

ALL
POWER
TO THE
WORKERS

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BREAK THE BLOCKADE!

NOW YOU'VE GOT IT;
NOW YOU HAVEN'T

UPS AND DOWNS OF PETROGRAD

Petrograd falls—Petrograd falls officially—Petrograd may fall—Petrograd is about to fall—Petrograd falls for Yudenitch—Petrograd falls on Yudenitch. Yudenitch is advancing, —on Petrograd—toward Petrograd—from Petrograd—toward Finland. —Yudenitch to enter Petrograd—as a conqueror—as a prisoner. Charlie Chaplin has nothing on Yudenitch! Trotsky arrest Lenin. Lenin arrests Trotsky. Peters has arrested both. Shatoff has arrested all three. They all take a rest.

STRONGER THAN
EVER, CHICHERIN

The second anniversary of the Russian Revolution finds the Workers' Republic triumphant over well-nigh insuperable obstacles and confident of her power to resist the combined forces of the entire black international. —declares Chicherin in a letter to the American States representative, D. C. A. K. Martens.

The letter reads in part: "The threat against the Volga from Kolchak's quarter has been eliminated completely, and his hordes have been pushed back far beyond the Urals.

"A part of Siberia is already occupied and the Red Army is continuing full of enthusiasm and determined to crush the enemy, its advance on Kolchak's capital, Omsk. Kolchak's Troops Desert

"Whole regiments of Kolchak's troops desert to our side, killing their generals and officers or surrendering them to us."

Revolts Threaten Denikin

"The revolts and uprisings taking place with ever increasing frequency in Denikin's rear will take care of that.

HUNGARIANS JOIN
COMMUNIST PARTY

The Hungarian Socialist Federation with 3,000 members has joined the Communist Party in a body. The vote for affiliation was 39 to 13, but none of the dissenting votes represented a desire to join the S. P., the C. L. P., or to repudiate the Communist Party. The minority vote represented a desire to remain independent of the Communist Party, but endorsing it.

There were 50 odd delegates present, representing 45 organizations and there were fraternal delegates from the Hungarian I. W. W. and various other organizations.

The Hungarian I. W. W. offered to unite with the Hungarian Federation if it remained independent of the Communist Party, and this explains the minority vote. The convention endorsed the I. W. W. as a revolutionary industrial union and pledged its support to insurgent and secession unions everywhere. The executive committee was instructed to call a conference of representatives of the Hungarian I. W. W., S. L. P., W. I. I. U., and other organizations with a view to unifying them.

The vote to sever connections with the old Socialist Party was unanimous.

BREAK THE BLOCKADE.

"The difficulties of provisioning are also being overcome successfully. The two most critical months in this respect—July and August are now over. While in the corresponding months of last year we were unable to offer anything to the population of Petrograd and Moscow, we are now in a position to assure a distribution of full rations this year.

"Within a few weeks the harvest, which is unusually large this year, will afford us excellent help. Creative work is also being carried out with diligence and success in all the other fields of national economy, and the state machine is being consolidated and perfected"

YUDENITCH IS
FOR ALL CLASSES

On the eve of the "capture" of Petrograd the Government of the Northwest issued the following proclamation: "Citizens—Soldiers!

"The heavy Russian Government of the Northwestern Territory is making this appeal to you, brave soldiers of our army, the sole support and hope of mutilated and bleeding Russia.

"The Bolsheviks, as may be expected from them, will tell you that ours is a Government of capitalists and landowners or of 'social traitors.' Place no trust in them, for the Bolsheviks are lying and deceiving you, and they are only maintaining themselves by chicanery and lies and your credulity.

We are a Government not of capitalists and the landed gentry. Our Government is composed of men in public life, of representatives of all classes and of all the strata of the population. The regime of Czarism is as hateful to us as it is to you, and no return to it is possible."

GIVING OUT LEAFLETS—
ARRESTED, BEATEN

George Siskind and Benjamin Markowitz were arrested for distributing leaflets last Friday, and were held on 500 dollars bail; when the bail was furnished and the men released the same detectives re-arrested them on the charge of "criminal anarchy," and bail was raised to \$5,000 and \$3,000 respectively. Siskind, who was bailed out Saturday evening, reported that one of the detectives beat him up in his cell and that Markowitz was given even worse treatment. Markowitz was bailed out Monday and was taken to a doctor for treatment. He claim he received "cold water" baths in addition to very severe punishment. Their trial is set for Friday morning.

ARREST C. P. ORGANIZER

Marion E. Sproule, state secretary of the Communist Party of Massachusetts, was arrested Oct. 30 under the charge of attacking the Government. The arrest was made by Federal officers on a warrant coming from Washington as a result of the examination of a stenographic report of her speech made on Oct. 14 in Boston.

Break the Blockade
MASS DEMONSTRATION
This Sat., Nov. 8, 2:30
Rutgers Square

It is nearly one year since the armistice was signed. Peace! It was what an agonizing world had yearned for. Peace! It sent a thrill through the world, a thrill of joy and promise. . . . The mother could again clasp her son and the sweetheart her lover.

In all this joy at the coming of peace there was promise of finer things, of a new world, of international fraternity and a more human civilization. Peace was granted Germany and Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria; but peace was not granted to Soviet Russia, where the workers were in control.

Why this war against the Russian people? They starved during the war; their dead and injured are more than that of all the Allies together. If the dead are the price of peace, then Russia paid the price in full. But the "why" of war against Soviet Russia immediately was apparent. The diplomats of the Allies in the Peace Conference repudiated the ideals used during the war to make the people fight. The Peace Conference was not concerned with making the world safe for peace and democracy; it concerned itself with dividing the world economically, financially and territorially among the Great Powers—France, England, Italy, Japan, and United States. The Peace Conference divided the spoils; it was a peace of plunder, an imperialistic adjustment of power, a dagger thrust at the heart of the peace and liberty of the world.

Soviet Russia was a menace to the peace of plunder and oppression. Soviet Russia has repudiated Imperialism; it has repudiated annexations and wars of plunder; it believes in liberty of the peoples. Soviet Russia, in crushing its own Capitalism, is an inspiration to the workers of the world to crush all Capitalism.

So the Peace Conference declared war against Soviet Russia. When the workers and peasants of Hungary organized their own Communist Government, the Peace Conference declared against Soviet Hungary; and today the workers and peasants of Hungary are being starved and butchered by the Roumanian army, acting under the orders of the Peace Conference.

The military war against Soviet Russia proved a miserable failure. The Red Army, inspired by the ideal of liberty for Russia and the world, has beaten back the counter-revolutionary forces.

But this war that Soviet Russia is compelled to wage in self-defense is a terrible agony. Instead of the factories producing shoes and clothes and agricultural machinery, they are forced to produce munitions. Instead of the people's energy being used to build their new and finer civilization, they must use their energy for war against counter-revolution and aggression of the Allies.

But the worst feature of all is the blockade of Soviet Russia maintained by the Allies.

The Allies and the Peace Conference are deliberately starving the men, women and children of Russia—starving them in a brutal purpose to restore Czarism and maintain the workers of the world in slavery.

Food intended for Russia is rotting in the ports of Europe, but the Allies refuse to allow this food to enter Russia, while women and children die the terrible death of starvation.

Why? Soviet Russia is a Communist Republic. A Communist Republic is a republic in which the power of the capitalists to sweat the workers is broken, where the workers control industry; a republic in which life is humane and not profits. The Communist Republic of Russia is the promise of a new world and a finer culture, of life, liberty, and peace to all the peoples.

Capitalism maintains that the Communist Republic of Russia is a failure. On the contrary, Capitalism knows that the Communist Republic of Russia is a success; that is why international Capitalism wages war against the Communist Republic of Russia, starves it and tries to crush it. For if the Russian Communist Republic lives and flourishes, the workers of the world will say: Why can't we have a Communist Republic of our own?

The war against Russia, the blockade of Russia, is an expression of the international class struggle between the workers and the capitalists. Force is used against the Russian workers, but force is also used by these governments—British, French, Italian, Japanese, American—against their own workers.

Let the workers determine: We must break the blockade of Soviet Russia!

In Italy the workers have compelled the government to withdraw all troops from Russia, while the Italian sailors refuse to allow ships to sail that bring munitions to Kolchak & Co.

In Sweden the workers are organizing a blockade of the Allies as a means to break the blockade of Soviet Russia.

In Seattle American longshoremen refuse to transport munitions bound for Russia to slaughter their fellow workers.

The blockade of Soviet Russia must be broken! The workers alone can break it. Agitate against the blockade! Organize mass demonstrations against the blockade. Organize strikes against the blockade.

Workers, men and women! The struggle of the Russian workers is your struggle. If they are crushed, you will be crushed.

On November 7 it will be two years since the Russian workers conquered power. During two years, in spite of starvation, in spite of war and blockade—in blood and tears and agony—the Russian workers have held firm to their Communist ideals. They have shown the workers of the world the means to power. They are constructing a new civilization—the new civilization that you also will soon begin to construct. They call to the workers of the world for aid.

Workers, men and women! Come to the aid of your fellow-workers! Break the blockade of Soviet Russia!

COAL MINERS DEFY
U. S. COURT DECREE

Martial Law Likely in Thirty States As Tie-Up Proves Complete

Four hundred and fifty thousand bituminous coal miners are out on strike awaiting the next move of the Government. Despite the last minute injunction against their leaders forbidding them from actively directing this great strike, the men are holding firm, solving the problems of the strike themselves.

The \$25,000,000 strike fund, out of which strike benefits were to have been paid to the miners, has been tied up by the injunction. This will prove a tremendous handicap to the strikers, unless some other means are found of getting funds.

The great test between the strikers and the Government is still to come. The miners answered the Government's injunction with a complete tie-up; the Government has troops and batteries under full war equipment stationed in all the mining districts ready for service at a moment's notice.

Will the use of these armed troops be the next move of the Government?

In the meantime demonstrations among other sections of the

ized workers are being closely watched by both sides.

The State Federation of Pennsylvania at the close of an emergency convention just held in Pittsburgh went on record for "the restoration of free speech, free press and free assembly," with an alternative of a state-wide strike of 500,000 workers of all industries.

The Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen have expressed full sympathy with the striking miners and are ready to test the "Government by injunction rule," as well as help the miners in every way possible. Whether that implies a sympathy strike is unknown for the present.

The strike headquarters of the miners' officials at Indianapolis is closed and Lewis, the International Acting President and the other labor leaders have left for their homes without issuing any definite statements to the public.

Apparently the leaders have no intention of disobeying the restraining order of the courts. They said that the order would be obeyed in every respect.

BOSSSES LOCK OUT
SPANISH WORKERS

BOSSSES TRY NOVEL WEAPON TO CRUSH WORKERS' ORGANIZATION

Spain is in the midst of a general lockout, initiated by a Congress of Spanish employers sitting at Barcelona. The lockout was scheduled for November 4, but the building and textile industries have already shut down, and it is expected that more than a million workers will be thrown out of employment within the coming week. The shutting down of industry by the employers is the culmination of a long and bitter war between the padrones (bosses) and the Spanish Syndicates, especially centering around Barcelona. The lockout has been declared against the decision of the Spanish Government which fears a revolutionary crisis may result. But the employers are so desperate that they prefer to take the chance of a revolution rather than permit the present intolerable condition of affairs to continue. (Continued, Page 2, Col. 2)

SECRETARY OF WAR BAKER
PROMISES TROOPS

"The Administration is determined that Federal laws be enforced and Federal agencies left unobstructed, and that Federal troops shall respond instantly to the call of any governor to suppress riots and disorders in any state," said Secretary of War Baker, in a speech last week.

"Our newspapers are daily filled with accounts of violent agitation by so-called Bolsheviks and radical-counselling violence and urging action in behalf of what they call social revolution. In the meantime the timid may take heart. Some time ago I telegraphed to the governor of every state that in the event of any civil disorder which he found himself unable to control by reason of the demobilization of the National Guard, the governor should communicate directly with the commanding general of the department in which his state lies, and I correspondingly telegraphed to every department commander to respond instantly with the aid of the Federal troops to any call from a governor who found himself unable, with the means at his disposal, to suppress disorder and to enforce the local laws."

WHEN THE WORLD REPORTER
GOT DRUNK

(Reprinted from the "World," Oct. 31st.)

TO START REVOLUTION

Hatched in Chicago in "Inner Circle" of the "New Communist"

Every detail of the "June bomb plot" was hatched out in the I. W. W. general headquarters at No. 1000 Madison Avenue, Chicago, Ill., and reported upon Saturday, Sept. 6, last, after the convention of the New Communist Party in that city had appointed the "Committee of Nineteen" to pick the "Inner Circle" to administer the affairs of the organization.

As a result of the investigation of the activities of this convention and the "Committee of Nineteen" Theodore Loewner of Cleveland, O., is now under arrest there after being

caught in the act of making bombs for further activities, the plans for which are now known to the Department of Justice.

As a further result of the activities of the "Inner Circle" Fred Witt, or Fred Wheeler, as he is also known, is under arrest in New York City at the request of the Cleveland police as an accomplice of Loewner.

And as a still further result of the revelations which have been known to the Department of Justice since Sunday, Sept. 7, last, the day following the Chicago convention, the police

WORLD'S BOMB PLOT

(Continued from Page 1)
of the country are searching for Max Silinsky, Business Agent for the Tailors' Union of Cleveland, and Joseph Zith, also of Cleveland.

Every Police Chief in the country and every Department of Justice agent, Postal Inspector and Secret Service man has been told to drop everything else to arrest Zith and Silinsky for the Cleveland police, who have not indicated publicly why they desire to arrest of the fugitives.

Using Steel and Coal Strikes to Overturn Nation.

The Evening World is able to say that when the two fugitives are arrested there will be an announcement by the Cleveland police and the Department of Justice that will bare acts of violence during the steel strike and disclose all the details of a plot which is now menacing the country through a general strike of coal miners.

Department of Justice agents are known to have traced down to the New Communist Party, the organization of which was exposed in The Evening World Oct. 16, last, the full plot to cause violence in the steel strike centres and to drive every worker from the mines of the country on the eve of the winter season, at a time when factories and homes are without fuel, so that by a cessation of all industry not tied up by strikes the "social revolution" could be hastened.

During the New Communist Party convention it was decided to make a drive against "the common enemy—capital"—through a body that was less cumbersome than the full convention. As a result the famous "Committee of Nineteen" was elected by the convention to act as an Executive Committee for the purposes of administration and direction. This committee was composed of the following:

New York City Representation—Nicholas Hourwich, Max Cohen, and Joe Brodsky.

Boston Representation—Louis Frezza, also known as Fraim, and John Ballem.

Cleveland Representation—A. Rutenberg.

Michigan Representation—Daniel L. Baum, William Arisenz, John Ferguson and Alexander Stokolski. The last mentioned makes his headquarters in New York City now.

Illinois Representation—M. L. Olgan of the Ukrainian Group and Anthony Ibanbauskas of the Lithuanian Group.

Pennsylvania Representation—K. B. Karvas and A. A. Rosenthal.

Baltimore Representation—J. J. Kozovitch of the Russian Branch and Dave Zimmerman.

Delegation-at-Large—Rose Pastor Stokes, Michael Balic and Irving Klein.

Immediately the convention had selected this committee it met in the I. W. W. Council room at No. 1000 Madison Avenue, Chicago, to plan for the work ahead. E. Rutenberg was selected to pick the "Inner Circle" and he selected Alexander Stokolski of the West and New York, Daniel E. Baum, whose activities were exposed with those of Stokolski in The Evening World of Oct. 26; Nicholas Hourwich of New York City, and John Ferguson, a Chicago lawyer who represents the organization in legal matters.

After a secret conference of the "Inner Circle" Rutenberg, who was elected Chairman of the "Inner Circle," picked Alfred Wegenerich of No. 127 Cook Avenue, Lakewood, a suburb of Cleveland, as his "right hand man." He then selected Joseph Zith, Max Silinsky and Theodore Lowwer as general aids for the work, which was planned at the secret meeting of the "Inner Circle."

No one has been able to ascertain what was done at the meeting of the "Inner Circle" after it had been selected by the "Committee of Nineteen." But it is known that Lowwer, one of the confidential men selected by the chairman of the "Inner Circle" was caught in the act of making bombs at Cleveland. It is now known that two of his associates, Zith and Silinsky are fugitives since the arrest of Lowwer. And it is also known that Witt, another associate of Lowwer, is under arrest in New York City, and that he admits he was given the formulas for making bombs by Lowwer.

Following the trial backwash, Department of Justice agents have ascertained that the steel and coal strikes were planned Oct. 12 last year, at the home of Conrad Muehlberger, at No. 227 Chew Street, Allentown, Pa. At this meeting there were present in addition to Muehlberger, James J. Maggerty, Conrad Kyrch-

SENATE THINKS US MILLIONAIRES

\$5,000 FOR DISPLAYING RED FLAG: PRINTER, SPEAKER, DISTRIBUTOR—ALL INCLUDED

"It shall be unlawful for any person to advocate or advise the overthrow, or to write or knowingly to print, publish, utter, sell, or distribute any document, book, circular, paper, journal, or other written or printed communication in or by which there is advised the overthrow, by force, or violence, or by physical injury to person or property, of the Government of the United States."

This is one of the several clauses of an extremely stringent "criminal syndicalist" law which will quite likely pass the United States Congress now that it has been favorably reported out by the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee.

The measure provides further that it shall be criminal to urge the use of force or violence to prevent a law from being carried out, to display any flag or emblem symbolizing or suggesting the overthrow of the Government of the United States "or all government."

The maximum penalty for violation of this law is \$5,000 fine and five years imprisonment, or both. For aliens deportation is added.

The Postmaster's powers are also enlarged to include barring all such literature from the mails.

Have you saved your first \$5,000?

ner, Leonard Strub, Patrick Wilson, Jacob Miller of Chicago, C. Marvin Noll of Chicago, James Elton, Samuel Grigg, S. A. Johnson of Pittsburgh, A. Kugler, the I. W. W. lumber trade organizer, and his associate Peter Ellison.

The meeting at Allentown was planned at the suggestion of Miller, who is one of the Executive Committee of the I. W. W., with an office at the general headquarters in Madison Avenue, Chicago. Decision was made to organize the steel and coal workers and wait until after the war ended to put the "big revolution" through.

One of the first acts was to get control of the Socialist organization in Pennsylvania. They did and they finally drove James Mayer, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, from the party because he would not accept Bolshevism as the standard of the Socialists, and as soon as Mayer was deposed the Socialist Party accepted Bolshevism as its creed. With this programme put through, the Socialist Party machinery was used to "force from within" until the climax came in a strike of the radicals in the steel industry.

It was following this strike that a number of bomb outrages were reported following close on those of June last, when the anarchists "bombed" as they call their bombs, were scattered from one end of the country to the other. It is on the theory that these outrages were concocted by the New Communist Party that the arrests of their members has resulted.

Department of Justice agents are said to have collected conclusive evidence of the plots against the steel industry and it is said that as a result of the disclosures the Administration decided to act with such a firm hand should the strike be called.

In the meantime the Government is searching for the secret printing plant which the "Committee of Nineteen" authorized Max Cohen, Anthony Radlouskas and Michael Talic to acquire. It is thought that when this is found the mystery of the publication of the special manifesto, bulletins which were showered over New York City and at Gary, Ind., Pittsburgh, Pa., Youngstown and Cleveland, O., during the steel strike, will have been uncovered. And as a further lead to the secret printing plant Department of Justice agents are trying to link to it a famous radical woman who is chairman of the financial committee of the New Communist Party.

Cleveland is expected to "break" the big news and all of a sudden the Department of Justice, whose inaction has been the puzzle of all who have known the mass of information concerning plots against the Government and industry. And from the best information the "break" will come when Zith and Silinsky are arrested and Witt is returned to face the evidence against him at the Lake City.

GENERAL LOCKOUT IN SPAIN

(Continued from Page 1)
time. A congress of the syndicates is now in session deliberating as to what measures to take to meet this novel move on the part of the employers, the first general lockout in labor history. Martial law has been declared both in Spain and Portugal, and a United States fleet is in Lisbon Harbor.

The crisis that has now come has been in preparation for a long time. This strange move on the part of the employers is the result not only of a fear for their profits, but even for their lives. The use of terrorist methods by the employers and the military has resulted in a response in similar terms by some sections of the workers.

It was officially reported in the Spanish parliament (Cortes) that the terrorist methods used by the employers and their tool, the military, have resulted in more than 12,000 jailings, over 9,000 banishments, and an aggregate jail sentence for syndicalists of over 2,000 years, and all within the last few months. Many labor leaders were assassinated, among them Pablo Sabater, president of the dyers syndicate. When the murderer was caught he confessed that the police had furnished him with an auto and that Bravo Portilla, police agent at Barcelona, had directed the assassination. A few days ago Portilla the agent was assassinated, and a notorious labor-hating career brought to an end.

The Syndicalists have disclaimed the acts of violence by individual workers. They attribute these acts to the provocative acts of the employers and the military, but they frankly declare that they must succeed in expropriating capital by violent means if prevented from doing so by peaceful ones.

Barcelona is the storm center of the class conflict. Here both the employers and the workers are most thoroughly organized. At the beginning of the year, it is estimated, there were over 100,000 workers in the syndicates of Barcelona. The organizations were then recognized as legal. But when martial law was declared in Spain recently and constitutional guarantees suspended, sixty odd labor leaders were jailed and held for some time without charges or trial. The syndicates were declared illegal, "raided" them, and forbade the carrying of membership cards or the collection of funds. It was in response to these provocative actions that the exasperated workers retaliated with a series of strikes and even with individual acts of violence.

The national lockout was declared by the workers because they believed that in that way they could crush the unions, use up their funds, alienate the workers from their organizations and starve them into submission. They began with the building trades and 25,000 masons reporting for work were refused further employment. The textile industry followed, and then the employers of Barcelona requested those of Madrid to co-operate.

The prospects of the lockout becoming general on November 4 presents many interesting problems. How long do the employers intend to keep it up? What will they consider a victory? How will they insure themselves the necessities of life in the meanwhile? How will the workers meet this move? When the lockout is declared over, will they return? Will they, in the meanwhile, attempt to keep up their own industries to feed, clothe, and care for their own families? The situation seems pregnant with revolutionary possibilities.

STRIKES SHAKE SWEDEN

Stockholm, Sweden—Strikes alternate is convulsing Sweden, and the bourgeoisie is so weakened that its Government dare not take strong repressive measures against the strikers.

Newspapers have been crippled since July by a printers' strike, and the editorial workers are setting up whatever papers can be got out. Millwrights, ironworkers and others are out. The most serious strike at present is among a class that does not usually succeed in organizing, namely, the agricultural workers. They have been out since July, but the Government is now thoroughly alarmed, as the threat for the harvesting of the crops has come and the men are still out. The Government is proposing a compromise which is a virtual victory for the men's demands. Latest reports are to the effect that it is to be accepted by them. The strike is significant as an awakening of the poorer peas-

YOUR SHOP

It should be your shop (or factory, your store, your mill, your mine or your railroad), your to work in, yours to produce in, yours to manage with the help of your fellow workers.

You spend most of your waking hours in the shop. The conditions under which you work and produce determine your life, your happiness.

If you and your fellow workers controlled the shop, determined the hours of labor, the working conditions, and apportioned the rewards for the services rendered, you would be able to create the conditions that would bring happiness to you. You would so arrange your work that you would not have your life sapped by long hours and bad working conditions and so that the wealth you produced would be yours, yours to secure the enjoyment of good food, good clothing, a good home, and the opportunity for education and healthy recreation.

There is enough wealth produced to give these things to all who work. But the capitalists own the shops that should be yours. The capitalists make you work long hours under bad working conditions; they take from you as their profit the lion's share of what you produce.

They will do that as long as they own and control the shop. There is no hope as long as the shop is not yours.

Workers everywhere are learning this. The workingmen of Russia have shown the way. In Russia the shops, as well as all other means of production and distribution, belong to the workers.

The Russian workers organized their power. They created shop committees in every plant and united these in workers' councils. Thus they built up the means for united action. When the crisis came they were prepared to use their mass power. Before their mass power the government of the capitalists and land owners broke up and disappeared. The workers' councils became the organs of the workingclass government. The workers controlled the state power, the police, the army.

Having taken from the capitalists the governmental power through which the capitalists maintain their control of the shop and the exploitation and oppression of the workers, the workers took control of the shops. The shop committees they elected took over the management. They told the capitalists that their days as autocrats, Czars and Kaisers of industry were over. They told them there would be no more robbery of the workers through paying them for only a part of what they produced. They told them that the shops now belonged to all the workers and that they, the capitalists, would have to go work for a living.

And in Russia the workers are building the society that means happiness for all in spite of all the efforts of the capitalists of the world to overthrow their government and strike down their new economic system.

The workers everywhere are growing more and more dissatisfied with the capitalist control of the shops, which work and produce the most of our daily necessities. It is the cause of the great strikes in England, and of the great industrial struggles in this country.

But the workers must organize to secure control of the shops. The first step is to organize a shop committee in the shop in which you work.

Bring together all the enlightened workers who are ready to participate in the struggle to win control of the shop. Organize them in a Communist Party Shop Branch. This committee will carry on the work of agitation and education among the other workers. It will collect funds and secure papers and pamphlets for distribution in the shop.

The work of the committee will be to unite all the workers in the shop in a shop organization, machinists, carpenters, shipping clerks, workers of every trade, all must unite in the one workers' organization in their shop.

Workers! You must build up the organs of workingclass power if you are to win your freedom. The shop organization is the basis for the organization of the mass power of the workers.

Prepare to take control of your shop, of your work, of your lives and happiness.

ORGANIZE AND MAKE IT YOUR SHOP!

FIGHT BLACKS AND REDS WITH HOME DEFENSES —SAYS SENATOR

Rifles, pistols and machine guns will be issued by the War Department to the home guards for use against radical negro leaders and Bolsheviks, if the bill introduced by Senator Harrison, Democrat, Mississippi, is passed by the United States Congress.

Articles that have appeared in certain pamphlets and periodicals edited by unwise and radical negro leaders and Bolsheviks, said Senator Harrison, "are advocating such doctrines that might encourage the thoughtless elements to threaten the peace and safety of many peoples. It is to guard against any attempt upon the part of these dangerous elements to take precautionary steps to protect themselves and their communities. A large number of us better organization of Home Guards."

Deadly Parallel No. 1.

Deadly Parallel No. 1. Daniel Moran, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, is an apostle to Bolshevism. "I am a Bolshevik from the crown of my head to the sole of my feet, and I am proud of it!"

WAR ON RED FLAG, GENERAL WOOD DROGS

Fresh from Gary Strife, He Calls for Direct Action Against Those Who Follow It.

"There is no room in this country for the red flag," declared General Wood in a speech at Carnegie Hall, delivered immediately after he returned from Gary. "It is against everything which this country stands for—the home, the town, the nation, public morality, private well-being and everything that we hold most dear. Kill it as you would kill a rattlesnake. SMASH THESE WHO FOLLOW IT. SPEAK FOR IT OR SUPPORT IT. They are enemies of the state and dangerous enemies. The time has come for frank talking. We have had events recently which indicate that men of DIRECT ACTION AGAINST THOSE WHO TALK TREASON."

Deadly Parallel No. 2.

President Wilson votes the War-Time Prohibition Act because the state of war no longer exists. President Wilson calls upon the miners' officials to rescind the strike order because the state of war still exists.

GERMANS JOIN BOLSHEVIK ARMY

A Deniking wireless dispatch reports that over 1,000 army officers, a general and various contingents of soldiers have deserted the German army and joined the Russian Bolshevik forces, according to a London report.

It may be that this is merely another form of rumor that Von der Goltz had joined the Bolshevik army. In that case it indicates that the work of the counter-revolution is not running smoothly, since the neutral allies, Von der Goltz and Denking, are at loggerheads with each other.

American movie photographers were in Russia recently with Von der Goltz, and they returned to the Versailles conference with a moving picture of the massacre of a Red Army in a captured town. The movie portrays a grim scene in which the Red Guardsmen are forced to strip (for their clothes are valuable, forced to dig their own trench grave, and then advance to the mouth of the pit, three at a time, where a firing squad executed them. They toppled right over into the trench.

The movies was shown to the Allied diplomats at Versailles. According to the press dispatch, when the movies were concluded, President Wilson rose, white as a sheet, and said: "I did not dream that such barbarities could be practised in modern times. The Germans must be ordered out at once. The moving picture photographers have rendered a great service to humanity."

To experienced observers, however, it looks as if the propaganda against Von der Goltz by the Allies is similar to their "protest" when the Roumanian army occupied Bessarabia, and when the army of D'Annunzio took possession of Fiume. At any rate, the slaughter of Red Guardsmen by conquering White armies of any faction is proceeding, if not always as scientifically, at least always as bloodily and ruthlessly as that which was photographed by the American photographers and reproduced as a cinematograph production at Versailles. There is no danger of the film being universally circulated in America.

There are now available for this duty fifty-two regiments of infantry, twenty-eight of field artillery, four regiments of cavalry, and twenty machine gun battalions, these troops being independent of the divisions mobilized on the Mexican border.

This means that martial law will be established at the first signs of trouble. The trouble itself was easily precipitated by the attempt of the mine operators to work the mines with non-union labor. General Wood himself is the great swashbuckling militarist who so effectively established martial law at Gary, Indiana. It would seem that the Government had reserved the great honor of shooting down the American working class to this arch-junker, friend of Teddy, himself no mean junker and labor-hater by the way.

ALL RUSSIAN ARMY IS ALL ENGLISH

A proclamation issued by Trotsky, according to an English report, charges the English with the responsibility for the Russian revolution. The English, he says, are the cause of the Russian revolution, and a large addition to the forces of the Reds so far as they are concerned as a result of the education these two regiments will get.

"On all fronts you are meeting with the hostile schemes of England. On every front you find British guns and material and troops dressed in English clothing. Women and children in Archangel and Astakhov are being killed and mutilated by English flyers. English ships are bombarding the coasts, English gold is sewing corruption."

"Soldiers, Commissioners, sailors, more than once your hearts have ever flowed with hatred against the predatory, deceptive, bloody, false-faced English, but never forget there are two Englands. Beside the England of home, violence, corruption, and blood-dripping, there exists an England of mental power, noble ideals, of international solidarity. The best, the most advanced England of the stock exchange is against us, England's ruling masses are with us. "We firmly believe that England will rise before long and put a straight jacket on the criminals who are oppressing the plots against the toiling masses of Russia."

BANKETS TO LEND MILLIONS TO KOLCHAK

Fifty million dollars or thereabouts are to be lent to Kolchak by the American government. The American government is a story in the financial page of the New York Times. Five million dollars, however, must be deposited

COAL STRIKE SPREADS

(Continued from Page 1)
That the order will restrain the men from receiving strike benefits does not seem to alarm the leaders very much. They point to the coal strike of 1907, in which the recognition of the union was enforced, as the most effective strike ever participated in, though very little money was in the war chest at the time, and yet the men stayed out for three months and won the strike.

By far the most important developments thus far in the strike situation, aside from the general walk-out of union and non-union miners, is the massing of troops by the Government under the command of General Leonard Wood in all of the mining districts affected by the walk-out.

According to the Times the plans for guarding non-union mines and workers as well as union properties in which the miners show a desire to resume work are ready to be put into execution at a moment's notice.

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There are the approximate figures given out by the miners' officials as to the number of miners out in the various states:

Arkansas	4,000
Colorado	5,000
Illinois	80,000
Indiana	25,000
Iowa	11,000
Kansas	12,000
Kentucky	20,000
Maryland	2,000
Michigan	3,000
Mississippi	2,000
Montana	5,000
New Mexico	5,000
North Dakota	3,000
Ohio	56,000
Oklahoma	6,000
Pennsylvania	100,000
Tennessee	3,000
Utah	2,000
Washington	6,000
West Virginia	50,000
Wyoming	8,000
Texas	3,000

This does not include Alabama and Virginia and the Southern coal fields where practically all the men are out, but no figures are obtainable at present.

Coal miners' officials to be held for contempt of court if they disobey "injunction," press and word, contempt.

A Hong Kong bank as collateral by the Greek Government. And the security must be in gold bullion. Some change! Some story!

BERLIN REPOSES TO BLOCKADE RUSSIA

American Firm Is Ran Blockade

The Allies have sent a note to Berlin, which they claim to have sent also to all neutral governments, demanding that the governments blockade Russia. The Kaas-Zeitung, a reactionary German paper, states that it has learned from official sources that the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Ebert Government has decided to notify the Allies that it will not participate in the blockade.

An American firm asked the American State Department whether we were at war with Bolshevik Russia. They were told that we were not, but that the Bolsheviks were too unreliable to be trusted and extended credit.

This firm has decided to test the illegal practical blockade by England. To do this it has selected one of its ships that is already in Sweden, where it brought a cargo. This ship is to take on a cargo of condensed milk and tinned treats at Stockholm, and proceed with it under an American flag to Soviet Russia. There it will take a consignment of some sort of goods, probably from the American firm. The firm believes England will dare to seize a ship flying an American flag.

THE STAR IN THE EAST

By M. Phillips Price

The second Hungarian revolution might at first glance seem to be the first gust of the approaching European tornado. Only the narrow strip of social combustibles in Eastern Galicia now still separates the Ukrainian revolutionists from their Hungarian comrades. From the Danube to the plains of Northern Italy the distance is very short. Anything happening in one of these regions would appear to be not without influence in the other. The installation of revolutionary committees among the Don Cossacks and the flight of certain notorious reactionary generals who have lived alternately on the treasury of Kolchak and the Allies show that the wave of liberation is already reaching out toward the further East.

On the other hand, we hear of mysterious negotiations proceeding outside of Russia between the Soviet Government and the Western Allies. We even hear some talk of payment of the war debt from the Czarist period, of concessions to capitalist enterprises for exploiting the sacred territory of the Soviet Government, and concerning also other internal economic questions in Russia. Free purchase and sale of a number of goods that until recently were on the monopoly list of the state are now permitted. Does all this mean a reaction in Moscow? Has the social revolution in Russia sold out to the foreign imperialists while it is advancing victoriously in the Ukraine, the Don, Galicia and Hungary? It would appear at first sight as if the claims of certain superficial scribes in the capitalist press might have a basis of reason; for it is not inconceivable that the Russian revolution should resemble a prairie fire dying out in the center where it took its origin while it continues the blaze at the edges.

But parallels of this sort are dangerous, for it is possible for the hostile critics to say that in the center where the fire has burned out the young grass will grow more sweetly and more freshly than at the spots where the old course and withered weeds still cover the ground.

The fate of the Russian revolution was necessarily first linked up with similar movements in the rest of Europe. When the revolutionary committee of the ruins of the Kerzasky Provisional Government took power in Petrograd, in November, 1917, in the name of the Russian workers and peasants, it showed a proclamation to the workers of all lands exhorting them to follow the example of the Russian proletariat. I well remember hearing Lenin in the Petrograd Soviet on the same evening exhort the German workers to recall that they had given to the world the greatest proletarian leader. I heard him remind the French workers that their fathers had been the first to put into practice in 1871 the teachings of Karl Marx. I heard him also remind the British workers that their grandfathers had created the first trade-unions, and that their fathers had drawn up the Chartist manifesto. There was no doubt whatever that the revolutionary leaders from the very outset were fully aware how indissolubly their fate was linked with that of western Europe.

I grant that in my eyes the adventure on the shores of the Sea seemed a bold game. Who would have thought at that moment that within a few months the crowns of the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs would have fallen and that the peoples of Central Europe would be involved in a bloody class war? But Lenin knew that there were forces in Europe that were destined to undermine the old social order. He knew also of the difficulties which the working class would encounter in the execution of the new order. For when I spoke to him two months later he made no secret of his appreciation of the fact that the sole development of the social transformation in western Europe was one of the most significant obstacles to the Russian revolution since it isolated the latter and "blockaded" it economically.

Do You Want A 6-Page Weekly?

At the rate things are coming in, your paper will have to go back to 4 pages. Send in your contribution.

SPEED UP!

Help Build the Communist World.

It is not and probably never has been Lenin's policy to prescribe any specific form of government for any country. His answer to Bela Kun, Hungary's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, showed quite the contrary: that the Soviet Government is by no means anxious to undertake military alliances with another proletarian state until it is sure that the Soviet system in that state has been achieved as a natural development. All the elements supporting the dictatorship of the proletariat for nationalistic or chauvinistic reasons must be regarded with suspicion. No social revolution may be put through successfully unless the objective conditions which bring it about are fully matured in the country. This is the Bolshevik doctrine. In the interim, while the necessary conditions are maturing, the Soviet Government is therefore ready to open commercial relations with governments that are still in the hands of a clique of capitalists and men of finance. Does this mean that the Soviet Government will renounce its crusade against foreign imperialism? Will it stop its foreign agitation?

I maintain that the revolutionary propaganda against foreign governments by the Russian revolutionists has never been considered as anything else but a legal defensive weapon employed by a republic that has been wronged against foreign tyrants attacking its territory. The Soviet Government conducted a tremendous propaganda against the German Government under cover of the Brest-Litovsk peace. This was the most effective weapon against the Hohenzollern tyranny. It inaugurated a great propaganda against the Allied governments when the latter, after having rejected all peaceful offers, began to finance counter-revolutionary projects, to send out agents in order to blow up provision trains and railroad bridges, to land troops in order to attack the Republic, and again to install in all the places which they succeeded in occupying such governors as would return the estates and factories to the capitalists.

I maintain—and I am in a position to know—that if the British Government will withdraw its troops from Archangel, Siberia, and the coast of the Caspian and the Black seas, and will cease to support Czarist generals and other reactionaries by money and weapons, the propaganda among their troops will cease. If these troops are not withdrawn voluntarily they will be either driven out by force, or the British Tommy, who has suffered unspeakable misfortunes during the winter in Archangel and Siberia, will be persuaded by the written word to go to Moscow and find a home there, in which he can be a free citizen in a workers' republic. It is therefore clear that before economic relations can be opened between Soviet Russia and the British Government the latter must admit that military invasions in support of a tyranny, as was the practice in the case of the French revolution a hundred years ago, are a mistake. On its side the Soviet Government will cease its propaganda against the British Government.

But a promise to cease foreign propaganda does not mean that the Soviet Government relinquishes its faith in the world social revolution. It simply means that the necessity of realpolitik forces the leaders of the Russian revolution to take into consideration all the various economic, historical and geographical conditions in all of Europe. The history of the last six months must be understood as showing that the immediate erection of an unadulterated proletarian dictatorship with Soviets is only possible in the economically most backward parts of Europe. This claim might seem to be in contradiction to the Marxian theory that the social revolution can only come where capitalism has reached its most developed form.

But many things seem to point out that this teaching requires some modification. It is true that the working class in Western Europe constitute a larger per cent. of the population than in Eastern Europe, and one might therefore expect that those countries would be riper for the proletarian revolution than other countries. But, on the other hand, it is precisely where capitalism has reached its greatest height that the oppressing classes are strongest and best organized, and have held the power of the workers and held them down in spiritual thraldom by degrees of parasitism carried on through their press monopolies. In those countries the middle classes have also strengthened the political power of the agrarian aristocracy, have installed agriculture, and made petty peasants of landless serfs.

PRESIDENT WILSON STILL CARRYING ON HIS PRIVATE WARS IN EUROPE

Sends 5,000 Soldiers to Silesia—Ostensible Purpose to Guard Elections.

Five thousand American soldiers have been dispatched to Coblenz for service in Silesia, where Spartacian outbreaks are now occurring. It is understood that this makes up only a part of the 18,000 Allied troops destined for that district, the rest being recruited from the other Allies, presumably France and England.

Their ostensible mission is to insure an impartial plebiscite there to determine the future of Silesia. For this purpose the Allied council deemed it necessary to use 18,000 troops of which the American contingent is only a part.

Political experts are pointing out that troops intervening to safeguard elections (not to mention railroads, Checho-Slovaks, etc.) generally remain.

In Eastern Europe, in contrast to this situation, there are many factors which make the erection of a proletarian dictatorship much easier. To the East of a line drawn from the mouth of the Vistula, through Poland, Galicia, Hungary and Roumania, to the mouth of the Danube, the social conditions are such as to permit a Soviet system of government without an intermediary step. The population in these countries is thin, and the middle class element is insignificant, and this element has been corrupted by its connection with the feudal aristocracy. Consequently the middle class is incapable of resistance to the revolutionary pressure from below. The landless peasantry furthermore forms a united front together with the working class in the cities, in their demand that the agrarian and capitalist regime be overthrown, while the country communes, a remnant from the middle ages, can very easily be re-organized into modern peasant unions and socialist workers' colonies.

The Allied governments believe that by a military occupation of this strip of land they can prevent Bolshevism from spreading to Western Europe. They are like people who would put out a forest fire with a thimble-full of water. Their policy

mercenaries certainly cannot prevent Bolshevism from spreading westward across the "sauntery" cord. The war of Bolshevism can only be stopped when it encounters cliffs of a social structure sufficiently strong to offer resistance. In some of the western countries the possessing classes may be wise enough to recognize this condition and to install a form of state capitalism by adapting the Soviet system within the economic syndicates of the working class to their parliamentary order. They may in this way, at least for a time, save their incomes and their class privileges. If the phenomena of this type which the Russian leaders have in mind and are attempting to cope with, when they declare themselves ready to make a compromise with the class enemy and to enter business relations with the imperialistic governments of Western Europe. It is therefore a safe assumption that any concession which the Russian Soviet Government may make to the imperialistic governments of the world, in modification of its original revolutionary program, is a direct reflection of the obstacles which are met with in the realization of socialism in Western Europe.

The paying off of the Czarist loans in the form of mining and irrigation concessions in the Cral-Turkestan, and the Don regions, to the capitalists of London and Paris, does not mean that the Soviet Government has betrayed the Third International. It only means that they are trying to gain time for the working classes in the West and overcome the difficulties in their social environment and to erect their peculiar form of dictatorship of the proletariat. If the Soviet Government expresses its willingness to enter a League of Nations, this is only because it must recognize this League as a fact existing on earth, but it will recognize the League only so long as the time has not yet come for the working class of Western Europe to transform this oligarchy of bankers and generals into an international council of proletarian Soviets.

The star that rose in the East in March, 1917, is following its course. The winds will reach its light from time to time, but it always will continue to appear again until it has reached its destined height.

THE FALLACY OF DISARMAMENT

The French Right Wing Socialists are rejoicing in a great "victory." They introduced a "Socialist" measure which received the practically unanimous support of the capitalist representatives and even, it seems, of the Left Wing parliamentarians. It passed by a vote of 466 to 1. The measure which received such universal support provided for progressive reduction of armaments with a view to bringing about general disarmament.

The Socialists never stopped to wonder why they had received such unanimous support. Their press proclaimed a great triumph. Even Sylvia Pankhurst, who declares herself a Communist, fell for it and reported the "victory" in the Workers' Dreadnought.

To understand the defeat inherent in this victory is to understand the fundamental differences between moderate "Socialism" and Communism or revolutionary "Socialism."

To begin with, the measure betrays ignorance for it proposes the impossible. Capitalism can no more rid itself of militarism than it can of profits or unemployment.

Why is there militarism? Because Capitalism inevitably breeds wars. And this militarism is growing, and must continue to grow as long as Capitalism continues.

Because Capitalism is growing into imperialism, war becomes world war and militarism becomes world wide in scope. And because the epoch of imperialism is at the same time the epoch of the social revolution, as the class struggle grows sharper, the state becomes more and more openly and more and more exclusively an organ of repression so that ever larger armies are necessary to break strikers, to crush revolutions, until this function of the state becomes international and we get the league of nations organized on a world scale to crush the revolutions of the world.

Martial law in Gary, martial law in 30 mining states, martial law in French railroad strikes, troops in the long shore strikes, troops in Silesia, troops in North Russia, troops in South Russia, troops in Siberia, troops to prepare for war with England, troops in Mexico, Central and South America,—does this look like a gradual lessening of armament under capitalism until the effect has been eliminated without the cause and capitalism continues in its most decisive form and militarism disappears?

Then the pacifist is Utopian in that he is resolving the impossible. He is reactionary in that, in a time of an ever sharpening struggle and an ever growing militarism he is vainly sighing for the peaceful epoch of capitalism when wars were the exception.

When the leading commodities of the capitalist system were personal consumption commodities, such as textiles, it was not necessary to establish a protectorate over the Fiji Islands in order to export trousers to the Fiji Islanders. All that was necessary was to send out a few missionaries to teach the natives the immorality of nakedness and the holiness of wearing trousers. Then if you would take the trouble to send out a travelling salesman who could speak Fijian and could undersell your English or French competitor why, it mattered not so "protected" the island, you would get the trade. Hence colonialism was comparatively peaceful.

By near the beginning of the twentieth century, iron and steel became the leading commodities. In 1902 the billion dollar steel trust was organized. A falling rate of profit in developed countries (a phenomenon whose causes we need not go into here) led increasingly to the export of financial investment capital. And the expansion of industry made colonial mineral resources increasingly important.

Each of these phenomena made for a more warlike capitalism and a growing militarism. In order to export railroads (iron, steel and investment capital) instead of exporting trousers, it became necessary to establish a protectorate in the Fiji Islands. You had to have the permission of the tribal chieftain to use his land. As it takes a long time to develop industries and industrial centers they will make the railroad a paying proposition, the investment would be at a loss, unless a favorable chieftain could be found to subsidize the railroad by grants of land or mineral concessions. Now capitalist diplomacy began the fomenting of revolutions to upset unfavorable chieftains and replace them with favorably disposed ones. Hence mandates, spheres of influence, and ever-growing militarism and world wars.

Similarly if the capitalist wanted to exploit natural resources in the Fiji Islands he had to have a concession and government protection.

Of all this, the French Socialists proved their ignorance when they introduced a resolution so utopian and so harmless and impossible that every capitalist representative could vote for it.

But the resolution and pious wish expressed in it betrays more than mere ignorance, it betrays an abandonment of the revolutionary implications of the class struggle.

"A suppressed class that does not strive to acquire knowledge of arms, that does not possess and use arms, such an oppressed class invites being oppressed and enslaved." (Lenin.)

Indeed, it is one of the contradictions of the capitalist system that militarism must grow until capitalism, forced to fight international wars, is forced to place arms in the hands of the proletariat. An essential feature and safeguard of the class state throughout history has always been that an oppressed class is not permitted to bear arms, that the enforcing of "order" in the class struggle is the creation of an armed force under the control of the ruling class.

When the contradictions of the capitalist system forced the arming of the proletariat and the introduction of universal military training, then the death knell of capitalism was sounded. Then and then only when the proletariat is armed is a successful revolution possible.

It was the mutual arming of all the citizens of Paris that made possible the Paris Commune. It was the arming of the bourgeoisie national guard and the fraternization of that guard with the revolutionary populace that made the bourgeois revolution of 1848 possible. It was the arming of the workers and peasants of Russia during the world war that made the Russian revolution successful. Such a revolution is little more than a strike of the armed workers, a re-

TWO BOLSHEVIK PROCLAMATIONS

Soldiers of England:

Do the soldiers of Russia and the people of Russia want PEACE? It is positive that they do. Read the following facts, and you will yourselves see that they want PEACE—and quick, too.

William C. Bullitt, an American, who was sent by the Supreme Allied Council to Soviet Russia, came back with a peace-offer from the Soviet Government. Bullitt was a leading official in the American Peace Delegation, being appointed by President Wilson. When he returned with the offer of peace, you would imagine that he would receive some attention. But the peace-offer that he brought back was shelved; and in protest to this insult Mr. Bullitt resigned as a delegate to the "PEACE CONFERENCE." When Mr. Bullitt returned to Washington he completely exposed this insulting treatment, and showed before the Foreign Relation Committee of the American Senate how he personally had presented Mr. Lloyd George with a copy of his report and the Soviet terms of peace. This happened on the second day after his return to Paris. Mr. Bullitt has made the following statement to the Committee:

"I brought Mr. Lloyd George the official text of the peace proposal. He handed it to General Smuts, and said: 'General, this is of the greatest importance.' A week later he gave Parliament to understand that he knew nothing of the matter."

Soldiers of England, is this not a remarkable way of deceiving the public? The information of Mr. Bullitt is now official, and the Senators at Washington are deeply concerned about the matter.

The affair of Professor Goode, correspondent for the "Manchester Guardian," is equally remarkable. When he was in Russia he found the conditions there to be the "exact opposite" of what the anti-Bolsheviks state it to be. He, too, was the bearer of peace proposals to Eschschol and, moreover, the accredited messenger of a fresh proposal from the Soviet Government to the English. But before he could make the terms of the proposal public he was imprisoned on a washup.

The idea of keeping you here is dangerous to you and the whole of Europe. And no one who has watched the Peace Conference in Paris at work can doubt that unless it is forced into the making of a definite peace, it will drift back into indefinite and fruitless war.

From the ruin already wrought by rival Imperialisms on the continent of Europe we must again turn to the ruin which is being openly provoked in Russia by the tyranny of Winston Churchill, acting for the British Government. The hopelessness of continuing the policy of trying to impose upon Russia a form of government agreeable to the Allies is now so manifest that one can only wonder why the Western Governments do not frankly admit the folly of their policy and openly abandon it. The negotiations between the Bolsheviks and the Baltic states are still proceeding, and there appears to be reasonable hope that hostilities will soon come to an end.

Such a settlement will remove the last remaining possibility of Allied intervention in Russia and will make it impossible to overthrow the Soviet and re-establish the old Tsarist regime.

POPE'S PLATITUDES, No. 1. "Truth is only common-sense applied to spending"—Theodore Roosevelt.

Break the Blockade

fatal to shoot down strikers and demonstrators, a fraternization with and a joining with such demonstrators.

The pious wish for disarmament is utopian, pacifism is reactionary. In America the spirit of this demand was summed up in the song, popular with all classes, "I Didn't Raise My Boy to be a Soldier." The class-conscious working woman will never sing that song. To quote again from Lenin:

"What will the proletarian woman do against this development? condemn all wars and all militarism and demand disarmament? Never will the women of a revolutionary class accept such a compromise. On the contrary, they will urge their sons: 'You will soon be grown up and they will give you a rifle. Take it and qualify in all military knowledge,—that is necessary to the workers, not in order to shoot at your comrades, as you have been urged to do by the traitors of Socialism, but to put an end to exploitation and misery, not by pious wishes, but by overpowering and disarming the bourgeoisie.'"

"Those who refuse to carry on such a propaganda should be hard enough to stop talking in grandiose phrases about international revolutionary Socialism, about the Social Revolution, about war against war."

Soldiers of Britain:

The Trades Union Congress, representing more than 5 1/2 million workers of Great Britain, decided at Glasgow on September 13 that if the Government fails to withdraw all British troops from Russia and end conscription immediately, a special Congress of Trades Unions is to be called to decide what action shall be taken.

This ultimatum was sent to Winston Churchill and was introduced by J. H. Thomas. The Parliamentary Committee of the Congress has therefore asked and demanded the withdrawal of your soldiers from this God-forsaken land of ice.

The terms of the resolution of the Trades Union Congress were as follows:

"That this Congress in view of the general desire of the country and the repeated declaration of the Government prior to, during, and since the recent general elections, as reiterated in the deputation from the Parliamentary Committee which interviewed the Leader of the House of Commons, Mr. Bonar Law, on May 21 last, instructs the Parliamentary Committee to demand of the Government the repeal of the Conscription Acts and the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Russia, and failing this, demands that a special Trades Union Congress be called immediately to decide what action shall be taken."

Thus you see, soldiers of Britain, Organized Labor has issued an ultimatum. This means civil war if the Government does not change its policy and send you home.

If he is wise the Prime Minister will bow to the storm, and allow the British people to elect a Government worthy of the British race. The problems facing the Government cannot wait; Ireland under its despotic rule of Mr. Ian Macpherson is daily being driven into revolution, only to be crushed by British militarism; India is held down by a similar force, and daily the sons and brothers of British parents die, starve, and freeze to death for one purpose—the restoration of England.

There is one thing left for Mr. Lloyd George and his cabinet, and that is to get out. The whole country is sick and tired of the Government's make-believe and their betrayal of everything a country should stand for. During the entire history of Great Britain there has never been a Minister so devoid of honor, so incapable of getting the truth as is the Government of Lloyd George.

The by-elections have gone steadily against him and his Cabinet from the very beginning. On September 12th Arthur Henderson, labor leader, was returned from Widnes. This was the 41st by-election since Lloyd George's rule began, and each election has gone against him and his round table.

We implore you, soldiers of Britain, to be as and drive—give home. The government of lords is seeking under the heavy blows raised upon it—there must be no rest. Help us in this movement to save your lives and happiness, and the lives and happiness of millions of Russian working people. Keep up your support until the whole crowd of money bags now ruling in Westminster are swept from power.

Let Russia be for the Russians; let them settle their own government and national life. Soldiers of Britain, think again this—and act.

Speakers of counter-revolutionary lies we have quite a few in our own midst.

What one might call "cheap counter-revolutionists" whose program is "cheap milk," "cheap beer," "cheap rent."

fatal to shoot down strikers and demonstrators, a fraternization with and a joining with such demonstrators.

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MOSCOW SOVIET ELECTIONS

REPRINTS FROM PRAVDA

Pravda, April 29th, 1918. The first plenary session of the Moscow Soviet took place on April 23rd, there being present, according to the report of the Electoral Commission, out of a total of 803 deputies from 394 establishments, 733 deputies who had received deputies' tickets. They were made up as follows:

- Bolsheviks 354.
- Sympathizers 150.
- Mensheviks 73.
- Sympathizers 9.
- Left Social Revolutionists 40.
- Sympathizers 11.
- United Social Democrats 5.
- Independent Socialist Democrat 1.
- Centre Social Revolutionists 61.
- Right Social Revolutionists 5.
- Anarchists 5.
- Independents 9.

Notes. It will be observed that the workers are represented on the Soviet under the following heads:

1. AS CITIZENS OF THE SOVIET REPUBLIC.—The old system of territorial constituencies, of candidates nominated by a Central Daily organization, etc., is not suitable, since, in practice, it leads to disfranchisement of large sections of precisely that part of the community on which the Soviet Republic relies, i. e., the workers. Hence:

1. Whenever possible, the workers elect their deputies at the place where they are grouped for the day's work, and from amongst fellow-workers (like the shop stewards). Therefore, the bulk of the deputies come from workshops, factories, large stores, railway and other depots, large educational and other institutions (teaching and cleaning staff), etc. etc. In the particular case of Moscow, the capital city of the Republic, the large staffs of Government employees are represented.

2. Where the nature of the daily occupation prevents "workshop" representation, the workers elect their deputies at a general meeting, in working hours, of the local or central branch of their industrial organization. This applies to ribbon-makers (working at their houses), tea-shops, restaurant workers, scattered distributive trades (shop assistants, carriers, etc.), domestic servants, electrical engineers, etc., etc.

3. The general meeting of the Soviet takes place once or twice a week, the work in the intervals being carried out by an elected and salaried Executive Committee. The vast majority of the deputies, therefore, continue their ordinary occupation

among their fellow-workers for the greater part of the time. Thus they are kept constantly in touch with their comrades in the factories and shops, and can pass on their instructions to the full-time workers of the Executive Committee at the weekly or monthly general meetings. In this way the growth of the professional politician type is killed at the very outset. The same end is reached by making all delegates revocable and replaceable at any time. (The Soviet is elected for three months.)

II.—IN THEIR SPECIAL ECONOMIC CAPACITY, i. e., AS PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS.—Under this heading come the Trade Union and the Trades' Councils' representatives. These, together with technical specialists and certain other members elected by the general body of the Soviet, constitute, in addition, the Economic Section—a sub-committee to be found in every local Soviet, town or country, and linked up with the Supreme Economic Council of the Republic. While the general body of the Soviet and the Executive Committee retain control over the broad lines of economic policy, it is obviously advantageous at the time of transition to have the details of the policy also controlled by workers represented in this special way. The benefit reaped far outweighs the consideration that the workers are sometimes represented for a certain specific purpose, twice over—or possibly even three times.

III.—IN PROPORTION TO THEIR SOCIALIST CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS, i. e., through the political parties. While the proportion of such representatives to the number of direct workshop deputies is infinitesimally small, the admission of political leaders, who, moreover, may be engaged in public service or possess special knowledge, to the Soviets is obviously a necessity for the time of reconstruction and transition.

IV.—IN THEIR CORPORATE CAPACITY AS LOCAL OR SECTIONAL SOVIETS, i. e., by the representation of each ward Soviet on the general Soviet of the town. This election took place in April, 1918—before the adoption of the Soviet Constitution on July 10th of that year, which practically adopted the Moscow type as the standard town Soviet (with minor alterations). Modifications since then can probably be ascribed to one of two causes:

- 1. The reorganization of industry.
- 2. The admission of deputies from battalions, squadrons, batteries and depots of the Red Army.

the Japanese workers have awakened and since August, 1918, the month of great food riots all over the country, they are revolting against the ruling classes in strikes and mass movements.

The latest development of our workers' tactics in fighting the greedy employers is something very interesting. They wisely adopted sabotage, a passive form of sabotage which has been proving a great success. A recent successful fight of this sort was conducted by 15,000 workers at the Nawasaki shipyard, Kobe. The method they adopted was sabotage for ten days.

Every worker reported at the ship yard as usual, all 15,000 getting wages, of course, but actually producing nothing! Thus they earned not only wages, but also an 8-hour day with no hours' pay and an increase.

Sabotage has now become a vogue in Japan! It is also reported that some Japanese soldiers have joined the Bolsheviks in Siberia and much Bolshevik propaganda is going on there and also in Japan.

The latter is carried on by the returning soldiers from Siberia, Japanese comrades with underground literature and some Russian Bolsheviks in Japan.

It is also reported that the Korean uprising of last spring was the direct result of propaganda of the Bolsheviks.

These and many other happenings in Japan are the direct influence of the Russian Soviet system and so we send the warmest greetings and congratulations to the Russian Soviet Republic.

Long live the Russian Soviet Republic! S. Nonaka, Ueno, Taguchi, Seno, Katayama. The committee of the Japanese Communist Group in America.

RUSSIA'S RED ARMY

Interviews with Red Guard Experts

STATEMENT OF MEZHLAUK, HEAD OF THE SUPPLY DEPARTMENT

At the present time,—said Comrade Mezhlauk,—a general reorganization of the supply department is going on. The method of supply, which existed until now, copied from the former supply department of the old Czarist army proved to be absolutely incompetent under the present conditions. The employees of former times, members of the old intelligentsia, were absolutely uninterested in the conditions under which the property of the country was ruined by the four-year imperialistic war.

In November of last year it became clear that such a system of supply was absolutely inefficient. It became clear that the heads of the departments gave orders for things about which they had not the least idea. When Comrade Trotsky investigated the front he found out, by the way, that certain departments never received the supplies meant for them by the General Supply Department. This may be explained by the fact that the chiefs of the supply department kept the old system and form of supply, and made all reckoning and results with the belief that we had plenty of everything.

With my taking over the duties of the Chief of the Supply Department of the Red Army the old system was changed to the roots. First of all, a special investigation department was organized which was responsible not only for the correct division, but for the actual dispatch of the supplies to the point for which they were intended.

Besides this the strictest measures were taken in the fight with the bureaucratic staff, in the offices of the department, which hindered the business of supplies.

When it was found that the orders not fulfilled, for instance, in Moscow, were caused by the lack of a sufficient number of help, then a division of 250 people was organized from the employees of the office, and pointed to the supply houses, who busied themselves with the packing and shipping.

But not only the insufficiency of workers prevented promptness of delivery of military shipments to their places of destination. It was proven that the principal reason for the failure of the supply apparatus to work was the absence of proper communication between the officers and the other departments. Now came the opportunity of making close connections with the Commissariat of Communication, the Soviet of Peoples' Economy, Peoples' Commissariat of Supplies, etc., in order to work out a basic plan of communication.

Due to the organization of efficiency in the work of the office of the department we were successful in decreasing to a great extent the period of communication of all sorts of orders from the different fronts and from local places. Now all papers received at the Central Office must be looked over inside of five days. If for some reason orders are detained the office or the employer who detained this order is notified. The good results obtained by efficiency in the office routine are of course, the prodigal in the work of liquidation of bureaucracy in Soviet institutions.

But the most important of all, of course, is the general reorganization of the method of supply. Until now complete chaos reigned in the business of finding out the correct inventory of household resources of the land and the exact demands of the country, in these resources:

(A paragraph is omitted here on account of inability to read the red-headed words.)

At the present time the quota of those who are to be supplied is taken periodically. Then the military statistics were reorganized. For this work a Bureau of Statistics is organized at the Central Office, which will work out all material concerning the supply and a general method of control.

Our motto is the real plan of supply which will coincide with the practical demand of the Red Army. We are quite certain that with sincere work the Red Army will get all that it needs.

BREAK THE BLOCKADE.

A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF V. E. ULYIANOV (N. LENINE)

Translated from the Russian by R. DANCHIG.

The name of Comrade Lenine has become widely known throughout the world. Some pronounce his name with bitter anguish, others with great love and affection. Generally speaking, an indifferent attitude toward Lenine does not exist. He is cordially hated by his enemies and held in great esteem by his followers.

His Origin. Nicolai Lenine, whose real name is Vladimir Ielitch Ulyianov, was born in Simbursk, April 10, 1870. His father, a noble by birth, served in that city (Simbursk) as a director of the public schools, and was held in great esteem by the teachers of the city as well as of the province. Vladimir Ielitch (N. Lenine) was a very brilliant student at high school, especially distinguished by his compositions, which attracted the attention of his teachers. They had already, at that time, predicted that young Lenine would in the future become a great writer. In 1887, while Lenine was in his last year at high school, his brother, Alexander Ulyianov, was hanged in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) for an attempt at assassination of Czar Alexander III. The impression left on Lenine by the tragedy of his brother was like a bloody christening for the revolutionary work to which he had already dedicated his life.

His Student Years. Upon graduating high school N. Lenine entered the law faculty of the University of Kazan, the capital universities being inaccessible to him as it was his brother. Lenine's stay at the university proved to be very brief; he was arrested for active participation in the students' revolutionary movement, and was summarily expelled. Only four years later was he able to take his examination. However, these four years were not lost by any means for Nicolai Lenine. Thanks to his tremendous will power, he applied himself to his studies, preparing himself thereby for the revolutionary work with which he has since become identified so prominently. It was in that period of his life that he first made efforts to get in touch with the revolutionary youth of Russia.

Revolutionary Work. Soon after Lenine graduated from the university he went to Petrograd, and since then his whole life has been devoted to revolutionary activity. In Petrograd a Union for the Liberation of the Working Class was formed, which directed the activities of the newly-born working class movement of Russia. This Union carried on an active agitation and propaganda, and its members soon became entangled in the net of the Czar's secret agents; many of them were arrested and sent to jail, others among them were exiled to Siberia. Lenine himself was among those who were exiled to Siberia. During his three years there he wrote several books on economic and political subjects, the most important one being "The Development of Capitalism in Russia."

Activities of the "Iskra" Abroad. Soon after Lenine returned from exile he went abroad where, together with Martov, Potrivov, and other members of the group of "Liberation of Labor," he began to edit the revolutionary organ "Iskra." The function of "Iskra" was to unify the revolutionary Social-Democratic forces, and to direct the struggles of the working class on the political and economic fields. "Iskra" fulfilled its task. No paper played such an important part in the revolutionary movement in Russia as did "Iskra," which was smuggled into Russia and distributed secretly among the workers who eagerly awaited its appearance and fairly favored its contents. From the time "Iskra" appeared on the scene, the centre of the party activities and its directing force was transferred abroad; all the "illegal" literature for consumption in Russia was printed abroad, all conventions were held abroad, all conferences were held abroad, all instructions, all decrees were issued from abroad. And Lenine was always in the very heart of all these activities. People close to him always wondered how little attention he paid to his personal needs, and marveled at the superhuman energy with which he carried on his work.

The First Revolution. In 1905 Lenine returned to Russia for a short time, but he could only remain in Petrograd for one day, and that had to be in disguise, after which he was forced to hide himself, first in Petrograd and then in Finland. The triumph of the counter-revolution compelled him to abandon Russia entirely for the time, barely escaping because of the close watch kept upon him by the Czar's spies.

Abroad Again. Again the long years of wandering began, with all its torment of privation, hunger and want, hounded by police spies, driven from one hiding place to another, torn from family and friends, and through it all keeping up his incessant study and writing. Notwithstanding all this he continued his indefatigable efforts on behalf of the working class. In those years of exile Lenine wrote many pamphlets and was a constant contributor to all "legal" and "illegal" periodicals. Most of his articles appeared in print without his name or under the name of Teln, Ulyianov, etc. That was the time of severe persecution and prosecution, and one name of a well-known revolutionist was enough to end the appearance of any paper in which it was published and cause the arrest and banishment of the publishers and editors. All the party workers knew Vladimir E. Ulyianov by the name of Lenine, by which name he finally became known to the whole world. In 1912 Lenine went to Geneva, in order to be nearer to Russia and have an opportunity to work for the "Pravda," the leading organ of the Bolsheviks.

Lenine's Views. Lenine's views have always stamped him as an implacable follower of Marx, and he always fought and fought bitterly those staid, hesitating elements which inclined to compromises with the bourgeoisie. And he knew how to rally the masses around him with his powerful fighting slogans. Those same slogans eventually won the revolution in 1917 by furnishing the masses with the necessary spiritual weapons.

IN THE POLITICAL CINEMATOGRAPH

By Nicholas J. Hourwich.

If you have carefully watched the newspapers' stories and lies which during the last two years filled the pages of the bourgeois papers under the title of "Truthful News from Russia," a moment comes when it seems to you that you are in a moving picture show. A bright, loudly printed ribbon moves before your eyes, made especially rich and limitless fantastic pictures and scenes from Russian events which never took place, and often even absurd and impossible. You see red terror bombs, executions of well-known "opposition" leaders, the martyr death of Brashkovsky, the imprisonment of Maxim Gorki,—and finally mutual murders and imprisonment of Soviet leaders who cannot agree among themselves—all this with kaleidoscopic rapidity changes before your eyes.

You are shocked. You are stunned. You do not know whether to believe or not to believe. You commence to rub your eyes in order to make sure you are really awake. There are moments when under the experienced direction of the manager, the artificial truth and the dishonesty of the surroundings, the motions and realistic acting of the actors form the illusion, ready to fool the vigilance and the suspicion of even the most skeptical of onlookers. There are moments when you are almost prepared to believe one or the other artistically invented reports. . . . But here,—another sign of the ribbon and it seems to you that you have already seen this picture. A moment of indecision—and the doubt is replaced by assurance: Why, yes! Of course! Again the fall of the Soviet Government, and in a few days a new decree signed by Lenine and Trotsky; again the death and the resurrection of Brashkovsky; Lenine and others; again Lenine wants to arrest Trotsky and instead is in-

pressed by order of Trotsky,—and on the very day again Lenine, as if nothing had happened (from prison, we should think), issues a new decree. . . . No,—there can be no further doubts. You have seen these events already. You are in a moving picture theatre which gives the so-called "continuous performance." The moving ribbon of pictures has come to an end, and is again being shown from the beginning. . . . If you do not like it or are tired of looking,—you may leave. The second performance is intended for the simple people who have not yet seen enough of it.

One of these old "cinematograph ribbons" (pulled out from the dust of the archives of oblivion, and continuing on the forgetfulness of the audience to fall into the sensational trap) is the late "Telegram from Russia," the report for the thousand and first time of the "inevitable fall" of the Soviet Government and of the arrest of Lenine by Trotsky. This time the correspondent of leisurely life has exaggerated and was in too much of a hurry with his "news"; we did not yet have a chance to forget the report of the newspapers only a few months ago,—an analogous report, according to which Lenine, under the same circumstances, had once before been arrested by Trotsky.

PRINCE KROPOTKIN SPEAKS OUT. "It may be imagined that in striving Koltchak and Denikin you are supporting a Liberal and Republican Party, but that is a mistake. However worthy the personal intentions of these two military leaders, the majority of their supporters have other views. IT IS INEVITABLE THAT THEY SHOULD BRING BACK THE MONARCHY, and with it the reaction and rivers of blood!"

At Last in Russia. With the first news of the triumph of the workers of Petrograd, Lenine was drawn to Russia to take an active part in the developments and have an opportunity to guide them. The very first day of his arrival, in the speech before the conference of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolshevik Party, it was felt that a great leader had appeared, one who would not lay down arms, nor content himself with half-measures, but would continue the fight until the final defeat of victory for the working class were realized. Many new problems were created by his speech among those present, who heard the ringing slogan of "ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!"

Lenine's Enemies. A furious howling and buzzing went up from the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois who were then in the majority. The Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionists began to persuade the masses that Lenine's activities might do anything serious because the revolution could not triumph over the bourgeoisie. They babble to the masses that Lenine was an insignificant, ignorant charlatan, and that his talk of "All Power to the Soviets" was nothing but the dream of a lunatic. But time proved who was right and who was wrong.

How did the capitalist and bourgeois press take Lenine? They felt at once that they had to deal with an enemy, powerful, implacable and uncompromising. They opened a campaign of slander against him in the most shameless manner. Their chief weapon was the lie that he was in the pay of the Germans. They had no other weapons. It is significant that this slander emanated from the very ones who only recently sought the aid of the Germans to fight the revolution. The leaders of that period, the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionists at the request of the bourgeoisie began to arrest and imprison the main leaders of the Bolsheviks—Trotsky, Lunacharsky, Kameney, Katsenblat, etc. An order was issued to arrest the much-hated and feared Lenine, but the revolutionary workers of Petrograd took upon themselves the protection of Lenine, and Kameney—in spite of all his efforts—did not succeed in catching him. Lenine was in Petrograd, and every step of the revolution was considered in counsel with him. The outbreak of the October revolution swept away the last vestige of power from the bourgeoisie, and centered it all in the hand of the workers, soldiers, and poorer peasants through the Soviets. And when the question arose as to who should lead the new Workers' and Peasants' Government, the name of that indelible comrade and martyr of their cause, Vladimir Ielitch Ulyianov—Lenine was proclaimed unanimously. The erstwhile exile, who lived in hiding, wandering from place to place with a price on his head, was placed in the most honored but difficult post, the head of the Workers' and Peasants' Government—faced with the most arduous of difficulties, beset by the most adverse and discouraging circumstances and dangers—but he never allowed himself to be discouraged, never permitted himself to fire or grow weary, but always and ever strove to achieve his aims. And today the Federated Socialist Soviet Republic of Russia stands firm and unshakable against the combined onslaught of traitors within and enemies without, a glorious monument to the incomparable courage, sublime faith, and brilliant intellect of the most gifted and best beloved man in the world—Vladimir Ielitch Ulyianov, otherwise known as Nicolai Lenine, Premier of the first Workers' Republic of the world.

PARTY NEWS

BY-LAWS OF LOCAL GREATER NEW YORK, COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

(Continued from last week.)

(c) Further provided that one month before the expiration of the term of the treasurer and executive secretary that a committee of three be appointed to go over the books and report to the City Central Committee.

ARTICLE IX.

Recording Secretary.

Section 1. (a) Keep a correct record of the proceedings of the City Central Committee.

(b) Furnish accurate reports of the City Central Committee's meetings, to all Communist Party papers of Greater New York and all branches.

ARTICLE X

Sergeant-At-Arms.

Section 1. The Sergeant-at-Arms shall (a) Provide seats for visiting members in the rear of the meeting hall, separated from those occupied by the delegates.

(b) Require of all delegates and visiting members their membership cards. (c) Use his efforts in preserving decorum and good order at the meeting. (d) He shall take a record of attendance of the delegates and submit same to the executive secretary.

ARTICLE XI.

Branches or Sub-Divisions.

Section 1. The branches or sub-divisions of the local shall be organized on the basis of assembly districts. The City Central Committee may combine two or more assembly districts into one branch.

Section 2. Separate language branches may be formed whenever necessary among those members desiring to transact their business in a language other than English, in accordance with the provisions of the National constitution.

(b) But no more than one branch in any one language shall exist in any one assembly district.

(c) Language branches shall in all party matters co-operate with the English-speaking branches in their territory and shall in every respect be subject to the jurisdiction and decisions of the local in accordance with the provisions of the National constitution.

Section 3. It shall be the duty of every officer of the branch to transmit promptly to his branch all official communications sent him by the executive secretary or any officer of the Party for that purpose.

Section 4. A member in good standing of one branch shall have the right to attend and speak at any meeting of another branch, but shall not be allowed to vote.

ARTICLE XII.

Duties of Branches.

Section 1. The branches shall meet at least once a week.

Section 2. The regular order of business for the branch meetings shall be: Election of chairman; reading of the minutes; proposal of new members; admission of new members; payment of dues; communications; bills; reports of the executive committee; reports of the delegates to the City Central Committee; reports of committees and special delegates; unfinished business; roll call of members; new business; good and welfare.

Section 3. The branches may fix such special orders of business as they may find necessary from time to time.

Section 4. The branches shall elect their officers, delegates and standing committees, at their second regular meetings in December and June.

Section 5. Every branch shall elect from its members the following officers, delegates, and such standing committees as the branch may desire to have:

- (a) An Organizer.
- (b) A Financial Secretary.
- (c) A Recording Secretary.
- (d) A Treasurer.
- (e) Delegates to the Central Committee.

(f) An Auditing Committee of Three Members, and at least the following committees: An Executive Committee; a Membership Committee; a Committee on Education; and a Committee on Propaganda.

Section 6. No member can be an officer of a branch who has not been a member of the Party for at least six months.

Section 7. The result of every election within a branch shall be sent immediately, and a list of all members in arrears, suspensions, and change of address, at least once a month, to the executive secretary of the local.

Section 8. The branches shall submit to their membership for a vote all propositions referred by the executive committee for a general vote.

Section 9. The branches shall purchase their dues stamps from the executive secretary of the local except Federation branches which shall be subject to the provisions of the National constitution.

Section 10. It shall submit in the months of July and January a report of its financial condition, such report to contain the names, addresses,

and such other information as the printed forms furnished by the executive committee may require, and that no delegate to the City Central Committee be seated until such report has been filed.

Section 11. No branch shall be dissolved without the consent of the City Central Committee.

Section 12. In case of the dissolution of any branch, all the property belonging to same, shall be turned over to the executive committee of the local.

Executive Committee.

Section 13. (a) The executive committee of the branch shall consist of not less than three members elected by the branch.

(b) The executive committee shall perform the routine work of the branch subject to the approval of the branch meetings.

Membership Committee.

Section 14. (a) It shall be the duty of the membership committee to increase and consolidate the membership, by calling upon delinquent and indifferent members and by holding organization meetings at regular intervals. (b) It shall elect a permanent secretary who shall supervise the activities of the committee and keep an accurate record of the work done.

ARTICLE XIII.

Dues.

Section 1. Each applicant for membership shall pay an initiation fee of fifty cents which shall be receipted for by an initiation stamp furnished by the National organization. The fifty cents shall be divided equally between the branch and the City Central Committee.

Section 2. Each member shall pay forty cents a month for dues.

Section 3. Branches of language federations shall purchase their dues stamps through their federations.

Section 4. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases the Special Assessments Stamps levied by the National, State and Local Organizations. (Federation members must purchase assessment stamps levied by the federations, and shall not be considered in good standing unless they purchase same.)

Section 5. Husband and wife belonging to the same branch may purchase dual stamps which shall be sold at the same rate as the regular stamps. Special assessment stamps must be bought by both husband and wife.

Section 6. Members unable to pay dues on account of unemployment, strike, sickness or for similar reasons, shall upon application to the financial secretary of the branch be furnished with exempt stamps in accordance with the provisions of the National constitution.

Section 7. Members who are three months in arrears in payment of their dues shall cease to be members in good standing of the Party. Members who are six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls. No member shall pay dues in advance for a period of more than three months.

ARTICLE XIV.

Membership.

Section 1. Any person who accepts the principles and tactics of the Communist Party and the Communist International and agrees to engage actively in the work of the Party, shall be eligible for membership. It is the aim of the Communist Party to have in its ranks only those who engage in its work actively.

Section 2. Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows:

"The undersigned, after having read the constitution and program of the Communist Party, declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of the Party, and the Communist International, agrees to submit to the discipline of the Party as stated in its constitution, and pledges himself to engage actively in its work."

Section 3. Every member must join a duly constituted branch of the Party. There shall be no members at large.

Section 4. All application cards must be endorsed by two persons who have been members for no less than three months.

Section 5. Application for membership shall not be finally acted upon until two months after presentation to the branch, and in the meantime applicants must pay initiation fee and dues and shall attend meetings and classes. They shall have a voice but no vote. Provided that this rule shall not apply to charter members of new branches nor to members who make application to newly organized branches during the first month.

Section 6. No person who is a member nor suspected of any other political organization shall be admitted to membership.

Section 7. No person who has an entire livelihood from rent, interest or profit shall be eligible to membership in the Communist Party.

Section 8. No person shall be accepted who enters into the service of the National, State, or Local Governmental bodies otherwise than through the Civil Service or by legal compulsion. Provided that the civil employment by the Government is of a non-political character.

Section 9. No member of the Communist Party shall contribute articles or editorials of a political or economic character to publications other than those of the Communist Party or parties affiliated with the Third International. (This clause shall not be considered as prohibiting the contribution of articles written from an

economic and scientific standpoint to scientific and professional journals. Permission to answer attack upon the Communist Party in the bourgeois press may be granted by the National Central Committee.)

ARTICLE XV.

Charges.

Section 1. Charges against a member of the local must be made in writing and signed either by the individual making the charges, the branch, or the executive secretary on behalf of the City Central Committee.

Section 2. All such charges shall be referred immediately to a grievance committee elected for that particular case and report back at the next central committee meeting.

Section 3. Charges shall not be debated until the grievance committee has thoroughly investigated the case and reported to the Central Committee.

Section 4. A two-thirds vote of the delegates to the City Central Committee present and voting shall be required to expel a member of the local a majority shall be sufficient to suspend or censure.

Section 5. A member of the local shall not be suspended for a longer period than six months.

Section 6. An expelled member may appeal within one month to the State Committee, but he shall not enjoy the privileges of membership pending the appeal.

ARTICLE XVI.

Balloting.

Section 1. Delegates to the State Convention shall be elected in the following manner:

(a) Nominations shall be made by the Central Committee.

(b) Elections shall be held at a special central committee meeting held for that purpose, and the branches shall be notified.

Section 2. In case of referendums (subject to the provisions of the National constitution) the executive committee, with the approval of the central committee, may order the vote to be taken by individual ballot in which case it shall be so directed in the letter to the subdivision accompanying ballots for use on such referendum.

ARTICLE XVII.

General Membership Meeting.

Section 1. General membership meetings may be called by the Central Committee whenever it deems it necessary.

Section 2. The executive secretary of the local shall notify all good standing members of the local whenever a membership meeting is to be called, stating time, place, and order of the day for which such meeting is called. Such notice to be posted in the Party press.

Section 3. Only members in good standing shall be allowed to vote.

Section 4. General membership meetings shall act only on subjects that are mentioned in the call for such meetings.

Section 5. If a quorum is present, all action of such general membership meetings shall be binding upon the local and its officers and committees.

Section 6. The presence of one-tenth of the membership of the local in good standing shall constitute a quorum. All actions of meetings where there is no quorum shall be referred back to the City Central Committee for final decision.

Section 7. The membership of the local shall be determined from its last semi-annual membership report.

Section 8. If no quorum is present at a general membership meeting, the meeting may be adjourned to a later date and the order of business before it, but in that case its decision shall have no binding force and shall be regarded merely in the nature of recommendations.

ARTICLE XVIII.

Amendments.

Section 1. The by-laws of Local Greater New York shall be in force for a period of three months.

Section 2. Between these periods the by-laws may be amended in the following manner: By a two-third vote of the City Central Committee.

Section 3. The periodic revision of the by-laws shall come before the City Central Committee.

ARTICLE XIX.

Miscellaneous Regulations.

Section 1. None but party members shall speak for or represent the Party.

Section 2. A member ex-officio of a committee shall have a voice but no vote, in the sessions of such committee.

Section 3. The officers of Local Greater New York shall be elected for a period of six months.

Section 4. Any member of the local in good standing is eligible to all offices and the committees of the local, whether he is a delegate to the City Central Committee or not, provided the special requirements of these by-laws are complied with.

Section 5. Any member of a committee, officer, or delegate at any time be withdrawn by the body that had elected him.

PROGRAM OF THE Y.P.S.L. OF NEW YORK

Adopted at the New York State Convention, October 12-13, 1919.

The historical world situation today presents a complete schism between the old and new. It marks the culmination of the struggle of the proletariat against the capitalist system in all its ramifications. The issue is clear. On the one hand Imperialism, the final stage of Capitalism, with its parliamentary state, its nationalism, its wars, its oppression and its suffering. On the other, the working class, struggling to capture the state power and to end the present system—based on the exploitation of the working class—through the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

But the thoughts of the past generations weigh upon the present like a mountain. The old shades of liberalism, and Bourgeois democracy, of "justice" and "progress," continue to bedevil the issues of the present Patriotism and nationalism, deeply ingrained into the psychology of childhood, still haunt the ideas of the adult. And the moderate socialists, brought up among these decadent ideas, could not meet the relentless historical issues. They failed, in the acid test of the crisis. When the war came they broke down, and betrayed the interest of the working class.

"But the world do move!" The struggle of the working class continued. The stress and suffering of war made revolution inevitable. And revolution came! Revolution in Russia, revolution in Germany, revolution in Hungary, revolution in Austria, in Italy, revolutions everywhere. Even the East has not escaped the revolutionary fashion. The surging tide of revolt swept the entire world. Out of the confusion that followed the Great Betrayal came the clear conception of the historical issue.

The socialists who escaped this wave of reaction, learned their lesson. No more compromising with the capitalist state. No more tampering with bourgeois liberty and democracy. Only the clear-cut struggle of the working class against Capitalism. Only the conquest of power by the working class. Only the abolition of the capitalist system and the instituting of Communism, through the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The Bolsheviks in Russia, the Spartacists in Germany, the Communists in Hungary, the revolutionary socialists everywhere, assumed leadership of the revolt and gave it a clear-cut, class-conscious character. At Moscow they came together, and formed the Third Communist International.

As opposed to them, the Socialists of the old order, the social patriots and compromisers, have met at an International Conference at Berne. There they have completed the betrayal of the working class. In the world wide division of the Socialist movement into moderate Socialism and Communism, or revolutionary socialism, the Young People's Socialist Leagues everywhere have taken their place with the Communists. They have fought side by side with the Bolsheviks in Russia, with Spartacists in Germany, and with the Communists throughout the world. In Europe they have sacrificed all, even to their very life's blood.

We in the United States, while we are not as yet in a position to fight in the actual revolution, have nevertheless an important historical mission. It is for us to bring the young people of America together and to educate and prepare them so that they may be able to take up the battles of the proletariat. We must see to it that the education they get and the psychology they develop is absolutely free from the ghost of the old moderate Socialist ideas that had made the Great Betrayal possible. It is the youth of to-day that to-morrow will face the final conflict. The coming proletarian Revolution will rest upon them.

A Soldier's Letter.
In giving vent to his feelings on his discharge, an old soldier wrote to his late colonel: "Sir, — After what I have suffered, you can tell the Army to go to hell!"

In due course he received the following: "Sir — Any suggestions or inquiries as to movements of troops must be entered on Army Form 123 YZY, a copy of which I enclose." — This from the Eye News, England.

Section 6. No branch or sub-division of the Party shall enter into any compromise or co-operate with any other political organization or party. No candidate of the Party for public office shall accept any nomination or endorsement from any other political organization or party, or permit such endorsement to stand without public notice of protest, otherwise his nomination must be withdrawn at once.

Section 7. Whenever candidates are not placed on the ballot by the Communist Party, the members of the Party shall refrain from voting.

Section 8. In case of conflict between any clauses of these by-laws and the National State Constitution it shall be deemed void, and the National or State Constitution shall take precedence.

BRANCH MEETINGS
1st A. D. Manhattan, 180 Henry St. every Friday.
2nd A. D. Manhattan, 255 Grand St. every Friday.
6th A. D. Manhattan, 604 E. 9th St. 2-4 Fridays.
8th A. D. Manhattan, 207 E. 10th St. every Thursday.
17-18-20th A. D. Manhattan, 80 E. 110th St. every Tuesday.
22-23rd A. D. Manhattan, 2018 Amsterdam Ave., 34 Wednesdays.
Jewish 8th A. D., 207 E. 10th St. every Wednesday.
Jewish Harlem, 104th St. and Madison Ave. every Thursday.
Russian Communist, 257 E. 10th St. every Wednesday.
5th Ukrainian, 21 Grand St. every Friday.
Ukrainian No. 20, 233 E. 5th St. every Friday.
Katholian, 225 E. 79th St. 1st and 3d Wednesdays.
German York, 259 E. 81st St. 1st and 3d Thursdays.
German Night Workers, 343 E. 84th St. 1st and 3d Saturdays.
5th A. D. Bronx, 1204 Southern Blvd. every Tuesday.
Russian Branch No. 2, Bronx, 1234 Southern Boulevard, every Thursday.
KINGS:
Russian No. 4, 296 Sackman St. every Friday.
4th A. D., 205 Grand St. every Thursday.
14th A. D. Jewish, 298 Grand St. every Tuesday.
23rd A. D. Jewish, 296 2nd St. every Thursday.
6th A. D. English, 229 Stockton St. every Tuesday.
6th A. D. Jewish, 229 Stockton St. every Saturday.

6th Assembly District will hold a Russian Anniversary Celebration on Friday, Nov. 14th, at 8 o'clock at Lenox Assembly Rooms, 354 E. 2nd St. Prominent speakers. Musical program. Admission 35 cents.

All branch secretaries are requested to send in all their complete membership lists as soon as possible to the local office, as it is absolutely essential that the office have the list of the membership of the local.

Arrangements are being made to start the classes of the local on November 15th. All party members who desire to enroll in any of the classes should make application immediately to the secretary of the local, Conrad Whiteley, 207 E. 10th Street.

The local is now in possession of two new leaflets, "Break the Blockade," and "Your Shop." All branches are requested to procure enough copies for distribution in their respective territory.

There will be a Mass Meeting to celebrate the 2nd anniversary of the Russian Revolution at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 296 Sackman Street, on November 10th, 1919, at 8 P. M. Prominent speakers in various languages will address the meeting. There also will be a very interesting concert. Admission free.

All branch secretaries are instructed to inform their respective branches that unless they purchase dues stamps immediately their delegates to the City Central Committee will not be seated.

BUILDING THE COMMUNIST WORLD

This week's issue is six pages. Next week's will also be six. Do you want your paper to go back to a four-page issue? If not you must add your name to the list below.

We need \$50,000 to start a daily in New York. It's up to you. Put your branch on the firing line. Sign up yourself!

- Contributions to date:
- J. N. Lovestone \$5.00
- M. Mislig 5.00
- Obolonsky25
- John Brovsky50
- Sylvia Pankhurst 5.00
- Comm. Russ. Br., N. Y. 25.00
- 5th A. D. Bronx 71.11
- 1st Russ. Br., N.Y. 20.00
- Lith. Br. No. 83 5.00

BREAK THE BLOCKADE.

PARIS-1870; RUSSIA-NEVER!

BOURGEOIS VENGEANCE WHEN THE PARIS COMMUNE FELL

This Is What Would Have Happened if Yudenitch Had Captured Petrograd.

Twenty-five thousand men, women, and children killed during the battle or after; three thousand at least dead in the prisons, the pontoons, the forts, or in consequence of maladies contracted during their captivity; thirteen thousand seven hundred condemned, most of them for life; seventy thousand women, children, and old men deprived of their natural supporters or thrown out of France; one hundred eleven thousand victims at least. That is the balance sheet of the bourgeoisie vengeance for the solitary insurrection of the eighteenth of March.

What a lesson of revolutionary vigor given to the workmen! The governing classes shoot in a lump without taking the trouble to select hostages. Their vengeance lasts not an hour; neither years nor victims appease it; they make it an administrative function—methodical and continuous.

—From Lissagaray's "History of the Commune of 1871."

RED RUSSIA CELEBRATION

COMMUNIST PARTY 6th A. D.
LENNOX ASSEMBLY ROOMS, 254 East 2nd Street
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14th 8.15
Musical Program. — Addresses.
Tickets, 25c. on sale at 604 East 9th Street.

INTERNATIONAL MEETING & CONCERT

RUSSIAN BRANCH OF COMMUNIST PARTY
To Celebrate Second Anniversary of Russian Revolution
L. C. A. K. MARTENS
OTHER SPEAKERS. — ADMISSION FREE.
Bronxville Labor Lyceum, Mon. Nov. 10, 8 P. M.

RUSSIAN ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

Saturday, November 8th 8 o'clock
122 Second Ave.
AUSPICES 8th A. D. COMMUNIST PARTY.

CONCERT AND DANCE

of the
COMMUNIST PARTY
2nd A. D.
This Saturday Evening, November 8, 1919
at Communist Headquarters, Grand Theatre Building
255 Grand Street
Celebrate 2nd Anniversary of Soviet Republic
Entire profit for "THE COMMUNIST WORLD"
Admission 25c.

STEREOPTICAN LECTURE ON RUSSIA WITH ACTUAL RUSSIAN VIEWS

Explained by
H. M. WINITSKY
Forward Hall. Friday, Nov. 7, 8 P. M.
AUSPICES 1st A. D.

“CYNICISM” by Maxim Gorky

ONE YEAR OF PROLETARIAN LEGISLATION. — INTERVIEWS WITH RED ARMY OFFICIALS. — PHOTOGRAPHS OF DELEGATES TO 3RD INTERNATIONAL.
OTHER FEATURES.
6 Pages. Order of dealer now.

COMMUNIST PARTY MONSTER MASS DEMONSTRATION

2 P. M. Saturday, November 8th, 1919
AT RUTGERS SQUARE
TO CELEBRATE THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION.
Workingmen! Comrades!
Come in thousands demonstrate your solidarity on November 8.
Auspices of the Communist Party of America, Local Greater New York.

THE COMMUNIST WORLD

Official Organ of THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA Local Greater New York

Editor—Maximilian Cohen Assoc. Editor—Bertram D. Wolfe Bus. Manager—George Ashkenouzi Ex. Secretary—Harry Winitsky

Published Weekly 5 cents per copy Half year \$1.50 One year 3.00

Office Address: 207 E. 10th Street, New York City

SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

Two years of SOVIET RUSSIA! Two years of the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT! Two years of heroic sacrifice, of intervention and blockade of civil war within and world war without—of hunger and starvation, famine and death—two years of deep despair and bitter anguish alternating with marvelous dreams beyond the wildest hopes of man—all this has fate flung to the knout-ridden, brutalized, ignorant, exploited masses of Russia—our brave brothers—these last two years.

But our comrades were not found wanting in the hour of trial. The structure they had reared with their own sweat and blood, and the suffering and martyrdom of countless thousands before them they maintained in spite of all the opposition of traitors within and enemies without. AND THEY WILL MAINTAIN THEIR GLORIOUS WORKERS' REPUBLIC IN SPITE OF ALL THE BLACK HUNDREDS AND WHITE TERRORS THE ALLIED BUTCHERS CAN MUSTER AGAINST THEM.

Where is Kolchak? Wandering backwards over the desolate steppes of Siberia, beaten, demoralized, a pitiful fugitive fleeing from the wrath of an aroused and determined army of Red Guards, workmen all!

Where is Denekine? Down in the Ukraine, surrounded, cut off from his supplies, his soldiers deserting him, with only a handful of Cossack mercenaries supported by the Judas-gold of American and English capitalists!

Where is Yudenitch? Only yesterday the bastard sheets of American Capitalism were singing paeans of praise because of his reported capture of Petrograd and Gatchina and Cronstad! CRONSTAD! The home of the Cronstad sailors who made the revolution against Kerensky and saved the revolution against Korniloff—as well expect the heavens to fall as expect the fall of Cronstad until every single sailor lies dead in his tracks!

PETROGRAD IS SAFE! MOSCOW IS SAFE! SOVIET RUSSIA IS SAFE!

But our comrades are starving. They are paying dearly for their hard-won liberty. The damnable blockade of the Allied Hypocrites and Murderers has cut them off from the rest of the world. Their factories should be humming with production. But they can't get the raw materials. Their larders are empty, and their wonderfully brave women and helpless little children are starving! THINK OF IT! THESE GOVERNMENTS OF THE ALLIES, ENGLAND, FRANCE, AMERICA, ITALY, that fought the war TO MAKE THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY are now committing this unspeakable, fiendish crime against the only nation that IS REALLY MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR THE WORKING CLASS OF THE WORLD! This is the CRIME OF CRIMES our own hypocritical government is now engaged in. SLAUGHTERING WORKINGMEN AT HOME, AND DEFENSELESS WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN RUSSIA.

WORKERS OF AMERICA! There is only one way to break the blockade of Russia. Appealing to the government won't do it. Demanding won't do it. You might as well expect to draw blood from a stone as expect a capitalist government to listen to your appeals or demands. THE BLOCKADE OF RUSSIA IS AS MUCH A PART OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AS WAGE-SLAVERY ITSELF. To break the blockade of Russia you must overthrow the present capitalist system. You must do what the workers of Russia did. Establish a Workers' Government. You must join the only organization that stands unequivocally for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a Workers' Government that will function only in the interests of the working class. That is the Program of the Communist Party of America. Workers! Comrades! Join the Communist Party of America, and help us to put an end forever to this damnable system, and at the same time help our Russian brothers by breaking the blockade against them. Only the might of the organized pressure of the working class will accomplish this necessary historical task. Join the Communist Party, and make the slogans of the working class—DOWN WITH THE CAPITALIST CLASS! DOWN WITH THE BLOCKADE OF RUSSIA! ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

PRESIDENT WILSON DRAWS THE CURTAIN

His language veiled but stern, President Wilson, from his sick-bed issued an ultimatum to the coal-miners' officials that the strike called for November 1st must be rescinded and arbitration resorted to; otherwise dire results would follow. What those dire results would be are cunningly expressed in one sentence: "I can do nothing less than to say that the law will be enforced, and means will be found to protect the interests of the Nation in any emergency that may arise out of this unhappy business." In plain English President Wilson meant to say that the government would employ all the oppressive machinery of the capitalist state to keep the mines open and working. Court injunctions, arrest of strike leaders, prosecution of strike-breakers by militia and deputy sheriffs (fines and gaolment), martial law, and if these will prove insufficient the armed forces of the government are to be used as a vast strike-breaking agency to crush the coal-miners' strike.

The injunction has been issued. The strike leaders have been enjoined. The money reserve of the union, out of which strike

benefits were, to be paid to the strikers, is tied up. Leaderless, rudderless, moneyless, faced by the military armed to the teeth, bucking a capitalist class and their government, the most brutal and unconscionable in the world, these brave men will go down in the struggle unless the rest of the working class comes to their aid. But will they? Where is the American Federation of Labor, and the Four Railroad Brotherhoods, and the other great organizations of labor? Where are they in this hour of need? Their leaders are dickering with the government! Protesting that they are law-abiding Americans, opposed to "dirty foreigners" and Bolshevism and general strikes! Cautioing the men that they are bound by the contract system of the American Federation of Labor. So much for these traitorous leaders. But will the rank and file support them in their act of betrayal? WILL THE RANK AND FILE OF THE WORKING CLASS OF AMERICA SUPPORT THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT AND THEIR LABOR-LEADER TOOLS AGAINST THE BETRAYED, EXPLOITED, STARVING COAL MINERS?

On the answer to this question hinges the failure or success of the coal miners' strike.

It may be that the American working class is not yet ready for this supreme act which would most probably lead to the downfall of the capitalist system and its class government; it may be that the American working class is still sufficiently self-deluded to believe that this system and the kind of government it breeds is "democratic" and "just," and believes in "fair play"; it may be, but if it is so it will not be for long. History is moving with such lightning speed that it will thoroughly disillusion them of the last shred of any such ideas. They will see the machinery of the capitalist government at work in all its brutal nakedness. And they will see the allies of the capitalist class, the "labor lieutenants" of the American Federation of Labor, and the host of petty-bourgeois liberals who profess to be "neutral" in the struggle between capital and labor, and the parliamentary Socialists all lined up solidly with the capitalist class against the workers in their struggle for emancipation from the fetters of wage-slavery.

Capitalism is breaking down. Capitalist Europe is in its death-throes, and this winter with its added horrors and sufferings of the masses will probably lead to its downfall. The nations of Europe are bankrupt—financially and morally. American capital and American shipment of food and necessities of life is all that separates them from complete annihilation. But production in America is not increasing—it is decreasing. The temper of the American working class is rising to fever-heat what with the High Cost of Living and starvation wages. Strikes and more strikes will follow. Court injunctions will not hinder, nor the military prevent, the cessation of work. Rather it will help to inflame the masses. And then—but President Wilson has drawn the curtain for the first act—the second act will be opened by the workers themselves.

GERMAN COMMUNISTS

Report of the German Revolutionary Movement, Received by Le Phare from the Executive of the German Communist Party (Spartacists).

A. Organization.

Martial law makes our organizing work extremely difficult. We are outside the law, and martial law, which is directed exclusively against our Party, is in existence in almost all parts of Germany. Thousands of our comrades are in prison. We are nearly all compelled to live like conspirators. Yet in spite of everything the organization grows. The number of branches has increased wonderfully and we have grouped them into districts throughout Germany. The greatest difficulty is to find capable district secretaries: for we must give them as much autonomy as we can, so that any mishap to the central organization may affect the whole organization as little as possible. Most of our newspapers, too, are under a ban. Where they may appear the censor renders them useless, so that we are obliged to issue papers secretly in Berlin and elsewhere. For the future we shall continue to establish the scientific review, "The International," and shall issue a "Correspondence of the Party" and a special correspondence for the Communist Workers' Councils. The greatest obstacle to our literary activities is the printing difficulty. Noske's guards are not content with seizing all communist writings which they may come across—secret or not—but they break up our printing presses. This naturally makes the printers shy of doing our work.

Further, we try to influence those of the workers who have only been lightly touched by the revolution and on whom the effects of co-operative life are just dawning. We have started a special agitation among the railway men and the disabled soldiers and intend to do the same thing among the farm laborers and the small peasants. We shall develop this latter branch of our activity, for the organic structure is already prepared, and we propose shortly to issue a newspaper. We shall proclaim our agrarian programme incessantly.

Our political organization develops most rapidly where the Majority Socialists are in power, and many of their members come straight into our Party without joining the intermediate Independent Party. All we want now is three or four thousand members to complete our organization. Shall

we have this period of power? It certainly does not depend upon us.

B. Political.

The events at Munich are quite outside our policy, which tries to avoid all sectional movements. When our Munich comrades had our advice, we forbade this kind of view and even sent one of our members to urge them not to take part in any sectional action. During the first days of the Republic of the Councils of Munich, when the Independent and Majority Socialists proclaimed the "Republic of the Councils," our comrades in Munich refused to join them, and greeted this comedy with jeers. This Republic of the Councils was thus destined to die its beautiful death when, on the night of May 11th and 12th, the Hoffmann Government overthrew it by force of arms. This event roused the Munich workers who were armed to fight against a military dictatorship. Thus, in trying to defend the so-called Republic of the Councils, our Communist friends took part in the action which led to our severing connection. In our opinion our Munich comrades were doubly deceived: firstly, they allowed themselves to be led into defending this caricature of a Republic of the Councils, at which they jeered at first, and whose disappearance under such circumstances was most desirable. Then, we believe that our Munich comrades committed a second mistake when they, quite unnecessarily, allowed this act of defence to be transformed into an offensive; that they were not content with preventing the "coup de main," but that they passed to the dictatorship of the Councils without giving a thought to the rest of the country. You know what followed. In the rest of Germany the situation is as follows:

The revolutionary movement develops chiefly in the ranks of the organized workers and those interested in politics. Below this category is to be traced a movement which contributes to the downfall of the Majority contrary to our anticipation, which gave a longer life to them than to the Independents. In the working class there is a strong resentment against the Majoritarians, thanks to the Noske Government and against the counter-revolution, which daily becomes more brutal, against the shootings, the interdictions, and the suppression of the newspapers. If up to now the Party appears to have resisted, it is thanks to the promises which have been made to the workers. The masses are deceived in their hopes, will give free rein to their discontent. We often find whole branches of the

WHITE TERROR GRIPS HUNGARY

Roumanian Troops Slaughter Communists—Pogroms in Budapest

WORKERS WANT SOVIETS

A comrade who comes with first-hand news of Hungary tells us that the fate of his country depends entirely upon the International situation, and largely upon the British working class. The Roumanian troops prevent any effective action by the Hungarian workers themselves; the White Terror, which is being carried on in Hungary today, he says, is more horrible than anything else seen in the world. Everyone who took part in the Soviet Government is persecuted; of the Soviet Propaganda Bureau, for instance, the Commissary has disappeared, all his eight assistants were imprisoned, and two have already been shot.

The workers cry bitterly for the return of their Soviets, and would enthusiastically restore them were they not prevented by the foreign occupation. When the Soviets were established the workers were all for Communism and the Soviets, but the workers were gradually starved from their adherence. For five or six weeks before the Soviets fell famine was acute, not an ounce of meat or rice was obtainable, only bread, and little of that. The workers were told meanwhile that if the Soviets were abandoned the Entente would provide plenty of food. It was falsely declared that Vienna was allowed plenty of food because it had no Soviets; yet in Vienna, though the very rich had plenty, the poor were dying of hunger.

At the present time, though the Soviets have fallen, the poor of Budapest are starving. The city has food enough for 200,000 people; it has a population of 2,000,000. The 20,000 bourgeoisie have the food; the poor are left to die. What food there was in the time of the Soviets was, at least, equally divided.

Owing to the swift growth of the Budapest population, which doubled during the war, there was a great scarcity of housing. The Soviets, therefore, decreed that no family might have more than three rooms till all were housed. When the Soviets fell the poor were thrown out of the houses in which the Soviet regime had placed them. That is typical of all that has happened.

The Folkets Dagblad quotes a telegram to Vorparstad stating that thousands of Social-Democrats have been arrested in Hungary, and left to die of starvation in small, overcrowded cells. Italian soldiers have led a strong protest against these deeds. According to Arbeiter Zeitung it is untrue that Szama has committed suicide as was official-

dependents joining our ranks, but their political maturity often leaves much to be desired. However, as we have said, political development is only felt by the more advanced workers and the great mass of people is in a state of apathy. The next crisis will once more shake this mass which will occupy the place which this advance guard is preparing for it. It is not possible to say with certainty; the peace negotiations may provoke it. If the Peace Treaty is not signed it will begin in a few weeks; if it signed when the effects of the Treaty are felt.

From all that we have said it remains that the time is not ripe to launch a movement. The signature of the Peace Treaty will not remove the crisis, it will only retard it; whereas the refusal will accelerate it. But it is only when this crisis will have reached its summit that the workers will be in a position to establish the Councils of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat on a solid basis. Any premature movement will play the game of the bourgeoisie.

We are in close accord with the comrades who played an active role in Russia. They say that nothing can be more dangerous for the Soviet Republic than a repetition of the affair at Munich. Such experiences deeply shake the faith for the future Soviet system in Western Europe and strengthen the counter-revolution in Russia. Therefore these unfortunate attempts become a danger, not only to the revolutionary movement in the country where they occur, but to the entire International.

Since the Revolution of November, 1918, 15,000 workers have been killed by Noske's army. The Social-Democratic rule is not necessarily peace-

ally stated. HE WAS TORTURED AND HANGED BY THE POLICE WITHOUT ANY TRIAL WHATSOEVER. Seven other so-called suicides in the prison in Budapest have suffered a similar fate. Terrible cruelties are reported against the Jews, even if neither Socialists or Communists. Arbeiter Zeitung reports many Socialist leaders belonging to the "right" wing who have been murdered or are being tortured in prison. In Budapest alone there are over 3,500 political prisoners. In Gdenburg 20 workmen were arrested on mere suspicion. The Social Democrats in West Hungary have sent a deputation to Vienna, urging that Austrian troops be sent to occupy that part of Hungary which is to be Austrian, as the condition is unendurable under the White Terror.

The White Terror Under the Protection of the Entente.

Volkenburg, the police agent in Budapest, openly declared that Hungary can only be reconstructed by means of pogroms. The head of the Government, Friedrich, in proclaiming Hungary a "Christian state," added fuel to the anti-semitic troubles, and now armed bands scour the cities on a "sacred mission" of "exterminating by the roots" the sons of Israel. During the massacres the Jews and the Communists suffer the same fate. At Marzall the massacres lasted eight days and nights. At one place all the trains were held up, and the Jews found on them were immediately murdered. In many places several others besides Jews suffered at the hands of anti-semitic murderers. When a correspondent of the Arbeiter Zeitung spoke to Friedrich about these terrible events, the Minister replied: "I regret to have to admit that these things have actually happened." The "I regret" of Friedrich was hypocritical, because he and his Government had issued orders for the brutal persecution of the working class population. A Budapest War Office report, compiled on August 21st, 1919, gives the following account:

"The Roumanian troops of occupation limit their activities to the maintenance of order and to arrest of hidden Communists; but in the villages which were not occupied the White Guard requisitioned many things and applied capital punishment when meeting opposition." In the same report is the following passage, dealing with troops near Pologardi: "The soldiers of the White Guard rule the districts and neighborhood by means of terror. They requisition on their own account. For instance, a Jewish merchant was fined 20,000 crowns instead of being hanged. The behavior of the troops has caused a most serious state of uneasiness among the population." The local Government and the Allied mission have many similar documents in their hands.

The walls of the capital are covered with posters inciting the people to race hatred and to acts of violence. Food now costs much more than during the Soviet reign, in some cases ten times as much. Many Jews who had become converted to the Christian faith would show their certificate of baptism to escape the fate of the other Jews, but without success; for in the corners of the certificate were the letters, "i. d. p.," meaning invalid during the pogrom! Even the Church had taken the precaution of letting no victims escape, although it welcomed them into its fold.

But the Jewish bankers at last protested, and now all rich Jews, baptised or not, are safe. It is always the proletarians who suffer, for they have not yet learned what the capitalists have learned so well—international solidarity.

—Vienna, September.

GREETINGS FROM LENIN

To the Italian Comrades: "Avanti" prints a greeting from Lenin and the Roumanian fugitive Rakovsky to the Italian comrades, to their Party, and to their newspapers. In Lenin's letter, dated August 18th, to comrades Serrati and Lazzari, you read the following: "The negotiations between the leaders of the yellow International and your Party prove to us that they are merely a general staff without an army. The dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet system have already carried off a moral victory all over the world. The material and decisive physical victory must come in spite of all the difficulties and all the blood-shedding and in spite of the White Terror of the bourgeoisie. Down with capitalism! Down with the lying bourgeois democracy! Long live the Universal Soviet Republic!"

IDIOTORIALS

John Reed was sent to Europe to see if he couldn't get the Third International to join the C. L. P. — The C. L. P. can't get our newspaper till he comes back. — And it can't then. — The S. P. never could. — The German Federation joined the C. L. P. — And its membership joined the Communist Party. — Just as the Printers "unions" settled. — And their members took a vacation. — The crim.-syn. law will get you if you—don't—watch out. — By the time you get this far the C. L. P. ought to have captured Moscow. — But it hasn't. — Do you want to hear a good one? Listen: The Socialist Party comes before the people pledged to the service of democracy. Democracy in government, democracy in industry, democracy in education. The State, the industries, and education—all three must be owned and managed by the people with no thought of profit. — S. P. Congressional Platform, 1918. — Why don't we hear any more of George Creel? — Guess the time has passed when a man could run the Bureau of Public Information, who thought the Ukraine was a musical instrument. — I suppose he thinks Yudenitch is a new kind of a swear word. — It is. — And when our Nick gets angry he'll call you "Kolchak." — Wilson thinks "Menshevik" is a nice word. — That's because he doesn't know Russian. — And because he doesn't know Nick. — Class in History. Who made the world safe for plutocracy? autocracy? hypocrisy? — Let's see, what was the name of that non-refillable bottle? — But the blame thing never dries up. — Yudenitch is 68 miles from Petrograd—and still advancing. — By now the President ought to be about nine months pregnant with a new slogan. — Little Fourteen Points was still-born. — Communist Party Society Note. "A. S. Broms was elected state secretary of Minnesota to take the place of Chas. Dirla, who expects to begin a prison sentence soon." — Do you want to join our party? Quite a few of us are going to winter in Atlanta. — JUDASES OF THE WORLD UNITE! Form a New International! "We are all Judases: What can Judases do at Moscow?"—Kautsky. — Why isn't the S. P. as frank? — The Government has forced the Moscow "movement" under ground. — How much will that increase the sale of liquor? — Underground papers have to change their names every time they are suppressed. — Suggest some good ones. — Help to build the Communist World. — Send in some Idiotorials. They are devoted to the idiotic capitalist system. And some of its idiotic defenders. — BREAK THE BLOCKADE.