

# THE COMMUNIST

Official Organ of the Communist Party of America.  
SECTION OF THE THIRD COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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## Resolution Adopted by Executive Committee of Communist International in the "Fraina Case",

### Preface.

[The following document just received from Moscow relating to the accusations raised against Comrade Louis C. Fraina by Santeri Nuorteva and circulated by the N. Y. Call and the whole capitalist press, proves every contention made by the Communist Party of America in regard to this plot to discredit the Communist Party through one of its representatives, Comrade Fraina after a trial and investigation, in which Nuorteva was called personally to testify, was completely exonerated.

This document is the last chapter in a case of international proportions in which enemies of the Communist movement of America attempted to bring it into disrepute by flinging charges of "police-agent" against one of its leaders.

Comrade Louis C. Fraina stands completely vindicated before the entire world. The Communist Party of America stands vindicated before the entire world. The framers of the charges stand exposed in their true colors—branded by the Congress and Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The C. E. C. of the Communist Party of America.]

The Executive Committee of the Communist International having investigated the charges made by Santeri Nuorteva, Secretary of the New York Soviet Bureau, that Louis C. Fraina was an agent of the Department of Justice, has unanimously decided that Fraina is innocent. Moreover, the Executive Committee brands Nuorteva's actions as "absolutely contrary to the attitude of a true Socialist".

An investigating committee of three was appointed by the Executive Committee, after reading the "stenographic report of the Louis C. Fraina case" and investigating additional evidence, also hearing witnesses, recommends the following statement for acceptance:

1) The star witness figuring in "the stenographic report of the L. C. Fraina Case" offers a very doubtful statement, which is not proven by the facts based on a verbal story only.

a) It is proven that Peterson (the informer) has himself been a government spy. b) No one can verify his statements. c) Fraina proves his alibi in connection with dates mentioned by Peterson as having seen Fraina in the Department of Justice.

2) We recognize that the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America, after investigating the charges against Fraina and granted him its full confidence as a true Party member. To accuse or suspect the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America as being an organization which protects suspicious persons,—we have neither the proof nor the right. We have full confidence in the Executive Com-

mittee of the Communist Party being a revolutionary body.

3) We consider as supporting the evidence that Fraina is not guilty the fact that the Communist Labor Party of America through its Executive Committee refused, after hearing the stenographic report of the Fraina case, to appoint an investigating committee, questioned Peterson's statement, and turned down the proposal of the "Soviet Bureau" to take up the case.

### Six Conditions for Unity.

ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Among other things the Executive Committee decided:

1) To extend the date by which complete unity is to be achieved from October 10 to January 1, 1921.

2) That pending this complete unity of our movement and the election by the party of an American representative to the Executive Committee, each shall have a representative on the Executive with the same vote.

3) That unity must (and this is mandatory) be achieved on the basis of all the decisions of the Second Congress of the International.

4) The representatives of both parties must give a pledge to abide by the decision for unity.

5) The two parties have equal rights, the unification to be by means of a Congress and party for party.

6) Representation in the Unity Congress is to be decided upon the basis of dues actually paid for during the months July, August, September and October.

4) The letter written by Comrade Rutgers from Amsterdam proves that Comrade Fraina has the full confidence of the Holland comrades

"Therefore it is resolved that the investigating committee (Bilan, Communist Labor Party of America, Rudniansky, Communist Party of Hungary, Rosmer, Communist and syndicalist movement of France) and Comrade Louis C. Fraina NOT GUILTY OF THE CHARGES REFERRED AGAINST HIM and recommend that he be given the necessary confidence as the accredited representative of the Communist Party of America".

In accordance with this decision, Fraina was admitted to the Executive Committee of the Communist International and to the Congress as the representative of his Party.

During the sessions of the Congress (August 1920) Santeri Nuorteva arrived in Moscow. Fraina thereupon requested the Executive Committee to re-open the whole case, in view of Nuorteva's presence. The Executive Committee, upon motion of Comrade Zinoviev, resolved to

give Nuorteva 48 hours to present any new evidence; failing which the case would be closed and Nuorteva warned not to repeat the accusation on pain of severe measures being used against him.

Nuorteva appeared before the Investigating Committee, persisting in the accusation. The Investigating Committee, after hearing him at length, adopted the following resolution:

"The Committee on the Fraina Case, after hearing Santeri Nuorteva on August 20th, 1920, has come to the following decision:

1) Neither the former nor the new accusations brought by Nuorteva against Fraina give cause for altering the previous decision of the Committee. Nuorteva's evidence consists of his personal opinion only. He offers no real arguments to prove any of his accusations.

2) On the basis of his personal opinion, Nuorteva openly spreads the story (even in the capitalist press), that Fraina is a police spy, that the program of the Communist Party of America was written by a police spy, etc., etc. SUCH PROCEEDINGS ARE ABSOLUTELY CONTRARY TO THE ATTITUDE OF A TRUE SOCIALIST.

If after this decision, Nuorteva does not cease making his accusations against Fraina, the Executive Committee will be compelled to USE THE GRAVEST MEASURES TO STOP HIM.

At this session of August 26th of the Executive Committee of the International, this resolution was unanimously adopted (among the members present being Bucharin and Zinoviev, Russia; Meyer, Germany; Quelch, England Reed, America).

One of the American delegates having suggested that in view of the charges against Fraina being public property, it might be advisable for Fraina not to occupy any executive position in the movement, the Executive Committee, upon motion of Zinoviev, decided that "the Executive Committee of the Communist International sees no reason why Comrade Fraina should be deprived of the opportunity for responsible executive work in the American movement".

Subsequently, upon the suggestion of Comrade Lenin, the following supplementary resolution was adopted, September 29th:

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International insist that Nuorteva must retract publicly, in the press, all the accusations made by him against comrade Fraina".

M. Kobetzky,

Secretary of Executive Committee.

(Seal of Executive Committee of the Communist International)

Moscow, September 30th, 1920.

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## International Delegates' Report and Unity

On another page will be found a full report of our international delegates on unity and the Fraina case. Also a digest of all the steps taken, since the publication of the last issue, in regard to consummating the unity negotiations with the U. C. P. We shall deal briefly here with the six points adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist International relative to unity upon the appeal of our delegates Comrades Andrew and Fraina.

The six points are as follows:

1) To extend the date by which complete unity is to be achieved from October 10 to January 1, 1921.

2) That pending this complete unity of our movement and the election by the party of an American representative to the Executive Committee, each shall have a representative on the Executive with the same vote.

3) That unity must (and this is mandatory) be achieved on the basis of all the decisions of the Second Congress of the International.

4) The representatives of both parties must give a pledge to abide by the decision for unity.

5) The two parties have equal rights the unification to be by means of a Congress and party for party.

6) Representation in the Unity Congress is to be decided upon the basis of dues actually paid for during the months July, August, September and October.

A word of explanation is necessary before taking up these six points. Our delegates report and the U. C. P. confirm that the U. C. P. delegate Flynn, who arrived almost at the end of the Congress, came with instructions to protest the seating of any delegates of the Communist Party on the ground that unification had been accomplished and that the United Communist Party was the result of the merging of the C. L. P. and the vast majority of the C. P. The U. C. P. delegation then demanded the full ten votes allotted to America for itself. This the Congress overruled on the ground that, as Comrade Radek said, "only one side of the case had been heard". Comrade Fraina also protested but he states and truthfully, that he had no information of his own. (Comrade Fraina was arrested last May somewhere in Europe and we lost our connections with him). However, the Congress, which had previously allotted five votes apiece to each party now gave six votes to the U. C. P. and four votes to the C. P. because a large part of the C. P. had gone over to the U. C. P., this being the lie which Flynn brought to them.

We may assume therefore that the unity resolution passed by the Congress and by the Executive Committee on August 7th for complete unity by October 10th was based upon the lies and misrepresentations of the U. C. P.

Point (1) therefore clearly shows that when Comrade Andrew presented our side of the case, with true explanation of the facts which led to the split instead of to the achievement of unity with the C. L. P. which was pending at that time, that the Executive Committee realized that there were some fundamental differences between the two organizations which could only be settled by a unity convention. Therefore the time was extended to permit of holding such a convention.

Point (2) proves that the vote of six to four in the Second Congress was not made because the U. C. P. was considered

a "major party" in any other sense than the U. C. P. false claim of membership. The acceptance of Comrade Andrew on the Executive Committee with the same vote proves this conclusively. Unfortunately for the U. C. P., but fortunately for the Communist movement in America, the U. C. P. are not a "major party" in any sense of the term—neither in their consistency as Communists nor in their membership figures. The U. C. P. position on trade-unions as contained in their program was bitterly assailed in the Congress itself.

Point (3) specifically provides that the unity must be based upon the decisions of the Congress. All other questions, such as federations, etc., must be left to be convention itself to decide. No negotiations or agreements can be made on any question beforehand. The U. C. P. demand for the abolition of federations as one of the conditions of unity negotiations is altogether beside the mark and merely proves their insincerity. Even Comrade Flynn, their delegate informed us, that the federation question would have to be determined by the membership in this country according to the view of the Congress and the Executive Committee.

(4) Most probably refers to the pledge given by the delegates of both parties in Moscow. If so Comrade Reed, the U. C. P. representative must have given this pledge, as well as our own delegates. Will the U. C. P. dare violate this pledge?

(5) Again clearly and unequivocally states that both parties have equal rights. Therefore the U. C. P. claim for an arbitrary apportionment of delegates on the basis of six to four is sheer camouflage intended to cover up their lies and misrepresentations as made by their delegation in the Congress.

Point (6) is the most important decision and fully vindicates the position of the Communist Party both in the present negotiations and in the previous negotiations with the C. L. P. There is no need to go into lengthy explanations to prove that this basis is the only possible basis for going into a joint convention which is to decide the future of the Communist movement in America. The proposition is so self-evident that one can only suspect the motives of those who refuse to accept this basis.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the Communist Party has accepted not only the word but the spirit of the decision of the Communist International.

We understand and agree fully with the Communist International in its plan to create only one Communist Party in each country. But we also fully realized the futility of accomplishing real organic unity in this country without a mandatory decision of this effect from the Communist International itself. A joint convention between the U. C. P. and the C. P. would not have led to unity. It would have led to a split at the convention, assuming that the U. C. P. would ever have agreed to proportional representation without compulsion by the Communist International.

The differences between the two organizations from the very beginning, exist today. The leadership of the U. C. P., like the leadership of the C. L. P., are Centrists. They accept the principles of Communism in words but not in deeds. In every controversy we have made this clear. This same leadership was opposed to any mention of armed insurrection or its propagation to the masses in their last convention. Only the determined attitude of a minority of five or ten out of more than fifty delegates compelled its insertion on the threat of a split. We have not yet seen any tendency on the part of this leadership to accept this fundamental tactic. In their compromise offer to the I. W. W. they showed plainly that on the question of armed insurrection they were more in agreement with Sandgren, yellowest of yellow syndicalists, than with the Communist position. On the question of trade unions, which is a major question, their program and their official organs take a diametrically opposite position to that of the Second Congress.

Perhaps nothing can better illustrate

their Centrist tendencies than their attitude on defense as expressed in their official organ.

As for organization problems, they have shown themselves to be a set of bureaucrats with a purely mechanical conception of centralization and discipline. The test of understanding of Communist organization in this country at the present time is the federation problem. The U. C. P. leadership have taken a position which proves them to be incapable and unfit of leading the Communist movement. The history of the U. C. P. has been a series of gradual disintegration and dissolution on this very question alone. They have driven away more than half of their foreign membership because they fail to realize their needs, both as to carrying on their Communist propaganda and agitation in their respective languages and winning new membership from the large foreign-speaking working masses into the Communist movement.

But the U. C. P. Centrist leaders are so blind and stupid as even to ignore the recommendation of the Communist International on this question. In the appeal for unity between the C. P. and the C. L. P., which arrived in this country several months late, the Communist International expressly states that the traditional form of language federations must not be destroyed at one blow. Plainly they implied that their abolition is a gradual process corresponding to the needs and conditions in this country. This is exactly the position of the Communist Party. The federation question will settle itself with time. Any arbitrary attempt to abolish or destroy them will mean, at present or in the near future, the disintegration of the Communist movement. The federations are the promulgators and the carriers of Communism in America. And so long as the English-speaking working masses are not yet attracted to the Communist movement the need of federations is self-evident to any real intelligent Communist.

Is it not apparent that the element led by the present leadership of the U. C. P. would have split away in any unity convention which took a different position on these questions than theirs? Even in the coming unity convention (assuming that the U. C. P. change their arrogant attitude and accept the mandatory decision of the Communist International) we expect some elements to split away and leave the Communist movement altogether rather than submit to decisions which they do not agree with. That was what was meant when we said last week that there was no good reason for the existence of two parties except the inability of the minority to accept the decisions of the majority. This minority, had they really accepted Communist principles in deeds as well as words, would never have created a second party...

But all this is changed. The Communist International has issued its imperative mandate. This mandate calls for unity and proportional representation. The Communist Party has signified its willingness to abide by this decision. Is the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. ready to accept this decision or is it still living in a fool's paradise? If the latter then they can only be awakened by a blow from the long arm of the Communist International.

Now that the elections are over the Socialist Party comes out with the truth that their national organization is almost completely smashed. Nineteen states have paper organizations. Seven states have no organizations worth mentioning. We are inclined to believe that this is not the whole truth as yet.

The Swiss Government has cautioned the stray remnants of the Second International not to resort to revolutionary propaganda or else they would be kicked out of that country, where they are assembled at present. The Swiss Government was only joking and we trust that Vandervelde, Branting, Scheidemann & Co. will not take it too seriously.

## Address to the French Socialist Party by the Communist International.

The Presidium of the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International to all members of the French Socialist Party and to all class-conscious proletarians of France.

The latest party convention of the Fr. Soc. Party has decided by a great majority to leave the 2nd International which is now recognized by all class-conscious workers of the world as a traitorous organization. But the same party convention by a two thirds vote has declined prompt entrance to the 3rd International, with the equivocal resolve to enter into certain relations with the 3rd International and to call into life an organization which stands between the 2nd and the 3rd Internationals.

Two delegates of the party-convention majority, Cachin and Frossard have come to Russia to enter into dealings with us agent, the decisions of the party-conference. The Executive Committee of the Comm. International has in its extended conference (with the help of the delegates from Italy, England, America, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Bulgaria and those of other countries) devoted a special session to the clarification of the question which was called forth by the presence of Cachin and Frossard. Besides, the Executive Comm. held a number of more private conferences with both of the above named delegates of the Fr. Soc. Party. We have received from them three written reports which have been published in the official press of the Comm. International in all languages. We have allowed Cachin and Frossard a deliberative voice in the 2nd World Congress of the Comm. International. In the congress-commission we have listened to the speeches of Cachin and Frossard. The Exec. Comm. of the Communist International considers it to be its self-evident duty to grant the greatest attention to each delegation of a Party or Group which has in view leaving the 2nd International and coming into the Communist International.

We are thankful to the Fr. Soc. Party, in that through the sending of their delegation they have afforded us the opportunity for a candid understanding with them, as befits revolutionists. From the following lines you will learn how we appreciate the state of affairs in France. Our reply—of that we are assured—will at once be published in France, and will be made the basis of discussion for all class-conscious French workmen.

The appreciation of the condition of the workers' party of France two points of view arise. 1. The international role which the French bourgeoisie are playing at present, 2. The condition within the French Socialist Party.

The French bourgeoisie for a whole series of reasons play at this time the most reactionary role in the world. Bourgeois France has become a prop to world reaction. French imperialist capital has, before the eyes of the whole world, taken on the role of international gendarme. The French bourgeoisie has contributed more than the others to the throttling of the proletarian Soviet Republic in Hungary. To the French bourgeoisie belonged and belongs the leading role in the organization of the brigand campaign against Soviet Russia. In the Balkan countries, the French bourgeoisie plays the role of the bloodiest executioner. And finally, it is the French bourgeoisie which has taken upon itself the chief work in throttling the developing proletarian revolution in Germany. It has taken the leading part in the elaboration of the robber-Versailles peace-terms. It sent black troops to occupy German factories. It has entered into a league with the German bourgeoisie to subdue the German working class. There is no crime so monstrous that the rule of the French bourgeoisie had not carried out World-revolution has no worse enemy than the government of the French imperialist.

This places upon the French workers and their party an especially mighty, international duty. History purposes that you, French workmen, a heavier, more responsible, but more compensating task will be apportioned to withstand the onslaught of the most rabidly reactionary section of the international bourgeoisie.

But the Executive Committee of the Communist International is regretfully forced to stand firm—and here we come to the second of the above-mentioned main topics—that the conditions existing in the French Socialist Party be altered to the end that you be given the opportunity to fulfill the historic mission which the march of events has entrusted to you. The advanced proletarians of France will unconditionally agree with us when we say that in the course of the four years of the imperialist war, nowhere, with the exception of Germany, has such an abject betrayal of Socialism been practiced. The conduct of the leaders of your former majority, Renaudel, Thomas and Sembat and others after August 4, 1914 was absolutely no better than the base betrayal by Scheidemann and Noske in Germany. The leaders of your party have not only voted for war credits; they have, besides, placed the whole party press, the whole party machinery, at the service of the robber, imperialist, bourgeoisie. These leaders of the French So-

cialist Party have poisoned the minds of the soldiers and workmen. They have helped the imperialist bourgeoisie to flood the whole country with the turbid waters of chauvinism, as never before. They have helped the bourgeoisie to introduce a slave rule in the industries and factories; even to setting aside moderate laws designed for the protection of the workers. They have involved themselves in the full responsibility for the imperialist slaughter. They participated in the government of the French bourgeoisie. They have carried out the dirtiest orders of the Entente. When, in 1917, the February revolution broke out in Russia, Albert Thomas, in the name of the party, and in the service of French imperialism, journeyed to Russia to convince the Russian workers and soldiers, of the necessity of the imperialist war. In this manner have the French social-patriots aided the French capitalists to organize the expedition of the Russian White Guards who have declared war against the working class and peasantry of Russia.

As to what concerns the former minority in your party, they have never led a principled, powerful, clearly expressed campaign against the majority, although this campaign was clearly their sacred duty. Now, when they have become a majority, even to this day they carry on an ambiguous policy; they do not display the necessary energy.

Albert Thomas, Renaudel, Johaux, and others, even to this day, play the reactionary role of lackeys to the bourgeoisie. Not alone the frankly social patriots in your party, but also many well-known "Centrist" representatives, (Longuet and Co.) still champion the view that the robber, imperialist war of 1914-1918 was for France a war for national defence (Defense Nationale). Your party, your centrist majority, has not up to now clearly told the workers of France that the last world war was a robber imperialist war, on the part of the French bourgeoisie as well as on the side of the Germans. The speeches of Longuet, Grossman, and other leaders of the "Defense Nationale" delivered at the Strassburg party convention, came very close to social patriotism.

We must tell you frankly, comrades, that the situation in the French Socialist Party, is even worse than the internal situation of the German Independent Socialist Party. You have, even in comparison with the rate of German development, remained behind. You have not yet so much as separated yourselves from your public traitors, the social-patriots. You have not yet done that which the German independents did as far back as 1916. In your party there are yet such traitors as Albert Thomas, who holds a responsible position in the robber peoples league (Volkerbund). In your party there are yet such persons as Pierre Renaudel, a most zealous servant of the French bourgeoisie. You are tolerant to such traitors to the workers' cause as Johaux and his comrades of like mind, who now want to resurrect the yellow trade union international. In your ranks you permit people, who at the request of the capitalist of the Entente, staged the comedy of the organization of an International Labor Bureau. Your party even now, permits the deputies to remain in the party who had the shamelessness to exercise the vote in the French Chamber of Deputies when the question of the disgraceful, bloody, robber Versailles Peace Treaty came up for discussion. Comrades, you must grant that such a condition within the party cannot be tolerated. If you are to fulfill the mission which history has set for you.

It is no wonder that with such a state of affairs, the official majority of the French Socialist Party which still believes and calls itself internationalist and revolutionary, in reality, pursues a wavering, ambiguous, vacillating, centrist policy.

Let us consider successively the most important departments of your daily work 1) Your parliamentary activities; 2) Your press; 3) Your propaganda; 4) Your relations to the trade unions; 5) Your stand upon the most recent acts of violence of the French Government; 6) your conduct toward the left (Communist) wing in your own party and 7) your relation to the Third (Communist) International.

1) Parliamentary activities. Your socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies is just as little revolutionary, proletarian, or socialist as before. Each socialist deputy conducts himself as it pleases him. Your parliamentary group as a whole is not subordinated to the Party. It carries out only those decisions of the party majority which it likes. It is not the mouth-piece of the French proletarian masses who are filled with indignation over the baseness of the bourgeoisie. It does not feel itself bound to any responsibilities whatsoever to the working masses. It develops no sort of revolutionary propaganda among the millions of masses who took part in the war. It does not unmask the infamy of the French Government. It has not taken upon itself to reveal clearly to the working masses of France the criminal character of the imperialist war even up to its close. It does not summon the workers to arm themselves. In a word it

not only does not prepare for a proletarian revolution but sabotages it with all its power. By reason of their conduct, many of your deputies have instilled in the working masses of France an antipathy to any parliamentary activities and inconsequence furnish material for the propaganda of the anarchists. Because of their opportunism, your parliamentary group nourishes and strengthens the mistakes and prejudices of syndicalism. As a result of the conduct of your deputies there has been strengthen in the proletarian masses, only a contempt for parliamentary intrigues, and for the people who call themselves socialist, but in reality fraternize with the most rabid enemies of the working-class.

2) Your daily press. Firstly, the papers, L'Humanite and Le Populaire are not revolutionary, proletarian papers. We miss in these organs the daily, systematic, propaganda and agitation for the idea of the proletarian revolution. At the best there are in these organs only dry, spiritless words about the dictatorship of the proletariat. But these words have not become the flesh and blood of your daily agitation. Your papers are as similar to those of the French bourgeoisie as one drop of water is to another. Even as the others you devote the chief place to parliamentary trifles and to the petty occurrences in bourgeois circles. Your newspapers have not the will, nor do they understand how to express the revolutionary wrath of the proletarian masses. Your newspapers do not speak of the distress of the working masses into which they were plunged by the war. Your organs confine themselves to dry, formal, platonic, and pedantic protests. You have delivered your organs into the hands of the social-patriot, Comper-Morel, for propaganda among the peasants.

It is necessary that you renounce the absolutely inadmissible methods of proportional representation through which fissure your party press was opened to poisoned scribbles of Renaudel and Co.

3) The same may be said of your agitation in the country and in the army. This agitation is either actually non-existent, or else it bears a decidedly reformist character. Where and when has your party explained to the French soldiers their revolutionary, proletarian duty? As far as we know, never. If the balance of power, at present is such that the socialist in France cannot carry on their work and agitation legally, THEN IT IS THE DUTY OF EVERY HONEST PROLETARIAN TO SUPPLEMENT THE LEGAL BY ILLEGAL WORK and so fulfil his duty to the working class of his own country and to the proletariat of the world.

4) Your relation to the trade unions (Syndicalist) is full of ambiguity. Not only do you not carry on a systematic, struggle against the social-patriotic leaders of the Confederation General du Travail, but conceal it. When Johaux and Co. helped the bourgeoisie to rebuild the yellow International of Trade Unions in Amsterdam, when this same Johaux and Co. together with Albert Thomas attended the International Conference called by the imperialists, when the members of the General Labor Conference by traitorous methods sabotages the strike of June 21, 1919, you did not declare war against them; you did not put them in the pillory of infamy; you did not unmask them as the most abject traitors to the working class! No, you continued your co-operation with them. You did not make it your business to tear the French unions away from the disintegrating and corrupting influence of these agents of capitalism.

During the last great May Day strike when the government put you into prison, one of your comrades, Paul Boncourt, made the remonstrance in parliament that the government had forgotten the patriotism Johaux displayed on Aug. 2d, 1914 and his great service during the war and after.

The French bourgeoisie has lately practiced unheard of brutalities, particularly against the left wing of the French working class movement Lorient, Monale, Souvarine and a number of other comrades have been thrown into prison. What have you done to repeal the onslaught of the French capitalists? Why did you not sound the alarm? Why did you not organize a campaign throughout the whole country? Why did you confine yourselves to an almost philanthropic agitation?

6) Your attitude toward the left Communist wing within your own party leaves much to be desired. You do not seek an approach to the French Communists. On the contrary you have organized a struggle against them. You place the question of admission to the Third Communist International on the first order of business, but do nothing or almost nothing looking towards a sincere comradely approach to the Communists of your own country.

7) And finally with regard to your relations with the Communist International. You have left the ranks of the traitorous, yellow, Second International when the German independents went out of it and when the French workers forced the present leaders to break with the Yellow International. You sent your delegates to the notorious Borne Conference. Many of you have there, to be sure, defended the Russian Revolution, but you also made attempts there to save the death agony of the Second International. You have attempted to make a new alignment the so-called "reconstruction" or new Third International. You

(Continued on page 7)

# The Unity Proceedings

## Between the Communist Party and the U. C. P. of A.

### STATEMENT OF THE C. E. C. OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY ON UNITY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

To the Membership of the Communist Party, Dear Comrades:-

The following documents, presented in their chronological order, will give you a general and precise idea of the status of the unity negotiations between the C. P. and the U. C. P., as well as the relationship of both Communist Parties to the Communist International.

From the report of our international delegates you will see that the Communist Party of America is completely vindicated in its struggle with the Centrist leaders of the former C. L. P. and the present U. C. P. Despite the lies, the misrepresentations and underhand intrigues of the U. C. P. to smash the Communist Party and have it expelled from the Communist International—THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA IS RECOGNIZED AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. ITS DELEGATE, COMRADE ANDREW, HAS BEEN PLACED ON THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE MANDATE FOR UNITY BETWEEN BOTH PARTIES HAS BEEN EXTENDED TO JANUARY 1st AND THE METHOD OF UNITY IS TO BE BY JOINT CONVENTION BASED UPON DUES ACTUALLY PAID FOR THE MONTHS OF JULY, AUGUST, SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER.

The U. C. P. lies and misrepresentations about the C. P. have been completely exposed. Their stupid and arrogant pose that they are the "majority" is now revealed in its true light. Their ridiculous attempt to dictate the basis of delegates at the unity convention (six to four to correspond to the representation given them at the Second World Congress of the Communist International) has been properly rebuked by the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

All the documents herein speak for themselves. It is only necessary to explain the dates and the manner which called them forth.

As soon as the C. E. C. of the C. P. accidentally came across the mandate for unity by October 10th, the Secretary called for a special meeting of the C. E. C. on October 19th. At this meeting a resolution was adopted complying unreservedly with the mandate. A Unity Committee was elected to prepare for a joint convention with a similar committee from the U. C. P. On the following day we received information that Comrade Andrew had arrived in Moscow and had come before the Executive Committee of the Communist International on September 22nd. The information given to us was that Comrade Andrew had succeeded only in postponing the date from October 10th to January 1st.

In the meantime our unity committee arranged a meeting with the unity committee of the U. C. P. A few days later the two committees met. The U. C. P. committee notified our committee that they were acting without instructions from their C. E. C., but they requested a discussion on the general points of unity involved, as set forth in our official letter to the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. dated October 20th. The four points in our proposal were gone over and a deadlock was reached on the question of the basis of representation at the unity convention. The U. C. P. unity committee made it clear that they were speaking unofficially, but that they represented the majority opinion of their C. E. C. in demanding the ratio of 6 to 4. Our committee told them that we considered this meeting unofficial and were prepared to arrange for another meeting at which the U. C. P. committee would come instructed from their C. E. C.

On November 2nd our C. E. C. met again and our unity committee made its report. The report was accepted and the committee was instructed to continue the negotiations on the basis of representation at the unity convention to be on dues-paying membership. Our Secretary thereupon went forth to notify the U. C. P. to elect and empower a committee to meet ours. He was told that two delegates recently arrived from Moscow wished to come before our C. E. C. as they had some message for us from the Communist International. Our Secretary then asked whether they had credentials from the Communist International. They answered that one had and the other had not. He came and reported this to our C. E. C. and that body immediately decided to hear the delegate with credentials.

Comrade Flynn, delegate of the U. C. P. arrived and presented a statement signed by Comrade Zinoviev and addressed to both parties as follows:

"Dear Comrades:-

You will receive all material from the Second Congress. We demand now, ultimately from you all, that an immediate full unity should be accomplished on the basis of the decisions adopted by the Congress. Further split cannot be tolerated and cannot be justified by anything. We wait from both sides an immediate formal reply. Fraternal Greetings, With Communist greetings,

(Signed) G. Zinoviev, Chairman, Ex. Comm. of the Communist International.

August 20th."

Comrade Flynn further reported on the

Congress which confirmed information already received. He had no specific instructions on the Federation question—details he said were left to the membership in this country. He said he arrived towards the close of the Congress. At the beginning the C. P. and the C. L. P. had been given equal representation (five to five), but he had reported that a majority of C. P. had united with the C. L. P., forming U. C. P. with a membership of 10,000 to 12 thousand—leaving the C. P. with three or four thousand, and demanded that the C. P. delegates be unseated. The Congress decided against the U. C. P. and the C. P. delegates were given representation of 4 votes and the U. C. P. 6 votes on the basis of his report that the U. C. P. represented the larger party. He also reported that Fraina's case had been investigated and that he had been completely exonerated and Nuorteva ordered to cease all attacks under pain of severe measures being meted out to him. Flynn then reported that the other delegate, without credentials had a message for us and requested a hearing for him. This was granted and later the other delegate, Comrade Morgan, appeared.

Morgan reported same as Flynn. Also agreed to make an appointment with the unity committees.

The Unity Committees met on November 3rd and the U. C. P. committee then read the following communication from their C. E. C. dated November 3rd and published below. This statement insisted upon the 6 to 4 representation and was written in a very arrogant tone. Our committee informed them that the C. P. would not recede from the basis of proportional representation based upon dues-paying membership and in case they refused would appeal our case to the Communist International.

The U. C. P. committee then promised to have an answer to this resolution by noon. (Nov. 4th)

The C. E. C. of the C. P. then reconvened the following morning to take up the report of the unity committee. In the meantime one of the C. E. C. members had received and brought with him to this meeting the letter and resolutions of the Communist International from our delegates Andrew and Fraina.

One contained an exoneration of Fraina on the charge of being "police-agent" made by Nuorteva. The other contained the later decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International relative to unity and international matters and was dated September

## REPORTS FROM OUR DELEGATES.

### TO THE COMMUNIST

Dear Comrades:-

The report of Comrade Fraina, previously sent you, pictured developments here concerning our Party, unity, etc., up to August 25. In this report we shall picture the new developments while making a complete summary of the whole situation.

In accord with the decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International for unity, the delegates of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party agreed to work as one delegation in the Congress, etc. But while the Congress was still in session, Flynn arrived as the delegate of the U. C. P. and broke the agreement. Upon the instructions from the Central Executive Committee of his party, Flynn contested the recognition of the Communist Party delegates on the ground that recognition would interfere with unity. The Credential Committee rejected the proposal, although it gave the U. C. P. six votes and the C. P. four votes (Flynn having declared that the U. C. P. had from 10,000 to 12,000 members, while the C. P. had not more than 1500, Fraina, being without information, had no means of contradicting this.)

Flynn thereupon brought the contest before the Congress. Fraina in answer emphasized that Flynn was acting in the worst factional spirit; to reject the Communist Party was to reject the most consistent American expression of Communism; that Flynn's proposal was not to promote unity but to break the C. P. Flynn, moreover, argued that the Communist Party had repudiated the Communist International, since a representative of the International had assisted in the unification; in answer, Fraina declared that this representative not only had no mandate to achieve unity, but had no political mandate whatever (this was subsequently confirmed by Comrade Bucharin). The Congress decided against Flynn, only Flynn, Reed and Bilan voting in favor.

After the Congress, the Executive Committee adopted a resolution ordering the two American Communist parties to unite by October 10, under threat of expulsion from the International.

The U. C. P. delegates, having six votes, out of ten given to America, elected Reed as the American representative on the Executive Committee (one representative only being permitted).

The U. C. P. delegates, particularly Flynn and Reed, acted throughout in the worst factional spirit; Reed declared to Fraina that he did not want unity of party and party, but

30th. The latter is printed in this statement. The Fraina resolution is printed in a separate leaflet.

Our C. E. C. after hearing the contents of these communications immediately voted to adjourn to give the Unity Committee an opportunity to arrange a meeting with the U. C. P. and acquaint them with the important information.

The following day our committee met and we were handed their written answer to our last resolution. This answer is dated November 5th and speaks for itself. Two points, however, are especially worthy of answer: (1) They still claim to have twice as many members as the C. P. This claim is refuted by their own demand for arbitrary representation of 6 to 4 at the joint convention as well as by their refusal to accept proportional representation based upon membership figures. (2) Their claim that the Communist Party delegates at a convention are subject to ratification by the language federations is a deliberate lie intended to obscure the whole issue. Everybody knows that our electors and delegates to conventions are elected through the party organization as a whole and that the language federations have nothing whatsoever to do with the action of party delegates. The party delegates are responsible to the party as a whole and to no one else. This lie is intentionally made to lend color to the charge that the Communist Party is not a party but a loosely-formed federation of federations. The decisions of the convention and the party constitution are ample refutation of this charge.

As a whole this last answer of the U. C. P. is sufficient proof in itself that the U. C. P. does not really desire unity but wants to "smash the Communist Party".

Our committee then submitted a signed statement containing the six points adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist International relative to its mandatory decision for unity. Upon their request they were shown the original statement signed by our delegates.

They received the information in silence and the meeting was concluded. Upon the request of our committee for another meeting they told our committee that they could not make arrangements at present but would notify us whenever they considered a meeting necessary. We have not heard from them as yet. The unity negotiations therefore rest at this point.

In the meantime, the C. E. C. has issued the call for a special convention in accordance with the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International and contained in the "Conditions for Affiliation". Should final agreement with the U. C. P. be reached this convention will become a joint convention.

Below, in the order of their receipt follow the documents relating to the unity negotiations with the U. C. P. and the report of our international delegates.

### PARTY OF AMERICA.

unity by means of smashing the Communist Party; and he used fully his official position to that end.

Upon the arrival of Comrade Andrew, with information concerning the actual state of affairs in the United States, the situation changed.

We brought, by means of Andrew's report, the whole question of the American movement again before the Executive Committee. The Executive re-affirmed the mandatory decision for unity, but its actions rebuked the maneuvers of the U. C. P. politicians here to make a factional issue of unity.

Among other things, the Executive Committee decided:

1) To extend the date by which complete unity is to be achieved from October 10 to January 1, 1921.

2) That pending this complete unity of our movement and the election by the party of an American representative on the Executive Committee, each party shall have a representative on the Executive with the same vote.

3) That unity must (and this is mandatory) be achieved on the basis of all the decisions of the Second Congress of the International.

4) The representatives of both parties must give a pledge to abide by the decision for unity.

5) The two parties have equal rights, the unification to be by means of a Congress and party for party.

6) Representation in the Unity Congress is to be decided upon the basis of dues actually paid for during the months July, August, September and October.

Reed objected to having a representative of the Communist Party on the Executive Committee, maintaining that the United Party was entitled to the representative alone, since it had already accepted the decision for unity. This was again a factional attempt to make capital out of unity; but the attempt was rebuked by Zinoviev, who inserted in the resolution the clause that the representatives of both parties have equal rights (which was not in originally).

Comrades! The decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International are final, and binding upon the affiliated organizations. Whatever may be one's opinion, the Communist Party must loyally accept it, while maintaining its consistent expression of Communism.

Close up the ranks and prepare for the coming unity congress.

This is not a perfunctory matter, it affects the whole future of our movement. The Party must prepare theses, proposals, etc. Since all decisions and programs of parties affiliated to the Communist International must be approved by the Executive Committee, we have the right to appeal to the Executive in the event the Unity Congress adopts any decision or takes any steps contrary to our principles.

The authority of the International and the revolutionary requirements of the movement itself, if nothing else, will impose a consistent program upon the united party.

Moscow, September 31.

Signed, Louis C. Fraña,  
Andrew.

P. S. According to a supplementary decision of the Executive Committee, the name of the completely unified party is to be Communist Party of America.

P. S. Representatives of the Com. movement on the Executive Com. of the Communist International at present are: Andrew—C. P. of A. and Reed—U. C. P. of A.

P. S. Third paragraph in this statement refers to Com. Ag. It was stated at the Exe. Com. of the Com. Intern. and confirmed by Bucharin, that his mandate was limited only to assistance in formation of the C. P. in America, no such Party being in existence at the time when he left Russia.

FROM THE C. E. C. OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE C. E. C. OF THE U. C. P.

Oct. 20, 1920.

Dear Comrades:-

Having on Oct. 14th accidentally come across a decision in the Sept. 14th "Izvestia", official organ of the Soviet Republic, relative to the unity of the Communist Party and the United Communist Party as follows:

"Both Communist parties—the U. C. P. and the C. P., are obligated to unite into one party on the basis of the decisions of the Second World Congress of the Communist International. This unity must be finally accomplished not later than in two months; that is, by the 10th of October, 1920. Those who do not subject themselves to this decision shall be expelled from the Third, Communist International".

In accordance with this decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International the C. E. C. of the C. P. has passed the following decision:

"Since the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Com. Intern. demanding immediate unity between the C. P. and the U. C. P., was received after the date set in the resolution for the final completion of unity; and

"Recognizing that the idea and the intent of the resolution must be carried out to the best of our ability and circumstances without further delay;

"We decided to take immediate steps for calling a joint convention with the U. C. P. within two months, the representation to be in proportion to membership determined upon a just and equal basis for both parties; and

"To notify the Executive Committee of the Communist International of our acknowledgement of their authority in the question, and of the steps we have taken to comply with their decision as soon as it reached us".

On the basis of this resolution the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party has passed the following motions in order to facilitate the process of uniting both parties at a joint convention:

1) A committee of three (Allen, Dobin and Leon) has been elected with power to make arrangements with a like committee representing your C. E. C.

2) That in the event of agreement a call for a joint convention shall be issued by the respective C. E. C.'s of both parties.

3) The basis for the joint call shall be as follows: a) the decisions of the Second Congress of the Com. Intern. b) The Conditions for Affiliation to the Com. Intern. c) Any decisions of the Executive Committee of the Com. Intern. pertaining to the Communist movement in this country.

4) The joint convention shall be called within two months.

5) The basis of elections to joint convention shall be as follows: Representation is to be in proportion to membership determined upon a just and equal basis for both parties.

In view of the very limited time for the calling of the joint convention we expect a speedy reply.

Fraternally yours,  
(Signature)—Exec. Sec  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA  
ANSWER OF THE U. C. P.

Nov. 3, 1920.

Comrades:-

The following resolution on the subject of Communist Unity in the United States was adopted by the C. E. C. of the U. C. P.:-

Communist unity is essential for the communist victory. The U. C. P. has always recognized this, and expressed this recognition in the following words in a unity resolution adopted at its convention:

"American capitalism is mobilizing all its forces to control the rising tide of working-class revolt, and has particularly directed its power of suppression against the communist movement.

"Under these circumstances, and in view

of the fundamental unity of principles, all the communist elements should be united in ONE party, and the U. C. P. therefore calls upon the group still outside the united party to join it".

We, the Central Executive Committee of the United Communist Party, mindful of our duty to unite the battle front of the revolutionary workers in the United States, welcomed the endeavors of Comrade Linde, who, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Third International, offered his services to bring about complete unity of communist forces. We helped him in every way possible. We deeply regretted that the hostility of the C. E. C. of the C. P. to the achievement of unity caused Comrade Linde's labors to fall of success. When this became apparent, we again reported to the Third International the situation relative to unity of the communist elements in the United States.

Meanwhile the second congress of the Third International had taken place, and the newly elected executive committee of that body in compliance with the instructions of the Congress, issued an imperative mandate for communist unity in the United States.

Since the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party has now indicated a willingness to reverse its previous position and to comply with the mandate of the Executive Committee of the Third International, we agree to a joint convention and appoint comrade Holt, Alden and McGee as our committee to act with a like committee of the Communist Party.

We empower them to make arrangements for a joint convention on the following conditions:

1) In conformity with the decisions of the second congress regarding centralized party organization, no autonomous groups or federations shall be allowed in the united party.

2) Only those members organized in the underground group form of organization shall be permitted to participate in the election of delegates to the joint convention.

3) The basis of representation at the joint convention shall be the same as the voting ratio established for the American delegates by the Second Congress of the Com. Intern.; namely, the ratio of six delegates for the U. C. P. to four for the C. P.

4) All the theses adopted by the second Congress, and the decisions of the Exe. Com. of the Com. Intern., shall constitute the basis of the deliberations at the joint convention.

5) In order to bring about unity by January 1st, the time limit finally set by the Exe. Com. of the Com. Intern., the convention must be held before that date.

With Communist Greetings,

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY.

(Signature)—Executive Secretary.

TO THE C. E. C. OF THE U. C. P. OF A.  
Nov. 3, 1920.

Comrades:-

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America will not accept any other basis of representation at the Joint Convention than the number of dues paying members, and will appeal to the Executive Com. of the Communist International in case the United Communist Party does not agree to this at once.

Fraternally,

(Signature)—Exec. Sec.

LETTER OF UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY.

To the C. E. C., C. P. Nov. 5, 1920.

Comrades:-

The C. E. C. of the U. C. P., after careful consideration of the proposal of the C. E. C. of the C. P. relative to the execution of the unity mandate of the Exe. Com. of the Com. Intern., comes to the following conclusion:

1) Unity of the federation group of the old C. P. still outside of the U. C. P. with the U. C. P. is not the subject for negotiations or agreements with this group, but simply a question of the execution of the imperative mandate imposed upon this group by the authority of the Exe. Com. of the Com. Intern.

To the U. C. P., as the body through which the Com. Intern. functions in the United States, falls the task of executing this mandate.

In view of this fact, the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. considered the plan of an immediate merger without convention as the only proper form for carrying out the spirit and letter of the order of the Com. Intern. Only the inequities which might attend a merger without convention, because it would result in arbitrary forcing the liquidation of the C. P. and its federations, makes a convention advisable. But even adopting the convention plan as necessary, the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. insists upon carrying through the principle of no negotiations or agreements as a prerequisite to unity.

The function of the convention in all matters relative to unity is merely to make the technical arrangements for unity and to facilitate the liquidation of the federated Communist Party.

2) After agreeing upon a convention, the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. considered the basis for representation for this convention. Two methods were possible. Proportional representation based upon dues paying membership or a fixed representation for each party.

The election of delegates by proportional representation would make a majority of C. P. delegates possible only through manipulation. We understand perfectly that such manipulations are not entirely foreign to the practices of the leadership of the federations.

Such manipulations would readily be facilitated by the form of organization of the C. P. federations. These federations count as members many elements that conform only nominally to the underground form of organization. Many of their members hold membership chiefly for social and nationalistic reasons. Such legal social membership cares more for the federations as social and nationalistic expressions than for the building of a centralized communist organization. Over such legal federation membership the C. E. C. of the C. P. has no control and yet the C. P. wishes to count them as bona fide communist members and base representation upon them.

The interests of the communist movement in America imperatively demand of the U. C. P. to guard even against the possibility of a manipulated convention majority—because: a) To permit the sectarian and dogmatic spirit of the leadership of the present federation group, known as the Communist Party, to predominate in the communist movement in the United States, would mean to condemn that movement to sterility. b) The very form of the organization of the C. P. takes the real power out of the hands of the C. E. C. of this party, and any convention delegates the C. P. membership might elect, and places this power in the hands of the various federations. The acts of such C. P. delegates would be subject to ratification or rejection by each federation separately. In view of this, an apparent majority of C. P. delegates in any convention would after the convention was over, simply resolve itself into an insignificant minority. Those whom these delegates nominally represented, would not be bound in any way to carry out the convention decisions.

3) The membership figures published by both parties for the months of July, Aug. and Sept., 1920, show that the U. C. P. has twice as many members as the C. P. The U. C. P., therefore, has no reason whatever to dread a convention on the basis for electing the delegates. The U. C. P. refuses proper, represent. on the ground of principle. The question is not whether the C. P. is numerically stronger or weaker than the U. C. P. The fact is that the C. P. does not represent a centralized party, but only federated factions, which must submit themselves to the U. C. P. since it is the only centralized expression in the United States of the Com. Intern.

Even though the ratio of 6 to 4, offered to the C. P. by the U. C. P. as the convention representation basis, gives the C. P. larger representation than its actual membership would entitle it to, we stand on that basis; in demanding it we do not consider the numerical strength or weakness of the C. P. federation organization, but only its relation to the com. movement.

Because of the foregoing reasons, we must insist upon all the conditions as laid down in the resolution communicated to you by us. We are ready to unite at any time upon the basis we presented.

The welfare of the communist movement in the United States requires that unity be consummated without further delay. The U. C. P. has already built a strong, centralized and well disciplined party. Its propaganda, agitation and educational work is being carried forward upon a scale never approximated in the history of the American communist movement. We can not be diverted from this constructive work in order to engage in useless negotiations with a faction whose sectarian leaders have talent only for mudslinging and controversy. Therefore, unless these terms are complied with, we will call upon the Communist International to take decisive steps to compel obedience to its mandate for unity and will demand the liquidation of the Communist Party federations and the unconditional affiliation of their groups with the United Communist Party.

Fraternally,

(Seal) CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.  
Paul Holt, Executive Secretary.

Nov. 4, 1920.

TO THE C. E. C. OF THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

Comrades:-

In case you have not already been fully informed through your own representatives, we hasten to transmit to you the following decisions of the Exe. Com. of the Com. Intern., as reported to us by our representatives (F. and A.) in a letter signed by them, which reached us this morning.

(Then comes quotations of the 6 clauses from our delegates' report.)

Since the last clause specifically disposes of the point on which there was a deadlock between your sub-committee and ours, we confidently expect that you will accept the decision of the Exe. Com. of the Com. Intern. and that our committee will have another meeting immediately to make all the necessary arrangements for the Joint Convention.

(Signature)—Exec. Sec.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

In the circular sent out to our member, the order in which the letters should have appeared, are as printed in this issue. By an oversight the letter of the U. C. P. of Nov. 5th was placed last. In other words the U. C. P. letter of Nov. 5 was delivered to us before they had received our communication of Nov. 4th 1920. (Ed. Communist)

# What the Communist International Was and What It Must Become.

BY G. ZINOVIEV.

(Continued from Nov. 1st issue)

### III.

The Communist International, we repeat, up to now chiefly occupied itself with propaganda. It must now pass to be organizations of direct struggle of the working class of different countries, against the bourgeoisie. This in its turn sets new problems before us. We must manage so that not a single large organization is in the hands of our enemies. We cannot forget that although the Second International is defeated an International Union of yellow Trade Unions has been founded in Amsterdam, in which the Second International attempts to find a support.

For the Communist International as a whole there can be no serious questions as to whether Communists shall or shall not leave the Trade Unions—this question was raised by the "left" Communists in Germany, Holland and England. Not to leave the unions, but to enter the unions in the countries where we have not done so yet—such is the motto of the Communist International. Everywhere where there are workmen there must be Communists. We cannot abandon several millions of workmen to the influence of social-traitors and stand aside ourselves. The social-traitors, who have been thrown out of political parties, have now surrounded themselves by a thick wall of Trade Unions.

We must get hold of this fortress, we must conduct a regular systematic patient siege, we must expel the traitors of the working class from their last refuge, we must exterminate their defense between us and the bourgeoisie, and then we shall stand face to face with the capitalists, who will have a hard time then. The Executive Committee of the Communist International already half a year ago raised the question of creating an International Union of Red Labor Unions as a counterweight to the International Union of yellow Social Democratic "free" unions. This beginning, we cannot deny it, develops very slowly. We find in this sphere many practical difficulties. We must consider that even in such a country as Italy, where the working class is entirely on our side. Trade Unions which call themselves Communist are actually in the hands of reformist. We are informed that their reformist leaders intentionally have not summoned a Congress of Italian Trade Unions for six years, for the working masses are much more inclined to the "left" than their reformist leaders. We must consider the separatism in the old Trade Unionism in England (the exclusiveness of the so-called Triple Alliance). All this develops very slowly, and the leaders of the left wing of British Trade Unionists are also often contaminated by reformist prejudices. Another aspect we have to consider; that the leaders of the factory shop stewards and analogous movements are often filled with anarchical prejudices. And last, but not least, the very question of the Reunion of International Trade Unions, in the actual meaning of the matter, can be solved with great difficulty. We are against the entrance of the Amsterdam International Union of yellow Trade Unions into the Central Committee. But we are for the participation of Communists and adherents of Communism in the International!

Congress of Labor Union of separate industries and trades for the latter are rather closely connected with the working class. We are against a general rupture of all trade unions, but we are for a merciless struggle with the yellow leaders of these unions. All this creates great obstacles to the solution of the problems which we have set ourselves. But we repeat, in order that the Communist International should become what it must become, the problem of organization of International Union of Red Labor Unions must be solved at any cost.

### IV.

And at last the Communist International may be what it must be it is necessary that in every country we should have one Communist Party. In America up to now we have two Communist Parties. It is the same thing in Germany. In England we have four or five separate Communist groups, the same in France. This must be put an end to. The clearest difference in principle between the two Communist Parties is to be noticed in Germany. But here, too, we think, the most difficult period is past and now the time is near when we will be able to have a United Communist Party in Germany. The Central Committee of the German Communist Party (the Spartakus Bund) has undoubtedly committed grave organizational and political mistakes. The chief political mistake consist in its behavior during the Kapp days. We print in the present number the most important declaration of such eminent leaders of the German Communist Party as Clara Zetkin, Paul Levy, Ernst Meyer. These letters, sharply condemning the uncertain position of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party during the Kapp days, create a new situation. They open a way to those sincere revolutionary workmen who have gone over to the new "Left" Communist

Labor Party of Germany (K. A. P. D.); to rejoin the Party. In the K. A. P. D. there are many devoted and honest proletarians, who did not join us because of the opportunism of the majority of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party. (the Spartakus Bund). The Communist International will condemn in principle the "left" tendencies of the K. A. P. D. and will point out the mistakes of the Central Committee to the Communist Party of Germany. On these grounds a united Communist Party must be founded in Germany.

In France we must at any cost dissipate the skepticism about the very possibility of founding a Communist Party, which even such experienced comrades, as "for instance" Comrade Rosmer, still display. The time has come when a single Communist Party must at any cost be founded in France. And besides, we must of course begin by the organization of a compact party of actual adherents, which later on will call to their side elements who are not yet Communist.

In England the group of Sylvia Pankhurst has lately made an attempt to found a Communist Party of the "left" on the ground of denial of all participation in parliament and of membership in the British Labor Party. The Communist International can in no case consider this dictum as the last word in Communist wisdom. On the contrary we will do our best to unite all the Communist groups in England without exception, and that, of course, not on a separatist of the "left" movement, but on the platform of decisions of the Communist International as a whole.

The fraternal party of Italy stands in a better way for playing a great historical part in the fate of its country. For this it must clear itself of reformist elements. For this it is necessary that the labor union movement in Italy must not be in the hands of reformists, but of real Communists. It is necessary that the best elements of the Turin section in a certain opposition to the majority of the party as well as the "abstentionist" movement, lead by Comrade Bordiga, should reunite with the leading majority of Italian Communists on the grounds of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International.

The Swedish Communists must go through the same work of excluding from their ranks conscious and unconscious reformists. The reformist sickness is catching. It has contaminated also several young Parties,—as, for instance, our party in Yugo-Slavia. It has not quite spared also the old, experienced Communist Party of Bulgaria. Communists must not remain blind to these weaknesses, even out of a false sense of Party patriotism. We must deal with facts and meet danger face to face.

Among Parties belonging and wanting to belong to the Communist International which still contain elements of reformism and of the "center" there is often to be noticed a fact which might be called "a game of follow-the-leader". The Party of a certain country says: "We will not begin a decisive struggle for power until the power has been conquered in the neighboring country. We must protect our rear. Let the others begin. Let victory first be won in that country then we will start". It is clear that the Communist International does not advocate premature and rash revolts. It does not hasten events in any case, but knows how to await their development, calmly and patiently, and calls to action only when the conditions shall ripen. But besides this the Communist International does not forget that such an ideology of "follow-the-leader" struggle was the habit of many Parties of the Second International. This alone is enough to cause us to look upon the above-mentioned arguments with skepticism.

The Communist International in 1919 was chiefly a society of Communist propaganda. The Communist International in 1920 has become a fighting comradeship of workmen, organizing the direct advance on the strongholds of Capitalism. The civil war is not cooling down it is spreading with an unheard of intensity. The war of Soviet Russia with the Aristocratic Poland has a tremendous international importance, and opens unusually favorable perspectives for international revolution. The events in the East have a tremendous importance. What we see in the Far and Near East is only a feeble beginning. The first flames of the revolutionary conflagration have shown themselves there. The time is near when all the East will be caught in it. In the countries where the working class has been in power, even if only for a few weeks, all the powers of counter-revolution have not been able to interfere in a new proletarian revolution beginning to grow before our eyes.

The workers' blood has been shed in rivers by executioners in Hungary. But there too—and this is evident now—the proletarian revolution will again lift up its head. The second place, according to the amount of crimes committed by the bourgeoisie upon the working class, belongs without doubt to White Finland. But there "too" the proletarian re-

volution is on its feet again. We had occasion lately to talk with two workmen, just arrived from Helsingfors, where they have conducted illegal Communist work for a whole year. One little detail of what is going on now in Finland will show the spirit of the Finland workmen at present. The comrades told us that in nearly all large towns and industrial centres in Finland which were the arena of the struggle between Whites and Reds in 1918 they have organized curious "Saturdays". After dinner on Saturdays and Sundays, at the graveyards where the victims of the White Terror are buried, workmen, and especially workwomen meet in large numbers, dress and arrange the graves, build simple unelaborate memorials to the workmen who fell in the struggle with the bourgeoisie. Simple songs and common verses are composed among the people in memory of the dead. And the usual theme is the simple thought: You have not perished in vain. We are continuing your task. From your bones will rise a sinister revenge.

And the Finnish bourgeoisie sees all this but is helpless to undertake anything because this is general, because thus think all the workmen and a large majority of working peasants. This is a symbol. It throws light immediately on the situation of the proletariat in the cruel civil war which is going on. No one can now crush the proletarian revolution—it can only be delayed; the traitors of our own class can only enrich it with numerous worker-victims.

One thing more did the Helsingfors workman arrived from the country where the bourgeoisie has killed 30,000 proletarians, notice on his way. He said to us: "The Finnish workmen certainly hate the bourgeoisie, but still more do they hate the Social Democrats, who betrayed us during the revolution. Our spirit is this: First deal with the traitors, the yellow Social Democrats; the bourgeoisie will come next". In these words, which sound like a paradox, lies the right valuation of the fact that now in nearly the whole world the bourgeoisie exists only because of the support of the yellow Social Democracy. Never has the reactionary role of the adherents of the Second International been as evident as it is now. A huge work lies still in front of the Communist International and all parties which belong to it. The Communist International must in reality become the General Staff of the International Proletarian Army, which has awakened and is growing stronger before our eyes. The International Communist movement is growing like a snowball. The International Proletarian Revolution is growing too. The Communist International must manage to organize and guide it. The task of the Communist International is not merely to prepare the victory, not only to guide the working class during the seizure of power, but to direct its activity afterward.

The Communist International will either be a united, disciplined, centralized, international fighting organization, or it will be unable to fulfill its great historic task.

This is what the Communist International must become, and what it certainly will succeed in being.

Despite the nation-wide Amnesty Campaign of the Socialist Party, the Civil Liberties Union and other liberal organizations the trials and conviction of Communists go merrily on. In New York, Ruthenberg and Ferguson will be railroaded to jail by the time this issue is out along with Gitlow, Winitsky and Larkin who are languishing in prison for daring to exercise what the Socialists stupidly reiterate as "the inalienable right of free citizens" in this glorious republic.

In Chicago eighty-five men and women charged with being Communists "conspiring to overthrow the Government" are slated for trial this month. We know the verdict in advance. A capitalist court, a capitalist jury and a capitalist press have already prejudged the case. The trial will merely give formal assent to capitalist lynch-law.

Puzzle: If the Amsterdam Trade-Union International is YELLOW what color is the American Federation of Labor that accuses the former of being too revolutionary?

Watch the British Miners get the same dose as the American miners received last year. The cards are stacked for a great betrayal. Will Smille go so far and emulate Lewis?

The Socialist Party of Denmark has just decided unanimously to affiliate with the Communist International. The French Socialist Party is holding a congress this week to decide this question. We expect the great majority to affiliate just as the German Independents did several weeks ago. When Hillquit termed the Third International "as nothing more than ideas", (which statement Debs endorsed recently) he forgot to mention that this "idea" is sweeping over the whole civilized world.

## Address to the French Socialist Party by the Communist International.

(Continued from page 3)

could not publicly declare your departure from the Second International but at the same time demonstrate your solidarity with the Belgian "Socialists" i. e. with the social-patriots and traitors, Vandervelde, the leader of the Second International. You have applied for admission to the Communist International, but at the same time your official representative, Mitrail together with the Bureau of the Second International, during the Kapp "putsch" signed a declaration which summoned the German proletariat to defend the German Republic of Noske and Scheidemann. Either you suppress the orders of the Third International or you carry on a half-concealed propaganda against it.

Your representative, Frossard, announced in his report which he submitted to us in Moscow, your refusal to enter the Communist International because the great West European parties have not yet formally come into our party. But if you mean by the great West European parties, such parties as are still tainted with social-patriotic leadership, we will state that we do not desire the affiliation of these parties, and will never accept them into the ranks of the Communist International. All really revolutionary parties of Europe and America find themselves prepared for us. The Communist International has become so powerful that it has become the fashion for many Socialists. Many rank Centrists are beginning to call themselves Communists and are of the opinion that they can adhere to the Third International while still pursuing their half-reformist policies. This the Communist International will not and cannot permit. It will not allow our organization to be diluted. We must remain an International of struggle, the union of active communist workers.

We shall now inquire directly into the question which your representative, Frossard, put to us in his first written report. The question was, "How shall we conduct ourselves toward the French Trade Unions (Syndicalist)?" This is an especially important question and it is necessary to dwell upon it at length.

From our theses and other official documents you know that we have come out in the most determined manner against some "left" Communists who prefer to leave the ranks of the revolutionary trade unions and to organize brand-new, shapeless, "general labor unions". Our statements refer not only to the frankly yellow, social-democratic, trade unions of Legien and Co. We are absolutely opposed to communists and revolutionists deserting the trade unions even though these unions have the misfortune of being the followers of Jobaux and Co. Communists must above all other considerations be where the working masses are. The Russian Communists were also for a long time in the minority, but they have learned how the struggle for their principles within the structure of the most backward and reactionary workers organizations.

We demand of our comrades in France, that under no circumstances should they leave the syndicates, and on the contrary, in performance of their full duty towards the Communist International, should intensify their work within the syndicates. The last places of refuge of the social-patriots, to-day, are in the trade unions. The yellow Second International, as a political organization, fell apart like a house of cards; the new Amsterdam yellow trade union International builds yet another house for the activities of these social-patriots and traitors. The Amsterdam yellow International is worse than and more dangerous to the world revolution than the Peoples League (Volkerbund). Through Legien, Gompers and Jobaux, the bourgeoisie seek to make of the Amsterdam trade union International just such a tool for their robber purposes as the social-democratic parties of the whole world were during the imperialistic war.

This places upon us, the communists, the duty of increasing ten-fold our attention to the trade union movement. At any cost we must tear these trade-unions away from the hands of the traitorous, social-patriotic, imperialist leaders. To this end we must work within the trade unions and there devote our utmost energies.

Our adherents, the communists, must remain in the unions but they must not work there separately and scattered. **WE ARE IN DUTY BOUND TO ORGANIZE IN EVERY TRADE UNION, AND IN EACH UNION DIVISION, A COMMUNIST GROUP, A COMMUNIST NUCLEI.** We are in duty bound within the union, and on the basis of the daily struggle, to unmask the big and little Jobaux', and expose their machinations. We must drive the social-patriotic and traitorous leaders out of the unions. We must through a systematic and persistent struggle, tear away one union after another from the influence of the social traitors, and yellow syndicalists such as Jobaux and others. The Russian Communists through many years of experience have learned how to accomplish this task, even though until the October Revolution the Russian Communists were in the minority. When after the conquest of political power, new mediums of propaganda were opened for the class consci-

ous workers, the Bolsheviks succeeded in a very short time after the Revolution in winning over the vast majority in the trade union movement. The Communists of the whole world must travel the same road.

When Frossard, in his written report to Moscow, declares, "The Confederation General du Travail will not make a revolution without us (the party) and will not make a revolution without them (the syndicalists), he makes a statement, which is to say the least not clear enough. One cannot make a revolution with people who do not want to make one. You will not make the proletarian revolution with Jobaux and Co. for all of their thoughts, all of their energies, are devoted to sabotaging the proletarian revolution. You will make the proletarian revolution only in spite of and in opposition to Jobaux, and the Albert Thomas, Renaudet, and Co. When you have cleansed your party of opportunism, when your parliamentary representative will pursue communist propaganda, when you will have driven out the yellows from the ranks of your own party, in a word when you shall have become communists, then will the workmen and the members of the trade unions fight shoulder to shoulder with you and against Jobaux. The sooner you get through with opportunism, the sooner will you overcome the prejudices of the syndicalists.

The red trade unions have begun to organize themselves on an international basis. On the initiative of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the left unions of Italy, Russia, and England have created a triple alliance which will call an International Congress of Red Trade Unions in August or September as a counter pole to the yellow Trade Union International of Amsterdam. Support this action in France. See to it that your unions join the Red Trade Union International. This is the task of the real communists in France.

In the report of Frossard, the question is put to us half-reproachfully, as to whether we will insist on the ouster from your party of certain persons. This question is of serious significance. However, our relations with you will not be determined by it. We tell you frankly, in comparison with the German Independents you have remained behind. While the German Independents finally have disposed of the question of Kautsky's ejection, Albert Thomas and Renaudet, i. e. the French Noskes and Scheidemann still have equal membership rights within your party. Yes, we declare, that we are fully decided, in spite of the campaign which Longuet leads in favor of the Russian Revolution despite his lip-worship of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the ideology position and the general activity of Longuet in press and parliament resembles the propaganda which Kautsky conducts in Germany as one drop of water resembles another. We cannot avoid separating ourselves from a large number of right leaders, who are reformists even to their bones.

However the main question that we put to you is not the ejection of certain persons, but that of a break with a definite reformist tradition. The Communist International does not demand of you that you immediately make a Soviet Revolution. Who represents that as the demands of the Communist International twists the true state of affairs. We demand only: that in your daily work, in the press, in the unions, in the Parliament, in meetings, you systematically and uncompromisingly carry on an honest, unequivocal propaganda for the ideas of the Dictatorship and Communism, that you pave the way for proletarian dictatorship, that you fight against bourgeois reformist ideas.

This, comrades, is what we chiefly have to say to you. Your delegates, Cachia and Frossard, before their departure, have officially declared that they are agreed with the terms drawn up by the Second Congress of the Third Communist International. They have declared that after their return they will propose that the French Socialist Party break with the old reformist tactics and take the direction of Communists.

It is superfluous to add that we shall greatly rejoice when the French working class movement finally will open for itself a new path. We shall follow the further developments within the French Socialist Party. The Congress will give their Executive Committee full power to admit your party into the ranks of the Communist International if the terms laid down by the Congress are accepted by you and transformed into life.

In conclusion we formulate just another point which appears to us very important and upon which we await from you an explicit and clear reply.

We are in perfect accord with the reply given to the German Independents and which was also published in the Parisian Comm. press. This reply is also directed to you, the present majority in the French Socialist Party.

Bearing in mind the conditions in France, we draw up and present the following ten points: viz:

1) The French Socialist Party must radically alter the character of their daily pro-

paganda and agitation in their press (in the direction indicated above).

2) As to the colonial question, it is necessary that an especially distinct and clear stand by all parties be taken towards those countries in which the bourgeoisie extend their dominion over colonial peoples. The French Socialist Party must mercilessly unmask the machinations of the French imperialists in the colonies, support every movement for freedom in the colonies, not in words but in deeds; popularize the slogan—"Imperialists, get out of the colonies"; insist in the French workers true fraternal feelings for the working class of the colonies; conduct a systematic agitation among the French troops against the oppression of the colonies.

3) The French Socialist Party must unmask the hypocrisy and insincerity of SOCIAL-PACIFISM, systematically pointing out to the workers that without the revolutionary destruction of capitalism, neither international courts of arbitration, nor speeches about disarmament can protect mankind from new imperialist wars.

4) The French Socialist Party must, by organizing Communist elements within the Confederation General du Travail, begin to carry on a struggle against the social-patriots and traitorous leaders of the Federation.

5) The French Socialist Party must accomplish, not in words, but in practice, the strictest subordination of the Parliamentary Group to the will of the party, in order to certainly execute the party decisions, and alter their whole daily parliamentary activities in the direction indicated herein.

6) The present majority of the French Socialist Party must radically alter their conduct toward the left (communist) wing of the French working class movement. The present majority must seek a sincere approach to the Communist elements of France.

7) The French Party must radically break with reformism and undertake a systematic purging of their ranks of elements who will not tread the revolutionary path.

8) The French Socialist Party must also change its name and step forth before the whole world as the Communist Party of France

9) The French comrades must recognize the necessity of illegal work along side of legal work in an epoch in which the bourgeoisie makes exception laws for the workingmen and their leaders.

10) The French Party, as must all parties who wish to enter the Third International, must unconditionally recognize as binding all decrees of the Communist International. The International recognizes the varieties of situations and conditions in which the workingmen of different countries must struggle. The Congress of the Third International will always bear these conditions in mind and will make generally binding decrees only as to such questions where such decrees are possible.

We ask you to bring this reply to the notice of the French Proletariat.

Comrades we have expressed our opinion to you upon a whole series of important questions. We know that only a small number of your leaders now reported by us will assent. We are, however, convinced that the hearts of the enormous majority of class conscious workers and honest revolutionary syndicalists beat for us. No matter what form our mutual relations will take in the future, we are absolutely certain that the French proletariat will create a mighty communist party and will take their place among the first in the revolutionary union of the fighting proletariat. It is impossible that the revolutionary working class of France with its admirable revolutionary traditions, with its brilliant culture, with its glorious fighting spirit, will not create a powerful communist party in an epoch when bourgeois society is at its last gasp.

Comrades, next year the International Proletariat will celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Paris Commune, that great working class uprising, of which the proletarian revolution in Russia is the continuation. With all our heart we wish the French Proletariat that this Fiftieth Anniversary of the great Paris Commune will find you a powerful, proletarian communist party, continuing the traditions of the Paris Communards and prepared to storm the citadel of capitalism.

Long live the Working Class of France!

Long live the one powerful French Communist Party!

With Communist greetings:

The Praesidium of the Second World Congress of the Third (Communist) International.

G. Zinoviev.

N. Louin.

P. Levi.

A. Rosmer.

## Lessons of the Last Election

We shall begin with an analysis of our electorate. Who are the voters? What are the particular social classes and groups that go into the make-up of the heterogeneous political to the make-up of the heterogeneous political States?

First, in order of social influence and political power, comes our ruling class, the big bankers, merchants, and manufacturers. This class, numerically the smallest of all the classes, has at present no single political affiliation. It is neither definitely Republican or Democratic. As a matter of fact, the capitalists of America support and finance both parties. It is only on the of a national election that our ruling class throws in the full weight of its influence upon the scales of either one of the two parties, and in making their choice our capitalists are concerned mainly with who will be the winner. To the prospective winner goes the support of the capitalist class. The apparent differences between the Rep. and Democratic parties matter little. Both of these parties are committed to the defense of the existing order of society. Both of them are ready and willing to stand by capitalism and do its will in all the important matters that concern the political and social life of the United States. If so, then the only considerations that are really decisive for the capitalistic choice of political affiliation are; which of the two parties will pull the largest vote and which of the two will better and more efficiently conduct the political affairs of capitalism. In the last election the capitalists of America chose the Republican Party as the custodian of their political power.

The League of Nations which the Republican and Democratic politicians have been trying to present as the most important problem confronting the United States, and on the merits of which they pretended to disagree, was never in reality an issue for our ruling class. Since the very beginning of the war in 1914 the imperialists of America have viewed the bloody struggle between Germany and the Allies as nothing else but their supreme opportunity for world domination and exploitation. Our masters forced us into the late war for the single purpose of securing for themselves a footing in the imperialistic game of the European Powers. This being so, and since the Wilson League of Nations aimed at precisely the same thing, what real interest was there involved in the partisan struggle over the Peace Treaty? None at all. It was a sham battle staged for the benefit of a bunch of capitalist politicians who had to have an issue to justify the separate existence of their two parties. If there was anything of real importance in this battle, it was the fact that the Republican politicians have shown a better understanding of the needs and interests of American Imperialism than did the Democrats. And this was one of the reasons why our ruling class supported the Republican Party in the last elections.

The next social group of our electorate, which identifies its interests with those of capitalism in general, are the small merchants, manufacturers, brokers and investors, officials and managers of corporations, better-paid clerks, salesmen, public officials, professionals, etc. This group is by no means socially homogeneous. Its everyday interests seldom coincide with the interests of the magnates of finance and industry. But as a general rule of the last few years, this middle class of our cities has been looking up to our big capitalists for industrial and political leadership. The reason for this is quite obvious. The exceptional growth of American industries during the war, the increase of exports, and the general extension of American finance-imperialism into the economic life of Europe, China, Central and South America, etc.—all these factors tended to make the business prosperity of the United States dependent upon the resourcefulness, and aggressiveness, and ingenuity of that small social group called Big Capital. It is true, that of all the late prosperity, big capital was getting the lion's share. But the opportunities for enrichment created by the imperialistic adventures of our big capitalists have been so large that the middle classes also profited by them enormously. This fact largely contributed toward increasing the prestige of Big Capital in the middle classes.

Then there is the social revolution in Europe and the growing discontent of the working masses in America. A situation like this should have naturally frightened the middle classes and put them on their guard. And so it was. But from this it did not necessarily follow that our petty-bourgeoisie must entirely lose its head—as it did—and throw itself head long into the arms of reaction. It was on this assumption that the 'Forty-Eighters' attempted to build a liberal movement. But it failed, as we now know, and for the simple reason, that our big capitalists and their policies still enjoy a great reputation among our middle classes. It is to Gary, Morgan and their kind, that the small merchant, manufacturer, investor, etc., looks for guidance and enlightenment. And because of this, traditional party of Big Capital—the Republican Party—has received the support of the middle classes in the last election.

We now come to the farmers. To the propertyed group of our agricultural population.

## FINANCIAL REPORT.

## CASH STATEMENT, OCT. 1920

CASH RECEIVED.		CASH PAID.	
Dues:		Sec. & Tech. Dept.	
Distr. 1	69.70	Sal. (2 x 5 wks.)	450.00
" 2	39.00	Post. & Supplies	47.20
" 4	17.80	Rents	49.00
" 5	4.80	Prtg.	15.00
Fed. Jew. (Aug. Sept. Acct. Lett. Aug. bal. *)	50.00	Misc.	18.25
Sept.	173.00		579.45
Lith. Sept.	1073.60	Edit. Dept.	
Oct. Acct.	300.00	Sal. (2 x 5 wks.)	450.00
Russ. Sept.	992.00	Misc.	11.80
Ukr. Sept.	551.80		461.80
	3396.90		
Day's Pay: Distr. 1	269.38	Distr. Sal.	
" 2	1063.35	1 (5 wks.)	225.00
" 3	655.03	2 (D. O. 5 wks.)	175.00
" 4	596.34	(S. D. 5 wks.)	175.00
" 5	1989.17	(S. D. Back S.)	63.55
" 6	906.88	3 (4-1/3 wks.)	195.00
	5480.15	4 (5-2/3 wks.)	228.33
Org. Fund: Distr. 1	115.50	5 (D. O. 5 wks.)	225.00
" 2	133.05	(S. D. Temp.)	30.55
" 3	26.50		225.00
" 4	78.15	Distr. Trav. 1	19.77
" 5	497.55	" 2	147.22
	849.75	" 3	66.55
Defense F.: Lith. Fed.	300.00	" 4	143.38
Pol. Fed.	14.25	" 5	60.14
Distr. 5	500.77	" 6	44.14
Distr. 6	500.00		481.20
	1316.02	Distr. Misc. 1	33.06
Communist: Distr. 1	20.85	" 2	58.53
" 2	146.90	" 3	24.25
" 3	4.10	" 4	43.75
" 4	15.75	" 5	52.76
" 5	97.85	" 6	42.46
" 6	71.55		254.81
	356.50	Int'l Del. Sal.	275.00
Leaflets: Distr. 1	45.50	Nat'l Org. Sal. 1 wk.	45.00
	45.50	C. E. C. Mtg. Exp.	146.14
Lit.: Russ. S. D. N. Y.	5.00	Communist: Prtg.	516.60
Distr. 1	78.00	Misc.	73.31
" 2	42.15		589.91
" 3	98.75	Leaf. N. O. Prtg.	137.25
" 4	29.10	Misc.	30.00
" 5	46.40	D. 1 Prtg.	266.00
	299.40	D. 2 & 3 Prtg.	222.75
Init. Fees: Distr. 2	14.00	D. 3, Deliv.	21.75
" 3	1.00	D. 4, Prtg.	270.00
" 4	28.00	Deliv.	24.96
" 5	26.00	D. 5 & 6, Prtg.	455.00
" 6	4.50	Misc.	35.45
	73.50		1463.16
Conv. Assess. Distr. 2	20.00	Lit.: Prtg.	482.70
" 3	.50	Misc.	32.55
" 4	47.00		515.25
" 5	1.50	Defense: B's Case	1000.00
" 6	1.00	Chic.	494.02
	70.00		1494.02
Loans Pay.: Ukr. Fed.	250.00	Loans Rec.: Jew. F.	200.00
Distr. 4 Def.	150.00	F. & F. D. i Twr.	14.00
	400.00	D. 1 Mimio.	28.00
Ret. Check made good	100.00	D. 6 Twr.	32.00
Old Conn. State Bal.	80.00		74.00
Old Lit. Acct. D. 2	14.83		
Conting. Ret. by Def. 2	50.00	Distr. Incr. Bal. 1	224.60
Distr. Reducing Bal.	50.00	" 2	257.64
Distr. 2	65.50	" 3	207.26
" 4	224.23	" 5	161.12
	239.73	" 6	170.33
Total Rec. in Oct.	12821.28		1150.95
Bal. from Sept.	1357.53	Total Pd. in Oct	9273.12
	14178.81	Bal. to Nov.	4905.69
			14178.81

\*) In Sept. statement Lett. dues — \$60.80 was only for Distr. 1 and 2.

G. Dobin Exec. Sec.

Here we certainly notice a strong movement of revolt against the economic domination of Big Capital and the political domination of the two capitalist parties. Lately, this movement has been intensified by the financial anti-farmer policy of the Federal Reserve Board.

But for the present, and as far as the last election was concerned, the farmers' discontent was ineffective. It found very little political expression. The vote polled by the Farmer-Labor Party is negligible, and only a little better are the local successes of the Non-Partisan League. This much we must realize, that we are on the eve of a great farmer movement against big capital, which will have far-reaching social and political consequences.

Last on the social ladder is the working class. And here we are confronted with the fact that only a small part of the working class is included the electors. The capitalists and their servants explain this fact away easily. They tell us about there being 'citizens' and 'aliens', the last group not being qualified to vote. But this explanation does not do away with the fact that there are millions upon millions of workers in the United States, not all of them 'aliens', who are for all practical purposes disfranchised. There are large masses of American-born workers, so-called migratory workers, who can never qualify for citizenship and consequently, are out of the electorate. Then what about the negroes of the South, most of them workers, who are practically deprived of all their political rights? In short, it is a well-established fact that the largest part of the agricultural and industrial proletariat of the United States, as well as a considerable portion of the poorer farming population, do not possess the right to vote.

Now, what does this mean with respect

to the results of any particular election? It means that the make up of the political institutions of this country does not reflect the moods and consciousness of the American working class, and that it is futile to look upon the results of an election as an indicator of what is really transpiring among the working masses in the United States. Keeping this in mind—many of us somehow lose sight of it, we shall not be worried very much with the Republican landslide in the last election.\* We shall know that this election, as all the others, indicate nothing more than a re-alignment of forces within the family of propertyed elements alone. The fact that the electorate contains also, a few millions of workers, makes very little difference for the bulk of the working class, its real proletarian elements, are out of it.

As to the workers who do possess the right to vote, the magnitude of the combined vote of the Socialists and the Farmer-Labor parties would tend to indicate among those workers, a growing tendency to the left. Small as it is, the vote polled by Debs probably represents very large percentage of the total vote possessed by the workers of America. If this is so, then our criticism directed against the opportunistic and social-patriotic tactics of the Socialist Party should find a sympathetic response even among the better-paid workers in the United States.

To summarize: The results of the last election present us, on the one hand, with a solid and united front of nearly all the propertyed elements of the United States under the leadership of the Big Capital, the only exception being the partial defection of the farmers; and on the other hand, with a growing tendency to the left, among the 'citizenship elements' of the working class.