

# THE COMMUNIST

Official Organ of the Communist Party of America.

SECTION OF THE THIRD COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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## Statutes of the Third Communist International

ADOPTED BY THE SECOND CONGRESS

July 17th-August 7th, 1920.

In London in 1864 was established the first International Association of Workers, latterly known as the 1st International. The statute of the International Association of Workers quotes as follows:

That the emancipation of the working class is to be attained by the working class itself.

That the struggle for the emancipation of the working class does not mean a struggle for class privileges and monopolies but a struggle for equal rights and equal obligations, for the abolition of every kind of class-domination.

That the economic subjection of the worker under the monopolists of the means of production, i.e., of the sources of life is the cause of servitude in all its forms, the cause of all social misery, all mental degradation and political dependence.

That the economic-emancipation of the working class is therefore the great aim which every political movement must be subordinate to.

That all endeavors for this great aim have failed as yet because of the lack of solidarity between the various branches of industry in all countries, because of the absence of the fraternal tie of unity between the working classes of the different countries.

That the emancipation is neither a local nor a national problem but a problem of a social character embracing every civilized country, and the solution of which depends on the theoretical and practical co-operation of the most progressive countries.

That the actual simultaneous revival of the workers' movement in the industrial countries of Europe on the one hand awakens new hope whilst on the other hand it is a solemn warning of the danger of relapse into the old errors and an appeal for an immediate union of the hitherto disconnected movement.

The Second International which was established in 1889 at Paris had undertaken to continue the work of the First International. In 1914 at the outbreak of the world slaughter it suffered a complete failure. Undermined by opportunism and damaged by the treason of its leaders who had taken the side of the bourgeoisie—the Second International perished.

The Third Communist International which was established in March 1919 in the capital of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, in the city of Moscow, solemnly proclaims before the entire world that it takes upon itself to continue and to complete the great cause begun by the First International Workers' Association.

The Third Communist International had been formed at a moment when the imperialist slaughter of 1914-1918—in which the imperialist bourgeoisie of the various countries had sacrificed twenty million men, came to an end.

Keep in mind the Imperialist war! This the first appeal of the Communist International to every toiler wherever he may live and whatever language he may speak. Keep in mind that owing to the existence of the capitalist system a small group of imperialists had the opportunity during four long years to compel the workers of various countries to cut each other's throats. Keep in mind that the bourgeois war has cast Europe and the entire world into a state of extreme destitution and starvation. Keep in mind that unless the capitalist system is overthrown the repetition of such criminal war is not only possible but inevitable.

The Communist International makes it its aim to put up an armed struggle for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and the creation of an international Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the complete abolition of the State. The Communist International considers the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only means for the liberation of humanity from the horrors of capitalism. The Communist International considers the Soviet form of government as the historically evolved form of this dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Imperialist war is responsible for the close union of fates of the workers of one country with the fates of the workers of all other countries. The Imperialist war emphasizes once more what is emphasized in the statutes of the First International: that the emancipation of labor is neither a local, nor a national task, but one of a social and international character.

The Communist once forever breaks with the traditions of the Second International which

in reality only recognized the white race. The Communist International makes it its task to emancipate the workers of the entire world. The ranks of the Communist International fraternally unite men of all colors: white, yellow and black—the toilers of the entire world.

The Communist International fully and unreservedly upholds the gains of the great proletarian revolution in Russia, the first victorious socialist revolution in the world's history, and calls upon all the workers to follow the same road. The Communist International makes it its duty to support by all the power at its disposal every Soviet Republic wherever it may be formed.

The Communist International is aware that for the purpose of a speedy achievement of victory the International Association of workers which is struggling for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Communism should possess a firm and centralized organization. To all intents and purposes the Communist International should represent a single universal Communist Party, of which the parties operating in every country form individual sections. The organized apparatus of the Communist International is to secure to the toilers of every country the possibility at any given moment to obtain the maximum of aid from the organized workers of the other countries.

For this purpose the Communist International confirms the following items of its statute:

Par. 1. The new International Association of workers is established for the purpose of organizing common activity of the workers of various countries who are striving towards a single aim: the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the international Soviet Republic the complete abolition of classes and the realization of socialism—this first step to Communist Society.

Par. 2. The new International Association of workers has been given the name of THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Par. 3. All the parties and organizations comprising the Communist International bear the name of the Communist Party of the given country. (section of the Communist International).

Par. 4. The World Congress of all parties and organizations which form part of the Communist International is the supreme organ of this International. The World Congress as a rule convenes not less than once a year. The World Congress confirms the programmes of the various parties comprising the Communist International. The World Congress discusses and decides the more important questions of programme and tactics, which are connected with the activity of the Communist International. The number of decisive votes at the World Congress for every party and organization is decided upon by a special regulation of the Congress; it is found necessary to strive for a speedy establishment of a standard of representation on the basis of the actual number of the members of the organization and the real influence of the party in question.

Par. 5. The World Congress elects an Executive Committee of the Communist International which serves as the leading organ of the Communist International in the intervals between the convention of World Congresses and is responsible only to the World Congress.

Par. 6. The residence of the Executive Committee of the Communist International is decided each time at the World Congress of the Communist International.

Par. 7. A special World Congress of the Communist International may be convened either by regulation of the Executive Committee, or at the demand of one half of the number of parties which were part of the Communist International at the last World Congress.

Par. 8. The chief bulk of the work and most responsibility in the Executive Committee of the Communist International lays with the party of that country where, in keeping with the regulation of the World Congress, the Executive Committee finds its residence for the time being. The party of the country in question sends to the Executive Committee not less than five members with a decisive vote. In addition to this, one representative with a decisive vote is sent to the Communist International from ten or twelve of the largest of the of the communist parties. The list of these

representatives is to be confirmed by the Universal Congress of the Communist International. The remaining parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International enjoy the right of sending to the Executive Committee one representative each with a consultative vote.

Par. 9. The Executive Committee is the leading organ of the Communist International during the conventions; the Executive Committee publishes in no less than four languages the central organ of the Communist International (the periodical "The Communist International"). The Executive Committee makes the necessary appeals on behalf of the Communist International, and issues instructions obligatory to all the parties and organizations which form part of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International enjoys the right to demand from the affiliated parties the expulsion of groups or members who are guilty of the infringement of international proletarian discipline, as well as the exclusion from the Communist International of such parties guilty of the infringement of the regulations of the World Congress. In the event of necessity the Executive Committee organizes in various countries its technical and auxiliary bureaus, which are entirely under the control of the Executive Committee.

Par. 10. The Executive Committee of the Communist International enjoys the right to include in its ranks representatives of organizations and parties not accepted in the Communist International but which are sympathetic towards communism; these are to have a consultative vote only.

Par. 11. The organs of all parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International as well as of those who are recognized sympathizers of the Communist International are obliged to publish all official regulations of the Communist International and of its Executive Committee.

Par. 12. The general state of things in the whole of Europe and of America makes necessary for the communists of the whole world an obligatory formation of illegal communist organizations along with those existing legally. The Executive Committee shall take charge of the universal application of this rule.

Par. 13. All most important political relations between the individual parties forming part of the Communist International are customarily carried on through the medium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In cases of exigency direct relations are established, with provision, however, that the Executive Committee of the Communist International is informed of same at the same time.

Par. 14. The Trade Unions which have accepted the Communist platform and are united on an international scale under the control of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, form Trade Union Sections of the Communist International. The Communist Trade Unions send their representatives to the World Congresses of the Communist International through the medium of the Communist parties of their respective countries. The Trade Union section of the Communist International shall delegate a representative with a decisive vote to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International enjoys the right of sending a representative with decisive vote, to the Trade Union section of the Communist International.

Par. 15. The International League of Communist Youth is subject to the Communist International and its Executive Committee. One representative of the Executive Committee of the International League of Communist Youth with a decisive vote is delegated to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International on the other hand enjoys the right of sending a representative with a decisive vote to the Executive organ of the International League of Communist Youth. Organizations relations between the League of Youth and the Communist party are basically defined in every country after the same system.

Par. 16. The Executive Committee of the Communist International confirms the International Secretary of the Communist Women's movement and organizes a women's section of the Communist International.

Par. 17. In the event of a member of the Communist International coming to another country he is to have the fraternal support of the local members of the Third International.

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Official organ of  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA  
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## Comrade Martens is Deported

After a year of dilatory investigation on and off the Secretary of Labor, Wilson, (former labor faker who was rewarded by his capitalist masters with a soft berth) has ordered the deportation of Comrade L. C. A. K. Martens, commercial representative of Soviet Russia in America.

Immediately upon the publication of the order Comrade Martens notified Soviet Russia, which answered that he return immediately with all his staff of Russian citizens in a scathing denouncement of the brutal policy of the American capitalist government. So, here this issue will be in the hands of its readers, Comrade Martens will be on the high seas bound for Moscow, thankful no doubt to shake the dust of this "glorious republic" from his shoes.

There is more than blind stupidity in this cynically brutal move of the U. S. Government. It is an earnest of the unflinching attitude of capitalist United States towards Soviet Russia. All the venom, all the hatred, all the fear which the capitalists of America feel towards Soviet Russia is embodied in the act of deporting Russia's unrecognized representative. Too far away from Russia to bar her directly through invasion—conscious that all the money she has loaned France, Poland, Yudenitch and Wrangel to overthrow the Soviet Republic has been spent all in vain and that she can never be re-imbursed—the U. S. Government is venting its concentrated hatred upon Comrade Martens and driving him from its shores.

So be it. Those whom the gods would destroy they first make mad. The U. S. Government is certainly going mad these last few years and it is also certain that she is doomed to annihilation. Its every act has illustrated the teachings of the Communists—that it is a democratic government in name only but actually the most reactionary and murderous capitalist dictatorship in the world. It forces the workers into war for the sake of capitalist ambitions to be a world power; it shoots down workers when they go on strike; it sends the leaders of the working class to jail; it destroys the workers' organizations; it issues injunctions against the workers and ties up their funds; it deports and jails radical workers; it drives political parties underground; it instigates and backs up with all the might of its police and armed power every assault upon the rights and lives of the working class as a whole.

And at the same time it permits the greatest era of profiteering and graft in the history of the world. It permits the most merciless exploitation of the workers. It shifts the tax burdens for the war upon the heavy backs of the workers and the exploited. It reveals in the greatest orgy of useless spending ever known. In the face of the gravest industrial crisis and unemployment era this country has ever faced; the U. S. government is preparing to FEED THE MASSES WITH LEAD when they cry for bread.

So it is perfectly logical for such a government to deport the representative of a Workers' and Peasants Governments from its "hospitable" shores. We are not surprised. Our only surprise is why the government didn't do it sooner. Perhaps the election interfered with its plans, that is all. We can conceive of no humanitarian reason for its procrastination. A capitalist government is as devoid of human feeling as the machine which grinds the workers' blood into profits for the master class...

The Communist Party of America sends its warmest greetings to Comrade Martens and to Soviet Russia with the hope that the next representative from Soviet Russia to the United States will not come to establish

trade relations (and recognition of Soviet Russia, but to bind the coming Soviet Republic of the United States in bonds of close fraternal unity with the Soviet Republic of Russia.

## Exit John Sandgren.

Elsewhere in this issue will be found the official reports of the General Executive Board of the I. W. W. as printed in the December 18th issue of "Solidarity", regarding the vote on the recent referendum and also THE REMOVAL OF JOHN SANDGREN AS EDITOR OF THE "ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY" for "attacking revolutionary organizations of this and other countries in a manner which is contrary to the policy laid down by the General Executive Board at its previous sessions"...

However, despite this tardy acknowledgment of the counter-revolutionary activities and writings of John Sandgren which the "Communist" has consistently exposed time and again, this step is no indication of any radical change in the policies of the I. W. W. as carried on by its G. E. B.. On the contrary, this move of expelling Sandgren seems to be only another attempt to string a red herring across the trail of the anti-revolutionary policy of the G. E. B. itself.

It is not true, as the G. E. B. claim, that Sandgren acted contrary to the policy laid down by the G. E. B. After the endorsement of his attacks in the October "One Big Union Monthly" upon the Communist movement in this country and the Communist International and its sections abroad, Sandgren, in the November and December issue simply carried out the policy of the G. E. B. to its logical conclusion. Not a retrogression from the policy laid down by the G. E. B., but too much zeal in carrying it out, with all its full implications, is the cause of his removal.

For the report of the G. E. B. special meeting of October 18th, as taken from the "One Big Union Monthly" of December, reveals the following item:

"Made and Seconded. That we endorse the policy followed by the editor of the O. B. U. Monthly in the October issue, and at the same time we recommend that all the editors in the future adhere to the policies laid down by the G. E. B., I. W. W., to the greatest possible extent. Carried."

This proves that it was Sandgren who was consistent and the G. E. B. who are inconsistent.

The G. E. B. have executed a hasty retreat, not because of a change of heart, or a new orientation towards the Communist International, but simply because of a cowardly attempt to cover up their own inherently opportunistic and counter-revolutionary policies. They merely wish to ward off any blame or criticism for their share—and theirs is the major share—in the November and December issues of the O. B. U. Monthly.

This vicarious expiation for their sins of commission and omission will not fool anyone with any knowledge of the facts. The rank and file of the I. W. W. know these facts. The members of the Communist movement in America are equally acquainted with the facts. Logically there is only one thing left for the members of the G. E. B. of the I. W. W., and that is to RESIGN their positions and slink off somewhere to cogitate on the unkind fate of those who try to straddle two horses at the same time.

The Communist International, and all its affiliated sections in the various countries, are the only really revolutionary proletarian movements capable of leading and guiding the proletariat and the exploited masses to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are standing in the first-line trenches fighting the battles of the world's workers. Against them are arrayed all the forces of reaction, flanked by the subservient flunkies of the Second International. Between these two forces battling for power there can be no neutral position. So-called revolutionary organizations, like the I. W. W., which pretend to a position of neutrality in this merciless war, are assisting the capitalists and the social-patriots and traitors of all kinds to crush the revolutionary movements at home, as well as the great Russian Revolution itself.

THERE CAN BE NO NEUTRAL POSITION IN THIS WAR OF THE CLASSES!

Those who are against the Communist International are for the capitalists and their henchmen.

The G. E. B. of the I. W. W. have convicted themselves of trying to maintain this untenable position of neutrality. It led their editorial policies directly into the camp of the bourgeoisie. John Sandgren was merely their instrument of articulate expression—their tool in applying those policies. To dismiss this tool, without at the same time changing their policy of "neutrality" to one of active and wholehearted support to the international Communist movement, is the sheerest hypocrisy and deceit.

## Another "Mission" Goes to Russia.

One of the post-revolutionary factors which Russia is suffering from—with admirable self-possession and self-restraint we should judge—is the influx of "missions" from this or that "Socialist" party or labor organization from every part of Europe. The wear and tear, the time wasted by Bolshevik leaders in performing the necessary formalities, the answering of silly questions, and the search for those dainty morsels which are so indispensable to the proletarian appetites of these "missionaries", has generally been overlooked in condemning the Bolsheviks. Surely these "missions" have had something to do with keeping Russia in a state of chronic impoverishment?

And now comes the news that another "mission" is to visit Soviet Russia, to add to Russia's troubles and the gayety of the nations. The Socialist Party of America is sending Oneal, Trachtenberg, Joseph E. Cohen, Algernon Lee and Mrs. Victor Berger to "study" Russian conditions at first hand. This is a remarkable aggregation of Mensheviks and traitors only comparable to the Labor Party mission of which the notorious Mrs. Snowden was a member.

The visit of this "Socialist" mission will be a fitting anti-climax to the Wrangel campaign; and we can only express our regret that Morris Hillquit, Meyer London and Mrs. Berger's husband are not to go along for the "reception" this mission will receive will be instructive and interesting if not wholly to their liking.

We suggest that they buy a wreath to place upon the grave of John Reed before departing, as a token of their esteem and admiration of the American Communist who gave his life for the world revolution. Besides, it might serve as a gentle reminder.

## The "One Big Union" of Schlesinger and Hillman.

Coincident with the lockout of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers by the clothing bosses and the struggle for existence which this union must now wage, comes the news that the five needle trade unions have created a "One Big Union" in this industry. Of course, this action was foreshadowed by the affirmative action of the Amalgamated and the International's conventions held this year. Were this act of amalgamation a bona fide one, none would be better pleased than the Communists. One Big Union of the Needle trades is a consummation devoutly to be wished. The rank and file of the needle trades have been clamoring for it these many years.

But the trade union bureaucracy has just as consistently thwarted any action in this direction in the past. Even at the recent conventions of the two largest individual unions the teeth were extracted from the motion before the leaders permitted it to be passed. Have these same leaders suddenly suffered a change of heart? Have they really created a "One Big Union" that will really meet the needs of the needle industry?

The pseudo organization created at the Hotel Astor by the trade union bureaucracy of the needle trades was just another swindle

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## The Struggle Over The League of Nations.

We can say, without fear of successful contradiction, that there is very little interest taken in the fight over the League of Nations in Communist quarters. This is but natural. Our position on the League of Nations was adopted long ago. It was adopted even before the League Covenant was written. We did not have to see, like the "Socialists" and the Liberals, whether the League of Nations was based upon "liberal" principles, whether it was "democratic" or "just". A League of capitalist nations can never be anything but a league of capitalist states. Such a league may be based on the most "liberal" and "democratic" principles—that cannot blind Communists to the real nature of the League, any more than Communists are blinded by the sham democracy of the capitalist states themselves.

Sincere liberals may oppose this particular League of Nations. They may call for reservation, clarification, amendments, etc. Or they may decide for the rejection of the whole covenant as being undemocratic. But between such "liberal-Socialist" and Communist opposition to the League there is a wide and unbridgeable gulf. They must never be confused. The danger of confusion, of course, lies far less from the side of the Communists than of the liberals, especially, the petty-bourgeois Socialists. The "Socialist" opposition to the League is of a variegated kind suited to their opportunism. The Communist opposition is crystal clear. The Communist analysis mercilessly exposes the nature of the capitalist state. It explains to the workers that a combination of capitalist states can never be anything better than its constituent parts.

Our position requires also a criticism of the liberal and "Socialist" relations to the League. Such criticism is at the same time, a criticism of liberalism and moderate socialism in its relation to imperialism.

The election controversy has, however, furnished us a new angle of approach. Superficially it seems paradoxical that if the League is what we claim for it, an organization of international brigands, a league of capitalist-imperialist states in furtherance of their selfish schemes of world domination and exploitation, that a large section of the bourgeoisie in this country,—and the largest and most class-conscious at that—should be opposed to the League of Nations. Nor is this section of the bourgeoisie the anti-imperialist element. The bourgeoisie represented by the Republican Party have always been in the forefront, leading and guiding the imperialist policy in the Philippines, Cuba, South America, etc. Even now, a writer in the N. Y. Times, October 28—warns the Mexicans that Lodge, Knox, Hughes and Fall stand for intervention in Mexico—that a Republican victory at the polls means war with Mexico and the conquest of that country, unless indeed the Mexicans are ready to submit gracefully to the American capitalists. Why then are our American imperialists opposed to the Imperialist League of Nations?

It is indubitably true that the bourgeois opposition in this country to the League of Nations is to some extent, sham, mere "politics" played by politicians out of employment. Yet behind this veil of sham there is a sincere bourgeois opposition to the League of Nations covenant. The nature of this antagonism is most clearly seen when we analyse the defections from the regular party ranks. Especially noteworthy are the Republican defections. They fall under two heads, financiers and publicists, educators, etc..

First as to the publicists, educators, etc., the pro-league independents; they are the exponents of middle class democracy. Their point of view is most aptly set forth in the words of the banker, Thos. W. Lamont, in his letter to Edwin F. Gay, publisher of the Evening Post, Mr Lamont's own paper. Lamont writes as follows: "At first and last, the League recognizes that wars are due largely to misunderstandings and misrepresentations. The cure for misunderstanding is candid interchange of views. The antidote for misrepresentation is common accessibility to the facts. The present League creates an organization for the interchange of facts and of opinions. To prevent the growth of distrust is the vital need of the world to-day and to do that end, the League is clearly designed". This is the stock pacifist conception of the cause of wars. It is because of this conception that pacifists are continually searching for honest diplomats who will candidly declare their ideas and policies.

Only the naive, puerile brain of a pacifist, or the willfully perverted mind of a banker like Lamont can for a moment entertain the thought that a war which was responsible for the death and starvation of millions, the crippling of millions more, the most dreadful devastation ever wrought in the world's history, could in any manner be due to mere misunderstanding. However, it is convenient for Thomas Lamont to appear as naive and simple as a child—professing a total innocence and ignorance of material facts—even though such knowledge is absolutely indispensable in the banking trade of which he is one of the leading figures.

The great American financiers, the firm of Morgan & Co., of which Mr. Lamont is a partner have never made a secret of their sponsorship of the League of Nations. In fact, they have a goodly share in the framing of the Versailles Peace Treaty and the League Covenant. Moreover, to go back a year and a half in our history, it was Morgan & Co. who had a copy of the Peace Treaty even before the Treaty

was refused to the Senate by Wilson, and at the same time that the Government asked that the terms be not made public.

The struggle over the League of Nations is essentially a struggle between two sets of capitalists, between two categories of capital, to wit, LARGE-FINANCE CAPITAL and INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL. Large finance-capital has sponsored the League from the very beginning. It wants the League and is straining for its creation. Industrial capital, on the whole, detests the League. It wants it destroyed or at least, its coercive power rendered nil.

The antagonism of large finance-capital and industrial capital lies in the nature of both classes of capital and their special functions in the World War. The great banks have by their financial dealings been bound hand and foot to Europe. Their solvency depends upon the solvency of European bourgeois governments. Bankers have never been known to lend money out of generosity. The enormous sums loaned to France, England, Italy, Checko-Slovakia, Rumania, etc., must be returned and with interest. Default in payment means loss, insolvency and bankruptcy. The difference in attitude taken towards Europe by financiers and industrial capitalists is most curiously shown by statements of returned travelers. Bankers on their home-coming are, as a rule, pessimistic. The whole burden of Europe's troubles seems pivoted on their shoulders. They talk of Bolshevism, depreciation, starvation, imminent bankruptcy industrialists, on the other hand, generally maintain their optimism. They speak of reviving trade, increased business, renewed industrial activity—though of course with "labor troubles".

The great financial capitalists have a general interest in the condition of capitalist society as a whole. The conditions in any one particular industry or group of industries are of much less importance to them than the general conditions prevailing in industrial society as a whole. The politics of a nation, its domestic and foreign policy are of vital concern to them. Large finance-capital may be compared to the heart of a huge organism. It is the heart of capitalism. Industry, trade, commerce are the veins and arteries, the channels that carry capitalism's life blood to its heart. Political and social conditions are the organic conditions which aid or retard metabolism going on in the economic organism.

It is because that American finance-capital has to a great extent been functioning as the heart of European capitalist society that it is so profoundly and intensely interested in European affairs. The rebuilding the reconstruction, the solvency of Europe is its prime concern. It has no territorial interests in the Eastern hemisphere—that we shall speak later. No wonder then that it wants peace in Europe. The longing for peace on the part of our bankers is real and substantial and not cloudy. The N. Y. Times, the mouthpiece of Wall Street bankers urged the Poles to make peace with Soviet Russia; certainly not on account of its of Bolshevism. And whereas other newspapers boastfully proclaimed the Riga Peace as Polish victory, the Times soberly commented that it was not Polish victory, but that it was as Joffe said, "a peace without victory;" but with a necessary peace for the Poles as well if not more so than for the Russians. Peace is becoming more and more recognized as a *conditio sine quo non* for any rehabilitation in Europe. The American financial capitalists desire the business of supervising the peace of Europe. The mutual jealousies, economic, national, racial and religious antipathies excited among the small nations must be quieted. This can be accomplished by, at least this task can be approached by, a seemingly neutral organization like the League, through the intermeddling of and extra-European power like the United States. Our League interventionists do not express this thought crudely and in naked language. They clothe it with beautiful, idealistic phrases. Lamont, in the above-mentioned letter to Gay, thus unburdens himself, "Shall America equipped in intellectual power and material resources to lead a world, now turn her back and with clouded vision, reject that moral leadership WHICH THE LESSER NATIONS OF THE EARTH TREAT HER TO ASSUME?" The Kipling brand of imperialism dilated plaintively on the "White Man's Burden". Our newer Lamontian imperialism tearfully echoes the burden of the larger nations.

The industrial capitalists, and the small bankers on the other hand, do not see things in the same light as their larger financial brothers. Their interests in Europe are remote, not intense; particular, not general. Their eyes are on their own country. Domestic issues, as they call it, occupy their attention almost exclusively. Their most important foreign issue is the tariff. Indeed, it is significant that while Harding has more than once mentioned the tariff in his campaign speeches, Cox has been uniformly silent on the subject. As a result of this localism of industrial capital, the industrialists are hardly interested in the peace and stability of Europe. To them interference in European affairs means enter taxation (always a nightmare), diversion of American business interests, embroilment in questions in which they are not concerned, or concerned but remotely.

There is another factor which goes to make American imperialism hostile to a League of Nations. Our imperialism has gravitated

chiefly around that body of principles which has gone by the name of the Monroe Doctrine. Though it is true President Monroe announced his famous policy in 1823, long before the growth of American Imperialism, it is in effect a new doctrine applied to modern conditions, the political circumstances in Europe and America which gave rise to that doctrine having disappeared. The Monroe Doctrine, revived by the torch of modern imperialism is an expression of the fact (1) that American imperialism is too late to engage the world as its field; (2) that by geographical position, the Western hemisphere is the choice field for American imperialist conquest. American imperialism has sought to retrieve its loss in Europe, Africa and Asia by asserting all of the Western hemisphere as the sole and exclusive monopoly of American capital. The right of the United States to arbitrate the European-Asiatic affairs involves the recognition of the right of a League of Nations purporting to represent the whole world to interfere in matters pertaining to the Americans. In passing it is well to note that participation in a League of Nations is in itself an abandonment of the original Monroe Doctrine which has as its first condition, non-participation of the United States in European wars. American Imperialism at present would rather assert its exclusive dominion over the whole Western half of the world, than surrender one tittle of its monopoly for the doubtful privilege of entering into the European-imperialist arena.

No doubt, American capital can enter the League with reservations as to the Monroe Doctrine. To those who worship legal formulas and words, this affords consolation. History, however, has brutally proven more than once the worthlessness of words, the sterility of phrases. American lawyers versed in the constitutional history of their country appreciate only too well the cheap value of reservations and interpretations. American imperialism guards its treasure too highly to be deceived by prospective reservations or legalistic interpretation.

Our analysis has shown that the League controversy has for its base, despite the camouflage of ideologic phrases, a social economy; this economy, the conflicting interests of two groups of the exploiting class. Both sides carefully, though to a large extent, unconsciously conceal their economic interests, behind systems of political philosophy and ideology. Some of the participants in the controversy interpret it as a conflict between the ideas of nationalism and internationalism; others, between selfishness and idealism; still others as a conflict between Americanism and Pro-Britishism. To the Marxist, this is an interesting example of how political systems and prevailing prejudices are shaped and moulded in support of economic class interests. We should never cease insisting on this truth. More than that, we should ever be busy, studying and interpreting history, current as well as past, in the light of the great Marxian truths.

## Statement of G. E. B. of I. W. W.

(FROM DECEMBER 18, SOLIDARITY)

G. E. B. BULLETIN.

On account of the articles appearing in the O. B. U. Monthly, attacking revolutionary organizations of this and other countries in a manner which is contrary to the policy laid down by the General Executive Board at its previous sessions, and so many complaints coming into the General Office, the General Executive Board has found it necessary to remove the Editor, John Sandgren, in order to maintain harmony and discipline in the organization.

(Signed) GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD.

### VOTE ON THE REFERENDUM.

The vote on the Third International having been counted and tabulated, it was found that all propositions were defeated, and as many resolutions and protests were received from industrial Unions and Branches, as well as from individual members, and as a majority of the G. E. B. had sanctioned the withdrawal of the referendum on the above proposition,—the G. E. B. has declared the ballot void—excepting the Constitutional amendment of electing G. E. B. members direct by the industrial Unions that they represent, which was carried.

(Signed) Chairman, G. E. B.

### REPORT OF BALLOT COMMITTEE.

We, undersigned ballot committee on referendum of Third International and Constitutional Amendment, have made a tabulation of total vote cast, and find the following to be the result:

1st Proposition—YES:	602;	NO:	1668
2nd Proposition—YES:	913;	NO:	1113
3rd Proposition—YES:	1111;	NO:	994

The Ballot Committee finds 127 protest ballots voting NO on all propositions of the Third International, that, therefore, defeat the entire referendum on the Third International.

We also find 319 defective ballots that had to be thrown out.

Vote on Constitutional Amendment:	
YES:	2254;
NO:	246.

(Signed)

# Thesis On The Agrarian Question.

ADOPTED at the SECOND WORLD CONGRESS of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

1. No one but the city industrial proletariat led by the Communist Party, can save the laboring masses in the country from the pressure of capital and landlordism, from dissolution and from imperialistic wars, ever inevitable as long as the capitalist regime endures. There is no salvation for the peasants except to join the Communist proletariat, to support with heart and soul its revolutionary struggle to throw off the yoke of the landlords and the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, the industrial workers will be unable to carry out their universal historic mission, and to liberate humanity from the bondage of capital and war, if they shut themselves within their separate guilds, their narrow trade interests, and restrict themselves self-sufficiently to a desire for the improvement of their sometimes tolerable bourgeois conditions of life. That is what happens in most advanced countries possessing a "labor aristocracy," which forms the basis of the would-be parties of the Second International, who are, in fact, the worst enemies of Socialism, traitors to it, bourgeois jingoes, agents of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement. The proletariat becomes a truly revolutionary class, truly Socialist in its actions, only by acting as the vanguard of all those who work and are being exploited, as their leader in the struggle for the overthrow of the oppressors; and this cannot be achieved without carrying the class struggle into the agricultural districts, without making the laboring masses of the country all gather around the Communist Party of the town proletariat, without the peasants being educated by the town proletariat.

2. The laboring and exploited masses in the country, which the town proletariat must lead on to the fight, or at least win over to its side, are represented in all capitalist countries by the following groups:

In the first place, the agricultural proletariat, the hired laborers (by the year, by the day, by the job), making their living by wage labor in capitalist, agricultural, or industrial establishments; the independent organization of this class, separated from the other groups of the country population (in a political, military, trade, co-operative, educational sense), and an energetic propaganda among it, in order to win it over to the side of the Soviet power and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, must be the fundamental task of the Communist parties in all countries.

In the second place, the semi-proletariat or small peasants, those who make their living partly by working for wages in agricultural and industrial capitalist establishments, partly by toiling on their own or a rented parcel of land yielding but a part of the necessary food produce for their families; this class of the rural population is rather numerous in all capitalist countries, but its existence and its peculiar position are hushed up by the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the yellow "Socialists" affiliated to the Second International. Some of these people intentionally cheat the workers, but others follow blindly the average views of the public and mix up this special class with the whole mass of the "peasantry". Such a method of bourgeois deception of the workers is used more particularly in Germany and France, and then in America and other countries. Provided that the work of the Communist Party is well organized, this group is sure to side with the Communists, the conditions of life of these half-proletarians being very hard, the advantage the Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat would bring them being enormous and immediate. In some countries there is no clear-cut distinction between these two groups; it is, therefore, permissible under certain conditions to form them into separate organizations.

In the third place, the little proprietors, the small farmers who possess by right of ownership or on rent small portions of land which satisfy the needs of their family and of their farming without requiring any additional wage labor; this part of the population as a class gains everything by the victory of the proletariat, which brings with it: a) liberation from the payment of rent or of a part of the crops (for instance, the *matayers* in France, the same arrangements in Italy, etc.) to the owners of large estates; b) abolition of all mortgages; c) abolition of many forms of pressure and of dependence on the owners of large estates (forests and their use, etc.); d) immediate help from the proletarian state for farm work (permitting use by peasants of the agricultural implements and in part of the buildings on the big capitalist estates expropriated by the proletariat, the immediate transformation by the proletarian state power of all rural co-operatives and agricultural companies, which under the capitalist rule were chiefly supporting the wealthy and the middle peasantry, into institutions primarily for the support of the poor peasantry, that is to say, the proletarians, semi-proletarians, small farmers, etc.).

At the same time the Communist Party should be thoroughly aware that during the dictatorship of the proletariat, at least some partial hesitations are inevitable in this class, in favor of unrestricted free trade and free use of the rights of private property. For this class, being a seller of commodities (although on a small scale), is necessarily demoralized

by profit-hunting and habits of proprietorship. And yet, provided there is a consistent proletarian policy—and the victorious proletariat deals relentlessly with the owners of the large estates and the landed peasants—the hesitations of the class in question will not be considerable, and cannot change the fact that on the whole this class will side with the proletarian revolution.

3. All these three groups taken together constitute the majority of the agrarian population in all capitalist countries. This guarantees in full the success of the proletarian revolution not only in the towns but in the country as well. The opposite view is very widely spread but it persists only because of a systematic deception on the part of bourgeois science and statistics. They hush up by every means any mention of the deep chasm which divides the rural classes we have indicated, from the exploiters, the landowners and capitalists on the one hand, from the landed peasants on the other. It holds further because of the incapacity and the failure of the "heroes" affiliated to the yellow Second International and the "labor aristocracy," demoralized by imperialistic privileges, to do genuine propaganda work among the poor in the country. All the attention of the opportunists was given and is being given now to the arrangement of theoretical and practical agreements with the bourgeoisie, including the landed and the middle peasantry (see Paragraph concerning these classes) and not to the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois government and the bourgeois class by the proletariat. In the third place, this view persists because of the force of inveterate prejudice possessing already a great stability (and connected with all bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices), the incapacity to grasp a simple truth fully proved by the Marxist theory and confirmed by the practice of the proletarian revolution in Russia. This truth consists in the fact that the peasant population of the three classes we have mentioned above, being extremely oppressed, scattered, and doomed to live in half-civilized conditions in all countries, even in the most advanced, is economically, socially, and morally interested in the victory of Socialism; but that it will finally support the revolutionary proletariat only after the proletariat has taken the political power, after it has done away with the owners of the large estates and the capitalists, after the oppressed masses are able to see in practice that they have an organized leader and helper sufficiently powerful and firm to support and to guide, to show the right way.

The "middle peasantry," in the economic sense, consists of small landowners who possess, according to the right ownership or rent, portions of land, which, although small, nevertheless may: 1) usually yield under capitalist rule not only scanty provision for the family and the needs of the farming, but also the possibility of accumulating a certain surplus, which, at least in the best years, could be transformed into capital; and 2) necessitate the employment of (for instance, in a family of two or three members) wage labor. As a concrete example of the middle peasantry in an advanced capitalist country, we may take the situation in Germany, where, according to the registration of 1917, there was a group tilling farms from five to ten acres, and in these farms the number of hired agricultural laborers made up about a third of the whole number of farms in this group.\* In France, the country of a greater development of special cultures, for instance, the vineyards, requiring special treatment and care, the corresponding group employs wage labor probably in a somewhat larger proportion.

The revolutionary proletariat can not make it its aim, at least for the nearest future and for the beginning of the period of the proletarian dictatorship, to win this class over to its side. The proletariat will have to content itself with neutralizing this class, i.e., with making it take a neutral position in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The vacillation of this class is unavoidable, and in the beginning of the new epoch its predominant tendency in the advanced capitalist countries will be in favor of the bourgeoisie, for the ideas and sentiments of private property are characteristic of the possessors. The victorious proletariat will immediately improve the lot of this class by abolishing the system of rent and mortgage, by the introduction of machinery and electrical appliances into agriculture. The proletarian state power cannot at once abolish private property in most of the capitalist countries, but must do away with all duties and levies imposed upon this class of people by the landlords; it will also secure to the small and middle peasantry the ownership of their land holding and enlarge them, putting the peasants in possession of the land they used to rent (abolition of rents).

The combination of such measures with a relentless struggle against the bourgeoisie guarantees the full success of the neutralization policy. The transition to collective agriculture must be managed with much circumspection and step by step, and the proletarian state power must proceed by the force of example without any violence toward the middle peasantry.

4. The landed peasants or farmers (*Grossbauern*) are capitalists in agriculture, managing their lands usually with several hired laborers. They are connected with the "peasantry" only by their rather low standard of culture, their way of living, the personal manual work of their land. This is the most numerous element of the bourgeois class, and the decided enemy of the revolutionary proletariat. The chief attention of the Communist Party in the rural districts must be given to the struggle against this element, to the liberation of the laboring and exploited majority of the rural population from the moral and political influence of these exploiters.

After the victory of the proletariat in the towns, this class will inevitably oppose it by all means, from sabotage to open armed counter-revolutionary resistance. The revolutionary proletariat must, therefore, immediately begin to prepare the necessary force for the disarmament of every single man of this class, and together with the overthrow of the capitalists in industry, the proletariat must deal a relentless, crushing blow to this class. To that end it must arm the rural proletariat and organize Soviets in the country, with no room for exploiters, and a preponderant place must be reserved to the proletarians and the semi-proletarians.

But the expropriation even of the landed peasants can by no means be an immediate object of the victorious proletariat, considering the lack of material, particularly of technical material, and further of the social conditions necessary for the socialization of such lands. In some probably exceptional cases parts of their estates will be confiscated if they are leased in small parcels, or if they are specially needed by the small-peasant population. A free use must be also secured to this population, on definite terms, of a part of the agricultural machinery of the landed peasants, etc. As a general rule, however, the state power must leave the peasants in possession of their land, confiscating it only in case of resistance to the government of the laboring and exploited peasants. The experience of the Russian proletarian revolution, whose struggle against the landed peasants became very complicated and prolonged owing to a number of particular circumstances, nevertheless shows that this class has been at last taught what it costs to make the slightest attempt at resistance, and is now quite willing to serve loyally the aims of the proletarian state. It begins even to be penetrated, although very slowly, by a respect for the government which protects every worker and deals relentlessly with the idle rich.

The specific conditions which complicated and prolonged the struggle of the Russian proletariat against the landed peasantry after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, consist mainly in the fact that after the coup d'état of October 25 and November 7, 1917, the Russian revolution traversed a stage of "general democratic," actually bourgeois democratic, struggle of the peasantry as a whole against the landowners, and there were further the low standard of living and scarcity of the urban proletariat, and, finally, the enormous distances and exceedingly bad transport conditions. Insofar as these adverse conditions do not exist in the advanced countries, the revolutionary proletariat in Europe and America must prepare with much more energy and carry out a much more rapid and complete victory over the resistance of the landed peasantry, depriving it of all possibility of resistance. This is of the utmost importance, considering that until a complete, absolute victory is won, the proletarian state power cannot be regarded as secure and capable of resisting its enemies.

6. The revolutionary proletariat must proceed to an immediate and unconditional confiscation of the estates of the landowners and big landlords, that is, of all those who systematically employ wage labor, directly or through their tenants, who exploit all the small (and not infrequently also the middle) peasantry in their neighborhood, and who do not do any actual manual work. To this element belong the majority of the descendants of the feudal lords (the nobility of Russia, Germany, and Hungary, the restored seigneurs of France, the Lords in England, the former slave owners in America), or financial magnates who have become particularly rich, or a mixture of those two classes of exploiters and idlers.

No propaganda can be admitted in the Communist parties in favor of an indemnity to be paid to the owners of large estates for their expropriation. In the present conditions prevailing in Europe and America this would mean treason to Socialism and the imposition of a new tax on the laboring and exploited masses, who have already suffered from the war, which has increased the number of millionaires and has multiplied their wealth.

In the advanced capitalist countries the Communist International considers that it should be a prevailing practice to preserve the large agricultural establishments and manage them on the lines of the "Soviet farms" in Russia.\* In regard to the management of the estates confiscated by the victorious proletariat from the owners of large landed property—the prevailing practice in Russia—the cause of economic backwardness was the partition of this landed property for the benefit of the peasantry, and in comparatively rare exceptions was there a preservation of the so-called "Soviet farm," managed by the proletarian state at its expense, and transforming the former wage laborers into workers employed by the state.

and into members of the Soviets managing these farms.

The preservation of large landholdings serves best the interests of the revolutionary elements of the population, namely, the landless agricultural workers and semi-proletarian small landholders, who get their livelihood mainly by working on the large estates. Besides, the nationalization of large landholdings makes the urban population, at least in part, less dependent on the peasantry for their food.

In those places, however, where relics of the feudal system still prevail, where "serfdom" and the system of giving half of the products to the peasants prevails and where a part of the soil belongs to the large estates the landlord privileges give rise to special forms of exploitation.

In countries where large landholdings are insignificant in number, while a great number of small tenants are in search of land, the distribution of the large holdings can prove a sure means of winning the peasantry for the revolution, while the preservation of the large estates can be of no value for the provisioning of the towns. The first and most important task of the proletarian state is to secure a lasting victory. The proletariat must put up with a temporary decline of production so long as it makes for the success of the revolution. Only by persuading the middle peasantry to maintain a neutral attitude, and by gaining the support of a large part, if not the whole, of the small peasantry, can the lasting maintenance of the proletarian power be secured.

At any rate, where the land of the large owners is being distributed, the interests of the agricultural proletariat must be of primary consideration.

The implements of large estates must be converted into state property absolutely intact, but on the unfeeling conditions of its disposal to the small peasants gratis, subject to conditions worked out by the proletarian state.

If just at first, after the proletarian coup d'état, the immediate confiscation of the big estates becomes absolutely necessary, and, moreover, also the banishment or internment of all landowners as leaders of the counter-revolution, and relentless oppressors of the whole rural population, the proletarian state, in proportion to its consolidation not only in the towns but in the country as well, must systematically strive to take advantage of all the forces of this class, of all those who possess valuable experience, learning, organizing talent, and must use them (under special control of the most reliable Communist workers) to organize large agriculture on Socialist principles.

7. The victory of Socialism over capitalism, the consolidation of Socialism, will be definitely established at the time that the proletarian state power, after having finally subdued all resistance of the exploiters and secured for itself complete and absolute submission, will reorganize the whole industry on the base of wholesale collective production and a new technical basis (founded on the electrification of agriculture). This alone will afford a possibility of such radical help in the technical and the social sense, accorded by the town to the backward and disperse country, that this help will create the material base for an enormous increase in the productivity of agricultural and general farming work, and will induce the small farmers by force of example and for their own benefit to change to large, collective machine agriculture

Most particularly in the rural districts real possibility of successful struggle for Socialism requires, in the first place, that all Communist parties inculcate in the industrial proletariat the necessity of sacrifice on its part, and readiness to sacrifice itself for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and that the consolidation of the proletariat be based on the proletariat's knowing how to organize and to lead the working and exploited masses, and on the vanguard's being ready for the greatest sacrifices and heroism. In the second place, possibility of success requires that the laboring and most exploited masses in the country experience immediate and great improvement in their position caused by the victory of the proletariat and by the defeat of the exploiters. Unless this is done, the industrial proletariat cannot depend on the support of the rural districts, and cannot secure the provisioning of them with foodstuffs.

8. The enormous difficulty of organization and education for the revolutionary struggle of the agrarian laboring masses placed by capitalism in a condition of particular oppression, dispersion, and often a mediaeval dependence require from the Communist parties special care for the strike movement in the rural districts. It requires enforced support and wide development of mass strikes of the agrarian proletarians and semi-proletarians. The experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, confirmed and enlarged now by the experience of Germany and other advanced countries, shows that only the development of mass-strike struggle (under certain conditions the small peasants are also to be drawn into these strikes) will shake the inactivity of the country population, arouse in them a class consciousness of the necessity of class organization in the exploited masses in the country, and show them the obvious practical use of their joining the town workers. From this standpoint the promotion of Unions of Agricultural Workers, the co-operation of Communists in the country, and forest workers organizations formed by the exploited agricultural population closely connected with the revolutionary labor movement. A vigorous agitation is

## THE "ONE BIG UNION" OF SCHLESINGER AND HILLMAN.

(Continued from page 2)

perpetrated upon the rank and file. Schlesinger and Hillman simply passed through the motions of creating one big union, while in reality they have left everything intact as it was before. The "organization" they created is as much a fraud and just as impotent as the Triple Alliance in England. Each of the organizations retain their autonomy and their separate form of craft organization, as well as retaining their individual treasuries and their individual powers. The only thing that they have succeeded in creating is another link in the chain which keeps the rank and file in the needle industry captive in the net of the present trade union bureaucracy, and will make it ever so much harder to oust them. In other words, Schlesinger and Hillman have created a "One Big Union" for Schlesinger and Hillman, a new instrument for enslaving and holding down the masses in the needle trades.

## Some Practical Measures for the Unemployed.

With amazing rapidity the wave of unemployment mounts higher and higher. Hundreds of factories are laying off their men for the Christmas holidays and many of them for two or three weeks after the holidays. At the same time many employers announce wage reductions from fifteen to twenty-five percent to take effect immediately or the shops will close down.

Possibly between two and three millions are already out of work through out the country. This is not the peak however. The peak of unemployment will be reached perhaps by the middle of the winter when the total of unemployed will double the present figure.

What will happen then is more or less problematical. That depends upon a number of factors which cannot be ascertained beforehand. But one thing will happen. The unemployed and their families will suffer from cold, hunger and lack of shelter. Prices, whether they be low or high will have no meaning for them. They will be unable to purchase anything at all, when their little savings are exhausted. What will the unemployed do then?

The example of their English comrades seizing public buildings and making them their living quarters will certainly be duplicated by the homeless workers here. Shelter is the first instinct of all human beings and no laws or threats on the part of the government will be able to hinder this movement.

Another measure of immediate relief

likewise to be carried on among the small peasants.

The Congress of the Communist International denounces as traitors those Socialists—unfortunately there are such not only in the yellow Second International, but also among the three most important European parties, which have left the Second International—who are not only indifferent toward the strike struggle in the rural districts, but oppose it (as does Kautsky) on the ground that it might cause a falling-off of the production of foodstuffs. No programmes and no solemn declarations have any value if the fact is not in evidence, testified to by actual deeds, that the Communists and labor leaders know how to put the development of the proletarian revolution and its victory above everything else and are ready to make the utmost sacrifices for the sake of this victory. Unless this is a fact, there is no escape, no barrier against starvation, dissolution, and new imperialistic wars.

The Communist parties must make all efforts possible to start as soon as possible setting up of Soviets in the country, and these Soviets must be chiefly composed of hired laborers and semi-proletarians. Only in connection with the mass-strike struggle of the most oppressed class will the Soviets be able to serve fully their ends, and become sufficiently firm to dominate (and further on to include in their ranks) the small peasants. But if the strike struggle is not yet developed, and the ability to organize the agrarian proletariat is weak because of the strong oppression by the landowners and the landed peasants, and also because of the want of support from the industrial workers and their unions, the organization of the Soviets in the rural districts will require long preparation by means of creating small Communist centers of intensive propaganda, expounding in a most popular form the demands of the Communists, and illustrating the reasons of these demands by specially convincing cases of exploitation, and pressure by systematic excursions of industrial workers into the country, etc.

would be for the unemployed to declare a rent moratorium—that is refuse to pay rent.

The capitalist press may howl its head off, the landlords may shriek their lungs out, and the sheriffs may threaten to evict the workers and their families, but they cannot extract blood from stone. The rent moratorium will nevertheless persist and become an established fact.

Such revolutionary tactics will in some measure, solve the problem of shelter; it will also awaken the solidarity and class-consciousness of the workers themselves. It will give them new courage and new determination and open up new vistas of struggle which will inevitably lead them finally to the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet form of Government.

But the problem of food is still open. What should the unemployed do to procure food? Why simply seize the warehouses and the stores of food, establish public kitchens, and feed all the unemployed three times a day. This work could be organized through the trade unions and co-operatives and other workers' organizations.

We have attempted to outline a few simple measures which will immediately solve the problem of food and shelter for the unemployed. The instinct of self-preservation is strong—just as strong in human beings as in other forms of animal life—and the unemployed are human after all. If the capitalists or the government attempts to interfere with these legitimate efforts of the unemployed to find food and shelter, so much the worse for the capitalists and the government.

There is no desperation greater than that of the starving man or woman. Besides Soviet Russia stands before the workers of America as a shining example of what the lowly and exploited workers can do once they make up their minds to it.

## Fourth Statement on Unity Proceedings.

January 5, 1921.

TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF C. P. of A.

Dear Comrades:—

The time limit set by the Com. Intern. for the final accomplishment of unity is passed, but unity is not accomplished.

The responsibility for this lies entirely upon the U. C. P.

They have refused and they still refuse to abide by the decisions of the Com. Intern. providing for a joint unity convention on the basis of proportional representation.

They have insisted and they still falsely insist that our statement of dues paying membership for July, Aug., Sept. and Oct., showing an average of 7552, is fraudulent, and that their membership, shown on their statement as 4611, is greater than ours.

They have proposed a joint unity convention on the basis of equal representation, saying that for unity's sake they were willing to make the "concession"; and they have tried to disregard the C. E. C. of the Communist Party,—to have us call our convention together separately too, so the two conventions could "negotiate", and to have us send out to our delegates individually a false and insolent statement of theirs.

Our answer to all these manoeuvres and stratagems was always the same: "We insist upon compliance with the mandates of the Communist International providing for unity through a joint unity convention on the basis of proportional representation determined by the dues paying membership for July, August, September and October, according to the official books of both parties."—We demand that the U. C. P. comply with these mandates.

We submitted to the U. C. P. for examination all our books and statements; we wrote long letters and verbally proved to their Unity Committee in detail that our figures were correct, that their "analysis" of them was absurd, and that their "investigation on the ground" was a sham and a fraud. Still, in the face of all this, as a last resort, as the only excuse for evading compliance with the decisions of the Com. Intern., for refusing to let the rightful majority of the Communist Movement in America fully to determine and control the future of the united party, the U. C. P. repeat again and again the lie that the C. P. statement is fraudulent.

In their letter of the 18th of Dec. they pretend to list proofs of their assertions.

Since it was very apparent that the figures and alleged proofs of discrepancies in our membership statement were presented merely as a formality and an excuse, our C. E. C. did not deem it necessary to take them up in the answer to the U. C. P.

To our comrades, however, we want to tell very briefly that the figures in the U. C. P. letter are juggled again, miscalculated and mis-

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# Japan in Relation to the World Revolution

By S. K.

Japan and America are the only countries where the Communist movements are illegal and driven underground. Both countries are equally reactionary and under the dictatorship of the capitalist class; with this difference however: In Japan the capitalists are weaker than the militarists while in America it is just the reverse. It is not necessary to carry the comparison further. After all, both are in the firm grasp of capitalism.

Present-day Japan has been undergoing changes both because of internal and external pressure. The changes are very remarkable because lately Japan has become notorious as the Prussia of the Far East. But it is not the pre-war sort of Prussianism. It is rather of the decadent type, in the last stages, and is fast crumbling to pieces. As is well-known Japan's intervention in Siberia failed utterly, costing over three-quarters of a billion yen, killing and wounding something over ten thousand Japanese soldiers and besides gained for herself an unenviable reputation and hatred among the Russians and non-Russian-speaking populations. Japan's Intervention in Siberia, fortunately, gave the Chinese and Koreans a supreme opportunity to assert themselves and to seek the friendship of their real friend and neighbor—Soviet Russia.

For the first time in its history the army discipline and morale broke down in the Japanese army, even among the higher officers. For instance, General Oi, the commander-in-chief in Siberia, was reported in the press to have daily refused to withdraw the army from Siberia. A Japanese lieutenant at Harbin committed suicide in the barracks with a "tea-house" girl in his arms. For a lieutenant to live with a prostitute in the barracks reveals the utter lack of discipline in the Japanese army. We know of only one similar instance—that of the French General Macmahon during the war in 1870, who is reported to have kept a woman in his headquarters.

Japan however, was compelled to withdraw its Siberian expeditionary troops. General Oi was compelled to do so by the Minister of the Treasury who informed General Oi that no more money was forthcoming for the Siberian expedition.

The most discouraging to the army authorities, but equally encouraging to the people of Japan, lies in the fact that a disproportionately large number of officers were killed in Siberia. This news has just been revealed. This means either, that the officers were unsuccessful in making the soldiers their bodyguard or that they were actually murdered by soldiers. The latter assumption is very likely. Petty mutinies have been reported from time to time against the officers. Details however are lacking. But the army authorities very carelessly have made public the true report of the actual casualties among officers which shows something was radically wrong in the relations between officers and soldiers. Many Japanese soldiers came under the influence of the Bolsheviks. Bolshevik propaganda and literature have been discovered time and again right in the army barracks through out Japan. Incidents such as these reveal the true condition of Japanese militarism.

Moreover there is one important factor that has been exerting pressure upon Japan from the outside—the awakening of the Chinese. The Chinese have been undergoing development much more rapidly than the Japanese of fifty years ago. Since the Japan-Chinese War of 1894-1895 the Chinese have made a marked advance and they have overthrown the Imperial Government in Peking in 1910, and deposed the Emperor establishing the Chinese Republic in its place. At present China is in a very unsettled condition for she has had a second and a third revolution. The latter is still in process of struggle between the North and South of China; although the Powers support the Peking Government, China of the North, yet the Peking Government cannot as yet unify the country. The division of China into North and South is purely political and no new divisions are taking place; the division is between capitalism and Socialism; the former is supported by the allied Powers politically by giving her a seat in the Council in the League of Nations and financially by the formation of the Chinese Consortium; the latter is primarily supported by the Moscow Government.

The unification of Siberia under the rule of the Far Eastern Republic was complete with the fall of Chita and the defeat of the last reactionary Russian General Semenov in the latter part of October. The manifesto of the New Far Eastern Republic was sent to the Vladivostok Government in the early part of November and the ministry was formed, as quoted in the Vladivostok dispatch to "Osaka daimich" on November 23rd, 1920. Krasnochokov is the minister of foreign affairs. This man is the leader of the newly-formed government. Out of thirteen ministers of the Government seven are Communists; one is Menshevik, one from the peasant group, one representative from the workers and three non-partisans. This government so constituted really means a Communist government. It is not yet a Bolshevik government although the majority of the ministers are Bolshevik and the present government is necessarily dominated by Communist principles. We must not forget however, the fact that this government was created by the express wishes

of the Russian Soviet Government as a "neutral" state. This situation compelled the Japanese army to withdraw in utter disgrace and failure, and has left a very deep impression on the Japanese people. The Japanese are losing their faith in militarism not so much because the army failed in Siberia but because the army undertook such a dishonorable expedition.

There is another fact that will soon make itself felt on the military classes of Japan, namely, the activities of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee. The chairman of the committee is Mr. Smirnof; among the others on the committee are, Cadorowitch, Showan, Sokoroff, Yourin, Irnikayatsky, Kosareff, etc. Their resolution, published under the above signature in the Moscow "Izvestia" on September 19th, 1920 consists of nine articles. It reads as follows: 1) This committee is the highest organ that represents the central government in Siberia. 2) It governs over the peoples of the different races residing in Siberia and controls the administrative, economic and all other governmental business. 3) It is responsible for the execution of all decrees issued by the All Russian Central Committee National Defense and Workers' Committee and each department of the central government. 4) It is the duty of this committee to report to the central government on its rules and resolutions, while all the officials of Siberia are under the obligation to submit to the rules and regulation of this committee.

The above resolution shows that the neutral zone government in Siberia is controlled by the Revolutionary Committee which is responsible to the Russian Soviets at Moscow.

Another important factor is the Russo-Chinese negotiations for peace. In September of this year a military and diplomatic committee headed by a Chinese General arrived in Moscow to negotiate for peace. On September 27th foreign Minister Chicherin of the Soviet Government delivered a memorandum to the Chinese Committee to be transmitted to the foreign minister of the Peking Government the contents of which are already known to the world. While the Chinese General and the committee were in Moscow negotiating for a democratic peace between China and Soviet Russia, Mr Yourin, one of the members of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee was negotiating for a commercial treaty at Peking with the head of the Chinese minister of foreign affairs. The progress of these negotiations was hampered by the American Ambassador, Mr. Crane. The matter seemed to be at an end in Peking. However, we read a Shanghai despatch dated November 8th, under the title "Great Bolshevik Propaganda Begun to Make Entire China Red", which reveals that the mission of Mr. Yourin was not purely commercial negotiations representing the Far Eastern Republic, but also for Bolshevik propaganda. It seems that a conference took place in Peking at which was discussed the question of how to make China a Bolshevik country. Mr. Yourin, was of course, the central figure in the conference which lasted ten days. Further, the despatch says that Mr. Yourin would supervise and coordinate all the propaganda committees scattered all over China; hitherto these committees were not properly organized. Thus they will conduct a systematic and effective propaganda in the future. At the conference were present five Bolsheviks from Shanghai, who have since returned and begun a campaign of intensive propaganda. They now publish three magazines "Light", "Sun" and "Labor". All three are issued in Chinese and Korean languages. They preach Communism. The editors are Sun Yet Sen, Sun Koi and Co Hai-Hu. Mr. Bopof is now in Shanghai as the director of the movement. Magaryof is also there helping to conduct the propaganda; the latter is the same one who conducted Bolshevik propaganda at Yokohama last year and was ordered to leave the city within five days.

Another despatch given out by the Japanese Government gives some further details as to Bolshevik propaganda in China. This despatch claims that sometime in October Moscow sent out the Eighth Propaganda Train with 250 Bolshevik propagandists to the Far East. Among this party are two prominent members of the Soviet Government. The centre of this propaganda is aimed at Shanghai. Propaganda will also be sent in Japan through underground channels, utilizing three Bolshevik propagandists visited at Holland for Japan.

There are two secret organizations in Shanghai; one consists of peasants and workers while the other is made up of those returned from Europe and America. Both of these organizations are under the influence of the Bolsheviks through the able leadership of Mr. Ching. The despatch also claims that several Koreans are in this movement who are staunch Communists. This despatch states also that of the four hundred thousand workers in Shanghai about 80 percent are already members of the two fore-mentioned parties. It reports that in one province where a Mohammedan General is leading the Bolsheviks, the Constitution of Soviet Russia has been translated into Chinese and widely distributed.

These despatches and news items are printed in the Japanese daily papers and are having a tremendous effect on the masses, while it seems to be throwing the authorities into panic and consternation.

Of course the foremost class to come under the influence of Bolshevik propaganda is the working class. Until very recently the Japanese workers were unorganized and no attempt had been made to organize them. The Japanese workers had very little experience in the labor movement since 1901 because of the exception laws. Even strikes were seldom undertaken by the workers. But our Japanese workers have been rapidly awakening in the last few years. In the great rice riots of 1918 the Japanese masses began to feel their own power. Since then labor strikes have been increased in number and more and more workers are being involved in the strike movements. A number of cases of sabotage have developed also with invariable success. These are general phenomena of the Japanese labor world to-day. At present we have many labor unions most of them organized within the past year or two. These are estimated to comprise over one hundred thousand members. The labor unions are at present organized into two separate federations, one with its headquarters at Tokio and the other at Osaka; but it is expected that very soon all these labor strikes have increased in number one national federation. This convention will be held at Tokio next January. Already committees to take up the question have been appointed by the principal unions of Tokio and vicinity.

As to the dominating spirit of these labor unions we cannot draw any positive conclusions at present. We can however, give some hints to show the spirit and tendencies. We will take one example, the Yu-Ai-Kai is the largest union in Japan. It has the largest membership with forty branches. This union held its annual conference a few months ago at which many progressive measures were voted upon and passed. One that was not passed but had a strong minority vote was to do away with parliamentarism and to adopt direct and mass action instead. This step was advocated by the Tokio groups which are supposed to be very radical. Two or more directors of the Yu-Ai-Kai are thorough going Bolsheviks in ideas and unofficially are advocating Bolshevism as the ultimate solution of the labor problem.

Here is another instance that will go to show the spirit of the Japanese workers. On July 17th, 1920, the Western workers (including Osaka and the territory west of Nagoya and the entire western part of Japan) held a special meeting at which the problems of the unemployed were discussed. The meeting was called by the Osaka Federated Unions. There were about 1,500 present. A manifesto and resolution was passed unanimously at this meeting from which the following extract is taken and speaks for itself:

"Look at the unemployed workers standing on the street as cheerless as a dog in the house of death! Civilization and modern machinery cannot rescue them. Has Capital and the State no power? Why must tens of millions of unemployed hunger in vain on the streets? Because of the crisis and bankruptcy brought about by the capitalist class innocent workers are doomed to a violent death! When they strike the power and might of the Government arrests them. There is no protective legislation for them. Even the right to organize is denied them. They all weep and suffer like prisoners in jail.

"The unemployed curse as they lie down on the streets: 'Unless we destroy capitalism we cannot conquer the anarchistic condition of the industrial world. We are hungry for bread. rescue us! Give us the right to organize!'

"NO! We will rise up and demand it, nay, take it ourselves. Then we shall find a way to save ourselves from our present misfortunes. We must emancipate ourselves from the trap of capitalism! We know a way ourselves. Therefore, we the producers, are aiming at the destruction of capitalism, the root cause of unemployment and the crisis which results from surplus production. We shall make a real society. We await eagerly the dawn of the Labor Movement of the World!"

Such bold utterances would never be tolerated by the rigid police rule of the authorities were the authorities not aware that they were unable to restrain the audience from mobbing them if they dared censor the meeting. The authorities even feared to suppress the publication of the manifesto printed in the Nippon Kodo Shimbun, a radical labor paper edited by Comrade Srahatta.

It was planned to organize a Socialist Party and the well-known comrades of Tokio and Osaka held public meetings to discuss the matter openly. This was done to see what the attitude of the authorities was as well to discover the sentiment of the public. As soon as it was announced in the press many applied for membership in the new party; the applications came from all over the country and the majority of them from the working class. The printed prospectus signed by some fifty prominent comrades was suppressed. Therefore it had to be distributed secretly; but the work of preliminary organization went on unabated and the membership applications numbered nearly three thousand and the organization meetings were well attended. The Chairman of the Kobe meeting wrote me as follows: "Since I denounced the authorities at the Kobe meeting I am no longer safe. Meetings were great success. At Osaka about 4000 tickets were sold; at Tokio about 1800 and Kobe 2000. At Kobe I presided. Y. M. C. A. Hall was too small for the meeting. About 1000 who could not gain admission surrounded the building all night and dispersed only after the whole police force was mobilized. One thing especially impressed me was when

the police tried forcibly to depress the meeting one of us yelled out "Shakal-shugi Banzai!" (Long Live Socialism). Then the whole audience joined the cry spontaneously in one voice, throwing hands and hats into the air. The noise was tremendous and the police stood aghast for a time not knowing what to do. Hearing "Banzai" within the crowd outside joined in it and the noisy demonstration lasted fully an hour. It was indeed a victorious moment and I felt that my time to come out into the open had come!

On the tenth of December 1920 they met to celebrate the founding of the party. The meeting was suppressed which seems to have driven the movement underground. Of course the work will be slow, but the members will come in in spite of all. Thus the illegal party will grow steadily as the oppression becomes sorer and stricter than ever. It is already reported that the Tokio Government has increased the city police force from 7600 to 9270. Besides the gendarmes are enormously increased in number so that they can co-operate with the police beyond their regular duty of policing soldiers and ferreting out suspicious civilians. But our comrades are not idle. They have been organizing secretly. As they are not accustomed to underground work it seems that could not entirely conceal the traces of their meetings and meeting-places. The first meeting was held at a swell club in Tokio and the third meeting at the university graduates society where only graduates or friends of graduates are permitted to enter. Evidently many university graduates are participants of the secret meetings. This shows that our comrades now are developing many sides to the movement. It is reported that among those who met at the above-named society there were seventeen Japanese comrades, four Koreans, three Chinese and one from Formosa, altogether eleven foreigners. Most of the Koreans are extremists. The police have given out a rumor that the fourth meeting will be held at an

unknown place and that among those to be present will be Indians as well. One of the plans, as announced by the police, is the formation of an Asiatic Socialist Federation with headquarters either in China or Siberia, where freedom of speech and assembly are tolerated.

We cannot mention names in order not to endanger the work of world-wide propaganda. But there are many comrades entirely unsuspected who are carrying on the work of organizing the Japanese proletariat and the Communist Party.

An editor of the Oriental Economist wrote me from Kamakura, near Tokio, on November 16th, on present-day conditions in Japan:

"The world situation is such that there must come a fundamental reconstruction. It is the only way to make the world worthwhile to work and live in. Japan too is at an impasse on all sides,—political, economic, social and religious, etc. A feeling of intense anxiety for the future is evident in all circles high and low in every sphere of society. Only the lack of power prevents the new ideas from cutting through this impasse. But this is only temporary. The world-wide revolutionary waves dashed and are dashing upon Japan. There is a popular suffrage movement but the popular sentiment of the masses goes beyond that movement and is beginning to demand a more radical solution than universal suffrage. If the ruling classes should realize the gravity of the situation and grant universal suffrage the present unsatisfactory condition may be prolonged for a little time; but judging from the reactionary policies of the Japanese Government we think that the future of Japan will never be peaceful again."

The above is a private communication but it was written in a country where sealed letters and communication between individuals are subject to the prying eyes of the authorities. We can read between the lines and understand that Japan of the present is ripe for the social revolution.

movement of all countries into the straight-jacket of the Russian formula of the class struggle is unsound in principle and unworkable in practice. It tends to disrupt the movement rather than unify it, to paralyze its actions rather than to stimulate."

"Unsound in practice!" Since when did Marxism expressing the principle that "the State can be nothing else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat", since when did it become unsound in principle? It is unsound in principle of your bourgeois servitude!

"Unworkable in practice!" Oh, Marx, to what depths your "student" has descended!

Not only does revolutionary Marxism tend to disrupt your counter-revolutionary movement but it has disrupted it already. What is left is a group of opportunists, renegades, counter-revolutionists and conscious agent provocateurs.

Not only does revolutionary Marxism, as expressed by the Comm. Intern. tend to paralyze your probourgeois actions, but it has already done so.

Instead of your disrupted, paralyzed movement—there is a highly centralized, unified, organic movement in the U. S.—the Comm. Party of America, which has unfurled the banner of the 3rd International, the living banner of Marxism!

"Again the Moscow International?"

Yea, Mr. Renegade, again and again—until the workers of America with their millstone mass action, will have converted you, your friends and bourgeois masters into meaningless dust, and by means of its iron broom—the dictatorship of the proletariat—has swept your whole gang into the same dust hole, as did our Russian comrades—the Bolsheviks.

## "Again The Moscow International"

Under the above title appeared two articles in the Nov. 15-16 issues of the N. Y. "Call"—organ of the Socialist (read Menshevik) Party of America. The article in question were written by (Menshevik) Hillquit.

What Hillquit is opposed to, among other things is the "imposition" by the Comm. International "upon the Socialist movement of the whole world the specific formula of the Russian Revolution—the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat!"

Instead of coming out openly with the statement that he is opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat—thus completely abjuring Marxism—instead of it, he is opposed to the same thing, which he calls "the specific formula of the Russian Revolution."

"There lies"—wrote Marx in 1875 in a private letter—"there lies between the capitalist and communist a society a period of revolutionary transformation of one into the other. This period has a corresponding political period of transition, during which the State can be nothing else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

Observe the continuity of the same idea, expressed by Lenin: "The White Guard of the bourgeois cannibals is indescribable. The victims of the working class are uncountable. Its best—Liebknecht and Luxemburg—it has lost."

The proletariat must suppress this at all costs! The Communist International calls the whole world proletariat to this fight of weapons against weapons! Might against might!

"Down with the imperialist course of capitalism!"

"Success to the International Republic of Proletarian Councils."

Hillquit the "Marxist" no doubt will object to these Marxian statements, for he objects to a like statement expressed by the Exe. Comm. of the Comm. Intern., which he quotes and which reads as follows:

"Armed insurrection, the conquest of power, the establishment of a military dictatorship, the organization of a Soviet government—these are the only means through which the proletariat can change the present situation in Europe and in the whole world!"

Instead of the above revolutionary Marxian statement, Hillquit writes: "It is quite conceivable (to the bourgeois stinky Hillquit) that the Socialist revolution may assume different political forms in the different countries, not excluding even that of a simple majority rule of the working class functioning in a political democracy through the medium of some modified forms of a parliamentary regime."

What arrant nonsense! What a complete bourgeois servitude to substitute the Marxian idea that during the transitional period "the State can be nothing else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat"—to substitute it for a few Kautskian phrases about "majority rule" functioning in some form of a "political democracy", etc.!

The American sage may attempt to prove

his counter revolutionary conception by quoting Marx when he said in 1872:

"but we do not assert that the way to reach the goal is the same everywhere

"We know that the institutions, the manners and customs of the various countries must be considered, and we do not deny that there are countries like England and America, and, if I understood your arrangements better, I might even add, Holland, where the worker may obtain his object by peaceful means. But not in all countries is this the case."

Are conditions in America, Mr. Hillquit, in this year 1920 the same as those spoken of by Marx in 1872? "They are not." Right you are! But if conditions now are not the same as they have been then, why do keep on chewing the cud of the 1872 materialistic concept of history?

You are doing it for the reason that it serves your bourgeois-legalistic notions of 1920! In doing it you have renounced Marxism, severed your relations with the workers and gone over to the camp of the bourgeoisie.

This renegade, Hillquit; this betrayer of the workers; this negator of revolution is brazen enough to say that the "Socialists in every country are the best judges of the conditions and requirements of the class struggle in their country."

Imagine, if you can, Hillquit who said during the Albany trial: "The mass action we have in view is the legal organized action of large masses of the community" The Socialist Party of the U. S., has always consistently rejected the idea of a general strike for political purposes.\* It—the Moscow Intern.—means the foundation of a modern Intern. organization of Socialism, but with no greater powers than the old International possessed"—imagine if you can this scoundrel as being one of the best judges of conditions and requirements of the class struggle in the U. S.!

Picture to yourself, if you will, Berger, who openly repudiated Marxism, as being another one of the best judges of conditions and requirements of the class struggle in the U. S.!

Think of it, if you will, a third one of the best judges of conditions and requirements of the class struggle in the U. S. to be the bourgeois darling—Stedman, who said in open court with reference to some communists: "they advocate the use of direct or mass action, as the primary or principal means of securing a change of destroying the 'Capitalist system' and the present form of government of the U. S., they still advocate the use of said direct or mass action, they are known as members of the Comm. Party, which has committed itself to the following program: Communism does not propose to capture the bourgeois parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it. As long as the bourgeois state prevails the capitalist class can baffle the will of the proletariat."

If this is Marxism, what is bourgeois stinky-ism? If this is socialism, what are the actions of a conscious bourgeois provocateur?

Listen to this, from the pen of the renegade, Hillquit: "But the attempt to force the socialist

## FOURTH STATEMENT ON UNITY PROCEEDINGS.

(Continued from page 5)

used, and that their "proofs" are either false or beside the point.

That our statement "purports to show that only 3048 paid dues in July", is not true; our statement plainly shows that in fact this figure represents the number of dues received by our National Office in July, 4835 dues reached the N. O. in August, and not 3867 as stated by the U. C. P. 8240 old-rate dues reached N. O. in October, and not 9273. The total number of dues reaching N. O. in October is 9659, and 90 percent of them were paid by the branches in September, that is before the decision of the Com. Intern. on unity was received in this country.

The July, Aug., Sept. and Oct. average for the whole Lith. subdistrict "C." (not only one branch) is 314, and, not 358 as stated by the U. C. P.; and for the subdistrict "P" it is 306 not 390. This shows how much credence can be given to the U. C. P. statement, which they consider "proof" without any further evidence.

U. C. P. "gossip-mongers" have been going around in B. saying that our statement is claiming there 250 Russian members, while our average is only 75. The U. C. P. letter says that we are claiming 496 Ukr. members in D., while our average is only 387 for the whole district; the 128 Russ. in M. shows on our statement as only 105; the 149 Lith. in "M.", as only 75 for the whole subdistrict etc.

If the U. C. P. committee does not stop short of falsifying the figures taken from our statements, which we can check up plainly and indisputably, you can imagine how truthful their statements of our "actual membership" must be.

Further proof, conclusive and indisputable, that our statement was correct, is now furnished by the actual present membership figures represented in the recent district conventions of our Party. Taking into consideration the fact that within the last two months or so a number of our comrades have left for Russia, these figures absolutely substantiate the figures of our statement for July, August, September and October.

With this fact firmly established, the communications that passed between the two parties forth and back since our last statement of December 16, will plainly show that the U. C. P. was under a false pretext defying the decisions of the Com. Intern. and that the C. P. was insisting upon compliance with them, not merely on formal grounds, but because they were of the utmost importance for the future interests of the Communist Movement in America.

For the present the U. C. P. has frustrated all steps to unity; but they will not be able to defy the Com. Intern. indefinitely. We have definite information that further instructions from the Com. Intern. will be received in the near future, and we are sure that the U. C. P. will have to change its false position, and will have to agree to a joint unity convention on the basis of proportional representation.

P. S. A complete statement is being prepared containing all the letters and documents on unity, which will be sent out to the membership, in circular form. (Editor)

# FINANCIAL REPORT.

CASH STATEMENT FOR NOVEMBER, 1920.

<b>Cash Received:</b>		
Dues:		
Distr. 1	60.00	
2	47.40	
4	3.00	
5	6.00	
6	14.00	
Jew. Fed.	99.00	
Lett.	276.40	
Lith.	838.60	
" On Nov.	375.00	
Pol.	154.60	
Russ.	787.40	
Ukr.	490.80	3152.20
<b>Initiation Fees</b>		
Distr. 2	9.00	
4	33.00	
5	16.00	
6	11.50	
Pol. Fed.	4.00	
Ukr.	9.00	8250
<b>Day's Pay'</b>		
Distr. 1	320.20	
2	448.06	
3	92.00	
4	254.21	
5	308.75	
6	765.74	218896
<b>Organization Fund:</b>		
Distr. 2	53.70	
4	52.00	
5	139.75	
6	100.00	345.45
<b>Defense Fund:</b>		
Distr. 1	25.00	
5	49.75	
Pol. Fed.	38.00	103.75
<b>Chic. Defense Lists:</b>		
Distr. 2	293.05	
5 (84.05)	84.05	377.10
<b>Communist:</b>		
Distr. 1	27.80	
2	118.20	
5	80.90	
6	28.95	255.85
<b>Leaflets'</b>		
Distr. 1	131.95	131.95
<b>Literature'</b>		
Distr. 1	6.25	
2	76.30	
3	15.45	
4	8.00	
5 (13.68)	13.68	119.68
<b>Press Fund Contrib.:</b>		
Russ. Fed.	500.00	
Ukr.	250.00	750.00
<b>Old Accounts Pd.:</b>		
Distr. 2	35.00	35.00
<b>Adjustment:</b>		
Distr. 1 (Red. Bal.)	49.35	
2	232.20	
3	167.41	
4	23.85	
5	414.93	
6	152.61	1040.35
<b>Total Received in Nov.</b>		8582.79
<b>Balance from Oct.</b>		4905.69
		<u>13488.48</u>

<b>Cash Paid:</b>		
<b>Sec. &amp; Tech. Dept.:</b>		
Sal. (2 men 4 wks.)	360.00	
Help in ship.	12.00	
Post. & Sup.	10.90	
Printing	62.50	
Rents	91.73	
Miscl.	13.34	550.47
<b>Edit. Dept.:</b>		
Sal. (2 men 4 wks.)	360.00	
Translations	35.00	
Miscl.	17.02	412.02
<b>C. E. C. Expense</b>		240.27
<b>Distr. Sal. (4 wks.):</b>		
1 (180.00 & S. D. 15.00)	195.00	
2 (D. O. & S. D. O.)	280.00	
3	180.00	
4	180.00	
5 (D. O. & S. D. O.)	360.00	
(Other S. D. time)	20.40	
6	180.00	1395.40
<b>Distr. Traveling:</b>		
1	20.75	
2	66.99	
3	30.40	
4	35.98	
5	139.73	

6	68.78	362.63
<b>Distr. Miscl.:</b>		
1	19.30	
2	36.57	
3	15.39	
4	32.14	
5 (Incl. 125.48 Distr. Com. Exp.)	173.78	
6	37.60	314.78
<b>Communist Prtg. Miscl.</b>		593.03
<b>Leaflet Prtg. Miscl. (103.74)</b>		1103.74
<b>Literature Prtg. Miscl.</b>		1546.77
<b>Furn &amp; Fixt.:</b>		
N. O. Table & Chairs	10.00	
Distr. VI Mimiogr.	25.00	35.00
<b>Internat'l Del. Sal. Defense Exp.. Add'l Conting. Fund</b>		
	400.00	400.00
	621.25	621.25
	12.00	12.00
<b>Total Paid in November</b>		7587.36
<b>Balance to December</b>		5901.12
		<u>13488.48</u>

Signed: C. Dobin.  
Exec. Sec. C. P. of A.

## C. P. Financial Statement for November 1920

Condensed to main items, and including federation figures this statement shows the total of C. P. Income, Expense, Assets and Liabilities for the month of November, 1920.

Remittances from Federations to the National office, and from N. O. to Fed. are not included.

Lettish, Lithuanian and Polish figures contain estimated income and expense for their papers, and distribution of other figures among the different items is also estimated in some instances.

But the whole statement is a good index of the financial transactions and strength of the Communist Party as a whole.

### INCOME.

	Dues	Assessm.	Org Fund	Def. Fund	Papers	Other Lit.	Miscl.	Totals.
N. O.	130.40	82.50	3,284.41	480.85	255.85	286.63		4,520.64
Jew.	150.60		119.80		397.67	104.40	Loans 245.00	1,541.30
Lett.	433.95	2.00	547.88		589.85		Ent Mtgs 523.83	1,573.68
Lith.	1,002.00	5.50	422.31		325.11			1,754.92
Pol.	238.30	4.00	192.20	38.00	551.25			1,023.75
Russ.	1,337.65	1.50	907.03		517.10	1670.25	93.50	4,527.03
Ukr.	565.00	27.00	10.00	464.75	5327.06	41.25		6,435.06
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>3,857.90</b>	<b>122.50</b>	<b>5,483.63</b>	<b>983.60</b>	<b>7,963.89</b>	<b>2,102.53</b>	<b>862.33</b>	<b>21,376.38</b>

### EXPENSES.

	Sal.	Trav. & etc.	Office Exp	Prtg. Miscl.	Ptg. Lit.	Defense Exp	Miscl.	Totals
N. O.	2,550.40	619.92	505.25	593.03	2650.51	621.25	47.00	7,587.36
Jew.	320.00	188.95	23.00	599.60			Loans 200.00	1,331.55
Lett.	350.00	218.45	6.54	575.50	284.96		47.29	1,482.74
Lith.	480.00	165.46		870.34				1,515.80
Pol.	260.00	39.14		400.00	25.00		64.18	783.32
Russ.	440.00	1230.18	36.64	580.38	1300.00	600.00	Loans 525.00	4,712.20
Ukr.	1,125.00	250.00	67.15	3966.57		75.00		5,483.72
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>5,525.40</b>	<b>2712.10</b>	<b>638.58</b>	<b>7,585.42</b>	<b>4,260.47</b>	<b>1,206.25</b>	<b>883.47</b>	<b>22,901.69</b>

### ASSETS

	Cash	Accts & Loans Rec.	Mchry & Equip.	Real Estate	Lit. Stock	Totals.	LIABILITES
N. O.	6,625.75	8,000.00	1,000.00		1,000.00	16,625.75	N. O. 3,697.68
Jew.	168.00	300.00	200.00			668.00	Jew. 1,870.00
Lett.	512.64		15,000.00			15,512.64	Lett. 170.00
Lith.	478.99	1,000.00	5,000.00	9,000.00	3,500.00	18,978.99	Lith. 2,500.00
Pol.	450.21		15,000.00			15,450.21	Pol. 2,800.00
Russ.	2,927.34		10,000.00	4,000.00	5,000.00	21,927.34	Russ. 3,800.00
Ukr.	8,698.53		5,600.00		20,000.00	34,298.53	Ukr. 2,800.00
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>19,856.45</b>	<b>9,300.00</b>	<b>51,800.00</b>	<b>13,000.00</b>	<b>29,500.00</b>	<b>123,456.45</b>	<b>Totals: 11,837.68</b>