to the Proletarian Revolution!
Long Live Communism!

Workers' Soviets in German Austria.

By HILDA WERTHEIM

Immediately after the revolution the Workers' Soviets in German Austria had unlimited scope for action before them. Not only the factory workers took part in the elections which were held soon after the revolution, but whole stratifications of the petty bourgeoisie, the civil functionaries, employees, men of the learned professions, all strove to participate in the new institution which evidently had a future before it. However, notwithstanding the elevation of public spirit which followed the collapse of Austrian militarism, the greater majority of the Workers' Soviets still continued to remain under the influence of the Social Democratic Party, which adopted peculiar tactics for deceiving and restraining the revolutionary class. Thus the Workers' Soviets, after preparing to send their representatives into all the institutions and organs of the government partly for the purpose of control, and at the same time for the practical study of the vital functions in the economical life of the nation did not carry their intention into effect, obeying the authoritative command of the Social Democratic Central organization of the Workers' Soviets. In this way from the very beginning the sessions of the Workers' Soviets became meetings for mere political discussions. Only several months later, when the newly elected National Assembly manifested a marked change in the practical correlations in favor of the bourgeoisie, did the Workers' Soviets proceed to form Commissions and to intervene in the economical life of the country. From that moment nothing else remained to do even for the plenary meetings, than, properly speaking, to hear the reports of the Workers' Soviet as a whole in relation to concrete questions. But in these respects also the Workers' Soviets remained fully under the tutelage of the Social Democrats and, as before in questions of politics, now in the economic struggle, their actions were remarkable for their timidity and irresolution. The first attacks of the bourgeois press which did not take long to appear filled the Workers' Soviets with such awe that at each new proposition they started

such endless discussions of all the consequences which might follow, that the first zeal generally cooled down, or the best moment for the proposed action was allowed to pass.

The Social Democrats endeavored by all means to condemn the Workers' Soviet to inaction. Thus, for instance, they appointed sessions of the Soviet only very rarely and at such a time of the day when long debates were impossible in view of the prohibition to use the light. At the time set by law, § P. M., every meeting had to be closed even if the most urgent needs of the suffering proletariat of Vienna were being discussed. Another method of sabotaging the activity of the Soviet consisted therein that a session of the Workers' Soviet would be transformed into a meeting for the reading of a report on some political subject, the person submitting the report being generally a Social Democrat. There was no need to apprehend any discussions on politics, all those who were present being obliged to hurry home because the house doors were closed very early. Nevertheless, under the untiring pressure of the Communist members of the Soviet, and under the influence of the growing ire of the working masses the Workers' Soviet at last decided to undertake revolutionary action. For the beginning an imposing mass demonstration of the Vienna proletariat was proposed as a sign of protest against the reaction and in favor of the taxation of all property. But even in this case the official leaders of the Social Democratic Party skillfully extricated themselves from the difficult situation. The Executive Committee of the district Workers' Soviet in which the right Social Democrats still predominated convened a "joint meeting," instead of a meeting of the circuit Workers' Soviet, that is, an organization which includes, besides the members of the district Workers' Soviet, a great number of official leaders of the Social Democratic Party, the labor unions, cooperative societies and sick benefit societies. The decisions of this enlarged meeting would certainly bear a greater political

weight. The first session of the "joint meeting" did not have time to transact all the business, a second one was appointed and this would have gone on further if the Communists had not made this plan fall by leaving the Assembly altogether. But the Social Democrats had attained their object; the most favorable moment for the demonstration passed and the district Workers' Soviet did not meet during a whole fortnight. The "joint meeting" pronounced itself against a demonstration of the masses, and, before its collapse, it found time to threaten the district Workers' Soviet with a sabotage of all its resolutions on the part of the powerful organization of labor unions.

Thus from the beginning of March 1920, the Workers' Soviets of German Austria and in particular the Vienna Workers' Soviet have entered into a new phase. The declaration of war against the Workers' Soviets on the part of the right Social Democrats, and their sabotage by the bureaucrats of the labor unions which do not frequent the meetings of the Workers' Soviets, threaten to render the conflict still more acute, and to bring matters to a climax.

Meanwhile the proletariat of Vienna is waiting, living in conditions of cold and hunger under an impossible yoke. All the laws and regulations tending in any way to limit the provoking luxury of the bourgeoisie are violated in the most brazen manner and the authorities which should put an end to such a bacchanalia remain inactive. While the proletarian quarters of the town are sunk in darkness and silence, in the brilliantly illumined saloons the speculators and traders, which the decaying capitalist order has brought out onto the surface in innumerable quantities, are dancing and rioting madly. But already amid the strains of music and laughter the first sullen growls of distant thunder may be heard in Vienna. The oppressed and insulted working class of German Austria is beginning to protest and revolt against the accursed system which again and again gives the workers stones instead of bread.