

# General Report of the Communist Party of America to the Joint Unity Convention. [May 15, 1921 — Extensive Extracts] by Charles Dirba [“C. Dobin”]

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## Propaganda and Agitation.

*Press.*

	<u>Daily</u>	<u>Weekly</u>	<u>Biweekly</u>	<u>Monthly</u>
<b>National Organs</b>				
<i>Illegal</i>			6,000	8,000
<i>Legal</i>		13,000		
<b>Jewish [Yiddish]</b>				
<i>Illegal</i>				1,000
<i>Legal</i>		4,000		
<b>Lettish [Latvian]</b>				
<i>Illegal</i>				1,000
<i>Legal</i>		3,000		
<b>Lithuanian</b>				
<i>Illegal</i>			4,000	
<i>Legal</i>	9,000	4,000		
<b>Polish</b>				
<i>Illegal</i>				2,000
<i>Legal</i>	15,000			
<b>Russian</b>				
<i>Illegal</i>				6,000
<i>Legal</i>				
<b>Ukrainian</b>				
<i>Illegal</i>				3,000
<i>Legal</i>	8,000		15,000	
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>32,000</b>	<b>24,000</b>	<b>25,000</b>	<b>21,000</b>

This amounts to 99,000 copies of papers every month, of which 58,000 are legal and 41,000 are illegal.‡

*Leaflets.*

Since the last CP Convention [3rd: Brooklyn, Feb. 1921], our CEC has published:

<i>Unemployment</i>	455,000
<i>Stand By Soviet Russia</i>	483,000
<i>Then and Now</i>	541,000
<i>May Day</i>	577,000
American Bureau on RILU	40,000
Local Leaflets	87,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,183,000</b>

*Literature.*

Since the last CP Convention [Feb. 1921], our CEC has published:

<i>The Statutes and Theses of CI</i>	10,000
<i>The Manifesto of the CI</i>	10,000
<i>Lenin's State and Revolution</i>	10,000

Obtained old stock:

Lenin's <i>Imperialism</i> (1st part) ≈	4,000
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‡- English — “Bulletin” (bi-w.), *Communist* (NY monthly), *Workers' Challenge* (NY legal labor). Yiddish — *Rote Fahne* (NY illegal), *Der Kampf* (NY legal labor). Latvian — “Bulletin” (Boston illegal), “R.” (Boston legal weekly). Lithuanian — *Kommunist* (NY illegal), *Laisve* (NY legal daily), *Vilnis* (Chicago legal weekly). Polish — *Komunist* (NY illegal), *Glos Robotniczy* (Detroit legal daily). Russian — *Novy Mir* (illegal). Ukrainian — *Communist World* (NY illegal), “O.V.” (NY legal daily), “M.” (NY biweekly humor).  
‡- This is a probably a simple grammatical mistep, but Dirba's understatement of the CPA's total monthly press run should be clarified. The “circulations” of publications of various frequencies are additive, but the physical “copies of papers” must be calculated. In reality, the monthly CPA press run claimed here was 1,127,000 copies — of which 1,086,000 were legal and 41,000 were illegal.

Fraina's *Proletarian Rev. in Russia* ≈ 2,000

Now on the press:

Lenin's *History of the Question of P.D.* [???] 10,000

Ordered:

Bukharin's *ABC of Communism* 7,000

Distributed pamphlets issued by the American Bureau [of RILU]†:

Losovsky's *The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions* 5,000

Murphy's *Two Months of IC of Trade and Industrial Unions* 3,000

From July 1920 [2nd CPA Convention] to February 1921 [3rd CPA Convention], the CEC had published in all books and pamphlets ... 104,000 copies altogether, including Lenin's *Renegade Kautsky*, Lenin's *Infantile Sickness*, and Bukharin's *Communist Program*.‡

There is very little stock left on hand at the NO [National Office], but there must be quite a quantity in the districts and branches. Taking the cost figures of \$9,000; less \$1,000 for delivery and miscellaneous expenses; and deducting the returns of \$4,200 less \$1,200 profit in same; the total stock at NO, Districts, and Branches must be about \$5,000.

During the first four months of this year [1921], the CP Federations have published the following books in their respective languages:

#### **Yiddish:**

Two books in 1,000 copies each,  
and one book in 500 copies.

#### **Let. [Latvian]:**

In about 3,000 copies each.  
*The Agrarian Question in Latvia*.  
Lenin's *Infantile Sickness*.

Lenin's *Shall We Work in the Reactionary Trade Unions? How to Act at Hearings*.  
*The Theses of the CI*.  
*Almanac*.  
*Common Clay*" — drama.

#### **Lithuanian:** (5,000 copies)

Losovsky's *International Council of Trade & Ind. Unions*.  
*CI Theses* — on the press.  
Bukharin's *ABC of Communism* — ready for publication.

Two [Lithuanian] subsidiary organizations are publishing legal books, complete statement could not be obtained on the spur of the moment.§ They are getting out now Boudin's *Theoretical System of Karl Marx* and Trotsky's *From October to Brest-Litovsk*.

#### **Polish:**

CI Theses — ready for publication.

#### **Russian:**

Lenin's *Renegade Kautsky*. 5,000  
Zinoviev's *Communist Parties and T.U.* 7,000  
Zinoviev's *Nonpartisan and Communist*. 10,000  
Zinoviev's *Primer on Communism*. 7,000  
Bukharin's *Communist Program*. 3,000  
Zin. & Lunacharsky *Karl Marx & Soc. Rev.* 7,000  
Kalinin's *Soviet Power and Lab. Cossacks*. 7,000

In preparation:

Plekhanov's *Anarchism and Socialism*.  
Demian Bedny (Poems).  
Field's *Anarchists as Counterrevolutionists*.

#### **Ukrainian:**

*CI Theses* 3,000  
*Revolution and Counterrev. in Ukraine*. 4,000  
*Priest Pankrat*. (Satire) 5,000

On the press:

[Engels'] *Anti-Dühring*. 10,000  
*History of Culture*. 10,000  
*Poems of Life*. 5,000

†- Pamphlets listed as published by "The Union Publishing Association." The American Bureau also issued a Losovsky pamphlet entitled *The Role of the Labor Unions in the Russian Revolution* [1920].

‡- CPA pamphlets were published under the imprint of the "Contemporary Publishing Association." Full titles of the pamphlets mentioned here in their CPA variants were Lenin's *Kautsky the Renegade and the Proletarian Revolution* (10,000 copies) and *The Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism* (10,000 copies), and Bukharin's *The Communist Program: An Analysis of the Principles of the Russian Communist Party* (6,000 copies).

§- Reference is to "Kovos" Spauda of Philadelphia, the Lithuanian Federation's headquarters, and "Laiseves" Spauda of Brooklyn, NY, publisher of the main Lithuanian language legal Communist newspaper.

*General.*

A great amount of propaganda and agitation is carried on through the CP nuclei, in the shops, unions, and Legal Workers' Societies. All CP members who belong to unions have been organized into CP Nuclei, and the CEC has issued instructions and plans for the work of these Nuclei, considering them of the utmost importance in spreading Communist ideas among the great masses of workers, in keeping the Party in close touch with these masses, and in recruiting new members to the Party.

In several local unions our Nuclei have developed such strength and influence as to practically control the policies and activities of these unions.

Through these Nuclei and through our Defense Committees and the legal societies which we control, mass meetings have been arranged wherever possible, meetings of the unemployed and May Day meetings. A great drawback in this work has been the fact that our English speakers, nearly every one of them, have been under indictments and surveillance by the authorities, or engaged in very important underground work of the Party, so that they could not appear at legal meetings.

For the theoretical education and development of the membership itself, Study Classes have been organized in all branches of the Party, except some small isolated branches. The CEC prepared and printed detailed programs for elementary and advanced Study Classes, with a list of textbooks.

Special propaganda tours have been arranged by the Federations to give lectures to their membership.

### **Communist Party Nuclei, Shop Delegates' System, and Factory Committees.**

The CEC of the CP, considering the organization of the CP nuclei within the trade and industrial unions as being one of its most important tasks, immediately proceeded with the organization of such nuclei in all its districts and carried on a systematic propaganda and education among its members for the proper functions of the nuclei in the unions.... The work of organizing CP nuclei in the unions is a lengthy process and the CEC considered it necessary to do

this work thoroughly and to avoid serious errors. CP nuclei have participated in the immediate struggles of the workers and have carried on a continuous propaganda and agitation for the inauguration of the shop delegate system and for the destruction of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy, especially in the needle trades and among the building trades and miners.

Considerable difference of opinion developed on the question of the cooperation of the CP nuclei with other radical groups and elements within the unions. The CEC, after consideration, adopted the following resolution which defines the CP attitude on the question:

"The question of the shop delegate system, shop committees, and factory committees resulted in considerable confusion and requires a clear and definite formulation in the new program. This confusion is apparent in the formulation of the clause on shop committees and factory committees as contained in the ultimatum of the [American] Agency, which was adopted by the CEC of the UCP as final and not subject to change by this convention. With this formulation, the CEC of the CP takes issue. Our conception of the purposes and functions of the factory committees is identical with that of the Thesis adopted by the Second Congress of the CI, i.e., that these factory committees are the organs of the workers which grow out of the economic crisis and express the desire and the will of the workers to carry on and control production.

The CP recognizes the necessity for the persistent and systematic propagating of the idea of factory committees to the working class as an immediate and essential part of its general propaganda, but cannot agitate for the immediate ORGANIZATION of the factory committees at this time. The CP will initiate and lead the workers in the organization of factory committees when the necessary conditions are ripe, which is during the breakdown of capitalist production and economic chaos.

The shop delegate system is the organ of the struggle of the workers for the control of the unions and for the destruction of the trade union bureaucracy and the winning over of the unions for Communism. On the other hand, the factory committee is the organ of the workers for control over production and embraces all workers regardless of affiliation and the basis of the economic crisis.

Shop committees have been organized by the reactionary unions and by the capitalists for the purpose of controlling the workers. These shop committees are organs of the capitalists for the purpose of preventing the workers from organizing against them and also a part of the old reactionary trade union machinery. They must not be confused with the shop delegate system or the factory committees."

### **Relations with the Pan-American Council RLUI.**

After the Second Congress of the CI and the formation of the provisional council of the trade and industrial unions, the Pan-American Council was established in the United States for the purpose of affiliating those trade and industrial unions in this country which accepted the principle of proletarian dictatorship and Soviet Power in the Red Trade Union International, thus uniting all the trade and industrial unions into the international body which, led by the Communist International, would be able to wage an effective struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in the form of International Soviet Republics. The CP of A at once realized the importance and necessity of the work of the council, especially as the Communist movement of the country has not yet developed sufficient strength to carry on an extensive propaganda among the organized workers, who are misled and betrayed by Gompers, Hillman, Schlesinger & Co., and at once pledged its hearty support.

In order to carry on an effective propaganda and agitation for the RLUI it is absolutely necessary for the Pan-American Council to work in close cooperation and contact with the CP of A. The Thesis of the CI on the question of the Trade Union Movement, Factory Committees, and the Third International states:

“Communists must strive to create, as far as possible, complete unity between the trade unions and the Communist Party, and to subordinate the unions to the leadership of the party as the advance-guard of the workers’ revolution.”

Again, in the Statutes of the CI, it says:

“In the event of necessity, the EC organizes in various countries its technical and auxiliary Bureau, completely subordinated to the EC. The representatives of the EC shall carry out their political tasks in closest contact with the CEC of the Communist Party of the given country.”

(The Red Labor Union International was organized by and is under the control of the EC of the CI.)

The Pan-American Council organized the American Bureau to carry out its work within the trade unions of the United States. The CP was interested in the composition of this Bureau and demanded repre-

sentation on it for the purpose of retaining contact with the Bureau and to cooperate in its work.

This question of cooperation and representation was the origin of serious misunderstanding and conflict between the CP and the [Pan-American] Council. Over the protests of the CP, the Council retained on its Bureau an expelled member of the CP [Maximilian Cohen?] as a representative of our Party. This attitude of the Pan-American Council toward the CP caused serious disagreement. After the Third Convention of the CP [Feb. 1921], the Council recognized the justice of our contention that no real cooperation could be affected without proper representation on the American Bureau and permitted the CEC to nominate a representative to the Bureau with a voice but no vote.

On the question of the actual work of the Bureau there arose a further disagreement. A part of the work of the Pan-American Council was to provide for the selection of delegates from the trade and industrial unions of the US who were to be sent to the Congress of the RLUI. The Council being entirely absorbed in getting a large delegation paid little attention to the fact that its work might result in disrupting the trade union movement in this country by bringing about premature and unnecessary splits contrary to the Theses, from which we quote as follows:

“All voluntary withdrawal from the economic movement, every artificial attempt to organize special unions, without being compelled thereto by exceptional acts of violence by the trade union bureaucracy ... represents a great danger to the Communist movement. It threatens to isolate the most advanced, the most conscious workers from the masses to the opportunist leaders, playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie.”

Upon the protest and demand of our representative on the Bureau, a plan of organization and function of the Bureau was presented to our CEC for information. The CEC sustained the objection of its representative and pointed out to the Council that their plan would result in creating confusion within the Communist movement, especially since it proposed to organize permanent groups of radical elements in the labor unions, parallel to the nuclei of the CP, and

to start a paper of the same general character as the two papers already published by the Communist Parties.

For the Pan-American Council to organize in the unions permanent centers of its own would be not only detrimental to the work of the Communist Party, but it is also unnecessary, since the CP nuclei are carrying on the work of the RLUI to their best of their abilities. The CP issued credentials to the field organizer of the American Bureau to meet our nuclei right from the start. When these credentials were used to call joint meetings of the CP and UCP nuclei, resulting in certain disorganization and opposition among our membership, the CEC adopted a resolution to the effect that (1) we will distribute the literature of the American Bureau; (2) meetings of our nuclei may be called to hear organizers of the Bureau who are members of the CP and approved by the CEC; and (3) if necessary, our District Organizers were authorized to call joint meetings of representatives of CP and UCP in a certain trade. The work carried on under these decisions of the RLUI was quite successful, and the fact is that even without the joint meetings the nuclei of the CP and the UCP have worked together for the RLUI in the unions without noticeable conflicts and to the technical side of the fight.

The criticism of the UCP as contained in No. 16 of *The Communist*, their official organ, on the resolution of the Bureau, to which we offered an amendment designed to prevent the wholesale expulsion of Communist groups in certain New York locals of the Needle Trades, was a malicious and deliberate misrepresentation. The charge that the CP was opposed to the Bureau's resolution as a whole and that our members were instructed to oppose it is one of the many falsehoods deliberately spread by the UCP in their attempt to disrupt the Communist Party. These charges were repudiated in the Bureau itself.

The CEC recommends that this convention adopt a resolution to be presented at the Third Congress of the CI to the effect that:

1) All Bureaus of the RLUI shall work in close contact and cooperation with the CECs of the Communist Parties.

2) In order to effect this cooperation and contact, all Communist Parties shall have the right to adequate representation on such Bureaus with decisive

vote.

3) In case of disagreement between the Bureau and the Party, the Party's position shall prevail pending appeal and decision by the CI or the RLUI.

### **The Question of Participation in the Elections.**

The non-participation in the elections up to the present time is due entirely to the fact that the Party has been engaged in the arduous task of building up its own units in the face of merciless assault of the capitalist state, and the absorption of the Party's energies in the important work of trade union agitation, preventing the building up of the necessary machinery for effective participation in the elections. Without this machinery and the necessary preparation and training of our comrades, such participation would be futile and apt to cause more harm, than good. The charge that the CP of A is indifferent to the question of participation in the elections and that its declaration as contained in its present program is a "platonic aspiration" is absurd.

The declaration of the CP as contained in its present program upon the question of the participation of the CP in elections is sufficient for all practical purposes and cannot be construed to mean a platonic aspiration of the CP on this question. The manner and means to be employed by an underground party for such participation is and must be a question to be decided by the future CEC, which decision must be taken according to the immediate circumstances in each particular case and in each section of the country. No convention can definitely say that we SHALL participate in COMING elections regardless of what special conditions obtain at that time.

To the proposal of the [American] Agency as contained in its rejected ultimatum that "the United Party must participate in the coming mayoralty and Congressional campaigns, perhaps by nominating reliable and well-known Communists as INDEPENDENT candidates," we submit for the approval of the unity convention the following formulation in the new program:

"The CP shall organize the necessary legal machinery for participation in municipal, state, and national election campaigns. The CP shall, wherever possible, enter its

candidates in electoral contests in opposition to all bourgeois and social reform parties.”

### **The Question of the Federations.**

The conception that the so-called “American” elements are the most important and that they will “make” the revolution in this country is fallacious. Revolutions are not “made” by nationalities but by the working class, led by its most intelligent, self-sacrificing, class-conscious, and therefore its most revolutionary section. Experience has shown that this vanguard will be composed mainly of workers recruited from the most exploited and oppressed workers: the unskilled industrial and agricultural workers, the overwhelming majority of whom are of foreign birth and who speak and think in languages other than English. These workers, because of their revolutionary traditions and experience and the influence of the proletarian revolution in their homelands, will undoubtedly form the “shock-troops” of the Communist revolution in America.

As the proletarian revolution developed in Europe, resulting in the overthrow of the bourgeois governments of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Italy, France, and other countries and the establishment there of Soviet governments, a quickening of the revolutionary fervor and ideology among the millions of workers of European birth and connection will take place in this country. The influence of the Russian Revolution had its first and most noticeable effect upon the Slavic elements of the American proletariat who formed the backbone of the “Left Wing” movement in the period immediately following the end of the World War. It cannot be doubted that a successful revolution in Italy or Germany, resulting in the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in those countries, will have a similar effect upon the millions of German and Italian workers in America.

The fact that the American proletariat is composed of workers speaking many languages constitutes an organizational problem of vital importance upon the practical solution of which depends the effectiveness of the work of the Communist Party of America. No other country in the world has this problem to the extent that we must face in the US. Some form of

language organization is absolutely necessary in the CPA and for the purpose of carrying on a systematic and persistent propaganda and agitation to the workers in a language which they understand. This language propaganda cannot be merely translation of English material, but must carry the rich historical revolutionary tradition of the various nationalities, and can be successfully accomplished only by writers and editors who are equipped to combat the religious, racial, and political prejudices of the respective national group.

But the language organization of the CP cannot be limited to the carrying on of such propaganda to the masses outside their organization, such as is proposed by the creation of National Language Propaganda Committees. A certain necessary amount of authority and self-activity is essential for the development of their own members in communist understanding and for the organizational life of their groups and branches. This does not mean that the language organizations should be autonomous, and we brand as a deliberate misrepresentation the charge that the Language Federations of the CPA are independent units and that the CPA is only a “federation of federations.” To refute this accusation we need but call the attention of this convention to our present constitution in its provisions dealing with the subject of Federations, and the decisions of the CEC enforcing these provisions. (See Constitution Art. 4; Art. 5 Sections 4-5; Art. 8 Sections 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9; Art. 9 Sections 10 and 5, in particular)...

A comparison of the experiences and results of the work of the CP and the UCP will show that the UCP met with complete opposition to all language group organization, resulting in the disorganization and crippling of its general party work and the opposition of the bulk of its membership, notwithstanding the fact that the UCP had at its disposal a large “special organization fund” and the support of “influential” persons. The experience of the CPA on this question of internal organization proves that the foreign language propaganda must be centralized in Language Federation Executive Committees, responsible to and under the direct and complete control of the CEC of the Party. The EC of the Federations must be in close contact with and supervise the work of all their respective branches and must have their complete

confidence and support. It must have certain disciplinary powers, within limits of the Party constitution. All language branches must belong to the Federation of their language if one exists and must participate in all the activities of language propaganda work. To permit a branch to decide for itself the question of affiliation is to deny the very essence of the principle of centralization and to encourage secession and anarchy within our Party. This lack of a true understanding of democratic centralization constituted one of the chief reasons for the failure of the UCP in language organization and propaganda, resulting in the chaotic conditions within their party. The Federations must be allowed to finance their own propaganda to the fullest extent and to maintain their own treasuries, subject to a strict accountancy to the Party for all receipts and disbursements. The experience of the CPA for the past two years has shown that the collection of dues through the Federations permitting the Federation to retain 33 percent of the dues collections has resulted in the prompt payment of Party obligations by the members, the bulk of whom are in the Federations and therefore respond more readily to an appeal issued in their respective language. An examination of our books will show that prior to the widespread unemployment, the Party had healthy balances amounting to from \$5,000 to \$8,000, notwithstanding the fact that the CPA received no financial assistance from the CI at that time, and in spite of the fact that during the [April 1920] split Damon [C.E. Ruthenberg] extracted \$7,000 from our treasury, whereas on the other hand, the UCP is now in financial straits notwithstanding its large subsidies. It must be borne in mind that the language organizations can tap financial sources that otherwise would be closed to our Party. The obligation of the Language Federations to finance their own propaganda and organize the machinery therefor departmentalizes and specializes the work of the Party and language propaganda and makes for greater efficiency.

Notwithstanding the hue and cry raised by the UCP on the question of centralization and autonomy, an examination of the facts will disclose that the district organizations of the UCP have much more autonomy than the Federations of the CP, and that the UCP exercises less control over their legal English press than the CP does over the Federation press.

All the above does not mean and cannot be construed to mean that the CP intends to or has neglected the work of organizing its English branches and attracting to the Party large numbers of the American born proletariat. But the disproportion between the native born and foreign born elements in the Party is due to conditions over which we have not control and this ratio is not likely to change in the near future, if at all, due to the circumstances which have been indicated in this report. But the disproportion between the English and Federation membership within the Party can only be changed by the necessary increase of the English membership, and not by the destruction or breaking up of the Federations or by restricting them to the point of impotency.

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### Questions of Principle and Policy.

#### *Mass Action and Armed Insurrection.*

The question of the content and propaganda of the use of force and armed insurrection as the only means for the overthrow of the bourgeois state is a long-standing controversy between the UCP and the CPA.

The question did not arise over a mere matter of words of formulation, although a clear and concise definition would indicate a proper concept of this vital tactic of Communist theory and practice.

It has been the UCP point of view as contained in their criticism of the CP that the propagation of the necessity of armed insurrection to the workers should be made only under special or extraordinary circumstances; to familiarize the workers with the idea that this act is inevitable, to deal with this question only in major theoretical discussions upon the ultimate struggle.

What this concept leads to can be plainly seen in the attitude of the UCP toward the Italian situation of last year, as contained in an editorial article appearing in No. 7 of *The Communist*, official organ of the UCP, entitled "The United Communist Party and the IWW," in which this statement appears:

"The editor of the One Big Union Monthly admits in an editorial in the special 'Bolshevist Number' that armed

insurrection is a likelihood, and goes on 'but we do not wish to bring about that calamity and try to cause a premature collision by 'artificial stimulation.'

Neither do the Communists try to bring about armed insurrection by 'artificial stimulation,' except possibly those Communists who suffer from what Lenin has aptly termed 'The Infantile Sickness of "Left" Communism,' such as the Federation Group (CPA) in this country. Armed insurrection grows out of the social and industrial conditions (when then) have ripened sufficiently. To make the workers ready for it is to lead the workers into the shambles.

The Italian Socialist Party, which endorses the tactics of communism although it declares openly for armed insurrection in its program, has not provoked armed insurrection through "artificial stimulation" even though it has the power to do so, but is waiting for the moment when the masses will be ready to move."

This attitude is now familiar to all as Serratianism, or a pure centrist position on the question, and the article has never been repudiated by the UCP and its concept of the nature, content, and propaganda of mass action and armed insurrection is repeated by the American Agency in its ultimatum to both parties on unity, which was accepted by the UCP as binding upon the unity convention and not subject to change or amendment, and which reads as follows:

"The use of force in the proletarian revolution is not merely defensive, it is equally an offensive tactic of the revolutionary workers. The Party must systematically familiarize the masses with the role of armed insurrection, making this a feature of the party agitation in general. But this does not mean that during an ordinary strike force must be propagated or to inject the problem of armed insurrection into the immediate problem of the unemployed, etc. Such direct agitation for armed insurrection depends upon certain historic conditions and revolutionary maturity which must be adequately appreciated."

With this concept and statement of tactics the CPA takes issue. We will propagate the idea of armed insurrection to the workers whenever the opportunity presents itself, and especially when the workers are subjectively prepared to assimilate this propaganda, as during extensive strikes and in periods of economic crisis entailing widespread unemployment. The persistent and systematic propagation of armed insurrection as the only means for the destruction of the bourgeois state is necessary to establish this tactic in the minds of the workers in preparation for the act of force. We will not delay this propaganda until the workers

are INEVITABLY pushed into armed resistance, or until success of the proletarian revolution is absolutely assured in advance, an assurance which must always be impossible.

The charge that the CPA has ever called the workers to immediate armed uprising is a malicious slander. This unfounded accusation was based originally upon a leaflet issued to the BRT [Brooklyn street-car] Strikers by District 2 [New York], which reads as follows....†

As can be seen there is no call for immediate armed uprising nor can the language of the leaflet be tortured into any such construction.

The CP has actively engaged in the immediate struggle of the workers on the basis of their immediate demands, the bulk of its propaganda and agitation being directed along these lines. The work of the nuclei in the unions has always been a major activity of the CP, together with the publication of legal leaflets, books, and the weekly paper.

The agitation and propaganda among the unemployed and the CP participation in the organization of the unemployed has been carried out on the basis of the immediate needs and development of the workers. The slogans adopted by the CEC on the unemployment situation were: [a] Work or Maintenance at Full Trade Union Rates; [b] Immediate Trade with and Recognition of Soviet Russia; [c] Workers' Control of Industry; and [d] agitation for the formation of the Factory Committees.

### Report on Organization.

#### *Dues Figures, January-April 1921.*

January 1921	6,693
February 1921	6,497
March 1921	6,360
April 1921	5,863
<b>Total</b>	<b>25,413</b>
<b>Average</b>	<b>6,328</b>

The April figure is not complete: Lithuanian Federation missing 3 sub-districts, Polish Federation missing a whole district, and Ukrainian Federation

†- Leaflet in question was attached, not on copy in archives.



missing 4 sub-districts.

The average for the first three months is 6,516...

On the basis of January, February, and March [1921] dues figures, the membership is distributed as follows:

*[1921 Q-I, Actually Paid by District]*

District I [Boston]	936
District II [New York]	1,497
District III [Philadelphia]	630
District IV [Cleveland]	901
District V [Detroit]	1,396
District VI [Chicago]	768
Canada	333
Pacific Coast	81
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,542</b>

*[1921 Q-I, Actually Paid by Federation]*

Non-Federation	148
Jewish Federation	233
Lettish [Latvian] Federation	831
Lithuanian Federation	2,171
Polish Federation	395
Russian Federation	1,378
Ukrainian Federation	1,360
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,542</b>

\* \* \*

Comparing the January, February, and March [1921] dues figure of 6,516 with the October, November, and December [1920] figure of 6,973, and taking into consideration that since Jan. 1 [1921] we have taken in 870 new members (according to initiation fees), it appears that fully 1,300 of our old members have left for Russia during this time, as we have not lost any membership in any other way...

Since the end of February [1921], this emigration has been restricted by the decision of the CEC, taken in response to an official request from Soviet Russia not to issue any membership certificates to Soviet Russia except to deportees and comrades going on official missions. About 60 certificates have been issued to such comrades, and to comrades going to countries outside of Soviet Russia; besides, some com-

rades have left without certificates. The CEC made an official inquiry as to whether our action was in accordance with the wishes of Soviet Russia, and to notify us as soon as they want the restrictions removed, but no reply as yet has been received.

The CEC designated May [1921] as an "Organization Month," and sent out an appeal and instructions to all Party units to put forth special efforts toward recruiting of new members and how to do it. In this circular it is strongly emphasized that in exerting themselves to get new members into the Party our comrades must not forget for one moment the safeguards of the CP constitution, and must not bring into the Party any persons unless they can be vouched for by two comrades as to their sincere understanding of our principles, reliability, and absolute trustworthiness. The results of this special work for new members are yet to be recorded.

### Organization Staff.

At the present time the CP has the following organizers and workers on the payroll of the CEC: C. Dobin [Charles Dirba], Executive Secretary; A. Dales [???], General Assistant in Sec. & Tech. Dept.; J. Klein [???], Technician; Schneider [???], Assistant Tech.; J. Moore [John Ballam], Editor; A. McLean [???], Assistant Editor — this makes 6 men in the National Office. The District Organizers are J. Collins [???], George Henry [George Ashkenuzi]; C. Markus [???], J. Anders [???], Johnson [???], and Greenwald [???]. The I, II, III, and V Districts have each a paid Sub-District Organizers (1 on half-time) in the main Sub-District, acting also as assistants to the District Organizers, making 10 paid men in the District and 16 altogether on the payroll of the CEC.

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C. Dobin [Charles Dirba],  
Executive Secretary.

### Unity Question.

The CEC of the CP, having accepted all the 6 points on unity including the clause on proportional

representation, still believes that this order of the CI was the only basis upon which to accomplish organic unity of the rank and file of both parties. We resent the assertion of the American Agency as contained in its report to the CI that the CP adheres merely to the letter of the CI's order, while in spirit we were opposed to it as meaningless demagoguery. We were prepared to carry out this order at a time when we had no means of knowing which party had the actual majority of members.

The UCP, on the other hand, although making the issue of unity its chief propaganda really wanted unity only on their own terms and refused to accept the basis decided upon by the EC of the CI, thus preventing the two parties from getting together and disobeying the order of the CI in letter and spirit.

The CP at its last convention [3rd: Feb. 1921] instructed the CEC to stand for proportional representation unless new instructions came from Moscow, thus proving that the CP was at all times ready to carry out any instructions of the CI on unity. Our CEC, at its first session after the convention elected a unity committee in order to continue negotiations with the UCP. Immediately after our last convention, the international delegates, including our own, opposed a scheme which negated the order of the CI, creating a National Council composed of three representatives from both CECs. This plan, which need not be repeated here, as it is familiar to all the delegates, was proposed before the delegates of the UCP or CP had made any real effort to carry out the order of the CI, to which they had pledged themselves. The only reasons offered by the UCP for not accepting the mandate of the CI was the charge that the official figures of the CP membership were fraudulent. Our International delegates instead of investigating the membership figures of both parties or making any effort to establish the facts, began to concoct all sorts of schemes amounting to evasions of their duty.

Soon after the rejection by the CEC of the CP of the scheme to form a National Council, a cable was received by the American Agency to the effect that

they were given full power of the EC of the CI to unite both parties. The Agency in its turn, instead of proceeding upon the basis as laid down by the EC of the CI, began to use its mandate in drawing up new schemes for unity. The American Agency drew up their famous ultimatum containing 9 points, which are now known to all Party members. The apparent purpose of this ultimatum was to bind the delegates to the joint unity convention hand and foot, the Agency taking it upon themselves to decide vital questions of principle, policy and organization in advance. This ultimatum was promptly rejected by our CEC as it clearly indicated that the agency had exceeded its authority and proved their unfitness to act on the unity question and their lack of Communist understanding. We rejected the ultimatum and appealed to the EC of the CI. The CEC of the UCP, itself not clear on principles, accepted without reservation all the points of the Agency's ultimatum, adding the further provision that these formulations were binding upon the delegates and not subject to change at the convention. The CEC of the CP accepted the first point providing for a chairman of the convention, equal representation only because we believed that the Agency had received full power to act and as the only necessary condition for achieving unity. Since then the entire ultimatum of the Agency has been repudiated by the EC of the CI.

The CEC of the CP reiterates the stand taken by it throughout the entire discussion of the unity question, namely, that unity of the two Communist Parties must be based upon an agreement on fundamental principles of Communism, including its expression in organizational forms and tactics. The CEC declares that organic unity cannot be achieved by any mechanical amalgamation or the continuation within one party of two opposing and mutually exclusive conceptions on program, constitution, and action.

The CEC of the CP desires to express to the joint unity convention its sincere desire for unity along the lines indicated above and will use its influence to endeavor to bring about a unity that shall be real and lasting.

*Edited with footnotes by Tim Davenport.*

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