

not merely that a committee shall make plans for the revolution.

Whatever else is to be said about the I. W. W., there can be no question but that it is an organization of potential revolutionary character, a primary medium for Communist agitation. It will become Communist in expression only by compulsion of Communist understanding in the I. W. W. rank and file. The way to develop this is for our members to join the I. W. W., wherever.

The Socialist policy of "boring from within" the A. F. of L. was vicious in that it was only an indirect and hypocritical method of supporting an inherently reactionary labor organization. A Communist who must belong to the A. F. of L. on account of absolute job necessity should seize every opportunity to voice his hostility to this organization, not to reform it but to crush it, because its basic character is counter-revolutionary. Opposition to the A. F. of L. must not be purely negative, as it has heretofore been in our party propaganda. The I. W. W. is the obvious, compelling medium for giving our advocacy of industrial unionism an affirmative character. We must hold up the I. W. W. as against the A. F. of L.; we must help build a stronger I. W. W. at the same time as we carry on our work of Communist education within the I. W. W.

The Russian Bolsheviki have helped build the class-conscious workers' unions in their country, penetrated into them and make them a medium for revolutionary political propaganda, but the American parody of Bolshevism — the majority C. E. C. group — isolated the party from the industrial movement in this country, paralyzed every initiative of the membership in this respect, showed a determined hostility to every action compelled by the party program with regard to industrial unionism and participation in strikes.

Communist Party and Parliamentarism

Our party program is clear in the general appreciation of parliamentary action. The program says: "Participation in parliamentary campaigns, which in the general struggle of the proletariat is of secondary importance, is for the purpose of revolutionary propaganda only." But it is an absolutely literal truth that the C. E. C. has not spent one moment even to consider a policy of action in fulfillment of this program.

Many important events affecting Communist tactics with regard to elections have occurred since last September. We had no word to say as a party about the November elections; except to allow two or three members of Local New York to shout about a boycott of the elections, supported by the uncontrolled editorial expression of the Party Editor, on the ground that this was a time of "revolutionary conflict" unsuited for our participation in the elections. How profound was this analysis is revealed by some of these same persons defending a policy of party inaction on account of the "apathy and inertia of the masses" six months later.

We had no word to say either as to the Berger election or expulsion, although these were important occasions for developing the differences between Communist and Socialist policy. A contrast between Socialist reformism in action and no action at all is not much to brag about.

What have we said about the Albany expulsions of the Socialist Assemblymen, except as the party paper has taken account of the "yellow" defense? This affair at Albany was a political event which challenged the attention of the whole world; it was an event of highest significance for our future party policy, yet the Communist Party had no word to say about it. We have yet to say anything about the New York "exception"

legislation; we have yet to use this important episode for the anti-parliamentary and pro-soviet propaganda for which our program calls.

We have said next to nothing about the persecution of the Communist movement by American capitalism and how it shall influence our tactics. We have not used these events for analysis of the sham democracy of capitalism; for an analysis and propaganda as to the hollow mockery which the whole parliamentary system has become in the United States, particularly since the beginning of 1917. The Dictatorship of the capitalist class now openly asserts itself through dictatorial exercise of executive power, brazenly ignoring Congress as a more or less entertaining debating society. Capitalist domination even expels and excludes the toothless, cringing labor-reformist opposition from this sort of Congress, so contemptuous is it of working-class power in this country at the present time. Large masses of workers are voteless; the labor movement, even in its trade union aspects, is becoming rapidly outlawed. One of the most important items of Communist propaganda in the United States is the destruction of constitutional illusions among the American masses. Now that the Socialist Party has become the arch-supporter of these illusions, with the name of Debs to bulwark betrayal of the class struggle, the burden of the Communist Party in this vital respect is greater than ever.

There is no doubt that we must make use of the slogan: "Boycott the elections" — not because we are on the eve of revolution. We must use this slogan as a challenge to the impotence and fraud of parliamentarism. "Down with the parliaments, hail to the Soviets" — this must be our election platform. And if, as in Russia, the turn of events (by the beginning of the revolutionary class struggle) gives us the opportunity actively to enter into the elections, we must not cease to proclaim: "Down with the fraudulent democracy of capitalist rule, hail to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and to the real democracy of a workers' communist republic."

Meanwhile, eight months have gone by of complete silence on the part of the C. E. C. in the many important election campaigns, in Seattle, Milwaukee, Davenport, New York, and a dozen other cities where "labor" campaigns have been carried on. Not a word to indicate the contrast between "laborism" and Communism; not a word to account for our non-participation in these elections.

Party Organization

Only a centralized party, closely uniting all its territorial and industrial units, can concentrate its Communist propaganda and revolutionary action in one decisive stroke of action. Only a truly centralized party can enforce real discipline and real cooperation between the executive staff and the rank and file of the organization.

The Communist Party, accurately speaking, exists as yet only in name. We have never been a party, only a rather loose federation of federations, with a few non-federation members as semi-intruders, or at best as technical agents of the Federations.

The Federations, though constituting almost the entire party membership, have done their work independently of the party and of one another. Their publications have been primarily nationalistic organs, only remotely related to the Communist Party. The C. E. C. knew nothing and dared ask nothing as to the policies and work of the Federations, until the members of the Russian Federation insisted upon an invest-