

The Communist

All Power to the Workers!

Official Organ of the Communist Party of America

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Greetings from the International Movement

I A Message to the Communist Party of America from the Communists of Great Britain

Comrades:

We congratulate you on the great fight for Communism which you are carrying on in face of persistent coercion and oppression. The bourgeois republic of America is proving, in conclusive fashion, to any workers in Europe who may doubt it, that a republic is no better than a monarchy while Capitalism remains. As a matter of fact, comrades, we observe that the tactics which your capitalists are practicing against you over in America are often copied by British capitalists in their warfare with British labor. No doubt your capitalists also take hints from British capitalists as to how both to coerce and mislead the workers.

The fight for Communism is world wide, and in nothing do we see this more plainly than in the international combination of of Capitalism against

Soviet Russia. You, comrades, are now being victimized for your adherence to the Revolution—for your struggle in support of Soviet Russia and the great principles of Socialism which at last are being put into practice there.

Today it is you who are attacked, presently it will be our turn once more. In the meantime we send you our hearty greetings and good wishes for the establishment in America of the Soviets and Communism.

Yours for the International Revolution,

(Signed) E. SYLVIA PANKHURST,
for the Workers' Socialist Federation,
ALBERT INKPIN,

for the British Socialist Party.

(January 6, 1920.)

II A Message from the Communists of Siberia to the American Revolutionary Movement

Comrades of America:

Siberia is threatened with one of history's greatest typhus epidemics, according to a report of Colonel B. P. Teusler and a party of American Red Cross workers who have been in western Siberia. Among the Siberian troops alone there have been since January 1, about 120,000 cases of typhus. All the available hospital resources are exhausted and the epidemic is rapidly spreading among the healthy soldiers of western and middle Siberia. In this area thousands of unfortunate people in the towns exist in unspeakable misery. In the vicinity of Omsk 30,000 people are actually without shelter. Thousands dig holes in the ground in the hope of escape from freezing. Sanitary conditions are so frightful that unless relief is furnished the death toll this winter will be more than anything heretofore known in Russia and Siberia. And this is the report of an American officer and Red Cross Party! . . . Yet in spite of all this the Entente brigands maintain their impenetrable blockade! . . .

We hope that the different American organizations, industrial and political, will answer this call of mercy and spread it among the masses, until every heart feels the black crime that is being perpetrated against Russia. . . .

We were in the midst of this appeal to the Workers of America when, like a bolt from the blue, we received the happy tidings of the activities of our brothers and sisters in the United States. We are now certain that

America will wholeheartedly come to our aid, and to the aid of the German, Austrian and English war-prisoners in Russia. When we said that America was the despair of the revolutionary world, our statement, we now see, was not fully justified. We have now learned that thousands of our comrades in America have been arrested and abused, as a result of the bandit raids of the police and the Department of Justice; we have heard, with the greatest indignation, of the sudden attacks of these White Guards in blue uniforms upon peaceful and legitimate meetings convened to celebrate the Second Anniversary of the Russian Workers' Republic, and how they had made arrangements for a massacre at the Communist Party demonstration at Rutgers Square, New York, . . . and we hurl back into the teeth of the calumniators of Soviet Russia the assertions of a Red Terror.

The workers of America must have learned two things by this time: (1) That the government of the United States is the ruthless, deadly instrument of the American capitalists. (2) That under Capitalism there can be no democracy, and that government is a means for the oppression of the people.

We have also become acquainted with your great strikes, particularly the steel and coal strikes. Your developing class consciousness, workers of America, moves us to our hearts; and we use this opportunity to send you our best wishes and expression of solidarity. . . . The workers of America will yet demonstrate their mighty proletarian mass action.

On With the Struggle

THE ruling class of the United States has struck its blow at the revolutionary movement.

With a ruthlessness never equaled by autocracy and reaction anywhere, it has filled its prisons with men and women who are to be deported or imprisoned for long terms of years.

To strike fear into the hearts of the workers the raids and arrests were carried out with the utmost brutality. Many of the workers arrested were mercilessly beaten by the thugs who call themselves agents of "law and order," after they were helpless in the hands of their enemy. Agents of the Department of Justice tortured workers who refused to answer their questions by methods that equaled those of the Spanish Inquisition.

Even the capitalist sacred right of private property was not respected, for wherever the representatives of "law and order" made their appearance they destroyed the contents of the headquarters of the working class movement. Office furniture and records were confiscated or destroyed and the machinery of printing plants smashed.

This is the "law and order" of the capitalist class. Thus does the White Terror teach the workers that the capitalists respect no laws when their property interests are at stake and that no act of terrorism is too vile for those who uphold the sacred right of the capitalists to rob and exploit the workers.

The courts and immigration officials are now taking in hand the victims of the White Terror, continuing the work which the thugs and gunmen of capitalism began.

And what has the ruling class accomplished?

Has it struck terror into the hearts of the workers pledged to the revolutionary movement? Has it destroyed their organization and made it im-

possible to continue the work of agitation and organization among the unenlightened workers?

The ruling class of the United States will soon receive its answer.

In place of striking fear into the hearts of the workers it has aroused thousands to a consciousness of the struggle that must be waged until capitalism and reaction is wiped out. In place of compelling the workers who had their place in the organized Communist movement to desert their organization, it has steeled their nerves for the uncompromising struggle. In place of destroying the organization of these workers as represented in the Communist Party of America, it has merely brought about a readjustment in the methods of that organization which will place it beyond the reach of its enemy.

The work of agitation and organization will go on. There is no power in the hands of the ruling class of this country that can stop it. As the class struggle grows more bitter—and it daily grows more bitter; as the workers realize that there is no hope for them as long as the capitalists control the machinery of production—as they are realizing in greater and greater numbers; as the collapse of the structure of capitalism comes nearer—the portends of which are already evident in the financial difficulties of the capitalist world, there will rise a powerful and militant working class movement that will take reigns of power and bring to an end the rule of reaction and the White Terror.

The ruling class of the United States has struck its blow. The answer will be—must be—a stronger Communist Movement.

On with the struggle, comrades. We do not flinch before persecution. We fight on.

Editorial Page of The Communist

Communism and the Law

THE decision of Secretary of Labor Wilson and the verdict of the jury in the Gitlow case appear to mark the close of open legal propaganda of Communism in the United States. Secretary Wilson, by his finding and order in the deportation case against Englebert Preiss, has outlawed every alien Communist in this country. He has declared that membership in the Communist Party is of itself ground for deportation. The New York jury, by its verdict against Gitlow for publication of the Left Wing Manifesto, has declared that any discussion of Communist principles and tactics constitutes "criminal anarchy." The same indictment includes Larkin, Ruthenberg and Ferguson (as well as five other former members of the Left Wing Council not under arrest). The other cases will be reached within two or three weeks, so far as now appears.

The appeal from Secretary Wilson's order to the courts is not likely to result in any serious modification of its effects. Deportation is an administrative matter; the courts can intervene only when there is palpable abuse of administrative discretion, or where the requisite formalities have not been complied with. The appeal of the Gitlow case will bring an upper court determination of what is "criminal anarchy." This will be the first appeal under the New York law, which though passed in 1902 was never invoked until 1919. Two others were recently convicted under this law but lacked the means to take an appeal. The other laws on "criminal anarchy," like those of Massachusetts, Illinois, New Jersey, etc., are of recent date. The constitutionality of the New Jersey law was sustained, with Justices Minturn and Kalisch dissenting. There are a number of appeal decisions under the related "espionage," "sedition" and "criminal syndicalism" laws.

Considering the law as it now stands, it must be said that open discussion of Communism is now a crime in the United States. The difference between "discussion" and "advocacy" is not worth making, since any approval of Communism may be taken as an advocacy, as in the Gitlow case.

This does not mean an end of Communist agitation in the United States. Nor does it even mean an end of open Communist agitation. The question of political crime is always definitely related to the balance of power between the contending forces. Communism is openly advocated in Italy; in practically all countries except "Socialist" Germany and "Democratic" United States. But now the Noske repression is relaxing its grip in Germany, leaving the United States in the unique position occupied before the revolution by Czaristic Russia.

But even a weak, confused, inert working class will find its occasional expression through the defiant individual who spurns all penalties of law that the truth may be heard.

The grand climax comes with the direct indictment, in Illinois, of the Communist Party, the Communist Labor Party and the I. W. W., in the persons of their executive officers, as criminal conspiracies. One hundred and sixty men and women are charged individually and collectively with crime calling for a maximum ten year penalty in each instance.

The class struggle in the United States is at the straining point. These legal prosecutions will prove an empty flourish of decadent power long before any of the sentences are served. This is sham power, stupid, ostentatious, futile. The real power is in the inert mass. It will soon be produced into action.

The "conspiracy" is the social revolution which began in Russia and is going around the world!

Revolution scorns indictments. In the courts, to accept the language of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, "revolution is a defense only when it is successful."

The Communists of America will yet make good their defense!

The Passing of the Socialist Party

HILLQUITIAN Socialism has reached its lowest depths of hypocrisy, cowardly evasion, and treason to the class struggle at Albany, New York. Even the ultra-reactionary New York Tribune, supporting the brazen performance staged by Speaker Sweet, does not miss the real point; no matter what is the outcome of the "trial," the Socialist Party is now decisively on the side of capitalistic constitutional regularity. Indeed, the party officially glories in its role of champion of bourgeois representative democracy. The "liberals" are envious. The complaint in the *New Republic* (February 4th) is that the Socialists have been put in too advantageous a position with respect to propaganda of "freedom of assemblage, of speech and of opinion."

It is the special mission of "liberalism" to play with the phrases of freedom while exploitation goes on crushing hope and life. The "present danger" is that the Socialist Party has now been given an advantage over the "American liberals" at this game of phrases.

Not even the Socialists themselves suggest that this affair at Albany has anything to do with the class struggle. The five Assemblymen and their Socialist lawyers are blind to everything except the "constitutional" issues upon which they are lined up with a galaxy of respectable friends. Never before did the Socialist Party in this country revel in such conquests of respectability. To mention the class struggle in such company would be decidedly bad manners. It is not mentioned.

The defense of the Socialist Party is that its program, constitution and principles mean nothing in action. Does the party constitution provide for control over legislative representatives by means of enforced resignations? Yes, the constitution says so, but the evidence is that nothing of the sort was ever done. Did the party program call for opposition to the war? Yes, that was the program, but the proof is that Socialists did their full share in furtherance of the war. Does the party constitution forbid a vote by a legislative representative in favor of military budgets? Yes, but it doesn't mean anything. Did not Meyer London vote in favor of the Congressional appropriations during the war?

The defense at Albany is an exact imitation of the Berger defense at Chicago and at Washington. It is the exact opposite of the Debs defense at Cleveland.

It would have been so simple for these Socialist Assemblymen to say that the Socialist Party is really different from the other political parties; that it has a constitution calling for control of Socialists in public office because it is the organized expression of its membership, not merely a vehicle for the self-expression of the individuals who happen to serve the party officially from time to time. It might have been said that the party has alien members because it represents the working class, which in the United States is predominantly alien and negroes without vote. It might have been said, also, that the party has international working class allegiance because the class struggle transcends the national boundary lines. None of these things were said at Albany for the very good reason that none of them

are true of the American Socialist Party. There is a sort of pretense within the party ranks that the Socialist Party is concerned with Socialism. But all this is hushed up when the party appears in the open arena. Then its entire existence is merged in the system of representative democracy, entirely oblivious of this system as itself the organ of capitalist dictatorship.

There never was a more glaring item of political irony than the publication, during the Albany affair, of the Socialist Party membership referendum vote in favor of alignment with the Communist International. The vote was 3,475 to 1,444 in favor of an allegiance to the Third International—without acceptance of its "programs and methods"! That is the Socialist Party in a nutshell, anything by way of phrases, nothing particular as to "programs and methods." Depends on the weather, presumably.

The Albany episode is a most significant event in the class struggle in the United States. It means the inauguration of "exception laws" which the Socialists will manage to accept but which will virtually condition the tactics of the real Socialist movement, now represented in this country by the Communist Party and by such membership of the Communist Labor Party as will survive the selective process of the next six months. The larger aspects of the Albany expulsions will be a major problem of the next Communist Party convention.

The Socialist Party is now "safe for democracy," under the tender guardianship of ex-Supreme Court Justice Hughes and many others who have long been entrusted by the financial masters with keeping democracy safe for domestic and imperialistic exploitation.

What was fully consummated at Chicago during the first week of September, the decisive separation of all the virile proletarian elements from the Socialist Party, now stands plainly revealed to all the world under the searchlight at Albany.

The Socialist Party is now definitely part of the bourgeois order of things in the United States, part of the ragged fringe of pretentious respectability. It is past the time, after the year 1919 of the steel strike and the coal strike, when the workers of this country can be misled by the empty slogans of a "representative democracy" which so transparently veils the iron heel.

A Fair Trial

THOSE who have witnessed the selection of juries in "red" cases, and have reflected on the social pressure and fearful ignorance which makes these trials mere formal lynchings, will recall also the pietistic insistence upon the privileges of "fair trial" accorded to the defendants. "Fair trial" across the class lines, at this time of world class conflict, is largely a myth. The machinery of repression may slip a cog now and then. It is not quite automatic. Its agents, the prosecutors, judges, spies and upper-class jurymen may allow an occasional escape through inadvertence or incomplete preparation.

Most of all, the jury is apt to be an uncertain quantity. The percentage of chance in favor of the defense is extremely low, quite near the zero point. But it is interesting to note the reverse proposition: the same machinery of bourgeois justice directed against the Phelps-Dodge Co. officials and agents:

Tombstone, Ariz., February 5.—A lack of competent jurors will hasten the end of legal proceedings against 210 men charged with kidnapping in connection with wholesale deportations from Bisbee in 1917, it was indicated today.

Forty-seven defendants will be dismissed and an effort will be made to combine the trials of those indicted on a blanket information, County Attorney French announced.

The available supply of jurors in the county, Mr. French said, would be exhausted before the trials could be completed, and under the Arizona law only the defense can ask for a change of venue to another county.

There are 7,500 possible jurors in the county, it was estimated, but of these more than half are employed by defendant companies. Many would be excused in selecting a jury, the attorney said, and added that it would not be possible to try more than six defendants with the available supply of jurors.

It is obvious that law and order will be vindicated in Arizona.

The Soviet Government Wins

FOUR months ago the imperialist press of the world was heralding the march of Yudenich to Petrograd and the early capture of Moscow by Denikin. Today Yudenich and his forces have disappeared, what is left of Denikin's army is running for safety, and Kolchak is a prisoner.

The Red army of the Soviet Government has practically wiped out the counter-revolutionary forces, with which the imperialist governments of the world sought to destroy the proletarian revolution in Russia. Fighting on the inside of the circle which marked the territory under the control of the workers' republic, the Red army has widened that circle until it includes almost all the territory of the former Russian Empire. In place of being threatened by the counter-revolutionary forces in the pay of the imperialist governments, the Red army now threatens the British Empire in Asia and the imperialist press expresses fear that it may sweep through Poland to Germany.

The Allied imperialist governments sought to strangle the social revolution in Russia by financing and furnishing supplies to the counter-revolutionary forces of Yudenich, Denikin and Kolchak. They did not dare to employ their own armies against the workers of Russia because of fear of what might happen at home if they took such steps. Bankruptcy already stares them in the face as the result of the world war and they could not risk the colossal burden that would be added to their financial obligations by a war on such a scale as was necessary to give any chance of success against the Soviet Government. The workers at home, too, had shown the opposition to the program to drown the Russian revolution in the blood of the workers of that country. That opposition might develop into action if the capitalist governments were not careful. So they backed Yudenich and Kolchak.

Now that these agents of imperialist reaction are utterly smashed, with Odessa again in the hands of the Bolshevik army and a revolutionary movement taking control of Vladivostok, it is not surprising that Lloyd George offers to deal with the Russian Co-operatives, letting down the bars which have kept all foreign supplies out of Russia, and it is even hinted, is willing to make peace with the Soviet Government.

If the imperialist governments make peace with Soviet Russia it will be because they fear a superior power. It will be the rotten, worn-out capitalist order compromising with the virile, militant Communist society, in an effort to save itself.

Soviet Russia may accept the peace offer which the imperialist government seem ready to make. The workers of Russia have born burdens and made sacrifices against the enemies of the revolution such as no people has been subject to before. Peace means an opportunity to recuperate, to consolidate their strength, to build up their power for the final struggle against imperialism, that final struggle which cannot be avoided and will not be over until imperialism gives way before the United Soviet Government of the World.

Statement of the Central Executive Committee on the Nuorteva Charges

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America has before it the following statement published in the capitalist press by Santeri Nuorteva:

"There also appears to be another reason for the desire to deport us. We have conclusive evidence that agents of the Department of Justice have actively participated in the organization of the Communist Party of America and that those very planks in the program of the party, which now form the basis of the persecution of thousands of people, have been drafted and inserted into that program by such government agents."

The implications in this charge are, that there are in our program clauses which have been particularly framed to lay us open to attack, and secondly, that agents of the Department of Justice were among our program committee.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party is convinced that it is only necessary to point to the method by which its program was framed and adopted to demonstrate that the first charge is untrue, and is the effort of an enemy of the Communist Party to discredit it before the working people of this country.

Our convention elected a program committee of nine members, being those delegates which the convention considered best grounded in Communist principles. This

committee took days to study every phrase in the program which it finally presented to the convention. The convention of 125 delegates carefully scrutinized the program recommended for adoption. Word by word and line by line it was weighed by the convention. The convention made many changes both in language and principle of the program, before it gave its final approval.

No one who has studied the program thus adopted has dared challenge it. No one has dared say that it is not a Communist Program in entire harmony with the principles of the Communist International. Even Nuorteva dared not say that! If it be admitted that our convention of 125 delegates after careful scrutiny and study adopted a truly Communist Program, what remains of Nuorteva's charge?

The Central Executive Committee of the party is also able to throw light on the second point in this charge. Some six or eight weeks ago the charge that a certain official of our organization was an agent of the Department of Justice, was brought before a section of the Central Executive Committee. After every opportunity to present evidence, of which a stenographic report was made, it was the unanimous decision of the members of the Central Executive Committee present, that the comrade in question has been completely ex-

The Party Organization

In 1919

THE end of the year 1919 closed a definite period in the history of the Communist Party of America. The party was organized on Sept. 1, 1919. The machinery of its national organization was established about two weeks later. It was permitted to maintain its open existence for a period of three and a half months, when the

operated. This decision was later concurred in by the members of the Executive Council, who read the stenographic report.

The charge made by Nuorteva seemed carefully calculated so that it would reach the workers of America at a time when our party organization was obliged to meet the full weight of an attack by black reaction, with its press suppressed and the channels for reaching its membership temporarily destroyed. An attack of this character is a betrayal of the interest of the working class movement.

The integrity of our party remains unchallenged in spite of this stab in the back. No party member will leave us because of this charge and we are certain that the test of our past and future action will convince the Workers of America that our party represents the revolutionary workers, who will rally to its support.

Long Live Communism! Long Live the Communist International!

agents of capitalism swooped down on its national offices and took possession.

The record of those three and a half months shows the beginning of a virile, powerful organization, far exceeding in strength what remained of the Socialist Party, from which it sprung.

During the three and a half months of organized existence close to seven hundred party branches were chartered, with every promise that the number would have quickly passed the one thousand mark. Dues payments to the national organization amounted to \$14,957.46, reflecting thus early the substantial membership within the organization. In addition \$6,031.22 was turned over to the party for national dues by federations, this amount having been accumulated by them during the period of their expulsion from the Socialist Party. Contributions to the Organization Fund received from branches amounted to \$6,414.17. Literature sales amounted to \$1,805.08 and Leaflets \$1,542.96. The total income of the national office for the three and a half months was \$31,052.20. The expenditures were \$19,346.72, leaving the assets \$11,705.48. On its financial side

(Continued on next page)

We Must Show an Unbroken Front to Our Enemy

The capitalist class of the United States threw all the power of the government against the Communist Party of America during the first week in January.

Raids and arrests were carried out on a scale never before undertaken by any government against the working class movement. Even the Czar was outdone by the agents of American capitalism.

The capitalist government hoped to destroy the Communist Party by this unparalleled aggression and persecution.

The Victims of the Raids

Deportation

About 3,000 members of the Communist Party are being held at Ellis Island, New York City; Deer Island, Boston, and in prisons throughout the country. These men and women are charged with being members of the Communist Party, and because of such membership are threatened with deportation.

Although the capitalist government threw all its power into the effort to destroy our party, it has failed. In spite of the wholesale arrests our organization is functioning. The government has taken three or four thousand of our workers, but there are tens of thousands left who stand in their places and who have assumed their work.

The first duty of the party is to organize the defense of those comrades who are the victims of the ruling class attack upon us.

We must see that not one of our members is needlessly sacrificed. We must fight their battles against deportation and imprisonment. We must take advantage of every phase of capitalist laws to return them to our ranks and the service of the party.

To carry on this work a Central Defense Bureau has been organized.

This Bureau will have general charge of the defense of the party members everywhere. It will immediately give aid to those in localities where the defense organization is not functioning properly and as quickly as possible establish branches throughout the country to take over all defense work.

Every party unit should at once send its contributions for this defense work. Circulate the Defense Fund lists and Defense Fund Stamps.

The emergency is great, comrades, and you must make your contributions as great as the emergency. Never before has a working class organization been compelled to defend more than 3,000 of its members at the same time.

Let us show an unbroken front in spite of this attack. Let us show the power of Communism by performing this task quickly and well.

COMMUNIST DEFENSE COMMITTEE

C. E. RUTHENBERG, Sec. I. E. FERGUSON, Treas.
ROSE PASTOR STOKES JAY LOVESTONE CHARLES DIRBA

Send all contributions to: I. E. FERGUSON, 138 West 13th Street, New York City
(Use this address for defense fund contributions only)

the organization began with an indebtedness of about \$2,000, taken over from the National Organizing Committee and the Left Wing Council and closed this period with assets of \$11,705.48.

During the same period the party issued five proclamations dealing with important issues which arose in the working class struggle. Four of these were circulated to the extent of a million and a half copies. Leaflet No. 4, "The State, Strike-Breaker," was confiscated by the federal government when on the press and before new arrangements for publication could be perfected the crisis had passed. Leaflet No. 3, "Your Shop," attained the largest circulation. Three editions, totaling over a half million, were printed.

Two pamphlets were printed, the Manifesto, Program and Constitution, in an edition of 25,000, which were practically all sold, and Radek's "The Development of Socialism from Science to Action." A third pamphlet was in the hands of the printer.

This record of achievement during a period of three and a half months proved that the party had behind it a membership ready to actively participate in the struggle to build up a strong Communist Movement in this country. The membership was not a membership in name only, but a membership of active workers in the revolutionary struggle.

In 1920

With the year 1920 the party begins a new existence. Through the decision of the Secretary of Labor in the deportation cases and the action of state authorities in indicting the party

officials for their Communist activities, the program of the party has been declared illegal and the party organization is under the ban.

Our program states the fundamental principles of the Communist International. This program will not be changed because it is declared illegal by the agents of our enemy. Our program outlines the road that the workers must follow in order to achieve their emancipation through the social revolution. We believe there is no other road and will continue our propaganda to educate the workers to a consciousness of that fact irrespective of the actions of the government of the capitalists.

But the form of our organization can be changed, and must be changed, to meet the new condition of illegality.

The party organization must go underground. It can no longer expose itself to the easy attack of its enemies. It must protect itself against attack in every way possible.

Open branch meetings should be discontinued at once. The membership should be divided in groups with a group organizer in charge to keep them in contact with the organization and to control their propaganda activities. The distribution of leaflets and papers and the sale of pamphlets must be so conducted as to expose the members to the minimum of attack. All membership cards and charters should be destroyed. The details of the organization plan will be communicated to the party units through new channels.

The national organization will go out of existence as a shining mark for the

attack of the capitalist government. But capitalism will face a new organization, stronger and more dangerous to its interests.

The Future

During the three and a half months of 1919 the party membership showed their spirit under the conditions of open propaganda for Communism. The results were of such a character that they had a right to be proud of them.

The new conditions of the existence of our organization will mean even a

harder test of our membership. Each party member who engages in the activities of the organization must do so with the understanding that he is risking deportation or imprisonment. This may mean a smaller party membership but it will mean a stronger party.

Let us go forward under the new condition of our organization work conscious that no matter what our enemy may do, the Communist Movement is invincible and we are marching forward to power and victory.

We Must Organize Shop Branches

THE form of organization adopted by the Communist Party was inherited from the Socialist Party, so far as the unit of organization was concerned. Most of the organization existed in the form of branches which had been expelled from or had left the Socialist Party.

It was necessary to use these units of organization as the basis for the Communist Party organization because they already existed, not because they were the best form for the new organization.

Branches made up of members of the same nationality or members living in the same section of a city were well enough for a purely parliamentary organization such as the Socialist Party of such language branches which considered their work merely to promote the social life of the workers of certain nationalities, but they are not the best form of organization for a party which seeks to organize the masses for the revolutionary program of Communism.

These branches still exist in the Communist Party. Even though some modification has been necessary through the new form of organization, the unit is still the branch. The most important task that lies before the organization is to transform these territorial or language organizations into shop branches.

The Communist Party program emphasizes the industrial power of the workers. The purpose of the Communist Party is to organize the power of the workers to achieve political power. It is from the industries that this organization must proceed. It is in the shop that the party can come in contact with the lives of the masses of workers.

Through the organization of shop branches the party propaganda will reach those men and women whom the party must educate to an understanding of its aims and organize to achieve those aims.

The shop branch is also best suited to meet the existing conditions under which our organization must work. The members of the branch will be in touch with each other daily. Communication becomes easy. Arrangements for propaganda and organization work are readily made. Detection in the work of propaganda is less likely.

The work of transforming the present organization in an organization of shop branches does not present insurmountable difficulties. Organizers of branches should at once instruct

their group organizers to secure information as to the place of employment of each member. This information should be brought together in the hands of the organizer of the city, who will make arrangements to place the members of various branches in one shop in touch with each other and to organize them as a shop branch.

Where it is found that there are only three or four members in a certain factory, these members should be constituted a committee for that factory and entrusted with the propaganda there until such time as a shop branch can be organized.

Until the work of transformation is complete the present party units will remain, but the beginning should be made at once. Until the party sinks its roots deep into the industrial life of the country it will be unable to develop power to influence the actions of the workers. The shop branches will give us the connections with the industrial life of the workers that we must have.

Every party unit is urged to quickly take up the question and act at once to transform their branches into shop branches.

Not the First Time

WHETHER the Socialist Assemblymen are finally expelled at Albany is a matter of little moment. The capitalist class, through its representatives in the Legislature, have definitely proven that the Legislature in the parliamentary state is a capitalist institution in which the enemies of capitalism can sit only by permission of the capitalists—thus justifying the Communist position that the working class cannot emancipate itself through parliaments.

The Albany incident is not the first of its kind. What many liberals, and even some capitalist newspapers, are calling "a crime against representative government" was actually carried through in Cleveland.

The Cleveland Socialists in the 1917 campaign elected two councilmen in an anti-war campaign. These two councilmen were expelled from the city council, because they kept their platform promises and voted against war legislation.

There was no howl about the crime against "representative government" then.

There was one result, however. The Cleveland Socialist local turned left and later came into the Communist Party by practically unanimous action.

Albany will help more workers along the same road.

The Question of Unity with the C. L. P.

THE question of unity between the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party came before a recent meeting of the Central Executive Committee in the form of a report by the Executive Secretary, stating that the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party had requested a joint meeting and that it was his impression that unity could be achieved on the following basis:

Acceptance by the C. L. P. of the Manifesto, Program and Constitution of the Communist Party, with such modifications in the constitution as are made necessary by the new form of organization.

Combination of the Executive Committee of five of the C. L. P. with the Central Executive Committee of 15 of the Communist Party as the joint Central Executive Committee of the combined organization.

All other problems to be worked out by the combined committee after unity is achieved.

The Executive Secretary recommended that the Central Executive Committee enter into a joint meeting for the purpose of bringing about unity on the basis outlined.

This recommendation was rejected and the following proposal adopted:

That in response to the request of the Communist Labor Party National Executive Committee, we elect a committee of three to inform this committee that if it is ready to accept our manifesto, program, constitution and form of organization as the basis for a call for a joint convention, we agree to hold a joint convention, and for this purpose, upon receipt of its agreement, we are prepared to elect a joint conven-

tion committee. (Our manifesto, program and constitution to be effective for the C. L. P. only as the basis for a joint call, the form of organization, in so far as it means underground organization and the basis of admitting members, to go into effect at once.)

The statement made by the National Executive Committee of the C. L. P. in reply is not available for this issue. The proposal made, however, was as follows:

1. The National Executive of the C. L. P. stated its view that there were no fundamental differences of principle between the C. L. P. and the C. P. and therefore proposed that the two organizations unite.

2. It agreed to accept the Manifesto and Program of the Communist Party, but suggested that inasmuch as the constitution of neither organization was workable under the new conditions, that it be left to the convention to draft a new constitution.

3. It proposed that pending the holding of a convention the two organizations unite so far as possible through uniting of the Executive Committees and the national offices, propaganda and defense work.

This reply was considered at a meeting of the C. E. C. of the Communist Party. A motion to accept the proposition as to point No. 3 was lost and the following motion adopted:

That we reaffirm our previous position with instructions to our committee to make such modifications in regard to the constitution as were indicated in the discussion.

At the time of printing this issue of the party organ the matter has not developed any further.