Apologizing for Liquidators.

An unsigned article from the official organ of the “minority” CPA (Central Caucus Faction).

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The “majority” group of the former CEC of the CP has issued another fraudulent publication. This time it was circulated among their membership, instead of being suppressed as was their previous number. The latest edition is supposed to be No. 6 and No. 7 combined. The first No. 6 they issued contained some truths regarding their liquidators that would have exposed them as monumental frauds and liars to their own membership, so rather than tell their members the truth and openly confess that they did conspire with the centrists of the Workers’ Council group in organizing a dual political party that was to be the instrument for the complete liquidation of the CP, they destroyed the entire edition and published another paper, calling it No. 6 and 7, combined. In the new paper the article, written by Lewis [Will Weinstone], exposing the conspiracy of the caucus for liquidation, was left out. To expose the liquidators would mean that in order to carry out instructions of the Comintern, they should be removed from office or expelled; so rather than create a break in their Centrist front they suppress the facts. They do not consider it advisable to tell their rank and file about the activities of an executive committee, especially when that committee is trying to betray the party.

In the new edition of the spurious party’s paper, Ballister [Robert Minor] devotes four pages to twisting and turning in an effort to convince the followers of the “majority” that the organization of the legal party has the approval of the Comintern. That the organization of the legal party means the liquidation of the CP is stated in plain language in the platform adopted by the legal party. It openly declares that “there has not been, up to the present time, any political organization that can lead and unify the workers against capitalism.” Such a declaration ignores the fact that a Communist Party ever existed, or that if it did exist that it was capable of unifying and leading the struggle of the masses. It implies that the legal party can unify and lead the struggle of the masses, in spite of the fact that every Communist knows that the only organization that can lead the masses in the conquest of political power is the Communist Party.

The “majority” also demonstrated its total depravity when it deliberately lied to the Comintern about conditions in the United States. In the report on the so-called Workers’ Council, organized by Engdahl, Lore & Co., Carr [Ludwig Katterfeld] made the statement that “they (the centrists in the Workers’ Council) have followers among hundreds of thousands of party-less people who previously belonged to the Socialist Party.” The best refutation of that claim is the fact that the centrists of the former “majority” and the Workers’ Council groups have been endeavoring for four months to build up a “mass” organization and still have not succeeded in getting a membership of even half a hundred thousand, to say nothing of hundreds of thousands.

The report of Carr [Katterfeld] to the Comintern was to the effect that there were thousands waiting an opportunity to flock to the standard of a legal party and that so imminent was the danger of a genuinely centrist party gaining an impregnable foothold with the masses of American workers that not a day was to be lost in launching a legal party in order to defeat the centrist aspirations. It is quite true that time was pressing as far as the Workers’ Council group of pie-card artists and fakirs was concerned. In another month they would have been bankrupt and
the gallant self-appointed leaders of the “masses” would have had to seek other means of living off the working class movement, or go to work for the people they really serve, the capitalist class.

Carr's [Katterfeld's] report implied that immediate steps toward organization of an open legal party would eliminate the centrists of the Workers’ Council. There was not any suggestion that the centrists of the former “majority” of the CEC contemplated uniting with the centrists for the purpose of forming a centrist political party. Not all the specious argument of Ballister [Minor], in his campaign of trying to fool his own members into accepting the legal party, can conceal the rank betrayal of the membership of the CP of A by the former “majority.” That the CP of A still exists is not due to the fact that any stone was left unturned by the liquidators to crush it, but solely to the fact that the genuine Communist membership could not be bamboozled or terrorized by unscrupulous centrist politicians masquerading as Communists. Those deluded members that still remain with the liquidators are becoming ever more restless as they observe the march of events. They see the Workers’ Council gang of centrists, who desired to enter the Third International in order to change it from within, gaining control of the machinery of the legal party. Out of Ballister’s [Minor’s] own mouth he convicts himself and the crew he represents of treachery to the principles of Communism. He correctly states that the Comintern has declared for participation in elections, but “not in the same manner as the social traitors and centrists.” If organizing a purely reformistic party, under control of centrists, is not participation in elections in the same manner as centrists, we would like to know what it is? One of the most notorious centrists of the Workers’ Council group, J. Louis Engdahl, is now managing editor of the official organ of the legal party [The Worker]. Other notorious centrists edit other organs, including the German daily [the Volkszeitung], edited by one of the most obnoxious and persistent centrist politicians that ever infested the American movement [Ludwig Lore].

Did Ballister [Minor] or Carr [Katterfeld] or Marshall [Max Bedacht] yet inform the Comintern the facts regarding the organization of the legal party? Did they confess that it was nothing more nor less than a public apportionment of jobs to the leaders of the would-be betrayers of the CP and the organizers of the Workers’ Council? Indeed they did not!

In addition to lying about the strength of the Workers’ Council group among the masses in the United States, Carr [Katterfeld], in his report on conditions in America made statements to the effect that “the best of the anarchists who were active in the labor movement have already joined the ranks of the Communist Party.” In the first place there have not been, for more than 30 years, any anarchists in the labor movement in the United States, with the exception of a very infinitesimal number in points in New Jersey and Massachusetts. They never made any impression anywhere on the labor movement. Anarchism has been dead for so long that it is never considered among the workers in this country. Furthermore there has been but one avowed anarchist who joined the CP. Neither Carr [Katterfeld], Ballister [Minor], nor Marshall [Bedacht] have had experience in the labor movement in this country, or any other, sufficient to enable them to discuss the movement intelligently, to say nothing of speaking authoritatively. In his report he also states that “of the Proletarian Party only a few local groups have remained; all the rest of the members have gone over to the Communist Party.” There has never been a single branch of the Proletarian party affiliated with the former “majority” of the CEC, and as for the membership in general of that party there is not a single ex-member supporting the legal party organization and the former “majority.” The opinion of all the members of the Proletarian Party was summed up in the denunciations which their fraternal delegates hurled at the legal party on the floor of their convention [Dec. 23-26, 1921].

The contemptible trickery of Ballister [Minor] well supplements the misrepresentation of Carr [Katterfeld] and we presume will be further elaborated by Marshall [Bedacht], who all his life has been a peanut politician and a trimmer who, like the Centrists of the Workers’ Council group, has no principles that cannot be abandoned for a job.

Ballister [Minor] resort to probably the vilest trick that has ever been inflicted upon the Communist movement of America by writing a creed of his own, wherein he accuse Dobin [Dirba], Henry [Ashkenuzi], and Moore [Ballam] of “violating the principles of Communist honor” and heading the article
“Decision by the Communist International.” The reader may easily be led to believe that Ballister’s [Minor’s] article is really an official document of the Comintern, whereas the Comintern has never sanctioned any such article. The headlines of that article should have been “What the Centrists of the Former Executive Committee of the CP Would Like the Comintern to Say.”

In the report of Ballister [Minor] he also quotes the Theses of the Comintern to the effect that the tendency toward liquidation is very dangerous to the revolutionary movement and that “party members who persist in such views must be ruthlessly expelled from the party.” We would like to know how this mandate has been applied by the former “majority” of the CEC. Were those Centrists who openly introduced motions to liquidate the party, according to the report of Lewis [Weinstein], appearing in the suppressed No. 6 of The Communist, expelled from the party? Were those with a tendency toward liquidation, like Cook [Cannon] and Raphael [Bittelman], disciplined for their activities? Indeed they were not! Instead all of them are today on the payroll of their so-called party.

Again the treachery of the former “majority” is shown when they published what purports to be the decision of the CI on the minority appeal. The almost unbelievable deception practiced on the Comintern by the Centrist delegates of the former majority can be better understood in relation to a statement appearing in the decision of the Comintern. Says the decision:

“There is no occasion to reopen the question here, since the Theses fully cover the subject. You must work out the details of the problem in accord with the provisions of the Theses and all party members must work in agreement with them.”

It does not require a Marxist theoretician to perceive that the Theses were entirely ignored in the organization of the Workers Party. The Theses have been deliberately and studiously ignored in order to maintain the support of the avowed centrists. When the Theses are mentioned in defense of the conspirators who tried to betray the CP of A to Centrism, a number of questions confront them, which they must answer in the negative, thereby pleading guilty to the treachery with which we have repeatedly charged them. Did they expel the liquidators? Did they call an underground convention to prepare for the public launching of the legal apparatus? Did they prevent the Centrists from organizing a party? The explanation of the former majority to the effect that they did not “have time” to call a convention of the underground is a plain lie, a part and parcel of the fabric of lies that has been created so that the tricksters can defend themselves before the Comintern.

Finally there has been no recognition of the WP by the Comintern and there has been no final decision on the party problems in America in relation to the organization of that Centrist party. Our Secretary has received a communication to the effect that the Comintern will make no decision in relation to the American question until the report of the international delegate has been received and considered.

It would be a source of great satisfaction to these traitors to know that they could receive a final and favorable decision, or that they could bluff the membership of the CP of A into believing their lies, but such is not the caliber of the membership.

Just as we have exposed the treachery of these Centrist liquidators here, so we must expose them before the movement of the entire world. As to continuously engaging in polemics with unscrupulous liars, we deeply regret that our official organ has been compelled to serve that purpose. But this reply to them is final as far as we are concerned. The question will be definitely settled through regular channels and our magazine will continue its work as it should, that is, as the party organ concerned with the problems of Communism. We shall continue to criticize and expose every act of treachery to the working class perpetrated by the Centrists of the WP, but their attacks upon us are unworthy of further notice. The majority of the membership of the CP of A was not fooled into acceptance of the WP, and are proceeding with the work of Communism in the United States in accordance with the principles and tactics of the CI.