

Central Executive Committee of U. S. Communist Party Replies to Executive Committee of Communist International

(From The Communist, Official Organ, Communist Party of America)

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL FROM THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

1. The Central Executive Committee agrees with the statement that the C. I. has sent to the American Party for its guidance in transforming the Party into an open party. The C.E.C. has decided unanimously to carry out without reservation the instructions embodied in the Statement. In fact, as the C.I. has already been informed, some time before the arrival of the statement, the C.E.C. decided in favor of converting the Party into an open party. The political development of the past five months, together with the experience acquired in the activities of the LEGAL POLITICAL PARTY, have convinced the C.E.C. that an open existence of the Party is possible. The C.E.C. is pleased, therefore, that its decision has been confirmed by the instruction of the C.I.

2. We believe that the C.I. has again demonstrated its understanding of the American situation and its ability to give concrete directions for the activities of the American Party. In the past year there have been three manifestations of this clear perception of the needs of the American movement: (a) The formation of the L.P.P.; (b) The unity effected at the last convention; and later—(c) the open party.

3. The representative of the C.I. did work that proved to be not only good but of tremendous value for the future of the Party. The unity achieved has been real, for the three factions have changed during the following months and disappeared as factions. The Theses of the Convention have destroyed the dogma that the C. P. of A. can exist only as an underground party.

4. We must inform the C.I. that, since the Convention, the entire Party and especially the C.E.C. of the Party has worked in fullest harmony, without any factionalism. During these months there has been no factional voting in the C.E.C. For that reason, we cannot agree with some statements made by the American delegates at the Fourth Congress, who were not aware of the changed situation in the party. This disagreement applies to all the delegates. We must state that these statements were not the opinions of the C.E.C., but were a reflection of a factional spirit of factions that no longer exist. The majority at the Convention is today a convinced supporter not only of the Labor Party but also of the open party. The Convention minority is today the protagonist in the campaign for the protection of the foreign-born workers.

The former opposition comrades are most active party workers in the L.P.P. and are doing excellent pioneer work toward an open party.

5. We wish to inform the C.I. of the important reasons that have impelled the C.E.C. to work in the direction of an open party consistently and with energy. We state openly that the reasons are not organizational reasons. Dualism between the Party and the L.P.P. has been inconvenient, but it has been historically necessary for a "long" time. It also is not of significance to us that some centrists have refused to join the underground party. Political reasons have determined our stand:

(1) The class struggle within the bourgeoisie, in which the petty bourgeoisie and the farmers are conducting an ever sharper struggle against the big bourgeoisie. The two sections of the bourgeoisie are in bitter conflict over the treatment to be accorded to the labor movement. The class makes it impossible to persecute the Communists with united force and with a solid bourgeois public opinion behind it, as has been done in the past. (2) The growing solidarity of the working class. The signs of this solidarity are: (a) the tremendous labor struggles; (b) the idea of a general strike in the minds of the workers; (c) the rapid development of the Amalgamation movement; (d) the growing labor Party movement; (e) greater influence of the Communists in the Labor Unions; (f) greater sympathy for the Communists and the L.P.P. in the labor movement, as, for example, in the defense and the L.P. Conference; (g) the common persecution of both Communists and militant workers; (h) the L.P.P. functioning more and more as a Communist Party.

The economic foundation of the political situation rests upon: (a) the offensive of the capitalists; (b) the crisis among the farmers.

Politically, the resistance of the working masses and the rebellion among the farmers were manifested in the following important events:

1. The formation of the agricultural block in Congress.
2. The Daugherty injunction giving political aspects to the strike of a million workers.
3. The November 7th elections.
4. The formation of the La Follette group.
5. The Labor Party conference in Cleveland.
6. The Railroad Workers Amalgamation Conference in Chicago.
7. The raid on the Communists in Michigan and the reaction thereto. During the war, centralization of state power took place to a degree unknown in American history, but this fact came into the consciousness of the workers only thru the Daugherty injunction.

All of these facts and events were in the process of formation before the Party convention, but crystallized themselves definitely after the Convention. Hence, just as we believe that in 1919 it was absolutely necessary for the Party to become an underground organization, we believe that today the time is ripe for the open party.

6. We trust that we will be able to carry out the reorganization of the Party without a crisis. It is possible that a few sectarian elements will leave the Party. But we are convinced that no organized faction will fight against the policy of the C.E.C. and the C.I. and that we will be able to lead the Party into the open without a split. For that reason, the C.E.C. decided unanimously that within a short time we shall hold a Convention of the Party and place the question before it. The C.E.C. will go to that convention with a clear and definite resolution on the open party and will demand for the C.E.C. a mandate from the convention to declare the L.P.P. the open party, and the same time, for the safety of this Party, to transform the underground Party into an underground apparatus. Up to the convention, by means of systematic education of the membership, we wish to convince them of the necessity of this policy.

7. The C.E.C. will carry out the decision of the C.I. not only out of conviction but because of full conviction of their correctness. All of our policies since the Party convention, have been in the direction of open work. We wish to mention only a few facts: (a) Defense campaign; (b) L. P. campaign; (c) Protection of foreign-born workers campaign; (d) Amalgamation campaign; (e) Communist program for the L.P.P.; (f) fraternal affiliation of the L.P.P. to the C.I.; (g) the C. P. has been made the industrial department of the Party; (h) discipline has been declared Party discipline; (i) organizational form of C.P. made to correspond to that of L.P.P. by creating the same units in the Party as in the L.P.P., and eliminating all other units; (j) elimination of dualism in the two parties, by combining all directing committees of the Party; (k) the C.E.C. took the question of the reorganization of the Party and of the open party to the Party Council and discussed it there on its merits, and obtained a nearly unanimous decision in support.

All of these steps were taken by the C.E.C. before the decision of the C.I. reached us and were based on the political development of the country.

8. We believe it our duty to inform the C.I. that if opposition to the policies of the C.E.C. and the C.I. has arisen in the past and should arise in the future, it is not due only to the foreign-born elements in the Party. We believe that it is necessary for us at this point to touch upon the question of the foreign-born in the Party. We agree with the C.I. that the foreign-born elements are good elements and ready to make great sacrifices. We believe that not only this fact gives them great importance, but rather the fact that the overwhelming majority of the workers in the basic industries in America are foreign-born workers. The foreign-born workers are the unskilled elements in all sections of

the country. They are the most oppressed and most exploited workers. These most exploited elements of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, are the backbone of the Communist movement. The majority of the organized workers also are foreign-born. For instance, the majority of the 400,000 United Mine Workers, the overwhelming majority of the unions of the needle trades, which comprise about 400,000 workers, are foreign-born.

It is of great importance to the Party to get into its ranks not only the mass of the American workers, but also the mass of the foreign-born workers as well. This is imperative so as to give no opportunity for another revolutionary party to be formed outside our ranks and consisting chiefly of the foreign-born. We wish to state that the foreign-born workers are just as good fighters as American workers. We need only quote William Z. Foster, an authority on the American Labor movement, who says: "When the historic struggle with the steel trust came, the foreign workers covered themselves with undying glory. They displayed the very highest type of labor union qualities."

9. Despite the importance of the foreign-born for our Party, we are firmly convinced that the leadership of the movement in America must be in the hands of the American comrades. We are convinced of this for the reason that (a) only a C. P. dominated by American elements will bring about the amalgamation of a movement composed of American and foreign-born elements; (b) only American leaders can eliminate the prejudices of the American-born workers; (c) only American leadership can make the C. P. a mass movement and factor in the political life of the country, and can fight on equal terms against the conservative leaders of the bourgeoisie and of the trade unions, by their command of the language and by a knowledge of the conditions in the country.

For that reason, the C.E.C. is making the greatest efforts to draw into the Party the best elements in the left wing of the trade union movement.

We wish to point out that, at the present time, our Party is no longer dominated by the foreign-born language federations, but the federations are an integral part of the Party and are supporting it in every way. The composition of the C.E.C. is not determined by the demands of the federations for control; and we hope that, in the future, the language federations will serve eventually as propaganda sections for the Party as a whole.

We are also combating a European psychology that persists to a degree in our foreign-born comrades, which makes them look to Europe and their native countries for inspiration. We are drawing them deeply into the trade union work and using them for binding the foreign-born workers closely to the Party.

10. The organization of the L.P.P. gave the Party an opportunity to do open work as never before. The unification of the movement in America during the past few months and the imparting of a more and more Communist character to the L.P.P. have widened the field of activity and increased Communist influence in this country. We are convinced that the inauguration of an open C.P. with its obvious simplification and directness, will broaden and extend Communist activities many-fold and make the open party a powerful factor in the labor movement and political life of the United States and the revolutionary proletarian movement of the world.

Central Executive Committee of the C. P. of A., J. MILLER, Secretary.

Paul Manko Comes Back from Prison His Spirit Unbroken

By MAX SCHACHTMAN

Paul Manko, convicted under the Criminal Anarchy Law of New York, in June 1921, has just been released by mandate from Governor Smith. He was arrested because he was alleged to have given a shopmate a circular of the Communist Party. He was sentenced to from 2½ to 9 years. After the first 12 months, the heaviest treatment which he was accorded by the prison authorities was such that it was necessary to transfer him to the prison insane asylum. His condition also caused his removal to the tuberculosis hospital for a period of five months.

In spite of all this suffering, or because of it, the spirit of this brave young Russian was unbroken. When the news came that he was to be pardoned by the Governor, he wrote to his wife, saying, that if the pardon was conditional he would refuse to accept it! Such revolutionary integrity would be enough to convince capitalism's henchmen that they cannot break the movement of the workers towards freedom, if those henchmen had but one idea of brain-matter.

Comrade Manko has just visited the office of the National Defense Committee, which was instrumental in his release, and there is little doubt that he will soon find his place in the continued struggle of the workers. And the Workers Party's ranks are always open for such brave fighters as Paul Manko.

Don't Throw This Paper Away
Pass It on to Your Neighbor

MORE DAYS!
IVACITY—VIM
Defense Bazaar
RY 22, 23, 24
Street and 3rd Avenue
AM EVERY DAY!

Afternoon
CES.
TOLK SONGS.
LECHSCHMIDT IN A GROUP

ay Evening

OLINIST.
HLETIC CLUB.

y Evening

PIANIST.
IN DRAMATIC DANCES.
RCHESTRA.

y Evening

. Afternoons, 35 cents. For entire
od, \$1.00.

AR BARGAINS!