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Appeal to the Minority Membership

*by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America
Section of the Communist International*

Comrades:—

The Communist International has once and for all ended the cause for controversy in our ranks over the formation of an L. P. P.

Today, all loyal Communists must find themselves in the ranks of the Communist Party of America, the American Section of the Communist International. For months you have been kept out of the Communist International by your misleaders. They have called upon you to break every vestige of Party discipline. They have misinformed you as to the aim of your Central Executive Committee and the stand of the Communist International. They have deliberately lied to you at every turn of the road.

First, your misleaders urged you to resist the Communist International's mandate to form an L. P. P. even going to the point of breaking up the Communist Party. Then you were told by the same self-appointed saviors of Communism that it is your task as Communists to defy all Party authority and repudiate

all Communist obligations until their appeal is acted upon by the Communist International.

The Answer Definite.

For months these feverish disruptive activities went on. Then came the answer of the Communist International to this appeal thru Comrades Bukharin, Radek, and Kuusinen. The answer was clear and definite. These tried leaders of the world revolution said: 1. "The minority members of the Party must submit to the decision of the majority loyally and without question. Without this party discipline, Communist Party activities are impossible." 2. "The Executive of the Communist International has resolved to support the position of the majority of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party in America in favor of the immediate construction of a legal political party on a national scale." 3. "The entire membership of the underground party, the real Communist party, must join in the open party, and must become its most active elements".

What was the answer of those who have so criminally driven you out of the ranks of the vanguard of the world revolution—out of the fold of the Communist International? Their answer was a vile, slanderous attack on such spokesmen of the Comintern as Lenin, Bukharin, Radek and Zinoviev by branding all the Communist International's documents as forgeries. Though bitterly opposed to and fighting the C. I. they brazenly labeled themselves its American Section. To the credit of Comrade Dow it must be said that he could not continue tolerating this sabotage of Communism and completely dissociated himself from his former colleagues.

While this vicious campaign of breaking up the Communist International in America was going on, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America, anxious to heal the wounds so deliberately inflicted upon the Communist movement, called upon you to come back to membership with full rights on the basis of the C. I. decision and Party authority.

Another Effort.

The Communist International made another effort to win you back to its ranks in the American Section. In a subsequent resolution communicated to the Central Executive Committee the Communist International sustained the Party one hundred percent in the formation of an L. P. P., and said: 1. "There is no occasion to reopen the question here, since the Theses fully cover the subject." (These are the same Theses branded as forgeries by your misleaders.) 2. "The action of the minority in refusing to submit to the decisions of the Party Executive, pending their appeal, constitutes a serious and intolerable breach of discipline, and it was proper for you to suspend those that interfered with the work."

Subsequently Moore, formerly a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America, appeared in person before the Executive Committee of the Communist International in behalf of the minority whose opinion he championed. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has sent us the following as its answer to the appeal as made by Moore; "Henry, Curtis Dow faction is instructed to stop using our party name and seal. They must dissolve and rejoin our party immediately or lose their membership in the Communist International. Moore is wiring them to stop competing and attacking our Party. You must permit them to return to the Party without prejudice and postpone your convention so that they may be able to participate." signed "Executive Committee of the Communist International."

Comrades this settles the issue. The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America, has addressed a letter to the three former members of the Central Executive Committee who so criminally misled you, calling upon them to inform you of this the final instruction received by them from the Communist International through their own spokesman Moore (Curtis). All Communists must forthwith return to the ranks of the Communist Party of America, Section of the Communist International.

Return to the Ranks.

Comrades do not be fooled by false cries. Come back to the Communist International. Take your place in the ranks of the vanguard of the world proletariat led by Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Radek, Zinoviev, Kuusinen. Rejoin the American Section of the Communist International. There can be no longer any excuse for a Communist to stay out of the Party. The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America, Section of the Communist International, heartily welcomes your return to membership with full rights upon your accepting the C. I. decision as given above. Apply to group captains, branch committees and section committees at once for reinstatement. All the subdivisions of the Party have been instructed to facilitate your speedy return. We have postponed our convention so as to enable you to participate. Our party units are pledged to do their all to achieve an immediate unification of Communist forces. The Communist Party of America today is confronted with difficult and grave tasks. It is your duty as Communists to help in the solution of these problems and fight side by side with us.

Join with us in the common struggle against the common enemy—capitalism. Let us close our ranks and solidify our forces for an attack that will bring victory to the working class.

ON WITH THE COMMUNIST TASK!

ON WITH THE COMMUNIST STRUGGLE!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA!

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America, Section of the Communist International.

Executive Committee of the C. I. to C. P. of A.

To the C E C of the C P of A.

Comrades ,

The appeal of a minority of Your Committee against Your decisions regarding the organization of a legal political Party and Your answer to the appeal have been received. Your reply is in perfect harmony with the Theses recently adopted on this subject by the E.C. of the C.I., and which You have undoubtedly already received.

There is no occasion to re-open 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.

The action of the minority in refusing to submit to the decisions of the Party Executive, pending their appeal, constitutes a serious and intolerable breach of discipline, and it was proper for you to suspend those that interfered with the work. However, we should endeavour to enforce this necessary Party discipline in such a manner as to leave as little permanent disorganization as possible. We advise that when you inform the minority membership of this decision you also convey to them your desire to reinstate at once with full membership rights suspended Comrades willing to conform to the Theses on Legal Activities sent to you by the E.C. of the C.I. and to the decisions of your C.E.C. in harmony therewith.

With communist greetings

The Executive Committee of the Communist
International



Call for the Second National Convention

of the C. P. of A., formed at the Joint Unity Convention of the C. P. and U. C. P. Issued by the Central Exec. Comm. of the C. P. of A.

Comrades,—

With the publication of this call the party must begin preparations for its coming National Convention. This will be the Second Annual Convention of the American Section of the Communist International. The Joint Unity Convention of a year ago, at which a single party was formed, is considered as the First Convention. The critical importance of this convention lies in its great responsibility as the supreme authority of the only party representing in this country the Communist International.

Many and far reaching changes have occurred in our movement within this comparatively short interval of time. Under the guidance of the Communist International the Central Executive Committee of our party has taken a number of important steps towards bringing us in close and effective contact with the Working Class and its mass-organizations. For the first time since the inception of our movement the C. P. of A. has made a determined advance toward becoming a living factor in the class-struggle. This fact is reflected in the Agenda for our coming convention.

The Communist Party working under unlegalized conditions cannot have recourse to a democratic referendum among all the members of the party, but on the contrary it empowers its leading central organ, the C. E. C., to make important decisions in emergencies on behalf of all members of the party. During the past year such a necessity arose. In the coming National Convention the rank—and—file, through its delegates will pass finally upon the manner and form in which the C. E. C. has carried out certain extremely important mandates of the Third Congress and the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Especial and extraordinary efforts must therefore be made to insure that this convention shall be a full expression of the opinion of the rank—and—file.

Where for any reason the Good Standing of any party unit has been lost, or made questionable, but where such unit wishes now to reaffirm its loyalty to the party and to the Communist International and its submission to the authority of the Central Executive Committee of the party, such unit will be allowed full participation in the coming party elections.

Chief among the problems to be solved by this convention will be the question of extending the activities of our party still further into the politically backward and passive masses of the working class of America. Our first attempt to overcome the barrier between us and the laboring masses, set up by the Capitalist State by driving our party underground, was successful. But the means which we have created for

breaking our isolation is not yet in proper shape, and our party through this convention must further develop the art of directing this organ to the best interests of the communist movement. It will be therefore, one of the main tasks of this coming convention to give the party such a policy as to enable it to deal successfully with the various complicated problems of tactics and organization arising out of this particular phase of our party's work.

This, however, will dispose only of a part of the general problem of bringing our party into close and intimate relations with the vital realities of the class struggle. The general problem itself is by a series of strategic actions to place our party in such a position with respect to the reactionary labor leaders and social patriots as will make every effort of ours count against them in an immediate and practical sense.

It is in this light that the Convention will have to consider and act upon the policy of the United Front, advanced by the E. C. of the C. I.

Another important subject that will claim the attention of the Convention will be to stimulate the work of our industrial nuclei and to fix their method of control of our legal organs. The recent extensions of our activities on the industrial field have created a number of new problems. Here, the Convention will be able to record considerable progress and valuable experience upon which to base its decisions for the future.

These are the really big issues confronting our party at present. In finding the correct solutions for the problems mentioned above, the Convention will find the cure for the left sickness and liquidation sickness inside and outside of our party, which impair the healthy growth of a Fighting Organization.

The Agenda will serve as a tentative order of business proposed by the C. E. C. for the Convention. The party press will from now on and until the Convention be open for a discussion of the Agenda and the Theses, which will follow. This is the time when every member, who disagrees with the prevailing policies, should come forward with criticism and constructive suggestions. We must bring to light and must subject to a critical review the important and vital experience of our party since the Unity Convention.

It is only through a searching analysis of our past policies and experiences that we can make the Convention representative and secure for its decision a whole-hearted support of a United Party.

(Signed) L. C. WHEAT,

Exec. Secy, C. P. A., Sect. of the C. I.

Agenda and Theses of the Convention

Proposed by the C. E. C. of the C. P. of A.

1. Report of the C. E. C.
2. Report on the Third Congress.
3. Decisions of the C. I. on American question.
4. Party problems of the present.
 - a) Left sickness.
 - b) Liquidation sickness.
 - c) Centrist Danger.
 - d) Constructive measures.
5. United front.
6. Legal political activities.
 - a) Nature of legal political organ.
 - b) Relations of legal political organ.
 - c) Questions of program.
 - d) The coming elections.
 - e) Question of a labor party.
7. Labor Union activity.
 - a) Function of Nuclei.
 - b) Relations of nuclei to legal instruments.
 - c) Consolidation of unions.
 - d) Elimination of craft lines.
 - e) Shop Delegates and Shop Committees.
 - f) Dual Unionism.
 - g) Independent Unions.
 - h) A Trade Union Left Wing.
8. Imperialism.
 - a) Militarism and Armaments.
 - b) Colonial Question.
 - c) Recent Treaties by American Government.
 - d) Future Wars.
 - e) Help to prevent an attack on first Workers' Soviet Republic.
9. New Economic policy of R. S. F. S. R.
10. Relief of Famine.
11. Press.
12. Agrarian Problems.
13. Young Communist League.
14. Pan American Congress of Communist Parties.
15. Communist Activity among Working-Class Women
16. The Negro Question in the Class Struggle.
17. Nationalistic Movements Among the Workers.
18. Defense.
19. Federations.
20. Program.
21. Constitution.
22. Election of the C. E. C.

Every group in the Party must discuss seriously the agenda. A theses on various items of the Agenda will be sent to the groups as soon as ready.

L. C. WHEAT,
Executive Sec'y., C. P. A.

United Front in America

The revolutionary Labor Movement all over the world has slowed up after the set back of the supreme effort through out Europe of the years 1918—21. The present period is characterized by the apparent re-entrenchment of the Capitalists who are everywhere on the offensive, despite the fact that the disintegration of Capitalism proceeds and creates the conditions for a new revolutionary outbreak. The workers, in their present condition are not able to carry on an effective defensive movement. The conspiracies of the capitalists to undermine the power of the labor unions, to lengthen the hours and to decrease wages are, as a rule, meeting with success.

The present conditions breed in the laboring masses generally a great desire for unity as they realize instinctively that without solidarity they are helpless before the onslaught of the organized capitalists. Under these conditions the Communist International points out the necessity of the adoption of tactics to meet the present situation. Therefore it raises the slogan of the United Front of Labor against the capitalist reaction.

What does the Communist International, mean by the policy of the United Front? It means that the Communists call upon all organizations of labor, industrial and political, regardless of their ultimate political programs, to join with them in a common struggle against the capitalists on the grounds of present immediate needs of the workers. It is intended to consolidate all the forces of labor, to raise the morale of the workers as a class and, by means of effective common action, to infuse them again with a sense of their power. Only by uniting all their forces on the basis of issues upon which they all can agree is of fundamental importance will the workers be able to halt the capitalist reaction and make an effective resistance.

The United Front, as proposed by the Communists, does not in any sense of the word mean organizational unity. It simply means that we are to cooperate with the other parties and groups in a common struggle over a certain period on certain immediate issues. It does not mean a merging together of the organizations into one body. An essential feature of the Unit-

ed Front policy as laid down by the Communist International is that the Communists retain at all times and under all conditions their own independent party and that they enter into no contracts or agreement whatever to limit or hamper their freedom of criticism. In fact without this condition the United Front of Labor becomes impossible, because only when they are driven by the Communist Party will the other parties and factions of labor agree to a real cooperation for the common struggle against the capitalists.

By raising the slogan of the United Front the Communist International has two purposes in view. One is to drive the leaders of the other political factions into the joint struggle or to discredit them before their followers because of their refusal. The second purpose is to put the Communist Party into closer contact with the daily struggles of the workers and to prove to them that the Communist Party not only points to the final goal of the struggle, but that Communism is the only practical platform on which the workers can stand and fight in defense of their immediate interests. The United Front as a Communist tactic is unassailable under the present conditions and although the American Party confronts a somewhat different task from that of the European Parties the principle and practice would hold good here.

The policy of the United Front in America has two aspects which differentiate it in its application from the policy as applied to Europe. In Europe generally the Communists have to deal with powerful Social Democratic parties whose influence they must overcome in the process of solidifying the fighting front of the workers. Moreover the European Parties are usually themselves large and influential parties, bodies that meet the other parties as formidable rivals before the working masses. The proper strategy, in conjunction with conditions which grow ever more favorable

for them, will give into their hands the actual leadership.

America presents a quite different situation. We have no powerful Social Democratic Party to contend with; and our own Party is itself very weak—a thin voice crying out in the wilderness of reaction. Because of the weakness of our labor movement and our lack of contact with it the United Front assumes proportions of considerable importance for us in America. It would be foolish for us to imagine that we would be able in the immediate future to gain leadership by raising the slogan of the United Front. What we can do, however, is to gain for the first time, the ear of the masses and appear before them as the champions of solidarity in the daily struggle; to present by this means for the first time a real opposition to the Labor bureaucrats who throttle the struggles of the workers. At the same time we can draw closer to us the rank and file members of the jarring revolutionary sects and show up in their true light the phrase mongers and hair splitters who are incapable of taking part in a real struggle; also, if we plunge into the effort for the creation of a United Front with all our enthusiasm, we will defeat all the efforts of the reformists to come into a central position by demonstrating that it is the Communists who know best how to fight the capitalists practically and realistically.

So much for the tactical advantages of this policy. But that is not all. The general good of labor will be served thereby. We will be contributing, to the extent that we are able, to the strengthening of the organizations of the workers and the building up of their fighting spirit for the struggle from which they can not escape. The benefits to the working masses are benefits to the Communist Party. For the axiom of Marx holds good today, as always; "The Communists have no interests separate and apart from the interests of the working class as a whole."

Legal Political Activities

a) Nature of the legal political organ.

1. The legal political organ is to be a means enabling the Communist Party to function in open contact with the masses in the class struggle and to become the revolutionary party of the masses. It is to participate actively in all phases of the class-struggle on a platform that will go as far toward the Communist Program as is possible while continuing a legal political existence.

"The entire membership of the underground party, the real Communist Party must join the open party and become its most active element. Communist Party members must, at all times, hold the positions of leadership in the legal party. In addition to the

entire Communist Party membership, the legal party should admit to its ranks the more advanced workers who accept the principle of the class struggle and the abolition of capitalism through the establishment of The Workers' Power. Working-class organizations that subscribe to these principles can be admitted to or affiliated with the local party as a body, within the judgement of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party." (from the decision of the Communist International on the American question.)

b) Relations to legal political organ.

1. It follows from the above that the leadership and control of the legal political organ must be retained by the Communist Party of America; also that the

seat of party authority and leadership for the membership of the C. P. of A. continues to reside within its organization which is the American Section of the Communist International.

2. Hence the Party membership must function in the legal political organ as a unit subject and responsible to the respective units of the Communist Party.

c) Questions of Program:

The program of the **Legal Political Organ** is to have for its basis the general principle of the class struggle, with the establishment of the **Workers' Republic** as its final political objective, defining the form the Workers' government will take and differentiating it from a parliamentary republic.

d) The program should contain a list of partial demands calculated to arouse the workers to the def-

ense of their interests in a struggle of class against class.

e) Question of a Labor Party.

1. The immediate tactical objective of the C. P. of A. is to bring about the participation of the working class of America in independent political action.

2. Hence we must adopt such a strategic course as will encourage and assist the so-called progressive elements in the labor movement to break away from the political policy of Gompers of supporting candidates of bourgeois parties and to initiate a movement for the formation of a Labor Party.

3. In pursuing such a policy the Communist Party of America and its legal organ shall of course retain their organizational independence and freedom of criticism and propaganda in accord with their own program.

Labor Union Activity

a) Functions of Nuclei.

A Communist nucleus, formed out of the members of the Communist Party in each union, undertakes to transform the Union into a revolutionary fighting organism. The Communist nucleus, in an exclusive caucus, decides its own position on a given problem before the Union. There must be built up around this nucleus a sympathetic following of those who, while not so clear in their views, will fight in the immediate present with the Communists on the concrete issues that arise from day to day.

For the purpose of developing maximum organized strength in the Unions, the Communist Party organizes units of the members of its legal political organ. The members of the Communist Party organize themselves as a unit within the respective unit of the legal political organ and use it as their means of contact with the other elements in the Unions and as the means thru which the policies of the Communist Party of America are publicly advocated.

For crystalizing and educating a sympathetic following in the Unions, the Communists create or participate in the creation of certain organizations of the more advanced workers in the Unions. These may take various forms, such as movements for improving the type of union structure, industrial, educational movements, etc. It should be the aim of the Communists to gain the dominant influence in these organizations and to make of them instruments for the general Communist purpose of revolutionizing the unions.

Within a labor Union, the main purpose of organizations of this type must be to bring about a further crystalization, wider than itself—that is, to bring about a "left bloc" of the radical section of the Union.

Such a left bloc is to include not only those who adhere to the instrument organizations but also all other Union members sincerely willing to fight with the Communists on an immediate issue. In contending for an issue on the floor of the Union, the argument and voting alignment will show the identity of the class-conscious Union members. These will be drawn into caucuses on a concrete question before the Union; and such a caucus as it begins to meet regularly or whenever critical issues come up, and to hang together with some consistency, will constitute the "left block" of the Union. Around this caucus no line should be drawn to exclude workers because of differences of opinion on questions not directly related to the issues upon which the fight is being made. Thus it would include left socialists, syndicalists, anarchists, and militant trade unionists that show a fairly consistent willingness to go with the Communists on the immediate issues. This caucus should meet under a slogan that will not exclude any class conscious group because of unclearness as to political parties, parliamentary action, etc. In short, **within the Union**, the standard, working, legal caucus is the **entire left section** of the Union, as mobilized on the issues actually in dispute. It is the duty of the Communists by concrete practice, to educate this entire sympathetic bloc to the necessity of disciplined action—which is the elementary lesson leading up to the understanding of the role of the Communist Party and the need of revolutionary political action.

b) Relations of Nuclei to legal instruments.

The Communist nucleus must not be contented with leaving the sympathetic elements in the condition

of merely sympathizing, but must make persistent and carefully planned efforts to educate the sympathetic group up to the point where its best members will be ready to join the Communist nucleus and Party as conscious Communists. A constant progression is necessary crystalizing always a new enveloping circle of those who align themselves with the Communists on issues before the Union, and constantly drawing the best developed of this material, first into the instrument organizations, and then into the disciplined Communist Party. The actual issues that come before the Union as a result of the Labor struggle must be the subject-matter upon which the subject-lessons in Communism must begin and class-consciousness developed. But further enlightenment in Communist principles must be cultivated thru the meetings and other activities of the instrument organizations, thru the distribution of literature selected according to individual sympathizers' readiness to receive it, and thru discussion in the "left bloc caucus". The Communist nucleus and following must be extended until the Union as a whole falls into leadership of the Communists and becomes a weapon of the Revolution.

The members of the Communist Party working as a unit within the respective unit of the legal political Party must aim to gain the leadership of it and thru it the leadership of the entire left section, which leadership is ultimately to develop into the leadership of the whole Union. But educating **others** is not the only task of the Communists; they must educate **themselves** to be **capable** of taking the leadership. This must be done by the most careful study of the structure of the Union and its manner of functioning. Mechanical or arbitrary control is not desirable, even if it were possible. Arrogant methods must absolutely be rejected by Communists. They must strive to **convince** the sympathetic workers of the correctness of their policies; only in this way can enthusiastic co-operation and growth of the "left bloc" be brought about. It may sometimes be necessary for the Communist nucleus to concede points not involving a vital principle of the class struggle, and to stand with the "left bloc" even in a mistaken decision.

In forming or utilizing fighting left caucuses within Unions, we oppose the policy of making these militant sections into distinct organizations with membership cards, dues, etc. The "left bloc" must be regarded as an integral and inseparable part of the Union. We fight in the name of the Union, not as a strange element within it; and this is the only policy consistent with the determination ultimately to lead the Union as a whole.

Consolidation of Unions.

Communists must lay their plans always with a view to bringing the largest possible number of work-

ers into a single organization. The principle is; One union in each industry. The effort to direct a union into revolutionary channels must not take the form of splitting the radical section away. It is necessary to have revolutionary Unions. But it is also necessary NOT to have reactionary unions side by side with the revolutionary unions. Industrial Unionism must be attained by the "left blocs" (remaining within the existing Unions) working tirelessly to consolidate all of the various Unions in each industry, into a single industrial Union. Thus in the Coal Mining Industry we will not tolerate schemes for breaking "radical" sections of the U. M. W. of A. and will oppose all efforts to introduce new competing unions in the coal mining field, while fighting vigorously at the same time to support the militant sections within that Union and to bring the Union as a whole to revolutionary tactics under Communist leadership. On the same principle, we will fight to consolidate all of the Building Trades into a single Industrial Building Trades Union; the Metal Trades into a single Industrial Metal Trades Union; the Needle Trades into a single industrial union; the Railroad Unions into a single industrial Union of Railroad Workers, etc. The present tendencies in some of these, such as the tendency in the railroad unions and in the building trades in Chicago to amalgamate the various craft organizations, will be pushed vigorously by the Communists. Now especially is the time when the workers can understand the proof that the life of unionism itself depends upon such amalgamation.

Elimination of Craft Lines.

In the process of amalgamating trades within the same industry, the organizational seperateness of the various crafts tends to disappear. But this does not automatically follow in all cases. In some unions, certain differences in routine technical requirements will preserve a degree of seperateness for crafts even after the field has been practically brought under a single industrial union. An objective consideration of these differences will not delay, but rather hasten successful amalgamation. Recognizing that amalgamation is a process requiring successive steps, the Communists will nevertheless work with all possible rapidity to reach the industrial union system to cover every field of labor. It is necessary immediately to escape from the employers' trap of craft autonomy in making wage agreements, seperate craft strikes not supported by other crafts of the industry, and seperate craft leadership in a strike of several crafts. The necessity for these simple principles of solidarity will intensively agitate and will form an opening wedge for the further campaign to bring about complete, revolutionary industrial unionism.

Relief of Famine.

The supreme duty of all Communist parties of the World, consistent with maintaining and developing to the highest degree the workers' militancy in the class struggle against the bourgeoisie, is to come to the rescue of our Russian brothers stricken by the famine. This can be done and must be done in each country on the widest national scale. No political lines must be allowed to divide the workers on this issue. But to the workers, and especially the American workers, falls the heaviest sacrifice. With all the present predicament of the workers in this country, we must approach the task in the belief that the American workers are better able to give than the workers of any other of the war-stricken lands. Not only the more politically advanced, but **all** the workers equally must be appealed to. Not on the basis of political sympathy, but upon the basis of the universal sympathy of worker to worker, will this task be based. Among the various organizations for famine relief which come into existence, the Communists will never introduce the spirit of rivalry, but always the spirit of complete cooperation for the greatest possible results in food for the starving peasants and the hungry workers of Soviet Russia. But because of their greater understanding of the consequences of disaster in revolutionary Russia, the Communists must everywhere give most generously and work most tirelessly in this cause.

The Agrarian Problem.

In America over forty million people live on farms. Most of these are farm families operating small farm home units. The products, the struggles and the psychology of these semi-proletarian farmers constitute our **AGRARIAN PROBLEM**.

We must not expect these semi-proletarian farmers with their passion for land ownership to subscribe to the entire Communist program. We must so direct their struggles and attack against the Capitalist System that they become our allies in the revolutionary struggle. This can be accomplished only by developing communist nuclei among them.

Communist nuclei must penetrate existing farm organizations. These organizations must be led away from their reformist tendencies and induced to make revolutionary demands upon their exploiters.

We must gain control of educational farm organizations. With these vehicles we could penetrate all farm organizations; carrying the slogan of unity between City and Farm producers.

Lastly we must establish a national agrarian ma-

gazine which will strive for leadership in the farmers revolt, and will serve to unite and direct party nuclei thruout the **AGRARIAN MOVEMENT**.

Federations.

In the United States where we have a great non-English speaking population the Language Sections serve as the organs of the Party for agitation and organization among the non-English working-masses.

The non-English speaking workers can as a rule comprehend our principles and tactics much more easily in their own languages. The Language Section is therefore a medium of great importance for propaganda and agitation.

In general the constitution adopted at the Unity Convention covers the question of federations. But our experience in collection of Federation dues through the district organizations has shown us that this plan is of benefit neither to the party nor to the Federation. We recommend that the Language Sections should be allowed to collect dues directly from their membership and to remit monthly a fixed per centage to the National Office of the Party.

Election of C. E. C.

The incoming Central Executive Committee will face responsibilities greater than have ever before been faced by a revolutionary committee of workers in this country. The Convention must create the strongest possible organic head of the Party. To accomplish this aim, all of the petty factionalism which is at present tearing the fabric of our Party, which has no place in a Communist party, but is a sign of immaturity, must be swept aside by the Convention.

All phases of party opinion within the disciplined ranks acknowledging the authority of the International and of the Party Central Executive, and not merely the views of the most numerous Party membership, should be reflected in the Central Executive Committee of the Party. No disloyalty to the Party or flouting of its central authority, no refusal of the decisions of the Communist International, and no departure from the essential principles of Communism, are tolerated in a Communist Party. But all substantial minority views which do not depart from such principles of loyalty, nor fail in disciplined submission to the party central organs of authority, should be represented by members on the Central Executive Committee of the Party.

The present Central Executive Committee of the Party will ask the Convention to put this principle into practice.

**[Theses on other points of the Agenda will be published
in the next issue of the Communist. — EDITOR]**

Our Minority

A Frank Talk to the Members of the Opposition

By A. RAPHAEL

It is about time that we have a frank talk, comrades. All this camouflage that your leaders are setting up, as for instance the publication of an "official organ", calling yourselves the American section of the C. I., charging the C. E. C. of the C. P. of A. with bluffing the International, etc., etc. — all this will avail you nothing. You are merely helping a few men to play a criminal and dastardly game against the Communist movement of America, which can result in but one thing—in disgraceful failure for all its participants.

Plain Talk.

There is really no excuse at the present moment for anyone to continue to support the vicious activities of Henry, Moore and Co. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has spoken to you in plain and simple words. There is no room for interpretation. The decision of the C. I. was delivered by Comrade B. to the conference of the former "minority" on the C. E. C. that they must submit to the decisions of the majority, loyally and without question. This command the leaders of the minority refused to obey. More than that they proceeded to form a party of their own whose main purpose is, according to the decision of their own conference, to obstruct and sabotage the realization of the policy of the C. E. C. of the C. P. of A. approved by the executive committee of the Communist International. Now, the question is, what are the members of the opposition going to do about it?

Ignorance Does not Excuse.

It is perfectly clear that the rank and file of the opposition must make up their minds pretty quick. They cannot continue for any length of time to support a game that is plainly and clearly playing into the hands of our common enemy. The plea of ignorance will not clear them of responsibility.

By this time there ought not to be a single comrade in the opposition ignorant of the fact that the party against whom their "leaders" are carrying on their campaign of villification is the American Section of the Communist International. This fact alone should make the comrades of the opposition think and quickly reach a decision.

Nor should it be difficult to decide which way to go. Now that Moore, Henry and Co., have had a chance to deliver themselves—in their own organ—of their spiritual wisdom and political sagacity, can there

still be any doubt in anybody's mind as to what these men really represent? Take their organ and study it. They say they are in complete accord with the Communist International. This is the **Leit Motiff** of all their writings. But watch them coming down to concrete propositions, to brass tacks, and what do you find?

A Reminder.

Says Moore in No. 7. of his official organ:

In those countries where because of its program the capitalist dictatorship forces the party underground, the illegal party is required to organize the necessary legal apparatus, under the control and direction of the illegal Communist Party as a part of its organizational machinery, in order to conduct the party's **OPEN, LEGAL PROPAGANDA**; (caps ours) maintain contact with the masses; and to prevent the underground organization from becoming an isolated sect.

It wouldn't hurt reminding Brother Moore that once upon a time (not very long ago) he was violently opposed to the formation of an organization even for open, legal propaganda. Now, he accepts it. Very well. But how about forming a legal **political party**? Are you in favor or against?

You will agree comrades, that this is a very pertinent question. For it is precisely on this question that the former minority on the C. E. C. (Henry, Moore and Dobin) challenged and openly defied the authority of the C. E. C. It is on this issue that the Executive Committee of the C. I. ruled definitely and finally in favor of a legal political party. Now, if the official organ of Henry, Moore and Co. is with the Third International it must logically be in favor of a legal political party? But is it?

Moore's Vagaries.

Judging by the whims of Moore, it is not. Moore, you see, is willing to go into the open, only as far as making propaganda, that is, delivering a speech once in a while, publishing a weekly that nobody reads, etc. The real work, the work of preparing for and participating in electoral campaigns, the work of organizing wide circles of communist sympathizers and class-conscious workers in general into a fighting organization under communist leadership—all this big and important work Moore would prefer to do, not in the open but underground. Isn't that so Brother Moore? Let's hear a denial.

Doing it Right along.

If that denial ever comes it will be something like this: Electoral campaigns? Sure, we believe in electoral campaigns. We are going to set up special machinery for that purpose. And as to organizing the communist sympathizers, weren't we doing it right along through our industrial nuclei?

It will do us no good to inquire of Henry and Moore, who have been in control of the original C. P. organization since its inception until six months ago, in what particular electoral campaign have they participated? Because they have taken part in none. It will also be a waste of time to have Henry and Moore tell us—even in secret—into what particular organization they have succeeded in organizing the communist sympathizers that their nuclei are coming in contact with. Because there are no such organizations. It will be more to the point to have them tell us what they'll do with their electoral machinery—if they ever get down to creating one—on the morrow after the elections. Will they destroy it, or will they keep it intact until the next electoral campaign. In the latter case, wouldn't that be laying the foundation for a legal political party? Come on brother Moore, let's have your private "official organ" give us an answer.

And another question. Will you admit into your legal organization "for propaganda only" people not belonging to the underground or will you chase them away? On the assumption that you will have sense enough to bring into the ranks of your legal organization every sympathizer you can lay your hands on, wouldn't you be running the danger of getting in a few centrists?

Awaiting an Answer.

Until the Henrys and Moores come back with an answer let's continue the study of their "official organ." In number 8 we discover that

"One of the main differences that developed in the two positions taken by the two factions in The Communist Party in America as represented by the Majority and the Minority of the former C. E. C. was on the question—"Can there be two Communist Parties in the same country; one legal and one underground?"

That's something new. Until recently we were acting on the assumption that the question—can there be two Communist parties in the same country; one legal and one underground?—was an issue between us, the Centrists and the liquidators. It was they who were arguing that the moment the C. P. of A. creates a legal political party, there is no more use for it continuing as an underground party. On the strength of this reasoning the centrists were and are fighting for the liquidation of the C. P. of A. Now come the

Moores and Henrys and tell us that they too are taking issue with us on this proposition.

Well, there's nothing surprising about it. We knew right along that centrists and Leftists have very much in common. The only strange feature about it is that the Moores have come around to the Centrist point of view so quickly. As to the facts of the case, it must be pointed out that never, not in a single public statement, not even in the dastardly pamphlets of theirs—where they openly and purposely gave aid and comfort to the enemy—was the above question an issue between them and the Communist party of America. It is therefore to be considered only as a last desperate attempt to fight off the approaching failure and defeat and a clumsy attempt at that.

In the same article where the new issue is brought forward (number 7 page 3) we read:

"The liquidators of the former majority of the C. P. of A. have no place in the Communist Party of America. They betrayed the C. P. of A. and renounced their allegiance to the Third International, by uniting with Centrists and Mensheviks. . . . The C. P. of A. cannot function with two programmes, one legal and one underground. There cannot be two Communist Parties in America."

Only one C. P. in U. S.

There cannot be two communist parties in America. Perfectly correct. Now, where are the two communist parties? The C. P. of A. section of the Communist International is one. Where is the other? Is it the legal political party to be formed by the C. E. C. of the C. P. of A. in conjunction with Centrists and Mensheviks? Is this the second communist party? Surely Henry and Moore never meant to say that. Hence, we have only one communist party. So what remains of the new issue between us and the minority?

In the same article and on the same page the Moores charge the C. E. C. with liquidation. They say: "They have liquidated the underground and formed a party to take the place of the C. P. of A." Again we fail to see how the liquidation of the underground (assuming it to be true for the sake of argument) could give rise to the issue of whether there can be two communist parties in one country. When the underground is liquidated and an overground formed in its place, there is only one party in existence. Is not that so Brother Moore? So, what are you campaigning against?

The cause of the Henrys and Moores is in a very bad way. The membership that followed them, because it has been misinformed and deceived, has now been given by the C. E. C. the opportunity to come back. The sooner they do it the better, both for themselves and the Communist International.

Industrial Nuclei

By J. P. COLLINS

Characteristics of a Communist Party.

The average member of the C. P. of A. looks upon his party branch as the working medium for activities. It hardly occurs to him that the active unit of a Communist Party is not the Party branch but the nuclei. The characteristics of a communist party are that it is an organization that participates in all the struggles of the workers in order to accomplish its task. It enters all workers' mass organizations, no matter what their nature or purpose, whether labor, cooperative, military, etc. To what extent a communist party is communist can best be determined by the number of nuclei it has, the intensity of nuclei work, what percentage of its members are in nuclei, etc.

A party of action, a virile and healthy party, is a party of nuclei. In such a party all the energies of the membership are concentrated in the struggle against the real enemy. All members are active among the masses. There is no time for cliques and petty politics, for the class struggle is an absorbing and fascinating struggle, and so full of possibilities that it inspires the conscious rebel to great deeds. The truth of this can best be borne out by our own members in the nuclei. They are the most active of all the membership and the most capable. During the course of my activities as industrial organizer I have seen many of them develop from timid, grouchy spittoon philosophers to aggressive, enterprising militants and excellent tacticians, owing to their participation in the every day fights of the workers and practical experience in their struggles. They are the least disgruntled of our membership, for they are too busy playing real politics against the fakers in the unions, building, educating and strengthening the working class organizations everywhere.

The fact is that most of our members consider the C. P. in the same light as the S. P. with a difference in program and ultimate aims, and methods. The efficiency of the party and the activities of their branch is judged by them by the number of general leaflets secretly or openly distributed, the "inside" bulletins they receive from the higher units, the number of routine meetings they attend at which they spend their time proving to each other how revolutionary they are. Their whole attention is directed not toward action among the masses but on what is going on within the party. They do not realize that the only point of similarity between a Communist Party branch and a branch of the Socialist Party is that during election time it participates in general activities because of the readiness of the masses to listen to a solution of their political problems. But these general activities must

be only a small part of the activities of a local Communist Branch.

It is obvious that the Communist Party and its branches as such serve mainly in unifying the activities of the members in their various nuclei. The branch whose membership is not active in nuclei is like a body without parts. It is virtually outside the struggle, it being impotent to accomplish anything for lack of contact with the masses and hence with their struggles. It dies or fritters away its energies in dissensions. The energies of the virile element instead of being invested in the real struggles among the masses are spent in futile intrigues and peanut politics within the organization and until we get the bulk of our membership active amongst the masses in the nuclei we will dissipate and disintegrate.

Salvation of Party.

Am I justified to fear for the future of the movement or party branch whose members are not either in some nuclei or executive board? Such a branch can hardly be considered as a fit unit for the C. P. of A. The salvation of the party lies in making it a party of nuclei. We are not as yet an organization entrenched in the life of the masses. We are still fluctuating to and fro. A bad turn may bring us to the point of ruin. We have made some moves in the right direction so dynamic in effect on our inexperienced membership that many are in utter confusion as a result of the forced march we made in the past few months. Many new problems are facing us but we have gained valuable experience which we can now put into practical application.

This article deals mainly with the party policy of building up a network of nuclei involving our entire membership—nuclei among the foreign nationalities, in the labor unions, in unorganized industries. It also deals with the relationship between Nos. 1 and 2, its relationship to the left blocks and to the Communist leftist groups. With this understanding of the role of the nuclei in the Communist Party as such we may now proceed to practical application.

Labor Union Nuclei.

The most important nuclei we must build up is the nuclei in the unions. The unions are the largest workers' mass organizations created for the purpose of serving as defensive weapons against the encroachments of capitalism. The methods pursued heretofore made this work extremely difficult. New and more efficient methods are now possible. The nuclei work is the most legal of our activities. It can be organized for

a long time to come by using open methods, although the nuclei itself will more or less have to function secretly, upon the actual field of operation.

The element that comes into consideration in our nuclei work is (a) the membership of our party, (b) the membership of No. 2, left-wing elements, syndicalists, anarchists, progressives, Socialists, etc. Let us assume that this element forms a left wing block in their union in a given city functioning either under the name of a shop delegate league or progressive block. Such an organization may have been initiated by our own members, or if already in existence we may join it with a view of influencing or obtaining control over it. The program upon which these elements will unite is usually the achievement of some concrete immediate objective, like the amalgamation of craft unions, overthrow of undesirable bureaucrats and other reforms in the labor movement. Our task is to either innovate such movements and combinations ourselves or if already in existence organize our forces to obtain control over them, either one of which requires a parallel organization on our part, and even were we to obtain control of the machinery of No. 3 Left Wing, it would be necessary to maintain our party nuclei.

The objection will immediately arise in the minds of many comrades active in the nuclei work that such machinery will not be able to function, as it is too cumbersome, involving a nuclei machinery of our party and Nos. 2 and 3, in addition to the party machinery of Nos. 1 and 2. The actual process of organization and action, however, demonstrates the practicability and necessity of the machinery as above outlined. As our membership becomes more and more involved in intense nuclei activity in the labor unions or other organizations the party machinery as such will have to undergo a readjustment. The party machinery will have to be simplified to lend it more compactness and cohesion. Without this it will be a stumbling block rather than the unifying and controlling medium of our manifold nuclei activities. Weekly routine and membership meetings will have to be cut down in our party, as well as in No. 2, to a minimum consistent with the party's activities and needs. Outside of meetings absolutely necessary for the upkeep of the party a branch shall never meet except when it has a concrete problem to act upon or to be acquainted with. All routine business shall and must be transacted by the various executive committees, which must, of course, meet more frequently than the branch. Having this important time saving readjustment in mind we shall now consider the nuclei machinery.

As already indicated, the militant and progressive forces in the labor movement must develop an organization of a largely non-partisan nature—a sort of left wing composed of all factions on the basis of a consolidation of craft unions into mass unions, more pay,

shorter hours, ousting the reactionary leadership and similar objects. In some instances we may be instrumental in forming a branch of the bloc or affiliating the left wing body we already formed. We must work with these blocs for the integration of the left wing forces working as an organized minority throughout, subjecting ourselves at times to adverse decisions if we are outvoted, not imposing ourselves on the rest but recognizing that every one has the same rights within these same left wing blocs.

Let us call these left wing blocs No. 3 for future reference. In order to be able to influence No. 3, our forces within must be organized into a machine throughout. Our forces are the Communist Party members which for reference we shall call No. 1, or those who belong to political organizations and are very sympathetic to our program. For the sake of reference, let us call these parties No. 2. Thus we have C. P. of A nuclei No. 1, political sympathizers nuclei No. 2 and left wing groups No. 3. To some this may appear as impossible cumbersome machinery which is bound to break down by its own weight. But though all our membership must belong to the industrial nuclei, this does not mean that all must be in the active machine. On the contrary, we must carefully learn how to divide our work and distribute it so as to fill out everybody's time intelligently and harmoniously.

An active member must give at least four to five evenings a week for active work among the masses and the party. Those that cannot do it will do the party a favor by dropping out of No. 1. They really belong in No. 2, because in No. 1, they are a dead-weight. ACTIVE work must be divided, so many for primarily or purely party work, others for active labor nuclei work, and others for special work. Not a single member of the party will be permitted to be inactive before long. The following may illustrate to some extent the workings of such machinery, the method of organizing our nuclei having undergone a change under the pressure of circumstances.

Mode of Procedure.

A meeting would be called of all English speaking comrades in a party subdivision. At the meeting the labor program is explained and each member is grouped into nuclei according to occupation whether he belongs to a union or not. Certain comrades of each trade group are then appointed as nuclei organizers and instructed to take the addresses of their nuclei members. Thus in one evening the nuclei among the English speaking comrades is established; each leader having direct connections with the members of his nuclei, thus relieving the party channels from constant communications and calls. Then the labor nuclei shall meet and have their second organization meetings, each

individual is then examined and if not already a member of a labor union he must join. All should help to make it possible for him to join. If there is no union in his trade he may be instrumental in starting one. If it is impossible for him to do either then he is requested to join some other workers' organization where he gets contact with either reactionary or more or less radical workers. He should remain affiliated with his trade nuclei until he builds up a nuclei of his own in the organization he joins.

Division of Work.

Members who hold office in the party or branch section, or subdivision have of course limited time, and while they all must belong to their nuclei they may not have sufficient time to be intensely active in the nuclei machinery. In which case their work and evenings must be carefully economized and preferably other members in the nuclei shall become officials in the nuclei machinery. After the second meeting the work must be divided and the nuclei machinery definitely established. It shall be understood that all foreign speaking comrades who understand English but speak it imperfectly shall also be drawn into the English Nuclei.

Non English speaking Comrades.

The foreign Comrades shall also be organized for labor nuclei work in the same manner as the English; that is, all branches of a certain language in each party subdivision are called together. A comrade speaking their language and also understanding English, explains to them the labor program and the method and purpose of nuclei work. Then they are subdivided according to occupation and a comrade of their own language is placed in charge of each industrial or trade group.

A comrade of their language who can also make himself understood in English is then placed in charge of all the nuclei leaders of that particular language. At the second meeting, they go through the same procedure as the English nuclei placing every individual into active work, making him join a union and assisting in all the other nuclei work whenever necessary or called upon.

The English speaking leader in each trade shall have the connection of all members working in his trade, or industry irrespective of language. Thus we will have a machine drawing the entire membership, at the same time requiring full time attention on the part of only the leading members.

Industrial Committees to meet regularly.

To illustrate the workings of this machinery in its everyday phase, one may put it in this form: the district industrial and the City industrial committees

must be composed of comrades that spend almost all their time in labor union and nuclei work.

It shall not be necessary to have nuclei meetings for routine work in number 1. or 2. although the industrial committees must meet frequently and regularly. The regular meetings shall be the No. 3., that is the left wing blocks.

But our machinery shall be ready to function within at the pull of the trigger. Nuclei No. 2. can be organized using the same procedure as in organizing No. 1. The general procedure shall be when meetings previous to the left wing meetings are needed to hold meetings of No. 1. and 2. together. After No. 1. is organized it shall hold meetings separate from No. 2. and 3. only in cases of necessity. This will enable the members of No. 1. to spend most of their time in actual work amongst the masses and the left wing elements, instead of talking to themselves in endless routine meetings, and at the same time will enable us to exert maximum influence.

It is in this work that members of No. 1. will have to learn the meaning of true discipline. The deflection or lack of one vote sometimes affects important decisions. Meetings of the rank and file of No. 1. and 2. must not be called unnecessarily and it may not be necessary to call all the members of No. 1. or 2. in each case, but when they are called every member of No. 1. must be present and if not they should be severely disciplined unless a valid reason is presented and accepted for their absence. When entering serious work among the masses we will need good functioning nuclei machinery in good condition and stern discipline. The time needed for the upkeep of our general machinery must be reduced to a minimum so that we can spend the maximum time in actual work among the masses.

Sympathizers and Left Wingers.

Considering that we have a very small English speaking membership—less than 25% of the total and that this precious element is needed to lead in the party as such, as well as in the nuclei, it is necessary to point out the necessity of drawing into activities every sympathiser and left winger we can get a hold of especially as they have in some instances very capable elements. They should be given every opportunity and urged to work on the active committees.

On the ordinary local union nuclei committee, it is sufficient to have together with the members of No. 2. a bare majority. The rest can go to the left wingers, especially when we can put these individuals on these committees out of office by mustering our full vote in the general left bloc meetings. The less important the committee the more representation for No. 2. and 3. The higher the committee the firmer shall be our control.

As to Politicians

By R. GANLY

There are very few terms in the English language more subject to misinterpretation and abuse than the word "politician." The term "democracy" was used to cover a multitude of sins during the war, but the unenviable notoriety the word secured resulted however in a clarification of the true inwardness of bourgeois democracy, which is nothing but a gold brick that has been sold to the workingclass in lieu of the genuine article.

The term "politician" must also be clarified. To the average worker a politician is a mean, tricky, squirming, wire-pulling, backstairs intriguer; one who would sell his soul for gain or to satisfy a personal ambition. It is not yet fully realized that politics under the capitalist system has been developed into the science of governing a large mass of workers by and in the interests of a small ruling class. This small governing class holds the trump card in the form of military power and plays upon the emotions of the workers by using plausible slogans and making a pretence of giving them representation in legislative bodies. We all remember the old cry of the pure and simple political actionist "The worker has as many votes as Rockefeller." By means of the press and all their institutions they manage to keep the workers dancing on the hot griddle of expectancy, always promising that relief is around the next corner and whenever the workers get real suspicious the ruling class politicians succeed in diverting their attention to some other show that does not concern them in the least but which gets them so excited that they forget their own affairs and run off on Sancho Panza missions tilting at phantom windmills until they are exhausted.

Means to an end.

Political action in the real sense means any action calculated to have a political consequence. The overthrow of the capitalist state is the aim of a revolutionary organization. As the present state is political any action directed against it must also be political. Radicals of all schools profess to believe in the overthrow of capitalism. The difference arises over the question of **method**. The pure and simple parliamentary Socialist recognizes only one weapon i. e. the ballot. In other words political action means to him voting on election day and using the intervening periods between elections preparing for the next voting holiday. With the experience of history behind us it is futile to expect to achieve the revolution by this means

alone. He who expects victory from this policy if honest is only an intellectual bankrupt.

On the other hand we have the industrialist who spurns all forms of political action and pins his hopes on an 100 per cent organization of the workers on the industrial field. This optimist cherishes the hope that some day the workers will all join the I. W. W. and at a signal fold their arms like the bronze statues in the parks and **presto chango** the capitalist state crumbles and the capitalists with tears streaming down their cheeks come running to the workers crying "Here are our factories take possession. We cannot carry on industry." Even granting that the workers should suddenly acquire the necessary intelligence to break with craft unionism and adopt the industrial form of organization, what would likely happen would be entirely different from the Utopian dreams of the Industrialists. The capitalists would call out the army and navy and utilize the experience they gained in the late war, call upon their White Guards such as the American Legion, the Knights of Columbus and the Ku Klux Klan and when the starving workers—not the starving capitalists mark you—became hungry and tried to break into the warehouses, armed with a theory, the White Guard would use the power of the political state on them in the form of military force, and speedily compel them to starve, go to work or face annihilation.

Now, a workingclass politician sees the political state as the instrument of the capitalist with which he maintains his control of the means of production and distribution, and aims at capturing that instrument. He does not confine himself to any cut and dried formula, but knows that ultimately armed force will be the final weapon to deliver the knockout blow to the power of the bourgeoisie. He uses every available weapon to deal a blow at his enemy and takes advantage of every opportunity to throw a monkey wrench into the state machinery. He considers it to be the function of a worker elected to parliament to expose the designs and plans of the capitalists and obstruct their fulfilment. He should use the opportunity for publicity which his seat in the legislature affords him, to get the ear of the workers and by pointing out the deceptions of bourgeois democracy prove the futility of reposing confidence in the ballot as the effective weapon with which to bring about the emancipation of the wage slaves from capitalism.

There is a rather common belief that the leaders

of the workingclass will spring from the ranks like mushrooms when the critical moment arrives. This in the light of what has transpired during the past few years is a delusion. Leadership in modern society is a different thing to leadership in the age of the stone hatchet. Then courage and strength were the prime prerequisites. Today intelligence, knowledge, judgment and courage are required above everything else.

These qualities cannot be gained merely by touching our forehead to the earth. Knowledge is the condensed experience of the human race. Education means an understanding of this experience, and the qualification for leadership lies in the ability to grasp this knowledge and apply it to existing conditions. The result of centuries of human endeavour cannot be learned over night.

The average worker is not able to grasp an abstruse problem. He allows his master to do his political thinking. The masterclass have at their disposal the best trained minds that money can buy, and only revolutionary leaders able to match minds with the capitalists, can lead the revolutionary movement to success. The leaders of the Russian revolution were not produced by magic—by the waving of a hand. On the contrary long years of training both in theory and in the hard school of proletarian experience were necessary to bring to their present stage of development the intellectual giants who for four years have measured swords with the foremost gladiators of world capitalism and are still holding their own. Theirs is no easy task. Political sagacity of the highest type was required to maintain the workers in power in Russia. Politicians! Yes indeed, the Bolsheviks of Russia are politicians of the first water. Only for the realistic way in which they faced the many crises that confronted them the First Workers Republic in the world would now be a memory and the wage slaves of every country would be going through a purgatory unequalled in the history of any other subject class.

We need politicians, not the petty peddlers of principle but the astute generals who can conceive of a plan of action and marshall their forces on the tactical field to carry out that plan. The struggle for control of the power of the state will be won by intelligence backed by force. We have the potential force. We have not yet organized it. We have the millions of workers to draw on for our leadership. Right is on our side but right without the might to maintain it is only a pious hope. In fighting the battles of the present and the future we must be able to draw on the experience of the past for guidance. Why should we expect that the workers who have been kept in ignorance through poverty and ceaseless toil could be capable of grasping problems that it has taken the flower of the world's intellect years of study to master? We

must nevertheless carry on an intensive policy of education, as the workingclass is the only class whose interest it is to overthrow the present system and out of the ranks of the workers we can develop, generals and lieutenants who will be able to take positions of command when the revolution comes.

One of the distinguishing marks of a real Communist is that to him a revolutionary organization takes on the character of an army preparing for action. An army does not entirely consist of soldiers, though the soldiers do all or most of the fighting. There is the board of strategy that plans the campaigns. The Generals put this plan into operation and the officers marshall the soldiers into battle. Every section of the army is co-related and one cannot say that one section is more important than the other, any more than it can be said that a man's lungs are more necessary than his liver. In a revolutionary organization we have our theorists who in the eyes of certain members "can write articles but are good for nothing else." As a matter of fact we have not developed our theorists in America and until we do we cannot have a healthy Communist movement. We cannot go on indefinitely borrowing ideas from our Russian comrades.

The only Revolutionary Party.

The Communist Party is a political organization and the only party in America that has the correct solution of how to overthrow the capitalist state. Members of the Communist Party should understand that the vital difference between communists and members of other socialist organizations is not as to the end, but the means to that end. The use of armed force as the weapon for the overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat during the transition period from Capitalism to Socialism are the cardinal principles of the Communist policy. We need the highest types of mentality that the workers can produce to carry this program to victory. We must use knowledge to acquire power and with that knowledge we can match minds with the capitalist politicians. We must steer clear of phrasemongering and grapple with reality. In the final struggle it will be a fight of brain against brain, strategy against strategy: the politicians of capitalism against the politicians of the workingclass and the force of the workers we have succeeded in getting to our side against the deluded ones that the capitalist politicians have succeeded in holding, as well as the sons of the bourgeoisie and the other hangers—on who prefer the crumbs that fall to them from the rich man's table to the full reward for their services to society, that would accrue to them in the Republic of Labor where all would give according to their ability and receive according to their needs.