

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."
—Karl Marx.

Special Magazine Supplement THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION
April 12th, 1924. This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

June 17th and July 4th

By C. E. RUTHENBERG

THE "New Majority," organ of the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States, has made a wonderful discovery—nothing more nor less than the fact that the Workers Party of America is opposed to a Third Party and for the formation of a class Farmer-Labor Party.

The Farmer-Labor Party has just completed a circle in politics in relation to the formation of a mass Farmer-Labor Party in the United States. After the Cleveland convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action the Farmer-Labor Party withdrew from that organization and John Fitzpatrick, one of the leaders of the party, denounced the Conference for Progressive Political Action as a "scab outfit" and as "dual" to the Gompers machine. It then called the July 3rd Convention and when it found that the 600 representatives of labor unions and other workers' organizations who assembled there were in earnest in their desire to create a mass Farmer-Labor Party and formed the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, it split away and proceeded on its own isolated path. Recently representatives of the old Farmer-Labor Party met with the organizations which called the June 17th Farmer-Labor Party convention, but when they found that they could not have their own way they split away from this group. And now, lo and behold! what has happened? The Farmer-Labor Party of Buck, and Brown, and Fitzpatrick has decided to go back to the "scab outfit" and "dual" organization of the Gompers machine—the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

Buck Seeing Things.

The source of the discovery of the policy of the Workers Party in relation to the Third Party by the New Majority is my article of March 27th in the DAILY WORKER. The New Majority quotes the following from my article:

"The immediate work before the farmer-labor group is a strong offensive against the Conference for Progressive Political Action. The Cleveland convention can have all the third party elements. It can have the representatives of the well-to-do farmers, the small business men and the broken-down old party politicians who are looking for new fields in which to conquer. It can even have the labor aristocrats, the ten thousand-a-year labor leaders, who are petty bourgeois in all their ways of living and thinking.

"But the Conference for Progressive Political Action Cleveland conference must not have a single exploited farmer or industrial worker without a fight.

"From now on there will be a struggle between the two conventions for the support of the masses of exploited farmers and industrial workers...."

This, writes the editor of The New Majority, shows the duplicity of the Workers Party. At the St. Paul conference which called the June 17th Convention, he writes, the Workers Party led those associated in that call to believe that it was for co-operation with the July 4th Convention. Here, however, we have the real policy of the Workers Party stated, and that is a bitter struggle against the July 4th Conference.

Where the Workers Party Stands.

What is the truth of the matter? If the Workers Party has one policy at the St. Paul conference, has it now adopted a new attitude? Let us examine the matter, and if the editor of the New Majority, who seems to read the DAILY WORKER assiduously, will follow the argument, even he will gain some enlightenment on the subject.

The St. Paul Conference adopted the following resolution in relation to the July 4th Conference:

"This Conference re-endorses the proposal adopted by it on November 15th to hold a convention of all the farmer-labor groups on June 17th in the Twin Cities.

"In re-affirming its decision to

hold a convention on June 17th, the convention declares that the organizations participating will recommend to the Convention on June 17th such a course of action in nominating candidates and adopting a platform as will leave the way open for co-operation for support of the same candidates and platform with the Conference for Progressive Political Action or any other group, provided, of course, that group endorses independent political action."

The Workers Party favored this resolution when it was adopted at St. Paul on March 5th. It still holds the same view.

The confusion of the editor of the "New Majority" is due to the fact that he does not distinguish between a class Farmer-Labor Party and a Third Party. To him the Farmer-Labor Party and the Third Party are one and the same thing; since the Workers Party states that it is going to fight against the Third Party getting any exploited farmers and industrial workers to join it, therefore the editor of the "New Majority" infers that the Workers Party has some sort of nefarious scheme for splitting the forces of the exploited farmers and workers.

The Facts of the Situation.

What are the facts of the situation? Is it just a happening due to the mulishness of certain individuals that there are two conventions called, one for St. Paul on June 17th and one for Cleveland on July 4th? A person ignorant of economic class divisions might argue that this is the case. It is not so, however to people who have some knowledge of social science, for there must be other causes than the failings of human be-

ings to explain the fact that two such movements as the June 17th Convention and the July 4th Convention groups are developing side by side.

What is happening in the United States is that two economic groups are splitting away from the old parties at the same time. In one of these groups are the exploited farmers and the industrial workers of the city, and in the other are the small business men and broken-down old party politicians referred to in the quotation above.

Both of these groups are discontented with the rule of the two old capitalist parties. Both are moving toward the crystallization of their political power thru the organization of a Party—that much they have in common. There is a deep chasm of difference of economic interests which divides them. The things that the exploited farmers and industrial workers desire in order to improve their economic position are not the things which the small business men, well-to-do farmers and broken-down old party politicians desire. Even if the two groups united in forming one party, the time would come sooner or later when that party would split into two groups representing conflicting interests of the economic groups included in it.

Party of Conflicting Interests.

The policy of the Workers Party in this situation is to help build a Party which will represent the economic interests of the exploited farmers and industrial workers. It calls that party the class Farmer-Labor Party.

At the same time the Workers Party welcomes the splitting away

from the old political parties of the well-to-do farmers, the small business men, the professional groups, and the broken-down politicians who go with them. It hopes that these elements will form a Third Party and carry on a struggle against the two old parties, for the formation of such a Third Party will weaken the centralized capitalist power in this country and create a more favorable situation for the advancement of the movement of workers and exploited farmers.

What our Party is opposed to and will fight against is to have both exploited workers and farmers, and the well-to-do farmers, small business men, etc., unite in one party. Such a party containing conflicting economic groups could not be a permanent organization and would only hinder the development of the class movement of farmers and workers.

Therefore the Workers Party will carry on an unrelenting struggle against the Conference for Progressive Political Action to win away from it every worker and exploited farmer. It does not wish to win away from the Conference for Progressive Political Action the small business men and old party politicians and well-to-do farmers.

Does the fact that the Workers Party carries on such a struggle nullify the resolution adopted by the St. Paul conference, as the editor of the "New Majority" argues? Such an argument can only come from a confused mind. It is entirely compatible, with separate organizations of the workers and exploited farmers, to at the same time have co-operation between the two organized groups.

A Class Farmer-Labor Party.

In a statement by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party printed in the DAILY WORKER of March 22nd, was a re-affirmation of a similar statement adopted by the National Convention of the Workers Party, the following appeared:

"While we carry on our campaign for the organization of a class Farmer-Labor Party we must at the same time try to drive the Third Party forces to split away from the old capitalist parties. And if this split takes place and a Third Party is organized which is an expression of revolt against Wall Street and which is not merely another capitalist party, the Farmer-Labor Party must make an election alliance with it against the old capitalist parties and the capitalist government. Such an election alliance shall not take the form of organizational unity between the class Farmer-Labor Party and the Third Party, but of a common campaign against the capitalist parties and against the government of the capitalists."

This statement of the policy of the Workers Party is in complete agreement with the resolution adopted at the St. Paul Conference. The difference between the Workers Party and the decrepit old Farmer-Labor Party of Fitzpatrick and Buck and Brown, is that the Workers Party wants the workers and farmers to organize their own class party and then make an alliance with the Third Party for a common campaign in support of the same presidential candidate if all the circumstances are such as to make such an alliance desirable, and Buck and Brown and Fitzpatrick want to lead the unorganized workers and farmers into the Conference for Progressive Political Action and let them serve as the tail to the kite of the ambitious politicians, small business men, and well-to-do farmers.

Ambition of Labor Fakers.

The policy of the Workers Party means that the industrial workers and exploited farmers will be able to stand on their own feet and fight their own political battles, not only in the election campaign of this presidential year, but after the presidential campaign is over, thru the formation of a closely knit, well-organized class Farmer-Labor Party.

Beard "Refutes" Marx

WHY DO even the most intelligent and honest of bourgeois historians speak slightly of the Marxian interpretation of history in view of their signal failure to disprove its soundness?

Charles A. Beard, author of many valuable works on the American constitution and political development, writing in "The American Mercury" for April, on "What is a Statesman" dismisses Carlyle's "great man" theory and the Marxian explanation of men as the product of historical forces as equally untenable and displeasing to what he terms the "requirements of the scientific spirit."

Intellectually Honest.

Yet Professor Beard is intellectually honest; despite his defense of the liberal position and his endeavor to prove that the statesman is neither an arbitrary creation nor a product of economic, political, social and geographical environment, he forgets his task long enough to say:

If it is not the exit that makes the statesman, is it brains? Not brains alone. A man may be well equipped with powerful engines of logic and controversy and well stocked with knowledge, and yet, if he runs against the current of long time, he passes away as grass that withers.

And again:

For every martyr that achieves fame there are a thousand cranks stoned to death by the mob and consigned to oblivion.

Finally, Professor Beard concludes that "above all, he (the successful statesman) must be justified by events, that is, by good fortune."

"Perhaps," he says, "beyond reason and understanding both Carlyle and Marx may be reconciled, a little bit."

It is no reconciliation that Professor Beard has brought about but an unconscious vindication of the Marxian position. "Justified by events" means nothing more than that the policies of the successful statesman must fit in with the needs of the historical epoch in which he lives:

The Changing Epoch.

A Joseph Chamberlain could not have come to power and based a British colonial policy on the needs of

heavy industry until after Birmingham, a steel and iron city, had succeeded Manchester, a textile town, as the economic basis of British colonial policies. A Thomas Jefferson could only have made effective his ideals of individual liberty in a nation where a pioneer culture based on free land had laid the economic basis for them. A Lenin, speaking in the name of the revolutionary workingclass as the leader of the party of the revolutionary workers—the Communist Party—unites the largest nation in the world while in every other nation demoralization proceeds with astounding rapidity. There are no statesmen today except those who fight capitalism; many of them will die unrecognized because the historical milieu is not yet ready for them but also unrecognized will go those defenders of capitalism who are unwilling or unable to see that the forces unleashed by capitalism are clearing the stage for a new epoch.

Of the capitalist rulers who now strut before the eyes of the world not one will be remembered a hundred years hence and it is extremely doubtful if there will be any mentalities of the type of Professor Beard to plead their case.

Why They Hate Marxism.

History makes men and no prophetic gift is strong enough to save from oblivion the individual who, failing to understand historical tendencies, sets himself against the current. Those who stand out on the pages of history credited with some notable accomplishment—we do not speak now of the "drum and trumpet" heroes—were the products of mass movements that are easily explainable in the light of the Marxian interpretation of history in spite of the efforts of believers in providential intervention to obscure the economic basis of all history. They belittle Marxism because it deals to conventional history and economics a blow that it cannot return. Marxism is the scientific basis of the revolutionary workingclass movement and it refutes in toto the whole mass of lies and contradictions that the rulingclass and its apologists pass out as gospel.

Zinoviev Reviews the Main Points of Difference

EDITOR'S NOTE:—Today we continue publication of the famous report by Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, made to the session of the Executive of the Communist International held on Jan. 6. Zinoviev's report deals with the main points of difference in the Russian Communist Party, clearly crystallizing the discussion that has so far been published in the DAILY WORKER. In order that our readers may get a broader view of this discussion, we are publishing enlarged installments. This report is divided into seven sections. Today we publish the fifth section. It is as follows:

V. ECONOMIC QUESTIONS.

A CHAPTER of extraordinary importance.

Do any essential differences of opinion exist in our Party with regard to economic questions? No, such do not exist. But still various tendencies may be observed even in this sphere. It appears as if certain elements of the "opposition"—not, so far as I am aware, comrades Radek and Trotzky—have the intention of proposing a revision of the New Economic Policy as such. This has not yet been stated openly, but during the course of the contest waged against the old guard the attempt has frequently been made to play off against us the hate and contempt felt by the workers against the so-called "Nepman."

You will comprehend, comrades, that hatred against the bourgeoisie is not a privilege belonging solely for instance to the German working class, among which it takes a very crass form at present, for the reason that class warfare is being carried on in the crassest possible form in Germany. Matters are very different in Russia.

Use of Dogmatic Arguments.

Our workers, too, hate the bourgeoisie, but find themselves in the remarkable position that they cannot yet kill off the bourgeoisie, but have to tolerate it. They see the elegant shops, are in a position to close these at any time, but are obliged to continue to tolerate them. This circumstance has created a unique psychology among our workers. They understand that our present bourgeoisie is a necessary evil. They understand this with their brains, with their understanding.

But the passionate hate of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is still as strong as ever. And this the "opposition" is utilizing for its own purposes, for lack of better arguments. Up to the present, however, no positive proposition towards the revision of the New Economic Policy has been submitted.

In economic question we—that is, Lenin and we—differed often and greatly in opinion from Comrade Trotzky: You must comprehend that economic matters are entirely different to military matters. If we, for instance, decisively defeat a Wrangel in civil war, this success creates a fundamentally new situation for us. In economics, on the other hand, Lenin considered the matter to be quite different. Here successes of this nature do not exist, and it is of the utmost importance to exercise patience, to realize that time is the main factor, and that years must pass before economic success really becomes visible.

Trotzky's Failing.

Trotzky has always been among the impatient comrades, satisfied with nothing. He has always thought that everything was going wrong. Trotzky lacks the comprehensive glance of the steward, of the proletarian steward, who now actually has an economic system under his stewardship. He is entirely lacking in this capacity.

He possesses no feeling for the actual economic conditions of Russia, and has never possessed it. This is a psychological factor which must not be forgotten.

It is upon this soil that our differences of opinion with reference to economic planning have arisen.

I shall first briefly enumerate the names of our decisive leading organs of state economics. In the first place we have the Council of People's Commissaries, to which belong a number of the members of the Central Committee of the Party, some of our best state functionaries. Thus transport affairs, for instance, are

managed by one of our most excellent comrades, a member of the Central Committee, Comrade Dzerzhinsky.

The leadership of finance is in the hands of an old tried and tested Bolshevik, a member of the Central Committee, Comrade Sokolnikov. Our highest economic authority is again an old Bolshevik of long service, a member of the Central Committee, Comrade Rykov. To this must be added the "council for Labor and Defence," in which there are also members of the Central Committee. These two authorities represent the corporation actually controlling economics.

Can This Be Done?

Besides this, we possess another institution, the "State Planning Commission." This is composed of about 300 professors and specialists, one-time workers in the sphere of economics, whose experience and knowledge are very valuable to us, but who represent for the most part quite ordinary bourgeois elements. This situation is headed by Comrade Krshyshanovsky, a capable old Communist, further aided by Comrade Zyuryupa, another old Communist. This "State Planning Commission," tho headed by a communist, is nevertheless an institution composed entirely of bourgeois professors and bourgeois intelligentsia.

The task set these people is to work out a scientific economic plan, and to collect and sift suitable material for the solution of general economic questions.

And now Comrade Trotzky has taken the idea into his head that just this "State Planning Commission" should be made into the most important economic institution of Russia, and this at the expense of the rights of supremacy enjoyed by the Council of People's Commissaries and the Council for Labor and Defence.

By J. W. ANDERSON

THOUSANDS of farmers in the Northwest have gone on strike and refuse to pay both interest and taxes. The movement is spreading rapidly and very quietly and is causing the mortgage companies considerable anxiety.

A dry land farmer, from McKenzie county, North Dakota, called at my ranch last fall to buy some potatoes. I said to him: "How are you fellows getting along, in your section of the country?"

"Fine, fine," he said. "We are getting along just fine."

"Are you going to be able to pay out?" I asked.

"No, hell no! We are not trying to pay out. We have just quit paying taxes and interest, and we are getting along better than we did before. We are living better than we ever did, and we have a little money to spend."

"If you don't pay any taxes then how do you plan to run your county government?"

"County government be damned! What do we need of county government? We are law abiding citizens and can get along pretty well without any county government. We don't see much of the county government over our way, anyhow. I don't care if the assessor never comes around, and we all behave ourselves pretty well, and don't need any sheriff."

"But, if you don't pay your interest, the mortgage companies, will foreclose on you and put you off your farm."

Joke Is On the Bankers.

This brought forth a hearty laugh after which he said, "Why, bless your soul, don't you know that there are five times as many farms as farmers, and when they put us off one farm we will just move across the road onto a deserted farm, which we can rent for simply keeping the windows in the buildings and the fences in repair. Why should we pay taxes when we can rent good farms, with good improvements, for less than the taxes? A man would be foolish to own land and pay high taxes under present conditions."

Another farmer said to me, "Coolidge was right when he said in his message that we farmers must help ourselves. That is just what we are doing, we are helping ourselves."

Trotzky himself has been a member of the Council of People's Commissaries for years, and is also a member of the Council for Labor and Defense, but has never attended the sessions of either of them.

He has boycotted both institutions for years.

Menshevik Psychology.

When Lenin fell ill, Lenin himself proposed, with the support of the Central Committee, that Trotzky should be chosen as his deputy, as chairman in the Council of People's Commissaries and in the Council of Labor and Defense. Trotzky rejected this proposal indignantly. Indeed, Trotzky has boycotted all the most important leading institutions of the state, and is always complaining about the secondary position accorded to the State Planning Commission, which, in his opinion, would organize everything much better. This is a grave error on Trotzky's part, a schematic conception not entirely free, in my opinion, from a dash of Menshevism.

And indeed, how do the worthy Mensheviks picture to themselves the state of transition to socialist economics? Something in the following manner: one fine day the working class discovers that it possesses the majority in the country, a majority of real genuine proletarians in dungarees.

This majority takes over power, and immediately works out a thoro and first class system of economics, upon which this everything proceeds in perfect harmony in accordance with this plan. The Erfurt program was one of the recipes for the plan which will stick, glue, and cement everything together. It might as well be named the Bellamy recipe, for the Utopian Bellamy worked out his finished plan on very similar lines. Thus the social revolution is imag-

ined.

This Utopian idea forms the core of the views of the opportunists as to the introduction of Socialism. Comrade Lenin tried over and over again to make this clear to us, and to Comrade Trotzky. Do you see now—he asked us—how real Socialism will actually come into being? You realize that Socialism will not come about as the realization of an ingenious plan, but on the basis of the special condition of the actual relations of forces.

And in point of fact the transition did not begin in Russia by the realization of a plan, but with a struggle against—what do you think—the louse. The problem of fighting the louse was a cardinal problem for us, for it was the problem of fighting spotted fever.

Comrade Lenin spoke publicly of this as early as 1919 at the VIIIth All-Russian Soviet Congress. On that occasion he said: "Either Socialism conquers the louse or the louse conquers Socialism."

Socialism began to be a reality in a poverty-stricken agrarian country, crushed by wars, and long before the executors of the will of the revolutionary masses had worked out any finished plan.

True Conception of Economics.

How could we work out any description of plan up to now, when as recently as eighteen months ago we were obliged to send almost our last gold abroad to obtain rye for Petrograd and Moscow, in order that our workers should not actually starve?

What sort of plan could we have at a period when our railways, even as late as 1922, had only twelve hours reserve fuel for the line between Petrograd and Moscow? And what fuel! Green wood straight from the forest! The Donetz basin our colliery centre, (Continued on page 8)

The Farmers' Strike

"How are you doing it?" I asked.

Different Methods.

"Well, in quite a few different ways. You know, the bankers are just waking up to the fact that a deserted farm, growing up to weeds, is not a paying investment. They didn't know that two years ago, when they began foreclosing right and left, but they see it now—some of them. If the farmers only knew it, they hold the trump card. They can stay in Montana longer than the bankers can. If the busted farmers of the country would just sit tight, and hold together, they would have the bankers eating out of their hand in a short time. If they were business men, they would see to it that no one made anything out of land, only the man who works the land. They would force land values down, and when low enough, buy their farms back at their own terms."

We have about reached that situation in Montana already. A short time ago a friend of mine living 25 miles west of Sidney bought a half section of good land for four dollars per acre. The terms were nothing down and nothing for two years, interest 6 per cent. At this rate land will soon be down to where a farmer can afford to buy land again.

About three-fourths of the dry land farms in Montana are deserted. The buildings on these deserted farms seldom last more than three or four years; kindling wood is scarce in some sections, you know. The fences also disappear.

Bankers Fought Farmers.

In 1920 the banks led in the fight against the Nonpartisan League. The farmers wanted economic justice and a square deal in selling their grain. The commercial and financial interests of the state united against the farmer. They joined forces with the interests who exploit the farmers.

These shortsighted pawn brokers could not see that their own success was built upon that of the farmer. As a result of agricultural bankruptcy, over 200 banks have failed in Montana alone during this depression.

We are almost back to normalcy! The Montana farmers today are independently poor. They have taken their losses and are cheerful. Only those who are broke and don't know it, continue to worry.

The cheerfulness of the bankrupt farmer is almost universal. He has nothing to lose, and is, therefore, afraid of no one. He laughs at the threat of the banker or the sheriff. He is a free man and knows it, and enjoys it. He tried hard to pay out, and worried himself sick trying. Then he saw what the Federal Reserve did to him. He considered how the government helped the railroads and refused him a square deal. How the government held the price of wheat down during the war.

He saw how organized business, the railroads, the banks, and the federal government were all united against him, and for the purpose of exploiting him, and this led him to go on strike; to take matters into his own hands.

Most Farmers Not Fooled.

Not one farmer in ten expects a square deal from our Teapot Dome government in Washington. They know that Wall Street is in control there, and Wall Street stands for exploitation.

They are not fooled by the disinterested patriotism and sudden love of the \$10,000,000 Wall Street credit corporation which will lend \$100,000,000 of "credit" to the Northwest banks in order to save the farmers. It looks like a good business proposition, and not an act of charity, when a corporation with a capital stock of only ten million dollars can lend one hundred million dollars of "credit," all of which one hundred million will bear interest. The farmer may look like such a fool but he is not foolish enough to fall for this.

Four Immediate Steps.

All farmers who are heavily mortgaged should do four things, and the sooner they do them, the better for all concerned.

First, he should take bankruptcy.

Second, he should refuse to own land and pay taxes, as long as he can rent for less than taxes.

Third, he should try to save enough in a few years (when relieved of taxes and interest) to buy a farm for cash.

Fourth, he should then try to keep out of debt and refuse to do business of any sort with any bank, until the banks are owned and operated for service and not for profit under a workers' and farmers' government.

Lenin and the Agrarian Question

By P. MIECIAISIEV

LONG before the revolution of 1905, Nikolai Lenin had conceived the idea of an alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry. This idea he brought before the Russian revolutionists at the very moment when it was being rejected by the social democratic party of Germany, at the time the most powerful group in the Second International, which until very recently has doggedly followed this method of carefully avoiding in its congresses the problem of the peasantry.

Not only did Lenin bring this question squarely to the fore; he made it the basis of his program and the cornerstone of his policy. Before the revolution, as well as while it was going on, he watched carefully to see that this problem was not overlooked and to insure its rational solution.

Marvelous strategist and peerless prophet that he was, he had realized that the proletariat would gain a powerful ally in the revolution if the party adopted a policy of fairness towards the peasantry and that, on the other hand, it would assuredly be crushed if it were to cut itself off from the masses in the country.

Lenin was the author of the agrarian program of the Communist Party. He understood the tremendous importance of such a program for the Russian revolution. And if the first program of the Russian social democratic group, adopted at the Second Congress, was to a great extent an adoption of the program of the social democrats in Germany, the same cannot be said of the agrarian program.

Nevertheless it was not on the program itself that Lenin concentrated his attention; an able organizer, eminently a man of action, he gave all his attention to generalship. After various trials, he pointed out the obligation that the party would be under of revising its agrarian program according to the frontier and the extent of the peasant revolution.

From the beginning of his active service, Lenin busied himself with the formation of special groups of peasants for the purpose of furthering the revolution and of putting its victories on a firm basis. In the very first agrarian program, written by his own hand, he urges the organization of the peasants into committees. In such organization he sees "a practical policy for propaganda and a means of organizing the farmer movement and of rendering it articulate."

And, altho imperfect and timid in the extreme in its exclusively agrarian demands, this program is indisputably imbued with the spirit of the revolution.

Altho the second agrarian program, adopted at the Fourth Congress, seemed to include demands more fundamental, it was evasive and opportunistic. Prepared under the influence of the Mensheviks, it had lost every trace of revolutionary spirit. It narrowed the possibility of agrarian reform to the democratic "zemtvos" and to the landed proprietors, not to the working peasantry.

In no way did it satisfy the revolutionists of the party, and Lenin continued to fight for the "nationalization of the land," which was to be accomplished thru the peasants' committees.

Realizing the tremendous importance of the agrarian question for the coming revolution, making every effort to give fair treatment to the proletariat and to the Bolsheviks, Lenin, after the first revolution, turned his attention to this problem. He was rounding out its theory and elaborating its practice when war overtook him in Austria.

It was during this period that he wrote his best work on the agrarian question. With painstaking care he criticized the "municipalization of the land"—a movement whose petit-bourgeois character he laid bare. The "Agrarian Program of the Social Democrats During the First Russian Revolution," the "Agrarian Question at the End of the Nineteenth Century," the "New Views on the Laws of the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture," are among the best that has been writ-

ten on the question, in Russian or in any language.

His last work, "New Views on the Laws of the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture," suggests the method of solving the problem of exploitation on a large and on a small scale—a problem which had caused the flow of streams of ink and which the workers of the reformers and of the theorists of the Second International had served only to confuse.

Thus, on the eve of the year 1917, Lenin was laying the foundations of the new revolutionary policy which was to become the cornerstone of the agrarian program of the future Communist International and which the experiences of the Russian revolution enriched, nurtured and linked indissolubly with action.

Hardly had he returned from exile in April, 1917, when Lenin, in his celebrated tracts on justice, gave particular attention to the agrarian problem. He advocated the immediate seizure of the land of the great proprietors and its redistribution by the peasant committees; in the first years of the century he had already foreseen the tremendous part that these organizations were to play. It was thru the medium of these committees and of soviets of deputies that the peasantry put forward the demands which underlay the first agrarian law of the Soviets. It was upon their support that the realization of agrarian reform was based.

Man of action, a being above all practical, Lenin built up the agrarian program and the agrarian policy, not upon abstract theories, but exclusively upon experience, and let himself be guided always by the wishes of the working class and of the peasantry.

It was in his communications, in his conversations with the workers of St. Petersburg and other cities, still solidly attached to the town, that he had worked out the cardinal points of his first agrarian program. It was from the demands of the

Let us admit that this may be so. Their authorship is of no importance. We should deal with facts, and we should give to the masses unhampered opportunity to use their own initiative. . . . We believe that the peasantry itself will know better than we how to solve that question. . . . Let the peasants themselves decide, let them mold their own lives."

This confidence in the masses, this faith in their creative ability, this defiance of any tendency towards bureaucracy, is extremely characteristic of the Lenin of the revolution. Lenin sought to know how "the peasants themselves" would solve the problems which concerned them; he placed them on their guard against mistaken decisions, he guided them, and he did not cease to repeat to the Soviet workers that it was necessary to instruct the masses "in learning thru their own experiences" how to manage their affairs.

Faith in the creative ability of the masses and prudence in the agrarian question, as in everything that touched on the economics of the land: these were the outstanding features of this fearless and unconquerable revolutionist. Even when the agrarian question appeared already settled, and when we were busying ourselves with the placing of our victories on a firm basis and with insuring the permanency of the use of the land, Lenin never for one moment left the path of extreme prudence.

"It would not do now (spring, 1922) for us to tie our hands with formulas, with rules, or with any regulations whatsoever until we have gathered a sufficient number of facts in the field of local economics and until we have thoroly studied the demands and the real needs of rural economy. Let us not allow a single unnecessary regulation, irrational, premature and not based upon experience, a regulation to which the local authorities would be held, and which would be dangerous and harmful in the extreme."

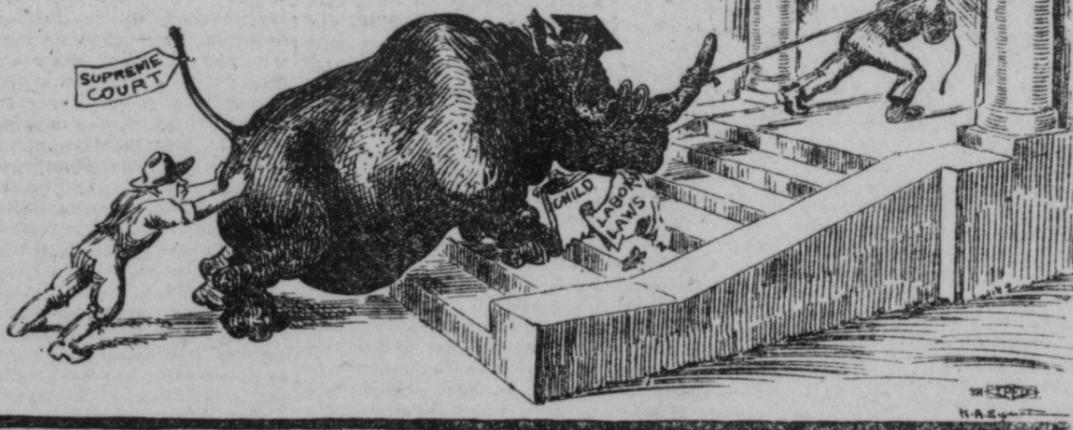
with the most practical and urgent problems for the mass of the workers and needy peasants: the food problem.

In order to encourage the poor peasants and the workers who emigrated from the cities to engage in agriculture, Lenin urged co-operative use of the land. He did not fail to take into account of the difficulties of this task, more arduous than "the overthrow of the weak spirit of Nicholas Romanoff." But he supported with enthusiasm the first attempts at co-operative agriculture, took an intense interest in them, and saw to it that they were supplied with the financial credit necessary to insure their success.

Lenin gave careful attention to the organization of the agricultural workers. Considering this section of the proletariat the most ignorant, the most backward and the most oppressed, he had since 1917 urged the industrial workers to help the day laborers and the farm workers to band themselves together into unions.

He understood that the agricultural workers were not only excellent support for the soviet power in the rural sections, but also the organizers of land cultivation on a

Some Specimen!



Where Future Generations Will Study the Iniquities of Capitalist Government.

revolutionary peasantry in 1905 and 1906 that he took the idea of the nationalization of the land, of the abolition of private ownership of land. He listened with strained attention to what the peasant deputies to the Congresses or to the Dumas of the empire had to say; he pondered the minutes of the Congress of the Peasants' Union, the agricultural plan of the group "Toil," and all the documents having to do with the state of mind and with the demands of the peasant masses.

The same was true in 1917. No sooner had the pamphlet containing 242 complaints of the peasants appeared than Lenin set to work to study it diligently and took it for his guide. He did not allow himself to become alarmed at the narrow-mindedness of the social-revolutionists who were disregarding these demands. He understood them in all their profound revolutionary implications, supported them, incorporated them into the first agrarian law and helped the peasantry to realize them for itself under the guidance of the revolutionary committees.

"There are those," he said to the Second Congress of the Soviets, "who claim that the decree itself and the pamphlet of complaints are the work of the social-revolutionists.

At the same time, Lenin called for the elaboration of the agrarian code, for whose adoption by the Council of the Commissioners of the People and by the Central Pan-Russian Executive Committee he was responsible. . . . After its adoption he announced that the party would never hesitate to revise and perfect it, to accept amendments and corrections which may be introduced by the peasantry.

Even while showing the greatest care for the peasant mass, whose part in the revolutionary movement and in the realization of socialism he understood perfectly, Lenin took into account its heterogeneous character and drew his conclusions accordingly.

Even before the October revolution, he dwelt on the necessity of forming a special organization of the proletariat and semi-proletarian elements of the rural district. He emphasized the fact that this organization was particularly needed, that it was indeed indispensable at the moment when it would be necessary to put agrarian reforms into practice. By this means only could the poor peasants defend their interests after the partitioning of the land.

After October he urged the organization of committees of poor peasants, whom he wished to entrust

large scale. As early as the outbreak of the revolution of 1917, he mentioned the fact that it would be necessary to leave out of the redistribution of the land a small quantity of large model tracts to be cultivated under the direction of experienced farmers.

But in the organization of the national domains, he did not forget the interests of the rural population. In the law having to do with the social forms of agriculture, he emphasizes the fact that the "national domains ought not to hold themselves apart from the local peasantry, but should be in direct contact with it and support it."

At the same time that he supported the poor peasantry and was using every means to fight the koulaks and the rural bourgeois, Lenin understood the role of the middle class peasantry. The attitude towards this class was to him a fundamental problem of the revolution and of the economic organization of the city. skilled in the theory and practice of agrarian policy, the creator and the guide of the agrarian revolution and rural economic organization.

IMPEACH COOLIDGE!

Our Labor Party Policy -- Thesis by Lore and Olgin

Thesis on the Workers Party Policy in the 1924 Elections

By LORE and OLGIN

I. Forces, Tendencies, Movements.
IN limiting a policy for our participation in the election campaigns of 1924, both presidential and congressional, we must proceed from the following considerations.

1. Negative.

(a) The numerical weakness of the Workers Party; the lack of political training on the part of its members.

(b) The organizational weakness of the left section of the labor movement.

(c) The absence of class consciousness among the large masses of both organized and unorganized labor.

(d) The traditional mistrust of the average American worker for political parties.

(e) The absence in the United States of America in the elections of 1924 of a catastrophic situation which would warrant the expectation of a sudden and tremendous change in the political attitude of the working masses.

2. Positive.

(a) The growing influence of the Workers Party among the more dissatisfied strata of the working class.

(b) The growing tendency of the left section of the labor movement towards consolidation into a semblance of a distinct proletarian political party.

(c) The marked dissatisfaction of a portion of the poorer farmers in the various states.

(d) AA. The so-called insurgent movement in the ranks of the old capitalist parties, especially the republican, a movement identified with the name of La Follette. BB. The Conference for Progressive Political Action.

(e) The oil scandal and the Daugherty investigation.

Each one of these factors must be taken in its proper proportion in any elaboration of plans for the coming election.

A. The Workers Party.

The number of enrolled members in the Workers Party is in the neighborhood of 25,000. This is the entire portion of the working class that the Workers Party can directly command thru its discipline and organization. The number of citizens among the members, entitled to a vote, is still smaller. The Workers Party as such is, therefore, unable to influence directly in any appreciable degree the outcome of the elections. It cannot throw directly any social weight on the scale of one political formation or the other.

The membership of the Workers Party itself, on the other hand, is not a homogeneous one. It is distributed mainly among language federations. It has not yet thoroughly assimilated the Communist idea. It is not thoroughly versed in Communist tactics. This is mainly due to the recent formation of the Workers Party and to internal struggles that precluded normal party life and expansion. What has attracted the membership to the Workers Party and made it proud of the name Communist is the position of the party, its outspoken and unwavering class line in matters political and economic. Any step on the part of the Workers Party which may be construed as a deviation from its radical course must cause a depressing reaction in the membership of the party in its present stage of development and result in abstention from activities and in a falling off of an appreciable number of members.

B. The Left Wing.

The left wing of the labor movement is a groping rather than a clear vision, a tendency rather than an organizational consolidation. The workers' organizations represented in the various state farmer-labor parties are dissatisfied with capitalist exploitation and disgusted with the political machinery of the old capitalist parties. They have not yet, however, acquired a full understanding of the necessity of organizing a class labor party with a pro-

letarian class program. They have not yet learned to rely on their own representatives as distinct from and opposed to bourgeois progressives calling themselves friends of labor. The so-called farmer-labor parties have neither control over their members nor even a strong influence over their behavior in times of election. They are loosely knitted formations of very recent origin which have not yet crystallized into effective organizations. Not even the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, the most radical of all those not fully class conscious political formations, has developed a party loyalty and a conscious party cohesion. This makes it very difficult, if not utterly impossible, to use the left wing of labor as a flexible instrument in Workers Party strategy concerning this year's election.

C. The Bulk of Labor.

There is a vast difference between the right wing of labor in America and Europe. In the latter, even the backward workers have learned to rely on their own political representatives, differentiating their parties however moderate, from the parties of the lower strata of the bourgeoisie. Such is the case particularly in Germany and England. In America the vast masses of the workers are still deluded by the idea of an all-embracing national rather than a class party. Dissatisfied with the republicans they vote for the democrats. Becoming dissatisfied with the democrats and republicans they may transfer their vote to a third, more radical bourgeois party if such were to be formed. The only means of splitting them away from the bourgeoisie is the formation of an **outspeken labor party** with a form of organization, a program, a line of action and a personnel of political candidates of such a clear proletarian class character, as to become an irresistible force of attraction to the masses of labor. Viewed in this aspect, the formation of a liberal third party which by its reformist tendencies may strongly attach to itself large masses of workers, is a direct menace to the future of a proletarian class policy in the United States of America. It will be much more difficult to combat a third party than it is to prove the exploitationist dictatorship of the two old parties.

D. Traditional Disgust With "Political Game."

There has been no party life in the United States congress in recent years, i. e., there has been no marked clash of class interests in the political squabbles of the republican and democratic parties, both of them representing, as they do, a united front of various economic groups and classes. The average non-socialist worker grew to look upon party activities as upon something that has only a remote bearing upon his daily existence. The attitude is only another form of expression of American individualism which relies upon immediate clashes of interest in actual life rather than upon political clashes in the legislative chambers. Taken as a whole, the American working class is far more revolutionary and class conscious in daily struggles against capitalism than it is in its political expressions. The same workingmen who wage enormous battles against the exploiters by means of strikers and protection of strikes, submit unhesitatingly to the political leadership of the exploiters and their agents. "You cannot beat the politician at the political game" is the common conviction

of the average American worker. The masses disbelieve pre-election promises of the old parties yet they have not realized the necessity of founding their own party. Instead, they look with contempt upon all parties, believing that the workers can stand aside from the parliamentary strife. The example of the socialist party which even in times of its marked growth only followed in the footsteps of the capitalist parties, soliciting votes thru pre-election promises which it could not fulfill and working thru a machinery of party politicians who were not of the working class, only added to the disappointment of the labor masses in political action.

Under such conditions, only a clear cut party of labor and exploited farmers controlled by organized labor and farmers, acting thru representatives of workers and farmers, and nominating its own candidates on a definite class program of labor and exploited farmers, can dispel the mistrust of the labor masses, destroy their political inertia and make them fight capitalism thru political weapons with at least the same determination as they have hitherto fought capitalism with the weapons of strike and boycott.

E. No Mass Revolt in 1924.

The political strategy of the Workers Party in 1924 will be greatly impeded by the absence of a sweeping national issue which would stir the laboring masses and lash them into spontaneous mass revolt in the political field. The economic situation is gradually approaching a crisis. Economic depression has been on the increase thruout the latter part of 1923. Yet there has been no rapid and alarming falling off on production and transportation, and there is no state of panic. Unemployment is evident in various parts of the country, notably in the mining and clothing industries, but it has not assumed and will not assume in the coming few months such proportions as to awaken the working masses to the realization of imminent danger. There is no atmosphere of deep unrest in the industrial centers. There are no signs of political upheavals. Only in large sections of the farming districts is there profound dissatisfaction due to an acute crisis in agriculture. The millions of farmers who are bankrupt or facing bankruptcy have given rise to a vanguard of radical groups who voice the imminence for the farmers to influence legislation in their own interest and thru their own spokesmen. This movement, the like of which has been witnessed in America in former decades, is here and there seeking an alliance with organized labor, yet it is just as eager to form affiliations with the lower strata of the city bourgeoisie wherever the latter are opposed to the dictatorship of big capital, and willingly submits to the leadership of liberal politicians. The farmer movement is a typical petty bourgeois movement, and while at present a portion of the dispossessed farmers are deeply stirred the farmers en masse will naturally gravitate towards a liberal bourgeois party rather than towards a class labor party.

All these circumstances are obstacles on the path of the Workers Party towards its historic task of utilizing the coming elections to organize the working class, sharpen its class consciousness and deepen its war against capitalist dictatorship.

On the other hand, there are a number of circumstances which augur well for our campaigns in the coming elections and which, when prop-

erly utilized, may strengthen the working class and increase the influence of the Workers Party.

A-1. Influence of the Workers Party.

The Workers Party has become an influence in excess of its numerical strength. Communist discipline, Communist determined appeal to class struggle, Communist boldness of attack on labor fakirs and wavering labor politicians, Communist revolutionary determination in exposing the viciousness of capitalism and its supporters in whatever disguise they may appear, have won the Workers Party support and recognition wherever it came into contact with organized workers. The Workers Party has become the symbol of straight and unyielding class struggle. This position may be enormously strengthened if we continue to be the crystallizing center for the formation of a class party of workers and exploited farmers. (The strengthening of our prestige will inevitably result in a great number of members. We may be weakened if we becloud our line of action and lose in the eyes of the masses the most precious quality which attracted them to us often against their will: a revolutionary class policy.)

B-1. Tendency Towards a Class Party.

The consciousness growing out of the participation in the world war; the disillusionment in the outcome of the war; the growing centralization of power in the hands of the capitalist class; the unemployment of 1921-2; the reaction as expressed in the open shop campaign; the strikes of the steel, textile, mine and railroad workers—all this has not remained without influence on the working masses. A change is coming over the American working class. A tendency towards liberation from the bourgeois ideology is on the increase. While the change is more of a molecular character, while there is no mass revolt and no spontaneous regrouping, there is a growing inclination toward what is vaguely termed as "independent political action." The various conferences for the formation of labor parties in the last year, the formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, the conference set for June 17, 1924, are only an expression of the political changes that are taking place in the working class. This creates a favorable medium for our work of propaganda and organization for class struggle. We may become what the Communist party ought to be in every country—the leader of the working class. The success depends upon our tactics in the near future. We must follow a direct and obvious class line. Into the mass of disillusioned and dismayed workingmen we must bring the class understanding of class division and class war. Into the dimness of political gropings we must pour the light of revolutionary class consciousness. Out of the chaos of a transitional period in the history of the American labor movement we must bring a well organized and well conscious class party. The inarticulate dissatisfaction of masses of workers must thru us find its expression and its organized release in political struggle. This we can achieve, not by trying to lead the working class over devious ways over political machinations and obscure paths of dubious political deals with the petty bourgeoisie, but by remaining Communistic thruout; i. e., by not relinquishing our class line in the eyes of the working masses.

C-1. The Farmers.

The bitter restlessness of a mass of farmers may be of advantage to our work in that it increased the range of dissatisfaction with the old political parties and creates a number of possible allies for the future mass party of labor. The poorer farmers, bourgeoisie which in substance is opposed to the revolutionary ideology of labor, are situated on the social scale between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Insofar as they yield to the influence of class conscious labor, they may be an ally in the struggle against capitalism. Insofar as they make the workingmen yield to bourgeois leadership, they are dangerous to the working class. In the measure as the consciousness of the workingmen will grow and their determina-

tion to fight capitalism will manifest, they will yield to the tactics in the lead, not to the money of farmers. The masses of labor, ward independent of but to the creation of a new party on the basis of class struggle against capitalism. This position is favorably controlled by the Workers Party. Much depends upon the future of the Workers Party.

D-1. Republican Alliance For Proletarian Party.

The so-called "Republican Alliance" is a party of the ranks of the reformed bourgeoisie, linked with the capitalist class. It is important for the formation of a class party, particularly thru the formation of a class party, as it creates an all-embracing party, which is to save the bourgeoisie from the consequences of the bourgeois democracy. The class should not be overweighed by the advantage of the working class formation of a third party. Such a party will not have the character of capitalism nor its political influence. It is fallacious to believe that a highly developed party in the period of its growth with powerful industrial and an enormous economic power will be able to pass into the hands of small bourgeoisie.

A third bourgeoisie would be no more than a portion of the (primarily of the group) and the mass and petty bourgeoisie, coming into the nation, may be for the creation of a and may subsequently be difficult to combat the avowed enemy of the

Realizing that the words a third bourgeoisie no means as to create a political jargon, realizing that even the third party under the leadership of an outspoken liberal type would not mean a mental change in the American political actual power would be the hands of a combined old parties; realizing absolutely improbable power into the hands of the liberal would mean for the infinitely less than power into the hands of reform socialists in the European countries that it is our duty to bring class from fallacy arms of the liberal will be just as effective the life blood of the every variety of the realizing that our work not in the nature of propaganda only, but in separate and distinct which would create a party, and wherever its growth so as to growth of a labor party utilize the political created by the insurgent and by the time; we must come and farmers who by the present political induce them to create which is plausible toward proletarianism. It is not our duty to machinery of capitalism is not our task to in favor of one bourgeoisie opposed to the other possible for us to be wished to, because weight; it would be our class line if we propaganda in favor

(Continued on page 2)

and Olgin -- Reply by Cannon and Bittelman

Reply to the Thesis of Comrades Lore and Olgin

By BITTELMAN and CANNON

The thesis of Comrades Lore and Olgin on the Workers Party policy in the elections for 1924 is based upon two fundamental errors.

1—A mis-conception of the strategy and tactics of the Communist International.

2—A wrong analysis of the economic and political forces operating within the frame-work of present-day America.

Strategy and Tactics of the Communist International.

The strategy of the Communist International consists of the mobilization of the working class and all other oppressed groups that can be allied with it for an aggressive struggle against capitalist exploitation, for the destruction of the capitalist state, and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

From this it follows that a Communist Party, which is the one to carry on this strategy, must itself be a fighting organization linked up with every phase of the class struggle and moving along consciously and persistently in the direction of the final proletarian struggle for power.

The class struggle does not develop along straight lines. Its ways are devious and complicated. As Trotsky said, "In politics the shortest distance between two points is a zig-zag." The thesis does not follow the method of Lenin when it attempts to speak of a "straight", and "direct" and "unyielding" policy as opposed to a policy of devious ways, political machinations or obscure paths.

A policy is correct, Communist and revolutionary if it promotes, deepens and intensifies the class struggle; if it accentuates class divisions and solidifies the working class as against the capitalist class and if it strengthens the Communist Party and broadens its influence over the laboring masses.

A policy which satisfies the above requirements is a good Communist policy, irrespective of whether the line of its path is straight, broken or circular. The shape of the line of our tactics is determined, not by our free will but by the prevailing conditions of the class struggle.

The thesis is wrong and non-Marxian, and manifests a failure to understand the fundamentals of Communist strategy, when it attempts to dump all non-proletarian groupings into one reactionary heap which is to be condemned and fought against always in the same measure and with the same tactics. The established strategy of the Communist International, which is based on a Marxian conception of capitalist society, always differentiates between the immediate interests of the various groups and strata of the non-proletarian classes for the double purpose, of (1) mobilizing at a given moment the greatest possible force of anti-capitalist opposition, and (2) winning over all the exploited and oppressed elements to the proletarian cause thereby bringing about the isolation of the capitalist class. The thesis sins heavily against this principle of strategy and also against the actual facts involved in the third party movement when it proposes to treat this movement, which is a revolt against big capital, precisely as we treat the republican and democratic parties, which are the parties of big capital.

And, lastly, the whole thesis is pervaded with a spirit of pessimism, passivity and fear of tackling a complicated situation, which is altogether out of proportion to and unjustified by the known facts of the present situation and the established policies of the C. I. This spirit is peculiarly reminiscent of an attitude formerly shared by certain sections of our movement that the beginning and end of all Communist activities is propaganda of Communism—straightforward, unyielding preaching of Communist principles. It is this attitude that prevented for a time some of our members from accepting the Labor Party policy of the Workers Party.

The Present Situation.

The thesis of Comrades Lore and Olgin does not disprove the fact that we are witnessing now in the United States a growing revolt of the working masses on the one hand and of the petty bourgeois elements on the other hand against the domination of the two old parties. The thesis is very careful to avoid the use of the term revolt. It says instead: "growing tendency, growing influence, marked dissatisfaction," etc. But this difference in terminology which is important, of course, does not, however, alter the fact that there is on foot a growing movement involving large masses of workers, farmers, and petty bourgeois elements tending to split away from the two old parties. This is the most important cardinal fact in present day American politics. Therefore, no strategy can be correct which fails to put this fact in its proper light and to analyze its basic factors. The thesis of Comrades Lore and Olgin is deficient in both. It fails to probe down to the real economic basis of the insurgent movement, inside and outside of the two old parties, and therefore misses its true volume, scope and significance.

The Economic Situation.

The thesis admits "the economic situation is gradually approaching a crisis" and that "the economic depression has been on the increase throughout the latter part of 1923." This is correct but the present crisis is not of the type of the periodic, pre-war capitalist crises and herein lies its significance. It is not a temporary or passing affair. It is a manifestation here in the United States of the general critical state of world capitalism. This crisis may have its ups and downs but its lasting and permanent nature can not be disputed.

It is this lasting and permanent nature of the present economic depression, plus the recent political developments, which have unmasked the American government as the tool and sergeant of big capital, that is responsible for the acuteness of the class relations prevailing at present in the United States.

The Political Situation.

The thesis of the C. E. C. which is to be submitted to the Communist International speaks of the mass revolt in the United States against the domination of the two old parties as a revolt against the economic and political rule of big capital. And that is what it is, but this fact the thesis of Comrades Lore and Olgin fails to take note of. It speaks of a "growing dissatisfaction", "bitter restlessness" of the workers, farmers and petty bourgeois elements without realizing that what we are confronted with now is a movement and not merely a state of mind. A movement of large masses against the present rule of the bankers and big industrialists, and that this movement is tending unmistakably in the direction of a third petty-bourgeois liberal party. Whether this party materializes—if it does—as a petty-bourgeois liberal party or as a regular capitalist party similar to one of the old parties is still somewhat problematical. It may eventually turn either way, which does not in the least change the present nature and significance of the movement. As to our tactics and attitude towards a third party the thesis of the C. E. C. provides for either case. The thesis of the Central Executive Committee lays down clearly and definitely the conditions and terms for a possible election alliance between the Farmer-Labor Party and the Third Party.

Our Attitude Toward the Third Party Movement.

The thesis of the Central Executive Committee bases its attitude toward the Third Party movement on three sets of considerations.

1—The Third Party movement accelerates the development of the class struggle, produces a clearer crystallization of political groupings on the basis of real economic interests, and weakens the united capitalist front against the working class.

2—The Third Party movement involves and is followed by large masses of workers and exploited farm-

ers who are revolting and struggling against the domination of big capital. For these masses the Third Party movement is objectively a transitory stage to the class Farmer-Labor Party. The successful development of the Third Party movement will seriously affect if not shatter the domination of the Gompers machine in the A. F. of L. thereby opening the way for favorable changes in the labor movement.

3—The movement toward the formation of a third petty-bourgeois party creates a favorable situation for the development of a class Farmer-Labor Party which is the main objective of our present strategy.

The thesis of Comrades Lore and Olgin fails to take cognizance of any of these considerations. It admits that this movement "is important for the working class mainly thru the general political agitation it creates in the country and particularly thru the attacks it levels at the old capitalist parties." But it fails to understand the far-reaching implication even of this statement. What it does see is the probable coming into existence of "a third bourgeois party, which would be no more than a United Front of the big bourgeoisie and the mass of the middle and petty bourgeoisie which would become an obstacle for the creation of a proletarian party and may subsequently be much more difficult to combat than an open and avowed enemy of the working people."

What this Third Party movement may eventually materialize into, nobody knows as yet. For the present, however, it is not a United Front of big bourgeoisie with the middle and petty bourgeoisie but a movement of revolt of the workers, exploited and well-to-do farmers and various elements of the petty bourgeoisie against the rule of big capital.

That the Third Party movement carries with it serious dangers for the success of the Farmer-Labor Party movement goes without saying. The thesis of the Central Executive Committee clearly points out these dangers, and proposes definite measures to meet them.

After setting forth the conditions under which it is possible for the Farmer-Labor Party to support the candidates of the Third Party in the 1924 elections, the thesis of the C. E. C. says the following:

If under the conditions set forth above an election alliance, either national or local, is made the Farmer-Labor Party must maintain a distinct organization and carry on an independent campaign for its own program and utilize the situation to the utmost to crystallize in the definite form of an organized Farmer-Labor Party all those workers and exploited farmers who can be brought to the support of a class party.

Through any campaign in which we maintain an alliance with the third party, we must constantly criticize and expose it and its candidates, show up the futility of its program, and make it clear to the workers who are reached by our own campaign that the third party will bring them no salvation and no relief. We must make it clear that the whole campaign is simply a starting point in the struggle for the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government, which in turn is a step towards the Proletarian Dictatorship, the one and only instrument for their liberation.

All the elements of the classes which are participating in the revolt against and split from the old capitalist parties will be represented in the St. Paul convention on June 17th. But the probability of the class farmer-labor elements—the rank and file workers and poor farmers—predominating will be greatly increased by the aggressive role of the Workers Party in the campaign for the convention and the tendency of the third party elements (including the labor bureaucrats, who are ideologically part of the petty bourgeoisie) to turn to the Cleveland Conference of the C. P. P. A. or to some other

center which may be created by the La Follette group to serve as the nucleus of the third party.

Our task at the June 17th Convention will be to strengthen and clarify its class character, fight for the adoption of a class program, organize it into a class party separate and distinct from the Cleveland conference or any other third party conference which may be held. The party formed there shall negotiate, thru committees, with other conferences on the question of common campaign or common candidates only as an organized body.

At the St. Paul Conference we shall nominate and fight for proletarian candidates as against any other candidates at the conference. We shall utilize the conference to lay the basis for the organization of the Farmer-Labor Party thru-out the country and also advance there the proposal and plans for an economic organization of farmers to serve as the foundation for their political organization.

This step of supporting the candidates of a petty bourgeois liberal Third Party, under the conditions laid down in the thesis of the Central Executive Committee, is a correct one; not only because it is in accord with the general strategy of the C. I. (as manifested in its attitude to the British Labor Party and the Mexican presidential elections) but also because it offers the best tactical move of eventually separating the masses of workers and exploited farmers from the leadership of petty bourgeois liberalism and bringing them into the ranks of the class Farmer-Labor Party, which is a step along the road to Communism. On the other hand the position toward the Third Party movement taken by the thesis of Comrades Lore and Olgin offers the best means of perpetuating petty-bourgeois influence over the masses of workers and exploited farmers that are now following this movement.

The thesis of Comrades Lore and Olgin takes the position of no support for the candidates of the Third Party under any circumstances, and this for five reasons:

1—Our support would be futile because we do not command large numbers of voters who actually influence the outcome of the election.

And suppose we did command large numbers of voters? Would we then be justified in supporting candidates of the Third Party? Obviously not, according to the general strategy of the thesis of Comrades Lore and Olgin. Then where is the point of this argument?

2—It would "perturb the class vision of our membership and cause among them great consternation, appearing to them as an obvious deviation from the straight line of class struggle."

This argument figures very prominently in the thesis that the working class in America as a whole, being disgusted with the political game, will not follow, let alone approve, the tactical move involved in the support of a Third Party candidate.

If this argument has any validity at all, then the only conclusion to be drawn is: Total abstention from politics! Boycott all capitalist institutions! No compromise! No dealings with the enemy until we come to the final direct struggle for power and until then—preach Communism!

This is the straightest possible line of the class struggle. The only trouble with it is that it is wholly imaginary.

3—Support of Third Party candidates would make it impossible for us to explain our refusal to support a "Friend of Labor" on the ticket of the democratic party.

By this argument the thesis shows that it is dealing not with social forces, classes, and parties, but with individuals.

The conception of "labor friends", which underlies the non-partisan policies of Gompers and the C. P. P. A., can be exploded only on the basis of class relations and the social analysis of political parties. It is our duty to teach the workers to think in terms of classes and parties and not

(Continued on page 8.)

Tackling a Juicy Mellon

By J. O. BENTALL

Straws of Alfafa

By JOEL SHOMAKER
Ye Olde Hay Editor

THE ingratitude of the world is getting to be something fierce. Not only have we attacked the benevolent oil king who out of sheer sympathy with the burdened people took the heavy teapot off their shoulders and made a number of million dollars for himself as a great service to his government, not only have we abused the fat attorney general who in all sincerity aided himself and the greatest crooks that have ever raised the banner of patriotism in America to save her from the pitfalls of honor and decency, and not only have we assailed the sacred institution of graft and bribery by the impertinent ousting of the flag-waving idol of the navy who legatly and properly connived to give away freely the people's property in return for much honest boodle to himself, but now we proceed to tackle the very lord of the money pile we have dragged together by our riotous living.

"Andy" Mellon Appears.

Andrew W. Mellon was not one of the ordinary pikers who looked for a job and a meal ticket when he was prevailed upon to make the supreme sacrifice and accept the menial position of secretary of the treasury.

Honest Harding, who slipped by the immigration officer at the gates of heaven before his record and finger prints had been scrutinized and O. K'd by the careless St. Peter, had, according to unreliable and false testimony, much difficulty in persuading Mellon that he was not the man for the job.

Mellon had almost everything else—in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York—so why should he be deprived of acquiring what he might have set his innocent heart on in Washington.

Mellon had been able to show the world everything except his own self-sacrifice. The golden opportunity had come. Never had it knocked at the door of the humble Mellon and not been let in. It should not have its locks wet with the dew of the night outside his door now.

There were big hindrances and obstacles in the way—such as would have discouraged almost any ordinary coward. Careless and almost righteous lawmakers had placed on the statute books of the nation certain unwise laws that forbade poor men to have their hands both in the tills of prosperous corporations and in the United States treasury at the same time. It is these almost righteous lawmakers that cause so much trouble to small thieves.

What's a Law Nowadays?

Lookit their laws:

"No member of the Federal Reserve Board"—of course, that would include secretary of the treasury—"shall be an officer of any bank, banking institution, trust company, or Federal Reserve Bank, nor hold stock in any bank, banking institution or trust company, and before entering upon his duties as a member of the Federal Reserve Board he shall certify under oath to the secretary that he has complied with this request."

Mellon was the largest stockholder in the Union Trust Company of Pittsburgh; Mellon was the largest stockholder of the Fidelity Title

JOIN THE JUNIOR SECTION

For Information
1009 N. State St., Rm. 214
Chicago, Ill.

Morgan Supplying the Funds



After Us—the Deluge!

and Trust Company of Pittsburgh; largest stockholder of the National Bank of Commerce of New York; president and director of the Mellon National Bank, the largest bank in Pittsburgh; stockholder of the Aluminum Company of America; of the Gulf Oil Corporation; of the Standard Steel Car Company; of the Overholt Distilling Company, and of many other too numerous to mention, as the farmers say on their auction bills.

In order to serve the government our hero gave up several of the directorates and sold millions of dollars worth of stock. Five of America's most crooked lawyers assured him he need not sell the rest. But he is said to have threatened to do violence to their advice.

Then came the most ticklish point in the game. Mellon was a member of the board of trustees of the University of Pittsburgh, and of Western Pennsylvania Hospital and other charities of that kind where he was very inactive. His attorneys assured him in spite of his conscientious scruples that he might remain if he would promise never to attend to any of their business.

Vive la Overholtism!

To explain away his prosperity in connection with the Overholt Distilling Company took many pages of the Congressional Record. The session that dealt with this spirited part of Mellon's exploits is said to have been the driest in the last seven days. The stock in the Overholt warehouse and in Mellon's cellar has not been given away except when sold at fancy figures or served to liven up congressional meetings. But the ingratitude of his best friends among the prohibition agents has made him sulky. If he gives freely of his Overholtism they talk too much, if he is stingy with it they talk more.

Do you know what grief is? You have tried to plow with a plow that won't scour, have you? Well,

next time you want vexation get up early and step into Mellon's treasury boots and walk a mile in this ungrateful world, which cannot appreciate the self-sacrifice of a man who gives up almost a part of his thirty million dollars a year to accept a job that pays him twelve thousand, and then kicks if he wants to get up a tax law that exempts him from forking over his share of the government's board bill.

Who are we low dogs to yelp at this giant among philanthropists? We are not fit to be served by this greatest of humdingers.

Rossini Gets Kind Words from Our Musical Advisor

By ALFRED V. FRANKENSTEIN.

Rossini's "Stabat Mater" and Hadley's "Resurgam" were presented at Orchestra Hall Monday night, by the Apollo musical club. Rossini's oratorio, dealing with the sufferings of the mother of Jesus after the crucifixion is rather unique among oratorios since the music is lyric rather than dramatic. Rossini was of the favored and lucky of the earth, and his philosophy of life and religion was a happy one. So when he produced an oratorio fitting solemn Latin words to joyous and life loving music, the wiseacres of his time raised their pious hands in horror and brayed shocked disapproval. But the intensely lyric Rossini has survived, and the wiseacres are dead and buried.

Women Out-Sing Men.

Of the singing that of the women soloists was more impressive than that of the men. Alice Gentle, so successful last week with the San Carlo opera, repeated her success in the quite different field of oratorio. It takes a singer indeed to sing Carmen one night and the Stabat Mater the next and make successes of them

both. Leah Pratt, the contralto, sang the famous solo "Fas ut Portem" with a voice of beautiful quality, and style of considerable lyric intensity. William Phillips, baritone, sang well, but he was struggling with a bass part that was too low for him. Walter Wheatley, the tenor, showed a voice of fine quality, but there was always a sense of strain in his interpretation. The excellence of the Apollo club chorus under Harrison Wild's direction goes without saying.

Hadley—Big and Dramatic.

Hadley's "Resurgam" (I shall rise again) is a great contrast to Rossini's work. There is no lyric quality in the music, it is all big and dramatic. The orchestration is modern, and hence more sonorous than that of the Italian composer. The oratorio is in four parts, Birth, Life, Death and Re-birth, calculated to show the guiding hand of God thruout all stages of existence. The end, a huge climax in organ, orchestra and voices, is a supreme testament of the beautiful side of religious faith.

State Publishers of Russia (Gosisdat)

The Representative in the United States and Canada will fill orders FOR

RUSSIAN BOOKS,
MAGAZINES, ETC.

12,000 Titles to Select From.

Regular discount to dealers and organizations.

Write for Catalogue.

Subscription accepted for:

Isvestia \$2.00 per month
Economic Life . . . \$2.50 per month
Pravda \$3.00 per month

GOSISDAT,

15 PARK ROW, New York City

UNCLE WIGGLY'S TRICKS



A LAUGH FOR THE CHILDREN

Thesis on the Workers Party Policy in the 1924 Elections

(Continued from Page 4)

geois party; it would be an expression of parliamentary fetishism which would destroy our position among the working masses. It is however, our duty to utilize the political fermentation among the masses in order to drive a wedge between the bourgeoisie, no matter how insurgent and liberal, and the working class, no matter how little enlightened. We must remember not only the immediate outcome of the elections and our glory in its results, but also the future struggles of the working class.

The Conference for Progressive Political Action is an embodiment of that part of organized labor which, under the leadership of reactionary labor officials allowed its lot to be thrown with the bourgeoisie. Dominated by the bureaucrats of the railroad craft unions who were eager to deliver the organizations represented in the conference to the democratic party under the candidacy of McAdoo; faced with a scandal which for a while made the nomination of McAdoo undesirable while the appearance of another democratic candidate with a reputation of a so-called friend of labor is highly improbable, the Conference for Progressive Political Action is biding time, still in expectation of a contingency which will make the creation of a third bourgeois party unnecessary. Further than a third party the Conference for Progressive Political Action is not ready to go. In this it is eagerly sustained by the socialist party on the one hand, by the liberal groups, such as the Committee of 48, etc., on the other. There is little doubt that at best the July 4 conference of the Conference for Progressive Political Action will result in the proclamation of its readiness to support a third bourgeois party. This departure, being a decisive break with the tradition of labor supporting one of the old capitalist parties, will also strengthen our work in favor of a real class labor party. We will have to create a center which either in these coming elections or in the near future will separate the masses of the workers from their liberal bourgeois leaders, as our activities in the industrial field, are trying to separate them from the conservative bureaucracy in their economic organizations.

E-1. The Oil Scandal.

The monstrous frauds unveiled in the entire government machinery in connection with the oil investigations, far from shaking the foundations of American capitalism, or even changing the political complexion of the congress has nevertheless created that state of political amazement and widespread mockery at the accepted bourgeois political phraseology which makes the masses more susceptible both to class propaganda and to the formation of a class political party. The material furnished by the investigations, however, must be utilized not in the same spirit as it is done by third party spokesmen, but as proof of rottenness of the capitalist system as a whole, and as our urge for the workers to become a political power.

II. Principles of Our Election Policy

It follows from all these circumstances that our role in the coming elections must be based on the following principles.

(1) We pursue the policies of a United Front of Labor as outlined by the Communist International; namely: we strive to unite the largest possible number of workers and poor farmers on a program of struggle against capitalist domination.

(2) We did not come to the working masses with a full and detailed program of revolutionary class struggle as exemplified by the program of the Workers Party, but we come with a minimum of class demands which, while drawing a line between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, will make the beginning of a political struggle against bourgeois rule and will be able to attract the adherence of large masses of workers.

(3) We work for the formation of a labor-farmer party controlled by workers and farmers and putting forth a minimum of class demands as outlined above.

(4) We do not enter into any political maneuvers which may becloud

our aims in the eyes of the workers and make them think of us as political manipulators of the old type and not as fighters for the cause of the workers.

(5) We view our participation in the election campaigns as one of many occasions for spreading the propaganda of class struggle, for arousing the working class to political activity, for organizing the working class into a political party; we do not view it, however, as a means to achieve immediate and important changes in the American system of legislation. We fully recognize the importance of the parliamentary tribune for the class enlightenment and consolidation of the working people, we do not, however, strive for parliamentary seats at the expense of our class position. We hold the same true for the working class as a whole.

(6) We aim at strengthening the Workers Party and putting it on the political map as the most radical and most consistent leader of the working masses.

III. Our Line Of Action

Based on these principles we pursue in connection with the coming election the following line of action:

A. Before June 17

(1) We make a many sided and vigorous campaign for participation at the June 17 convention. The Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party and every party unit carry the campaign into every accessible labor and farmer organization, the aims being:

(a) To enlighten the workers and poor farmers as to their position in capitalist society and the only way of liberation.

(b) To induce the workers and farmers organizations to form state and city labor-farmer parties which would appeal to the votes of the laboring masses in time of election.

(c) To induce the newly organized labor-farmer parties to affiliate with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party wherever such affiliation does not threaten to disrupt the local labor-farmer forces.

(d) To induce each labor and farmer organization and each local branch of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party to send delegates to the June 17 convention.

(2) We carry on a systematic propaganda not only against the old capitalist parties but also against the third bourgeois party which is in the process of birth. We point out the bourgeois character of the coming party, using particularly the frankly and openly capitalistic nature of the insurgent group's activities in the present congress. We brand the labor officials who wish to make the workers an appendix to a third party as betrayers of the working class striving to establish political peace with the bourgeoisie where war must be the rule. We point out that "delivering" labor to a third bourgeois party is no less reactionary than delivering it to the old capitalist parties.

(3) We do not conceal from the workers and farmers that we are Communists; we make it clear to them what Communism is; we do, however, state that even those workers who do not agree to the methods and aims of Communism must take their fate into their own hands without relying on their enemies of the other classes.

(4) We make vigorous propaganda in favor of the formation of a mass party of workers and exploited farmers at the June 17 convention.

B. At the June 17 Convention

(1) Whatever the number of our members and sympathizers at that gathering may be we fight for the formation of a party of labor and exploited farmers on the following basis:

(a) The party is to be composed of organizations of hand and brain workers and exploited farmers; it does not admit organizations of business men, manufacturers, bankers, rich farmers, however friendly to labor; it admits individual membership by recommendation of local units of the party.

(b) The party strives towards the establishment of a labor-farmer government in the United States of America.

(c) The party program includes nationalization of the key industries; nationalization of the banks, nationalization of the means of transportation, nationalization of

natural resources (ores, coal, oil, water power), nationalization of storage facilities for farm products, of elevators and mills; a five year moratorium for the farmers' debts.

(d) The party endorses and supports only such candidates as accept both the class control of the party and the party program.

(2) If this program is not accepted by the majority of the convention we may yield on point (c) relating to the party program, we do not, however, yield as to the class composition of the party—fully conscious of the fact that a party controlled by labor and exploited farmers may in time become revolutionary even if it is moderate at its inception, while a party controlled by bourgeois elements must necessarily become reactionary even if it starts with a liberal program.

(3) In the extremely unlikely eventuality that the convention is swamped by bourgeois elements and the majority does not agree to the formation of a party on the above specified basis, we secede from the convention with as many labor and farmer delegates as agree to a class party and form such a party independently. The party to nominate its presidential candidate and candidates for the legislative chambers.

C. After the June 17 Convention

Whether a class labor-farmer party emerges from the majority or the minority of the June 17 convention, we aid in consolidating the new party, in carrying on its campaigns, in organizing its publications, all the time, however, emphasizing the difference between Communism and the new party. The attitude of the Workers Party towards other political groups will then be as follows:

(1) The Workers Party endorses and supports the candidates of the new labor-farmer party while conducting the election campaign in a strict Communist spirit.

(2) The Workers Party urges the new party to send a committee to the July 4 Conference for Progressive Political Action in order to negotiate with it as to joining the labor-farmer party.

(3) The Workers Party urges the new party that in case the negotiations fail it should try to attract as many labor elements from the July 4 conference as will be ready to join a class party.

(4) The Workers Party stands for a relentless criticism of the third party to be born at the July 4 conference, under whatever name and with whatever progressive program it may appear, the basis of criticism being that the third party is bourgeois in its composition, since it has refused to accept the control of workers' and farmers' organizations.

(5) In local elections we strive towards a united front on the broadest possible basis, not overstepping, however, the class lines of workers and exploited farmers. We strive to unite all labor elements on a labor program; we support candidates nominated by labor organizations; we make it clear to our Workers Party members that in supporting such candidates we help to unite labor and to split it away from the bourgeois parties; we lay particular stress on the idea of bonafide labor representatives being unlikely to betray the cause of the workers while bourgeois parties and their labor supporters are destined to harm the cause of labor. We thus appear in the eyes of our own membership and in the eyes of the masses as the foremost fighters for the cause of labor.

(6) By no means do we form election alliances with the third party. The reasons for such a policy may be thus summarized:

(a) An alliance would be practically futile since the Workers

Party does not command large masses which could actually influence the outcome of an election.

(b) An alliance would perturb the class vision of our membership and cause among them great consternation, appearing to them as an obvious deviation from the straight line of class struggle.

(c) An alliance with the third party would make it impossible for us to explain refusal to support a candidate of the democratic party in case the candidate is friendly to labor. That some democratic candidates may be at least as progressive as third party candidates is hardly unlikely.

(d) An alliance with the third party would make it impossible for us to criticize it. It is a hazardous and phantastic assumption that we can both support the candidates of the party and at the same time reveal its bourgeois character and assert its future betrayal of the masses of labor and farmers. It is absurd to assume that we can have common campaigns with the third bourgeois party for its bourgeois candidates, and at the same time conduct an independent campaign for our own program. Even if the strength of the vote at our command should help elect one or the other third party candidate, for the working class the gain from such an election would be far outweighed by the harm caused thru blurring the class lines and strengthening the bourgeois party. The idea of giving the workers an object lesson by inducing them to vote for a progressive bourgeois in order that they may later be enlightened by his betrayal, is worth no more than the idea of preaching support of a democratic nominee in order that his betrayal may later repel the workers from the democratic party.

(e) An alliance would make it appear to our membership that we put all our hopes in parliamentary reforms and that all our propaganda of mass action is no more than a phrase. Such a disappointment would repel from the Workers Party its progressive adherents who wish to see it not the tail end of a bourgeois progressive party but a vanguard of militant working masses.

If we put all our forces behind the June 17 convention; if we do preparatory work on a large scale with the aim of making the June 17 convention the great event in the labor movement rather than to make it a preliminary event to a third bourgeois party convention; if we sincerely wish to have the labor-farmer party the central force in the new political enlightenment of labor—we may avoid a division of forces, and the convention may become the beginning of a new era in the history of class struggle in the United States.

BUNCO PARTY and DANCE

Given by

Crawford District

UNITED WORKERS' SUNDAY SCHOOLS OF CHICAGO

Sunday, April 13, 1924

At Henry Clay Hall

3312 W. North Ave.

Bunco Party 3 P. M.

Children's Program 6 P. M.

Dance 7 P. M.

Tickets in advance 35c a person
At the door 50c

IN MEMORIAM

The Democrats seem to think we will forget
Their ROBBERIES, and elect DOUGH-Heney's pet;
Who to his (oil) trust, is eternally true!
If you want ONE MORE WILSON, Choose McAdoo!

Remember the Democrat THIEVES were upheld,
By REPUBLICAN CROOKS whose pocket-books swelled;
If you vote for either old Party, next time,
You thereby become a PARTAKER IN CRIME!
Montrose, Colorado.

I. D. McFadden.

Reply to the Thesis of Comrades Lore and Olgin

(Continued from page 5)

individuals. Until we have succeeded in this, nothing will help much, not even a policy of straight lines.

We analyse before the workers the social make-up of the two old parties and thereby show that they are controlled and dominated by big capital—the master and enemy of the working class. Candidates on the tickets of the two old parties will either do the biddings of the capitalists or fail. In either case, the workers are the losers. Therefore, don't support candidates of the old parties.

We then analyse the social make-up of the Third Party and if we find that it is controlled by a petty-bourgeois liberalism, we say so. And we explain what it means in terms of the economic interests of the workers, poor farmers, wealthy farmers, other petty-bourgeois elements, and big capital. In other words, we explain the political aspirations of the Third Party by means of its social-economic basis.

In doing this, we will find that the "friendliness" to labor of a third petty-bourgeois party rests on an economic basis. The middle classes revolting against big capital need the assistance of labor and are, therefore, compelled to offer some concessions to labor. And it is here that we point out the limitations of these concessions and the general unreliability of the election promises.

We proceed further to explain that the workers and exploited farmers can best utilize this division in the ranks of the bourgeoisie by organiz-

ing their own party and fighting their own battles, at the same time giving their organized support, as an independent class Farmer-Labor Party, to candidates of the Third Party where such support will assure the defeat of the old parties or increase the divisions in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, or assist in splitting away large masses of workers and farmers from the two old parties.

4—The sense of the fourth argument is that it is impossible to support and criticize Third Party candidates at one and the same time, which is the same as saying that the Farmer-Labor Party cannot support a Third Party candidate and at the same time carry on an independent Farmer-Labor campaign.

If this were true, then how could a Communist Party support candidates of a Farmer-Labor Party and at the same time carry on an independent Communist campaign? And again, how could the Communists of Mexico, on the advice of the Comintern, support Calles (petty bourgeois candidate) and carry on an independent campaign? And finally, how could the Comintern support the colonial struggles of the oppressed nationalities (petty bourgeois in character) against European and American imperialism and at the same time carry on among the proletarian elements of the same nationalities a class campaign along Communist lines?

The answer is that of course it can be done as we have shown above. That it is difficult and even danger-

ous no one can deny, but this is no reason for not doing it.

5—Support of Third Party candidates "would make it appear to our members that we put all our hopes in parliamentary reforms and that all our propaganda of mass action is no more than a phrase."

The direct opposite is true. It is those who cannot appreciate the real mass nature of the present revolt against the two old parties and who refuse, by adopting elastic tactics, to divert the class elements of this mass movement into the channels of a class Farmer-Labor Party, that are making a mockery and empty sound of the Communist conception of mass action. Mass action is not something static, immovable and unchangeable. It is a process and a development which has its beginning in such mild occurrences as the present movement of large masses of workers and exploited farmers away from the old parties and in the direction of independent political action and culminating, thru various changes and developments (not always running in a straight line) in a direct struggle for power.

This is the Communist conception of mass action and it is such mass action that we will assist in developing by adopting the tactics of the Central Executive Committee.

Restating Our Objective.

Our immediate objective is the unification and consolidation of all politically mature farmer-labor forces in the United States for an independent campaign along class

lines in the coming presidential election. Our aim is the formation of a mass party of workers and farmers, and the advancement of Communist influence within it.

The convention of June 17th is the next point of concentration.

In striving toward this objective we find ourselves confronted with a petty bourgeois Third Party movement which is neither of our making nor under our control. It is clearly a revolt of large masses of workers, farmers and petty bourgeois elements against big capital and thus runs somewhat in the same general direction as the Farmer-Labor Party movement. This Third Party movement contains in its ranks large masses of workers and exploited farmers. Hence, the bigger the volume of this movement, the better the chances for a class Farmer-Labor Party, provided we meet the situation as it is and do not run away from it.

This situation creates a problem for us. The problem is to develop our Labor Party policy in such a manner as to increase the volume and scope of the split-away movement from the two old parties; at the same time carefully and after proper preparation diverting the class elements into the channels of the class Farmer-Labor Party. The thesis of Comrades Lore and Olgin misses completely this central problem of our whole Labor Party policy. The thesis of the Central Executive Committee states the problem, analyses its factors, and gives the best solution of it.

Zinoviev Reviews the Main Points of Difference

(Continued from Page 2)

was in the hands of the Whites, naphta production had ceased, the rouble was no longer a rouble.

If anyone was paid 100 million roubles, he found they had sunk in value to 80 millions by the next day. How is it possible to execute any plan when the first necessities are lacking, when we have no bread, no means of transport, no money, no coal, no naphta?

This is why Comrade Lenin insisted again and again on the recognition of this crude reality, which pointed out the path along which living Socialism had to march. Socialism follows neither Bellamy nor the Erfurt program.

It follows in the track of the erection of disinfecting establishments, of the improvements of the conditions of the soldiers' lives, of the struggle against poverty, against the depreciation of Soviet money, against the shortage of fuel, etc.

And it seems to me, comrades, that the obstinate persistence in clinging to a beautiful plan is intrinsically nothing else than a considerable concession to the old-fashioned view that a good plan is a universal remedy, the last word in wisdom. Trotzky's standpoint has greatly impressed many students. "The Central Committee has no plan, and we really must have a plan!" is the cry we hear today from a certain section of the students.

Comrades! The reconstruction of economics in a country like Russia is indeed the most difficult problem of our revolution. As I have already stated, the two most important leading institutions of our state have had to work without Trotzky's aid. Trotzky does not work for them even yet.

Rise in Russian Economics.

We want to have transport affairs managed by Dserjinsky; economics by Rykov; finance by Sokolnikov; Trotzky, on the other hand, wants to carry out everything with the aid of a "state plan." The State Planning Commission is an important corporation, called into being by Lenin himself. But the "state plan" is no universal remedy.

And what is our actual economic standing at the present moment?

In October Comrade Trotzky, and after him 46 comrades of his fraction, addressed a letter to the Central Committee, stating that we are in the midst of an internal political and Party crisis; in a word: the country is on the verge of a precipice. This is the way it looks to these comrades.

How does this come about? It comes about because Comrade Trotzky has no eye for the actual

situation of our country. He knows neither our peasantry nor our workers to a sufficient degree. He knows Russia too little, and has no feeling for the realities of our country.

Russia's actual economic condition is better today than we might have expected. The bread question no longer exists. The year before last we exported 45 million poods abroad, in 1923 this export had risen to 250 million poods, and we hope to realize an even more extensive program in 1924.

We are beginning to be felt as a factor in the international bread market. Further: in 1922 our naphta output amounted to 218 million poods; in the year 1923 it amounted to 300 million poods.

Today we may regard the most urgent necessities of the country as covered, so that we are in a position to export a part of our real values. With respect to the coal of the Donetz Basin, we have exceeded the fixed normal output, for the first time, by 10 per cent. The deficit on our traffic and transport, which was previously 150 millions, has been reduced to 40 to 50 millions, so that our traffic is now almost free from deficit.

Lenin's Opinion.

Comrade Dserjinsky has performed perfect miracles here. We are now engaged in the promotion of our metallurgy. This is now rendered possible by the regulation of our coal and naphta output. One depends upon the other. Metallurgical production increased fourfold in 1923, as compared with the year 1922. Naturally, this is but a modest gain, a diffident beginning. Metallurgy had reached a specially low ebb. You see, comrades, that we record progress even here. And above all we have one thing today: Money.

After he had been ill for a few months, Lenin once asked us with a smile: "Comrades, how is it that we manage to go on existing with our wretched Soviet rouble?" Lenin frequently remarked: "I have no fear that our power will be overthrown by an insurrection. What I am afraid of is that our miserable rouble will strangle us some day by running us into financial bankruptcy."

"To be sure we have secured our place in the Kremlin, but nobody will accept our rouble!" Scarcely a year has passed since Lenin said this. Today, comrades, we have the Chervonetz, known to all of you.

At the present time there are 300 million gold roubles in circulation, of which 270 million are in chervonetz. The whole international bourgeoisie envies us for this. The chervonetz represents a real value. You know that finance mirrors the

situation of the economic totality. If our economics had not improved, we should have no chervonetz today.

We are now about to carry out a comprehensive financial reform. The Central Committee has already worked out a suitable project, and will submit this in a few days to the Federal Council Congress meeting in Moscow. This reform deals with introduction of a uniform gold and silver currency, having as security a considerable gold reserve which has accumulated of late.

Our Condition Improving.

At the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International, Lenin laid special emphasis on the fact that we had already earned 20 million gold roubles by commerce, and observed: "So we have made a beginning." Now, I am not betraying any great secret when I tell you that since then we have earned 20 times 20 millions, if not more. We possess a real gold basis for our currency, and need no longer fear that our rouble will strangle us.

This is a fact, comrades. Even should the other symptoms proving the uplift of our economics be lacking—the increase of coal and naphta output, etc.—the above mentioned suffices in itself to prove the improvement of our position. For it is perfectly clear that if our finances were to collapse, then not even an old Bolshevik guard could keep itself above water by any heroic deeds, the less so that precisely this guard possesses no very great experience in financial questions.

It is true that even before the war we raised international loans, as, for instance, when we borrowed the impressive sum of 25 francs at the time when we formed the Zimmerwald Left.

We cannot cite any greater financial operations from our past. But we were nevertheless successful in finding a member of the Central Committee, a comrade who is at the same time an old revolutionist, who understands financial questions, and has so far managed our affairs entirely satisfactorily.

Further. Agriculture has recuperated in an equal degree. Production has reached 70 to 80 per cent of pre-war production. There are many comrades, even among those belonging to the "opposition" as, for instance, Comrade Sossnovsky, who is well-informed on this subject, who even assert that we have reached 100 per cent of pre-war production. We have reached 40 per cent in state economics, whilst we were only at 22 per cent a year ago.

Change in Human Nature.

You see, comrades, that we are marching forwards. Truly we are

advancing slowly, truly it would be better if our pace were quicker; but at least we are progressing.

With respect to the position of the working class, we are by no means satisfied with this. We cannot by any means designate it as good. It would be highly agreeable if we receive 100 gold roubles monthly.

But unfortunately we cannot do this yet. But we can at least maintain that in all the leading centers of the country, the position of the working class is such that the worker can manage to live on his earnings. Everyone knowing the circumstances will acknowledge this. In the most important centers wages have almost reached pre-war level. Besides this, the average worker now enjoys a number of privileges which must also be taken into account. The productivity of work has increased.

During the war years, the position of the worker was the worst imaginable. In order to support bare life, he was frequently obliged to steal, or to produce articles quite outside his actual profession. Thus many manufactured lighters and sold them.

Today we have an entirely different working class, with an entirely different psychology. This may be observed with especial clearness in Petrograd. In 1922 we had 33,000 metal workers in Petrograd, and in 1923 almost double this number, 61,000.

But today the workers work systematically, as for instance, in the manufacture of tractors. This has made the workman an entirely different human being.

Realization of Actual Condition.

Today he comprehends the needs of the country, and has taken up his real profession again. This explains the extensive support now accorded to our Party by the broad masses of the working class. The working class has not supported us to such an extent since the months of the year 1917.

And now, comrades, can you imagine it possible that Comrade Trotzky stands up before the Central Committee and declares that the country is on the verge of an abyss? "The state plan" exercises too little influence amongst us.

The comrade who makes such an assertion is entirely lacking in ability to realize Russia as it actually is. Trotzky is not Radek. When Radek does not understand these things, we can comprehend the reason, Radek has his own line, in which he is an expert.

So much for our differences of opinion with the "opposition" in the sphere of economics.

(To Be Continued Monday.)