
Report of CEC to UCP Convention and to the Joint Convention of the United Communist Party and the Communist Party for Unity. [May 15, 1921 — Extensive Extracts]†

A document in the Comintern Archive, f. 515, op. 1, d. 50, ll. 29-58.

I. Formation.

The United Communist Party was formed at the Unity Convention in May 1920 [Bridgman, MI] by delegates from the CP and CLP representing a membership of about 11,000 members, according to their official statements.

The story of the movement prior to this convention — the Left Wing development in the SP, the Left Wing Conference [June 1919], the split in the Left Wing National Council, which resulted in the organization of two Communist Parties in Chicago instead of one when the Left Wing split from the SP, will not be recounted here, as all are familiar with that history.

The experience gained by the membership during the development of these two parties, the CP and the CLP, as well as the lessons learned during the Red raids, caused the Unity Convention to adopt for the UCP a clear-cut revolutionary program, and a party constitution providing for the strict discipline and that centralized form of organization which is demanded by the conditions under which the movement has to develop her in the United States.

Not all the members who were represented in that Unity Convention were willing to submit to this. In some instances, whole branches refused to join the United Party when the returned delegates reported the convention decisions. Less than one-third of the membership represented at the convention, only about 3,000 immediately affiliated, without hesitation, with the UCP. This means that the membership which had

already been relieved of most of its weak-kneed elements, underwent another careful process of selection. Those who did not agree with the revolutionary program, or with the strict discipline and centralized form of organization adopted by the UCP convention, refused to join the United Party. Practically every affiliation was reorganized and very little of the dead timber which had been carried forward by force of momentum in the locals inherited from the Socialist Party was retained in the organization of the UCP.

Since then, the membership has increased steadily from month to month through the gradual accretion of most desirable elements. At the same time of the 2nd Convention of the UCP in December 1920 [Kingston, NY], the membership had increased to about 5700, organized in 667 underground groups, as follows (3 of these groups being reported from Canada):

English	121	Armenian	1
Finnish	31	German	61
Jewish	37	Lettish	49
Russian	136	South Slav.	144
Bohemian	1	Estonian	19
Hungarian	11	Italian	2
Lithuanian	7	Polish	34
Ukrainian	12	Swedish	1

The same rate of increase has continued since the December convention...

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†- Executive Secretary of the United Communist Party throughout its entire history was Alfred Wagenknecht [“Paul Holt”], who may reasonably be assumed to have been the author of this document.

IV. Organizational Structure.

At the start the UCP organized the country into 11 districts. At present we have 14 districts as follows:

- D1 — Boston:** New England states except SW corner of Connecticut.
- D2 — New York:** SW Conn.; NY South of Poughkeepsie; NJ North of Trenton.
- D3 — Philadelphia:** NJ Trenton South; Eastern Pa.; Del.; DC; Va.
- D4 — Pittsburgh:** Western Pa.; W.Va. (combined with D5 temporarily).
- D5 — Cleveland:** Ohio (except Toledo); Ky. and Southern states.
- D6 — Detroit:** Lower Mich.; Indiana (except Lake County).
- D7 — Chicago:** Illinois (N of Springfield); Ia. (South of Mason City); Lake County Ind.
- D8 — St. Louis:** Illinois (Springfield South); Mo.; Nebr.; Kans.; Okla.; Ark.; La.; Texas.
- D9 — Denver:** Colorado; Wyo.; Southern Idaho; Utah; Arizona; New Mexico.
- D10 — San Francisco:** California; Nevada; Hawaii.
- D11 — Seattle:** Oregon; Washington; Northern Ida.; West Mont.; Alaska.
- D13 — Milwaukee:** Wisconsin, except NW edge.
- D14 — Syracuse:** NY North of Poughkeepsie; Erie, Pa.

In each one of the following there is a functioning District Committee. D1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14 have DOs working for half pay. D2, 5, and 7 also have paid SDO each, and D14 is dividing his wages with a SDO.

The lack of funds and lack of competent organizers prevents the formation of separate districts in all the sections where they should be organized. As fast as the funds and men are available the larger districts should be subdivided, thus creating additional districts, until every great industrial center in the US is the center of a UCP district of such compactness that the DC can really function for its entire territory.

We were compelled to try combining several districts last summer for reasons of economy, but the results were not good. On the other hand where new districts were created a gratifying increase of member-

ship and encouraging development of the Party's educational work resulted. This does not mean a weakening of the organization in the old district centers, but a tapping of new sources of energy and a harnessing of the talents of additional comrades for the development of our movement into a real power in this country.

One of the difficulties that reduces the results achieved is that our DOs are compelled to spend so much of their time in mere technical detail work, re-shipping bundles, etc. This can easily be solved if District Committees will observe the instructions sent out by the CEC to organize volunteer help to take care of all the routine work, so as to leave the DO free to take the field for real organizational work at any time.

V. Organizers and Other Employees.

Special organizers have been in the field at various times in the following languages: Italian, South Slavic, English, Polish, Armenian, Russian, Hungarian, Finnish, Bohemian [Czech], Bulgarian, Ukrainian, Jewish [Yiddish]. Besides these there are 14 District and SD Organizers in the steady employ of the Party, Editors, Industrial Director, Organization Director, Education Director, [Legal] Defense Director, Statistician, Executive Secretary, YCL Organizer — all these in the employ of the underground organization. A number of Party members in the employ of various unions also pushed the interest of the UCP at the same time.

In engaging employees the CEC considers the general needs of the movement, not those of any one section without regard to the rest. Paid organizers and other employees are engaged only where their value to the movement is apparent. The constant endeavor is to have as much of the work as possible done voluntarily — without pay. The CEC realizes that the real educational and organization work is done by the individual members as they come in contact with other workers in the shops and in their homes.

Work demanding full time however, must be paid for, unless we want to limit that kind of endeavor to those who have independent means. The policy of the CEC regarding wages is to pay what is necessary for a worker to live decently on, according to the standard of skilled workers in the trades. When it became apparent that the cost of living had gone down, the

CEC voted to reduce the wages of Party workers \$5 [a week] below the standard set by the December [1920] convention. At a recent meeting a resolution was adopted calling upon Party workers who find that they have a surplus from the wages paid them by the Party to return the surplus to the Party treasury. Several Party workers who have no special family responsibilities are working at half pay.

VI. Relations with the Communist International.

At the last convention of the UCP [Dec. 1920], our two delegates to the Second Congress of the CI, Morgan [Alexander Bilan] and Flynn [Edward Lindgren], reported that John Reed had been elected to the Executive Committee of the CI as the representative of the American Communist movement. These delegates also reported that at the second meeting of the Executive of the CI, the UCP had been entrusted with work of special importance, such as making a survey of the radical tendencies among the negroes of the United States and their susceptibility to communist propaganda; the agrarian situation; assisting in the organization of Communist Parties in other countries upon the American continent, etc. According to the report of these delegates, the UCP was also promised financial support amounting to \$100,000 for specific purposes such as defense, publishing the CI magazine, starting a daily paper, organizing work, etc. Fifty thousand dollars of this was sent, but only \$25,000 arrived here. A donation of \$10,000 was to come to the UCP to be given to the IWW defense.

Subsequently, the CI changed its decision which gave the UCP exclusive financial support and certain mandates for communist work in the United States, and decided that no more financial support would go forward to the American Parties until unity had been attained. Certain mandates for work in the United States were also subsequently divided between the UCP and the CP.

Still later the Executive of the CI sent Scott [Karl "Charley" Janson] and [Louis] Fraina to this country with instructions to bring about unity between the

two parties.† After his arrival here Scott [Janson] reported to the CI and asked for the American Agency full power to act in the unity matter.

On March 17th [1920] the EC of the CI sent a communication to both parties, accusing the Executive Committees of sabotaging the communist work and appealing to the rank and file to unite over their heads.

On March 30th [1920], in answer to the report and request from Scott [Janson], the EC of the CI cabled FULL FORCE TO ACT to the American Agency and that this "decision is final."

The American Agency thereupon instructed the two parties that unity must be achieved on the basis of the conditions which had previously been drawn up and signed by all three members of the Agency. Instead of asserting as a matter of course the full power to make final decision, which had been granted by the Executive of the CI on March 30th [1920], the Agency called to Moscow for additional approval of these points.

On April 25th [1920] the Executive of the CI again reversed itself and cabled the Agency that it had no authority to press these points, that the only condition for [a unity] convention should be equal representation and that all other points had to be settled by the delegations from the two parties.

These varying and contradictory decisions of the CI Executive have to some extent hampered the communist work in this country.

We are informed that the Agency is considering the publication of pamphlets for communist propaganda, and to take the first steps towards the publication of a daily paper in America. The Agency has already begun work in this respect. The Agency has no mandate from the Communist International to enter the field of communist propaganda, except to see to it that the CI magazine is published.

No protest was made against the establishment of the American Agency for the purpose of bringing about unity of the two Communist Parties in the United States and coordinating the work of all the parties on the continent; in fact, the CEC welcomed the appointment of the Agency for this purpose and

† - There was a third member of this group, the so-called "American Agency," the veteran Japanese radical Sen Katayama. Scott-Janson was a member of the UCP, Fraina of the CPA, and Katayama was non-factional, giving the committee a balanced nature.

gave it full cooperation from the start, accepting all its decisions.

We claim, however, that communist propaganda is not the function of an Agency, but must remain the function of the Communist Parties in the various countries, if these Communist Parties are to develop and if dual authority is to be obviated. Because of this position of the Agency to enter the field of communist propaganda, the CEC passed a motion instructing all members of our party who may appear before the CI to put forward the point of view that special agencies in charge of individuals should not be established for the purpose of conducting propaganda, but that all communist activities should be entrusted to the Party in each country.

VII. The American Bureau.

The committee [CEC] cooperated to the fullest extent with the American Bureau and furnished most of the forces for the carrying on of its work. Much of the important work of our Party was interrupted in order to give the service of our members to the American Bureau.

The statistical and research work of the American Agency and the Bureau was done by the Research Bureau of the UCP. The report to the World Congress of the American labor movement, together with a special report on the IWW, were prepared by members of our Party. All the statements and leaflets issued by the American Bureau were written by members of the UCP.

The work of the Bureau was greatly hampered by the refusal of the CEC of the CP to fully cooperate. They refused to allow their union caucuses to meet jointly with the nuclei of the UCP too consider methods of waging the fight in the unions. They also refused to allow the accredited representatives of the Bureau to meet with their nuclei in the unions, even when these representatives were members of the CP. They opposed the resolutions of endorsement of the Red International [of Labor Unions] by local unions, on the ground that such action would split the AFL, but after a contest, retreated from this untenable position. The situation was only aggravated when the Bureau was reorganized, with a member of the CEC of each Party placed on it and given a voice but not a vote. The representative of the CP took up most of

the time of the meetings with barren theoretical discussions and objections to constructive plans of the Bureau.

VII. Unity.

The growth of the organization will of course be more rapid and its effectiveness multiplied when unity is achieved with the comrades of the CP. The UCP has CONSTANTLY sought unity of all Communist elements in an organization that can function effectively, and seeks it now. The CEC of the UCP acted in accord with the decision of the UCP Convention to invite the CP to a Unity Convention upon a 50-50 basis.

When Scott [Janson] and Fraina, as agents of the International, suggested the formation of a National Council with equal representation for the two parties, pending the reception of a specific mandate from the International Executive, the CEC of the UCP adopted the suggestion.

When the decision of the International arrived, giving the American Agency full power to act in regard to the unity question, and the Agency submitted to the two parties a definite statement of the conditions upon which unity should immediately be brought about, and categorically demanded their acceptance, the CEC of the UCP again acted favorably and accepted them unanimously, without qualification.

Now that the International has instructed the American Agency to call the Unity Convention upon the terms proposed by the UCP Convention last December, that is, to meet in joint Unity Convention with equal representation for the two parties, the CEC of the UCP once more expressed instant and unanimous agreement.

The CEC has done all in its power to bring the unity question to a successful issue — unity of all Communist elements upon a basis that will make possible a truly effective Communist movement in America.

IX. Organization Extension.

Instead of adopting a policy of narrow sectarianism and of holding aloof from the other organizations which also claim to be revolutionary, the CEC

adopted the policy of seeking direct contact with the membership of those organizations and permeating them with our message, making them recruiting grounds for the UCP.

The CEC of the UCP recognizes that only a fraction of the Communists in this country are at present affiliated with either Party, and that many other organizations contain Communist elements that must be attracted and assimilated.

We succeeded by this method in splitting the Finnish Federation away from the reactionary SP and are now organizing those members of the Federation who are Communists into UCP groups.

We are fostering another Left Wing agitation in the SP to bring on another split at the next national convention [Detroit, June 1921]. Some of the best members of the Industrial Socialist League, which was formed out of the SLP, have joined us and are now working to bring the Communists of that organization into the UCP. The same is true regarding the Proletarian Party.

Some of the most capable Anarchists who became Communists have joined the UCP and are now propagandizing their old associates. The most active Irish revolutionary group in the United States has joined up. The Irish that became Communists are joining the UCP. Practically all the famous old leaders of the IWW are members already, and IWWs who become Communists join the UCP as a matter of course. Vice versa a very large number of the original UCP members have joined the rank and file of the two organizations.

Through our activities for the Red Trade Union International [RILU, the Profintern], a similarly friendly relationship is gradually being established with the more advanced radicals in the craft union movement.

It is not a policy of "running after membership," but a policy of establishing channels through which Communist propaganda will reach the fields that are ripest for it, and through which the Communist elements will naturally gravitate into the Party organization.

Our policy has secured for the UCP enough connections and contacts so that all who become Communists in these different organizations will naturally gravitate into the UCP.

XI. Forfeiting Bonds.

A question that has come up recently is whether it is permissible for Party members to "jump their bonds."

The CEC has adopted as a general policy that no Party member shall "skip bail" without instructions from the CEC. Each case will be considered from the standpoint of expediency and Party advantage. In the case of a number of comrades recently, the CEC was of the opinion that their services to the Communist International were worth far more than the amount involved, and gave them instructions to remain at liberty.

XII. Proletarian Party.

Several unofficial conferences were had with leaders of the Proletarian Party. These conferences brought to light the fact that the officialdom of this party still refuses to recognize the need for an underground organization, claiming that a skeleton of such an organization, composed not of the masses, but only of leaders, is all that is necessary, and that its purpose need but to take charge of extra-illegal duties [*sic.*].

We have been reliably informed that this group is living in the hope of gaining recognition by the CI, securing standing thereby, and intends then to use such standing to claim representation as a party in unity negotiations. Toward this end, this group has sent a memorial to the CI and is awaiting the decision of that body. There is also in Moscow at present one of the main spokesmen of the Proletarian Party and he will undoubtedly make it his mission to lay the claims of this party for recognition before the CI.

In the meantime, this party is losing ground, so far as membership is concerned, many joining the UCP and engaging actively in its underground work.

XIII. Work in the IWW.

Soon after the December [1920] Convention, the CEC held a conference with a group of the best leaders of the IWW, who had come over to the position of Communism and joined the UCP. At this conference practical plans were made for extending the work of the Party throughout the IWW. Several com-

rades were engaged by the Party to lead this activity, and the results have been very gratifying.

Prominent IWW members were brought to New York, and the work started with special reference to the Eastern locals of the IWW, which have proven to be most susceptible to Communist propaganda.

The plan to gain control of the Eastern IWW paper was put in operation, and one of our members secured the position of Editor, a position which he filled with commendable ability (carrying out all the instructions of the CEC) until his departure for the penitentiary.

Another of our members worked for a period in the National Office of the IWW, and then made a lecture trip to the Pacific Coast, and his work resulted in the formation of a number of new groups, and laid the foundation for a powerful party organization in the ranks of the Western IWW.

Two of the leading Italian IWWs joined our party, and under the general plan determined by the conference between the CEC and the IWW members, developed a practical activity amongst the Italians on behalf of the Party. One of them made a trip for the IWW through more than 100 mining camps, and at each place secured connection for sending of UCP literature and four routing future speakers on behalf of the Party. It is planned to send him over the same route soon, under Party auspices, to organize groups where the ground has been properly prepared.

Last March [1920], a mass meeting was arranged in New York under the auspices of the IWW where four of the best known leaders of the IWW openly repudiated the policies of Sandgren and placed themselves squarely on the program of Communism. It was at this meeting that William D. Haywood, a member of the UCP, declared "Hereafter, when anyone calls me comrade, I want him to be ready to stand up and fight for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Soviet form of government in the United States."

The UCP members in the IWW have waged a most aggressive and consistent opposition to the counterrevolutionary policies manifested in the official press of the organization, and finally succeeded in driving Sandgren out of his position as Editor. They contributed articles to the IWW press for the purpose of counteracting the syndicalist prejudices, and kept out of their papers, and especially out of the official maga-

zine, much matter of an anti-communist nature. They also compelled the insertion in the official magazine of many articles favorable to communism and the Red Labor Union International.

A number of members of the IWW who are also members of the UCP were sent as delegates to the Congress of the Red Trade Unions International Committee of the CI on behalf of the UCP.

The party work in the IWW suffered a very heavy blow by the recent court decision which sent back to the penitentiary the best leaders of Communism in the IWW, in fact, some of the best informed and most capable Communists in the entire movement.

But the work should go ahead along the lines already developed; that is, of persistent permeation of the IWW by the Communist nuclei; a friendly and sympathetic approach towards the great mass of the members, who in reality are class conscious workers, lacking only a better understanding of revolutionary theory; a merciless criticism of those leaders in the IWW who take the anti-communist and counterrevolutionary position; and a carefully organized and centralized campaign throughout the entire organization with the methods adapted to the peculiar conditions in each section of the country, as the IWW is not one organization with a single national character, but takes on a different form in almost every locality.

Our task consists in making a careful analysis of the IWW in each section of the country in its relation to the revolutionary movement, as well as to the trade union movement, and plans of action and tactics worked out in accordance with the actual conditions.

XIV. Policy Regarding Legal Activities.

The [Central] Executive Committee recognized that a very large part of communist propaganda activities among the masses can be conducted openly, without be suppressed by the existing capitalist reaction through its governmental authorities.

To utilize existing conditions for legal activities, the CEC fostered the formation of legal organizations working separately from each other but under the centralized control of the legal department of the CEC, which coordinates their work in such a way that they do not compete with each other. At the present time the UCP controls four such organizations.

The possibility of forming a public organization for openly conducting all these activities under one head, on a national scale, was considered but was not adopted. The present policy is to keep the public manifestation distinct, while the centralized control is undercover.

The CEC realizes that this is not a satisfactory and final solution of the problem. In order to obey the instructions of the International regarding parliamentary activities, other organizational forms will have to be devised. This problem will press for a solution as soon as the two underground parties are amalgamated into one solid, powerful core. It should be considered by this convention and some adequate solution worked out.

XV. Finnish Socialist Federation.

Immediately after the formation of the UCP, conferences were held with influential members of the Finnish Federation who had joined the UCP.

A campaign for permeating the Finnish Federation of the Socialist Party with communist propaganda was agreed upon, and those members were instructed to remain in the Socialist Party to conduct this campaign, with a view to splitting the entire Federation from the Socialist Party at its next convention [6th: Waukegan, IL, Dec. 1920].

This campaign met with such success that at the Finnish Federation in December, a majority of the delegates were already UCP members. Naturally, the Federation then declared itself independent of the Socialist Party.

Since that time, the strength of the UCP in the Finnish Federation has grown considerably. The number of Finnish UCP groups is now 79, and new groups are being formed constantly.

These groups acting in caucus have gained for the Party complete control of all the educational and propaganda machinery of the Finnish Federation.

The CEC wishes to report a highly satisfactory state of discipline among those of our members who also belong to the Finnish Federation. In every instance they have followed the instructions of the CEC.

...[T]he Socialist Party resorted to the courts,

[one of the tricks of the trade?], to take away from the Federation its papers and its halls.† In a number of instances, the Socialist Party used the police to [halt] Left Wing meetings at which decision was to be made regarding the ownership of the Finnish Federation property. Thus, once more the Socialist Party gives evidence of its willingness to resort to the police power of the capitalist state to gain its petty aims.

That these tactics have not harmed the Finnish Federation very much is shown by the membership statement. In December 1920, before withdrawing from the Socialist Party, the Federation had 9,000 members. When the Federation split away from the Socialist Party about 1,000 members withdrew and rejoined the SP. The Federation, however, through an intensive and carefully directed propaganda won back into its ranks about 700 of them. Besides these, large numbers of IWW adherents have joined, making the membership of the Federation at present about 9,400, of whom about 600 are also members of the United Communist Party.

XVI. The Left Wing of the Socialist Party.

Having been informed that a new Left Wing has developed within the Socialist Party, demanding unconditional acceptance of the 21 Points and affiliation with the Third International, the CEC decided to guide this movement as much as possible, with the purpose in view of bringing another split at the next Socialist Party Convention [Detroit, June 25-29, 1920].

Members of the SP who have made application for admission to the UCP were authorized to remain in the SP until the coming convention for the purpose of this propaganda. District Organizers were instructed to plant UCP members in the SP locals wherever an opportunity offered itself for the purpose of fostering a movement for the coming split.

In this, the CEC is acting in accord with instructions received from a representative of the Communist International. We were informed that the Executive of the International was of the opinion that the break in the American movement had been precipitated prematurely.

The subcommittee of the CEC held a confer-

†- Several words lost due to illegibility of the source document.

ence recently with some Socialist Party Left Wing leaders. We find that these leaders still hold that the advocacy of armed insurrection as a tactic is premature. It also holds that the backbone of the Communist movement should be a legal party, not an underground party. However, the conference resulted in much good, and another one was arranged for.

These representative Left Wing SP men announced definitely that they would split away from the SP at the next convention. They also seem to understand that the organization of a third party by themselves would be futile. We feel sure that they will soon be convinced that the Communist Party must be an underground organization, and that this underground organization must control all legal manifestations.

The idea is not to "capture" the SP, nor to build up a permanent Left Wing movement in the SP, but to split away from the SP these remaining "red" elements, so that its reactionary character will become more apparent than ever. Out of the element that splits away from the SP, only those that are fully ripe for it will be admitted to membership in the UCP.

XVII. Education.

The CEC deems the education of our own UCP membership to be a most important duty. An earnest effort is being made to develop every member into an effective propagandist for Communism. The CEC is publishing a series of lessons based upon the Party constitution and program, and every group has instructions to organize its own study class to study them.

We are endeavoring to supply these lessons in every language in which the Party has an organization. When this study is complete, it is planned to take up a series of lessons based on *The ABC of Communism* by Bukharin, for this uniform work of the elementary group study classes. Publication has also begun in the Official Organ [*The Communist*] of a series of lessons for classes of special students, based on the *Theses of the Second Congress* and on [Lenin's] *State and Revolution*. Wherever possible, teachers are sent to be present at the meetings of the group study classes.

In each sub-district, the study class leaders of each language are instructed to form language educational committees, which are connected in the general educational committees. The study class teachers them-

selves are being organized into teachers' classes. When this work has progressed sufficiently in all the districts, special lecturers are to be toured regularly to lecture before these classes of teachers on special subjects.

In a number of districts, classes are being conducted for developing public speakers, with a special view to fitting Party members to appear before labor organizations with the Communist message.

A number of legal, public study classes and Open Forums are also being conducted. For the present, each locality develops its work along these lines, independently of the others, thus minimizing the danger of interference from the authorities, but their work will gradually be coordinated on a national scale.

The CEC has also considered the establishment of Party Workers' Training Schools. It has not been possible to realize this up to the present time, but the need for such institutions is great, and some practicable plans should be worked out as soon as possible.

XVII. Defense Committee.

The work of the NDC [originally: National Defense Committee for the Defense and Relief of Class War Prisoners] has been pushed in two distinct fields: 1) Legal Defense and 2) Public Propaganda.

With the legal defense, every advantage is taken of opportunities to keep members out of jail. Bail has been secured in a reasonable time for every member whose case came to notice of the NDC before May 1st, and their cases are dragged out in court for as long as possible. In nearly every locality where the party has affiliations there is a local Defense Committee, connected with the National, and the entire machine is functioning with fair efficiency. However, the cases of arrests have been so numerous that it has been impossible to collect all the funds needed, and today the NDC is over \$10,000 in debt.

The NDC has also functioned as one of our public propaganda agencies. Several hundred mass meetings have been held under its auspices, and a large number of union meetings have been addressed by the speakers toured by the NDC. These speakers always talk Communism.

[Itemized Financial Statement followed.]

XX. Young Communist League.

The CEC recognizes the fundamental necessity for propagandizing and organizing the revolutionary Youth of the land and giving them opportunity to develop initiative, executive ability, and other qualities that are essential to service in the revolutionary movement.

Immediately after the December [1920] Convention, the CEC engaged one of the prominent members of the old Independent YPSL [Oliver Carlson] to organize the Communist Youth. He reported the organization of 20 groups in half a dozen principal cities. An Executive Committee has been appointed to serve temporarily, consisting of old Executive Committee members of the YPSL. The YCL organizer has been sent as a delegate to the Young Communist International, which will meet in Italy next month. Upon his return, a convention of Communist Youth will be called to definitely launch the YCL as a national organization.

XXI. Medical Relief Society

The last convention of the UCP, after hearing the report of the CEC upon the policy of the SRMRC [???], passed a resolution instructing all members to boycott this organization. This boycott has been effective, for it took away from the medical relief its radical leadership, the leadership which was making its campaign a success. Not daring to engage liberals and reactionaries as speakers further, because of the criticism of the UCP and being denied revolutionary speakers by the CP, its recent meetings have been failures.

Shortly after the UCP convention, realizing that the boycott would be effective, an effort was made by certain persons connected with the medical relief to mitigate the punishment, the claim being that the convention was not reliably informed as to the controversy between the CEC of the UCP and the medical relief. The CEC decided to adhere to the decision of the convention. About this same time the medical relief made an offer of \$3,000 for a series of meetings, looking upon it as a subsidy.

XXII. Friends of Soviet Russia.

The opportunity for propaganda in the field covered by the medical relief was so large that the CEC decided to permit district organizations to organize a similar organization, party controlled.

This organization is already functioning successfully in several districts, and has been provided with a National Executive and a Secretary. Within a short time it will be doing communist propaganda legally on a national scale.

XXIII. Propaganda Among the Unemployed.

Immediately unemployment was found to be general, the CEC decided upon a policy and a campaign of propaganda among out of work workers and upon organizational machinery to carry on this program.

Our policy in our unemployed agitation was the raising of palpable immediate issues upon which we could unify and lead the masses to action and towards the Communist program. Instructions were sent to the districts to call meetings of all unemployed party members, elect a provisional committee for the unemployed, slate candidates for election as a permanent committee for the unemployed to be elected at this general mass meeting.

Such unemployed committees were formed in many cities, assuming varying names, and many meetings were held under their direction. Leaflets were printed, a special unemployed edition of the ELO [English Legal Organ, *The Toiler*] was issued, and instant calls came in for a special periodical for the unemployed.

Unemployed organizations so organized under our direction were also instructed to permeate other unemployed organizations organized by labor unions. By this method, contact was established with other efforts in this line and proper leadership was given. In some districts our unemployed committees visited labor unions night after night and placed before them the program of the party relating to the unemployment situation. Two speakers now upon national tours are making the question of unemployment and the open shop their theme.

To center the activities of these various unemployed committees, a national center was established, which printed leaflets and issued circular letters to labor unions, other organizations, and individuals, as well as contribution lists, calling for donations to pay for propaganda among the unemployed.

The local unemployed committees are still active and carry on valuable work legally.

XXIV. May Day Activities.

The CEC inaugurated an elaborate campaign for action on May Day. All party affiliations were instructed to do their best to achieve a universal observance of the day on the part of the working class of this country. UCP caucuses in the unions were instructed to endeavor to arouse the unions as much, to take the lead in arranging for mass demonstrations on as large a scale as possible. A special leaflet was published for this work. Another leaflet was issued for underground distribution. Sixteen stickers were printed with revolutionary slogans. A *Red Album* was published with photos from Russia and suitable articles. Successful mass meetings were arranged by our members in many cities. One notable instance of this was in New York City, where about 10 times as many people attended the meeting held under our auspices as attended the meetings of the CP and SP combined.

With such widespread activities, it was inevitable for a number of members to be caught. The number of arrests so far, are:

District 2 [New York]	5
District 3 [Philadelphia]	38
District 4 [Pittsburgh]	11
District 5 [Cleveland]	6
District 7 [Chicago]	2
District 8 [St. Louis]	11
District 13 [Milwaukee]	4
District 14 [Syracuse]	2
Total	79

In District 3 [Philadelphia] there seems to have

been some leak in the organization, as the hour for leaflet distribution was known to the authorities.† District 1 [Boston], on the other hand, conducted its work so efficiently and carefully that not a single member was caught, although the capitalist press reported that the stickers had been pasted on the door of the chief of police.

The capitalist press generally have [given] tremendous publicity to our May Day literature, so that every worker in the land has been reached with some revolutionary message. The propaganda was worth much more than it cost.

Just prior to May Day a certain comrade was followed to the National Headquarters, from another city, and raids upon the offices resulted in the arrest of 3 comrades [Edward Lindgren, Abram Jakira, Israel Amter] and the "capture" of some documents, including CEC minutes, a few organizers' reports, vouchers, unity communications, etc. Although loss of these documents hampered us in our work, they are all of but little value to the authorities, except as material for sensational stories in the papers. We saved our party connections and the work proceeded as usual the next day from another place.

XXV. The Party Press Service.

The CEC established a press service for the legal papers of the Party. This service consists of the vital news of the week, gleaned from the capitalist press of this country and the labor press of Europe, and rewritten from the Communist point of view, carefully selected translations from Communist publications of other countries, editorials, paragraphs, and a cartoon from one of the best artists in America.

The value of this service was instantly recognized by the editors of our own papers, as well as by a number of their editors of labor papers who subscribed to the service at the rate of \$10 per month.

It is recommended that this department be developed in scope until all the legal papers of the party receive weekly the cartoon mat and the bulk of their news and editorial matter of a uniform high grade

†- We now know as a fact that there was Department of Justice penetration at a very high level of the UCP's organization in District 4 [Pittsburgh] as well. (See surveillance report of Clarence D. McKean of Edward Lindgren's visit to Pittsburgh, April 23-28, 1921, DoJ/FBI Investigative Files, NARA M-1085, reel 939, case 202600-1775-25.) Based on the arrest counts listed here, one suspects high level penetration of the UCP apparatus in District 8 [St. Louis] and quite possibly elsewhere.

character from a central bureau in charge of capable journalists who work under the direct supervision of the committee.

XXVII. Statistical and Research Bureau.

To date, nearly all the UCP literature has been translated from other languages. The Party realizes that this literature is necessary for the education of the membership and sympathizers. But to really move the masses of the American working class, we must have a literature based on the facts of the class struggle here, proving our assertions out of the life experiences of the workers right here in this country. To do this, we must have the FACTS. The CEC started a bureau to discover and compile them and make them available for our organizers, writers, editors, and speakers.

The facilities of the Bureau were put at the disposal of the Red Trade Union Bureau, but it is to be a permanent part of the UCP's work. Our Bureau has already furnished a report on the Agrarian situation, the Negro problem, the Unemployed situation. It is investigating the Ku Klux Klan, and a number of other matters.

XXVII. Agrarian Propaganda.

A preliminary report on the Agrarian situation, compiled by our Research Bureau, has been sent to Moscow. The comrade in charge of this work [Harold Ware] is now on a tour of investigation, which will take him into every typical agricultural section of the US within the next four months. He visited the county in Alabama where a score of negro peons were murdered recently by their white master. He has visited the cotton belt and the wheat belt and is now on tour in the West. When he returns, and the advice from the International reaches us, we shall be ready to launch an active propaganda campaign in the farming section. As we have been instructed to do by the International, mailing lists of all farmers reading radical publications are now being secured to compile for this purpose.

XXIX. Periodicals, Leaflets, Pamphlets.

Since the last convention of the Party, held in

December [1920], illegal publications have been published in 12 languages and in the following amounts:

English — 4 issues of 8,000 copies	32,000
Russian — 4 issues of 5,500 copies	22,000
German — 2 issues of 5,000 copies	10,000
Jewish [Yiddish] — 2 issues of 2,000 cop.	4,000
Polish — 3 issues of 2,000 copies	6,000
South Slavic — 5 issues of 5,500 copies	27,500
Estonian — 1 issue of 1,000 copies	1,000
Finnish — 2 issues of 6,500 copies	13,000
Ukrainian — 2 issues of 2,000 copies	4,000
Hungarian — 2 issues of 2,000 copies	4,000
Bulgarian — 1 issue of 2,000 copies	2,000
Lithuanian — 1 issue of 2,000 copies	2,000
Grand Total	127,500

The Party Program, adopted at the December [1920] Convention, was printed in all of these official Party organs. Preliminary to the December Convention, Party organs were also published in the Italian and Swedish languages. Of all these organs, more regular publication was had in English, Finnish, German, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, and South Slavic.

The Party has direct control of 10 legal organs in the following languages: 3 English organs [*The Toiler*], 1 each in Armenian, Bohemian [Czech], Estonian, Italian, Jewish [Yiddish], South Slavic. A Ukrainian legal organ has just been established.

The Party has editorial control (that is, such control as it can exercise over its members who are editors of sympathetic publications) over 1 English daily, one English monthly magazine [*The Liberator*], 2 English weeklies [*Truth*], 2 Finnish dailies [*Työmies*, *Toveri*], 2 Finnish weeklies, 1 Finnish monthly, 1 Hungarian daily [*Elöre*], 1 Scandinavian weekly, 1 Hungarian weekly. Control is being established over another English weekly in the West, and another English daily. Another Finnish daily [*Eteenpain*] is also being established, over which the Party will have full editorial control.

This makes a total of 35 publications under the editorial guidance of the UCP members. The monthly circulation of these publications is as follows:

12 illegal publications	40,500
Party Labor organs	142,000
Controlled legal papers...	

Finnish	621,500
Hungarian	632,000
English	200,000
Swedish	6,000
Total Monthly Circulation	1,642,000

Leaflets.

A total of 2 million leaflets were printed since the December [1920] Convention, namely:

Unemployed leaflet 1	500,000
Unemployed leaflet 2	500,000
Legal May Day leaflet	250,000
Illegal May Day leaflet	250,000
Legal Unemployment leaflet	100,000
District legal and illegal strike leaflets	
Unemployment and proclamations to Union membership	
YCL leaflets.	

These leaflets were issued in English, Italian, Jewish [Yiddish], Polish, Lithuanian, Russian, and South Slavic languages. Besides this, 640,000 stickers for the May Day campaign containing revolutionary slogans.

Pamphlets.

The Party has published a total of 45,000 pamphlets legally in 7 titles and a total of 60,000 pamphlets illegally in 7 titles.

The State and Revolution was printed in English, Finnish, South Slavic.

Program of the Communists was printed in German and English (still in stock).

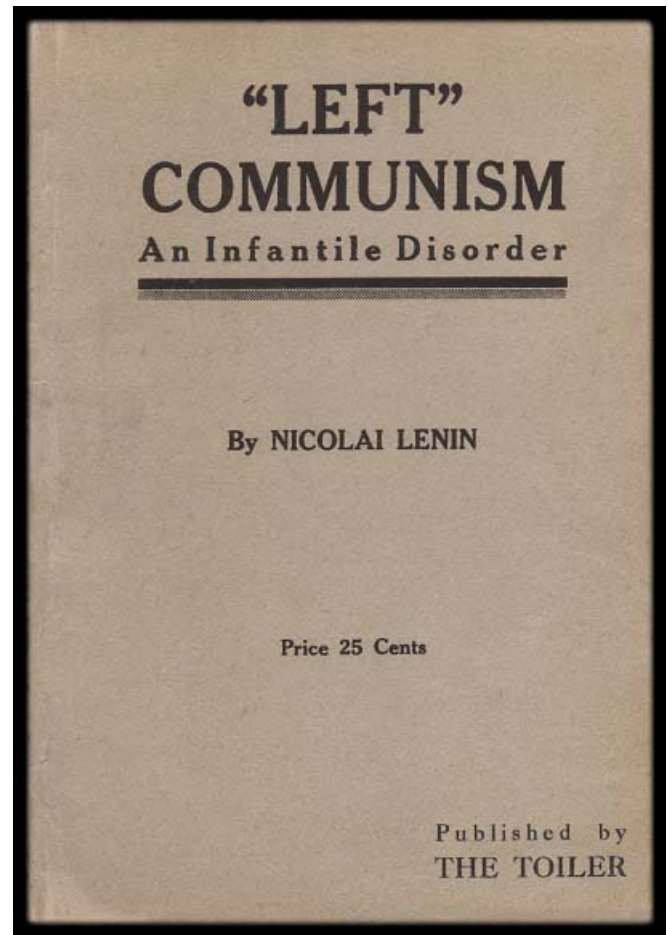
The Theses of the Second Congress was printed in English, Russian, Jewish [Yiddish], is on the press in South Slavic, and was printed in Finnish by a publishing house under control.

The Manifesto of the Second Congress was printed in English.

The Party program, besides appearing in all party organs, was published in pamphlet form in the English and Jewish [Yiddish] languages.

The ABC of Communism was published in the Russian language.

Leftism in the English language is just off the



press [see above, listing *The Toiler* as publisher].

A \$15,000 stock of South Slavic literature is on hand, all scientific classics of the revolutionary movement. The Finnish publishing houses have a tremendous stock of literature and are constantly publishing new titles.

Literature was imported from parties in other countries in the following languages: Hungarian, Italian, Polish, and German.

A total of 100,000 pamphlets were printed by the party since its inception, and about half again that many distributed through party channels.

The technical problems involved in the circulation of mass literature through underground channels are tremendous. It is a waste of energy to transmit through the roundabout underground channels literature that it is possible to circulate openly. The CEC therefore decided to make a sharper distinction between the legal and the illegal publications, and to circulate legally everything that it is possible to handle that was, so as to relieve the pressure of our under-

ground machinery and enable our organizers to devote more of their energies to the real work. Many difficulties are connected with the circulation of literature through underground channels, which most of the membership does not appreciate. Connections often break and shipments have to wait until they are reestablished. Printers get "cold feet" and publications have to wait until the publishers can be found. The delegates assembled here should explain to their membership these difficulties so that there will be a truer appreciation of the situation and less energy wasted in useless complaints.

XXX. Hungarian Federation in America.

The Hungarian Federation in America grew in size and strength at great speed during the Soviet regime in Hungary. Thus, before the January [1920] raid, it had a membership of over 3,000. It affiliated with the CP but after the raids, the leaders, most of whom never took the affiliation in good faith, used the opportunity to withdraw from the party under flimsy pretenses.

Soon after the raids the Party tackled the situation, and after some maneuvering and organization, it got the upper hand. Those of the old leaders who did not want to march with our regime were kicked out; others that had to be used but could not be trusted were replaced gradually. In order to get control of the Federation, the Party had to conduct an open attack upon it, as a result of which it was completely demoralized, and its present membership does not exceed 500, about half of which are organized into Party groups. Thus, while the Federation as such was smashed, the solid party nucleus has been formed and the propaganda machinery of the Federation, as well as the elements which could build a new Hungarian movement, are now under absolute Party control.

The propaganda machinery of the Federation consists partly of an up-to-date printing plant. The plant does the business of nearly \$20,000 a month. During the controversy, the circulation and the effect of the publication was impaired. It is kicking up again, and with a new policy toward the Federation the deficit, now amounting to \$15,000, will again be overcome.

While the propaganda work amongst the Hungarians have suffered the controversies, it is recuperat-

ing again, and during the last 3 months the Hungarian bookstore sold literature to the amount of \$7,000 and nearly \$6,000 more was sent to the Communists in Vienna.

During this white terror in Hungary, dozens of mass meetings were held all over the US exposing the Horthy regime. So effective was this work that a Hungarian minister officially stated that due to the activities of this paper instead of 150,000 only 15,000 Hungarians came home to the Horthy land; as a result, the Hungarian state treasury lost nearly \$200 million.

During the party controversies and due to a mistaken policy of the press organ towards the Hungarian IWW, the latter became very strong, absorbing hundreds of members of the Federation. The SLP Hungarian section also profited from this state of affairs. Besides the IWW and the SLP, there is one other radical association amongst Hungarian workers — the HS&DBS [???], which has about 7,000 members. This society is now under the control of our comrades. The property and machinery of the Hungarian political institutions now controlled by our comrades amount to nearly \$300,000.

To bring all the class conscious Hungarian elements under sway, it is necessary that we continue to pursue the policy distinctly favorable to the upbuilding of large legal language organizations, and apply our general tactics as to penetration policy towards the existing Hungarian Workers' organizations.

XXXI. Industrial Report.

The Industrial Department began to function ten weeks after the national convention [i.e. March 1921]. It soon discovered that there was little connection between the industrial caucuses and the Department. Few reports were made on their activities by the district organizations. The first task of the department was therefore to create a system of registration whereby the CEC might know on short notice what the strength of a given industry or union is, to enable the Committee to pursue intelligently the proper tactical course to influence issues of importance in the labor movement.

A publicity campaign was carried on in our official press the first part of which was the presentation of our general plans of organizing labor union

work, and the second part of which outlined definite tactics and a program of action.

In order to influence the radical element outside the party, it was necessary to fully develop our labor union program and to popularize it through the legal organs.

Hence reports as to the number of caucuses established in various industries were lost in recent raids, it is impossible to give specific data in this regard. Nuclei, however, are established in numerous industries in important industrial centers. The work has met with greatest success in the organization of caucuses in the International Ladies Garment Workers, Glove Makers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Food Workers, Amalgamated Metal Workers, Textile Workers, International Association of Machinists, Building Trades, IWW, United Mine Workers, and Tobacco Workers. Of late, there has been progress among the railroad and transport workers, telephone, telegraph, and postal service, as well as among the printing trades. There is a splendid opportunity to build a strong party and Left Wing movement among most of the above unions.

With all this, it is a rough beginning, not more than 20 percent of our Party workers being organized as yet for this work. Much of the progress made thus far is accountable to the enthusiastic support of sympathizers. We already control an appreciable number of local unions. Where our caucuses are well organized, we elected our candidates to Executive Boards, etc.

The prospects for organization and propaganda among the rank and file is the most excellent in the history of the labor movement. The entire membership of the AF of L is in a state of demoralization. Distrust in the leaders is general; the helpless rank and file, as proven by our recent experience, is overripe to support loyally any new force that might appear in the field capable of leading them out of their desperate situation. The Communist element can, through proper effort, inject new courage and fighting spirit into the labor unions and gain the lasting confidence of the workers.

General Policy.

The general purpose of our labor union policy was the formation of a Left Wing capable of absorb-

ing all class conscious workers for the achievement of one or the other part of our program. For this purpose, we must get over to our side not only the Communist sympathizers, but all those who agree with the principal points in our program.

XXXII. Irish Activities.

The Irish element in this country, about 18 million strong, has always been handled with special care by the ruling class. It constitutes a powerful reactionary bloc, its influence is evident in all walks of American life, its hold upon the labor movement is tremendous. More than any other section of the working class, it is in the grip and control of the clergy and of the blackest reactionaries.

The vanguard of the revolutionary workers can not ignore or leave to the sway of its enemies such an important factor as the Irish-American portion of the working class, but must, on the contrary, use all means either to wrest this weapon out of the hands of the reactionaries or to neutralize it.

In dealing with the Irish problem, the CEC took the point of view that the prime task of the party consists in bringing by all means the Irish masses nearer to Communism and to disintegrate their reactionary bourgeois ideology. It realized that in the case of the Irish workers the straight path pursued toward other of the working class sections of this country could not be applied, and maneuvering had to be resorted to. In a short time experience showed that our analysis of the situation and our tactics were correct.

Our Irish organization was established in February [1921] and a publication then published by another Irish Society [*The Irish People* ?] was taken over by our legal organization. The circulation of the paper has been increased from 2,000 to 5,000 a week and our legal Irish organization has a membership of nearly 1,000 with branches in New York, New Haven, Philadelphia, Schenectady, Syracuse, Buffalo, Akron, Seattle, Chicago, San Francisco, Albany, Troy, and other cities.

Since its inception, a great many mass meetings as well as weekly recruiting meeting have been held in New York City. Mass meetings have also been held in many other important cities of the country. The total attendance at these meetings was over 25,000. Where

regular branches have not been formed, groups as preliminary nuclei are now soliciting subscriptions for the paper and in other ways carrying the revolutionary message to the Irish workers. Irish groups of the Irish organization are being formed in the labor unions to get the Irish labor unions into action along the lines of our program and to fight Gompers & Co.

By taking advantage of the various industrial occurrences and the struggle in Ireland, nationwide publicity has been gained, and as a result our Irish organization is now of a national standing.

The success of our efforts so far justifies us in predicting that within one year a powerful Irish group will be added to the revolutionary ranks of this country.

XXXIII. The Negro Situation.

Examination of the situation among the Negroes has shown an alarming increase of race hatred, which is constantly being influenced by the provocation of the ruling class and tacitly fostered by the existing Negro organizations under bourgeois control. Almost all Negro organizations in the South and in the North are on a strictly racial basis. Labor unions or similar organizations along clear class lines are virtually not in existence among them.

The South is a reserve of potential counterrevolutionaries and strikebreakers. Unless timely and extensive communist propaganda changes the ideology of the Negro, there is a great probability of a widespread racial war between black and white, which will exclude almost all possibility of winning the Negro for the class struggle in the workers' cause in the near future.

Of late, there has been a large immigration of Negroes to the North, but even in the North, the Negro rarely joins or forms labor organizations. He remains in or joins his racial organization and his racial hatred continues.

Since the war, the ferment among the Negro has been accentuated owing to the nonfulfillment of important promises made during the war. The increasing unrest is manifesting itself in all sorts of race radicalism. A veritable organization fever has taken possession of the Negro.

Aside from a great number of secret fraternal

organizations spread throughout the South, there are a number of big organizations, the most important being controlled by the Negro petty bourgeoisie, with the tacit support of big capital. Nearly 300 Negro publications exist in this country. About two-thirds of these are controlled directly or indirectly by enemies of the working class.

It is evident from all this that bourgeois rule and provocation and Gompers' exclusion tactics have made it impossible in the past to organize the South for Labor and has definitely brought the Negro into the camp of race controversy. The Negroes' psychology is to be compared with that of 100% Nationalism. In his case, it is racialism.

But no large organization attracting the militants among the Negroes and capable of winning the sympathy of the Negro masses can be built on a straight anti-racial international platform. A frontal attack upon the Negroes' racialism will not win his sympathies, but on the contrary, it would work into the hands of our enemies, tightening their grip on the Negro.

Our tactics must therefore be to enlighten his racial feeling to class consciousness and while giving most careful attention to this real and seething racial problem, we shall interpret his racial feelings and lead him towards class action and Communism.

The big mass of Negroes flooding the North can not be ignored by labor unionism. The Negroes in the South must also be organized in the interest of labor. We shall arouse a campaign among organized labor to take a hand on a large scale in organizing the Negro. This part of the problem we shall be able to accomplish easily by an extensive use of our legal press facilities. We shall by all means develop a powerful Negro organization in the North, and secret nuclei in the South. Besides our ordinary campaigning methods of leaflets, literature, and mass organization meetings in the Negro centers, a weekly paper is absolutely necessary to carry our progress to the Negro masses.

The great millions of Negro workers, economically unorganized, racially provoked, and kept in black ignorance and superstition by the powers that be, are a menace in the class struggle, but through proper efforts and communist strategy, their frame of mind produced by bourgeois rule can unquestionably be turned in favor of the proletarian cause. The rebellious mood of the Negro produced by the excesses of the bour-

geoisie, and finding its outlet in racial hatred, may be turned towards Communism, and their hatred turned against bourgeois rule.

Preliminary preparations for Negro agitation and organization have been made, but the actual work has been delayed due to unity proceedings.

XXXIV. Conclusion.

In presenting this report of propaganda activities and needs, the CEC of the UCP realized that the results thus far achieved are insignificant compared to the tremendous task that confronts us — the winning of the great mass of the workers of this land to the revolutionary banner, the achievement of power for the American proletariat. But a good foundation has been laid, a splendid beginning has been made, in many activities that are essential to the development of a conquering working class. In all these varied lines of endeavor the membership of the UCP is now active, and every member, no matter what his talents may be, has opportunity to apply them through the UCP in the service of the proletarian revolution.

Fraternally submitted,

Central Executive Committee,
United Communist Party.

Edited with footnotes by Tim Davenport.

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