

# Facts for Communists

## The Foster-Lore Alliance and the Communist International.

By JAY LOVESTONE.

### Article I.

IN view of the instructions of the Communist International that the Ruthenberg and Foster groups should work together and carry on an active campaign against the ideology of the Two-and-a-Half International in our party as represented by Comrade Lore, the following first of a series of analyses of the voting record of the central executive committee should prove illuminating to the entire party membership in the course of the present discussions.

1. C. E. C. majority votes for or proposes measures in behalf of Lore (Two-and-a-Half International tendency).

#### Date.

No. 1—March 7, 1924. Council.

#### Motion.

Ruthenberg—Motion to censure Lore for printing in Volkszeitung item referring to conclusions of Workers Party observer at St. Louis conference for progressive political action as being an act in contradiction to declared party policy.

#### Vote.

Foster—Motion to refer to next central executive meeting. (Carried by majority.)

#### Date.

No. 2—March 7, 1924. Council.

#### Motion.

Ruthenberg—Motion to censure Lore for stating in Volkszeitung that Zinoviev's information regarding United States comes from unreliable sources.

#### Vote.

Foster—Motion to refer to next central executive meeting. (Carried by majority.)

#### Date.

No. 3—March 7, 1924. Council.

#### Motion.

Pepper—Motion to have central executive committee make public statement defending Comintern and Zinoviev against Lore's articles.

b. To endorse fully the old guard in Russian Communist Party.

c. To protest against Lore's statement that majority of central executive committee is for Trotsky's position.

d. That Pepper be allowed to write article in Liberator defending position of old guard in Russian Communist Party.

#### Vote.

Foster—Motion to refer to next

central executive committee meeting. (Carried by majority.)

#### Date.

No. 4—March 7, 1924. Council.

#### Motion.

Lovestone—Motion to instruct district executive committee No. 2 to investigate Lore's report on last central executive committee meeting to New York German group meeting in which he is reported to have said that Pepper would be one of the delegates to the Communist International and that steps would be taken to see to it that he did not return.

#### Vote.

Foster—Motion to refer to next central executive committee meeting. (Carried by majority.)

#### Date.

No. 5—March 17, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

#### Motion.

Pepper—Motion that Lore instead of Olgin should be delegate to the Communist International.

#### Vote.

Foster majority votes against motion and for Olgin.

#### Date.

No. 6—March 17, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

#### Motion.

Pepper—Motion to postpone sending of delegation to Communist International in view of inability of Ruthenberg to go at this time.

#### Vote.

Foster majority against motion.

#### Date.

No. 7—March 17, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

#### Motion.

Pepper—Motion to censure Lore and district executive committee No. 2 for praising help of New York police department at Lenin Memorial meeting.

#### Vote.

Cannon—Amendment—That central executive committee condemns their action and also action of all party papers which may have handled the matter in an incorrect manner. (Carried by majority.)

#### Date.

No. 8—March 17, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

#### Motion.

Pepper—Motion to send circular on this incident to all party branches.

#### Vote.

Defeated by Foster majority.

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# The Discussion on Party Tasks

## FACTS FOR COMMUNISTS

(Continued from page 5)

Date.  
No. 9—March 18, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Ruthenberg—Motion to have central executive committee issue statement in Volkszeitung and DAILY WORKER defending Zinoviev and Comintern policies.

Vote.  
Foster—Amendment—To have central executive committee instruct Lore to write editorial correcting himself because of "certain erroneous statement that have appeared in the Volkszeitung relative to the Communist International." (Carried by majority.)

Date.  
No. 10—March 18, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Pepper—Motion to censure Lore and to have central executive committee make public statement on the Communist International and Zinoviev misrepresentations by Lore.

Vote.  
Foster—To refer to the next central executive committee meeting. (Carried by majority.)

Date.  
No. 11—March 18, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Pepper—Motion to endorse the old guard in the Russian Communist Party controversy.

Vote.  
Foster—Amendment—"In view of the fact that the controversy in the Russian Communist Party has been decided by a conference of the Russian Communist Party the central executive committee is of the opinion that it is not called upon to take a position on the merits of the controversy. The central executive committee will print in the party press all the documents bearing on the debate and encourage the membership to study them and to discuss the question in the columns of the party press. The central executive committee will condemn any attempt to make factional issue in the American party." (Carried by the majority.)

Date.  
No. 12—March 18, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Pepper—Motion to reaffirm executive council decision regarding telepathy advertisement in Volkszeitung.

Vote.  
Cannon—Amendment—"That in view of the explanation of Comrade Lore that lecture was before open forum as part of an effort to attract non-party members and the subject was psychotherapy and hypnotism the apprehensions of the executive council were unfounded." (Carried by majority.)

Date.  
No. 13—March 25, 1924. Polcom.

Motion.  
Foster—Motion to remove Siminoff as eastern district T. U. E. L. organizer and replace him with Zimmerman. (Loreite.)

Vote.  
Carried by majority.

Date.  
No. 14—April 14, 1924. Council.

Motion.  
Lovestone—Motion to call attention of Lore and German district committee No. 2 regarding central executive committee action against their branches holding meetings on spiritualism and advertising the same in Volkszeitung.

Vote.  
Voted down by majority.

Date.  
No. 15—April 14, 1924. Council.

Motion.  
Cannon—Motion that Poyntz (Loreite) be made educational director of New York school.

Vote.  
Carried.

Date.  
No. 16—April 14, 1924. Council.

Motion.  
Lovestone—Motion to accept Ruthenberg report on membership meetings in New York and Philadelphia

where questions arose over Lore's misstatements regarding the Communist International.

Vote.  
Voted down by majority and carry Cannon motion: To issue special statement "in the name of the central executive committee on all questions including factional opposition in New York."

Date.  
No. 17—May 3, 1924. Central Executive Committee.

Motion.  
Lovestone—Motion to read letter from New York Workers' School regarding Poyntz and controversy over her educational work.

Vote.  
Cannon—To refer motion to educational committee. (Carried by majority.)

Date.  
No. 18—June 2, 1924. Council.

Motion.  
Ruthenberg—Motion to reject application of Gruss ((expelled Salutsky follower) to rejoin the party.

Vote.  
Majority votes against Ruthenberg proposal and decides to defer action to next full central executive committee meeting.

Date.  
No. 19—August 18, 1924. Polcom.

Motion.  
Ruthenberg—Resolution acknowledging receipt of Lore's wire regarding Volkszeitung three-day advertisement of Admiral Horthy (Hungary) imperial loan bonds and reaffirming political committee's first action on this; pointing out stain on Comintern thru such an ad appearing in an organ of one of its parties; reiterating former censure of Volkszeitung and decision to expel any member responsible for same.

Vote.  
Foster majority members vote down this resolution. Lost by tie vote.

Date.  
No. 20—August 18, 1924. Polcom.

Motion.  
Foster—Motion to take no further action on Volkszeitung-Horthy bond advertisement till we hear Bittelman's report.

Vote.  
Lost by tie vote.

Date.  
No. 21—August 18, 1924. Polcom.

Motion.  
Lovestone—Motion to have central executive committee report Horthy bond matter to Communist International and assure it of our taking proper action on same.

Vote.  
Lost by tie vote. Cannon amendment to report when investigation is completed also lost.

Date.  
No. 22—August 25, 1924. Polcom.

Motion.  
Ruthenberg—Motion to suspend Blohm from holding party office for six months because of his role in handling Horthy advertisement.

Vote.  
Lost.

Date.  
No. 23—September 29, 1924. Council.

Motion.  
Lovestone—Motion to elect committee of three to draft plan for ownership of Volkszeitung and plant.

Vote.  
Bittelman amends to put matter on agenda of next central executive committee meeting. (Thus deferring action.)

Date.  
No. 24—September 29, 1924. Council.

Motion.  
Ruthenberg—Motion to ask Lore what he did towards carrying out central executive committee decision regarding Volkszeitung ownership made in March, 1924.

Vote.  
Majority defers action by referring to full central executive committee meeting.

Date.  
No. 25—September 29, 1924. Council.

Motion.  
Lovestone—Motion Lore be instructed to have Volkszeitung discontinue

advertising socialist party branch meetings as in Sept. 21 issue.

b. That Volkszeitung discontinue advertising movie announcements for Coolidge, Davis and LaFollette.

c. That party member charged with responsibility of going over Volkszeitung before it goes to press shall be censured for permitting such advertisements to appear.

d. That central executive committee issue a statement laying down Communist policy on advertising based on experiences with Volkszeitung ads of this character.

e. Condemnation of Volkszeitung reprinting article by Kautsky apologizing for traitorous role of German social-democracy during imperialist world war.

Vote.  
Majority moves to defer action until next full central executive committee meeting.

Date.  
No. 26—September 29, 1924. Council.

Motion.  
Gitlow—Resolution outlining active ideological and organizational campaign against the Two-and-a-Half International tendency and for the central executive committee control of entire party press.

Vote.  
Foster—Amendment—To refer document to Polcom as a basis for a statement and report to central executive committee. Despite minority's accepting this motion in good faith, more than two months have now elapsed and Comrade Bittelman, the secretary of the Polcom, has not yet taken this report up for action by the Polcom.

Date.  
No. 27—October 14, 1924. Council.

Motion.  
Bedacht—Motion that "district executive committee No. 2 reorganize New York educational committee on the basis of the reorientation of the central executive committee and the Comintern and submit the names of the new committee to the central executive committee for approval."

Vote.  
Majority defeats Bedacht motion.

Date.  
No. 28—October 14, 1924. Council.

Motion.  
Lovestone—Motion that Bedacht motion be considered "as a preliminary to the complete reorganization of the school." (Poyntz, a Loreite, directing New York School.)

Vote.  
Majority defeats Lovestone amendment.

Date.  
No. 29—December 7, 1924. Polcom.

Motion.  
Lovestone—Resolution pointing out that New York Volkszeitung of Nov. 22 carries interview with Grassman, reactionary German social-democrat and fraternal delegate to A. F. of L. convention, expressing appreciation of "the non-partisan help extended by the Volkszeitung to German workers' families and members of trade unions."

b. "That central executive committee calls upon Comrade Lore, as responsible party editor, to explain either what was the character of this aid or if there was no such aid as spoken of by the anti-Communist Grossman, to explain how this item got into the Volkszeitung."

Vote.  
Cannon—To lay the matter over until Comrade Bittelman, representative to the German convention, reports.

Date.  
No. 30—December 10, 1924. Polcom.

Motion.  
Lovestone—"WHEREAS: Comrade Lore has officially registered his acceptance of the MAJORITY of the central executive committee election statement and has voted against the MINORITY of the central executive committee election statement;

"WHEREAS: The MAJORITY of the central executive committee election statement lays down a party policy which is the essence of and is reaffirmed by the MAJORITY of the central executive committee thesis now before the party membership;

"WHEREAS: It is now more than two weeks since the MAJORITY and

MINORITY of the central executive committee have placed their position before the party and Comrade Lore has not yet registered his vote on these proposals;

"THEREFORE: Be it resolved by the central executive committee that we call upon Comrade Lore to declare his position in the party controversy immediately.

"THEREFORE: We instruct Comrade Lore specifically to declare whether:

"1. He votes for the thesis submitted to central executive committee by Comrade Foster—the thesis of the MAJORITY of the central executive committee.

"2. Whether he votes for or against the thesis submitted to the central executive committee by Comrade Ruthenberg—the thesis of the MINORITY of the central executive committee.

"3. Whether he intends to submit a thesis of his own expressing a point of view different from those presented in either the MAJORITY of the central executive committee or the minority of the central executive committee theses.

"4. Whether he has definitely made up his mind not to vote for or against either theses presented and has decided not to present his own thesis.

"THEREFORE: We, the central executive committee, do hereby decide to impress upon Comrade Lore that the welfare of the party demands that he as a central executive committee member and the leader of an especially designated tendency by the Communist International, stop delaying his decision on the vital party problems and that he tell the membership without any further delay, exactly what position he takes in the controversy."

Vote.  
Bittelman—Amendment to request Comrade Lore to register his vote on the theses proposed or to submit his own thesis within a week. Carried by Foster majority.

Recapitulation.  
Total number of central executive committee majority votes for, or measures proposed in behalf of, Lore (Two-and-a-Half International tendency) is 30.

## Views of Our Readers

A CORRECTION.  
To the DAILY WORKER: We would like to call your attention to the "Editor's note" in your issue of Friday, Nov. 20, page 3, column 7, above the "Anise story" where you state that the Jewish Workers' Relief Committee is at present carrying on a campaign for funds to assist colonization work in Soviet Russia. We wish to correct this statement in so far as the campaign to which you refer is being carried on by the Committee for Jewish Colonization in Soviet Russia, 46 Canal Street, New York, which is an organization entirely separate and distinct from the Jewish Workers' Relief Committee.

We will appreciate if you will bring this correction to the attention of your readers. Sincerely yours, Committee for Jewish Colonization in Soviet Russia, Dr. E. Wattenberg, secretary.

To the DAILY WORKER: After reading the article by Anise in the DAILY WORKER on the Jewish land question I wish to make a brief statement regarding this matter. The Soviet government was very liberal in giving land to the Jews. On this land a group of Jewish radicals have organized a colony under the name of Commune Harold with our main office in New York. Last October we sent a group of members to Russia with machinery and other necessities for the building of the Commune. We expect to send another group soon.

The New York office will be glad to send any information to those interested in Commune Harold. Communicate with our secretary Comrade R. Korn, c. o. Brodeck, 867 Hunts Point Ave., Bronx, New York.—Jeanette C. Freedman.



# Letters From Moscow

By Anna Porter

The session of the Central Committee of the U. S. S. R., (the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics), combining the R. S. F. S. R. with all the small Soviet states has just closed. The session was held in the great white and gold pillared Andreyevski Hall of the old palace. What they talked about, I shall know when I get the DAILY WORKER. But tho I could not understand, I could see the interesting place and the interesting people—rows of men whose names meant much to me and whose faces I could study thru my glass, and I had the honor of nearly trampling on Karl Radek in the corridor. That was as near as I got to any experience of distinction on this occasion. Aside from the session, it was an opportunity to go in and out of the Kremlin with my permit and stroll about in as leisurely a fashion as I pleased every day.

Over the great white bridge near the Comintern, we passed the Red

guards at the outer gate. The Kremlin enclosure stands high above the surrounding streets, and thru the crenelations of the bridge wall one looks right and left down thru the yellowing strips of parking that follow the high Kremlin walls. Passing by Red guards again at the inner gate, at the top of the tilted bridge, we followed lines of palaces around to the high drive that overlooks the river and sweeps by the stately front of the old palace.

Within, we climb a long broad stairway straight ahead in easy ascent, and at its top are confronted thru a doorway with an enormous hall crowded with people in a rather smoky atmosphere. I catch my breath. "It hardly seems real," I exclaim, and then suddenly I discover, it isn't real only a very life-like picture thru a doorway—a picture of a historic meeting, with portrait figures of all the prominent revolutionary officials, addressed by Lenin, who stands out vigorously in a characteristic speaking pose.

At the door of the Andreyevski Hall, we show our permits to the two unassuming young fellows in stunning uniforms, with bright red riding breeches—a uniform I have noticed in parades and have not been able to find out about. Here is my chance. My companion translates. "This American comrade wishes to know who you are," to put it as directly as I asked it! They are soldiers of the "Gay Pay Oo," the G. P. W., the State Political Police, which has succeeded the Cheka and has not quite its broad powers. They are friendly and amused. My curiosity does not cost me my head. Here at the entrance to the session, I leave the narrative to intelligent correspondents, who long since have covered it by cable.

After the session we wander quite freely about the palace, up stairway after stairway, and by round-about corridors and thru all the beautiful apartments of the czars with low-vaulted ceilings and subdued gorgeousness of decoration—semi-oriental or Byzantine—with gay-tiled stoves and deep win-

dow niches. Those rooms are familiar to all of us who heard Chaliapin in Boris Godonov, for the scenery of that opera was a very faithful copy of the rooms of this imperial palace.

Then a stroll about the Kremlin grounds among the groups of churches with their picturesque clusters of little golden domes shadowed with the black stains of ages, past lines of heavy barracks and palaces with their great connecting porticos, and lighter carved and decorated structures, past the lofty bell-tower, "Ivan Veleki," John the Great, past the huge cracked bell that was never hung because it fell to its ruin in trying to be too big and swing too high, past rows of captured cannon, and by groups of marching soldiers and soldiers with stacked arms. And so out of the gates again, past the Red guards and over the white Troitski Most (bridge) with its crenelations framing the yellowing trees of the parks, and home to wait for the DAILY WORKER and find out what it was all about!

## LORE AND THE COMINTERN

(Continued from Page 2.)

of which the Russian comrades were often incorrectly informed of the situation in western Europe. Comrade Paul Levi writes about these as follows: "The Russian comrades judge events in a situation which is different from that of the rest of the world. They judge conditions in the position of owners of political power. To change their trend of thought from their situation to ours is difficult, and herein may lie the cause of misunderstandings."

COMRADE LORE thus allowed to spread thru the "Volkszeitung" the idea that the Communist International was a plaything in the hands of the Russian comrades, that the Russian comrades were uninformed as to the situation in Europe, that the mentality of the Russian comrades was entirely different from that of the rest of the world, and that herein lay the reason for discrepancies in the Communist International.

Lore's Peculiar Idea of R. C. P.

SOME time later Comrade Lore proved that he had peculiar notions about the Russian party itself. Not only were the Russian comrades, in his opinion, misdirecting the Com-

munist International, but even in their own party they created intolerable conditions. Comrade Lore expressed this idea in the course of the discussion within the Russian Communist Party a year ago, a discussion connected with the name of Comrade Trotsky.

It was a severe discussion which shook the Russian Communist Party to its very foundation. It was a broad comprehensive discussion embracing all phases of party life. To use only the captions of Trotsky's book, "The New Course," which was the storm center of all the discussion, would suffice to realize the scope of the discussion. The captions are: 1—"Question of Party Generations," (the Old Guard and the younger Communists; the position of the Old Guard within the party and the state apparatus, etc.). 2—"The Social Composition of the Party" (Number of workers and number of peasants, number of non-workers; role of the students, especially the workingclass students, as a 'barometer' of party life.) 3—"Groupings and Factional Formations" (A hint at the possibility of forming groupings, an assertion that if the party proceeds in its course, groupings would be inevitable.) 4—"Bureaucracy and Revolution." 5—"Tra-

dition and Revolutionary Policy" (Necessity to adapt one's self to ever-changing conditions.) 6—"Lack of Appreciation of the Peasantry." 7—"The Main Problems of the Supply and Land Policy." 8—"Planned Economic Activities." 9—"Red Tape, Military and Other." 10—"Linking Town with Village."

Lore on Discipline.

IN all of these problems the question of discipline pure and simple occupied an almost insignificant place. It may be said that Communist discipline as such, apart from the question of the older vs. the younger generation, did not occupy the minds of the Russian comrades. However, Comrade Lore found the problem of discipline to be the pivotal problem of all the Russian discussion. Commenting on the Russian discussion in the "Volkszeitung" editorial, Jan. 6, 1924, he writes:

"Self-control and discipline will naturally be inevitable in a party which has to carry out such formidable tasks. But a rigid centralization which allows the member no right to raise objections, which makes the member a link in a large chain, moved and operated by invisible hands, such discipline, according to the opinion of Trotsky and many other

influential comrades, may gradually be loosened to be superseded by a sort of democratic centralization. Today Trotsky may still find himself in the minority in the Russian Communist Party, in the end he will prove to be right because it is simply unthinkable that the state of war should be maintained within the organization even under conditions of peace which are now being approached by the Soviet Republic."

THESE remarks proved Comrade Lore to be sharing at least part of the menshevik prejudices concerning the Russian Communist Party. According to Comrade Lore, a Russian Communist was not allowed to raise objections, was only "a link in a chain," i. e., a mute and obedient tool, manipulated by "invisible hands." According to Comrade Lore, the system obtaining within the Russian Communist Party was not democratic centralization. Comrade Lore thus misjudged discipline within one of the national parties as he misjudged discipline within the Communist International. Comrade Lore had a distorted view of the requirements of party discipline, and his distortions were akin to those made by the social-democrats of the Two-and-a-Half International.

(Third Article in Next Supplement.)

### A CHILD OF HIS PEOPLE AND CENTURY

Editor's Note.—Every day until publication has been completed, the DAILY WORKER will publish a new chapter from the book, "Lenin: The Great Strategist of the Class War," by A. Losovsky, secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions. The twenty-third (concluding) chapter is entitled, "A Child of His People and Century."

LENIN was the child of his people and of his century. When called a Jacobin he would answer: "We, the Bolsheviks, are the Jacobins of the twentieth century, that is, the Jacobins of the proletarian revolution," Lenin was, as we have seen, the very embodiment of the idea of internationalism, and at the same time he was part and parcel of the mighty revolutionary movement that the oppressed masses of Russia have been carrying on for years and years. He was really one link in a long chain of struggles for the emancipation of the Russian proletariat and the Russian peasantry. From Radschev, thru Belinsky, Dobrolubov, Bakunin, Tschernishevsky, Netschajev, and Jellabov, thru the party "The Will of the People" and thru the group of "Emancipation of Labor," and thru many unknown representatives of the workers and peasants, which have been populating

the prisons of the Czar and of Siberia, there runs the thread of struggle which unites Lenin with the Russian revolutionary movement. He was a man of an all-inclusive spirit; the press of our opponents would speak with irony about the utopian plans of Bolshevism. But in this irony there is to be found a profound truth. Lenin has been operating with whole continents. He was basing his policies upon the experiences of millions.

Only the limitless and vast extent of Russia could give birth to such a spirit. This youth, born to a family of state functionaries and adopted by the proletariat, embodied and gave expression to the hatred of the working class of Russia accumulated thru centuries. He also reflected in himself the hatred of the peasantry against its oppressors that accumulated thru centuries. He had a deep sense for the sufferings of the toiling masses, even when the masses could not give expression to those sufferings in words.

Lenin cannot be considered apart from the Russian workers and peasants and from the Russian history. Only within the social structure of Russia, the revolutionary struggles of whole generations, only by considering the achievements of the Russian revolutionary movement since the 18th century and up to the last day, can

### IMPORTANT CHANGE IN RUSSIAN MOVIE DATES IN DETROIT

Owing to mistakes of the theater managers there is an important change in the dates for the Detroit showings of "Polikushka," "Soldier Ivan's Miracle," and "Russian Asbestos Industry." These pictures will be shown simultaneously at two theaters on Wednesday, Dec. 17. The correct list of next week's dates:

Medbury Theater, Tuesday and Wednesday, Dec. 16 and 17.

Caniff Theater, Wednesday and Thursday, Dec. 17 and 18.

Royale Theater, Friday, Dec. 19.

we locate the factors that have brought about the appearance of Bolshevism in Russia at the cross-roads of two centuries. Only by taking all this into consideration can we properly estimate the moral, political, national, and international physiognomy of Lenin. For us, his contemporaries, who have been living within the circle of his influence, one thing is clear. Lenin was one of those men by whom humanity marks its historical path, concerning whom legends are being told in his lifetime and the farther we go from the date of his death the clearer will stand before us Lenin's greatness and immortality.

### Party Activities Of Local Chicago

Saturday, Dec. 13.  
Y. W. L. dance, Northwest Hall, cor. North and Western Aves.

Saturday, Dec. 13.  
Y. W. L. Dance, Northwest Hall, cor. North and Western Aves.

### JUNIORS HIKE SUNDAY

Meet the bunch at Milwaukee and Western at 10 o'clock sharp on Sunday, Dec. 14. Bring lunch and carfare. Lots of fun ahead! League and party members invited.

St. Paul Readers, Attention.

A hard time dance will be given by the City Central Committee, of St. Paul at Commonwealth Club, 435 Rice St., Saturday evening, Dec. 13. There will be a kangaroo court and novelty entertainment. Come prepared for the occasion. The cow-bells begin ringing at 8 sharp.

Next Sunday Night and Every Sunday Night, the Open Forum.

### Learn the International IDO Language

16-page pamphlet, giving outline of language, showing its superiority over Esperanto, etc., sent free.

The Workers Ido Federation  
Room 5, 805 James St., N. S.  
PITTSBURGH, PA.



# Workers Party Educational Department

Conducted by James P. Cannon, Educational Director

"Without a Revolutionary Theory a Revolutionary Movement Is Impossible."

## How to Organize and Conduct a Study Class

THE problem of educational work is many sided. Enthusiasm for this work among the party members must be aroused and maintained. A general recognition of its fundamental importance must be established. It must be organically connected with the life and struggles of the party, and must not become academic and sterile. And it must be conducted in a systematic manner, becoming an established part of the life of the party thruout the year. This last will not just "happen." It will take much work and the introduction of correct organizational and technical principles. All our theories will come to nothing if our educational apparatus does not function properly.

MANY classes have landed on the rocks because they were not conducted properly. One of the most frequent inquiries we have received from comrades who are undertaking party educational work is: "What is the best way to conduct a study class?" It is the purpose of this article to give an answer to this question based on the collective experience in the field of educational work from which a few general principles can be extracted.

LET us begin at the beginning and proceed step by step. When the responsible party committee in the given localities has decided to establish a class, let us say, for example, in the "A. B. C. of Communism," the next move must be to appoint a leader for the class. This leader must understand that the class will not move of itself, but must be organized and directed from beginning to end, otherwise it will fall to pieces. The comrade in charge of the class must then proceed to enroll students, having them register for the class and making sure he has a sufficient number who agree in advance to attend the classes before he sets the time for calling it. As soon as a sufficient number of students have been enrolled, a date is set for the first class and all the students are notified.

AT this point we should speak a word about the danger of haphazardness in the attendance at the classes on the part of any of the students. The party committee must decide that the attendance at class once a week, or more frequently, as the case may be, is a part of the member's party duty and should excuse him from party obligations for those nights. The systematic and regular attendance at

class by all students must be constantly stressed, and the party committee and the leader of the class must constantly fight against the tendency, which always grows up, to regard the study class as a series of lectures at which one can "drop in" whenever he feels like it. Good results can only be obtained when the class is an organized body and is regularly attended by the same students.

### Methods of Conducting Classes

THE methods of conducting the classes which have proved most successful from past experience can be roughly divided into two general methods. These methods may be modified and varied in many ways, according to local circumstances, experience and qualifications of the teacher, etc.

These two methods are:

1. The lecture-question method.
2. The method of reading from and discussing the text in the class.

THE Lecture-Question method. This is the method most frequently employed by experienced teachers, and one which yields the most satisfactory results if qualified comrades can be found to conduct the class along this line. The use of this method presupposes that the teacher, who is himself thoroly familiar with the subject matter of the text, possesses some ability and experience as a lecturer. It is not necessary, however, for him to be a professional. The average Communist who has a firm grasp of his subject will find that with a little practice he can succeed in holding the attention of a class.

UNDER this method the teacher delivers a lecture for the period of about one hour on some phase of the general subjects dealt with in the text. In addition he requires the students to read, outside the class, in connection with his lecture, certain portions of the text and sometimes portions of other books which deal with the same subject. When the class comes together for the second time it is opened with a question period of about thirty minutes during which the lecturer quizzes the students on the subject matter of the previous week's lecture and the reading in connection with it. It is best to have a short recess at the end of the question period in order to get a fresh start for the lecture. A lecture of about an hour then completes the evening's work. Again sections of the text are referred to the students for reading in connection with the lecture. The

same procedure is then followed at each successive meeting of the class until the end of the course.

WHEN this method is employed it is not advisable to have indiscriminate discussion in the class, as this will almost invariably divert the attention of the class from the immediate subject in hand and destroy the possibility of consecutive instruction. For a teacher to conduct a class according to this method he must take it firmly in hand, establish his authority at the very beginning, and maintain it thruout the course. Nothing is more fatal to the success of such a class than for the opinion to grow up amongst some of the students that the teacher knows less than they do about the subject. For he will then be unable to maintain the proper discipline in the class and hold it to its course. Whenever a study class, organized for the purpose of consecutive study of a certain aspect of Communist theory or tactics, begins to resolve itself into a group for general discussion or a debating society, its early demise can be confidently expected.

READING and Discussing the text. This method also works out very well, especially in elementary classes. In this method, as in all others, however, the first prerequisite is a class leader who takes a responsible attitude towards the work and who takes it upon himself to organize and lead the class and hold it down to the matter in hand. This class leader should by all means thoroly study the text before the class commences and make himself master of it.

THE class conducted according to this method proceeds by the class leader calling upon the students, one after another, to read a few sentences or a paragraph from the text. After each student finishes reading the part assigned to him, the leader asks the student who has read the passage to explain it in his own words. If he fails to bring out the meaning clearly or interprets the passage incorrectly, the question is directed to other students, the leader himself finally intervening to clarify the matter if necessary.

PROCEEDING along this line the class will cover a chapter or so of the text each evening. Before the reading commences each time, the leader should conduct a brief quiz of the class on the part of the text dealt with on the preceding evening in order to bring out the points clearly for the second time, refresh the memory of the students, and connect the

preceding class with the one about to begin.

IN the course of a few months, proceeding along this line, the class will get thru the "A B C of Communism" and will have acquired a grasp on the fundamental theories of the movement. Moreover, if the class has been conducted successfully, if it has had the good fortune to have a leader that can inspire confidence and enthusiasm and who can hold it together as an organized body in spite of all difficulties, the students of the class, or at least a large part of them, will emerge from their first course of training with a strong will and spirit to acquire more knowledge and thereby equip themselves better to become worthy fighters in the cause of Communism.

THE success of the study class work is to a very large extent dependent upon organization, leadership and class discipline. It should start on time and stop on time each evening. It must not accommodate itself to casual students or chronic late-comers. It should not degenerate into a mere discussion group over the general problems of the movement but must confine itself in a disciplined manner to the specific subjects dealt with in the course. It should be conducted in a business-like fashion from start to finish, students being enrolled and the roll called each evening. Above all it should have a leader who, notwithstanding lack of previous experience, will take his task so seriously as to thoroly master the subject himself. Then he will be able to establish sufficient authority in the class to lead it step by step to the end of the course.

### Bronx Readers, Attention!

"A. B. C. of Communism," every Tuesday night, at 1347 Boston Road. Dr. I. Stamler, instructor. All members of Bronx Section, Workers Party, who have joined the party within a year, must attend this class. Others invited.

English, Elementary, Monday night, at 511 East 173rd St. S. Felshin, instructor.

Advanced English, every Friday night, at 511 East 173rd St. Ely Jacobson, instructor.

### ATTENTION!

All friendly organizations are requested not to arrange any affairs on SATURDAY, DEC. 27, as the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia will give a performance on that date at the Soviet School, 1902 W. Division St. "Coal Miner Kort," a revolutionary drama, will be presented in the Russian language.

## How One Should Not Write the History of October

contrary, had a historical miracle occurred at that time, and had the Bolshevik workers followed that which Comrade Trotsky proclaimed (unity with the liquidators, fight against the "secretarianism" of Lenin, menshevik political platform, during the war fight against the Zimmerwald Left, etc.) then there would have been no October victory. Comrade Trotsky, however, entirely avoids dealing with this period, altho it would be his duty to impart just these "lessons" to the party.

Let us quote another example. There fought side by side with us on the October barricades many left social revolutionaries. In the decisive moment of October they contributed their share to the cause of victory. Did that mean, however, that they had been "tried" once and for all by October? Unfortunately this was by no means the case as the post-October experience has shown, which to a considerable extent confirmed the esti-

mate given of these petty-bourgeois revolutionaries before October.

October isolated, therefore in no way suffices for the "test." It is rather the second moment which is of more importance, the moment which Comrade Lenin so categorically pointed out.

The statement of Comrade Trotsky, that the "Bolshevizing" of the Communist parties consists in such an education and such a section of a body of "leaders" that they shall not run off the track at the moment of their October, is therefore correct, in as far as it also includes the appropriation of the experiences of the "preparatory period." For even the immediate experiences of the Russian October can neither be understood nor made use of if we do not take to heart the teachings of this preparatory period. Comrade Trotsky, who regards the matter in such a way that the Bolshevik Party in its actual essence only began to exist after the October days, does not see the uninterrupted connection of

the line of the party in its entirety up to "the present moment."

And just in the same way he fails to see that after the seizure of power, even after the end of the civil war, history is by no means at an end. In the same way the history of our party is also not at an end, the history which is likewise a "testing of the party policy," for it not only contains discussions regarding the one or the other standpoint, but also the experiences of practical policy.

One had to take care not "to leave the track" in October, but the same applies to the time of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (when, as Trotsky admits, the "head," that means the life and death, of the Soviet power was at stake). One had also to take care not to leave the track in the discussion of 1921, for without the Lenin policy we would have endangered everything. It would also have been out of place to leave the track in the last year, for without the mon-

ey reform, without the economic policy etc., conducted by the party, we should have likewise arrived at a desperate situation. In all these critical situations, however, Comrade Trotsky has left the track, and in the same manner as in the pre-February period of his political existence, when he had not broken with the open opponents of Bolshevism.

"The tradition of a revolutionary party," writes Comrade Trotsky (page 62), "will not be created through maintaining silence, but out of critical clearness." Very true. The demand for "critical clearness" however, must not be raised only in regard to the actions which took place in October, but also in relation to the preceding and the succeeding period of development. Only in this manner is an actual test possible; for the party of the proletariat acts constantly and passes thru more than one "critical" period.

(To be Continued)