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Unemployment: Our Tactics and Our Program

By J. P. COLLINS

The unemployment issue is one which must be faced. Unemployment of to-day is a symptom of the breakdown of capitalist production. It is not a passing phase which can be ignored by the capitalist state. The United States Government has been unwillingly forced to give official political recognition to the problem, not, of course, to find a solution, but to make a pretence at one, offering promises and hope in order to prevent action by the masses. The real attitude of the capitalists is expressed in their determination to take advantage of the situation in order to ensure cheap labor in abundance.

The tactics of the capitalists are to make use of the unemployed and part-time workers to break the resistance of those who are still working, and, through charities, to prevent serious outbreaks. Thus are the workers to be faced with the alternatives of surrender or defeat. Then, when the workers are down and out, the capitalists will be willing to resume industry. All this is to be accomplished without any tonic from the Federal Treasury. The reasons for this are obvious. The workers are to be made to produce more and more cheaply. For these reasons the soldier bonus was refused, bringing on destitution and suicides. The capitalists want to squeeze out billions from the workers. They will not defeat this aim by burdening the national treasury to aid the workers or increase taxes. The soldier bonus

would have cost billions of dollars and government unemployment doles would be equally expensive. These items added to the increased expenditures for the army and the navy would have made taxes so high as to hamper production for a competitive world market. The purchasing power of the dollar would decrease still further from its pre-war standard. The weakening of the national treasury would have a serious effect on post-war capitalism, national and international, which seeks to revive.

It is a pity that the party did not take up the soldiers' bonus fight. It would have been a means of lining up the soldies against the government and a means of bringing them nearer to us. It can yet be done and should be done as a part of our unemployment agitation. As it is, the ex-soldiers are still quite sore. Their fight can be revived as a means of broadening our general drive.

Also we must agitate for unemployment compensation by the Federal Government. Everything that will strain the Federal Treasury must be encouraged. "Work or compensation" should be our slogan. The case we present may run thus: The workers who were virtually drafted during the war to produce are surely entitled to compensation by the government now, at least sufficient to keep them from starving, especially those with families. The idea of having men humiliate themselves by going through red tape

procedures in order to receive pauperizing charity is unworthy of any worker. The buncombe of charities encouraged by the government should be exposed and the government denounced in the strongest terms for its attitude. The unemployment bureaus authorized by the government should be denounced as scab agencies. Demands should be made through the unions to set up bureaus under the control of the unions, or to place existing bureaus under union control so that they cannot continue as open shop agencies. When the bureaus have been thoroughly exposed and denounced the cry may be raised "Down with government scab agencies."

Public Works

Also we must demand the initiation of public works under union conditions, not under open shop conditions. Every such scheme which is initiated to take advantage of cheap labor must be exposed. The part time work arrangement must be resisted by all means. The formation of tenants' leagues must be encouraged, and the demand to exempt unemployed families from paying rent must be pressed. Also demands must be made on city, state and federal governments to prohibit the eviction of unemployed families. Organized tenants should resist eviction, and if evicted their league should take up the matter in propaganda and if possible as the basis for a rent strike. The unions should be roused and, in co-operation with the leagues, demonstrations should be made.

If the government gives in to some of these demands the workers will be encouraged by their victory, and will be willing to make the further demands which we suggest. Pressure for the demands will be by demonstrations. If permits for demonstrations are refused, the agitation for constitutional and labor's rights must be pressed in all labor unions. The government must be condemned as being hostile to the people. Agitation for the permit may be successful. If strong enough a demonstration should be held without a permit. At least a section of the labor unions must participate, and their determination expressed in advance may yield a permit. In a forced demonstration if the police interfere and kill or wound any of those parading, sympathetic strikes must be attempted as evidence of solidarity with the victimized workers. The idea of the sympathetic strike is sound and should be put into practice whenever possible.

Other Demands

Other demands may be put up as the struggle develops or in accordance with local problems. The demands must always be of a nature which will cause the masses to struggle. What we must produce is revolutionary action. It is the action which must be revolutionary. It is useless to print our theories as an unemployed program with no one actively willing to strive for its realization step by step. The masses must be guided and lead into action. The masses do not follow theories. They only act for concrete demands. Direct action by the masses themselves is the key to the intensification of the struggle. Finally, this leads to the revo-

lutionary mass action for the destruction of the capitalist state.

In proportion as the support of our program grows and becomes more intense, our demands will become more outspoken and will change in accordance with the willingness of the masses to fight for them. We must not lose (or fail to gain) contact with the masses by being unrealistic. Our tactics must be to harrass the government by making the unemployed problem a constant conflict, rousing more and more workers against capitalism.

Centers for Unemployed

For this purpose a suitable program is not sufficient. We must adopt the tactics necessary to organize the unemployed and keep in touch with them. For the sake of this absolutely essential contact we must engage in work which otherwise would be rightly regarded as unfruitful and to be left alone. The humanitarian appeal is a powerful means of reaching people. Bearing that in mind we must establish unemployed centers wherever workers may come for relief in the form, say, of a sandwich and milk. For this work appeals for funds could be made to all unions and workers' organizations. It should be made a labor affair as much as possible, and absolutely free from all bourgeois pauperizing charities. The rebel element among the unemployed should be taken care of particularly, thus saving them from being forced into the demoralizing atmosphere of the scab charities. We should use all our headquarters, union halls and other places as unemployed centers. Where possible we shall give even shelter, especially to rebel workers upon whom we rely. Thus, if we surround ourselves with unemployed we shall be able to urge them into action, the rebel element leading the larger mass, and an even larger force being placed under our leadership in order to carry on the fight.

Those in charge of this part of the work should especially get the union nuclei to find ways and means of establishing stations in localities where the unemployed are most numerous. The foodworkers should be used for the actual handling of the foods. Committees selected from the unemployed should assist. Local unions can donate their headquarters for this work.

If possible foodworkers' committees should estimate the actual amount of money necessary to start an undertaking. The unemployed should be persuaded to collect funds in street cars, subways, elevated trains, restaurants, offices streets and shops in order to defray initial expenses. A spirit of co-operation and fellowship can be developed among them so that collections will be honestly turned over to a reliable committee. In addition these men will learn to invade "sacred" places and demand help. They must be filled with the idea that they are not demanding charity but that they are entitled to subsistence. As soon as a few places are actually opened under the name of a certain union, affiliated with the unemployment organization, this body shall solicit funds for more kitchens and shelters.

When the unemployed gather at these places they must

be propagandized by means of leaflets and speakers. One particular point should be stressed at a time until the men are aroused to activity along that particular line. For instance, for some weeks the idea of a mass demonstration at the City Hall and a demand for the throwing open of public buildings and armories for shelters might be spread. During other weeks the unemployed could be urged to demand the initiation of public works to give employment under union conditions. At another time a drive could be developed to call upon all union locals in order to rouse them to take part in the relief of unemployed and the agitation for their demands. At another time a mass of jobless workers might be persuaded to present themselves at some large idle factory and demand work. The drive may be for the unemployed to occupy public places as sleeping quarters. The conditions and circumstances will serve as a guide in the selection of ideas to be put forth for action, and the results obtained will serve as a guide in future activities.

Such are the tactics. In order that they may be widely applied we must have a program. The program must be one upon which all revolutionary, radical and progressive forces can unite. At the same time, we must strive to retain the position of leadership in order to carry out the program for the furthering of the class struggle. Bearing that in mind, the following program at the present time will form an effective basis for our work if supplemented by local demands as conditions require.

UNEMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

A program of immediate demands must deal with the problem of unemployment from two points of view. First, it must include adequate provision for the maintenance of the unemployed and part employed. Secondly, it must include proposals for the decrease of unemployment.

We must demand that the Government prevent conditions of poverty which inevitably impair the health and vitality of the whole working class population and lower the morale of the workers.

To stand aside from active measures for the resumption of production by the opening up of industries and the initiation of works is to acquiesce deliberately and meekly in the prolongation of unemployment.

We should emphasize the fundamental importance of throwing all our energies into these tasks. Personal considerations must be swept aside in a great effort to overcome the enemy. The proposals here put forward are made on the assumption that the workers of the country are prepared to take a broad view of the present situation and to support a comprehensive policy. Nothing short of this will be adequate to prevent the degradation of great masses of workers and their families. Such is the purpose of this program.

Immediate Measures

The recommendations are all emergency proposals. We make two kinds of demands:

(1) The maintenance of the unemployed and under-employed.

(2) The provision of work.

Organized labor must consistently demand the alternatives of work or maintenance. We place maintenance first because workers and their families at the present moment are starving. Maintenance is an immediate necessity. But we make it clear that the labor movement must demand maintenance as an alternative to work. Its demand is that employment should be provided, and that failing such provision there should be adequate maintenance.

I. Maintenance

(A) *Unemployment Grants.* The purpose made at the Hoover Conference for the relief of the unemployed cannot be taken seriously. It leaves the whole matter to the whims and bias of those in control of the various local charities. It is a complete evasion of the problem of supporting the unemployed by the Government. It is an insult to American labor because it does not recognize that unemployed workers are entitled to compensation, but puts these workers in the position of paupers and beggars seeking charity.

If such an attitude towards the duty of providing relief is allowed to stand, the unemployed workers and their families must sink into semi-starvation or worse, whilst production dwindling still further increase the numbers unemployed and under-employed. Clearly the first need is a substantial payment of unemployment compensation.

Such a payment can only be made from a grant by the Federal Government.

The out-of-work compensation scheme, which was instituted in Great Britain after the Armistice as a temporary measure provides a precedent. In addition to a flat rate, unemployed workers receive an *additional allowance for dependents*. This scheme should be adopted here in the present crisis. It is obvious that the unemployment compensation should be paid to all workers, for whom no work is available through free employment bureaus or through his (or her) Trade Union. Employment bureaus should be instituted by the Government to work in conjunction with the labor unions, no fees being charged to applicants.

The rate of maintenance should be higher for married workers than for the single. The payment of compensation should continue as long as the person is unemployed.

(b) *Under-Employments Grants...* It is essential that adequate provision should be made to prevent semi-starvation. The only practicable method is to adopt the same procedure as that here put forward for the unemployment compensation, namely, to *put the burden on the State...* The under-employment pay should be sufficient to supplement part-time wages in order to aggregate weekly income equal to the unemployment rates stated above.

(c) *Soldiers' Bonus* Victims of imperialism, the ex-soldiers, form a large part of the unemployed. Their misery is a tragic condemnation of the capitalist control of the United States Government. The soldiers have been betrayed

shamelessly and the Bonus which they were promised as an alleviation of their condition has been side tracked in the most inconsiderate manner. The American Legion, controlled by the monied people mostly through former army officers, into which many of the ex-soldiers have been misled, has shirked the fight for the Bonus. Energetic leadership and action could have won that fight. The fight can still be won if the exsoldiers and unemployed get together to demand the Bonus as the right of the ex-soldier and as a means of relieving the unemployment amongst them.

II. Work to be Provided

Unemployment and under-employment compensation can only relieve immediate distress by maintaining to some extent the purchasing power of the workers. What is wanted is work. The Government should provide necessary work of a useful nature. The resumption of production will necessarily only proceed as effective pressure is brought upon the capitalists aside from foreign markets like Russia. At home there is much which could be done immediately.

(a) *Provision to Provide for Work.* It is inevitable that any measures which are to be effective in relieving the present situation must involve a considerable immediate outlay of Government funds. The insensate policy of the Government has brought the workers to the point at which wholesale relief is the only alternative to wholesale starvation. Those who suffer from this policy must be provided for directly out of the pockets of those responsible who have amassed and are amassing fortunes through the exploitation of labor.

The efforts of the Government must be directed to restoring production so as to absorb those out of work. In this direction nothing can be done without an abandonment of the Government policy of inaction.

We must force the Government to take steps to curb the capitalists (trusts and corporations) from sabotaging industry by the deliberate shutting down of big productive units, forcing of lock-outs and strikes as part of the drive to smash organized labor. Where work is provided by the Government or by public effort it should be regular wage-earning employment carried out by workers belonging to their respective trade unions.

(b) *Government Reduction of Working Hours.* As already shown, part-time work is not a remedy but an aggravation of the evil; a shortening of the working week is different. We therefore demand the immediate enactment of a Federal law on the lines of the British Trades Union Congress Bill fixing the legal hours of work at a maximum of 44 per week, without reduction in wages, and drastically regulating overtime, so as to limit it in each industry to the indispensable minimum which the employers and trade unions shall agree to be necessary.

(c) *Child Labor.* Steps should be taken to withdraw from industry all children at present employed and to provide for their education and for their maintenance directly or by work allowances to their parents.

d) *Government Work.* The Government itself should initiate public works.

The probable requirements of the Government for the next ten years should be estimated and work should immediately begin on such jobs.

Roads should be made and repaired on a larger scale than heretofore; they are needed for motor transport service. Afforestation and reclamation should be speeded up. Waterways and harbors need repairing.

(e) *Housing.* The Government should institute a housing program, giving contracts only to those capitalists who compose their differences with the Building Trades Unions. Such a program is necessary in order to make good the shortage in working class houses caused by the let-up in building during the war.

(f) *Other Public Work.* It is not only Government Departments which could assist in the provision of work by undertaking work which is long overdue. There is an enormous amount of railway work which ought to be no longer postponed—the building and repair of locomotives, coaches, freight cars, the repair of the permanent way, the renovation of railway stations, sheds, warehouses, and similar work, for which the necessary means are available in the fund allowed by the Government to the railroad companies for guaranteed profits. This work would provide employment for skilled and unskilled workers in many industries in addition to the railroad workers directly affected.

(g) *Trade With Russia.* There must be an immediate resumption of trade with Russia, and of normal political relations with the Soviet Republic. The Russian Government is prepared to supply large quantities of timber, hides, flax, platinum, and gold in payment of extensive orders to make good the wastage of the years of war and blockade, and to re-establish the economic life of the country. Russia needs railway equipment, means of transport, agricultural machinery and implements of all kinds, clothing, including boots, and a thousand and one other commodities which could be supplied by American labor. The effects of placing orders for these requirements in this country would be cumulative. The reaction upon industries not directly concerned with the fulfillment of Russian contracts would be far-reaching.

Imperialism

The United States Government aims to serve American profiteers in their ambition to build a Commercial Empire. This ambition can only be achieved by reducing American workers to the status of industrial coolies, thus making it possible for the insatiable profiteers to flood the world market with products cheap enough to compete with the products of cheap European labor. The profiteers' rush for markets will result in another conflict before the prating about disarmament and peace has ceased.

It is the results of the last war and the preparation for the next—economically and politically—that have brought about the disastrous situation of today.

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The Communist Party of America to the Communist Parties of the World!

Comrades:

The Communist Party of America greets with joy your aid in behalf of brothers Sacco and Vanzetti, whom the capitalists are preparing to murder. The American courts of injustice have cold-bloodedly condemned them to death only because of their steadfast loyalty to the working class. And loyalty to the working class is the blackest crime in the eyes of capitalists.

The Communist Party of America heartily welcomes the great demonstrations you have organized. Your magnificent show of international solidarity has thrilled the American workers and struck terror in the hearts of their exploiters and oppressors. Our Russian Comrades have saved innocent Tom Mooney from the gallows. We are confident that, with your help, Sacco and Vanzetti will be snatched from the jaws of death.

Your splendid aid in this hour of need, when our working class is being crushed under the iron heel of a brutal bourgeois dictatorship, shows that the American capitalists can no longer deceive the laboring masses of the world with the colossal humbug of "democracy." The mighty protests now resounding in the streets of Paris, Buenos Ayres, Rome, Berlin and throughout all Europe will go a long way toward awakening the American workers out of their present apathy.

And while our capitalist press is feverishly at work spreading malicious lies about bombs and other acts of terrorism, the Communist Party of America will do all in its power to counteract these dastardly lies and to enlighten our workers as to the fact that the Communist Parties of the world aim to overthrow the exploiters and oppressors not by means of impotent acts of individual terrorism, but by means of the organized revolutionary mass action of the workers.

The Communist Party of America pledges itself to fight shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary workers of Europe in the war against our common enemy. We pledge ourselves to do our all to overthrow the citadel of world plunder and reaction—American capitalism.

On with the Communist struggle! On with the Communist task! Down with the capitalist hangmen! Long live the international solidarity of the working class! Long live the Communist International!

**CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE...
COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.**

Dual Unionism

By J. DIXON

The first great issue in the World Congress of Red Labor Unions was that of "How shall we lead the workers to the social revolution? Shall we attempt to destroy the old unions which are controlled by reactionary leaders, or shall we work inside of them to conquer the minds and hearts of the worker for the social revolution?"

The Provisional Council which organized and called this World Congress had stated the policy: "Remain in the old unions." This resolution which was part of the call for the Congress, read as follows:

"To condemn severely any tactics which will mean the withdrawal of the advanced elements from the existing Trade Union organizations. On the contrary the revolutionary element should remain inside these organizations, and develop energetic tactics to drive the opportunist leaders out of the Trade Unions. These leaders are working with the bourgeoisie and are responsible for the war and its consequences; they are still serving the interests of imperialist capitalism, and participating in the organized exploitation of the League of Nations."

"To develop inside the Trade Unions of the world a systematic propaganda, creating for this purpose in each organization "revolutionary groups" and bring the vast masses to accept our program."

The Dual Unionists

Several organizations that were invited to the Congress did not accept this point of view, and the question was left open to be decided at the Congress itself. The issue came up for decision when the distribution of votes was the order of the day. In the German delegation the majority decided to give all votes to the minority committees within the old unions and 5 votes to the separatist unions, The Freie Arbeiter Union, the Allgemeine Arbeiter Gewerkschaft and three smaller unions. In the American delegation, 3 votes were given the I. W. W., 3 votes to certain independent unions of I. W. W. leanings, and the remainder to the delegates representing fractions of the trade unions. In France the majority protested the seating of Boisson, representing the "Confederation of the Workers of the World." All these small dualistic unions, the Germans, the I. W. W., and the little French copy of the I. W. W., joined hands to attack the seating of the delegates from fractions of the trade unions and demanded the full voting powers of the Congress.

The Germans were the strongest unions and had the strongest case. When the dispute came before the Congress Bartelds represented the dual unions. He contended that his unions were the only ones that could definitely accept the World Congress and put them into effect; that the revolutionary committees in the old unions, "by withholding from breaking off from the big unions of which they constitute a part, support the reaction and lead to the repression of the

proletariat"; that to give the decisive votes to "members of the German delegation representing only separate nuclei, which are not placed in a position to influence the revolutionary actions of the proletariat, must be considered as violence against the real revolutionary forces of Germany." He contended that the revolutionary will of the workers should manifest itself clearly only when they are in possession of the membership card of the Freie Arbeiter Union of Gelsenkirchen.

The Congress Answers

Muller of Germany and Losovsky of Russia expressed the views of the Congress; Muller showed how the revolutionary workers in the old unions greatly outnumbered those in the separatist unions, and how by their contact with the masses they exerted tremendous influence upon their acts; while the dual unions were cut off from the mass, and could only act alone without influencing the acts of any but their own small membership. Losovsky said: "It would be the most stupid failure if we would not take in revolutionary workers only because they are still in the old organizations." *"This is a curious fact—both the hot-headed revolutionists and the trade union officialdom are saying—"Revolutionary Communists, out of the unions!"* This slogan is absolutely wrong; the bureaucracy is expelling the revolutionaries just because they are the ferment of the revolution. They attack us with expulsions. We must say that just because they expel us, we must not leave the unions; otherwise we are playing into their hands. By staying within the old unions we are gaining the masses to our side. The senselessness of the theory of "smashing" is categorically proven. Organizations resting upon this slogan are condemned to isolation. In fact, the slogan of destruction of unions is counter-revolutionary."

The arguments on the other cases followed this line. Losovsky raised a great laugh when he said: "Generally when any union calls itself "Workers of the World," or "Big Union" we can be sure that it is a very small organization."

The World Congress voted overwhelmingly that the Red International should not be made up of small, separatist, dual unions; but that it should take in and encourage the revolutionary committees inside the old labor unions and make these committees the basic factor in winning over the masses in those countries where the large movement is still under the control of reactionaries like Gompers.

Join the Old Unions

The refusal to take organizations like the I. W. W. as the basis of the Red International, was emphasized by the advice given to them to join the old trade unions. All small separatist unions were told to get into line with the program of working within the old unions, and no to disrupt or try to

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The Socialist Party and Revolution

By JAMES A. MARSHALL

The pitiful remnants of what once was the Socialist Party of the United States find themselves in a dire predicament. Fully conscious of their mission to protect capitalism they are confronted by a growing revolutionary spirit on the side of the working masses. This makes the mission of the Socialist Party extremely difficult. The direct protection of the collapsing order of capitalism presents no difficult problem. But that is not intrusted to the "Socialists". That is not done with intellectual opiates as administered by the "Socialists"; it is done with police clubs and machine-guns, with bayonets and gas bombs. The protective role of the "Socialists" is rather an application of the maxim that an ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure. The Socialist Party is intended to dope the workers. With its program of reforms, it is intended to lull the workers into sweet dreams, with promises of an awakening in the "Socialist millenium." To succeed in this task the Socialist Party needs the confidence of the workers. The masses of the workers must be made to believe that the grotesque somersault of revolutionary logic performed by these political mountebanks are not mere tricks to attract the full attention of the spectators to create favorable conditions for the allied guild of pick-pockets, but are honest attempts to help the workers in their struggle.

The S. P. and Reform

The S. P. has become a stench in the nostrils of the revolutionary portion of the working class. Its tactics are discredited. Its aims have been shown up in all their ugly and counter-revolutionary nakedness. The class conscious workers know it for what it is. But this general contempt it is held in by the masses of the workers can not induce it to change. This it can not do. It is pro-capitalist in principle and honestly adheres to its task, even if it has to betray the workers in fulfilling it. Therefore it wiggles about in order to reestablish its lost confidence with the workers. In order to successfully betray one must not only feign friendship for the one to be betrayed, but one must also succeed in making the other believe in this friendship.

So lately some of the higher and lesser lights of the Socialist Party have been busy showing the workers that after all they are not as ugly as they are painted. They point to immediate demands in the program of the United Communist Party in Germany, to immediate demands in the program of revolutionary groups of workers in the United States and declare: You see, the communists, the revolutionists have after all nothing else to offer than what the Socialist Party has always offered, reforms.

In New York and elsewhere revolutionary workers entered the particular field of the Socialist Party, the election campaign, and have tried to organize the scattered forces of the conscious revolutionary workers. The "Gentlemen" of the

Socialist Party see a good opportunity in this. Mr. Branstetter, the national secretary of the Socialist Party, enters the field. We may take it for granted he signs his knavish attack not only because as National Secretary of the organization he is paid to give his name for just such "revolutionary action," but rather because he enjoys proving his revolutionary integrity by such methods. He remembers just in time that the political agency of Wall Street in Washington has declared it to be a crime to be a communist. So first he winks at the U. S. Attorney,, gently shouting in his ear: They are communists, *communists*, COMMUNISTS. And now he breathlessly awaits the results. We can imagine that Mr. Branstetter, in spite of his abhorrence for the principle of "direct action" would prefer to play the role of Noske to that of Judas. Noske could show his usefulness to capitalism by himself arresting and murdering Liebknecht, Luxemburg and thousands of other revolutionary workers. Judas Branstetter must be content with merely pointing out to the pretorian guards of capitalism those whom he suspects of being its enemies.

But citizen Branstetter is not at all sure his method will work. That it will remove the enemies of the Socialist Party from the field of activity. The mere suspicion of citizen Branstetter may not be considered sufficient evidence to put these workers behind the bars. So he does not rest content shouting into the ears of the prosecutors, but he also whispers into the ears of the workers. He whispers to them about the soundness of the tactics of the Socialist Party. He tells them that even the friends of Moscow have to come back to these tactics.

No one, knowing the history of the Socialist Party, is deceived by this gesture of righteousness, made by the illustrious Mr. Branstetter on behalf of that organization. But for the benefit of some still hazy about the tasks of the revolutionary vanguard of the workers we may in brief, discuss the question of immediate demands.

Immediate Demands as a Process of the Class Struggle

The task of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class is to promote and to lead the revolutionary struggle for power, in the course of which the forces of the proletariat will dethrone the forces of capitalism, will replace the capitalist dictatorship by a proletarian dictatorship, for the purpose of transforming capitalist society into communism. In accomplishing **this task the Communists can not disregard the class struggle as they find it. They must rather proceed from the struggle as they find it.** Many erroneously believe that the class struggle is the result of class consciousness. But that is not so. The class struggle is a reality. We do not create it. **It is the result of existing antagonisms in a class society.** We are confronted with it every day.

In its crudest form this struggle is merely a struggle for

existence. Masses of workers fight it, although not in the least class conscious.

But class consciousness grows out of this struggle. The workers resist the pressure of capitalist exploitation as a matter of self preservation. But they gradually learn from this struggle for existence the identity of interests of all the workers of all the world. Class solidarity develops. They learn of the irreconcilable antagonisms between the interests of the working class and the capitalist class. Their class consciousness grows. With the growing class consciousness of the workers there also changes the character of the struggle. The unconscious and instinctive struggle for existence becomes a conscious struggle for power. The class struggle becomes in form what it has always been in substance: a political revolutionary struggle.

The workers learn from the lessons of the actual struggles not only its real character, but also the best methods of struggle and its historic mission, its aim. The victories and defeats of the every day struggles of the workers are the school in which the masses of the proletariat learn the science of revolutionary warfare. To disregard these immediate struggles would be idiocy, to underestimate them a folly.

The revolutionist finds himself confronted with these struggles. He must enter them. As a basis of uniting the masses of the workers for action these immediate struggles are invaluable. The forces of the working class can never be united on the basis of some far off aim, but only on the basis of the immediate problem which every worker understands. Once united on the basis of action the logic of the struggle itself, paired with the conscious leadership of the communists will move the masses of the workers onward and onward, to the destruction of capitalism. To enter these struggles does not mean for the communist to exhaust the energies of the workers in them, but to develop these energies and also these struggles.

Immediate Demands Develop Revolutionary Struggle

From the forgoing it is clear that immediate demands can not be avoided—nor is it desirable to avoid them. These demands are not the demands of the revolutionists, but of the undeveloped and not yet class conscious working masses. To take them up becomes a necessary tactical move of the revolutionists. First *they provide a basis for unity of purpose and unity of action* of larger masses of workers than the far off aim of the revolution itself would do at the present stage of the class struggle. And secondly, only the fate of these immediate struggles shows to the masses the shortcomings of their methods and the insufficiency of their aims. The necessity of the revolutionary struggles for power must develop out of the hard knocks of the daily struggles for immediate demands. We may never succeed in teaching the workers theoretically the political character of their struggles. But what our abstract reasoning will not accomplish, the steady interference of the police power of the state in their daily struggles will. The communists leading these struggles and interpreting their lessons will avert the danger that

the immediate struggles will adulterate the revolutionary class struggle. These struggles will rather become the basis of the revolutionary struggle and the school through which the workers will be made eligible into the army of emancipation of the proletariat. The hardest task is to set the masses of the workers in motion. Not only those masses that are already reacting to the pressure of capitalist exploitation, but ever larger and larger masses.

But here the charlatans of the Socialist Party come in and hypocritically declare that the revolutionists either abandon their theories by concerning themselves with the actual immediate struggles, or that they come back to the tactics of the Socialist Party. Knowing full well the difference in tactics between the revolutionists and themselves, they nevertheless, peddle this argument hoping that by this sleight-of-hand trick they may deceive some workers and serve capitalism. So as long as they pretend not to see the differences let us state them bluntly:

S. P. Reformism vs. Revolutionary Tactics

The revolutionist takes up the struggle in the stage he finds it. He knows that the revolutionary class struggle can not be an artificial creation but must be the logical development of the crudest forms of resistance of the proletariat to capitalist exploitation. He goes with the workers through this process of unconscious resistance, using every effort to develop consciousness. The political mountebanks of the Socialist Party on the other hand do not take the immediate struggles of the workers as a starting point for the development of higher struggles, but make the workers believe that these immediate struggles constitute the revolution, that a sufficient number of immediate reforms added together would finally achieve socialism. They do not want to develop strength and consciousness in the masses but they want to paralyze them and make them believe that the birth of a new order takes place during the twilight sleep of the proletariat. This attempt to deceive the workers is paired with a determination to openly turn against the workers if they should awake from the trance, their twilight sleep, and realize the necessity of revolutionary action. These tools of capitalism will help drown the revolutionary aspirations of the workers in the blood of the proletariat. They have done so in Russia and Germany, in Italy and Hungary. They are preparing to do so in America and Mr. Branstetter's would-be denunciation of communists is a fair example.

Summary

To repeat: There is a difference, a tremendous difference in propounding immediate demands. The working class must travel the road of these immediate struggles to reach the battlefields of the struggle for power. The communist walks with the workers as one of them even now, to develop their strength and to prepare them for the more critical struggle ahead. The friends of capitalism of the Socialist Party walk that road with the workers to mislead them and to gain their confidence, so they may succeed in pinning the arms of the

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What is a Party of Action?

By ROGER B. NELSON

What is a party of action? This is the burning question before the American working class. It is the problem of every Communist or revolutionary organization. In the answer to this question lies the future of the labor movement. The Communist International, the vanguard of the world proletariat, has time and again declared itself against revolutionary platitudinarianism. Only through militant action can the aims of the revolutionist or Communist be achieved. This standard holds for parties as well as individuals.

Purity and Faith

The deterrents to the formation and functioning of a party of action can be briefly outlined. A party of action can not be made up of theoretical purists or led by them. Theory in its most perfected form serves only as a guide to action. It can never be a substitute for action. A true understanding of principles has its value in the revolutionary movement and a high value. But pearls of theory, Marxian or otherwise, when repeated mechanically and not applied to the conditions at hand though they may satisfy the hunger for pure truth accomplish little else. A party that degenerates into an organization of worshippers of abstract truth, a party that does not weigh and re-weigh its theoretical formulae with regard to changing conditions, can not be a party of action, ceases in fact to be a party at all.

Faith is a quality necessary to the make-up of all revolutionists. Faith is indispensable to one who would be up and doing. But faith perverted by fatalism is a bane to action and a menace to life. An organization which has a doctrinaire faith in its program, that devotes itself to persistent prating of the "correctness of its position," is not a party of action. Such an organization is a sect, a congregation of the faithful.

What of the Masses?

To some self-styled revolutionists the masses represent a mythical entity which can never go wrong. To others, the masses represent the acme of ignorance, a horde forever condemned to be the tools of the "conscious great men." The former are victims of a blind veneration for the masses, the latter of arrogant contempt.

A party of action cannot be afflicted with either disease. A party of action cannot, after the fashion of the opportunists, run after the masses. But neither can it be sectarian and run away from them. A party of action must neither stoop to the level of the masses nor attempt to hold the masses to a level they cannot possibly reach. The way out lies in putting forward standards which will draw the masses into activities which will promote their spirit of independence and rouse them to take the next step forward.

Role of Propaganda

Propaganda is a powerful weapon in all wars. It is particularly powerful in the class war. But pure and simple propaganda, however revolutionary, will advance neither the party nor the masses. Nor does a revolutionary program by itself make a party of action. A party may hurl at the masses tons of the most fiery proclamations and yet be out of touch with them. A revolutionary program may easily serve as a cloak to a crew of downright dogmatists.

Propaganda may serve the purpose of education, but this

is insufficient. Unless the program of a party is accompanied by practical activity it is well-nigh useless. Its propaganda then falls upon deaf ears and is not worth the paper or lung-power required to carry it. An activity so futile as this may satisfy "left cripples," smug and complacent; for real revolutionists it is unbearable.

Through Struggle to Power

A workers' party of action welcomes every opportunity for locking horns with capitalism. For a party of action there is no occasion of struggle too small or too great. Bread, clothing, and shelter may be considerations of equal rank with unionism, proletarian dictatorship, or Communism. Such a party actively participates in all the immediate struggles of the working class, gives them breadth and depth and directs them into revolutionary channels.

In the case of a railroad strike, for example, where the question at issue may be a raise in wages, or resistance to a wage reduction, it is the task of a party of action to line up solidly with the striking railroad workers. More than that! Such a party must draw into the struggle as many other workers as possible, and lead them, from the craft to the industrial, from the industrial to the class alignment. Directing a railway strike into revolutionary channels demands a plan of action which will bring forth the greatest possible manifestation of class power from the railroad workers and other workers as well. The party might call upon machinists to refuse to work side by side with scabs, the coal miners to stop mining coal for the railroads, and the rest of the working class to back up the strike to the limit of their moral and financial power. Against the united action of the capitalist class, that is against the government, that party would strive to line up the whole working class.

A struggle for the simplest necessities of life, in a time like the present, tends to develop into a struggle for power. The state, that guardian angel of capitalist interests, invariably comes to the rescue of the exploiters. A party of action makes this situation clear to the workers but, still more important, prepares them to meet it, though the specific steps proposed in any given situation must be dependent upon the revolutionary spirit and the degree of class consciousness of the workers and the strength of the opposition.

Programs and Slogans

The acceptance and application of a correct program is a necessary condition for a party of action. A program is not necessarily correct if its preamble is flowered with revolutionary phrases. Nor is the mere acceptance of a program of great significance, however revolutionary it may sound. Unless a program is applied in action it is plainly worthless, and if a program cannot be so applied it is actually harmful.

For immediate problems a party puts forward immediate slogans. In a revolutionary party the slogans must be calls to action. As calls to action the slogans aim to secure a response from the working masses and must therefore be calls to immediate action. Through these calls to action the masses are to be organized and drawn into the struggle against the capitalist class. These skirmishes are the rehearsals for the final conflict for power. In choosing slogans a party of action must remember that for the workingman the school of every-day struggle is the training school of the revolution.

A party of action must have a program which is a manual of action, calculated to secure the response of the masses, to guide the formation of its plans and policies, both for the immediate tasks and the ultimate goal. Such a program cannot bristle with dogmas. Dogmatism is the very anathema of a revolutionary party. Marxian tactics are irreconcilable with dogmatism. The program of a live workers' party must then be rooted in Marxian philosophy.

Members and Leaders

A fighting party must have a membership and leadership that set the pace in courage and generalship in every phase of the class struggle. No task can be too difficult and no sacrifice can be too great for a member of a party of action.

Wherever the working masses are found there the members and leaders of a revolutionary party must be. They must lead the workers in every field, industrial, political and social. They must be the shock troops in the battles of the workers. In every strike they must be the guiding and unifying force. In Congress or in State and municipal offices the representatives of a party of action must openly champion the needs of the masses and fearlessly unmask the capitalist dictatorship. Such a party must have the confidence of the masses won only through actual experience of its leadership.

Advance and Retreat

Politics is essentially a form of war. A clever strategy is therefore of paramount importance. A party of action is in reality a fighting army, and like all armies, must learn to retreat as well as to advance. A skilful retreat may be more valuable than a dearly-won victory. A party that unifies and leads the working class in its struggles against capitalism must be prepared to avoid battle when unprepared and must avoid assuming impossible tasks, for to fight under conditions chosen by the enemy is often to play into the enemy's hands and lose the organization. There are compromises which favor the interests of the workers and compromises which are detrimental to them. The compromises of a revolutionary party are made for the sake of winning the battle. The compromises of the opportunists and social traitors are aimed at shirking it. In the impending railroad strike, for instance, the union bureaucracy will probably effect a compromise against the interests of the workers by entering into an agreement to call off the strike, or once called to sabotage it and make a cowardly retreat.

The only interests to be considered in making compromises are those of the working class. Hardships and dangers do not deter a party of action. The Russian communists have made tremendous sacrifices in order to stand by the masses. Yet they too have often been compelled to compromise. But their compromises have been made for the sake of the revolution.

On Guard

A party of action must at no time have as its slogan "All or nothing." This is the motto of the Utopian revolutionists, of the hopeless sectarian. A revolutionary party fights for all it can get at each turn of the struggle. This may even necessitate alliance with other working class organizations for the realization of an immediate, specific task. Such alliances terminate with the achievement of the end involved. In all such alliances a revolutionary party must secure the dominating influence. They therefore entail no sacrifice of principles, but they actually make for the acceptance of the party and its program by the masses of the workers.

Success in these tactics presupposes that the party of action is devoting its organizational energy and machinery

to planning ways and means of directing the struggle on all fronts and winning the masses. The party must make its influence felt in all trade union activities. Having no interests other than those of the working class, it must give itself over to guarding the workers' interests. And this can only be achieved through the use of the proletarian organizations. Every member of a party of action must, if eligible, be a member of a union. More than that, he must participate in every phase of labor union activity. Finally a party of action must be strictly centralized and well disciplined if it is to unify the masses and lead them in their struggles. Then only can the proletarian alliances which are indispensable to its activity be attempted. Otherwise it tends to become a small sect, existing apart from the masses and leaving them to the mercy of the reactionaries.

The Way Out

The party of action must be a national political rallying center for the discontented workers. It must unify all the rebels. Now in the throes of disillusionment, they are beginning to see that the way out lies not in destroying existing labor unions and building new "revolutionary unions" but in galvanizing the existing mass unions into life. The left wing of the American labor movement is waking up. A party of action must have an extensive system of nuclei permeating the revolutionary strata of the workers and winning them. For this end a fighting press is an absolute necessity, which will devote itself to the problems with which the working class is most nearly concerned and point the way out.

The Need of the Hour

The need of the hour for the American working class is the organization of such a party of action. That the need exists was evidenced at the recent miners' convention and in the new spirit among the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor..

The Socialist Party of America is discredited and bankrupt, a decaying monument to years of cowardice and betrayal. The I. W. W., a disastrous experiment in dual unionism and an attempt to impose political functions on an industrial organization, has very little influence in the labor movement. The Communist Party of America, despite the ruthless persecutions it has suffered, is steadily winning influence and power, but as an underground organization can reach only a limited number. There is an immediate need for an open organization which will draw the masses into its ranks. Then only can the masses be won over to the active struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. Then only can there be developed a revolutionary labor movement in America.

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destroy them. *All disruption and disunity in the labor movement should come only from the old officialdom, not from the revolutionists.* In all countries like America, Germany, England and France, the slogan should be "Unity of all the labor unions." Inside of the united labor unions the revolutionists should organize and win the confidence and the leadership of the masses; this leadership is naturally ours, we stand for the interests of the masses, and we can only lose them if we foolishly play into the hands of the reactionaries. Into the unions, down with dual unionism, stay with the masses! These are the watchwords of the Red International of Labor Unions.

Lessons of the Russian Revolution

By James Brown

Some years have passed since the proletariat of Russia sent Kerenski, the representative of Russian capitalism, down to ultimate defeat. The Czar, the representative of Russian absolutism, traveled the same road nine months previous. Heroic sacrifices during these four years have enabled the Russian Proletariat to destroy completely the machinery of power of the old order, and to establish in its place an instrument of power for the working class. Although still in its initial stage, the Russian Revolution, nevertheless, has accomplished tremendous tasks. It has not yet brought order into the chaos that accompanied the collapse and overthrow of the old order. But it has created the psychological changes in the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of the world, which will promote the development of the proletarian world revolution. The Second International was consumed in the fire of national and patriotic paroxysm during the world war. From its ashes the structure of a new International has been created.

Long before the dominating factors in the development of human society were the subject of scientific understanding and investigation, when they were still a matter of hypothetical speculation, Socialism had existed as an idea. Since socialism is essentially that scientific understanding, it is clear that pre-scientific "socialism" could not be real socialism. It was, indeed, only a fearfully twisted caricature of it. It was, as Engels remarks, standing on its head rather than on its feet.

While scientific investigations disclosed that our thoughts are the reflex of the world surrounding us, pre-scientific "socialism" labored under the utopian impression that just the opposite is the case, that the world surrounding us is the product of our thoughts. An investigation of society based on the former principle has the material basis of the human world to act on and may be sure of its results; while the latter has only the quicksands of human thoughts to act on, an entirely unknown quantity, a subject of speculation but devoid of exact science.

It was the desire to distinguish modern Socialism from its pre-scientific distant relation that prompted Marx and Engels to use the word Communism in place of Socialism in the Communist Manifesto. Later on the word Socialism took its rightful place, as utopian socialism disappeared, and simply became the object of the student of the history of socialism.

In these days, after seventy years of development, we were again faced with the necessity of a change. We again replace the word socialism by the word communism.

The essentials of socialism lie in its application. Socialism is no dogma. It is not a dead theory, but a live principle. It is not so much the result but rather a method of analysis of human society. We apply this method in the interpretation of past and current history. Thus we ascertain the necessary tactics of the revolutionary working class movement. We ascertain the trend of development of human society and learn the historic mission of the working class. Socialism does not create the class struggle, but enables us to see the antagonisms between the classes in society. It shows us that all history of mankind is the history of the struggles growing out of these antagonisms.

But the class division in society is not a clear one. Between the capitalist class and the working class the final struggle is to take place. In between these two classes there are some minor groups and classes. These are the truly reactionary forces in society. Capitalism is a force of progress. It is true that its exploiting tactics are naturally antagonistic to the proletariat, and its forces, as a matter of self-preservation, resist with all might the forces of the proletarian revolution. But while capitalism resists revolution it creates the forces that will eventually overthrow it. It will develop the productive forces of society as a necessary prerequisite of a communist society. The remnants of other classes of the pre-capitalist period, however, fight against the progress of capitalism, and they fight equally against the revolutionary movement of the working class. The irony of fate is that these enemies of capitalism, as it manifests itself in its monopolistic stage, employ socialist phraseology in their criticism. Through this criticism they have succeeded in late years in using the working class movement for their truly reactionary purposes. The socialist movement of late years, as a result of this process of development, was dominated by petite bourgeois psychology. Even the really proletarian radicalism was influenced by this. Thus it came about that the socialist movement became a multitude of varieties, not of socialism, but of group conceptions of socialism dictated by all but proletarian interests. There is the extreme right of typical petite bourgeois opportunists. They want to revive Jacobism. They wish to hitch up the revolutionary proletariat before the 'revolutionary' chariot of petite shop-keeperdom. They do not want to overthrow capitalism. They only want to put the brakes on the wheels of progress of capitalism so the petty shopkeepers may catch up with it. They hate and fear revolutionary tendencies among the workers.

Thus socialism is again stripped of all substance and degraded to an empty dogma or even a number of stereotyped phrases.

The task of putting utopian Socialism on its feet and transforming it to a science was accomplished by Karl Marx and his friend Frederic Engels. The task of transforming a dead and misunderstood theory into a live principle was accomplished by the Russian Revolution. And in both instances the result was the same: Communism. Communism then became the Socialism of science. Communism now has become the socialism of action.

The greatest teacher is practical experience. The misapplication of Socialism, therefore, was never realized among the masses of the workers until the Russian working class experienced, and the workers of the world witnessed, the Proletarian Revolution in Russia. Then the great division came. The treachery of the Mensheviks in Russia, the crimes of the Scheidemanns-Noskes in Germany, furnished the key of understanding. Like a flash of lightning the Russian Revolution struck the darkness of misunderstanding and showed the fundamental truth that the class struggle is not a theory, but an actual reality. The workers of the world awoke to the reality of the class struggle and learned to understand its necessities. And it is that understanding that is most valuable for the workers.

That is the greatest contribution of the Proletarian Revo-

lution of Russia to the Proletariat of the world. No matter what the fate of that Revolution may yet be, it was a flash of lightning that illuminated the great class struggle between exploiter and exploited long enough to show the workers the world over its true form and only solution. This is more dangerous to capitalism than even the workers' republic itself. And this is the one thing that neither fossilized lawyers upon the bench of any supreme court, nor police power, nor lying newspapers, nor armed mercenaries, nor anything in the world of capitalism can defeat.

The Russian Revolution has taught the workers that the way of the "Socialists," the way of least resistance, is not the way of the revolution. They always submit their aims and principles to the will and the power of the ruling class. They do not do that because they think they can accomplish Socialism that way, but because they do not want true socialism. The way of the right "Socialists" is the way of the petite bourgeois. They want the individual capitalists replaced by the state. The state they hope to control with the help of the misled masses of the workers. State capitalism is the only thing that can be accomplished by the means proposed and applied by them. State capitalism is the only thing they want to accomplish. They are the enemies of the working class, the enemies of true Socialism.

But the Russian Revolution has also shown us the dangers of the tactics of the center. The centrist is the typical being that has one eye on the chair of principles and one on the chair of opportunities. And it invariably seats itself between both of them. The centrist lacks the courage to be consistent. He is forever wavering and never knows what to do. And when the decisive moment arrives and something must be done, then he, without fail, does the wrong thing. The center often knows what it should do, but always lacks the courage to do it. He would even promote and lead a real revolutionary struggle if he could get a written guarantee

of victory before he starts. But lacking that, he will always hesitate at the most decisive moment. These "qualities" in a period of revolution condemn the possessor as unfit for leadership. His indecision will make him a traitor at the decisive moment because according to him, "the time for action has not yet arrived." The Russian Revolution has taught the workers that the way to avoid the consequences of the fatal blunders of the center is to avoid the center and its leadership.

But the Russian Revolution has also cured many illusionaries and romantics. The realities of the revolution have replaced the picture of it created by imagination. It has shown the task of the revolution in all its tremendousness and imperatively demands the elimination of all romantics who, in the face of the realities of the revolution, keep on nourishing their illusions and who condemn the realities for the crime of being so unlike their illusions.

The real socialist, the Communist, will base his action upon the uncompromising attitude of the class struggle. He goes the way of the real revolutionary struggle. Although basing his action on strict principles of the revolutionary class struggle, he does not leave out of consideration the actual facts of the struggle, nor the forces at his disposal. He relies for action upon the working class itself. He places the revolutionary power in the hands of the workers, so they may build up a workers' state as an instrument of building a society of free humans—Communism.

This educational value of the Russian Revolution is one of its most important features. It has travelled only a few short steps on the long road of transformation to communism. What it has taught is already an indisputable part of the stock of knowledge of the workers the world over. It has taught the workers real socialism, communism, the spectre of which will really and truly hunt down capitalism to its grave, and the workers will establish the living monument of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Women and the Communist International

THESIS ADOPTED AT THE THIRD CONGRESS

Adopted at the 20th Session, July 8th, 1921

1. The Third Congress of the Comintern in conjunction with the Second International Womens' Congress confirms the decision of the First and Second Congresses on the necessity for increasing the work of all the Communist Parties of the East and West among proletarian women. The masses of women workers must be educated in the spirit of Communism and so drawn into the struggle for Soviet Power and into the construction of the Soviet Labor Republic. In all countries the working classes, and consequently the women workers, are faced with the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The capitalist economic system has got into a blind alley, for there is no room for the further development of industrial forces within that system. The general impoverishment of the workers, the impotence of the bourgeoisie to revive production, the development of speculative enterprises, the decay in the production system, unemployment,

the fluctuation of prices out of keeping with wages,—all this leads inevitably to the deepening of the class struggle in all countries. This struggle is to decide who shall conduct, administer, and organize production, and upon what system that should be done,—whether it should be in the hands of a clique of bourgeois exploiters, and be carried on upon the principles of capitalism and private property, or in the hands of the producing class and carried on upon a Communist basis.

The newly rising class, the class of producers, must in accordance with the laws of economic production, take the productive apparatus into its own hands, and set up new forms of public economy. Only in such a way will it be possible to create the necessary impetus for the development of the economic forces to the maximum and for the removal of the anarchy of capitalist production.

So long as the power of government is in the hands of the bourgeois class, the proletariat has no power to organize

production. No reforms, no measure, carried-out by the democratic or socialistic governments of the bourgeois countries, are able to save the situation. They cannot alleviate the unbearable sufferings of the working women and working men, sufferings which are due to the disorganization of the capitalist system of production, and which are going to last as long as the power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Only by seizing the power of government will the proletariat be able to take hold of the means of production, and thus secure the possibility of directing the economic development in the interests of the toilers.

In order to hasten the hour of the decisive conflict between the proletariat and the degenerating bourgeois world, the working class must adhere to the firm and unhesitating tactics outlined by the Third International. The most fundamental and immediate goal determining the methods of work and the line of struggle for the proletariat of both sexes must be the dictatorship of labor.

As the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat is the vital question before the proletariat of all the capitalist countries, and the construction of Communism is the important task of those countries where the dictatorship is already in the hands of the workers, the Third Congress of the Communist International maintains that the conquest of power by the proletariat, as well as the achievement of Communism in those countries where the capitalist state has already been overthrown, can be realized only with the active participation of the wide masses of the proletarian and semi-proletarian women.

On the other hand the Congress once more calls the attention of all women to the fact that without the support of the Communist parties in all the tasks and undertakings leading to the liberation and enfranchisement of the women, this task is practically impossible of achievement.

2. The interest of the working class, especially at the present moment, imperatively demands the recruiting of women into the organized ranks of the proletariat, fighting for Communism.

The economic ruin throughout the world is becoming more acute and more unbearable to the entire city and country poor. Before the working class of the bourgeois-capitalist countries the question of the social revolution rises more and more clearly, and before the working class of Soviet Russia the question of reconstructing the public economy of the land on a new communist basis, becomes more and more vital. Both these tasks will be more easily realized, the more active and the more conscious and willing the participation of the women.

3. Wherever the question of the conquest of power arises, the Communist Parties must consider the great danger to the revolution represented by the inert, uninformed masses of women workers, housewives, employees, peasant women, not liberated from the influence of the bourgeois church and bourgeois superstitions, and not connected in some way or other with the great liberating movement of Communism. Unless the masses of women of the

East and West are drawn into this movement, they inevitably become the stronghold of the bourgeoisie and the object of counter-revolutionary propaganda. The experience of the revolution in Hungary, where the ignorance of the masses of women played such a pitiful part, should serve, in this case, as a warning for the proletariat of all other countries entering upon the road of social revolution.

On the other hand, the experience of the Soviet Republic showed in practice how important the participation of the women workers and peasants has been in the civil war in the defence of the Republic, as well as in all other activities of the Soviet construction. Facts have proven the importance of the part which the women workers and peasants have already played in the Soviet Republic in the organization of defence, strengthening the rear; the struggle against desertion, and against all sorts of counter-revolution, sabotage, etc. The experience of the Workers Republic must serve as a lesson to all other countries.

Hence, the direct task of the Communist Parties: to spread the influence of the Communist Party to the widest circles of the women population of their countries; organizing a special party body and applying special methods; appealing to the women outside of it, to free them from the influence of the bourgeoisie and the compromising parties, and educating them to be real fighters for Communism, and therefore for the complete enfranchisement of the women.

4. Putting before the Communist Parties of the East and West the direct task of extending the activity of the Party among the women proletariat the Third Congress of the Comintern declares also to the women of the entire world, that their emancipation from age-long slavery and inequality depend upon the victory of communism.

What Communism offers to the women, the bourgeois women's movement will never afford her. So long as the power of capitalism and private property continue to exist, the emancipation of woman from subservience to her husband cannot proceed further than her right to dispose of her property and earnings, as she sees fit, and also to decide on equal terms with her husband, the destiny of their children.

The most definite aim of the feminists—to grant the vote to the women—under the regime of bourgeois parliamentarism, does not solve the question of the actual equalization of women, especially of those of the dispossessed classes. This has been clearly demonstrated by the experience of the working women in those capitalist countries where the bourgeoisie has formally recognized the equality of the sexes. The right to vote does not remove the prime cause of women's enslavement in the family and in society. The substitution of the church marriage by civil marriage does not in the least alleviate the situation. The dependence of the proletarian woman upon the capitalist and upon her husband as the economic mainstay of the family remains just the same. The absence of adequate laws to safeguard motherhood and infancy and the lack of proper social education render entirely impossible the equalization of woman's position in matrimonial relations. As a matter of fact, nothing that

can be done under the capitalist order will furnish the key to the solution of the problem of the relationship of the sexes.

Only under Communism, not merely the formal, but the actual equalization of women will be achieved. Then woman will be the rightful owner, on a par with all the members of the working class, of the means of production and distribution. She will participate in the management of industry and she will assume an equal responsibility for the well-being of society.

In other words, only by overthrowing the system of exploitation of man by man, and by supplanting the capitalist mode of production by the Communist organization of industry will the full emancipation of woman be achieved. Only Communism affords the conditions which are necessary in order that the natural functions of woman—motherhood—should not come into conflict with her social obligations and hinder her creative work for the benefit of society. On the contrary, Communism will facilitate the most harmonious and diversified development of a healthy and beautiful personality that is indissolubly bound together with the whole life and activities of entire society. Communism should be the aim of all women who are fighting for complete emancipation and real freedom.

But, Communism is also the final aim of the proletariat. Consequently, the struggle of the working women for this aim must be carried on in the interests of both, under a united leadership and control, as "one and indivisible" to the entire world movement of the revolutionary proletariat.

5. The Third Congress of the Comintern confirms the basic proposition of revolutionary Marxism, i.e., that there is no "specific woman question" and no "specific women's movement," and, that every sort of alliance of working women with bourgeois feminism, as well as any support by the women workers of the treacherous tactics of the social-compromisers and opportunists leads to the undermining of the forces of the proletariat, delaying thereby the triumph of the social revolution and the advent of Communism, and thus also postponing the great hour of women's ultimate liberation.

Communism will be achieved not by "united efforts of all women of different classes," but by the united struggle of all the exploited.

In their own interests the masses of proletarian women should support the revolutionary tactics of the Communist Party and take a most active and direct part in all mass-actions and all forms of civil war on a national and international scope.

6. Woman's struggle against her double oppression (capitalism and her home and family subservience), at its highest stage of development assumes an international character, becoming identified with the struggle of the proletariat of both sexes under the manner of the Third International for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Soviet System.

7. While warning the women workers against entering into any form of alliance and co-operation with the bour-

geois feminists, the Third Congress of the Comintern, at the same time, points out to the working women of all countries that to cherish any illusions of the possibility for the proletarian women to support the Second International or any of the opportunistically inclined elements adhering to it without causing serious damage to the cause of women's emancipation—will prove infinitely detrimental for the liberating struggle of the proletariat. The women must constantly remember that woman's present-day slavery has grown out of the bourgeois order. In order to put an end to women's slavery it is necessary to inaugurate the new Communist organization of society.

Any support rendered to the Second and the Second-and-a-half Internationals hampers the social revolution, delaying the advent of the new order. The more resolutely and uncompromisingly the women masses will turn away from the Second and the Second-and-a-half Internationals, the more certain will be the triumph of the Social Revolution. It is the sacred duty of all women Communists to condemn those who flinch from the revolutionary tactics of the Comintern and to demand their expulsion from the ranks of the Comintern. The women ought to remember that the Second International never created and never attempted to create any organ, whose task would be to carry on an active struggle for the complete emancipation of woman. The organization of an International alliance of women socialists was started outside the Second International by the initiative of the men workers themselves. The women Socialists who devoted themselves to work among women had neither representation nor a decisive vote in the Second International.

At its first Congress, in 1919, the Third International defined its attitude towards enlisting the support of women in the struggle for the dictatorship. On its initiative, the first conference of women Communists was convened in 1920 and an International Secretariat for work among women was constituted with a permanent representation in the Executive Committee of the Comintern. It is the duty of all class-conscious women workers to break unconditionally with the Second and Second-and-a-Half Internationals and support whole-heartedly the revolutionary tactics of the Comintern.

8. The support of the Comintern by the women workers of all occupations should, first of all, express itself in their willingness to enter into the ranks of the Communist Party of their respective countries. In those countries and parties where the struggle between the Second and Third Internationals has not yet come to a head, it is the duty of the women workers to support, by all means, the Party and groups that stand for the Comintern and carry on a relentless warfare against all vacillating and avowedly treacherous elements, irrespective of any authorities holding a different view. The class-conscious women who are striving for emancipation should not remain in any parties which have not joined the Comintern. Those who are opposed to the

(Continued on page 31.)

The Party and the Negro Struggle

By ROBT. BRUCE and J. P. COLLINS

(Continued)

In the last article the background and reasons for the Negro's racialism and anti-white psychology were outlined. The problem before us now is how to meet the negro's present frame of mind and gradually bring him into our camp.

When we speak to trade unionists we speak to them in trades-union ways and trades-union language. We take into special consideration the trades-union point of view. We cannot condemn the trades unionist for his lack of vision towards the class struggle or for his narrow, craft struggles and point of view. Neither should we condemn the Negro for his present frame of mind. We must speak to him in the language and ways he understands. We must take special consideration for his point of view.

The World War and the Negro

The struggle of the Negro in this country, especially in the last two decades, has been for racial equality. Latterly, as we have indicated in the previous article, a Pan-African movement has been making headway among the Negroes. This movement is considerably stimulated by the struggle for independence of other oppressed races and nations. The Egyptian and Indian struggles especially have had a stirring effect. The Irish struggle has shown what even a small determined people could do against the world's mightiest capitalist-imperialist combination. The hypocrisies of the World War, too, have had a tremendous effect on the Negro's mind. The Negro took at face value all the mouthings about democracy and refused to relinquish the hopes raised during the conflict. They have all come out of the conflict with the spirit that "if it was worth while dying for democracy 'over there' it is more worth while dying for it over here." Out of this experience there has arisen an ever-growing sentiment for independence for the Negro countries, Negro government for Africa, "Africa for the Africans," and a desire to push everything that is Negro.

The new ideas bolstered up the Negro's self-confidence and pride, but distracted, to a great extent, his attention from the struggle as it affects him in this country. This caused him to neglect concrete demands at home for distant objectives far-removed from the actual issue of the struggle.

Thus the two main objectives preoccupying the Negro's mind at the present time are Negro independence, expressing itself in the cry for a free Africa, etc., and race equality, including social equality. There is also, however, a growing feeling of the necessity for improving the Negro's material condition in this country. The idea of organizing for better wages is making headway. Various attempts have been made by the Negroes to organize themselves

into labor unions. Those Negroes who have taken the initial step along this line have faced many difficulties because of the impression abroad among Negroes that organized labor is opposed to the Negro—an impression largely created, as indicated in our last article, by the official attitude of organized labor toward the Negro.

A word or two about some characteristics of the Negro to-day will not be out of place. The Negro has a great love of display, show, pomp, ostentation, brass bands, mysticism, decorations, buttons, social frivolities and military display. (In this regard it is only fair to say that he is not alone.) These contraptions catch his imagination and act as an inducement for organization as nothing else can at the present time.

At Work

The Negro is revolutionary in sentiment because of the wrongs perpetrated against his race. This sentiment may be latent but it is there.

Our main objective in working among the Negroes must be to attract their attention to the class struggle and to draw them into it. Steer him into class organizations. If through skilful agitation and organization we should succeed in winning the Negro to our camp he will be the most embittered, consistent and tireless opponent of capitalism; having suffered the severest exploitation and oppression he will face his oppressors with a fierce hatred.

Our task is not to oppose such aspirations as a free Africa, race equality, social equality, and better conditions, but rather to intensify those aspirations and help to direct them into effective channels. The most important point in our agitation must be to *fix responsibility for the Negro's sufferings where it rightly belongs: on the bourgeoisie and their Capitalist-Imperialist System!* We must make him understand that in order to achieve his objective he must actively enter the struggle against the common enemy of oppressed. We must direct his struggle into a struggle against Capitalism and capitalist governments; and we must see to it that our enemies should not be able to distract his attention from the concrete immediate fighting objectives to the mirage of false hopes. Our tactics must be such that they will draw the masses into the struggle, gradually drawing them into the maelstrom of revolution towards the final objective.

The aspirations of the Negro are the aspirations of an oppressed race. As usual such aspirations develop because of the sufferings and the natural desires for liberation consequently arising. It behooves us to examine into every one of such cases, to see whether the struggle for such objectives would weaken our enemies and pit the masses of the oppressed race against the common enemy and thus lead these

masses nearer to us. This brings us to an examination of the aspirations of the Negro.

A Free Africa

Africa is a vast undeveloped continent parcelled out among the big imperialist plunderers. The exploitation of the natives is diabolical in its crudeness and intensity. Barbarism intermixed with slavery and peonage is the system under which Africa is exploited by the Capitalist governments. Africa has been subjugated by the missionary, whiskey, deceit, fire and sword. The struggle of the natives against their alien exploiters is age-long, and the bones of many of the soldiers of the imperial powers have been bleached by the tropical climate of Africa. Enormous wealth is being derived from Africa for the support of the capitalist regime in Europe and America. Cutting off this wealth would mean economic ruin to many a capitalist state at this critical period! Thus the freeing of Africa would not only deliver a large section of the human race from degradation and slavery but would at the same time undermine one of the pillars of Capitalist Imperialism. Our enemies' strength would be sapped in the struggle, thus weakening him more and more. We should then welcome and encourage and earnestly help in any effort of the Negroes and other oppressed peoples on the African continent to drive out the imperialists and take possession of the land themselves.

Social Equality

Full racial equality implies the desire of the Negro to be considered as a human being. This is an old demand which received impetus after the World War. It is a far more fundamental demand than all the others. It will not be solved until the Negro, through self-assertion and organization, acquires sufficient power and influence to demand respect.

The demand for a free Africa is an outgrowth of the Negro's attempt to obtain full racial equality. For equality the Negro will fight most stubbornly, since its denial affects not only his moral and social conditions but also his material well-being.

To achieve equality he must organize his power everywhere, in the Negro states to drive out the imperialists, in the South to gain political freedom and recognition, in general, but especially in the North, to get better material conditions, better wages, shorter hours and more regular employment. By winning the average political liberties he will be more in a position to protect his interests, and by organizing himself economically everywhere, but especially in the North, he will become equal with all the rest of the organized working-class.

Thus we see that the Negro struggle takes on the aspect of a racial as well as a class struggle. Fundamentally it is, of course, a struggle against Capitalism and Imperialism.

It is especially timely and important to encourage the organization of the Negroes economically. Economic organization is bound to bring them into close contact with the white workers. They will be forced to act concertedly with the rest of labor and thus will learn by experience of their

common interests and be drawn more and more into the class struggle. Besides the economic appeal is the strongest in any case, and while the Negroes may use their economic strength for the achievement and support of their other aspirations the foundation of strength and well-being is economic security.

The Struggle Involved

The accomplishment of this program means a severe struggle against the Capitalist and Imperialist oppressors in the colonies. It can hardly be accomplished without an uprising in the colonies or the destruction of some of the capitalist empires through a Proletarian revolution at home. The conquest of political equality in the South and colonies will bring the right to organize, right to vote, and freedom of speech which will not be conceded by the planter-barons, accustomed to holding the Negroes in peonage, without the bitterest struggle—a struggle which will rock to the very foundation that hideous regime. The white capitalist planters not only would lose billions of dollars, being unable to continue their present intense exploitation of the Negro, but they would then be prevented from interfering with his acquiring more and more power in every direction. The granting of the franchise would mean a democratization of political rule in favor of the Negro, and would force the white planter-barons to support the petty Negro bourgeoisie in order to save themselves. This they will not do until they are forced to it.

Economic organization will strengthen not only the Negro but the working class in general. It will line up with labor an element which heretofore has been used to the detriment of the working class. Besides, if ever the Negro is going to achieve his liberation it will not be by his efforts alone but by the pressure of all the organized workers who themselves will not tolerate the suppression of their brethren, whether they be black, yellow or white.

Our plan should aim to unite the oppressed, strengthen and cement their power. Some of our "leftists" may say, "But that's all reforms and immediate demands. It does not do away with capitalism?" To them we say that the fulfillment of these demands means intense struggles on the part of the masses themselves and our opportunity to win the masses over to us during these struggles and lead them on to the greater and final struggle. Besides, it is foolish to think that the proletarian masses will ever enter into the struggle against Capitalism consciously fighting for Communism. The case will rather be that they will be goaded through the resistance of the bourgeoisie to their needs and demands, into an open assault upon, and destruction of, the bourgeoisie. Especially will this be so in the United States. The American worker will not fight for theories but he will fight like hell for his dinner pail, and the capitalists will less and less be able to give it to him. As far as the masses are concerned our task is to develop the struggle and lead it. It is up to us to learn how, and know where we are leading and whether we are leading well.

Organization Paramount.

In order to accomplish the above program it is not sufficient to merely propagate the ideas. It is necessary to organize the sentiment at the same time. This cannot be done very well except by uniting all the radical Negro organizations, and using this organization to attract all the Negro militants. We will then be able to develop a center capable of influencing the Negro masses and organizing the struggle. It is all very well for our comrades to join any organization where the Negro masses are, but to unite the struggle and organize its leadership they must belong to a center which will, on a large scale, conduct the fight.

In our work among the Negroes, we must not overlook a very simple, but important factor. This is the question of satisfying as much as possible the purely human factor in our work. The desire for enjoyment, dances, exercises, song, music, games, displays, parades, etc., must be met. Through these gatherings there is

not only the possibility of raising funds but also of cementing the working class spirit, and many times to reach the most backward elements which otherwise could never be touched. There, in personal company and good spirit, is the opportunity for intensive individual propaganda, getting of new members, and sale of literature. These are important factors in our work. If we do not provide for relaxation, the capitalists and their henchmen will, thus strengthen their influence. Experience shows, in innumerable instances, that those organizations grow strong politically and in membership which have recognized these purely human factors. For doing such work we will need meeting halls and rooms, owning such places outright wherever necessary. Meeting halls are centers of organizations. They furnish the connection, they act as tools for the work. The more the better.

We must be realists if we are going to meet the real problems confronting the American workers. And the Negro problem is a most vital one. Our task is clear. We must not falter.

Review of the Month

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE RAILROAD BROTHERHOODS?

The failure of the railroad strike to materialize on Oct. 30th, is an evidence not only of the treacherous and incompetent leadership, but of the internal structural weakness of the railroad brotherhoods itself to withstand the shock of a general railroad strike.

To attempt to explain the recent fiasco by the treachery of the leaders is like trying to lift one's self up by one's own bootstraps. Stigmatizing the leaders does not explain the facts.

The treacherous leaders are only a symptom of a deep-rooted disease in the very vitals of the brotherhood organizations. This disease is both structural, insofar as it pertains to organization, and ideological, as it affects the membership.

The railroad brotherhoods grew and prospered in the pre-imperialistic era of American capitalism. Built on the ruins of Deb's American Labor Union, the brotherhood members became skilled aristocrats of labor and the brotherhoods were 'job trusts' to keep them secure in their highly-paid jobs. While other labor unions engaged in bitter struggles with the bosses the railroad brotherhoods sat back on their haunches and watched them fight from a safe distance. Such crude manifestations were not for them. The class struggle passed them by.

They made not the slightest attempt to unionize the other branches of the railroad industry. They were sufficient unto themselves. It was no accident that the brotherhoods never joined the A. F. of L., conservative as that body was and is.

In time the huge strike funds which were never used—not even to assist the rest of organized labor—called for some form of safe and profitable investment. Naturally the brotherhoods turned to the co-operative idea.

They went in for life insurance for its members, they loaned money to its members to build homes and held the mortgages; they organized a co-operative bank where the members could invest their savings and buy bank stock. Result: the railroad brotherhoods in the normal stage of industrial development in America turned from labor unions into co-operative institutions. The psychological re-adjustment of the members preceded the structural change. The leaders of the brotherhoods received \$15,000 and \$25,000 salaries as bankers and financial experts, not as labor leaders.

This was the internal situation of the brotherhoods when the European War broke out. The feverish industrial expansion of the United States, due to the role she played in supplying the combatants, led to an increase in work and a consequent rise in wages. The brotherhood wages however, remained stationary.

Stone, Lee & Co., like clever financiers, waited the opportune moment. They knew that the Railroad Brotherhoods could never call a successful strike. They never intended to strike. They issued their ultimatum to Wilson and the Congress on the eve of America's participation in the war. It was a bluff pure and simple, but it worked. The Government did not dare call their bluff and the Adamson Law was forced through at the eleventh hour.

However, the railroad executives and the Government knew the real weakness of the Brotherhoods. They bided their time. They rejected the Plumb Plan, which was an attempt to extend the Brotherhood co-operative plan into a co-partnership with Wall Street and the Government in the railroads. Instead they formulated the Esch-Cummins Law, which placed the railroad brotherhoods in a kind of virtual slavery to the owners and the state.

The Esch-Cummins Law was the answer of the railroad executives and the Government to the 1916 Adamson

Law and a direct challenge to the brotherhoods. This challenge the brotherhoods dared not accept in their turn, and marked the turning point in the fortunes of the Four Brotherhoods.

They confessed their own weakness in unmistakable language. The 12% cut in wages in July, the abrogation of the old working rules, the additional cut of 12% threatened last month were only the logical consequences of (1) the failure of the Brotherhoods to accept the gauge of battle thrown down by the Esch-Cummins Law; (2) the change in the centre of gravity of the Railroad Brotherhoods from labor unions into co-operative institutions; (3) the isolation of the brotherhoods from the 12 other unions of railroad workers which arose in the last decade or so.

As a matter of fact, the issuance of the strike call for October 30th was the act of desperate men goaded on by the very hopelessness of their position. The rank and file, smarting from the drubbings administered in the last few years, unable to grasp their changed status and the internal weakness of their organization, voted for a strike—but hoped for a compromise. They had seen what happened to their fellow-workers in the famous “outlaw strike” of last year. Jobs, homes, life insurance, savings, all would be lost, even as the “outlaw strikers” had lost them. They turned to their leaders, not as leaders, but as insolvent business men on the verge of bankruptcy turn to their financial advisers: that was the meaning of the recent strike vote.

Their leaders, knowing they could not hope to win, tried the old game of bluff, but their bluff was called and they collapsed like a punctured balloon.

We now come to the question, what's to become of the Railroad Brotherhoods? The answer does not lie in saying merely “kick out the reactionary and treacherous leaders”. The cure must go deeper than that. The first step in the rehabilitation of the Brotherhoods as trade unions is a change of policy. A successful co-operative institution cannot be a fighting trade union at the same time. They must get rid of their aristocratic ideology and isolation. They are part of the great class struggle that is raging all over the capitalist world between the exploited and the exploiters. They hold a strategic position in this class struggle; they control the nerve-system of capitalism. Because of their strategic post they come into conflict not only with the bosses but directly with the capitalist government and all the police powers of the state as they must have discovered by this time. Therefore, above all, they must stand together and present a united front to the common enemy.

The question of the removal of the old leaders is part of this change of policy. A change of policy will inevitably lead to a change of leaders. A change of leaders without a change of policy similar to the one outlined here will only lead to continued impotence and a further sinking of the rank and file into slavery.

The reconstruction policy of the Railroad Brotherhoods must be along the following lines; (1) the liquidation of the brotherhoods as co-operative institutions; (2) affiliation to the A. F. of L.; (3) one organization of the four brotherhoods; (4) removal of the old leaders.

These are the necessary preparatory steps for the next railroad strike.

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

The Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments will be convened by the time this issue gets into

the hands of its readers. Armistice Night, Sammy Gompers will give it his blessings in Madison Square Garden. The following day some famous prelate will open the conference with a prayer. We are sure the conference will need both the blessings and the prayer. The question we want to consider is what is the real reason that Foch, Diaz, Beatty, Briand and the other war-lords sit down to a conference to discuss disarmament or even the limitation of armaments. Does any worker in his right senses really believe that these professional butchers and international imperialist plunderers are really concerned with humanitarian motives? Does any sane workingman or working-woman really believe that these professional soldiers and diplomats really wish to prevent war?

If not that, then why the conference? Well, there are such questions as Soviet Russia, and the Far East, and China, and world markets, and the menace of colonial uprisings in Asia and proletarian revolutions in Europe, and unemployment, and the present economic crisis—all pressing for solution. The recent fracas in Europe, instead of being the “war for democracy” and the “war to end all war,” has turned out to be but the prelude to new and greater wars. The elimination of Germany as a world power has brought England and America into economic and commercial collision on the one hand, and Japan and America into a similar collision in the East, on the other hand. The Russian revolution brought them all into conflict with Soviet Russia.

A new world war between America and England, with France and Japan siding with one or other of the combatants, depending upon which side will offer the biggest bribe, is something that requires pause and consideration. World capitalism is not yet over the effects of the last war. A new war may put the final quietus on capitalism altogether. Therefore the soldiers, diplomats and the servants of finance-imperialism are meeting to discuss how the present economic and commercial rivalries of the big powers can best be liquidated. All the problems of the conference are closely related to each other; in fact, they are but different patterns in the present crazy-quilt we call civilization.

Therefore the problem before the Washington Conference presents itself in this form: Can international capitalism be restored to a state of stable equilibrium through an agreement between the three big powers, namely, England, Japan and America, to amicably divide the world markets between them, or, if no such agreement is possible—and all the facts point to the latter assumption—can the inevitable future world war be postponed for a certain length of time by agreement of these same powers until a more propitious moment, i. e., until the big powers have united to clean up Soviet Russia and strangled the revolutionary uprisings in the colonies and the developing proletarian revolutions in Europe?

As to the first proposition, that is impossible because American imperialism is young and aggressive. She holds the dominant position in the world to-day. ~~the world~~

is her debtor. With half of the gold supply in her coffers she holds the key to the fluctuating exchange and the economic and financial rehabilitation of Europe. America's price for assistance to restore European capitalism is world supremacy on sea and land, which means the displacement of Britain as the leading world power and free access to the markets of China and the Far East, which means the economic strangulation of Japan. To which neither England or Japan will ever assent.

Remains the second proposition: Can the inevitable future war be postponed? The same commercial and economic rivalries, the same internal contradictions of capitalism which militate against a solution of the first proposition militate equally against the second. **There can be no honor among thieves. Therefore whatever treaties may be drawn up between the three big powers as a result of this conference will only mean so many scraps of paper.** The scramble for markets and commercial expansion will go on. When the conflict becomes intolerable, or when the workers at home require a little patriotic blood-letting to still their revolutionary ardor, war will be declared. When that time comes all the participants of the future combat will turn to the present Washington Conference for the ideological justification for plunging into war, in order to fool their own people into the belief that the war was thrust upon them; that they did all they could to prevent just such a situation at the conference but failed because all the other nations were selfish and brutal.

To sum up: There will be, in reality, two conferences. One will be open to the reporters and a favored portion of the public, i. e., all those intellectuals, labor fakers and lickspittles of imperialism who can be depended upon to mould public opinion for their nefarious schemes. At the open conference humanitarianism and bourgeois pacifism will reign supreme. The other conference will be strictly behind closed doors. There the international thieves and plunderers will discuss, bargain, sell and betray each other and finally agree to disagree and go home. The only agreement that will be reached will be to assist each other in case of proletarian revolutions and to continue to undermine Soviet Russia in one form or another in order to bring about its collapse.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

November 7th marks the fourth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of a Soviet Government in Russia. Despite the lies and calumny heaped upon it by the bourgeois press of the world, the Russian Revolution has proved to be the most stupendous and momentous revolutionary act of workers in all history. The three years of civil war, the blockade, and now the famine—desperate as the situation is—have been unable to undermine the first successful proletarian government. Soviet Russia will emerge from the present crisis—thanks to the new economic and agrarian policies initiated by the Russian Communist Party

—with increased prestige, strengthened internally and externally.

The ramifications of the Russian Revolution run like a red vein through all the social, political and economic phenomena of the post-war period. It has upset the calculations of the imperialist-Bourgeoisie and destroyed the capitalist equilibrium of Europe and Asia. It has given new impetus to the revolutionary aspirations of the exploited masses of the East and roused them to new heights of struggle. With their eyes on Soviet Russia, the exploited masses of India, China, Japan, Korea, Turkey and Egypt are slowly throwing off the poisonous religious antagonisms and national separatism of the past, and with renewed courage and faith are massing for the final struggle against imperialist exploitation.

Thanks to the Russian Revolution, the labor and Socialist movements of Europe and America have gone through a complete transformation, materially and ideologically. The Second International, shattered by the world-war, and seeking again to enslave the workers in the interests of imperialism, was completely destroyed by the rise of the Russian Revolution and gave place to the Third International. The Amsterdam International of Trade Unions, the final refuge of the betrayers of the working class, has been exposed for what it is—the strongest bulwark and support of international capitalism. It, too, is giving way under the sledge-hammer blows of the Russian Revolution. The Red Trade Union International has taken its place as the international organ of revolutionary trade-unionism. The social-patriots, the reformists, the labor fakers, wavering centrists—all have been exposed and relegated to the scrap-heap of the world revolutionary movement.

The Russian Revolution has unified and centralized the workers' movements throughout the world. It has destroyed the old illusions of social-democracy and restored Marxism as a revolutionary guide to action. Its revivifying influence has shaken the proletariat of the world out of its lethargy and swung it into the front lines of revolutionary struggle. It has given them poise and confidence in their own power. It has injected a sense of responsibility and realism into the revolutionary movements of the whole world. Just as it revealed and exposed the treachery of the "right," so it unflinchingly exposed and revealed the weakness and utopianism of the "infantile sickness of the left." Dogmatism gave way to realism. Academic theorizing gave way to the study of the objective and subjective factors in the class struggle, and the search for ways and means of winning to victory.

The basis for the readjustment and re-orientation of the revolutionary world movement has been the necessity for safeguarding the fruits of the Russian Revolution. The continued existence of Soviet Russia is at once the foremost problem of the revolutionary movements of the world as well as the base of its own struggle for emancipation from capitalism.

SANCHO-VANZETTI

The echo of the mass demonstrations for Sacco-Vanzetti in the capitals of Europe and South America still resound in the columns of the capitalist press of America. There is no doubt that these international demonstrations will be the means of bringing this dastardly frame-up to the attention of the American workers. Just as in 1917, when the American press carried a news article of a demonstration by Petrograd workmen for the release of one "Tom Muney," brought the Mooney case to the fore and saved him from hanging, so the news of demonstrations in Paris, Berlin, Rome, Lisbon, London, Madrid, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Valparaiso, etc., for the release of Sacco and Vanzetti will bring this case before the organized workers of America and compel them to act.

It is unnecessary to add that the stories of "bombs" and similar outrages are but the embellishments of the capitalist press egged on by the international secret service, in order to discredit the movement with organized labor in America. Palmerism is not the exclusive product of our own Department of Justice. Bombs that never kill those they are intended for recur too frequently not to lead to the suspicion that they are "planted" by the secret service itself. The workers of America have had sufficient experience with these methods to discredit organized labor, to be fooled by them.

The American Labor Alliance in conference with a number of labor and defense organizations held a conference last week to arrange for a nation-wide campaign for the release of these imprisoned comrades. Among the latter were the Workers' Defense Union, the Italian Defense Committee, the Irish-American Labor League and the National Defense Committee. This conference has arranged to hold a number of mass-meetings on November 27th, and all labor and radical organizations are called upon to co-operate. In New York it will attempt to procure Madison Square Garden for a monster demonstration. Frank P. Walsh has been invited to speak. Collections from these mass meetings will be forwarded to the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee in Boston.

But this is not enough. The effect of these nation-wide mass meetings will peter out unless the organized workers take up this question at their union meetings and compel their unions officials to take action.

If Sacco and Vanzetti are to be saved from the electric chair organized labor in America must bring pressure to bear upon the Federal Government to take action in favor of the condemned men.

Organized labor of America, do your duty! Show your fellow-workers of Europe that you know how to defend your imprisoned comrades!

Our Agrarian Problem

By H. R. HARROW

If the Communist Party is to be a Party of action it must not neglect the struggles of the farm workers and farmers. These exploited workers represent the largest single occupational group in the country. They are skilled workers in our basic industry—*Agriculture*. To most comrades participation in farmers' commodity organizations, in their struggles for parliamentary power or in their immediate economic demands, seems impossible. In fact if one speaks of the vital need for agrarian action, his subject will in all probability receive the kindly attention usually bestowed upon the pathetic aspirations of a child. This benevolent ignorance among the membership will prolong our separation from the agrarian workers. Such ignorance must be overcome. The new principles of mass leadership which we are just beginning to learn, have opened our eyes to the unlimited possibilities of a determined and united vanguard. It is appropriate therefore to ask: "How can the Communist Party function in the agrarian struggles?"

Meeting the Need

We must frankly admit our inability to meet the present agrarian crisis. The opportunities for propaganda should be an incentive to prepare for agrarian action in the immediate future. The first step is to make a general study of

the farm struggle. It will also be found necessary to provide for special rural organization and discipline for isolated members. We should have a national agrarian organizer, and a section agrarian organizer for each geographical section: East, South, Mid-West and West. Together with a Sub-Committee of the C. E. C., these organizers should form the center of an *Agrarian Bureau* to direct all agrarian activities of the Party. It should be understood that the work of the agrarian organizers is different from that of regular Party organizers. The agrarian work will be among the most backward elements in farm organizations. Rural party members should therefore have their regular party connections with the nearest Party group. At the same time they carry on their most important function as nuclei in farm organizations.

But the unification of all available rural communists into a centralized agrarian machine is, by itself, hopelessly inadequate. First because they are tied to their home locality and secondly because they are too few in numbers. It is necessary for some city members to volunteer for agrarian service. We need trained agrarian workers. But to train a mobile corps of agrarian party workers we must have a farm school. There a concentrated course in actual farm

practice and the theories of the new work will fit them for participation in the struggles of the rural mass. Lastly the Party should include a National Agrarian magazine among its legal press. This will complete the underground preparation. The *Agrarian Bureau* of the Party will then be the motive force of the legal agrarian activities.

In the United States there are two classes of exploited working farmers. Farm laborers and small farmers; proletarian and semi-proletarian. Agrarian action therefore divides itself accordingly. Each Section-Agrarian organizer will have a different problem. Race prejudice, national prejudice or difference in type of farming may complicate the local policy. We should appeal directly to one or the other of these elements and win its support. Which element, Proletarian or Semi-Proletarian, should receive the greatest emphasis will vary in each section.

The West

The Mountain and Pacific states west of the Grain Belt make up "The West." Here the typical unit is the large industrial farm. Modern farm machinery and modern methods have replaced the primitive methods of the South and the small farming of the East. The men operating these industrial farms resemble the workers in any other industry; they are in fact proletarians. Capitalist land-hogs throughout the West control great empires. The Miller and Lux combine owns millions of acres. The Taft Co. has one hundred and fifty square miles of land. Then come the large holdings of the Swift and Armour interests and thousands of others not so large but just as efficient in exploiting the farm proletarians. This farm practice requires large numbers of workers during the harvest season. The western farm workers are largely migratory. They travel on the freights from southern California to northern Washington and harvest the great crops; fruits, vegetables and grain. The permanent workers on these "ranches" and on the cattle ranches have a more settled existence; but throughout the West the typical producers are industrial proletarians. Our tactics, then, must be adapted primarily to proletarian struggles.

Because the proletarian elements are most important in the West we must co-operate with the I. W. W. in their activities among the farm workers. In spite of our general differences of policy we must recognize that the I. W. W. alone is active in the agrarian field. Their workers carry their cards and preamble up and down the land. They actually participate in the daily struggle for better pay, better food and shelter. Our Western section agrarian organizers should plan to centralize I. W. W. work among the farm workers. Bureaus of information for the "Stiffs" should be opened. The advice given and the direction of more general action should be based on exact conditions of crops, weather, numbers annually employed in the different areas and the wages to ask for each type of work. We must convince the I. W. W. that centralized control of general farm demonstrations should be our joint object. We must prove that the isolated, petty, almost personal strikes, which

at present occupy their energies, are valueless unless we give them a cumulative effect through centralized direction. We must not demand that the "Stiffs" be "Red card men." We must gain their confidence through organizers who actually render service in our chain of more or less permanent bureaus along the road. It is because the "Stiffs" have so few tangible interests in life we must be more fixed in our attempts to direct their activities. We must not merely talk theories; we must symbolize something concrete. Control of the fruit packers' unions will be won only by supporting their demands by joint action. Almost the entire western agrarian problem is one for industrial tactics. These will be most effective if carried on jointly with the many I. W. W. organizers already in the field.

The East

In the West we found farms and population widely scattered. In the East the farm problem is totally different. The small farm is the typical unit. The semi-proletarian is the typical producer. The East is the most productive and important of all agrarian sections. Eighty per cent of our industries and industrial workers are concentrated in this section. Here also is the greatest number of farmers and the largest area of improved acres. All of our great cities and the most important ports are here. Practically three-quarters of our population carry on these activities in the East. It will be the storm center of the proletarian revolution. The importance of the small semi-proletarian farmers interspersed throughout this teeming section is generally overlooked. Only when a transportation strike threatens does the vital necessity for food force itself upon our notice. During the revolution the city workers and their armies will be dependent upon this great mass of backward working farmers for food. We shall get food only by convincing them that they will benefit by a proletarian victory.

In the East we must emphasize the importance of the semi-proletariat. It is here that we find a general backwardness. Because of this and the fact that this type of farming tends to minimize the importance of the proletarian we must call upon our city comrades for permanent agrarian workers. Here we must establish the farm school to train these comrades. It is in the East that the agrarian magazine will be most effective. The capitalist farm press has a circulation of more than fourteen millions. It has no opposition, unless it be the Non-Partisan League papers. These do not answer the purpose. Our paper must rally all dissatisfied elements in the agrarian mass. It must unmask, in unmistakable language, the subtle hypocrisy of the capitalists exploiting the farmers. But it must go farther and show that all workers have the same class enemy.

Farmers are much more thoroughly organized than is generally supposed. There are approximately fourteen thousand successful farm organizations of national or inter-State scope. The membership in these has never been totalled but unquestionably runs into millions. The American Farm Bureau Federation alone has a membership of one and one

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An American Hinterland

By HENRY ALLEN

American Imperialism is more and more turning its attention to South America, as a source of raw materials and as a market for its surplus capital and manufactured products. At the same time the dependence between the revolutionary and labor movements of North and South America is growing in importance and tending to common understanding and action in the class struggle against American Imperialism.

It is becoming increasingly necessary for the revolutionary and labor movement to follow closely the trend of political, financial and economic events in both continents, to watch the development of the class struggles and to prepare for united action.

South America is destined soon to come under the complete control of American finance-capital as a sort of hinterland, much as Siberia stood in relation to Czarist Russia in the prewar days. The formal independence of the South American republics will be swept aside. Wherever strong opposition from the ruling groups will be encountered, military coups will be resorted to, as was done in Colombia, to place interests friendly to American capital in power. The enticing wedge of this policy is financial loans to the South American republics, forced upon them in most cases by promises that such loans (at high rates of interest) will help to stabilize the falling rate of exchange and revive industry and commerce. Within the last year or so, American bankers have forced loans upon Argentine, Uruguay, Brazil, Chili, Peru and other South American countries. These loans have not, in the least, helped those countries to stabilize their internal economy. They only tend to make the American bankers the virtual dictators of the foreign and domestic policies of those countries, in the guise of financial advisers to their governments. The actual physical domination is only a matter of time.

American Imperialism has already announced to the world its exclusive hegemony over South America through the Monroe Doctrine. The era of the "mailed fist" and "dollar diplomacy" in the Carribean is but the prelude to the conquest of South America, to placing all Latin-America in the hands of Wall Street and its diplomatic agents in Washington. Haiti, Santo Domingo, Colombia, Panama, Guatemala and Nicauragua are all under the "benevolent" guidance of Wall Street. Mexico is continually face to face with the threat of military intervention.

A Great Prize

The reasons for this course of events are obvious. While European capitalism is tottering between economic ruin, financial bankruptcy and political chaos on

the one hand, and unemployment, starvation, discontent and disillusionment of the masses, bordering on proletarian revolution and civil war, on the other hand, American Imperialism is seeking to save itself from the impending European collapse by finding new markets of investment for its surplus capital and products and new fields of exploitation. It can only turn to the East and South America. But in the East stands Japan to challenge America for the exploitation of the Orient. Besides, the East alone cannot, perhaps, absorb America's surplus. South America therefore is the traditional as well as logical objective of American capitalism.

And no wonder! South America, immensely rich in natural resources, has scarcely been scratched. Oil, that indispensable factor of modern industry and commerce, exists there in inexhaustible abundance. Other minerals, such as nitrates, iron and copper ore, second only to oil in industrial importance, are there in great quantities, requiring only intensive exploitation. Her forests with their vast timber tracts are practically virgin. Rubber, coffee, hides and wheat are some of the other South American staples for which she is already famous the world over. But even the production of the latter are as yet inefficient.

Moreover, the sixty millions of people who inhabit South America are practically new customers. What is more important, they are solvent purchasers of American products. Prior to the war, most of the South American trade was in the hands of the English and German. But during the war South America had to turn to North America for her needs and thus American manufacturers gained a foothold which, in the course of time, will lead to exclusive and monopolistic control.

The Task Ahead

This vast source of profit is luring American Imperialism on to bring South America under its domination. At the same time, this move is bringing to the exploited classes of both continents a consciousness of their common misery, a linking of their struggles for the overthrow of their common oppressor and foe—American Imperialism.

It is not to be presumed that the conquest and pacification of South America by American Imperialism will be accomplished peacefully. Far from it. The Latin workers are not the kind to lend themselves to servitude to foreign masters without a bitter and protracted struggle. The era of South American conquest will most likely usher in an era of uprisings and civil war, just as is going on in the British Empire today. In a number of South American countries Communist Parties and

strong labor movements are already in existence. These organizations have already proved their mettle in many a battle with their native capitalist class. The Latin workers are instinctively revolutionary. The Latin temperament plus the tropical and sub-tropical environment is one that will not easily lend itself to the forms of intensive capitalist exploitation.

From the foregoing it becomes increasingly evident that the problem of freedom from capitalist exploitation and the setting up of Workers' Soviet Republics in the Western Hemisphere are not separate problems for the working classes of the various countries. It is a single, homogeneous problem and can only be solved on an inter-continental scale. The workers of North America will not be able to free themselves without the aid and assistance of their Latin brothers; and vice versa. The era of colonial expansion and military conquest of South America will be followed by civil war and revolutionary uprisings. The workers of North America will have to come to the support of their struggling fellow-workers of Latin America. The battle-front will have to be extended until it stretches from the pampas of Argentine to the hell-holes of North American capitalism.

Preparing for Struggle

To meet these coming events preparation is necessary. The barriers of language and ignorance between the revolutionary and labor movements must be broken down. The workers of both continents must come to know each other and to trust each other. Contact must be established; not the formal contacts of reactionary labor and opportunistic reform-Socialists, but the unifying and centralizing contact of revolutionists and Communists. The basis for such contacts can be established through the Red Trade Union International on the industrial field and the Communist Parties on the political field. This is the immediate problem of the revolutionary and Communist movements of the Western Hemisphere.

A beginning can be made at the next regular Communist Party Convention. A delegation or delegates from the South American Communist Parties should be invited to attend this convention and together with a committee appointed by the convention take up the special inter-continental problems and work out plans for closer co-operation.

The next conference of North American unions and minorities adhering to the Red Trade Union International should act in a similar manner, to bring the revolutionary labor movement of both continents together to work out the plans on the industrial field.

The point of contact between the North and South American revolutionary movements at the present time lies in the problems of the Carribean, Central America and Mexico, where American Imperialism has taken the first steps to extend her hegemony over the Western Hemisphere. A course of action must be worked out that will bring the revolutionary movements of North and South America to play a leading part in the struggles of these countries, which, if left to

themselves will be unable to resist the bourgeois influences, physical and psychological, and will soon be reduced to the status of slaves.

The co-operation of the labor and revolutionary movements of both continents must become a living policy of the Communist Party of America. As the strongest and more experienced, and also because of its strategic position in the class struggle, it must take the first step. By establishing and maintaining contact now we may be in a position to call a Pan-American Communist Congress after the next World Congress of the Comintern and the Red Trade Union International. At least that should be our aim.

A Pan-American Congress on the political field and a Pan-American Congress on the industrial field would mark the turning point of the Communist movement from a propaganda and agitation movement into a real, live, revolutionary mass movement conscious of its responsibility and tasks.

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half millions. Most of the organizations are formed to market a single commodity. There have been, however, recent evidences of a new movement of farmers to organize as a class. This tendency must be developed. We must create slogans "for working farmers." We must make direct attacks upon the capitalist nuclei which direct most farm organizations. Today the small farmer, whether tenant or mortgaged owner, is beginning to realize that he faces bankruptcy. In 1910 his average labor income was only \$318. In 1921 after a period of supposedly high prices the small farmer is producing at a loss. It is by discussing the flattened pocket-book that we will first gain the interest of this class of semi-proletarians.

The major tactic of the Capitalist class is to separate city and farm workers. Because of their controlling the city and farm press, this is a simple matter for them. We must strive at all times to clear away inspired misunderstandings.

Summary

We must realize that our failure to function in agrarian activities is due largely to general neglect of the problem. To rebuild the Party to deal with agrarian problems is our first task. When that is accomplished the centralized Agrarian Bureau will become a live force in the daily struggles of both proletarian and semi-proletarian farm workers.

Backward farmers, handicapped by the universal "land psychology" must not be driven by our neglect into the camps of the counter-revolutionary forces. Nor must we allow Famine to become an ally to the capitalist arms. We must lead the farm masses, step by step, in their struggles to a neutral attitude; later on this will become an attitude of active support.

American imperialism may cause the longest, bitterest struggle in history before admitting defeat. Military campaigns will have fertile farm sections for their objectives. The critical battles will be for Food. We must win the producers of food to our side or the proletarian victory will be seriously delayed if not defeated.

The Organization of Communist Parties

(Thesis Adopted at the Third Congress)

Guiding Rules for the Construction and Organization of Communist Parties

1) The organization of the Party must be adapted to the conditions and to the goal of its activity. The Communist Party must be the vanguard—the advance troops of the proletariat—through all the phases of its revolutionary class struggle and during the subsequent transition period towards the realization of Socialism, i. e., the first stage of the Communist Society.

2) There can be no absolutely infallible and unalterable form of organization for the Communist Parties. The conditions of the proletarian class struggle are subject to changes in a continuous process of evolution, and in accordance with these changes the organization of the proletarian vanguard must be constantly seeking for the corresponding forms. The peculiar conditions of every individual country likewise determine the special adaptation of the forms of organization of the respective Parties.

But this differentiation has definite limits. Regardless of all peculiarities, the *equality* of the conditions of the proletarian class-struggle in the various countries and through the various phases of the proletarian revolution is of fundamental importance to the Internatoinal Communist Movement, creating a common basis for the organization of Communist Parties in all countries.

Upon this basis it is necessary to develop the organization of the Communist Parties but not to seek to establish any new model parties instead of the existing ones or to aim at any absolutely correct forms of organization and ideal constitutions.

3) Most Communist Parties, and consequently the Communist International as the united party of the revolutionary proletariat of the world, have this common feature in their conditions of struggle, that they still have to fight against the dominant bourgeoisie. To conquer the bourgeoisie and to wrest the power from its hands is for all of them, until further developments, the determining and guiding main goal. Accordingly, the determining factor in the organizing activity of the Communist Parties in the capitlist countries must be the upbuilding of such organizations as will make the victory of the proletarian revolution over the possessing classes both possible and secure.

4) Leadership is a necessary condition for any common action, but most of all it is indispensable in the greatest fight in the world's history. The organization of the Communist Party is the organization of communist leadership in the proletarian revolution.

To be a good leader the Party itself must have good leadership. Accordingly, the principal task of our organization work must be the education, organization and training of efficient Communist Parties under capable directing organs

to the leading place in the proletarian revolutionary movement.

5) The leadership in the revolutionary class struggle presupposes the organic combination of the greatest possible striking force and of the greatest adaptability on the part of the Communist Party and its leading organs to the ever-changing conditions of the struggle. Furthermore, successful leadership requires absolutely the closest association with the proletarian masses. Without such association, the leadership will not lead the masses, but, at best, will follow behind the masses.

The organic unity in the Communist Party organization must be attained through democratic centralization.

II. On Democratic Centralization

6) Democratic centralism in the Communist Party organization must be a real synthesis, a fusion of centralism and proletarian democracy. This fusion can be achieved only on the basis of constant common activity, constant common struggle of the entire party organization. Centralization in the Communist Party organization does not mean a formal and mechanical centralization, but a centralization of communist activity, that is to say the formation of a strong leadership, ready for war and at the same time capable of adaptability. A formal or mechanical centralization is the centralization of the "power" in the hands of the party bureaucracy, dominating over the rest of the membership or over the masses of the revolutionary proletariat standing outside the organization. Only the enemies of communism can assert that the Communist Party conducting the proletarian class struggles and centralizing this communist leadership is trying to rule over the revolutionary proletariat. Such an assertion is a lie. Neither is any rivalry for power or any contest for supremacy within the party at all compatible with the fundamental principles of democratic centralism adopted by the Communist International.

In the organization of the old, non-revolutionary labor movement, there has developed an all-pervading dualism of the same nature as that of the bourgeois State, namely the dualism between the bureaucracy and the "people." Under the baneful influence of bourgeois environment there has developed a separation of functions, a substitution of barren, formal democracy for the living association of common endeavour, and the splitting up of the organization into active functionaries and passive masses. Even the revolutionary labor movement inevitably inherits this tendency to dualism and formalism to a certain extent from the bourgeois environment.

The Communist Party must fundamentally overcome these contrasts by systematic and persevering political and organizing work and by constant improvement and revision.

7) In transforming a socialist mass party into a Com-

unist Party, the Party must not confine itself to merely concentrating the authority in the hands of its central leadership while leaving the old order unchanged. Centralization should not merely exist on paper, but be actually carried out, and this is possible of achievement only when the members at large will feel this central authority as a fundamentally efficient instrument in their common activity and struggle. Otherwise, it will appear to the masses as a bureaucracy within the Party and therefore likely to stimulate opposition to all centralization, to all leadership, to all stringent discipline. Anarchism is the opposite pole of bureaucracy.

Merely formal democracy in the organization cannot remove either bureaucratic or anarchical tendencies, which have found fertile soil in the workers' movement on the basis of just that democracy. Therefore, the centralization of the organization, i. e., the aim to create a strong leadership, cannot be successful if its achievement is sought on the basis of formal democracy. The necessary preliminary conditions are the development and maintenance of living associations and mutual relations within the Party between the directing organs and the members, as well as between the Party and the masses of the proletariat outside of the Party.

III. On the Duties of Communist Activity

8) The Communist Party must be a training school for revolutionary Marxism. The organic ties between the different parts of the organization and the membership become joined through daily common work in the party organization.

Regular participation on the part of most of the members in the daily work of the Party is lacking even today in the lawful Communist Parties. That is the chief fault of these parties, forming the basis of constant insecurity in their development.

9) In the first stages of its Communist transformation every workmen's Party is in danger of being content with having accepted a Communist program, with having substituted the old doctrine in its propaganda by Communist teachings and having replaced the officials belonging to the hostile camp by Communist officials. The acceptance of a Communist program is only the expression of the will to become a Communist. If the Communist activity is lacking and the passivity of the mass of members still remains, then the party does not fulfil even the least part of the pledge it had taken upon itself in accepting the Communist program. For the first condition for an earnest carrying out of the program is the participation of all the members in the constant daily work of the Party.

The art of Communist organization lies in the ability of making use of each and every one for the proletarian class struggle; of distributing the Party work amongst all the Party members, and of constantly attracting through its members ever wider masses of the proletariat to the revolutionary movement; further it must hold the direction of the whole movement in its hand not by virtue of its might, but by its authority, energy, greater experience, greater all-round knowledge, and capabilities.

10) A Communist Party must strive to have only really

active members, and to demand from every rank and file party worker that he should place his whole strength and time, in so far as he can himself dispose of it, under existing conditions, at the disposal of his Party and devote his best forces to these services.

Membership in the Communist Party entails naturally, besides communist convictions—formal registration, first as a candidate, then as a member; likewise, the regular payment of the established dues, the subscription to the Party paper, etc. But the most important is the participation of each member in the daily work of the Party.

11) For the purpose of carrying on the Party work every Party member must as a rule be also a member of a smaller working group: a committee, a commission, a board group, faction, or nucleus. Only in this way can the Party work be properly distributed, directed and carried on.

Attendance at the general meetings of the members of the local organizations of course goes without saying: it is not wise to try under conditions of legal existence, to replace those periodical meetings under lawful conditions by meetings of local representatives. All the members must be bound to attend these meetings regularly. But that is in no way sufficient. The very preparations for these meetings presupposes work in smaller groups or through comrades detailed for the purpose, effectively utilizing as well as the preparations for the general workers' meetings, demonstrations and mass actions of the working class. The numerous tasks connected with these activities can be carefully studied only in smaller groups, and carried out intensively. Without such a constant daily work of the entire membership divided among the great mass of the smaller groups of workers, even the most laborious endeavors to take part in the class struggles of the proletariat will lead only to weak and futile attempts to influence those struggles, but not to the necessary consolidation of the proletariat into a single unified capable Communist Party.

12) Communist nuclei must be formed for the daily work in the different branches of the Party activities: for home agitation, for Party study, for newspaper work, for the distribution of literary matter, for information service, for constant service, etc.

These Communist units are the nuclei for the daily Communist work in the factories and workshops, in the trade unions, in the proletarian associations, in military units, etc., wherever there are at least several members or candidates for membership in the Communist Party. If there are a greater number of Party members in the same factory or in the same union, etc., then the nuclei is enlarged into a faction, and its work is directed by the nucleus.

Should it be necessary to form a wider general opposition faction, or to take part in an existing one, then the Communists should try to take the leadership in it through their special nucleus.

Whether a Communist nucleus is to come out in the open, as far as its own surroundings are concerned, or even before the general public, will depend on the special conditions of

the case after a serious study of the dangers and the advantages thereof.

13) The introduction of general obligatory work in the Party and the organization of these small working groups is an especially difficult task for Communist mass parties. It cannot be carried out all at once, it demands unwearied perseverance, mature consideration and much energy.

It is especially important that this new form of organization should be carried out from the very beginning with care and mature consideration. It would be an easy matter to divide all the members in each organization according to a formal scheme into small nuclei and groups and to call these latter at once to the general daily party work. Such a beginning would be worse than no beginning at all; it would only call forth discontent and aversion among the Party members towards these important innovations.

It is recommended that the Party should take council with several capable organizers, who are also convinced and inspired Communists and thoroughly acquainted with the state of the movement in the various centres of the country and work out a detailed foundation for the introduction of these innovations. After that, trained organizers or Organization Committees must take up the work on the spot, elect the first leaders of groups and conduct the first steps of the work. All the organizations, working groups, nuclei, and individual members must then receive concrete, precisely defined tasks presented in such a way as to at once appear to them to be useful, desirable and executable. Wherever it may be necessary they must be shown by practical demonstrations, in what way these tasks are to be carried out. They must be warned at the same time of the false steps especially to be avoided.

14) This work of reorganization must be carried out in practice step by step. In the beginning too many nuclei or groups of workers should not be formed in the local organization. It must first be proved in small cases that the nuclei formed in the separate important factories and trade unions are functioning properly, and that the necessary groups of workers have been formed also in the other chief branches of the Party activity and have in some degree become consolidated (for instance in the information, communication, women's movement, or agitation department, newspaper work, unemployed movement, etc.). Before the new organization apparatus will have acquired a certain practice the old frames of the organization should not be heedlessly broken up.

At the same time this fundamental task of the Communist organization work must be carried out everywhere with the greatest energy. This places great demands not only on a legal Party, but also on every illegal Party.

Until a widespread network of Communist nuclei, factions and groups of workers will be at work at all the central points of the proletarian class struggle, until every member of the party will be doing his share of the daily revolutionary work and this will have become natural and habitual for the members, the Party can allow itself no rest in its strenuous labors for the carrying out of this task.

15) This fundamental organizational task imposes upon the leading Party organs the obligation of constantly directing and exercising a systematic influence over the Party work. This requires manifold exertion on the part of those comrades who are active in the leadership of their organizations of the Party. Those in charge of Communist activity must not only see to it that the comrades, men and women, should be engaged in Party work in general, they must help and direct such work systematically and with practical knowledge of the business with a precise orientation in regard to special conditions. They must also endeavor to find out any mistakes committed in their own activities on the basis of acquired experience, constantly improving the methods of work and not forgetting for a moment the object of the struggle.

16) Our whole party work consists either of direct struggle on theoretical or practical grounds or of preparation for the struggle. The specialization of this work has been very defective up to now. There are quite important branches in which the activity of the Party has been only occasional. For instance, the lawful parties have done little in the matter of combatting the secret service men. The instructing of the Party comrades has been carried on, as a rule, only casually, as a secondary matter, and so superficially that the greater part of the most important resolutions of the Party, even the Party programme and the resolutions of the Communist International have remained unknown to the large strata of the membership. The instruction work must be carried on methodically and unceasingly through the whole mass system of the Party organizations in all the working communities of the Party in order to obtain an even higher degree of specialization.

17) To the duties of the Communist activity belongs also that of submitting reports. This is the duty of all the organizations and organs of the Party as well as of every individual member. There must be general reports made covering short periods of time. Special reports must be made on the work of special committees of the party. It is essential to make the work of reporting so systematic that it should become an established procedure as the best tradition of the Communist movement.

18) The Party must hand in its quarterly report to the leading body of the Communist International. Each organization in the Party has to hand in its report to the next leading Committee (for instance, monthly reports of the local branches to the corresponding Party Committee).

Each nucleus, faction and group of workers must send its report to the Party organ under whose leadership it is placed. The individual members must hand in their reports to the nucleus or group of workers (respectively to the leader) to which he belongs, and on the carrying out of some special charge to the Party organ from whom the order was received.

The reports must always be made at the first opportunity. It is to be made by word of mouth, unless the Party or the person who had given the order demands a written report. The reports must be concise and to the point. The receiver

of the report is responsible for having such communications as cannot be published without harm kept in safe custody, that important reports be sent in without delay to the corresponding leading Party organ.

19) All these reports must naturally not be limited to the account of what the reporter had done himself. They must contain also information on such circumstances which may have come to light during the course of the work and which have a certain significance for our struggle, particularly, such considerations which may give rise to modification or improvement of our future work. Also proposals for improvements, the necessity of which may have made itself felt during the work must be included in the report.

In all the Communist nuclei, factions and groups of workers, all reports, both those that have been handed in to them and those that they have to send must be thoroughly discussed. Such discussions must become a regular habit.

Care must be taken in the nuclei and groups of workers that individual Party members or groups of members be regularly charged with observing and reporting on hostile organizations, especially with regard to the petty-bourgeois workers' organizations and chiefly the organizations of the "socialist" parties.

IV. On Propaganda and Agitation

20) Our chief general duty to the open revolutionary struggle is to carry on revolutionary propaganda and agitation. This work and its organization is still, in the main, being conducted in the old and formal manner, by means of casual speeches, at mass meeting and without special care for the concrete revolutionary substance of the speeches and writings.

Communist propaganda and agitation must be made to take root in the very midst of the workers, out of their common interest and aspirations and especially out of their common struggles.

The most important point to remember is—that communist propaganda must be of a revolutionary character. Therefore the communist watchword and the whole communist attitude towards concrete questions must receive our special attention and consideration.

In order to achieve the correct attitude, not only the professional propagandists and agitators, but also all other party members must be carefully instructed.

21) The principal forms of communist propaganda and agitation are: individual verbal propaganda, participation in the industrial and political labor movement, propaganda through the party press and distribution of literature. Every member of a legal or illegal party is to participate regularly in one or the other of these forms of propaganda.

Individual propaganda must take the form of systematic house to house canvassing by special groups of workers. Not a single house, within the area of party influence, must be omitted from this canvass. In larger towns a specially organized outdoor campaign with posters and distribution of leaflets usually produce satisfactory results. In addition, the

factions should carry on a regular personal agitation in the workshops, accompanied by distribution of literature.

In countries whose population contains national minority-professional propagandists and agitators, but also all other party members, attention to propaganda and agitation among the proletarian strata of these minorities. The propaganda and agitation must, of course, be conducted in the languages of the respective national minorities, for which purpose the Party must create the necessary special organs.

22) In those capitalist countries where a large majority of the proletariat has not yet reached revolutionary consciousness, the Communist agitators must be constantly on the lookout for new forms of propaganda, in order to meet these backward workers half way, and thus facilitate their entry into the revolutionary ranks. The communist propaganda, with its watchwords, must bring out the budding, unconscious incomplete, vacillating and semi-bourgeois revolutionary tendencies which are struggling for supremacy with the bourgeois traditions and conceptions in the minds of the workers.

At the same time communist propaganda must not rest content with the limited and confused demands or aspirations of the proletarian masses. These demands and expectations contain revolutionary germs and are a means of bringing the proletariat under the influence of communist propaganda.

23) Communist agitation among the proletarian masses must be conducted in such a way that our communist organization be recognized by the struggling proletarians as the courageous, intelligent, energetic and ever faithful leader of their own labor movement.

In order to achieve this, the Communists must take part in all the elementary struggles and movements of the workers, and must defend the workers' cause in all conflicts between them and the capitalists over hours and conditions of labor, wages, etc. The communists must also pay great attention to the concrete questions of working class life. They must help the workers to come to a right understanding of these questions. They must draw their attention to the most flagrant abuses and must help them to formulate their demands in a practical and concise form. In this way they will awaken in the workers the spirit of solidarity, the consciousness of community of interests among all the workers of the country as a united working class, which, in its turn, is a section of the world army of proletarians.

It is only through an everyday performance of such elementary duties, and through participation in all the struggles of the proletariat that the Communist Party can develop into a real communist party. It is only by adopting such methods that it will be distinguished from the propagandists of the hackneyed, so called, pure socialist propaganda, consisting of recruiting new members and talking about reforms and the use of all parliamentary possibilities, or rather impossibilities. The self-sacrificing and conscious participation of all the party members in the daily struggles and controversies of the exploited with the exploiters is essentially necessary not only for the conquest, but in a still high-

er degree, for the carrying out of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is only through leading the working masses in the petty warfare against the onslaughts of capitalism that the communist party will be able to become the vanguard of the working class, acquiring the capacity for systematic leadership of the proletariat in its struggle for supremacy over the bourgeoisie.

24) Communists must be mobilized in full force, especially in times of strikes, lockouts and other mass dismissals of the workers, in order to take part in the workers' movement.

It would be a great mistake for Communists to treat with contempt the present struggles of the workers for slight improvements of their working conditions, even to maintain a passive attitude to them, on the plea of the Communist programme and the need of armed revolutionary struggle for final aims. No matter how small and modest the demands of the workers may be for which they are ready and willing to fight today with the capitalist, the Communists must never make the smallness of the demands an excuse at the same time for non-participation in the struggle. Our agitational activity should not lay itself bare to the accusation of stirring up and inciting the workers to non-sensical strikes and other inconsiderate actions. The Communists must try to acquire the reputation among the struggling masses of being courageous and effective participators in their struggles.

25) The communist cells (or fractions) within the trade union movement have often proved themselves in practice rather helpless before some of the most ordinary questions of everyday life. It is easy, but not fruitful to keep on preaching the general principles of Communism, and then fall into the negative attitude of common place syndicalism when faced with concrete questions. Such practices only play into the hands of the yellow Amsterdam International.

Communists should, on the contrary, be guided in their actions by a careful study of the practical aspect of every question.

For instance, instead of contenting themselves with resisting theoretically and on principle all trade agreements, they should rather take the lead in the struggle over the specific nature of the trade agreements recommended by the Amsterdam leaders. It is, of course, necessary to condemn and resist any kind of impediment to the revolutionary preparedness of the proletariat, and it is a well known fact that it is the aim of the capitalists and their Amsterdam myrmidons to tie the hands of the workers by all manner of trade agreements. Therefore, it behooves the Communists to open the eyes of the workers to the nature of these aims. This the Communists can best attain by advocating a trade agreement which would not hamper the workers.

The same should be done in connection with the unemployment, sickness and other benefits of the trade-union organizations. The creation of fighting funds and the granting of strike pay are measures which, in themselves, are to be commended.

Therefore, an opposition on principle against such activities would be ill advised. But Communists should point out to the workers that the manner of collection of these funds and their use as advocated by the Amsterdam Leaders is against all the revolutionary interests of the working class. In connection with sick benefit, etc., Communists should insist on the abolition of the contributory system, and of all binding conditions in connection with all voluntary funds. If some of the trade union members are still anxious to secure sick benefits by paying contributions it would not do for us to simply prohibit such payments, for fear of not being understood by them. It will be necessary to win over such workers from their petty bourgeois conceptions by an intensive personal propaganda.

26) In the struggle against the social democratic and other petty bourgeois trade union leaders, as well as against the leaders of various labor parties one cannot hope to achieve much by persuasion. The struggle against them should be conducted in the most energetic fashion, and the best way to do that is by depriving them of their following, showing up to the workers the true character of these treacherous socialist leaders who are only playing into the hands of capitalism. The Communists should endeavor to unmask these so-called leaders, and subsequently attack them in the most energetic fashion.

It is not by any means sufficient to call Amsterdam leaders yellow. Their "yellowness" must be proved by continual and practical illustrations. Their activities in the trade-unions, in the International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, in the bourgeois ministries and administrations; their treacherous speeches at conferences and in parliament; the exhortations contained in many of their written messages and in Press, and above all their vacillation and hesitating attitude in all struggles even for the most modest rise in wages, offer constant opportunities for exposing the treacherous behavior of the Amsterdam leaders in simply worded speeches and resolutions.

The nuclei and factions must conduct their practical vanguard movement in a systematic fashion. The Communists must not allow the excuses of the minor trade-union officials, who, notwithstanding good intentions, often take refuge, through sheer weakness, behind statutes, union decisions and instructions from their superiors to hamper their march forward. On the contrary, they must insist on getting satisfaction from the minor officials in the matter of the removal of all real or imaginary obstacles put in the way of the workers by the bureaucratic machine.

27) The fractions must carefully prepare the participation of the communists in conferences and meetings of the trade union organizations. For instance, they must elaborate proposals, select lectures and counsel and put up as candidates for election, capable, experienced and energetic comrades.

The Communist organizations must, through their fractions, also make careful preparations in connection with all workers' meetings, election meetings, demonstrations, politi-

cal festivals and such like, arranged by the hostile organizations. Wherever Communists convene 'their own workers' meetings, they must endeavor to have considerable groups of communists distributed among the audience, and they must make all due preparations for the assurance of satisfactory propaganda results.

28) Communists must also learn how to draw unorganized and backward workers permanently into the ranks of the Party. With the help of our nuclei and fractions we must induce the workers to join the trade unions and to read our Party organs. Other organizations, as for instance, educational boards, study circles, sporting clubs, dramatic societies, co-operative societies, consumers' associations, war-victims' organizations, etc., may be used as intermediaries between us and the workers. Where the Communist Party is working illegally, such workers' unions may be formed outside of the Party through the initiative of Party members and with the consent and under the control of the leading Party organs (unions of sympathizers).

Communist youths and women's organizations may also be helpful in rousing the interest of the many politically indifferent proletarians, and in drawing them eventually into the Communist Party, through the intermediary of their educational courses, reading circles, excursions, festivals, Sunday rambles, etc., distribution of leaflets, increasing the circulation of the Party organ, etc. Through participation in the general movement, the workers will free themselves from their petty bourgeois inclinations.

29) In order to win the semi-proletarian sections of the workers as sympathizers of the revolutionary proletarians, the Communists must make use of their special antagonisms to the landowners, the capitalists and the capitalist state in order to win these intermediary groups from their mistrust of the proletariat. This may require prolonged negotiations with them, or intelligent sympathy with their needs, free help and advice in any difficulties, also opportunities to improve their education, etc., all of which will give them confidence in the Communist movement. Communists must also endeavor to counteract the pernicious influence of hostile organizations which occupy authoritative positions in the respective districts, or may have influence over the petty bourgeois working peasantry, over those who work in the home-industries and other semi-proletarian classes. Those who are known by the exploited, from their own bitter experience, to be the representatives and embodiment of the entire criminal capitalist system, must be unmasked. All everyday occurrences which bring the State bureaucracy into conflict with the ideals of petty bourgeois democracy and jurisdiction, must be made use of in a judicial and energetic manner in the course of communist agitation.

Each local country organization must carefully apportion among its members the duties of house to house canvassing, in order to spread Communist propaganda in all the villages, farm steads and isolated dwellings in their district.

30) The methods of propaganda in the armies and navies of capitalist states must be adapted to the peculiar condi-

tions in each country. Anti-militarist agitation of a pacifist nature is extremely detrimental, and only assists the bourgeois in its efforts to disarm the proletariat. The proletariat rejects on principle and combats with the utmost energy, every kind of military institution of the bourgeois State, and of the bourgeois class in general. Nevertheless, it utilizes these institutions (army, rifle clubs, citizen guard organizations, etc.) for the purpose of giving the workers military training for the revolutionary battles to come. Intensive agitation must therefore be directed not against the military training of the youth and workers, but against the militaristic regime, and the domination of the officers. Every possibility of providing the workers with weapons should most eagerly be taken advantage of.

The class antagonisms, revealing themselves as they do in the materially favored positions of the officers as against the bad treatment and social insecurity of life of the common soldiers, must be made very clear to the soldiers. Besides, the agitation must bring home the fact to the rank and file that its future is inextricably bound up with the fate of the exploited classes. In a more advanced period of incipient revolutionary fermentation, agitation for the democratic election of all commanders by the privates and sailors and for the formation of soldiers' councils may prove very advantageous in undermining the foundations of capitalist rule.

The closest attention and the greatest care are always required when agitating against the picked troops used by the bourgeoisie in the class war, and especially against its armed volunteer bands.

Wherever the social composition and corrupt conduct of these troops and bands make it possible, every favorable moment for agitation should be made use of for creating disruption. Wherever it possesses a distinct bourgeois class character, as for example, in the officers corps, it must be unmasked before the entire population, and made so despicable and repulsive, that they will be disrupted from within by virtue of their very isolation.

V. The Organization of Political Struggles

31) For a Communist Party there can be no period in which its party organization cannot exercise political activity. For the purpose of utilizing every political and economic situation, as well as all the changes in these situations, organizational strategy and tactics must be developed. No matter how weak the party may be, it can nevertheless take advantage of exciting political events or of extensive strikes affecting the entire economic system, by a radical propaganda. Once a party has studied to thus make use of a particular situation it must concentrate the energy of all its members and party in this campaign.

Furthermore, all the connections which the party possesses through the work of its nuclei and workers' groups must be used for organizing mass meetings in the centers of political importance and following up a strike. The speakers for the party must do their utmost to convince the audiences that only communism can bring the struggle to a successful conclusion. Special commissions must prepare these

meetings very thoroughly. If the party cannot for some reason hold meetings of its own, suitable comrades should address the strikers at the general meetings organized by the strikers or any other section of the struggling proletariat.

Wherever there is a possibility of inducing the majority or a large part of any meeting to support our demands, these must be well formulated and properly argued in motions and resolutions to be submitted for adoption. In the event of such resolutions being passed, attempts must be made to have similar resolutions or motions adopted in ever increasing numbers, at any rate supported by strong minorities at all the meetings held on the same question at the same place or in other localities. In this way we shall be able to consolidate the working masses in the movement, put them under our moral influence, and have them recognize our leadership.

After all such meetings the committees which participated in the organizational preparations and utilized its opportunities must hold a conference to make a report to be submitted to the leading committee of the party and draw the proper conclusions from the experiences or possible mistakes made, for the future. In accordance with each particular situation, the practical demands of the workers involved must be made public by means of posters and handbills, or leaflets distributed among the workers, proving to them by means of their own demands how the Communist policies are in agreement with and applicable to the situation. Specially organized groups are required for the proper distribution of posters, the choice of suitable spots as well as the proper time for such pasting. The distribution of handbills should be carried out in and before the factories and in the halls where the workers concerned are wont to gather, also at important points in the town, employment offices and stations; such distribution of leaflets should be accompanied by attractive discussions and slogans, readily permeating all the ranks of the working masses. Detailed leaflets should if possible be distributed only in halls, factories, dwellings or other places where proper attention to the printed matter may be expected.

Such propaganda must be supported by parallel activity at all the trade union or factory meetings held during the conflict, and at such meetings, whether organized by our comrades or only favored by us, suitable speakers and debaters must seize the opportunity of convincing the masses of our point of view. Our party newspapers must place at the disposal of such a special movement the greater part of their space as well as their best arguments. In fact, the entire party organization must for the time being be made to serve the general purpose of such a movement, whereby our comrades may work with unabated energy.

32) Demonstrations require very mobile and self-sacrificing leadership, closely intent upon the aim of a particular action, and able to discern at any given moment whether a demonstration has reached its highest possible effectiveness, or whether, during that particular situation, a further intensification is possible by inducing an extension of the move-

ment into an action of the masses, by means of demonstration strikes and eventually general strikes. The demonstrations in favor of peace during the war have taught us that even after the dispersal of such demonstrations, a really proletarian fighting party must neither deviate nor stand still no matter how small or illegal it may be, if the question at issue is of real importance and is bound to become of ever greater interest for the large masses.

Street demonstrations attain greatest effectiveness when their organization is based on the large factories. When efficient preparations by our nuclei and groups by means of verbal and handbill propaganda has succeeded in bringing a certain unity of thought and action in a particular situation, the managing committee must call the confidential party members in the factories, and the leaders of the nuclei and groups to a conference, to discuss and fix the time and business of the meeting on the day planned, as well as the determination of slogans, the prospects of intensification, and the moment of cessation and dispersal of the demonstration. The backbone of the demonstration must be formed by a well instructed and experienced group of diligent officials, mingling among the masses from the moment of departure from the factories up to the time of dispersal of the demonstration. Responsible party workers must be systematically distributed among the masses, for the purpose of enabling the officials to retain active contact with each other and keeping them provided with the requisite political instructions. Such a mobile, politically organized leadership of a demonstration permits most effectively of constant renewal and eventual intensification into greater mass actions.

33) Communist Parties already possessing internal firmness, a tried corps of officials and a considerable number of adherents among the masses, must exert every effort to completely overcome the influence of the treacherous socialist leaders on the working class by means of extensive campaigns, and to rally the majority of working masses to the Communist banners. Campaigns must be organized in various ways depending upon whether the situation favors actual fighting, in which case they become active and set themselves at the head of the proletarian movement or whether it is a period of temporary stagnation.

The make-up of the Party is also one of the determining factors for selection of the organized methods for such actions.

For example, the method of publishing a so-called "Open Letter" was used in order to win over to the V. K. P. D., as a young mass party, the socially decisive sections of the proletariat to a greater extent than had been possible in certain districts. In order to unmask the treacherous socialist leaders, the Communist Party addressed itself to the other mass organizations of the proletariat at a moment of increasing desolation and intensification of class conflicts, for the purpose of demanding from them, before the eyes of the proletariat, whether they, with their allegedly powerful organizations, were prepared to take up the struggle, in co-operation with the Communist Party, against the obvious

stitution of the proletariat, and for the slightest demands, even for a pitiful piece of bread.

Wherever the Communist Party initiates a similar campaign, it must make complete organizational preparations for the purpose of making such an action re-echo among the broad masses of the working class.

All the factory groups and trade-union officials of the party must bring the demands made by the party, representing the embodiment of the most vital demands of the proletariat, to a discussion at their next factory and trade-union meetings, as well as at all public meetings, after having thoroughly prepared for such meetings. For the purpose of taking advantage of the temper of the masses, leaflets, handbills and posters must be distributed everywhere and effectively at all places where our nuclei or groups intend to make an attempt to influence the masses to support our demands. Our party press must engage in constant elucidation of the problems of the movement during the entire period of such a campaign, by means of short or detailed daily articles, treating the various phases of the question from every possible point of view. The organizations must continually supply the press with the material for such articles and pay close attention that the editors do not let up in their exertions for the furtherance of the party campaign.

The parliamentary groups and municipal representatives of the party must also work systematically for the promotion of such struggles. They must bring the movement into discussion, according to the directions of the party leadership, in the various parliamentary bodies by means of resolutions or motions. These representatives must consider themselves as conscious members of the struggling masses, their exponents in the camp of the class enemy, and as the responsible officials and party workers.

In case the united, organizationally consolidated activities of all the forces of the party succeed, within a few weeks, in inducing the adoption of large and ever increasing numbers of resolutions supporting our demands, it will be the serious organizational task of our party, to consolidate the masses thus shown to be in favor of our demands. In the event of the movement having assumed a particularly trade-union character, it must be attempted above all to increase our organizational influence on the trade unions.

To this end our groups in the trade unions must proceed to well prepared, direct action against the local trade union leaders, in order to either overcome their influence, or else to compel them to wage an organized struggle on the basis of the demands of our party. Wherever factory councils, industrial committees or similar institutions exist, our groups must exert influence on the plenary meetings of these industrial committees or factory councils to also decide in favor of supporting the struggle. If a number of local organizations have thus been influenced to support the movement for the bare living interests of the proletariat, under Communist leadership, they must be called together to general conferences, which should also be attended by the special delegates of the factory meetings at which favorable resolutions

were adopted. The new leadership consolidated under Communist influence in this manner, gains new power by means of such concentration of the active groups of the organized workers, and this power must be utilized to give an impetus to the leadership of the Socialist Parties and trade unions or else to fully unmask it.

WOMEN AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(Continued from page 14.)

Third International are the enemies of the emancipation of women.

The place of conscious working women in Eastern and Western countries is under the flag of the Communist International and in the ranks of the Communist Parties of their own countries. All wavering on the part of the working women and the fear to sever connection with the parties of compromise, and the hitherto acknowledged authorities, have a pernicious influence on the satisfactory progress of the great proletarian struggle which is assuming the nature of an open and relentless civil war on a World scale.

Methods and Form of Work Among Women

Owing to all the above mentioned reasons, the Third Congress of the Comintern holds that the work among the proletarian women should be carried on by the Communist Parties of all countries, on the following basis:

1. Women must be enlisted as full-fledged members of the Party, on the basis of equality and independence, in all militant class organizations, trade unions, co-operatives, factory committees, etc.

2. To recognize the importance of recruiting women into all branches of the active struggle of the proletariat (including military service for the defence of the proletariat) and into the construction of new forms of society and the organization of industry and life on a communist basis.

3. To recognize the functions of motherhood as a social function, promoting and supporting appropriate measures to aid and protect women as the bearer of the human race.

Being earnestly opposed to the separate organization of women into all sorts of parties, unions, or any other special women's organizations, the Third Congress, nevertheless, believes that in view of: a) the present conditions of subjection prevailing not only in the bourgeois-capitalist countries, but also in countries under the Soviet system, undergoing transition from capitalism to communism; b) the great inertness and political ignorance of the masses of women, due to the fact that they have been for centuries barred from social life and to age-long slavery in the family, and, c) the special functions imposed upon women by nature—childbirth, and the peculiarities attached to this, calling for the protection of her strength and health in the interests of the entire community, the Third Congress therefore considers it necessary to find special methods of work among the women of the Communist Parties and establishes a standard of special apparatus within the Communist Parties for

the realization of this work. The apparatus for this work among the women in the Party should be the sections or committees for work among women, organized by all party committees commencing with the Executive Committee and ending with the city districts or village party committees. This decision is obligatory for all parties attached to the Comintern.

The Third Congress points out that, among the tasks set before the Communist Parties carried out through the sections are: 1) to educate the wide masses of women in the spirit of Communism, drawing them into the ranks of the Party; 2) to fight against the prejudices of male proletarians towards the women, strengthening in the working men and women the consciousness of mutual interests of the proletarians of both sexes; 3) to increase the will-power of the women by drawing them into all kinds and forms of political struggle, to awaken their activity and participation in the struggle against capitalist exploitation in the bourgeois countries, by mass demonstrations against the high cost of living, against the housing conditions, unemployment, and in other revolutionary forms of the class war; the participation of the women workers in the construction of the Communist State and in the Soviet republics; 4) to put on the Order of Business among the tasks of the parties and to pass rules tending to the direct enfranchisement of the women, recognizing her equality and the protection of her interests as the perpetuator of the race; 5) to wage a well-planned fight against traditions, bourgeois customs and religion, clearing the way for better and more harmonious relations between the sexes, protecting the physical and moral strength of laboring humanity.

The entire work of the sections or committees should be carried on under the direct control and responsibility of the Party Committees. A member of the local Party Committee should be at the head of such section or committee. Communists should be members of these committees or collegiums wherever it is possible.

All measures and problems of the Committees or sections of work among the women must not be handled by them independently, but in the Soviet Republics through the respective economic and political organs (branches of the Soviets, Commissariats, Trade Unions, etc.) and, in the capitalist countries, with the support of the respective organs of the proletarian parties, unions, factory Committees, etc.

In all places where the communist parties exist illegally or semi-legally, the Party should organize an illegal apparatus for work among women. In all illegal bodies there must be at least one party member to organize the women for illegal work.

The present period requires that Trade and Industrial Unions should form the principle basis for work among women, both in countries which still carry on the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist yoke, as well as in the Soviet Labor Republics.

The spirit with which the work among women should be imbued is that of the unity of the Party movement, of an

intact organization, of independent initiative and independent of Commissions and Sections aiming at a speedy and complete emancipation of women, to be brought about by the Party. What should be striven after is not parallelism in activity, but assistance in the activity of the Party by means of self-development and initiative of the working women.

(To be concluded)

Centers for Unemployed

(Continued from page 4)

The first need of the world is peace. But peace cannot be secured by imperialists.

We demand, therefore, a stop to the enormous expenditures for the army and navy. The money is now required for the relief of the starving unemployed. The present enemy is within the country; it is capitalism which cannot be defeated except by a change in the control of the government from the capitalists to the workers.

We condemn the wanton acts of economic and military imperialism, by which the sorely needed resources of the country are frittered away month by month. Immense damage has been caused by reckless military expenditure in Murmansk and Siberia, and the support given to the intrigues of the enemies of Soviet Russia. Labor demand that there be no more of such military adventures, and that the policy of fomenting international discord shall cease.

The demands contained in the above program are immediate and practical. Around them a struggle will develop. The Government in refusing to do its part by spending billions of dollars and standing by the workers will clearly show to the masses that it is not interested in their needs. The struggle for these demands will also expose the yellows and fakers in the labor movement who *will oppose any action by the masses*. Thus they will show themselves as unwilling to fight even for the immediate needs of the workers, much less the emancipation of labor.

This is our program. We must carry it to the masses.

(Continued from page 8)

proletariat to its body at the decisive moment, when the high danger point on the road of the class struggle is reached.

The difference, if you please, is, that the communist is a class conscious revolutionary worker who marches with the workers on the highway of current events of the class struggle, ready and determined to lead and fight in any attack on the highway robbers of capitalism. The "revolutionists" of the Socialist Party, on the other hand, are the friends of the highway robbers who march with the workers to deceive them and to aid their enemies, the highway robbers of capitalism.