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# Theses on the Relations of No. 1 [the CPA] and 2 [the LPP].

by Israel Amter (“J. Ford”)  
and Abram Jakira (“A. Dubner”)

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1. Government is force organized by one class to keep another in subjection. When the subject class becomes conscious of the oppression under which it labors, it organizes to overthrow the class in power. This struggle, of necessity, develops into a struggle of force against force — of the armed force of the oppressed class against the armed forces of the class in power, the government.

2. This being a phenomenon based on historical fact, it is the task of the Communists to prepare and organize the working class for this struggle against the master class, the capitalists, and against their organized armed force, the government.

3. The great masses of the working classes cannot be consciously organized for this task. Weighted with the burden of false education, prejudice, and the terrorization of the master class and government, they cannot be formed into organization consciously under the control of the Communists.

4. It is the function of the Communists, therefore, as the most conscious, militant revolutionary section of the working class, to organize themselves into a party and by means of this party prepare the rest of the working class for the struggle against the capitalist system and the government.

5. The nature of the struggle — the overthrow of one class by another — makes it impossible, as history has shown, for a party with this

program to carry on its most essential work in the open. The conflict with the government is so brutal and so frequent that the revolutionary organization working openly would be disrupted and ground to pieces by the superior force of the state. The Communists, therefore, are compelled to function as an underground party — the CP.

6. Work in the underground limits activities, is very cumbersome, and does not suffice for the overthrow of the capitalist system. The CP is obliged to penetrate all existing working class and semi-working class organizations and to form other open organizations to reach the masses, using these organizations as tools and auxiliary of the CP. One of these organs is the open political party, consisting of revolutionary workers, not all of whom are real Communists. The program of this party, by its very nature, is restricted, in that it must adapt itself to the laws of the country.

7. This LP [Legal Party] can by no means replace the real CP. On the contrary, the underground party must be built ever firmer and stronger; it must guide and control the LP through their influence of its membership, through its official organs and all other means of propaganda at its disposal.

8. To perform its function as the directing and controlling body, the CP must be made up of only the best, the most advanced, the most trusted, tried, and intelligent section of the working class! It must exercise a rigid discipline, removing from

its ranks all who merely comprehend the principles of Communism but fail to carry out the work of the party. Not understanding alone, but activity, willingness to sacrifice and do every kind of dangerous work must determine membership in the CP.

9. The tasks of the CP and all the organizations that it creates must be clearly defined, in order that all may serve their purpose without conflict and waste or duplication of effort. The specific functions of each party may vary at different stages of the development of the class struggle. At the present preparatory period, undoubtedly a large part of the work can be done in many parts of the country openly, leaving for the underground party functions which, though limited in quantity, nevertheless are of extreme importance, without which no real Communist movement can be conceived of.

10. The main task of the CP is to organize UNRESTRICTED Communist education and propaganda, thus insuring that the full Communist message is made clear at all times. The CP must carry on all such work as cannot be done openly; it must build and support the LP and other open organizations and direct their activities.

11. The CP must at least once a month issue its organs, dealing theoretically and analytically with all the problems of the class struggle and of the party. It shall give direction to and formulate the slogans for the work of all open organizations. The attitude of the CP to its open organizations and especially the LP shall be a favorable and encouraging one. It must, however, always point out the deficiencies in the activities of the LP. The CP shall devise ways and means of reaching the membership of the LP with its illegal organ in order to further their education. The CP must also issue all such literature as cannot be published legally.

12. The CP must issue leaflets dealing with the struggles of the workers in a REALISTIC manner, so that the masses will perceive that the

CP understands the struggle, but is unable to work openly because of the nature of its organization.

13. The CP must constantly make recruits to its ranks from the membership of the LP, labor unions, and other working class organizations. It is one of the main tasks of the CP to develop and strengthen its organization.

14. The groups of the CP must meet regularly at least once a month.

15. The CP is the section of the CI in this country, and is the only body capable of stating the official position of the CI.

16. The task of the LP is to participate directly in the everyday struggles of the workers, endeavoring to develop the struggles for immediate needs into revolutionary mass struggles. It must conduct open propaganda and education, participate in the elections, issue papers and leaflets on the basis of immediate demands, bringing the masses more and more to the Communist position. As far as possible all editors of the LP organs must be members of the CP.

17. Through the LP membership, the CP permeates all existing working class organizations, acting as nuclei within those organization. In the labor unions, the LP must form a Left Wing, acting as nucleus and taking the leadership in it.

18. The CP shall endeavor to establish the same discipline, wage scale, and regulation for all officials of the LP as prevails in the CP. It must always be remembered that the real revolutionary party — the American section of the CI — is the CP of A, and the LP is but an instrument which it uses to better carry out the work among the masses. Only through membership in the American section — the CP of A — can the American workers become members of the CI.

19. As organs of the CP, the LP and other open organizations must be under its direction and control. The discipline of the CP is SUPREME for members. The convention of the CP must be held prior to the convention of the LP and determine all policies for the party and all of

its open organizations. It is the duty of the committees and of the membership to carry out these policies in the LP and all other organizations. In order that the work of the CP and LP may be conducted properly and the CP at the same time be safeguarded from the clutches of the government, the Executive Committee elected at the convention of the Communist Party shall divide into two parts, the major part becoming the No. 1 department and devoting itself to carrying out in the CP the policies laid down by the convention and the Ex. Com., the minor part becoming the No. 2 department and devoting itself to carrying out in the LP the policies laid down by the convention and the Ex. Com.

20. This policy of division of work shall be followed in all subordinate committees of the CP.

21. The functions of organizers of the CP and LP being different, and the safety of the organization making it imperative, the organizers of the CP shall, as a rule, not be the organizers of the LP.

22. The Communists must seek to control all committees in the LP. By better understanding of principles and more active participation in the LP work, they must win over the membership of the LP to the real Communist position.

23. Members of the CP must work as a nucleus in the LP. Although all the policies are laid down in CP, the activities of the Communists in the LP evolving out of these policies must be left to the Communist understanding, better organization, and generalship of the members of the CP.

24. CP members act as a caucus in the LP nuclei in the labor unions. Decisions on all im-

portant matters must be made in caucus meetings.

25. As the situation becomes more revolutionary the LP, gaining the support of the masses, will become more revolutionary in form, character, and activity. In such a situation, the LP may normally amalgamate with the CP and assume its name.

**The underground CP, remaining as an organization within the open Party, continues to be the directing and controlling body.** It remains intact and must continually be strengthened. There must be a periodical purging of its ranks and the discipline made more rigid. New blood from the open party and other open organizations must be introduced into the underground organization.

26. Even though the CP shall have come above ground and act as the section of the CI, the underground organization remains as the directing organ of the open CP. All important policies must first be taken up by the underground organization and its decisions put through in the open party. The underground organization must continually be reinforced, since even when fighting in open, the activities of the open party will depend on the vigor, understanding, strategy, and generalship of the underground organization. The open party being a mass organization can not have the discipline and understanding of an underground organization, and will respond to calls to action only in proportion as the underground membership is discipline and exerts influence. This status will continue up to and through the revolution and to the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

*Edited by Tim Davenport.*

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