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# Minutes and Theses of the 4th Annual Conference, Lithuanian Federation, [circa December 1922].

by “R. Margis”

A document in the Comintern Archive, f. 515, op. 1, d. 139, ll. 40-104.

## First Session.

The conference was opened by the Secretary of the Central Bureau with a short address. Comrades Cliff, Norvas, and Walter were appointed Committee on Credentials. After a short intermission the Credentials Committee made the following report, which was unanimously adopted:

Regularly elected delegates (with voice and vote)

D1: J. Gelizius, A Stankus. Total — 2.

D2: Zubrys, Walter, Cliff Sarkaite, Norman, Norvas, Pasesupys. Total — 7.

D3: J. Kiskis, V. Banga, Strazdelis. Total — 3.

D5: S. Silas, R. Margis. Total — 2.

D6: P. Navitskas. Total — 1.

D7: A. Virgzdis. Total — 1.

A total of 16 regular delegates. One CEC representative [Sprague]; one representative of LPP Section; two members of the Central Bureau who were not delegates; two representatives of our legal institutions; a Grounds Committee [Security] of two. Total — 25 persons.

Absent: On delegate from D5 [Chicago] who was given connections but failed to arrive. District 4 [Cleveland] decided not to send delegate “in view of the expense.”

The Secretary of the Central Bureau offered certain rules and regulations for the conference and was adopted.

*Moved & Carried.* That we elect a chairman for the day and a secretary for all sessions of the conference.

Comrade Norman was elected chairman and Comrade Margis secretary.

The following comrades were elected Committee on Resolutions: Stankus, Sarkaite, and Cliff.

Committee on Finances: Navitskas, Norvas, Walter.

The Secretary of the Central Bureau offered a draft of the agenda, which was adopted.

*Motion:* That we now hear report of the representative of the CEC. *Carried.*

Comrade Sprague‡ then made a lengthy report in the name of the CEC. He outlined the present world situation, the problems now confronting the Party, and made some suggestions as guidance in the work of the conference.

Discussion. The Secretary of the Central Bureau replied that the CEC can very well rely upon the full support of our Federation with regards to the policies of the CEC; that in the past we made our best efforts to carry these policies into effect, and that we will do so in the future. Yet there are other problems of the Party which are also very important — nay, it may mean life or death to the Party, and that is the financial chaos and in many instances, calamity, which we confront today. The CEC should start at once to remedy this situation in the Party if we are to function at all.

†- While it is not totally clear whether the Lithuanian Federation had the same district structure as that used by the regular CPA or made use of its own set of territorial borders, the CPA boundaries seem to have been employed: D1 — Boston; D2 — New York; D3 — Philadelphia (where the Lithuanian Federation was headquartered); D5 — Chicago; D6 — Detroit; D7 — St. Louis.

‡- It is fair to assume that the names given here in this underground period document are all pseudonyms. Most likely candidate for “Sprague” would be Joseph Stilson, former Socialist Party Translator-Secretary and the leading Lithuanian Federationist on the CEC throughout the first years of the 1920s.

Other comrades also pointed out the unbearable financial situation, especially the bad effect [which] has made upon the membership [with] the recent increase in dues.

Comrade Sprague then made a brief reply and his report was accepted unanimously.

Comrade Pasesupys reported for the Central Bureau. In his lengthy and careful written report he outlined the history of the bureau, its tasks, its accomplishments, and plans for future work.

Adjournment for lunch.

### **Second Session.**

Discussion on Central Bureau's report. After some questions were answered, the report was accepted unanimously.

A detailed report was read by the representative of #5 [Brooklyn *Laisve*].† It showed that the institution is managed well and has good prospects for the future. Report accepted.

Report of #6 [Chicago *Vilnis*].† It showed good prospects for the future but the present situation is, comparatively speaking, very bad. Some remedies were proposed. Report accepted.

Adjourned.

### **Second Day.**

#### **Third Session.**

Comrade Strazdelis was elected chairman for the day.

Report of representative of Ms.‡ The reporter expressed the opinion that this organization, though a strong supporter of the former opposition faction [Central Caucus] and now a certain factor in the united movement, nevertheless has outgrown its main objects (*sic.*) and every attempt should be made to merge it with the LPP.

Report accepted.

†- "#5" and "#6" are references to the Lithuanian radical press, intentionally kept cryptic as a means of security during this underground period of Communist Party and Lithuanian Federation activity. "#5" seems to be a reference to the Brooklyn daily published by the Lithuanian Workers Literature Society (Lithuanian Cooperative Publishing Society), *Laisve*, established in 1911. "#6" seems to be the Chicago publication of the Lithuanian Federation, the semi-weekly *Vilnis*, established in 1920.

‡- Reference unclear.

§- It is clear from later context in this document that reference to "Ld." is to the Lithuanian Workers Literature Society, a "legal" publishing house of Socialist literature based in Brooklyn, NY. All subsequent uses of this pseudonymous shorthand will be followed by the bracketed name of this organization.

The representative of the LPP Lithuanian Section Bureau gave a lengthy report with some recommendations. After a short discussion the recommendations were referred to the Committee on Resolutions and the report was accepted.

Then followed the lengthy report of the representative of Ld.§ on the activities and prospects of Ld. [Lithuanian Workers Literature Society], and its subdivisions: the L—a Aq. Ts., etc. Report accepted.

Report of B.— Good work was done. No prospects for the future.

At this point a communication of the comrades of Scotland was read and their proposals and suggestions were referred to the incoming Bureau for action.

After the completion of the reports there followed a lengthy discussion on our future activities:

(a) Among the masses of the Lithuanian workers and their organizations.

(b) Work in the trade unions.

(c) The problems of the Lithuanian Section of the LPP [Legal Political Party = WPA].

(d) Literature and press.

On all these questions the conference adopted a series of resolutions and theses, as proposed by the Central Bureau, with slight amendments.

*Motion by District 3 [Philadelphia]:* That we instruct our editors to rally around our press not only the trained writers but the beginners as well. *Carried.*

*Motion by District 6 [Detroit]:* That we impose the duty upon our writers to devote their writings primarily to propaganda and agitation for the LPP.

*Motion:* To refer this matter to the incoming Bureau as a recommendation. *Carried.*

*Motion by District 6 [Detroit]:* That our press should be made more popular, more interesting to the general mass of workers rather than to the more advanced readers.

*Motion:* To refer this matter as a recommendation to the incoming Bureau. *Carried.*

*The problems of mass organizations under our control.*

A resolution as proposed by the Central Bureau on the question of our relations with Ld. [Lithuanian Workers Literature Society] were, after some discussion, adopted unanimously.

A somewhat heated discussion took place on the question of the future status of Ms. Thereupon the following motion was proposed by the delegation of D3: That the Ms. be merged with the LPP.

*Amendment from the floor:* That we shall not make immediate attempts in this direction but rather adopt the principle only and begin to [see it] carried out by means of a careful propaganda among the membership of Ms. and in the press.

*Amendment carried. Motion as amended carried.*

The Central Bureau then proposed a thesis on the question of strengthening the Party organization. Lengthy and heated discussion. Some delegates at first most bitterly opposed the clause on Party Organization Month. Representative of the Central Bureau made a lengthy reply, pointing out that the method proposed is probably the best one, but that we must try every reasonable method to strengthen the Party. The thesis finally was adopted unanimously.

*Motion by District 2 [New York]:* That one of the methods to increase the membership of the Party and its legal apparatus is by decreasing dues. We therefore move that we recommend to the CEC:

(1) That the maximum monthly dues in both the Party and the LPP be 75¢ per month.

(2) Out of this sum 25¢ per month shall be paid to the LPP and 50¢ to the Party.

*Carried.*

#### Fourth Session.

Comrade Norvas was elected chairman for the day.

The first order of business was the question of strengthening the LPP. A resolution was offered by the Central Bureau. Slight amendments. *Adopted as amended.*

*The question of the LPP, Lithuanian Section, Conference.*

A resolution was offered from the floor and, af-

ter some debate, accepted.

*Motion:* That the Bureau of the LPP, Lithuanian Section, shall subdivide itself into subcommittees: Organization, Press, Trade Union, etc. *Carried.*

*Motion:* That we instruct the incoming Bureau to devise ways and means of putting into effect the decisions of this conference pertaining [to] the conference of LPP, Lithuanian Section. *Carried.*

*Financial matters.*

No definite proposal. Moved and Carried that we have a general discussion on the question of finances. Discussion: Many suggestions were made and referred to the incoming Bureau for action. To wit: the problem of arranging various affairs, a closer cooperation between the Bureau and the comrades of Lithuania, raffles, etc.

*The question of political prisoners.*

*Motion by D2 [New York]:* That we ask the Lithuanian Party for a good speaker to be toured throughout the Lithuanian colonies in the US for the purpose of raising funds for the aid of political prisoners in Lithuania. *Carried.* Referred to LPP.

*Resolution by D2 [New York]:* That since we have an urgent debt of \$2000 on our hands and no funds are available for that purpose; that since the CEC last year approved the decision of the Central Bureau to the effect that at least one half of the amount above stated is the debt of the Party; and in view of the fact that the other half (\$1000) is also a forfeited bail of one of the former members of the Party who absconded without the knowledge of the Party but whose bail was furnished because of the understanding that it [was a] Party case —

Be it resolved, that we ask the CEC to instruct the Defense Committee to immediately turn over either to us or the bailers the amount above stated, because the case is urgent; or if this is impossible, to allow us to create a special defence fund of our own so as to enable us to defray the losses involved in the two cases above stated.

Discussion. *The resolution was adopted.*

*Motion by D2 [New York]:* That we recommend to the CEC that the National Offices of the LPP be move to proletarian section of the city. Comment: The present location is not only beyond the financial abili-

ties of the LPP, but is also no credit to the name of the LPP. Discussion. *Motion carried.* †

*Motion by D2 [New York]:* That in view of the numerical strength of the LPP as reported by the representation of the LPP, we see no necessity of so large a staff in the LPP office and request the CEC to adjust matters accordingly. *Carried.*

*Motion by D2 [New York]:* That we recommend to the CEC to take away the right of DOs to spend any moneys collected either as dues or any other income of the Party. All moneys should be turned over to the CEC regularly with a complete statement of expenditures in the District. The CEC shall then cover those expenditures; or if the above method should seem impracticable then the CEC should apportion the dues and no district be allowed to make expenditures beyond its per capita. The federations should also receive their quota regularly because apportionment would provide regular income for the CEC. *Carried.*

*Motion by D2 [New York]:* That we recommend to the CEC to instruct and see to it that all the units of the Party furnish regularly copies of financial transactions to the membership. *Carried.*

*Motion by D2 [New York]:* That we recommend to the CEC to reduce the wages of all Party employees; that the scale shall not exceed over \$35 per week.

*Amendment by D5 [Chicago]:* That the scale of wages shall be \$30 per week maximum.

*Amendment lost, motion carried.*

*Motion by D2 [New York]:* That in no institution under our control shall wages exceed the standard wage scale of the Party.

Lengthy discussion. Some delegates pointed out that the principle involved in the motion is wrong; that it should be understood that no institution under our control be allowed to pay wages in excess to the maximum wage scale of the Party but that the minimum to be paid, regardless of family and dependents of any individual employed, should be determined by the management of the institution. An amendment

was offered to that effect. *Amendment lost, motion carried.*

### Fifth Session.

*Motion by D5 [Chicago]:* That the Central Bureau in appointing Federation DOs should see to it that only such persons are appointed who are conversant with the English language.

Upon motion this matter was referred to the incoming Bureau as a recommendation.

*Motion by D3 [Philadelphia]:* That we recommend to the CEC to abolish paid DOs in all districts that have small membership and no immediate prospects of big organization.

*Example: D3 [Philadelphia].* In this district there is only one English-speaking group of eleven members. All the work of organization is done by SD committees and lower units and the Federation apparatus. The work of DO consists of attending a meeting here and a meeting there. But those meetings are also attended by other members of the committees — and the DO does only that much — and all this work can very well be done by a volunteer DO. We have no doubt that the same condition exists in many other districts with paid DOs. This condition is only a burden to the Party and should be adjusted immediately.

*Motion carried.*

*Motion by D3 [Philadelphia]:* That the territory be extended from which the comrades are selected to various posts in institutions under Federation control. *After a somewhat heated discussion the motion was lost.*

*Motion by D7 [St. Louis]:* That subscription of the Official Organ of the Lithuanian Section of the LPP be compulsory to all individuals joining the LPP Lithuanian Section. *Motion lost.*

*Motion by D5 [Chicago]:* That we reconsider the decision of the Central Bureau regarding the sending of Comrade Leon to take charge of #6 [Chicago Vilnis].‡

†- The January 3, 1923, meeting of the CEC of the WPA read a letter from the Lithuanian Bureau protesting the high rent paid for National Headquarters in New York. Ruthenberg stated that the rent was \$295 (per month, presumably), of which \$100 was received from a sub-leasee. The lease on the building was said to run until February 1, 1925. [CI Archive, f. 515, op. 1, d. 148, ll. 191-192.]

‡- “Comrade Leon” was a former member of the CEC of the CPA from 1920, member of the Lithuanian Executive Committee until 1921, editor of the official organ until June 1921 and of the Lithuanian publication “N” after that date. He was also the top ranking Lithuanian in the Central Caucus faction which split from the CPA in the fall of 1921 — no doubt the source of the hostility expressed here. One likely candidate for the identity of “Leon” is a Comrade Karroses, a founding member of the CPA’s CEC.

Prolonged and heated discussion. Delegates of D5 [Chicago] pointed out that their whole district are against such a decision; that #6 [Vilnis] is an institution of our official character; that Comrade Leon only recently toured D5 [Chicago] and in most terms denounced the institution at mass meetings; that by placing him in charge of #6 [Vilnis] we will only antagonize our own membership, expose to our sympathizers our own inconsistency, and instead of aiding the #6 [Vilnis] as is explained by the representative of the Central Bureau, we will ruin it. Yes, D5 [Chicago] wants a man to take charge of #6 [Vilnis]. But Leon is not the proper person. The Central Bureau should have sent either Comrade Norman, Row, or Traveller. They are far better to fill the gap.

*Motion to reconsider the Central Bureau decision was carried by 11 against 4, one delegate being absent at the time.*

*Motion:* That the Central Bureau is to stand instructed by this conference to send Comrade Norman to take charge of #6 [Vilnis]. *Carried by 14 (two not voting).*

*Motion:* That we instruct the Central Bureau to provide a position for Comrade Leon in #5 [Brooklyn *Laisve*] either to take Comrade Norman's place or otherwise. *Carried.*

*Motion by D1:* To decrease the size of the official organ of our Federation and to immediately start a campaign for a legal monthly theoretical magazine.

*Amendment from the floor:* That we instruct the incoming Bureau to immediately devise ways and means of issuing a legal monthly journal.

*Amendment carried, motion lost.*

*Recommendation by the Central Bureau:* That the Secretary's position of the Ld. [Lithuanian Workers Literature Society] be a paid position and a campaign be carried to this effect. After a lengthy discussion the recommendation was incorporated as a motion and carried.

At this point the Finance Committee made its report:

Total expenses of the conference — \$459.97.

Total income (assessments) — \$430.50.

Deficit — \$29.47.

The deficit was covered by the Central Bureau so that the conference has incurred no financial bur-

den upon the incoming Bureau.

Report accepted.

Thereupon followed the election of the new Bureau. The Secretary of the old Bureau declared in the name of the old Bureau that it should be the sense of this conference to give two seats to the membership of the former opposition that have come back to the Party prior to June 25th last [1922]; that it should be the sense of this conference not to give representation in the new Bureau to the members of the former opposition that came back after June 25th, their number being only 59 and among them being no candidate to represent their viewpoint; that although only one delegate of the former opposition being present at this conference and he being from a distant territory and therefore unavailable as candidate for the Bureau, the conference should select, if it finds necessary, candidates for the Central Bureau not only from its (the conference's) own ranks, but from the membership in general, with the object in view of selecting the best material possible, not of any of the former faction in particular but rather upon the ability of the comrades to serve.

*Motion from the floor:* That we allow two seats on the incoming Bureau to the former opposition and that we make the selection here. *Carried.*

*Nominations and acceptances.*

The following comrades accepted the nomination (with the understanding that those not present are to be considered the choice of the conference and if elected are therefore being drafted to serve: K. Povas (received 16 votes); Peters (15 votes); Burke (14 votes); Kalnas (14 votes); Garsas (13 votes); Camden (11 votes). All the above were declared elected (the eighth candidate, Comrade Kiskis, received 4 votes).

*Alternates (to be called in the order herewith presented):*

Sarkaite (14 votes); Buceraitis (12 votes); Zubrys (11 votes); Raiston (10 votes).

*Motion:* That we now choose candidates for the LPP Bureau as per resolution adopted at previous session. *Carried.*

The following comrades were then selected:

Davis (15 votes); Burke (14 votes); Aidas (14 votes); Zubrys (14 votes); Kalnas (14 votes); Norvas

(13 votes); Garsas (13 votes).

*Alternates:*

Rankvedis (15 votes); Lee (14 votes); Raiston (11 votes); Jupiteris (10 votes).

*Motion:* That we now elect an Auditing Committee of three. *Carried.*

Comrades Zubrys, Kaimietis, and Baron were elected.

Recommendation of DO5 regarding the future representation at Federation conferences was referred to the incoming Bureau.

*Motion:* That we instruct the incoming Bureau to prepare in the name of the conference recommendations to the CEC on points raised by the representative of the CEC if any of these points are not covered in the Theses and Resolutions already adopted by this conference. *Carried.*

*Motion:* That we fully endorse the stand of the CEC and our former Bureau on the question of a Labor Party. *Carried Unanimously.*

*Motion:* That our Official Organ print only such material which is illegal in its essence.

A substitute in the form of a resolution:

That this conference fully approve the present contents of our Official Organ as shown by several [of the] latest editions, namely: to print only such legal material that is absolutely necessary to explain the position of our Party on new questions as they arise but that the Official Organ is primarily and organ of the Party and not a theoretical journal as we had it in

the past.

*Substitute carried unanimously.*

*Motion:* That we refer certain technical and financial matters of B.B. to the incoming Bureau. *Carried.*

*Motion:* That we recommend to the Lithuanian CP to combine their two official organs into one. *Lost.*

*Motion:* That we instruct the incoming Bureau to send greetings in the name of the conference to the political prisoners in the American jails, to the comrades in Scotland, Lithuanian, etc. *Carried.*

*Motion:* That we recommend to the CEC to make a flat rule that no outgoing committees (such as the DEC, SDC, Federation Bureaus, and the corresponding units of the LPP) be allowed to send more representatives to their respective Party conventions than two. *Carried.*

*Motion:* That we recommend to the CEC not to send more than two of its representatives to the National Conventions of the Party. *Carried.*

At this point representatives of several districts made verbal reports on conditions in their districts.

Comrades K. Povas, Peters, and Norman delivered short addresses on the achievements of the conference and upon a motion the 4th Conference of the Lithuanian Federation was adjourned.

R. Margis,  
Secretary.

***Theses and Resolutions As Adopted  
by the 4th Annual Conference  
of the Lithuanian Federation.***

**Agitation and Propaganda among the  
Lithuanian Working Masses  
and their Organizations.**

*Our General Tactic.*

Our general tactic is to actively participate in communist work among all the working class mass organizations. Our position on new questions as they arise among the Lithuanian working masses is determined by the conference and between the conferences, by the Central Bureau. The major part of our work — the agitation and propaganda — is by its very nature essentially a legal work. The position thus taken by the Federation conference or the Central Bureau is to be carried out by the Central Bureau of the LPP Lithuanian Section, or other apparatuses designated for the purpose by the conference or the Central Bureau.

The conference therefore sets the following as basis for the coming year:

*A. The work in the Fraternal  
and Educational Societies.*

1. Our members must systematically but carefully propagandize the idea of amalgamation of local Fraternal societies into one local Fraternal organization.

2. The amalgamation of local Educational and Art societies into one local Education and Art organization.

*Comment:* The benefit to our movement of such amalgamation is twofold: it will require less work of our members in such amalgamated societies than in several of them, with their separate meetings, committees, and larger expense; on the other hand it requires less effort and energy to control one organization instead of several of them. The final aim of such propaganda for amalgamation is the National Federa-

tion of Fraternal and Educational & Art Societies.

*B. The work in the S.*

S. is a Fraternal and Benevolent organization. It is composed of great masses of the Lithuanian workers. But it was heretofore used by the Lithuanian bourgeoisie to achieve its political undertakings. We shall be guided by the following rules in our work within the S.:

1. The Central Bureau must from time to time urge our members to join the S. Our members in S. must conduct their work in such manner as not to give cause of the S. bureaucracy to expel them from the organization.

2. The propaganda in this organization shall be based upon the fact that the S. is a Fraternal organization of workers; it must be pointed out that the bourgeois element has entered it to advance their own business and political ends.

3. A conscious propaganda must be carried against bourgeois leaders and officers of S. Every anti-labor act of the editor of the official organ of S., or any officer thereof, must be constantly brought to the attention of the S. membership.

4. Among the membership of every unit of the S. there must be constant agitating tending to discredit all the acts of the present government of Lithuania.

5. All propaganda and agitation against any anti-labor act of the officialdom of the S. must be based upon the class-character of such act, showing the S. membership that their officials are acting in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

*Note:* The above is to substitute our obscure propaganda in the past which in many instances was of a purely anti-nationalist, anti-clerical, or of freethinking character. Hereafter our propaganda and agitation in S. must be based on class lines only.

6. In all the units of the S. there shall be organized an LPP nuclei, around which all other sympathetic elements shall be rallied into a Left Bloc. Before all important meetings of the S. there shall be a meeting of the LPP nuclei where position must be defined. If it is understood that no special questions are to come up before an S. meeting, it is not necessary to have our nuclei meetings, but there shall be a standing floor committee to give orders in case of emergency and to

supervise locally our work in the S.

7. Whenever our legal press announces any campaign, a speaking tour, etc., and invites other working class organizations to participation, our nuclei must make every attempt to draw into these activities the respective units of the S.

*Note:* We request the CEC to modify the present stand of the Party regarding permission to members to write articles to the press other than that which is under Party control. We have here in mind the official organ of the S. It is a paper read by thousands of Lithuanian workers every week. Our position regarding this paper should be as defined in clause (8).

8. All members of the Party who are members of the S. are hereby to stand instructed to utilize the columns of the official organ of the S.: to send in correspondence on activities of our organizations and the working class movement generally; articles contradicting the anti-labor articles of the editor and his correspondents holding the same viewpoint. Articles of polemic nature shall first be passed upon by a special committee which shall be appointed by the Central Bureau.

### *C. Lectures and Other Arrangements.*

1. The preference for arranging the public lectures and [utilization of] our speakers belongs to the Lithuanian Section of the LPP. The Central Bureau of the LPP Section shall designate one month in each year for exclusive agitation and propaganda for the LPP. We likewise recommend to the CEC that this whole clause be made universal, i.e. to be applied in all other Federations and the Party proper.

2. The Central Bureau of the Lithuanian Section of the LPP shall prepare a calendar of all important events in the history of the working class movement, such as the First of May, the Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the Paris Commune, the death of Karl Marx, Liebknecht, etc. These dates must be announced in advance of the International Holidays of the working class and prepared for their celebration in advance through announcements in the press and in special appeals to the LPP, in other working class organizations, inviting them to participate and preparing machinery for these celebrations. With each given occasion a complete and, if possible, a universal

program shall be sent out.

We also recommend this method for the entire Party.

3. The Central Bureau of the Lithuanian Section of the LPP must make a survey and prepare a brief table showing all important colonies in the US inhabited by the Lithuanian working men, the character of industries, the number and character of the Lithuanian organizations, their strength, their educational and financial status, the prospects of our work in them, railroad facilities, the character of our enemies — their strength and weakness, etc.

4. The Central Bureau of the Lithuanian Section of the LPP controls and supervises the speaking tours.

5. Whenever the S. or any other working class organization decides to arrange a mass meeting or a lecture, our LPP nuclei and individual members must see to it that only our speakers be invited to address those meetings and our literature agents shall always utilize the opportunity to sell our literature at such meetings.

### **The Work in the Trade Unions.**

1. Every paper under our control shall devote at least two columns of each issue to trade union activities, the Red International, its policies and accomplishments, and the problems of the unorganized workers. In the case of daily papers, they shall devote the same space at least three times a week.

2. Every speaker is hereby to stand instructed to devote at least part of his time to the problems of the trade unions and the unorganized workers, wherever there is an opportunity to do so.

3. The Central Bureau appoints an Industrial Organizer who is to see to it that the above provisions are carried out. The IO also shall see to it that all our members join the trade unions; he shall establish connections with the Red International and all our nuclei in the Lithuanian locals. He shall, in consultation with these nuclei, or where there is no nuclei upon his own initiative, prepare plans for unionization of the unorganized. He shall adjust the activities of our legal organizations, especially the LPP, with the activities of our trade union nuclei. He shall arrange, in consultation with our nuclei, the distribution and the sale of



literature among the trade unionists. He shall devise new plans for trade union activity and submit same to the Central Bureau for approval. He shall endeavor to draw the trade unions into our celebrations and other arrangements. He shall direct the activities of all trade union nuclei according to directions of the Party. In case of necessity he shall utilize our press and other institutions to further his work.

He shall regularly report to the Central Bureau on all phases of trade union work, his accomplishments, etc.

### **Education.**

In order to prepare our membership for a more effective work in the trade unions and various phases of political life of this country, the conference hereby instructs the incoming Central Bureau to prepare a plan and immediately proceed to organize classes to study the English language and citizenship in all units of our Federation. The press and platform also must be utilized for the general propaganda in this line of activity.

### **The Strengthening of the Party Organization.**

The present conditions in the US do not permit the communists to work under the banner of their Party among the larger mass of workers. Therefore the communists are compelled to utilize other means of reaching the masses. For this purpose they have their legal organs. The relative strength of the communists among the broad masses of the workers largely depends upon the strength and influence of our legal organs. But the experience of the last year has clearly shown us that our Party and our legal political organ are interdependent upon each other, that in most cases our legal political organ was strong and influential only in places where Party organization was strong. It is self-evident, therefore, that the communists, in order to increase their influence among the masses, must primarily use all their efforts in strengthening the Party organization. With this object in view, the Fourth Conference of the Lithuanian Federation offers the following plan as a uniform guide for all Party units, to be utilized during the coming year.

#### **I.**

1. All Party branches must have Special Commissions for the purpose of recruiting new members to the Party. The composition of such committees wherever possible must be: one member from LPP, Trade Union member, and one or two members having acquaintances at large.

2. This commission shall regularly supply our sympathizers with the Party literature, call small group meetings of the sympathizers as often as convenient, and try to arouse their interest in the Party. At least once a month each member of the commission shall approach and try to induce his acquaintances to join the probationary group.

#### **II.**

1. It is hereby recommended to the CEC to designate one month in the year during which period every member should be exclusively engaged in strengthening the Party, especially in including his sympathizers to join probationary groups.

*Note:* It is understood that this special period be known to Party membership only.

2. The dues of the Party membership should be reduced to a minimum because it is absolutely impossible to get new members to the Party with the present high rate of dues.

3. The scale of dues should be as follows: 50¢ to the Party and 25¢ to the LPP.

*Comment:* The high rate of dues of the LPP prevents the more advanced workers from joining it. There is no reason why the LPP membership should not be doubled within this season. Lower dues *does not* decrease the income because new elements would flow in and more activity would be possible. The present flat rate of 50¢ for the Party and 50¢ for the LPP creates a situation where even Party members must drop out and thus the increase in dues instead of raising the funds of the Party [is actually] decreasing the membership — and the funds.

4. That for the convenience of more proper functioning, it should be the rule of the Party that our groups be organized, wherever possible, on trade lines, thus giving better opportunities for our nuclei to function.

### **The Strengthening of the LPP.**

The capitalists are organizing for the purpose of a unified action against the workers, for the purpose of continuation of wage slavery and exploitation. The workers must likewise organize because only by organized effort can they successfully fight the capitalists. The final goal of the working class — the abolition of capitalism and the taking over of Power by the workers — can only be accomplished by organized efforts.

In connection with specific directions as outlined in the Theses on Agitation and Propaganda, we herewith remind all our members of this general principle: That in order to organize the workers — nay, in order to convince them of the necessity of organization, we must put all our own efforts to this task. The LPP is one of the means through which the communists reach the masses and spread Communist ideals. Therefore it is the duty of every members to be constantly on the job getting in recruits for the LPP from any workers' organization he may be a member of, or any class-conscious individual who can be persuaded to join our ranks. It is self-understood that upon the strength and influence of the LPP depends the strength and influence of our Party.

### **The Press and Literature.**

It is the sense of the Fourth Conference that:

1. All our legal press must primarily devote itself to the movement here, in the US. They must interpret the struggles of the workers of this country in the light of communist understanding, the general "news" not affecting the working class movement shall be as far as possible eliminated, and international affairs shall be considered of secondary importance.

2. Our publishing houses shall primarily publish literature devoted to the interests of the workers in this country. It is especially here referred to the publishing of pamphlets. There shall be published no brochures that have no distinct class character. The publishing of larger books must be prepared for systematically and full coordination [must] be established among all our publishing institutions.

3. Apart from the mere subscription-getting campaigns there shall be devised other methods of financing our legal press. The following are of value:

- (a) Simultaneously with the special month for the propaganda and agitation for the Ld. [Lithuanian Workers Literature Society] there shall be a Press month, during the period of which there shall be arranged, besides the ordinary mass meetings, a series of concerts, balls, raffles, etc. in all the more important colonies of the Lithuanian workers. The profits of such affairs shall be turned over to our press.

- (b) The DO of the Lithuanian Section of the LPP shall be the General Press Agent in his district. He shall see to it that there is an active press agent in each locality and appoint such agents wherever necessary.

- (c) The local agents are to look for new readers, newsstands, etc. They also shall see to it that our press is subscribed for by local societies, clubs, Trade Unions, etc. They shall follow the situation and report to DO all prospects that may be worthwhile to utilize, also the chances (if any) for arranging various affairs in their towns.

- (d) The distribution of our press must be constant and systematic. No speaker is excused from propagandizing and agitating for our press at any public meeting, unless special conditions do not permit him to do so. All speakers must carry with them subscription cards and induce his hearers to subscribe our papers. In places where there is no press agent the speaker shall appoint one and connect him with the DO.

- (e) The publishers shall also from time to time increase the morale and enthusiasm of the readers —

1. By offering the readers a referendum to express themselves on various subjects of interest to the workers.
2. By proposing and carrying writing contests and awarding prizes for best articles on certain subjects.
3. By waging campaigns for increased circulation in separate cities.

*Example:* "Philadelphia must be captured by... (name of paper)."

### **Relations of Ld. [Lithuanian Workers Literature Society] and LPP.**

In view of the fact that during the period between the illegalized condition of our Federation and the launching of the LPP, the Ld. [Lithuanian Work-

ers Literature Society] was charged with the duties of an apparatus of our legal activities in educational as well as political fields; but —

In view **also** of our conception that the above was done under special conditions; and that *only a political organization* can lead the workers in their struggles and crystallize their forces:—

Be it therefore Resolved, That in view of the existence of an LPP the role of the Ld. [Lithuanian Workers Literature Society] shall be a *subsidiary* one, the leader of the Lithuanian workers in the legal field of activities shall be the LPP, which acts under instructions of the CP of A and the Communist International. Every important political [task] must crystallize around the LPP.

However, the subsidiary role of the Ld. [Lithuanian Workers Literature Society] should not be understood as of very small significance: the latter organization as heretofore shall remain an important factor in our movement. The LPP we should raise in the eyes of the working masses by our activities and not by diminishing the Ld. [Lithuanian Workers Literature Society] to a naught. Under the roof of Ld. [Lithuanian Workers Literature Society] we must work as energetically as heretofore. Stagnation in the organization would mean its inevitable death; the suppres-

sion of its activities would mean its gradual extinction. Ld. [Lithuanian Workers Literature Society] has grown up to its present strength not only because of publication of literature which not every member understands, but by, largely, its public activities. By taking away from it (the Ld. [Lithuanian Workers Literature Society]) the public activities and entrusting only the technical work of publishing books, we would lead this organization to degeneration.

We must by all means learn to coordinate our work and subdivide it so that both the above organizations should grow in numbers and strength. By giving preference to the work of the LPP we will eliminate the unnecessary clash and harmful dualism, and have harmony instead.

### **The LPP Lithuanian Section Conference.**

Since there exists no special problem for us in the LPP Section, we instruct the Central Bureau of the Federation to devise means and ways of putting through the LPP Lithuanian Section Conference the following slate for the Central Bureau of the Lithuanian Section:

(See names in the minutes).†

†- Davis, Burke, Aidas, Zubrys, Kalnas, Norvas, and Garsas. *Alternates*: Rankvedis, Lee, Raiston, and Jupiteris.

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