

ALL
POWER
TO THE
WORKERS

The Communist World



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WILL ITALY GO NEXT?

SAVE THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

BY SYLVIA PANKHURST

The article printed below is taken from an English Communist paper and shows the temper of the English workers. Articles like this and the revolt of the British Baltic Fleet have caused Lloyd George's recent utterance to the effect that no country which will tamper with Russian freedom can come out unscathed.

Workers, Comrades!

The Russian Revolution, Soviet Russia, the first Socialist administration in the world, is in danger! The master class of all countries has combined to fight it.

The story that Petrograd has been taken by the counter-revolutionaries has again proved false, but the advance of Denikin continues. His advance is more serious than would be the fall of Petrograd, for he has cut off from Soviet Russia the rich territories of the south, he approaches Moscow, the seat of the Soviet Government, and Tula, a great munition centre.

What can we do, comrades, to save the first Workers' Republic from the capitalists of the world who are fighting against it?

The general strike, sabotage of war materials, insurrection, seem to be the only methods the Government will heed; these are our only effective weapons.

Whilst we have been dozing, comrades, the master class has been pouring British war material into Russia for the use of the counter-revolutionaries. When Denikin was furnished with plenty of British guns, shells, aeroplanes, and, above all, with plenty of British tanks, he began to win his victories against the Russian workers. A tank, manned by a handful of officers, can kill many hundreds of Russia's soldier workmen armed with the best munitions that Russia, never a manufacturing country, can provide.

What a tragedy it is! If Communism, the hope of all workers of the world, be crushed in Russia, the British and American workers who made the munitions and transported them, will have been used for the wicked act.

Week by week, comrades, we have laid bare the truth of the Russian question; we have declared that the League of Nations is but a union of the employing classes to crush in all countries the efforts of the workers to secure freedom by abolishing capitalism and establishing Communism in its place. We many times warned you that the powerful Allied Governments are the leaders in this business, and are compelling the Governments to join in it whether they wish or no; also that the Allied Governments are bringing the same pressure to bear on defeated Germany, and combining with the reactionary elements in Germany to oppress the workers, both in Germany itself, and in Russia.

Comrades! We all of us blame the governments, but, after all, we had to expect that the master class would fight to maintain its hold upon the workers.

There are others whom we must blame more justly and intelligently. There are the traitors to the cause of the workers who are to be found within our movement itself; the members of the Labor Party Executive, the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, and the Executive of the Triple Alliance, who have held the workers back from taking action in defence of the Russian and Finnish-Soviet, in defence of International Communism itself.

The agreement of the Capitalist Governments against Soviet Russia has now been revealed a still more interesting and important agreement, which should be published, is that between the Labor Leaders and the Government to keep British Labor quiet whilst Soviet Russia and working-

class Communism in all other lands is strangled.

It must be made known which of the Labor Leaders are a party to this agreement. What are its actual terms? What are the threats that intimidated the traitors and what are the bribes? How far the intrigue to produce a fake "Labor" Government with Lloyd George at its head is bound up with this conspiracy?

Not one member of the three Labor executives, man or woman, is now above the suspicion of being concerned in the intrigue who does not come out openly and denounce the refusal of the executives to obey the mandates of the Southport and Glasgow conferences regarding action to stop the war on Communism.

Comrades! Since the executives refuse to obey the mandate to call a conference to decide on action to defend Soviet Russia, it is surely the duty of the rank and file to carry out its own mandate. The rank and file should call its own conference, rank and file committees should be formed in every trade and industrial union for this purpose. These should join with the Workers' Committees and the few Socialist organizations that adhere to the Third International (the Workers' Socialist Federation, Communist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, British Socialist Party, Communist League, and South Wales Socialist Society in calling the rank and file conference. Every branch of every Socialist Labor, Trade, and Industrial organization in the country should be summoned to the conference.

The agenda should consist of:
1. A vote of censure of the executives of the Labor Party, Trade Union Congress, and Triple Alliance.
2. A resolution to hold a general strike to stop the Russian intervention, on a given date.
3. The election of a strike committee.

Unless we take such drastic action we shall only have ourselves to blame if the Communist Revolution be crushed.

IGNORE CONGRESS IN PRIVATE WAR

As one more evidence of how completely the American Government has become in a literal sense "an executive committee," and how far the bankruptcy of parliamentary rule has come, comes the announcement that the American troops will not be withdrawn from Cablenz, although the Senate has rejected the League Covenant which authorizes America to participate in European interventions and has definitely adopted a reservation, declining any such intervention would be tolerated except by consent of Congress.

The executive section of the Government sent the troops there without ever asking authorization, and then, when repudiated, continues to keep them there. American "representative" government is ever more clearly talking on the form of an open executive dictatorship.

ONE DAY'S WAGE TO THE DEFENSE FUND
LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

STEEL STRIKE HOLDS FIRM IN TENTH WEEK

Factories Produce Nothing But Smoke, Declares Baldwin

The steel strike enters its tenth week with the ranks of the men firm and their morale unbroken in spite of the fact that the capitalist press is again being used as a strike-breaking agency by means of its reports that the men have yielded, that they have returned, that the strike is over. Just as the longshoremen have learned to distrust the capitalist press, now the steel workers are learning that lesson.

Roger Baldwin, recently released conscientious objector, took jobs in the striking factories in order to observe conditions there and if possible to call out the scabs. He reports that the factories are producing nothing but smoke. They are keeping the furnaces going day and night in order to deceive the strikers, but no production is going on. They are hiring negroes, boys and women, but these cannot and do not work, beyond the merest pretense. Most of their time they spend playing cards.

The companies have organized an elaborate spy system, and Baldwin was discharged at Homestead, one of the places in which he worked, just two days after he was employed. The companies do not dare to permit even their scabs to be reached by union propaganda.

The gigantic steel trust is determined to fight to a finish and has organized a magnificent publicity bureau, a huge army of gunmen assisted by city, state and National troops and detectives. They have even arrested conservative craft organizers of the A. F. of L. The officialdom does not seem very warm toward the strike on account of the radical character of the masses of unskilled labor who are involved, and no strike benefits are forthcoming, and all attempts at a general strike in sympathy with the steel workers are sabotaged upon. However, the men are resourceful and determined, and though the strike "breaks" every day, the production of steel does not increase noticeably.

WORK OVER-TIME FOR PROPAGANDA

Krasnaja Gazeta prints the following news item:

There are at this time special Saturday working shifts. The men who work on Saturday in these special shifts receive no remuneration. In Petrograd alone more than 10,000 are working four hours extra Saturday. The money thus earned is turned over to the government, which forwards the money to the department of propaganda of the Third International for the purpose of creating a fund to spread the Idea of Communism all over Europe and America. The Committee of Petrograd appeals to all other communes to follow the example of the Petrograd workers and emphasizes that only through the efforts of the Russian Communists can the final victory of the World Proletariat be assured.

NOTICE

The Party Headquarters will remain at 207 E. 10th Street until further notice. We'll expect you up there today.

60 'SHOCHETS' CAUGHT IN RAIDS

Sixty "shochets" or Jewish chicken-killers were bagged by the Cleveland analog Lusk Committee in the Cleveland Labor Luskers will have laurels or they will for the highest number of useless and stupid arrests.

Chief of Police Granel, Bliss Mortimer, a score of police and 50 members of the League of Cleveland in heroic fashion Socialist Labor and, the next day the papers reported the arrest of 60 bomb-throwing Telegram likes etc.

Lightened old men developed that had raised schochets' union, who know how to be author-according to the who receive five their killings. They the purpose of rais-ents, and the raid-into a revolution were heard to matter. "In d'r Ery," who is decoding "go under-ground."

"All power to the schochets!"

'FORWARD' JOINS RUMOR FACTORY

Announces That Have Abandoned Dictatorship of Proletariat

The capitalist rumor factory to exist Daily Forward, ist paper, has come announcement from its respondent to the Communist Government abandoned the dictatorship, forgotten power to the Soviet the convocation of semibly. They could this force if they the Assembly would itself and "legally" geois legal standards to the Soviets.

The Workers' Councils are the great Russian revolution and with the undefeated, with a of the whole world expropriation of organization of under way. — it the sanction of finally disappear into a well more tectarian organ of tion without when the world class.

Without any fore in Copenhagen, we the Jewish Daily munist do not all "All power to the —all power to the

ONE DAY'S WAGE TO THE DEFENSE FUND
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RADICALS WIN CLEAN SWEEP

All Offices in Machinists' Union Carried by Those Favoring Industrial Action

The "radical" slate in the Machinists' Union was swept in entire from president to sentinel (sergeant-at-arms) and the new officers ran on a campaign of industrial strikes in place of isolated shop strikes, of a more radical class policy and of control by the rank and file.

Wm. J. Kelly, who got the highest vote for business agent out of the five of them elected was interviewed by a World reporter as to the nearness of the theory of the "radicals" to that of the I. W. W.

"We are for industrial action," he told the reporter. "This is not necessarily industrial unionism, but it may mean the same. From now on, instead of one shop striking at a time —the policy that has proved a failure in the past—all our members will go out at once when the occasion arises."

"What about the charge that the newly elected officials advocate I. W. W.ism?" he was asked.

"We have absolutely no connection with the I. W. W.," he replied, "but our principles are about the same."

The machinists are of basic impor-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

ALLIES MURDER CAPTURED REDS

Returned Italian Sergeant Tells of Allied Brutality

An Italian soldier tells in the newspaper "Avanti" how, by orders of the English, Italians were forced to help the English in shooting six Bolsheviks condemned to death by order of the British command. This took place at Archangel in January, 1919. The Italians were told by their superiors to obey all British orders, except the one to fire. On this account the Italians were asked to fetch the prisoners to their execution, and this is what the Italian officer in command writes about the brutality of the death sentences and treatment generally:

"You cannot imagine in what a terribly squalid state we found them. In a small cell, about 6 by 16 feet, there were twenty wretched Russian prisoners. A warden called the names of the six who were to be shot, and we executed them. As we marched them along two asked to be allowed to smoke, and one of my men obliged them. At the place of execution the English Major made a sign to me to send three of the prisoners forward. I did so. They were immediately shot. Then the other three were forwarded, and they, too, were shot.

"They were subjected to indescribable treatment from the place of execution to the mortuary. Even after they were dead they were ill-treated! Six other prisoners were then ordered to place the victims in sacks and bring them to the mortuary, as if they were sacks of rags. Imagine, there were twenty-eight men with fixed bayonets at the yards to shoot six prisoners!"

"I have described this painful affair to give an idea of the sort of civilization that is being taken to foreign countries and of the barbarity of the English toward the Russians who are fighting for their freedom."
(Signed) Sergeant A. Triulzi,
(returned from Russia).
—Workers' Dreadnought.

ITALIAN CRISIS MAY COME DEC. 1

State Disintegrating and Component Classes Are Struggling for Power—Parliamentary Demonstration May Precipitate Revolution

On December 1, Italy faces a crisis that may possibly be of revolutionary significance or may peter out as one more exhibition of parliamentary cretinism on the part of Socialist parliamentarians. However, Sylvia Pankhurst's article in another part of this issue, evidences that if the parliamentary demonstration of December 1 fails to take on a truly revolutionary significance, there are "abstentionist" forces prepared to assume the lead and direct Italy's proletariat in the revolutionary struggle that now seems so imminent in Italy.

The occasion of the parliamentary demonstration will be the first session of the new parliament. Heretofore, it was the custom of the Socialist minority to stay away from the first session so as to avoid listening to the King's address and pledging him loyalty. This time they are planning to go in a body, 150 strong, and hiss and whistle so that the King can not be heard and to refuse point blank the oath of allegiance. Under the constitution of Italy no police or armed force may invade the chamber to stop the demonstration. Of course, the constitution may be suspended and the offenders arrested, or the other deputies may attack the socialists. In this case a proletarian uprising will possibly result. The parliamentary delegation has declared that it hopes to effect "some supreme act of rebellion which will overthrow the rotting bourgeois government."

The authorities manifest grave concern and the cabinet is meeting daily to consider plans for December 1. One correspondent reports that the King will send a written message instead of appearing in person. The nationalist faction is urging the resignation of the King in favor of the military idol, the Duke d'Avosta. Foreign Minister Tittoni has returned from the cabinet and urges the resignation of the King as a declaration that they are unable to cope with the situation.

Italian State Tottering.
The Italian Government is developing signs of cracking under strain, and in place of one "executive committee of the capitalist class," the state seems to be decomposing into two or more executive committees representing different strata of the population. The extreme nationalists and

Some look to the Casa de Lavoura and some to the Communist committees to assume charge in case a revolutionary crisis is precipitated. As in the epoch just before the fall of Kerensky, the state is too weakened to openly force an issue by arresting those who urge immediate revolution.

DIRECT ACTION ONLY RECOURSE

A cablegram to the American railway workers from the Finnish railwaymen contains several sentences worthy of attention:

"We believe in the industrial form of organization."

"We believe our industrial power should be used to advance and protect our interests wherever they may be threatened, whether in our industrial or civil life."

"We believe that direct industrial action is our only recourse."

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

During the recent New York Longshoremen's strike the secretary of the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 8 received the following cablegram from Ramos Nines, Argentina:

"Inform longshoremen that longshoremen here refuse to handle black-leg loaded ships from the North. Notify us of cases.—Damoni, Secretary Obrero del Puerto."

ITALIAN CRISIS MAY COME DEC. 1

State Disintegrating and Component Classes Are Struggling for Power—Parliamentary Demonstration May Precipitate Revolution

monarchists have openly disregarded the mandate of the government concerning Fiume, probably with the tacit approval of the major portion of the government. Now D'Annunzio, the post-adventurer, threatens to seize Dalmatia and attack Montenegro, which may kindle a new flame in the Balkans. His popularity and his successes seem to have turned his head and he and his followers are already dreaming of returning home and establishing a Napoleonic dictatorship. The absolute monarchists are rallying around him and the Due d'Aosta.

Petty Bourgeois Vacillation.

The petty bourgeoisie are vainly attempting to strengthen the King, the "liberal" cabinet and the constitutional monarchy, but at the same time flirting with the dazzling dreams of conquest and the vistas of world empire that D'Annunzio's adventure is opening to them. They alternate between the heroic glow of victorious triumphs and the abject terror that D'Annunzio is weakening the constitutional government that protects them from the "horror" of a proletarian uprising.

The Proletarian Camp.

The proletarian camp is divided into factions, but aside from the extreme rights they seem to have a united aim. The social-patriots have gone over to the camp of the enemy. The Lazzari parliamentary-opportunists keep discreetly in the background. That leaves the Serrati faction that is planning the parliamentary demonstration, and the abstentionists and syndicalist elements with a free hand. The proletariat has grown so daring as the power of the state weakens, that a month ago Avanti published an appeal to Socialist officers to send in their names and addresses and to Socialist soldiers to refuse to give up their uniforms. Bordighi, at the Bologna congress, openly advocated immediate revolution, but the government does not dare to touch him.

Some look to the Casa de Lavoura and some to the Communist committees to assume charge in case a revolutionary crisis is precipitated. As in the epoch just before the fall of Kerensky, the state is too weakened to openly force an issue by arresting those who urge immediate revolution.

LETTER REPORTS FINN REVOLT

Private advices received on Oct. 29 by Finnish residents of Helsingfors from Finland state that the revolt of the Red Guard forces against the present White Guard government of Finland reached such proportions that in many places the White Guard and Finnish troops are fleeing before the Red army.

The message describes the White Guard Finnish government as in a disorganized condition and warns all Finnish residents of Helsingfors to cease attempting to send remittances to friends or relatives in Finland, as the Finnish hospital service has been completely disorganized in many places by the present revolution.

—New Solidarity.
ONE DAY'S WAGE TO THE DEFENSE FUND
LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

LABOR PARTY IS BORN BEGGING

But Marks an Advance in Class Consciousness and Understanding of the State

The Labor Party of the United States was born petitioning, and its past experience is any guide, will probably die fusing. It has just finished its organizing convention at Chicago. There it flirted with the non-partisan league, the Socialist Party and the Committee of 48, who are trying to form an American Liberal Party.

It petitioned Congress to impeach Judge Anderson who handed down the strike injunction in Indiana, although its delegates should realize that Wilson invited Judge Anderson to use the courts to break the coal strike by his statement that the strike was illegal and that Congress, by a resolution, sustained the president. It has much to learn concerning the mechanism of the class state.

Max Hays was the chairman of the convention, and many socialists and ex-socialists, such as Walling, Hays and the like, were present. The non-partisan leaguers for the most part withdrew shortly after the convention started. All the reform planks of the S. P. were adopted and it is difficult to tell the difference between the two programs.

However, the convention marked a big step forward, even for the craft ideologists who are the backbone of the new party, in that it was formed against the wishes of Gompers, in that it adopted resolution favoring the release of class war prisoners and the lifting of the blockade, and in that it marks a realization on the part of the elements participating, of the fact that labor must control the state even for the limited aims of conservative unionism. "The world do move."

PAN-JAPANESE EMPIRE IN EAST

Japan Given Free Hand in Siberia and China—Asia Next Battle-Ground

A new world empire is arising that will some day contest the Anglo-American empire, or perhaps in federation with England, contest the supremacy of the United States. The full text of Lloyd George's recent speech concerning Russia reveals that it is in an open statement that England now gives Japan a free and in the annexation of Siberia in return for aid to Kolchak or any other military adventurer that she may wish to set up there.

Following that comes a Chinese warning that Japan is fomenting a "revolt of Islam" among the Mohammedan elements in China in order to further weaken Chinese resistance to Japanese aggression.

Now comes a report concerning "riots" at Poochow between Japanese, many of them employees of the Japanese consulate, and Chinese students. The students are advocating the passive resistance of a blockade of Japanese goods as a weapon against Japanese aggression. This has injured Japanese trade very seriously. Hence the students were attacked and one of them strung up and flogged. The Chinese police arrested 13 Japanese, but so completely has China lost her sovereignty that by law the police had to turn their prisoners over to the Japanese consul, who promptly released them. He warned the Chinese Government that "if the boycott was not removed, trouble would ensue."

Pan-Asia Movement Grows.

A movement for a pan-Asia empire under Japanese hegemony has been started by a society having headquarters in Japan and branches throughout Asia. It publishes papers in the various Asiatic dialects. Japan is reported to have established a "closed shop" in place of the "open door" that formerly obtained in Shantung. It seems reasonably certain that the central theater of the next war will be in the East, if the war-breeding system lasts long enough. In the meanwhile, it is significant to note that Japan is in an admirable position financially and that the only country whose currency remains above par as compared with the American dollar in Japan.

COMMUNISM AND AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGY

Ed Norton Looks Like Lincoln, Talks Like Lenin and Discusses Mass Action and General Strike

There has been much casuistry about the unique variety of working-class "psychology" in these United States. The Communists have patiently retorted that the "psychology" will come along all right; that capitalism will take care of that.

From the coal district of Illinois comes the verification of all that the Communists have said about American working-class psychology, in the accounts of Ben Hecht (Chicago Daily News) of interviews with "the tall gawky down-state citizens who look like Abe Lincoln and talk like Nikolai Lenin."

"Ed Norton is the heart of the miners' strike. He repeats when he talks the day by day gossip that goes on under the dull glow of the carbide lamps in the pit. Ed and his fellows have figured out in the last two years that the world was changing and that the time was coming when labor would 'do all the talking.'"

"I'm no red, m'lad. I'm talking to you as one American to another. Now, what is government? It's a sort of scattered institution that can't help a man. It's too sort o' cumbersome."

Take the unions, now. They're different. You can get action through the union. Down state here nobody thinks much o' government. We all have our unions, and the government is sort o' out of it."

I guess as how there's going to be a general strike soon and as how the unions are going to win out all over and take charge of affairs. Then, believe me, you won't be payin' no 20 cents a pound for sugar or no 10 cents a pound for beef."

Now, I hope you're convinced. Why, my father was postmaster in this same city thirty years ago, and what I've been tellin' you is what every American's thinkin' right this moment. Now, you go put that in your paper and give folks the truth once."

The reporter also interviewed the town banker.

"I have no love for the mine operators," said the banker. "The boys are pretty near right in asking what they are. But it isn't the strike so much that worries me. It's what's behind and underneath the strike. I've been staying pretty close to Virden the last few years, and I don't know about the rest of the country. But if the way Ed Norton and those boys talk is a sample of the general talk, why, things are pretty bad."

Which is to say, pretty bad for the usury business.

We do not think our friend Ed Norton would object to enlarging the union idea so as to let in the 90 per cent of the wage workers as yet unorganized—and the council or soviet idea undoubtedly would meet his ready acceptance for this purpose. Nor would Ed Norton object to a central administration by the unions, and soviets, with suffrage limited to wage-workers, and with the avowed program of making an end of the

ANOTHER SOVIET ATROCITY!!!

Terrible Reds Compel People to Get Learnin'

LONDON, Nov. 18.—A wireless despatch from Moscow says the Petrograd Soviet has decreed that all illiterate persons, between the ages of seventeen and fifty must learn to read and write within six months, otherwise they will be deprived of their work and placed in a lower "food category."

The decree provides for deduction of two hours from the daily working period in order to permit attendance at school.

The above report comes from the London Rumor Factory, where so many other atrocities were manufactured. Sometimes something resembling truth slips through.

LORRAINE FOR THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

The socialists of Lorraine recently held a well attended convention at which the question of affiliation with one of the two Internationals was discussed. After a hot debate, the convention adopted the motion to affiliate with the Third, the Moscow International, by a large majority. In Alsace soon a special convention will be called to decide the same question.

The Spanish Socialists have also aligned themselves with the Communist International.

profit system which accounts for the present price of sugar and beef. Ed Norton would quickly catch the points involved in the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which is the working-class organ of control to replace the government which "is sort o' out of it"—except for purposes such as very plainly revealed in the strikes now going on.

Ed Norton would probably allow that the general strike sufficient for the purposes of making the big change would be of a broader and somewhat more positive nature than the ordinary unionist understanding of the general strike. It would include hundreds of thousands, millions of unorganized workers. It would proceed to build out of itself organs of permanent administration to supplement the unions, as the strike gets beyond the goal of a stoppage of work to coerce wage and hour concessions from employers, as the strike takes over the social functions usually performed by the capitalistic agencies crippled by the strike. There isn't much question but that Ed Norton, if he set his mind upon the problem of just how it is all going to happen—what he expects to happen soon—would accept the communist conception of mass action.

It is Ed Norton and his fellows who are going to give living definition to the whole program of Communism.

There is plenty of red blood in the American working class. And red blood pumping through the hearts of millions upon millions of workers denied life and light for themselves and their children is bound to produce red thinking. That's why Communism meets the American psychology. It is of the red of love, of life, and freedom; red of a united humanity.

When Ed Norton understands that the same kind of a fight faces the working class in every country; when he understands what methods will be used against his fellows in this fight as evidenced by the butcheries of workmen whose demands are not based upon a high degree of organization and are demands which really challenge the perpetuity of the profit system; when he gets the vision and the feeling of the class struggle as a revolutionary conflict now in full swing, not only in Europe but in darkest America with its political imprisonments and deportations, and military suppression of strikes, then Ed Norton will not be so quick to disclaim the red color, the common banner of this worldwide fight.

There is plenty of red in the American psychology.

KARL MARX

By Rev. Newell Dwight Hillis

Horace Greely was paying Hendrick Karl Marx, a German Jew, one guinea for a weekly article for the New York Tribune.

At that very time Marx was living in one room, and his whole support for the rent and the family was this \$5 which came each week. In that house of one room he wrote his book, "State Socialism."

The genius of Marx's theory is that government should extend over property, and, therefore, represent a gigantic board of trade, instead of a political constitution, organized to safeguard men's lives and liberty, and to give them freedom to pursue their own way of living.

Fowler advocated socialism with a minimum subsistence to all, and the balance 5-1 to labor, 4-12 to capital, and 3-12 to talent. It is a singular fact that without any state socialism that labor today receives far more than 5-12, namely 8-12 and often 9-12, while capital and ability receive far less than Marx claims.

Lenin and Trotsky determined that they would harden their hearts and immediately put into operation Karl Marx's theories.

—Reprinted from "Atlanta Constitution."

NOTICE
Party headquarters will remain at 207 East 10th Street until further notice. Come up!

US OR KOLCHAK

By NICOLAI LENIN

Of course, the instead of rearing our revolutionary problems, we are facing, will utilize every step for scornful laughter and so-called criticism, of the type which we observe among our gentlemen Revolutionaries who have not that they must choose between us and the bourgeoisie.

These are people who have not comprehended the difference between us and the bourgeoisie. We have much patience and even good-naturedness, we shall most help to go to Kolchak (applause). We very earnestly offer them our good-naturedness, and we shall most help to go to Kolchak (applause). We very earnestly offer them our good-naturedness, and we shall most help to go to Kolchak (applause). We very earnestly offer them our good-naturedness, and we shall most help to go to Kolchak (applause).

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MACHINISTS FOR INDUSTRIALISM

(Continued from Page 1)

the metal industries, in the sense that a man ties up the metal trades completely. The rest of the metal trades have long showed marked tendencies, but the machinists were retarded and the conservative Government substituted detail operations of unskilled men for the complicated operations of their craft aloofness. It was the Chicago who felt called upon to support their right wing so-called their hall for their they were using the one committed to the and one which was not meet under the protection of the German convention.

The officials elected were: president; till now it was the Micrometer, extremely class-conscious; J. H. Wild, an ex-local; Vice-president, J. Neymeyer; Business agent, Kelly, Monks, Ryeland, and Musco; Secretary-treasurer, Farkas; Mueller, Waidelich, Frautes; and Poppelson, secretary of the "regulars" of the old administration was around 3,000.

It was interesting to note that the nature of the insurgents of the W. I. U. in the Allied Printing of the men elected, and Monks, were under but there is nothing in on to prevent them from the overwhelming rebuke to the officials of the International of Machinists and with which it is affiliated of the "regulars" who were very popular with they were not voting of personal popularity, stand for industrial organization for action." was the slogan. "All power to the rank and

ITALY'S COMMUNIST ABSTENTIONISTS

BY SYLVIA PANKHURST

(Editor's Note.—The Manifesto of the Third International declares that in those countries where conditions are not yet ripe for the actual revolutionary struggle for power, participation in elections should go on for propaganda purposes. Now a split threatens in the Italian Socialist Party, because the majority faction led by Serrati, editor of "Avanti," while adhering to the Communist International, believes a revolutionary crisis has not yet arisen in Italy, and therefore participation in elections is still valuable; whereas the minority on the Left, led by Bordiga, believes that the revolutionary crisis is at hand and that therefore participation in the Parliamentary elections is a futile waste of energy and serves to detract attention to the main issue. This movement is known as "The Abstentionists," and while it is of extremely recent origin, having arisen during the Turin strikes of this year, it is gaining ground even more rapidly than the results of the vote of a delegate body would indicate. Bordiga believes that within the year the abstentionist minority will have become the majority, because the revolution will have begun. We publish below an analysis of the majority motion of Serrati and of the position of the abstentionist faction by Sylvia Pankhurst.)

Serrati's Motion.

The motion of the Serrati section is that of by far the largest group in the Party. Perhaps this is partly due to the fact that Serrati is editor of the "Avanti!" and, therefore, can press his views home every day; it is also partly because it adopts a centre position, expressing the revolutionary sentiments with which the party is surging, without breaking with the old political tactics, on which, until recently, the hopes of the vast majority of Socialists in all countries were entirely concentrated.

Serrati's motion states: "That the Party Programme of 1892 is now superseded, and proclaims the Russian Revolution as 'the most fortunate event in the history of the workers.'" It affirms that, since no dominant class has renounced its despotism until constrained by violence and the exploiting class have always defended its privileges by violence.

The Conference is convinced that the Proletariat ought to have recourse to the use of violence, for defence against the violence of the capitalist class, for the conquest of power, and to consolidate its revolutionary conquests.

It affirms the necessity for both technical and spiritual preparation for the revolution.

It decides to take part in election contests, in order to make propaganda for communism and for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

It recognizes that the present organs of local and national Government cannot be transformed into instruments for liberating the workers; and that such organs must be replaced by workers' soldiers' and peasants' councils, workers' economic councils, and so on. These councils functioning at first under the capitalist domination will be instruments of the violent war of liberation, and afterwards will become the organs of social and economic transformation and reconstruction in the Communist Social Order.

The violent conquest of power by the workers should be followed by the transitory dictatorship of all the workers.

During this dictatorship Communism should be realized after which, with the disappearance of classes, every sort of class domination will also disappear, and the free development of everyone will become a condition of the free development of all.

It is therefore decided that: 1. The organization of the Italian Socialist Party shall be prepared according to these principles.

2. That the Party shall adhere to the Third International.

3. That it shall work with the industrial organizations in the class war.

We have condensed the main points of this long resolution, and set forth them here, because this is the resolution which was actually adopted by an overwhelming majority and now becomes the official policy of the Italian Socialist Party.

The Abstentionists' Resolution.

The motion of those who believe the time for participating in electoral contests is now past, who call themselves simply Communists, stated:

2. That the programme of 1892 is out of date, and that the Party should form an integral part of the International Communist movement, accepting the Moscow programme, and engaging itself to observe the discipline of the International Communist Congress.

2. It declared incompatible the presence in the party of those who proclaim the possibility of proletarian emancipation within the orbit of the present "democratic" régime, and who repudiate the method of the armed fight against the bourgeoisie by the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3. That the Party should assume the name "The Communist Party of Italy."

4. That the Party should abstain from the electoral struggle, intervening in the contest only to make known the reason of its attitude and engaging all the organization and force of the Party in the work.

5. That the organs of the workers should be armed with the practical means of warfare necessary for the attainment of the Communist programme.

A manifesto was issued by the abstentionists together with the resolution, from which we have condensed the most outstanding points. This manifesto surveys the situation and outlines a revolutionary programme, the setting up of the Soviets, socialisation of banks, industries, the land and so on. It calls for the setting up of a Provisional Committee before the proletarian triumph, which will direct the struggle against Capitalism and arrange for the election of the Soviets.

The second point in the abstentionist's programme, that which dictated the ejection from the Party of the Reformists who say that the workers can be emancipated within the bourgeois parliamentary system, and who repudiate the Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, received support from many of the Maximalists, who, though still wishing to run Parliamentary candidates, desire the Revolution and the Soviets.

Indeed the logic of the debate was with the Abstentionists and there were signs that large numbers of delegates were aware of that, though the Serrati motion secured upwards of 48,000 votes and the Lazzari motion upwards of 16,000, whilst the Abstentionists' motion had only 3,027. Many voices cried out: "Bordiga! next year you will have the 48,000." Bordiga smiled carelessly, for he believes that the Revolution will have arrived in Italy before next year's Socialist Congress can be held.

Some sober right wing Socialist also told us that in their view the Congress will have reached the Abstentionist position within the year. As a matter of fact, it is not only in the question of preparing directly for the revolution, instead of dallying further with Parliamentarism, that the Italian Abstentionists are thorough-going revolutionaries. It seemed to us that even in Italy, the approach of the Parliamentary election has a tendency to delay revolutionary action, though not as in Britain to cool revolutionary speech.

The Rise of the Abstentionist Movement in Italy.

We were eager to know how the Abstentionist movement had arisen in the Italian Socialist Party; whether it had had an originating leader, and had started from one centre. We were informed that the movement had developed spontaneously in all directions, each section ignorant of the existence of the rest. Only at the Congress itself had the Abstentionists learnt their full strength, and how widely they were dispersed.

This important movement, important because it is composed entirely of those who are prepared to proceed to revolution, is of very recent growth. In Turin, where it comprises one-third of the Socialist Party, it arose because it was felt to be the logical outcome of the Executive's decision to join the Third International and to recognize the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat, a policy approved by the Party as a whole. The Abstentionist group was formed in Turin immediately after the strike of July 1918 and 21st, but the discussion from which it sprang had been going on for some time before. The Abstentionist movement in Naples, which has absorbed practically the whole of the Socialist Party there—the Party is not large in the South—began immediately after the Armistice, when the prospects of the next General Election came under review. At Naples is published a weekly organ of the Abstentionist movement, which is called "The Soviet" and has a circulation, as yet, of only 3,000 copies weekly.

Bordiga, who moved the Abstentionist resolution and was its principal

spokesman at the Congress, is a young civil engineer of Naples and looks curiously like the press photographs of Béla Kun. He is full of energy;—every evening following the Congress he addressed a public meeting on "Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." His thought is exceedingly clear-cut; he declares himself a doctrinaire. In speaking he makes sharp-pointed references to the big wigs of the movement; and it seems at times that his very presence excites passion in the assembly.

Bordiga Predicts a Split.

Bordiga believes a split in the Party to be inevitable; when it comes, he says, the greater part of the Serrati faction will join the Abstentionists, and the smaller part will fall back with the Reformists. In the Abstentionist movement, he told us, there are a few "intellectuals"; the majority of its members are of the working-class. In Turin and some other places the Abstentionists are working closely with the Workshop Committees. Many Turin Abstentionists believe that the industrial councils of workers, which are now being built up to perform economic and technical functions, will eventually form the Soviets; Bordiga does not think so and he believes this conception to be dangerous. He believes that the representation of the workers as a class, in the Marxist meaning of the phrase, should be independent of any accident of trade, specially in the period of expropriating the capitalists. The Soviets at this stage should, in his view, be above mere industrial divisions, as purely economic functions will be taken over by economic councils. He agrees that the economic function is more important than the political; nevertheless, he says, Soviets, unless dominated by Communists, will not secure Communism. He points out that there is Communism in Russia because the Soviets are Communist, and there is no Communism in Germany although there are Soviets. He says this is because those Soviets are not Communist. They would now be Communist however had the Spartacist Revolution succeeded, we believe. He believes that the Communist Party has as big a function to fulfill after the initial Revolution as before. A Communist majority in the Soviets, he says, makes possible the continuation of the revolution, and unless the Russian Soviets had been Communist, they would not have made the Soviets an organ of proletarian dictatorship.

He says that during the preliminary stages of the Revolution the Soviets should consist of members of the Communist Party only, and that before the Revolution the Party should prepare a list of persons, who are to assume the preliminary Executive functions.

We observed that the Russian Revolution did not proceed in this way—that all workers were eligible for election to the Soviets; that the Communists were originally in a minority in the Soviets, but that they demanded all power for the Soviets, trusting to the inevitable drift to the left when the workers had secured control to bring the majority round to their way of thinking. Bordiga replied that observation of the Russian Revolution should teach us to take a shorter cut to the same objective.

In asserting that in the early stages of revolution the Soviets should be confined to Communist workers, Bordiga was expressing his personal view to us for this is not indicated in the manifesto and resolution of the Abstentionist faction, though the preparation of a Communist professional Executive finds a place in it.

After the Congress the Abstentionists met and decided to remain in the Socialist Party, and to propagate their abstentionist views only within the Party and not amongst the workers outside—thus it should not be said that they were injuring the electoral prospects of the majority.

—"Workers' Dreadnought."

French Workers Form Red Guard.

"The Populaire" announces that in order to answer the provocative actions of the blackguards of the famous "Bloc," a Red Guard will be created to defend all revolutionary, Socialist, Syndicalist, Libertarian and Communist ideas.

Soviets in Australia.

Sydney, October 21st. The inhabitants of Port-Darwin, dissatisfied with the way in which they are governed, have proclaimed a Soviet Government.

—"Workers' Dreadnought."

PARTY NEWS WHY THE STRIKING PRINTERS LOST RED ARMY GREAT FIGHTING POWER

NOTICE Party headquarters will remain at 207 East 10th Street until further notice. Come up!

- BRANCH MEETINGS 1st A. D. Manhattan, 180 Henry St., every Friday. 2nd A. D. Manhattan, 255 Grand Street, every Friday. 6th A. D. Manhattan, 604 E. 9th Street, 2-4 Fridays. 8th A. D. Manhattan, 207 E. 10th Street, every Thursday. 17-18-20th A. D. Manhattan, 80 East 110th St., every Tuesday. 32-23 A. D. Manhattan, 2018 Amsterdam Ave., 34 Wednesday. Jewish 8th A. D. 207 E. 10th St., every Wednesday. Jewish Harlem, 104th St. and Madison Ave., every Thursday. Russian Communist, 357 E. 10th St., every Wednesday. 5th Ukrainian, 274 Grand St., every Friday. Ukrainian No. 20, 233 E. 5th St., every Friday. Eschonian, 325 E. 70th St., 1st and 3d Wednesday. German Yorkville, 250 E. 81st St., 1st and 3d Thursday. German Night Workers, 343 East 84th St., 1st and 3d Saturday. 5th A. D. Bronx, 1304 Southern Blvd., every Tuesday. Russian Branch No. 3, Bronx, 1304 Southern Boulevard, every Thursday. KINGS: Russian No. 4, 290 Sackman St., every Friday. 4th A. D., 208 Grand St., every Thursday. 14th A. D. Jewish, 208 Grand St., every Tuesday. 23rd A. D. Jewish, 206—2nd Street, every Thursday. 6th A. D. English, 220 Stockton St., every Tuesday. 6th A. D. Jewish, 220 Stockton St., every Saturday.

The printers' strike has been broken. The officials of the International Typographical Union have accomplished what neither employers nor scabs could accomplish. To them goes the credit for breaking the strike and the men are fully aware of that. After a heroic resistance of 8 weeks the men gave in. That they would lose out in the end seemed a foregone conclusion for the rank and file did not have the initiative and energy to take the steps necessary to carry out a successful strike.

They used the old officers, wherever the old officers permitted. They remained "loyal" to the old organization. The web pressmen had the courage to leave the old International, but showed their parochial craft character by forming a new international union of web pressmen only. Their walkout from Berry's union should have been followed by an appeal to all dissatisfied and secessionist elements to join them and form an International Industrial Printing Trades Union.

I commenced my work then,—said the former General Parsky,—when the Germans began their absolutely unexpected offensive. The old army left the front in disorder, disorganized and undisciplined. Red guards, sailors and soldiers from Petrograd, Moscow, and other manufacturing centres were sent to replace the old army. They united with the remains of the old army, and in that manner a defense was organized which was called the front-line veil.

AN INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL PARSKY Successful in organizing river and lake flotillas which acted successfully on the Volga, Kama, in the west and on the Southern Dvina in the north. Due to all these measures the Republic was successful not only in beating back the offensive of the counter-revolution of Denikine and Krasnow from the south, Chugai-Slovaks from the east, but to start an offensive of her own.

A SMALL WORLD After all, this is a small world. On Friday it was reported that, owing to the menacing advance of the Bolsheviki forces, Admiral Kolchak has ordered a "preliminary evacuation" (preliminary, presumably, to the capture of the town by the Reds) of Omsk by the American Hospital and several governmental offices, which will be established at Irkutsk, near the southern end of Lake Baikal.

BEATING BOLSHEVISM BY ARITHMETIC Kolchak's armies may retreat, but they do not surrender—not, at any rate, if they can help it. According to an official Moscow bulletin, the Red troops, on their recent capture of the important city of Patropavlovsk, 166 miles northwest of Omsk, have bagged no more than 1,500 prisoners. A mere trifle, compared to the 25,000 Bolsheviki, who, according to a Denikine bulletin, have been captured by the Volunteer Army and their Don attacks, auxiliaries in the ten days between October 17 and 27. Proceeding at this rate, the Russian problem will be soon solved to the entire satisfaction of the Quai d'Orsay even if the Bolsheviki succeed in chasing Kolchak into the Pacific.

Self-sacrifice and union loyalty they understood, but what they did not understand was the necessity of smashing utterly the old organizations that were opposing them and giving to the mass strike a mass expression through a new organization with new representatives, elected from below and controlled from below. They should have burned their bridges behind them, severed all connection with the old International and formed a new industrial printing trades union. Instead, they temporized, substituted a "vacation" for a "strike," thus recognizing the right of the old officials to declare their strike "illegal."

The workers in the compositor, press feeder, pressman and paper handler crafts are drifting back to work, sulen, resentful, beaten. If they direct their resentment merely toward the accomplishment of a change of officers, the strike will have been lost indeed. If they have learned from it that they must have an industrial union of the printing trades with shop organizations in place of crafts, and with officials elected from and controlled from the shops, then the strike will not have been in vain. Then instead of a defeat it will have been a mere schooling for victory.

This coincided with the time of the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty. The organization and command of the armies were in embryo at the time. The commanding staff was of great variety; there were old officers, there were soldiers, mostly old petit officers; commanders were also selected from the factory hands and sailors. The military status of these armies was of very weak character. The quantity was also insufficient; although these divisions called themselves regiments, very often a regiment contained no more than 50-60 people. The majority of these regiments were infantry, of course, because the infantry was a much easier form of militarism; there were very few in the artillery and the cavalry. The absence of the cavalry was very long and they were forced to use only infantry.

Notwithstanding the access of lies, falsehoods and insinuations, notwithstanding the chaos out of which the new army had to be formed, I as an expert may say that the Red Army, which is growing under my eyes,—using a biblical expression,—practically grew from a mustard seed into a great fighting power.

ONE DAY'S WAGE TO THE DEFENSE FUND LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

NOTICE Party headquarters will remain at 207 East 10th Street until further notice. Come up!

Why isn't your branch on this list. Appoint a man to take charge of your publicity.

These armies were of a very mixed type, bright and of all degrees of military qualities; there were more or less good warriors, but they were absolutely disorganized. It is to be expected that the results would have been fatal if the Germans had continued their offensive.

According to nationalities, these divisions, especially near the Masva, on the front which I commanded, were divided into Lettish, Esthonian and Russian. It should be noted that the best organized and also most dependable were the Letts.

GERMAN WORKERS REFUSE TO WORK WITH RIGHT-WINGERS Independents and Communists are gradually getting rid of all Social Democrats so that the workers' councils will contain but few, if any, adherents of Scheideiman in Berlin, by the simple device of going out on strike for the discharge of all supporters of the Ebert-Scheideman Noske Government.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL FIRST ISSUE Critical and Scientific Magazine of the Communist Party of America. Ninety-six pages of special articles and editorials. Features of First Issue: "The Proletarian Revolution and the Betrayal of Kautsky" By Nicolaï Lenin. "The Red Army" By Leon Trotsky. "Communist Party Problems" By Louis C. Fraina. "Dictatorship and Democracy" By Maurice Sugar. "The Communist Party, Manifesto and Program" By J. Bickelbach. "Unionism and Reconstruction in Russia" By B. Kosteloff. Other articles and 28 pages of editorials. Send orders at once. Single copies 25c. Bundles of 5 of 100c. 15c. ORDER FROM Communist Party of America, Local Greater N. Y., 207 East 10th Street, New York.

THEY LIE

By A. Nyemanoff.

A short report from London to the Associated Press from its correspondent says that another declaration was made in the British Parliament of the intended change of course of English policy in respect to Russia. It was stated in the Parliament that "Britain no longer supplies Kolchak with money or military supplies." In respect to Denikine the British Government also has no intention to supply him with all necessities "lead-lessly."

FIGHT OR STARVE - JAPAN'S CHOICE

Bunji Suzuki, president of the Yantai (Japanese Federation of Labor), has given an interview to the American press in which he predicts that unless the immigration restrictions are removed Japan will have to starve or fight.

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HEAD

Different Government agencies announced the release of Comrade Fritz Platten from the prison of Glava, and his expulsion from Romania across the Ukrainian frontier with the excuse of facilitating his return to Moscow. This really means Platten's capture by the White troops and probable death.

An officer of the Political Department of Berne states that a certain Lieutenant-Colonel Schaefer is instructed to have dealings with the anti-Bolshevik league in order to render powerless the agitators from Switzerland and Germany. This same Schaefer advised Swiss States to allow a German agent on condition that he should assassinate Platten before reaching Switzerland.

FOR COMMUNIST PRISONERS

CONCERT AND DANCE SATURDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 29, 504 A. S. BRONX 1304 Southern Blvd. Bronx Jazz Band. Admission 25c. BENEFIT OF DEFENSE FUND.

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WHEN HE SEES HIS BESS.

"Chundilla" writes the London labor paper "Daily Herald," "transferred his eyes from Siberia to the Gulf of Finland. The sense of his situation has become Petrograd." Absolutely true, but the Chundilla will not see Petrograd as they will not see their ears.

HURRIED IN MOSCOW, ARRESTED IN PARIS.

After Alexandra Tolstoy, wife of the late Lyof Tolstoy, had died and been buried in Moscow, the same lady in Paris reported to the New York Times that she had been arrested by the Bolsheviki Government for "plotting in behalf of the Hohenzollerns." And the Times reported it so.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND COMMUNIST UNITY

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party is still carrying on its early agitation among the locals and membership of the Communist Party. This campaign was deliberately started and is being carried on in order to create discord and disintegration in our party.

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LEGAL DON'TS TO MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

1. If you are rounded up in any raids or arrested for Communist Party activities, you will probably be questioned by some of the raiding officers, members of the Lusk Committee, Federal agents or other officers of "Law and Order." Do not talk to them at all. Give them no information about the Communist Party, its principles, tactics, interpretation of the manifesto and program, officers, members, activities and plans. First telephone your friends. Instruct them to notify the attorneys representing the Communist Party. This right the law gives you. Insist on it. Remember! Give these people no information, as it will be used against you and our organization. Pay no attention to their threats or promises. Their only desire is to crush you and the Party.

2. If served with a subpoena to appear before the Grand Jury, you will probably be accosted by Assistant District Attorney Korke and Archibald Stevenson. They may take you to Korke's office or a side room and question you. Refuse to talk to them. They cannot compel you to submit to such an examination. You were subpoenaed to appear before the Grand Jury and not before them. Give them no information as they will try to get damaging testimony out of you to be used against you and the Party.

If taken before the Grand Jury, do not under any circumstances sign a waiver of immunity. Remember this! DO NOT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES SIGN A WAIVER OF IMMUNITY! If you do, you waive the right to be immune from a criminal prosecution for the offense concerning which you are being examined. They will then also use the testimony gotten from you, against you. If you have refused to sign this waiver of immunity and are sworn and put on the stand, be careful of your answers. If you do not know about some matter concerning which you are being examined, then answer, "I don't know." If you are asked any question which may tend to incriminate you of a crime, refuse to answer on the ground "that the question may tend to convict you of a crime." It is not necessary that the question should convict you of a crime. The fact that it may tend to do so, even if remote, is enough of a legal excuse for refusal to answer. The judge then decides whether you are or are not to answer the question.

3. If you are arrested and are not bailed out as soon as you hoped to be, do not lose your courage. The Communist Party is on the job nevertheless. It has other cases like yours and there are other important matters to be attended to. If there is delay, rest assured that your case is being given attention. Do not speak to anybody in jail about your case, as there are numerous spies and stool-pigeons in the jails.

IS THIS THE WORLD REVOLUTION?

By CALUMET LUDLOW

Will the Russian Revolution become the world revolution? This is the real problem facing the Russian proletariat and the proletariat of the entire world. And friend and foe of the proletariat are alike agreed that unless the Russian revolution has ushered in the period of the world social revolution, the Russian workers' republic must in the end perish.

To answer this question, it becomes necessary to discover, first, the weapons by means of which the Russian revolution has thus far triumphed, and, second, the conditions which will determine the success of the world revolution.

Why Russia Has Won the First Phase.

The workers of Russia have definitely won the first phase of the struggle. They have seized power and established an instrument that has been efficient in retaining power, namely the proletarian dictatorship. By means of this instrument they have broken the backbone of internal counter-revolution, destroyed the economic and political power of the Russian bourgeoisie, organized production and national life on a proletarian basis, forced their nearest neighbors to sue for peace, and destroyed the various military adventures of the succession of "governments" set up by the Allies on Russian soil.

How have they attained this decisive success? How is it that German troops, Allied troops, reactionary native troops, and the combined resources and finances of the entire imperialist world as embodied in the League of Nations have received a decisive defeat?

The Logic of Class War.

Russia's weapon has been a very simple one, and by the simple logic of the revolution, one that works as well at home or abroad, among natives or aliens, against invaders or counter-revolutionists. RUSSIA HAS DIVIDED THE OPPOSING FORCES INTO CLASSES.

The first menace to the Russian workers upon their seizure of power in the industrial centers was the danger that, as in 1905, or as in 1848, the peasantry would become the backbone of counter-revolution.

This menace was promptly and decisively met. Every day tons, carloads, trainloads of propaganda were rushed into the rural districts. Representatives of the Soviets were sent into the peasant sections with instructions to set poor peasantry and agricultural

proletariat against rich peasantry, to foment and intensify the slowly developing rural class struggle. The official organizations of the peasants containing rich and poor, master and servant alike, were ignored—and the peasants' councils were formed out of the poorest peasants and agricultural proletariat. These seized the land from the rich peasants and land-owners. Thus the rural districts, potential centers of counter-revolution, were turned into a source of strength, and the poor peasantry and agricultural proletariat became the natural allies of the industrial proletariat.

Dividing the Cossacks.

Then there was a menace of Kaledin and the Cossacks. The same tactics were pursued. And with the same success. The Cossacks were divided into rich and poor, into large landholders and petty ones into men and officers. Two months after the propaganda among the Cossacks began, Kaledin saw his army melting away and blew out his brains.

Why has Russia been able thus far to resist the united forces and wealth of the entire capitalist world? Because they have divided these forces, broke them up, set them warring among themselves, promoted the growth of the revolutionary spirit among the workers everywhere, and won natural allies among their enemies.

And against this divided opposition they have been able to present a united class front that has proved unshakably victorious everywhere. The very countries that make up the reactionary League of Nations have been divided internally by the parties within them which adhere to the Third International. Even the boasted economic power of the United States, which turned the tide in the world war, cannot be brought to bear with full effectiveness against Russia, because of the strikes here against shipping manumissions to the forces of counter-revolution. Such have been the weapons through which the Russian revolution has thus far triumphed and won the first phase of the proletarian struggle.

Will It Become a World Revolution?

The second problem which we posed was, What are the conditions which will determine the success or failure of the world revolution?

"In war, and particularly in revolutionary warfare, rapidity of action until some decided advantage is gained is the first rule." And the first condition of revolutionary warfare has been successfully fulfilled in the triumph of the Russian workers over all the forces of internal reaction.

"The insurrectionary career once entered upon, act with the greatest determination and on the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed rising. . . . Prepare new successes, however small, but daily; keep up the moral ascendancy which the first successful rising has given you; . . . force your enemies to a retreat before they can collect their strength against you; in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy, 'ye connaissez, de l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace!'"

"The Art of Insurrection."

So wrote Marx on the art of insurrection in 1852. It is still the formula for revolution in 1919. If the Russian revolution is to succeed, it must become the world revolution. If the Russian revolution is to become the world revolution, it must remain permanently upon the offensive. Each day must see new struggles, new attacks, new successes. The world, thrown into a turmoil of unrest by the war and the attendant breakdown of the machinery of capitalism, must never be permitted to sink into its old lethargy. The aroused working class must never again be cowed into submission or drugged with worn-out formulas of class peace and classless government. There must be no peace through submission, only peace through conquest, through the triumph of the world revolution.

Is the World Quieting Down?

The question then resolves itself into the simple one, Is the world quieting down? Is the class war becoming less and less intense? Is the working class weakening and giving in? If so, the Russian revolution is doomed to failure.

On the other hand, if the class struggle is intensifying, if larger and larger sections of the working class in every country of the world are joining the ranks of the class-conscious, determined enemies of the capitalist system, if the international revolution remains on the offensive—then its success is assured.

Let us see? Europe moves from riot to riot, from strike to strike, from insurrection to insurrection. Germany cannot settle down. Austria cannot settle down. The Independents of Germany ever toward the Communists, and this winter promises to be crucial there. Production is at a stand-still, the contradictions in capitalism make the mark worthless, and capitalist exchange practically impossible. And now in Von Hindenburg, the forces of reaction are finding their Kornilov. Like the Kornilov of Russia, he will unite the revolutionary forces.

And the Allied countries? They have already wearied of "victory." Their class peace, so solid throughout the war, has been destroyed. Their League of Nations, so enthusiastically championed by the Allied workers, has lost the confidence of those workers and gained their enmity. The war against Russia provokes ever fresh strikes, ever fresh insurrections of troops. Their industries, too, are wrecked and only a proletarian revolution can reorganize them on a working basis. They, too, are helpless in the grip of a falling rate of exchange and inflated credit.

The Ferment in the United States.

But the United States, last stronghold and bastion of the capitalist system? What about it? It, too, moves from strike to strike, from convulsion to convulsion, from unrest to greater unrest. Its government is forced to show its class character by crushing the strikes that are occurring in basic industries. That bulwark of reaction, the American Federation of Labor, is being shattered by its attempts to preserve a civil or class peace. A handful of strikes are "authorized"; seventy odd A. F. of L. strikes are "unauthorized." Conservative Unions are cracking. The longshoremen, the coal miners, have struck against their officials and against the government, against the capitalist system.

When did the United States ever present so many strikes at once? Who could have dreamed of a successful revolt in capitalism's basic industry, steel? The tide of unrest is rising in the United States just as surely as elsewhere. In the United States, as elsewhere, the revolutionary ferment is working.

The international revolution is on the offensive. It prepares

VULGAR SOCIALISM BY CORRESPONDENCE

Chapter III. The Berenbergian Class Struggle

The Class (Room) Struggle.

There is a small group in the Communist Party of America which seems to think that the class struggle is so named because it is to be fought out in the class room. This theory at least has the merit that it recognizes that the modern socialist movement is not based upon the mere sentiment of unconscious rebellion against patent evils in society and contrasts between poverty and wealth; but is rather a scientific movement based upon generalizations drawn from a study of economic facts. The class room theory of the class struggle is deficient, however, in that it does not recognize that Marxism is a theory of action as well as of observation and generalization. The development of Socialism from utopia to science may be accomplished in the class room, but not the development of socialism from science to action. It is a reactionary movement that makes of Marxism "a mere method of historical investigation," a futile exercise in talmudic interpretation of sacred text. The lessons of the conditions of the victory of the working class, of communism, of Marxism in action, must be learned by actual participation in the struggles of the working class, must be learned, not in the class room, but in the field of the class struggle itself.

The Rand-School-Class Struggle.

Berenberg's explanation of the class struggle, as taught in the Sixth Lesson of his Rand School Correspondence Course in the "Fundamentals of Socialism" seems to indicate that the only type of struggle one can learn in the Rand School class room is a preparation for that type of hagglng which takes place between push cart peddler and prospective customer, between A. F. of L. union leader and employer of craft union labor—a sort of fish-wife struggle.

Berenberg represents the he-all and end-all of the class struggle as a "struggle over the division of that surplus value which labor produces." If that be the nature of the class struggle, then the A. F. of L. is a fitting instrument for waging it and a thoroughly competent East Side push cart peddler of the infra-petty-bourgeois type will make the best leader of the working class. Furthermore, not a social revolution, but Wilson-Gompers collective bargaining schemes contain all the requisites for a solution of the class struggle.

It is true that the quarrel over the division of surplus value, not conscientiously as such, but unconsciously as a struggle for larger profits on the part of employers for the maintenance of the same or the acquirement of higher wage standards on the part of workers, does contribute its share to class friction and to the welding of the proletariat into a class—but the class struggle means far more than that. Such a class struggle would not be a political struggle nor would it have revolutionary significance.

Why the Class Struggle Is Revolutionary.

We saw in our previous analysis of Berenberg's "Material Determinism" that the social organism must be reworked for the sake of analysis, into an economic "foundation," the mode of production, on the one hand; and a social "super-structure," consisting of law, government, morality, religion, philosophy and the like, on the other. We saw, too, how the legal-political superstructure rose from, and gave expression to, the economic foundation; how the economic foundation changed by the superstructure tended to remain static, until "from forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into fetters" upon the forces of production. "Then comes the era of the social revolution."

Now this is no mere blind struggle of inanimate forces in which may play the passive part of uninterested, or at best scientifically interested, bystanders. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE DEVELOPING FORCES OF PRODUCTION AND THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL FETTERS THAT PREVENT THEIR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT MAN-

ifests ITSELF AS A STRUGGLE BETWEEN OPPOSING CLASSES. One of these classes, the ruling class, is identified with the superstructure and the other, the revolutionary class, is identified with the developing forces of production. When the ruling class originally attains political power and develops a legal-political-spiritual superstructure to express its needs, it really expresses the needs of society at that time. But as the superstructure through which it rules and retains power changes from a form of development to a fetter upon the forces of production, then arises a new class, the further development of which is identified with the developing mode of production. To this class the superstructure is a fetter, and, therefore, a means of oppression. This oppressed class is gradually led to a realization that its oppressors, the ruling class, must be overthrown, and that it must seize and destroy the instruments of oppression, ruling class law, ruling class government, etc., and establish its own "superstructure," its own government and law in place of that of the ruling class. Then the class struggle takes on a political and revolutionary significance, and the era of the social revolution is begun.

LENINE ORDERS TROTZKY JAILED IN JAIL HIMSELF

(The World, October 25th)

LENINE AGREES TO CONCESSIONS

(The World, October 21st)

TROTZKY MOBILIZES ALL PETROGRAD MEN

(The Times, October 26th)

Chaliapine, Plague Stricken, Reported Slain by Reds

(The World, October 28th)

Chaliapine Not Killed by Reds

(The Times, November 5th)

PETROGRAD'S FALL IS NEAR, BUT REDS STAY IN CRONSTADT

(The World, October 28th)

BOLSHEVIK GRIP ON PETROGRAD GROWS TIGHTER

(The Tribune, October 28th)

YUDENITCH DRIVES NEAR PETROGRAD

(The World, October 30th)

REPORT YUDENITCH ARMY SURROUNDED

(The Times, November 5th)

Report Reds Will Prohibit Christian Names for Children

(The Times, November 5th)

Notice Party Headquarters will remain at 207 East 10th Street until further notice. Come up!

When wages are a hundred dollars a week you'll work two hours for coffee and sinners.

Just think, fellow workers, if you save a dollar a day for a million days you will have a million dollars, and Rockefeller has only a thousand times that much.

You're not too old to learn—you're just damned lazy.

Notice Party headquarters will remain at 207 East 10th Street until further notice. Come up!

voluntary workers. Yes, friend Berenberg, the leaders of the reaction in Germany are social-democrats, right-wing socialists, Mensheviks and right social-revolutionary hounds of the side of the enemies of the Russian proletariat. Lenin and Gompers will fight the revolutionary workers, and the Communist Party knows it, but the Socialist Party does not. The revolutionary working class will never include all the craft-bound still-possessing aristocrats of labor until after the final stage of the class struggle is fought and won. The right wing Socialist, afflicted with a petty bourgeois ideology will also be among the missing when the revolution is won. Nay, more, he may be, as in Germany and Russia he in fact was, in the lists of the enemies of the revolutionary proletariat.

IDIOTORIALS

Truth's a vessel somewhat leaky Here in times of strain and stress When the world's in such a mess . . . Speaking of the Bolshevik, To you read the daily press?

FACTS ARE SUCH CHASING, SNEAKY THINGS AS WHICH TO TRY A SNAKE: ANY "GUY" MAY PROVE A "GUY" . . . BY THE WAY, THE BOLSHEVIK! SHOW—WELL, READ THE DAILY PRESS!

Some, like bees, should be stung; For and Center more of bees Mined, that all may acquire, Thus as in the Bolshevik, Make the giants of our press.

Rumor, in his chariot crazy, Presses up to Trotsky's address, Seeking her a dispensation . . . Shamefully these Bolshevik! Treat our grave, important press!

Company (all the same it checks), Though attractive, all useless, Never shall achieve success While 'twixt us and economy, Stand our steps, reticent press!

When wages are a hundred dollars a week you'll work two hours for coffee and sinners.

Just think, fellow workers, if you save a dollar a day for a million days you will have a million dollars, and Rockefeller has only a thousand times that much.

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