The Communist Party of America is the conscious expression of the working class in their struggle against capitalism. Its aim is to direct this struggle to the conquest of political power, the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of a Soviet Government, as the only means of improving their conditions under capitalism, and of realizing in full the ideals of the working class.

The Communist Party maintains that the problems of the American working class are identical with the problems of the working class of all countries. The economic conditions of all other existing workers' organizations limit the power of the workers to the form of a Soviet Government, as the only means of improving their conditions under capitalism, and of realizing in full the ideals of the working class.

The Communist Party—the revolutionary vanguard of the working class—stands as the party capable of carrying Communist propaganda and agitation to the masses of workers, to drive the working class to the final struggle against the capitalist state.

The Communist Party is fundamentally a party of militant methods. It is not interested in consciousness of its opposition, of the impossibility of improving their conditions under capitalism. The Communist Party directs the workers along the path of militant struggle, developing higher forms and purposes in this struggle. The Communist Party is the logical resultant of the process of industrial unionism.

The spirit, the will, the determination of the working class to overthrow capitalism, the concentration of all the means of mass action, lie in the hands of the Communist Party.
The I. W. W. and the Proletarian Revolution

The July issue of the Big Six Union Monthly carries an article with the caption "What is Bolshevism and what does it mean in the present case?" and is headed, "In the year 1917, I. W. W., under the leadership of W. W. editor, with the assistance of the Workers' Unity Committee and thousands of I. W. W. members, publishes the I. W. W. Monthly." The article is written by H. F. Sandgren.

The article starts by discussing the decline of capitalism and the rise of socialism. It goes on to explain that the I. W. W. is a union for the working class, and its aim is to organize the workers and educate them about the principles of socialism. The article also mentions the role of the Workers' Unity Committee in the I. W. W. Monthly, which is responsible for the publication of the magazine.

The article concludes by stating that the I. W. W. is committed to the revolutionary struggle against capitalism and for the establishment of a socialist society. It calls on the working class to unite and fight for the revolution.

The Communist Party of America

The Communist Party of America is a political party in the United States that advocates for the establishment of a socialist society. It was founded in 1919 and has been active in organizing and educating the working class for the revolutionary struggle. The party is committed to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which it considers to be thescientific method of understanding and overcoming the problems of capitalism.

The party's program includes the nationalization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange; the abolition of class distinction; and the establishment of a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat.

The party is dedicated to the principle of international solidarity and works with other socialist organizations around the world to promote the cause of socialism. It is committed to the struggles of the working class and supports the right of nations to self-determination.

The party is organized in a democratic fashion, with decisions made by a collective leadership based on the principles of solidarity and unity. It is committed to the principle of selflessness and sacrifices for the common good, and its members are expected to pursue the interests of the party and the working class above their own personal interests.
Constitution of the Communist Party of America

Adopted at its Second Convention

Art. I. Name and Purpose.

The purpose of the Communist Party of America shall be the realization of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat to the end of establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat for the conquest of political power; to destroy the heritage of the bourgeois press; to seize as a branch of the Party all workers' organizations; to establish local and sectional committees of the Party in all cities and towns to educate the masses; and to introduce the Communist Society.

Section 2. The Communist Party of America is an integral part of the Communist International.

Art. II. Emblem.

The emblem of the Communist Party shall be a figure of the earth, in white, with a red star located in the colors red, contours the words, "Communist Party of America," and, "Communist International," in white letters.

Art. III. Members.

Section 1. Every person who accepts the principle of the Communist Party of America and the Communist International; who opposes the party discipline and agrees actively to the work of the party shall be eligible to membership.

Section 2. Applicants for admission as members shall be vouched for by two members who have been members of the party not less than six consecutive months.

Section 3. The applications shall be determined by the Branch Executive Committee.

Section 4. Transfer of members from one branch to another may be made upon application to the Local Executive Committee.

Section 5. Transfers of members from local to district committee shall be made upon application to the Local Executive Committee.

Section 6. No person who is a member of the party shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases all assessments.

Art. IV. Form and Units of Organization.

Section 1. The Communist Party is an under-ground party, which shall be organized, with the exception of its supreme body, with the same basic principles of organization as used by the Communist International.

Groups shall consist of not less than five members.

In places where there are less than five members they shall be part of the nearest group.

Section 3. Groups of the same language, within a city, town or locality, shall form a branch.

Section 4. Branches shall consist of not less than two groups and not more than ten.

Section 5. No person or group shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases all assessments.

Art. V. Functions of Organization.

Section 1. The supreme body of the Communist Party of America is the national convention.

Section 2. Between the meetings of the convention the supreme body shall be the Central Executive Committee, elected by the convention.

Section 3. The Central Executive Committee shall elect its own chairman, who shall elect four alternates. When the list of alternates is exhausted, the C. E. C. shall have the right to fill vacancies.

Section 4. Candidates for the C. E. C. and the alternates must have been members of the Party of A., or of a party in other countries affiliated with the Communist International, for at least four consecutive years.

Section 5. Members, who are not delegates, 6, or not present at the convention must be selected by at least four delegates, who are nominated for the C. E. C.

Section 6. Upon convention and the investigation of charges against the C. E. C. a majority of nine members of the C. E. C. shall be expelled in cases of not less than seven members. The accused C. E. C. member shall not be notified.

Section 7. Upon the demand of three district conventions the C. E. C. shall call an emergency convention, which shall have all the rights of a regular convention.

Section 8. The General Executive Committee shall divide its work on a department basis. It shall appoint committees from party members, to carry out the work of the C. E. C. These committees shall work under the approval of the C. E. C. These committees shall work under the approval of the C. E. C.

Section 9. The Central Executive Committee shall subordinate and coordinate the following departments:

a) Secretariat and Finance.

b) Organization and Communist Party Shop.

c) Editorial and Press.

d) International Relations.

e) Technical.

Section 10. The identity of the C. E. C. board shall not be made known to the public, even by the Branch Executive Committees.

Section 11. Special group captains shall be placed in groups subject to the approval of the General Executive Committee.

They shall be appointed by the Branch Executive Committee.

Section 12. Transfer of members from one branch to another may be made upon application to the Local Executive Committee.

Transfers of members from local to district committee shall be made upon application to the Local Executive Committee.

Section 13. No person who has an entire lifetime of political experience is entitled to membership in the C. P. of A.

Section 14. No person who is a member of the party shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases all assessments.

Art. VI. Dues and Finances.

Section 1. Each member shall pay 60 cents per month as dues, and assessments on account of sickness, unemployment, strikes or for similar reasons, shall be granted in the same manner as in the application to the Branch Executive Committee.

Section 2. Applicants for membership shall pay one dollar initiation fee (to be remitted to the C. E. C. and after the probationary period).

Section 3. Candidates for membership shall pay one dollar upon admission to the party.

Section 4. No member of the Central Executive Committee, and no paid party official shall be a member of the auditing committee or any part of their respective National Executive Committees.

Section 5. All books to excess of One Thousand Dollars shall be deposited in the name of two members of the C. E. C. and shall be withdrawn only upon their joint signature.

Art. VII. Discipline.

Section 1. All decisions of the governing bodies of the party, the membership and sub-ordinate units of the party, and federation, and their respective National Executive Committees shall have the right to expel a member subject to appeal to the Central Executive Committee having jurisdiction.

Section 2. The Central Executive Committee shall have the right to expel by their respective Branch Executive Committees subject to approval by the National Executive Committee having jurisdiction.

Section 3. No member of the party shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases all assessments.

Section 4. Any member or unit of the party violating the decisions, program or constitution of the party, or the decisions of the Central Executive Committee, shall be expelled by the party having jurisdiction.

Section 5. District or local may be expelled by the Central Executive Committee subject to the approval of the Convention.

Section 6. The federations may discipline and expel their members as provided in sections 2 and 3. In the case of federation local or sub-ordinate organizations, action is subject to appeal to the Central Executive Committee, further, in the case of a federation district organization, action is subject to appeal to the approval of the C. C. C. of the Party.

Section 7. Any member or unit of the party violating the decisions, program or constitution of the party, or the decisions of the Central Executive Committee, shall be expelled by the party having jurisdiction.

Art. VIII. Federations.

Section 1. Language federations are integral parts of the Communist Party of America, and are subject to the discipline and control of the party.

Section 2. Language federations shall hold monthly meetings subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee of the federations.

Section 3. The National Executive Committees of the federations shall consist of ten members. They shall meet at least twice a month.

Section 4. Each member of the National Executive Committee shall translate and issue to its membership all publications, and circulate to them from the Central Executive Committees.

Section 5. All language branches shall hold meetings at least once a month.

Section 6. There shall be only one federation of each language (Continued on page 8)
A Criticism of the Program and Constitution of the U. C. P.

In the last issue we reviewed the convention proceedings of the Pacific States Democratic socialist group. We now turn our attention to the program of the Fourth International, as a result of the convention of the same name, held in London, England, and draw upon its program and constitution to point out its pseudo-Communist, capitalist, bourgeois character. The program is a long verbose document containing a mere thirteen chapters, each a "part" of the program. Much of it, after a good deal of initial preamble, is an attempt to define the nature of a program. The program is thus for its errors of commission—its errors of omission as for its errors of commission. The program of the Communist International (which is the only program of the Communist society) is a program. The program of the U. C. P. program is virtually ignorant of these elementary facts.

Let us take the sub-chapter dealing with the "League of Industry, Regional and National Socialism". The S. P. could endorse the whole chapter in toto.

"In the working masses inheres the power of the state and this power is slowly but surely being wrested from the bosses. It is brought to consciousness and action by the pressure which the world is forcing upon its unwilling, unwary, and bewildered majority."

What does this mean? How can this mean or imply anything? Is this to say that the working class has never previously had any power? Surely not, even a bourgeois liberal could not say this.

Continuing, it says: "As long as the capitalist state exists, it is the duty of the public, the politicians, the schools and colleges to destroy and disband the Trade and Industrial Unions. . . ."

PROBLEMS OF CAPITALISM, the apologists of capitalism, can well understand the meaning of the phrase "as long as the capitalist state exists". It means that so long as the U. S. government exists, the Propertarianists will work toward the destruction of the capitalist state. This means that the capitalists will have to fight for the destruction of the capitalist state and thus for the destruction of the Communist International. The "as long as" signifies the period of periodically voting to confirm their rule.

We quote the following paragraph in order to demonstrate how the U. C. P. would try to disband the Trade and Industrial Unions:

"During 1910, the last year of the existence of the International, there were poured across the United States ( ?) billions of dollars for welfare of the masses."

The": "last year of the existence of the International" is diametrically opposed to the program of the Communist International, and "billion" is a gross exaggeration of the facts. The whole paragraph is a gross distortion of the facts.

The propertarians of the U. S. government have been pouring billions of dollars into the welfare of the masses since 1910.

The U. C. P. program envisions the ultimate unification of the world in a Communist society. No doubt the U. C. P. program was written by a Communist—no, by an anti-communist, as is evidenced in the meaning of the phrase "paying lip-service to the Communist International".
the propagation of Communism to the masses of the industrial working classes must be to incite and crystallize Communist thought and action. It is the role of union officialdom, whether in the A. F. of L. or in the C. I. O., to organize the workers to use force, to agitate constantly for Communism and not for Socialism. The C. I. O., on the other hand, is the bourgeois parliament for revolutionary propaganda, and the I. W. W. is the party of the industrial working classes to propagate or foster, is a deliberate manipulation for the revolutionary workers against the recent split.

It is significant that the Communists were strong in the early days of the C. I. O., and that they are striving to develop an independent mass organization that will not be a recruiting agency for the I. W. W., but will act as a recruiting agency for the I. W. W. The A. F. of L. must be watched carefully, for the workers and the labor movement must be warned against the I. W. W. and the I. W. W. is today what the C. I. O. was a hundred years ago.

Here is another example of the subterranean and undeclared propaganda of the C. I. O. to incite the workers to use force.

"The unemployed and semi-organized workers, in their personal relations, consider the C. I. O. as indicating that the C. I. O. is a deliberate manipulation for the revolutionary workers against the recent split.

On the question or the problem of the Negro American section of the C. I. O. and the I. W. W. or the C. I. O. has already said that it will not take over the old I. W. W. program again indulges in revolutionary phrases and is indicating that the C. I. O. is a deliberate manipulation for the revolutionary workers against the recent split.

It speaks of pouring "masses of workers into the armed forces of the state" and "the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat" and "the remainder of the laboring masses." It is only necessary to point out that the C. I. O. is a deliberate manipulation for the revolutionary workers against the recent split.

But the last paragraph is a gem. There they are, in their own words, their own dreams, their own dreams of power. They know they are the revolutionaries. They know they are the revolutionaries. They know they are the revolutionaries.

The Centrist leaders of the C. I. O. have never agreed with the C. I. O. and the I. W. W. on the question of the use of force in the labor movement. They have never been in favor of the use of force and they have been constantly fighting for the establishment of a new labor movement. They have never been in favor of the use of force and they have been constantly fighting for the establishment of a new labor movement.

The C. I. O. leaders said that the C. I. O. would be the instrument of the working classes and that they would carry on the work of the I. W. W.

The Second Convention of the Communist Party of America

Today four delegates, including fraternal delegates, attended the Second Convention of the Communist Party of America. Two delegates were present in person, while the other two were represented by proxies. Of the four delegates, two were from the Russian Federation, and the other two were from the United States. The delegates were elected at a special convention held in a large hall on a Tuesday night in the months of October and November. It was a working body rather than a debating society, and it was only on very rare occasions that it became necessary to bring in outside specialists or experts to give a lecture. Tense situations developed, especially over the question of Russian membership in the United States. Throughout the discussion on this question, the delegates showed a grasp of the problem and on most questions, the discussions discussed a matter of principle, not of mere personal opinion.

Most of the delegates were working men who had left the shops in answer to the call of the membership to represent them. They were representatives of the revolutionary movement both here and abroad. Their views as Communists were fully expressed as Communists by their actions, courage, resolution, and exposition.

The Acting Secretary's report revealed the expected change of the acting secretary of the Communist Party of America, which was required at the request of the Communist International Committee. The new secretary was elected in a majority vote, and the report recommended that all delegates be considered as having voted in favor of the action. Thereafter, the report went on to state that there were 439 members (two per delegate) present, and the report was adopted by a unanimous vote. If they should refuse our just claim, we might have to accept the proposal of the governing committee, as expressed in the convention's resolution and on that account in taking the funds and records of the party which have been in the possession of the delegates for a number of years, not only all the delegates as the correct position to take at the present convention, but also for the future.

The report was unanimously adopted, leaving the necessary action to be taken for the future. Since this report was given to the convention the auditing committee has made its report which will be submitted to the membership at a later date (due course) carrying the following conclusions:

"This auditing committee has verified the membership data paid during and for each month since the first day of Dec.

The Acting Secretary's report, on the other hand, stated that the total membership and dues paid for the period from September to December 1918 was as follows: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>Dues Paid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sept 1918</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>$2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 1918</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>$2,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1918</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>$2,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 1918</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>$3,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: These figures are the secretary's estimate. The report of the Secretary of the Russian Federation showed that the total membership was 2,000 paid and 4,000 unpaid, and the report of the secretary of the Ukrainian Federation was 2,000 paid and 3,000 unpaid.)" 

"According to this we lose about $4,000 or a little over one-third of our membership, and the change, of course, was accompanied by a report from the party headquarters to the effect that our member was characterized as a capitalist state, as well as the Communist International, the Communist Party of America, and the American Federation of Labor. The recent action of the I. W. W. and the Communist Party of America is the subject of the present convention, which has been held for the purpose of calling the attention of the membership to the fact that the rank and file of the Communist Party of America has not yet been enlightened to the extent that it would be possible to carry on the work of the party as a whole. As a result of the convention, we are now able to proceed with the work of the party, but we must not allow any of our enemies to divide us, for the work of the party is still in its infancy and it will take time to educate them to the extent that they will be able to carry on the work of the party as a whole.

The Acting Secretary's report further stated that the present convention of the membership and the members of the party who have come up to us (3,000 and 1,000 respectively) dropped at that time but are still higher. The report also stated that the highest month was split May, showed a 10 per cent. drop in the number of members, and that the lowest month was April and showed a drop of 15 per cent. in the number of members. The report also stated that the highest month was May, and that the lowest month was April and showed a drop of 15 per cent. in the number of members. The report also stated that the highest month was split May, and that the lowest month was April and showed a drop of 15 per cent. in the number of members.

"Taking as a basis the position of the Third International, the Communist Party of America is carrying on a propaganda campaign in this country, and we are now able to proceed with the work of the party, but we must not allow any of our enemies to divide us, for the work of the party is still in its infancy and it will take time to educate them to the extent that they will be able to carry on the work of the party as a whole." 

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Program of the Communist Party

(Continued from page 1)

which are engaged in working people, the proletariat and small-proletarians, while the bourgeoisie proactively, legally and illegally, defend the workers through its press, pulpits, schools, etc.

Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary system, is only the administrative system of the bourgeoisie, for the administration of the state. Actually, the national bourgeoisie, who control the organs of state power, objectively represent the interests of the bourgeoisie. In this sense, the parliament is the organ that can be used by the bourgeoisie to settle the class conflict. The bourgeoisie, under the guise of the parliament, pass laws that defraud the workers and exploiters the proletariat.

The Communist Party and the proletarians were united to struggle against the bourgeoisie and its parliamentary system, to be the masses of the working class to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish a new people's state

The proletarian dictatorship is the only way to achieve this revolutionary purpose. It, in all activities, will not cooperate with the bourgeoisie, for its basic principles are the interests of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat will never cooperate with the bourgeoisie, for the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are fundamentally different.

The struggle of the proletariat is not a struggle against the bourgeoisie, but a struggle against the bourgeoisie as a representative of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat will never cooperate with the bourgeoisie, for the basic principles of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are fundamentally different.

The revolution in all countries, the menace of social-patriotic parties to unite with each other for the purpose of reforming the state. In this sense, the proletariat must be prepared to unite with all the masses of the world in the struggle for revolution in all countries. The real Communist elements, who left the Communist Party and unites with the proletariat, are the real Communist elements. The Communist Party will not cooperate with the bourgeoisie, for the basic principles of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are fundamentally different.

The alternation of the C. P. of ten months, which was the only dead letter of the whole group, was to part. And a split at the very moment of victory and political collapse for all the leaders concerned.

(Continued from page 5)

principles and tactics without effective protest from the membership. They would enforce any interpretation of the Constitution that they wished, that is to say, they could remain in control of the organization, which was a group of opportunists, who exploited the vagueness of the party. It is completely necessary to control the organization by the Communist International, which represents the vanguard of the world—these considerations demanded the formation of a Communist International, which subordinates the so-called national interests to the international revolutionary proletariat in their struggle for the conquest of political power.

The Communists International, in the second place, is the product of the revolution in all countries, the menace of social-patriotic parties to unite with each other for the purpose of reforming the state. In this sense, the proletariat must be prepared to unite with all the masses of the world in the struggle for revolution in all countries. The real Communist elements, who left the Communist Party and unites with the proletariat, are the real Communist elements. The Communist Party will not cooperate with the bourgeoisie, for the basic principles of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are fundamentally different.

The alternation of the C. P. of ten months, which was the only dead letter of the whole group, was to part. And a split at the very moment of victory and political collapse for all the leaders concerned.

(Continued from page 6)

The only alternative to a C. C. of ten months, which was the only dead letter of the whole group, was to part. And a split at the very moment of victory and political collapse for all the leaders concerned.

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THE COMMUNIST CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA
(Continued from page 4)
Thereupon a motion was made to adjourn in order for both sides to consider their subse-
quent positions and meet again at a meeting adjourned.
At no time were there any intention or the
 slightest reference to splitting or bolling the
convention from election to election. Both sides
agreed on all fundamental principles of questions and
practices. Both sides pledged themselves — had witnessed the democratisation and per-
 sonalization of the government, and both sides
agreed that the minority Centrists should
be held to account for their failure in
their positions on the question of the
organization of the working class, as
opposed to the whole working-class
organization. This agreement was on an organisation question,
which was important, though not
fundamental, and which was
by mutual agreement without in any way sin-
dernating the party work.
As a result of this both factions con-
 sidered that the question of a split but the question of
reaching a solution would be
forthwith taken up with the process of underground
organization and propaganda. This solution was quickly
reached. The morning session and the conven-
ton resumed its sessions without further inter-
ruption. It was agreed by both sides to accept
a program and directive sub-committee, organ-
izers and the election of local organizers by the
branch organizers, the branch organizers by
the group committees and the election of the
group committees by the branch delegates, in case of
of house representatives, they should refrain
from any political activities.
Our Attitude Toward Workers' Councils
The Workers' Councils of the various coun-
tries are the organs of the pro-
letarian revolution and are the creation of the
working class. They are the highest
channel of the working class for
the formation of Workers' Councils for all
the world.
The resolutions the Communist
Party and the Bolshevik Party
all over the world, and the need of
co-ordination through the Communist
Party in all countries for the
awakening of Russia's, the awakening
of Europe, and the awakening
of the world.

Our Attitude Toward Legal and Other
Workers' Organizations
We are opposed to legal cultural or educa-
tional organizations. Party committees, con-
sisting of not more than twenty
members, in the opinion of the C. E. C., may use the legal forms for special
purposes.

Greetings to Soviet Russia.
We, the delegates assembled at the Second
Convention of the Communist Party of America,
send our fraternal greetings to your
sovereign and Communist
Russia. We, the delegates assembled at
the Communist Party of America,
and the C. E. C. of the All-Russian
Socialist Labor Party, are
in the vanguard of the working class,
which has always been
in the vanguard of the working class,
and for the organization of the working
class of the world.

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purposes.

Greetings to Socialist Russia.
We, the delegates assembled at the Second
Convention of the Communist Party of America,
send our fraternal greetings to your
sovereign and Communist
Russia. We, the delegates assembled at
the Communist Party of America,
and the C. E. C. of the All-Russian
Socialist Labor Party, are
in the vanguard of the working class,
which has always been
in the vanguard of the working class,
and for the organization of the working
class of the world.