

# The Communist

Official Paper of the Communist Party of America

Vol. I, No. 6

Chicago, Ill., Saturday, August 23, 1919

Five Cents

## Nationalizing the Railroads

Glenn E. Plumb, a Chicago lawyer and counsel for the organized railway employes of America, has occupied the front pages of the capitalist press for the past two weeks in his efforts on behalf of the railway brotherhoods to induce congress to accept his "tripartite" system of railway control as a reconstruction measure and as superior to the old system of operation of the transportation system by private capitalists. This is a counter demand of the owners who desire the government to relinquish control of the railways to the pre-war management.

The Plumb plan provides that the government purchase the railroads and turn them over at a nominal rental to the National Railways Operating Corporation to manage. This operating corporation is to be under the control of a board of fifteen directors, five of whom represent the classified employees, or working force; five official employees, or managers, superintendents, etc.; and five to represent the public to be appointed by the president of the United States. This board of directors will have full control over all the railways of the country and will be the court of last resort in fixing freight and passenger rates and other sources of revenue. It will also have the power to determine wages, but the right of employees to strike in case they are not satisfied with the decision will not be abridged.

Opponents of the bill, speaking before the various chambers of commerce and manufacturers' associations, seem to be greatly concerned about insufficient representation of the public. As an example of the attitude of these public spirited citizens, we quote the following from Mr. Charles Pietz, chairman of the railroad committee of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association:

"The bill is about as bad as it can be made. It has not even the ordinary safeguards that state Socialism would provide, for the public in essence surrenders two-thirds of the voting control of this vast property to the employes without power of revocation, and leaves them free to levy wholesale tribute on the general public. With all the powers and privileges granted the employes, there is still no certainty of continued operation, for the employes are not compelled even under this extravagantly liberal plan of self management to waive their rights to strike. "As a shipper and a citizen, I should like to be told what advantage, or profit, the public will get out of the privilege of paying the yearly deficit."

This spokesman of the manufacturers seems to be greatly concerned about the interests of the public, but on careful examination we learn that the particular section of the public Mr. Pietz seems concerned about is the petty bourgeois shipper. He may imagine the public is greatly concerned about the quarrels of the shipper with the railroad companies, but the working portion of the public is not at all concerned about the price

the shipper pays for transportation, unless it can be deluded into believing that a high rate for shipping commodities will enable the retailer to raise the price of his merchandise. The worker who is at all familiar with economics will refuse to sympathize with the petty business men in their struggle against the powerful combinations of capital. The price of commodities is not changed because one group of capitalists have to pay a higher wage or another group higher freight rates.

The Plumb plan is foredoomed to failure because it attempts to reconcile the irreconcilable antagonism between the working class and the capitalist class. The opposition to the plan which emanates from capitalist sources, is not wholly opposition to nationalization of railroads, as such, but opposition to tripartite control. Government ownership of railroads and other large industries is the inevitable result of this stage of industrial development under capitalism. It is inevitable because the large industries have outgrown the control of individual capitalists or groups or capitalists. As the state represents the capitalist class as a whole it must assume control of these industries. The idea that any capitalist government (state) represents the people controlled by that government is a childish delusion, as the function of the state is and always has been that of an instrument of coercion in the hands of one class for the purpose of maintaining its supremacy over another class. The State has always been the means whereby a minority in human society imposed its will by force upon the majority; under chattel slavery it was the State of the slave master; under feudalism the State of the feudal baron; under capitalism the State of the capitalist class. The coercive force of the State is brought into play not only against attempts on the part of the subject class to contest the supremacy of the ruling class, but against individual members of the ruling class itself when their interests conflict with the interests of capitalism in general. An example of such action on the part of the state was revealed during its conduct of the war. Early in the war it was found necessary for the government to control the transportation system and, as the representative of the capitalist class as a whole it did not take into consideration the special and immediate interests of the railway magnates, despite the opposition of some of the most prominent. The large financial capitalists, although controlling billions in railroad stock, readily relinquished control of it in order to more efficiently protect larger interests of an in-

ternational character. The incorporation of the railroads into the United States government was merely the means of obtaining the maximum of power from the State military machine.

But now that the crisis is over the owners of the railroads are requesting the restoration of the management to the pre-war basis. For that reason they resent the Plumb plan. Many others, not directly interested in the railroads, object to the plan because they realize the confusion that will result from such a combination. The principal objection of Mr. Pietz seems to be that the government, which he prefers to call "public" has only one-third of the representation on the board of directors. We are inclined to believe that Mr. Pietz understands the fact that the government does not and cannot represent the heterogeneous mass of people constituting the public, so his concern over the interests of the "dear public" is merely a subterfuge behind which he hides his desire for government control of the transportation system by having a larger number of government-appointed members of the board.

Another spokesman of capital, Senator Myers, of Montana, becomes delirious in contemplation of the representatives of the workers having a voice in the control of the railways. The following is his lugubrious wail:

"Already the railroad employes have threatened to strike if they are not given an increase in wages. I for one do not favor increasing their wages. The increase would not be justified.

"Accompanying their demand for increased wages is a demand that the industries of the country be sovietized. This demand also is accompanied by threats of dire disaster to the country if the so-called Plumb plan is not accepted.

"I do not favor sovietizing the industries. If the railroads are sovietized, that will be only an entering wedge. A vast propaganda is being carried on with the sovietizing of all industries as the end in view.

"The country would be thoroughly Russianized if the Plumb plan were carried out to its logical conclusion."

Thus Mr. Plumb, as a reward for his efforts to solve one of the nation's problems, has been consigned to the ranks of those whom the conservative politicians call "bolsheviki." Mr. Plumb's friends may consider that an epithet of degradation; but the revolutionist will consider it unwarranted flattery of Mr. Plumb. In his defense we are willing to furnish a mass of evidence to prove his innocence of the charge of endeavoring to "sovietize" America. Furthermore, we can assure the capitalist class that it has nothing to fear from the tripartite plan.

Any group of workingmen, such as the organized railway workers of America, who believe they can secure any benefits from such a combination are in-

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# Communist Organization

By Alexander Stoklitsky

Under the pressure of sharp criticism and finally the complete realization of the fact that the old Socialist Party organization is not worth capturing the majority of the Left Wing Council, who had opposed the immediate call for the formation of a Communist Party, have come to realize their error and have now changed their attitude toward us. The so-called majority of the Left Wing has now fully accepted the tactics of the National Organization Committee of the Communist Party; so the slogan of both groups, united as one, is now: "Sever all relations with the old party and build up a new militant Communist Party."

Accepting this slogan, the National Left Wing Council withdraws from the old party and joins the National Organization Committee in its call for a convention to organize the new party. Issuing the joint call for the convention of September 1, the National Council of the Left Wing comments: "Realizing also the futility of participating in the proposed emergency convention of the Socialist Party, the Council does hereby join with the National Organization Committee in issuing the following call for the organization of the Communist Party." Then follows the call issued previously by the minority Communist group and signed by both and which appears on another page. Those who have the interests of the revolutionary movement at heart cannot fail but to feel elated at this outcome, as this action on the part of both groups and the determination to devote the combined energies of the members to the organization of the new party will mark the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the revolutionary movement in this country.

The revolutionary proletariat of America, passing over the ruins of the opportunistic party, faces today very vital problems. One of the most important of these problems is how to build and how to organize the Communist Party so the principles of Communist International can be interpreted to conform to conditions of capitalism in America and put into practice.

The majority of the readers of The Communist are familiar with the form of organization of the old Socialist Party, with its state autonomy and its bureaucratic officialdom. Every state is practically organized as an independent socialist party. "Official socialism" of Milwaukee is entirely different from "official socialism" in Ohio, both in regard to platforms and form of organization. Every state has a "socialism" of its own brand, and even dues are not uniform throughout the country. "Official papers" of the party are in most cases organs of independent associations, not at all affiliated with the central party organizations. Such important weapons in the struggle of the proletariat are left in the hands of the petty bourgeois ideologists who, in reality, prostitute the labor press. As examples, we have, for instance, "The Milwaukee Leader," the "New York Call," the Jewish "Daily Forward," the "Appeal to Reason," and many others scattered throughout the United States, and each contradicting not only the others, but containing in each issue glaring contradictions that an intelligent person who reads them becomes disgusted with the whole muddled mess. Such papers are even more vicious than the capitalist press, as they force upon the minds of the workers distorted ideas of the function of the proletariat. They are veritable poison to the minds of the workers. The Communist Party must have a uniform press so that a uniform program can be intelligently placed before the workers of the country, and this press must be under the direct control of the party. There is only one revolutionary socialism, one Communism, and whenever a reader picks up a Communist paper he will then find invariably the same general principles expounded.

The Socialist Party as a whole is the best example of pseudo-democratic decentralization; in other words, it is a lame excuse of a menshevik organization. The history of the revolutionary movement throughout Europe, as well as the practical experience gained in Russia, shows how dangerous is this decentralized form of organization; dangerous because of its inefficiency in propaganda work, in educational work and in organization. The strength of the Communist Parties in Europe is not only due to a clear understanding of the principles of revolutionary socialism, but also to strict party discipline and democratic centralization of their organization. What do we mean by the words "democratic centralization" of our organization? Is this only an insignificant phrase? No, indeed! It is the most essential feature of the structure of a

revolutionary organization. By the word "centralization" the bourgeois conceives of all forces united in the hands of a dictator. The word when applied to the revolutionary movement means that the workers consciously centralize their power by placing it temporarily in the hands of certain individuals who are trusted servants of the membership and who are thoroughly familiar with the problems arising out of the class conflict and have sufficient historical foresight, initiative and courage to function for the membership at all times. Does that mean the members have no right to criticize them? Certainly not! Any of the acts of officials can be criticized and should be criticized. But that criticism must be based on questions of principles and tactics and not against the party officials as individuals or the party organs as institutions. In order to immediately, or in a very short time, eliminate any disrupting elements or any traitors, it is necessary at all times to be able to get the recall into action without delay. Officers are constantly under the surveillance of the group for which they function, so there is no opportunity for Menshevik tendencies. Under those conditions opportunism is eliminated. Centralization enables the Communists to present a solid front against the highly centralized and well disciplined bureaucratic organizations of the imperialists. Against the combination of capitalists only a militant Communist Party, based on the principles of democratic centralization and revolutionary discipline can succeed in establishing the revolutionary dictatorship of the working class. The party has to be built as a revolutionary machine, which functions intelligently and consciously against the master class, carefully considering each step taken.

The old socialistic party used to recruit members from the ranks of the petty bourgeois, rather than from the proletariat, as its propaganda was of a nature to appeal to the middle class element. It was never able to reach the masses of the proletariat where they spent most of their waking hours—in the factories, mills, mines, upon the railways and in the other industries of capitalism. We must understand that the revolution by the proletariat must be accomplished by the working class itself, and that our propaganda should be of such a nature that it will have only a special appeal to the workers in each industry, but must be of a general nature so we can weld the broad masses of the workers into a unified mass. In this struggle on the part of the working class for emancipation, history places the Communist movement of the world at the head of this mass, as the vanguard of the proletariat.

The popularization of the principles of Communism and the idea of the necessity of a militant Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class must be our first consideration. Shop committees for the purpose of disseminating propaganda alone must be organized, so that each industry will be appealed to in language that the workers can understand—in the vernacular peculiar to each particular industry. Such committees are to be composed only of members of the Communist Party, so that they can always be under the direct control of the central groups.

This work must be organized on a national scale, so that at a given date all the workers in a certain industry or all the industries can be reached. This form of organization makes every member of our movement an active participant in party affairs. Passive elements are not only useless, but in some cases a positive hindrance to revolutionary activity because of being out of touch with the trend of events. When this organization is perfected the message of Communism will reach every part of the industrial life of the United States and the mighty voice of the vanguard of the American proletariat will ring around the world.

The time to think and act is here!

One of the Milwaukee "socialist" officials has been able to build up an eloquent defense of the actions of Scheideman, Ebert and their clique. Possibly he desires to defend his own actions should something occur in this country.

"Unity" is the plea of those who fear to break away from the reactionaries and dare not join with the revolutionary elements. The fence is awfully shaky, John; better climb off before you fall!

# Call for a National Convention for the Purpose of Organizing the Communist Party of America

After considerable negotiations seeking to eliminate the differences existing between the Communist elements of the Left Wing, as represented by the so-called minority and majority of the Left Wing Conference held in New York June 21 to 24, the National Council of the Left Wing Section Socialist Party realizing the necessity of the organization of the Communist Party of America, in accordance with the decisions of the National Left Wing Conference, realizing also the futility of participating in the proposed Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, does hereby join with the National Organization Committee in issuing the following call for the organization of the Communist Party:

In this, the most momentous period of the world's history, Capitalism is tottering to its ruin. The proletariat is straining at the chains which bind it. A revolutionary spirit is spreading throughout the world. The workers are rising to answer the clarion call of the Third International.

Only one Socialism is possible in the crisis. A socialism based upon understanding. A socialism that will express in action the needs of the proletariat. The time has passed for temporizing and hesitating. We must act. The Communist call of the Third International, the echo of the Communist Manifesto of 1848, must be answered.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America has evidenced by its expulsion of nearly half of the membership that it will not hesitate at wrecking the organization to maintain control. A crisis has been precipitated in the ranks of revolutionary Socialism by the wholesale expulsion or suspension of the membership comprising the Socialist Party of Michigan and Massachusetts, Locals and Branches throughout the country, together with seven language federations. This has created a condition in our movement that makes it manifestly impossible to longer delay the calling of a convention to organize a new party. Those who realize that the capturing of the Socialist Party as such is but an empty victory will not hesitate to respond to this call and leave the "right" and "center" to sink together with their leaders.

No other course is possible; therefore, we, the National Left Wing Council and the National Organization Committee, call a convention to meet in the city of Chicago on September 1, 1919, for the purpose of organizing a Communist Party in America.

This party will be founded upon the following principles:

1. The present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole capitalist system, which will mean the complete collapse of world culture, if Capitalism with its unsolvable contradictions is not replaced by Communism.

2. The problem of the proletariat consists in organizing and training itself for the conquest of the powers of the state. This conquest of power means the replacement of the state machinery of the bourgeoisie with a new proletarian machinery of government.

3. This new proletarian state must embody the dictatorship of the proletariat, both industrial and agricultural, this dictatorship constituting the instrument for the taking over of property used for exploiting the workers, and for the re-organization of society on a communist basis.

Not the fraudulent bourgeois democracy—the hypocritical form of the rule of the finance-oligarchy, with its purely formal equality—but proletarian democracy based on the possibility of actual realization of freedom for the working masses; not capitalist bureaucracy, but organs of administration which have been created by the masses themselves, with the real participation of these masses in the government of the country and in the activity of the communistic structure; this should be the type of the proletarian state. The Workers' Councils and similar organizations represent its concrete form.

4. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat shall carry out the abolition of private property in the means of production and distribution, by transfer to the proletarian state under Socialist administration of the working class; nationalization of the great business enterprises and financial trusts.

5. The present world situation demands the closest relation between the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

6. The fundamental means of the struggle for power is the mass action of the proletariat, a gathering together and concentration of all its energies; whereas methods such as the revolutionary use of the bourgeois parliamentarism are only of subsidiary significance.

In those countries in which the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against Cap-

italism. In all countries where the conditions for a worker's revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on.

But within the process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the capitalist power has at its command, in order to gain its ends, all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of upper class rule, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny and terror. To demand of the proletariat that it shall be content to yield itself to the artificial rules devised by its mortal enemy, is to make a mockery of the proletarian struggle for power—a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of the working class power.

7. The old Socialist International has broken into three main groups:

(a) Those frankly social patriots who since 1914 have supported their bourgeoisie and transformed those elements of the working class which they control into hangmen of the international revolution.

(b) The "Center," representing elements which are constantly wavering and incapable of following a definite plan of action, and which are at times positively traitorous; and

(c) The Communists.

As regards the social patriots, who everywhere in the critical moment oppose the proletarian revolution with force of arms, a merciless fight is absolutely necessary. As regards the "Center," our tactics must be to separate the revolutionary elements by pitilessly criticizing the leaders. Absolute separation from the organization of the "Center" is necessary.

8. It is necessary to rally the groups and proletarian organizations who, though not as yet in the wake of the revolutionary trend of the Communist movement, nevertheless have manifested and developed a tendency leading in that direction.

Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is to carry on propaganda for the abolition of this order and erect in its place the structure of the Communist world order. Under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won; in the war against imperialistic barbarity, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all forms of social and national oppression—we call upon the proletariat of all lands to unite!

## Program of the Call

1. We favor international alliance of the Communist Party of the United States only with the Communist groups of other countries, such as the Bolsheviks of Russia, Spartacists of Germany, etc., according to the program of Communism as above outlined.

2. We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as Labor parties, Non-Partisan leagues, People's Councils, Municipal Ownership leagues, and the like.

3. We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchistic or democratic-republican, and to destroy and replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the Communist transformation.

4. The party shall propagandize class conscious industrial unionism as against the craft form of unionism, and shall carry on party activity in co-operation with industrial disputes that take on a revolutionary character.

5. We do not disparage voting nor the value of success in electing our candidates to public office—not if these are in direct line with the class struggle. The trouble comes with the illusion that political or industrial immediate achievements are of themselves steps in the revolution, the progressive merging of Capitalism into the Co-operative Commonwealth.

## The Basis of Our Political Campaign Should Be:

(a) To propagandize the overthrow of Capitalism by proletarian conquest of the political power and the establishment of a Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

(b) To maintain a political organization as a clearing house for proletarian thought, a center of political education for the development of revolutionary working class action.

(c) To keep in the foreground our consistent appeal for proletarian revolution; and to analyze the counter proposals and reformist palliatives in their true light of evasions of the

issue; recognizing at all times the characteristic development of all capitalistic nations.

(d) To propagandize the party organization as the organ of contact with the revolutionary proletariat of other lands the basis for international association being the same political understanding and the common plan of action, tending toward increasing unity in detail as the international crisis develops.

6. Communist platforms, proceeding on the basis of the class struggle, recognizing that the Socialist movement has come into the historic period of the social revolution, can contain only the demand for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

(a) The basis of this demand should be thoroughly explained in the economic, political and social analysis of the class struggle, as evolving within the system of Capitalism.

(b) The implication of this demand should be illustrated by the first steps and general modes of social reconstruction dependent upon and involved within the proletarian domination of the political life of the nation.

(c) A municipal platform of Communism cannot proceed on a separate basis, but must conform to the general platform, simply relating the attainment of local power to the immediate goal of gaining national power. There are no separate city problems within the terms of the class struggle, only the one problem of capitalist versus proletarian domination.

7. We realize that the coming of the social revolution depends on an overwhelming assertion of mass power by the proletariat, taking on political consciousness and the definite direction of revolutionary socialism. The manifestations of this power and consciousness are not subject to precise precalculation. But the history of the movement of the proletariat toward emancipation since 1900 shows the close connection between the revolutionary proletarian assertion and the political mass strike.

The mass action conception looks to the general unity of the proletarian forces under revolutionary provocation and stimulus. In the preliminary stages, which alone come within our pre-determination and party initiative, the tactic of mass action includes all mass demonstrations and mass struggles which sharpen the understanding of the proletariat as to the class conflict and which separate the revolutionary proletariat into a group distinct from all others.

Mass action, in time of revolutionary crisis, or in the analogous case of large scale industrial conflict, naturally ac-

cepts the Council form of organization for its expression over a continued period of time.

8. Applying our declarations of party principle to the organization of the party itself, we realize the need, in correspondence with the highly centralized capitalist power to be combated, of a centralized party organization.

Organizations endorsing the principles and program outlined above as a tentative basis for the organization of a Communist Party are invited to send delegates to the Convention at Chicago on September 1, 1919.

The basis of representation to be one delegate for every organization and one additional for every 500 members or major fraction thereof.

Provided, that States which are organized and endorsing this call shall send as States. In States which are not organized the organized locals accepting this call shall send delegates as locals. In locals which are not organized a part of the local may send delegates.

Provided further, that organizations composed of less than 251 members shall be given fractional votes; and provided that the total vote for each State represented at the Convention shall not exceed one, plus one per 500 members or major fraction thereof.

Organizations sending delegates will be assessed Fifty Dollars for each delegate. This fund will be applied to equalize railroad fare of all delegates to the Convention. Organizations having less than 251 members which are unable to pay all of this amount (\$50) are urged to send delegates. A special fund will be created to defray their traveling expenses. Expenses other than railroad fares will be paid by the organizations sending delegates. In the event the delegates are not provided with funds for rooms and meals, effort will be made to assist them.

Do not fail to be represented at this historic Convention. All delegates, either directly or through their local secretaries, are requested to communicate with the National Secretary immediately following their election. Uniform credential blanks will be furnished.

For the National Organization Committee,  
DENNIS E. BATT, Sec'y.

For the National Left Wing Council,  
I. E. FERGUSON, Sec'y.

On all matters relating to the Communist Convention, address: 1221 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

## AN OPEN LETTER

To the Revolutionary Socialists of the  
United States:  
Comrades:

Realizing the utter futility of "capturing the Socialist Party of America for revolutionary Socialism," I have definitely and for all time severed my affiliation with that organization and have joined the Communist Party of America, which is the one organization in this country based upon the principles of international socialism as enunciated in the "Communist Manifesto" of 1848 and subsequently elaborated by its authors, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, also by Lafargue, Dietzgen, Labriola, etc., into the system known as scientific socialism. The fundamental principles of that which has come to be known as the theoretical system of Marx have been practically applied by Lenin and Trotsky and the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks). History has gloriously justified that socialism and emphatically shown to the world the futility of that pseudo-socialism of which the Socialist Party of America has been an inglorious example.

The position I take today is not in any way an alteration of the position in opposition to the reformist, compromising, conciliatory attitude of the Socialist Party that I have taken since 1914. Since that time I have been convinced that the Socialist Party was not only the greatest impediment to real socialism in America, but I have had abundant evidence

also that its paid officials—national and state secretaries, speakers and organizers—also every National Executive Committee it has ever had, did everything in their power to prevent the dissemination of scientific socialism; even stooping to the gutter in order to besmirch anyone who had the audacity to challenge its compromising position.

Time passed and in 1916 I was fortunate enough to become associated with the Michigan movement as speaker and organizer. There, for the first time in my experience in the movement, I came in contact with the small group of revolutionary socialists who co-operated with me in the dissemination of real socialism. The organization and educational work carried on by that group placed Michigan in the front ranks of the revolutionary movement and permeated the organizations in surrounding states.

Since October, 1917, I have been on the Pacific Coast and my activity in the movement there resulted in my election to the so-called National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. In that capacity I came to Chicago and participated in the committee meeting of July 26-27. It was apparent to that committee that the old National Executive Committee, representing pseudo-socialism, which had already expelled the state organizations of Michigan and Massachusetts and suspended the language federa-

tions, was determined to maintain control of the party machinery. The new N. E. C. in a proclamation to the membership, justly accused the old N. E. C. of disrupting the organization, but subsequent events have proven conclusively that the majority of the new N. E. C. does not possess sufficient foresight and understanding to enable it to function for the vanguard of the proletariat in this country.

The so-called "left wing" which has carried on a propaganda of criticism within the organization had split into two groups—a minority, represented by the Michigan movement and the language federations, which declared for withdrawal from the old party and the immediate organization of a Communist Party; and a majority which desired to remain within the party and capture it for "revolutionary socialism." The majority of the so-called "left wing" was composed of a most peculiar combination of individuals with most diverse and in some instances fantastic conceptions of the proletarian movement; the materialist and the Roman Catholic, the sentimentalist and the nihilist, the pure and simple industrialist, and the pure and simple parliamentarian, formed a heterogeneous conglomeration that could only result in confusion. Opposed to that element was the minority who withdrew from the June 21st conference and issued a call for the immediate organization of

the Communist Party, instead of "capturing" the old Socialist Party.

The old party is not worth capturing. It never was a socialist party and can never be such. Its organization is not worth "capturing," as its physical bankruptcy is now as complete as its well known mental bankruptcy has always been. Its reputation is not only not revolutionary but positively infamous, and to carry its name would involve the necessity of spending a great deal of our time explaining its previous position—time that can be devoted to constructive organization and educational work.

Further comment by me on the various factions resulting from the collapse of reformist socialism is unnecessary, as a perusal of "The Communist," our official paper, makes clear the position of these groups.

To the comrades of the East and of the Pacific Northwest, with whom I have been associated during the last years of world upheaval and who have made the sacrifices necessary by devoting time and money to the cause of the proletariat and who have honored me with their confidence by electing me as their representative, I particularly appeal to investigate the Communist Party and its principles. I am certain that you, with whom I have had the pleasure of associating in this struggle, would have taken the same step that I have now taken had you been here upon the scene of activity and I am confident that you will now support this organization even more enthusiastically than you upheld the banner of revolutionary socialism within the old party and against the opposition of the national officials of that party.

The September 1st convention of the Communist Party will be the most momentous event in the history of socialism in this country. It will mark the definite appearance upon the stage of American history of the party of revolutionary socialism; the party that in the future will fulfill the same mission in the revolution of the American proletariat that the Bolsheviki party in Russia, the Spartacan group in Germany and the other Communist Parties of Europe are today fulfilling for the European working class; the party that before another decade has passed will have established the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as a prelude to the emancipation of all society from the fetters of class rule.

Yours for Communism,

H. M. WICKS.

## RUSSIAN WAR PRISONERS IN GERMANY

News from Paris telling that higher allied circles have decided to detain hundreds of thousands of Russian war prisoners in Germany does not surprise us. Allied imperialists have long since been of the opinion that Russian War prisoners are slaves whom they can treat as creatures who dare not even think of their personal rights. We need only remind ourselves of the fearful tortures which fell upon the heads of the Russian soldiers in France, who demanded to be allowed to return to their country. And now tens of thousands more Russian citizen-soldiers are suffering in jails of the French Imperialistic Republic or exiled to North Africa, French territory.

During the whole period of war, Russian war prisoners have undergone the most brutal treatment, the most inhuman tortures at the hands of the Germans. Their human rights were not considered at all. Living conditions in the barracks of war prisoners were forced to face semi-starvation. Hundreds of thousands of Russians were sent to an untimely grave.

After the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty, Russian war prisoners were to be returned to Russia. But the German Imperialist Government had plans of its own. It did not feel like taking away from the German landowners cheap labor, and besides all this it had every reason to believe that the return of Russian soldiers to their country would only increase the Soviet army. Having this in mind, the German government did all in its power to detain Russian war prisoners as long as possible.

With the signing of the armistice at Spa, one would imagine that all delay in returning Russian soldiers to Russia would disappear. But this was only imagination. The plans of the German government were in reality the plans of the Allies. In January, the General Staff of the Allies gave orders to stop all plans of returning Russian war prisoners to Russia. It is understood that the government of Scheidemann, with all its slave passion to please, obeyed this order. In Berlin, by order of the Allies, all affairs pertaining to war prisoners were stopped by the Bureau. The Board of Management of the International Red Cross issued a statement that Russian soldiers would be returned to Russia via Odessa.

The Allies' purpose was clearly seen. Southern Russia was then in the hands

of anti-Bolshevists and Russian war prisoners were to be given over into the hands of the Russian counter-revolutionists. At this time in the circle of War prisoners a systematic counter-revolutionary propaganda was begun. Special propagandists, the majority of whom were officers of the czarist regime, were sent from Southern Russia with the full intent to turn the Russian war prisoners into a flock of obedient sheep. Volunteers for the Red Army were then begun from the midst of Russian war prisoners.

It is understood that nothing came of all this propaganda. The masses of the Russian war prisoners refused to go over to the side of the enemies of Soviet Russia. During the Spartacan uprising, and especially during the uprising at Mun-

ich, thousands of Russian war prisoners openly supported the German revolutionists.

Taking all this into consideration, it is easily understood, why even now the leaders of Allied imperialism have decidedly refused to allow the return to their country of hundreds of thousands of Russian citizens. To get their own satisfaction they do not act according to the international laws or to the laws of human beings. Their motto is: The result justifies means.

The actions of allied imperialists towards Russian war prisoners will paid according to what they deserve in Soviet Russia as well as by the war prisoners themselves. The hour of payment will come.—ex.

## IT CAN BE DONE

It was three months ago that I met "him" on the job.

He was of military bearing. Straight-forward was his appearance; and frankness was pictured in the looks of him. So I ventured on the "real work."

"Don't you think," quoth I; "that it is pretty raw work to be fighting Russia, without even a declaration of war?"

A cold stare became evident.

Then: "Are you a citizen?"

I humbly submitted: "Not yet."

"Then," he brought out triumphantly, "you have not right to criticize."

"And," he continued, "I know your game; you want to boost the Bolsheviks; let me tell you they are the lowest kind of trash; I've read about them, and we can trust Mr. Wilson to see they get what is coming to them."

Not so promising, eh?

Some job, Bo; believe me, and I've seen some.

Well, as I said, it was three moons ago. It took heap big medicine, plenty sapping, mining, following up stray scents. But the hunt is fascinating, and a veteran has learned much. He has acquired patience. He doesn't call his job mate a bonehead, and give it up. If he has to work with Scissorbillus-Americanus, and there is disharmony, it must be removed; and surely, years of imbibing knowledge has not been so unfruitful that arguments potent and convincing cannot be produced.

And more surely still: Probing the acreage of discontent, with the ploughsnares of facts, must have tended to a knowledge of psychology; if so, what chance has the marked one? Anyway, the house is going up, as we progress to the end of our meal ticket. We dug out the basement, and went over the class struggle. We raised the concrete wall, and adorned it with joists and a wilderness of scantlings and shiplap the while he laid attentive ears to a disquisition on what the negro called "the mysterious deception of history."

We are climbing aloft now on the rafters and perspiring in the July sun, as we hammer and hoist; and surplus value, unpaid labor time, commodity labor power, are becoming familiar terms to friendly ears at last.

Says friend job mate last week: "Go on, tell me all you can; it's meat and drink to me." And today: "You wait and see, in a year from now; there'll be none of these damned financiers left in this man's land. If the European workingman puts it over, you bet your life we will, too."

Says I: "You'll do; but don't underestimate your enemy; acquire knowledge, pass it along; make Socialists; make 'em good and red, and soon we will be there."

FOR IT CAN BE DONE.

—F. S. F., in the Red Flag.

## THE COMMUNIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

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## SUBSCRIPTION:

\$2.00 per year Single Copies 5 cents  
\$1.00 six months Bundle Rates on ApplicationPublished Weekly By THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE  
1221 BLUE ISLAND AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILL.  
A. J. MCGREGOR, Bus. Manager

## FAILURE THE ONLY CRIME

The capitalist press has been so full of lies about the situation in revolutionary Europe that it has been with difficulty that we have been convinced of the collapse of the revolutionary government of Hungary. Bela Kun had been overthrown so many times that one had to be skeptical of the truth of the stories that came of the overthrow of the workers' government. But at last it appears that the workers of Hungary have committed the unpardonable revolutionary crime—they have failed. For that they will not be forgiven. Revenge will be visited upon them by the "Great Democracies" of the world.

The pen prostitutes of the capitalist press chortle with glee at the downfall of the workers' government. They have been trying to magnify the event into a victory over which they might boast with some justification. Their victory, however, is small consolation. That the workers of Hungary have been able to hold out as long as they did has been very encouraging to the workers of the world. With a population consisting of only about eight millions, at no time were they able to muster more than two hundred thousand soldiers, while Rumania alone was capable of throwing half a million men against Hungary—not to speak of the other countries that surrounded her. Equipment for these soldiers of reaction was furnished by the Allies.

The Allies did not dare to act openly in suppressing the workers' government of Hungary and used many subterfuges to cover their activities in this connection. Bela Kun and his associates relied to a considerable extent upon this fear of the Allies to act. Taking advantage of the delay, the Communists struck a blow at the invaders from Rumania that they will remember for a long time, and for a time it looked as though the workers would be able to maintain themselves against the combined opposition of the Allies. The task, however, was too great, and they had to give way before superior numbers and equipment. Given half a chance and they would have proven their ability to beat the forces of reaction man for man.

In spite of the mighty forces that are arrayed against them, the Communists are not yet defeated. If the Rumanian forces are withdrawn they will spring back into power, and the indications are that they are still in control west of Budapest.

The fall of the Communist government of Hungary has proven one thing if nothing else, and that is the "Great Democracies" of the world prefer anything, no matter how reactionary, to a working class government. Those who have labored under the delusion that the Allies intended to establish a "Democracy" have had a rude awakening. Those who understood have long said that the Allies would institute black reaction wherever they secured control, and it has been proven by the recent developments in Hungary that these prophesies were correct. The yellow socialist element and labor fakirs who assisted in the overthrow of the Soviet government have been shown their proper place in the estimation of the Allies. Joseph now sits upon the lid in Hungary. The country is on the way to monarchy. A member of the degenerate family of the Hapsburgs is more acceptable to the associated powers of "free peoples" than a soviet government. The American members of the "piece" conference claim that they have been betrayed by France and England in this deal. A short while ago we would have been sent to jail if we had said such things about our "Allies." The American members of the conference will have a hard time making this bunk go as proof of their love for the oppressed peoples of the earth. They may not

have seen the trend of the Allied interference. That is possible. But when we consider this and at the same time remember the aid that the United States is giving to that other monarchist, Kolchak, we are reminded of the old saying, "There are none so blind as those that will not see." Their protestations of ignorance as to what was going to be the outcome in Hungary must be classified as plain hypocrisy. Nothing more and nothing less. Now they will stand by and shed crocodile tears while the workers of Hungary are slaughtered in revenge for their attempt to emancipate themselves.

We will not forget the lesson. Nothing can be gained by the workers from bourgeois governments, be they monarchistic or democratic. The workers have no one but themselves to depend on. They must not fail. To fail is a crime. Any means that they may employ to avert failure is in perfect accord with revolutionary ethics and is good tactics.

## CUTTING THE "HIGH COST OF LIVING"

The "high cost of living" has been a nightmare to the working class ever since the capitalist system came into existence, and has become particularly acute in recent times. The problem presents itself to the minds of the uninitiated as the wilful and unwarranted advance in prices on the part of certain individuals. The facts of the matter are, of course, that the general rise in the price of commodities is due to the depreciation of the value of money. The inflation of currency has caused the bottom to drop out of the money market and the dollar will not buy what it did before. Thus has come about an automatic reduction in the real wages of the working class. The efforts of the capitalist class to reduce the prices on the so-called necessities of life merely diverts the attention of the workers away from the real issue—their robbery at the point of production. Anything that will divert the attention of the workers away from that is, of course, beneficial to the capitalist class.

The general revolutionary trend throughout the world, and particularly in Europe, has frightened the capitalists of this and other countries and they are making frantic efforts to pacify the workers by reducing the price of living. Their efforts to solve this inherent problem of capitalism are ludicrous to say the least.

With great gusto, our estimable President has devoted much attention and thought to this mighty problem. Visitors were turned away from the White House because, forsooth, the President was thinking—about the high cost of living. The weighty machinery of congress has rumbled up to the problem. Their efforts are yet to be proven useful in coping with the question. Profiteers are going to be jailed; some have been fined already. Even the mighty packers of Chicago are now to be prosecuted. We are reminded of the "successful" prosecution of the Standard Oil Company and the "successful" collection of the \$29,000,000 fine. So you will pardon us if we are a bit skeptical about the prosecution the the packers.

The government, however, has another card to play in this game of beating the "high cost of living." It is going to sell surplus army supplies amounting to several million dollars to the "dear public" in order to reduce the cost of living. This card is deuce high in a dirty deck, and is one of the best laughs that has been pulled off in a long while. If the whole of the surplus supplies were to be distributed free to the population of the country it would only amount to about a dollar and a half per capita. A wonderful bearing that will have upon the situation, isn't it?

The fact of the matter is the capitalists cannot solve the problem of the "high cost of living." That problem awaits the ascension to power of the proletariat.

## CZARISM IN AMERICA

After comrade Alexander Stoklitsky was arrested in Detroit and held for the immigration authorities, agents of the Chicago branch of the Federal Department of Justice raided the headquarters of the Communist Party and seized a number of documents and other material. Although there was nothing in any of the material seized by them that would warrant further investigation, a number of individuals connected with the language federations have been called before these inquisitors and subjected to the usual brutalities they inflict upon people who have incurred the hatred of the ruling class. An experience with the people who are in control of this arm of the federal government would almost convince one that the country had been scoured for the purpose of securing the vilest bullies to browbeat decent people who happen to have intelligence enough to disagree with the powers that be.

Whatever justification may have existed in dealing with

individuals suspected of being in the employ of the German government while the war was on no longer exists. In fact, the war-time laws, such as the espionage act, etc., were never invoked against German spies, as not one of them has ever been convicted. Such laws were used almost exclusively against representatives of the class conscious workers of the country. The excuse for such prosecutions was that agitation carried on against capitalism had a tendency to interfere with the military and naval operations of the United States government; but that excuse no longer exists. That fact, however, does not seem to concern these valiant champions of democracy, for they seem to be devoting more energy than ever to the persecution of people who hold other political views than theirs.

For a time it was thought such tactics were merely the result of the desire on the part of certain individuals connected with the department of (in) justice to hold their jobs, but the persistence with which these persecutions are conducted convinces us that it is a part of the present day policy of the democratic administration.

Any government that encourages such despotic acts cannot long continue to exist and every time an individual prominent in the proletarian movement is victimized by the official thugs and gunmen of the government an ever larger number of intelligent people lose respect for that government and its institutions.

### INDUSTRY AND THE SOVIET

We have received so much news from the capitalist press about the chaotic conditions existing in the Russian industry that one is led to believe that the streets are thronged with the armies of the unemployed. Nothing could be further from the fact. News which is now coming from Russia shows that the stories that have been told of the closed factories have been malicious propaganda against the workers' government.

The fact of the matter is that the industries under the domination of the workers organized Soviets is thriving and production is being carried on at a remarkable pace when one considers the difficulties under which the Russian workers are laboring. In spite of the blockade which is maintained by the Allies, they are developing their industries and if it were not for the energy consumed in fighting the reactionaries they would be in fine shape. A Soviet chemical engineer says: "You Americans can give us cotton and dyes, and many other things, but give us peace and we will show you how our industries can produce."

The textile industries are a fair gauge of Russian industry. In the month of February, a month in which fuel is difficult to obtain, the textile industries of Petrograd produced 3,750,000 arshins of goods (an arshin is about three-fourths of a yard.) The idleness that exists in the textile industries is due to their being cut off from the cotton supply of Turkestan by the Cossacks. Although Turkestan is under the control of the Soviet, transportation is cut off and cotton cannot be obtained.

Unemployment is not as pressing a problem in Russia as in some of the Allied countries. Many of the workers have been absorbed by the Red Army and agricultural work on the farms. Just as in the United States during the war skilled mechanics are in great demand. On May 19 a list was posted in Moscow asking for 3,000 skilled mechanics, 1,600 trained railroad workers and 150 higher technical experts. In March the demand for workers exceeded the supply. The Moscow bureau received demands for 28,713 men, exceeding the supply by 11,000. On April 1 there were only 7,323 unemployed

registered with the Moscow bureau, of which 2,122 were men. It is of interest to note that over 50 per cent of the unemployed were former employees of mercantile establishments, showing that the trader is being eliminated in Russia. The middleman is going.

Persons out of work in Russia and in need are pensioned by the government. From April 1, 1918, to April 1, 1919, Moscow aided 37,663 persons. Workingmen who reach the age of 60 and have lost 60 per cent of their productive ability are pensioned by the government.

In the face of these facts, what becomes of all of the malicious lies about the Soviet failure to operate industry?

## COMMUNIQUES

Now is the time for the churches to emphasize the idea that they who have the harshest times here on earth will have the softest seats in their Master's heaven, and thus do much to lessen the resentment against the increasing cost of living.

"Actors call first strike in history," according to a newspaper headline. Strange that it should take so long for the actors to learn to act!

That trick of "jamming down the high cost of living" didn't fool the railway workers. They figure a raise of pay in the hand is worth a whole lot of hot air in the papers.

"The Negroes were conscripted to 'make the world safe for democracy,' and yet America is not 'safe for the Negro.'" —The Messenger.

"Nothing is so obvious to any student of social forces," says a Negro writer, "as that the loyalty of the oppressed to the oppressor does not result in securing liberty for the oppressed."

A Texas subscriber remarks that a certain Mr. Wilson is the guy who put the mock in democracy.

Henry Ford won his case against the Chicago Tribune and was awarded six cents damages. It is now established that Ford is not an anarchist, but the fact that he is an "ignorant idealist" has been firmly established.

From a news item we learn that 191 men were killed in Michigan last year while operating Ford tractors. Henry, he ain't no anarchist. Anarchists have a habit of killing people by throwing bombs, but Ford sells 'em a tractor and let's them do their own killing.

"Congress cheers member who demands intervention to 'make Mexico stable.'" That is doing pretty well, but cannot be compared with the Professor's slogan, "make the world safe for democracy." People are not inclined to be aroused by such an unidealistic war cry.

When we go to war with Mexico we wonder if those who oppose American imperialism will be branded as "pro-Mexicans."

(Continued from Page 1)

capable of any action that will in the slightest degree threaten the supremacy of the capitalist class. So far from desiring to drive an entering wedge into any institution of capitalism as a preliminary to "sovietizing" the entire system is the revolutionist that he positively refuses to be a party to any sort of a combination brought together to ameliorate the condition of the wage slave under capitalism. As Antonio Labriola says: "To demand of this society that it shall change its laws which constitutes its defense is to demand an absurdity." Equally absurd is the naive proposition to secure representation of labor on a board of management while the capitalist class controls the state. Instead of devoting

his energy to senseless and futile appeals to the ruling class the revolutionist strives to organize and educate the working class for the conquest of the political state in order to destroy that machine of class domination and establish in its place the dictatorship of the proletariat as a preliminary to the complete expropriation of the capitalist class.

Let the labor fakirs and incompetent "defenders" of capitalism exhaust themselves fighting over the alleged reconstruction measures and their effect upon the public. The class conscious proletarian is interested in these quarrels only to a sufficient degree to be in a position to point to the fallacy of the workers hoping to ameliorate their condition through such channels. The same labor leaders

who are now pleading with the capitalist government of the United States to give them a voice in the management of the railroads are always the first to endeavor to silence any revolutionary activity on the part of the members of the unions they happen, unfortunately for the slaves, to be the heads of. The slogan of the labor fakir is always "no politics in the union," but they themselves are always playing the game of capitalist politics. Their talk against politics is simply propaganda to prejudice the workers against working class political action, so they can continue to play the game of capitalist politics. To educate the workers in the principles of revolutionary political action is the task of the true representative of the proletariat.

# Capitalizing Debs' Imprisonment

To aid in sending a prominent individual in the revolutionary movement to a federal prison and then to use that imprisonment as a means to cajole money out of the gullible public is about the lowest tactic to which any institution can descend. Yet that is precisely what "The Appeal to Reason," that notorious petty bourgeois and jingo paper, is resorting to at the present time in order to swell the bank account of the adventurers who manage and edit it.

While the war was on the "Appeal" denounced as "pro-German" every criticism, no matter how justifiable, of the war policy of the United States government. It rendered effectual service to the American jingoes by arousing the spirit of hatred against the socialists of this country who stood true to the principles of internationalism. In that respect it was even more vile than the rest of the capitalist press. Did the capitalist press print a deliberate lie about a revolutionist or some one else who had incurred the enmity of the capitalist class the "Appeal" magnified the lie a hundred fold. In the case of Debs, its action was the same as in other cases. When Debs delivered his Canton, O., speech and was arrested and charged with violation of the infamous espionage act, did the "Appeal" denounce it as an official crime? No, indeed! Instead of denouncing the acts of the petty officials of the United States government and the higher officials at Washington as despots drunk with power, this loathsome publication printed a scurrilous attack upon Debs, written by that asinine assumption of humanity, Allan L. Benson, wherein it was insinuated that Debs was the victim of a fanaticism which resulted in giving "aid and comfort to the imperial German government."

Throughout the entire war that alleged socialist publication besmirched and traduced any and all socialists who did not meekly submit to the czaristic tactics of the imperial government of the United States. It supported the imperialistic war as a measure of self-preservation, knowing full well that the same administration it supported would have suppressed it had it been a real socialist paper. In that respect, however, it acted quite in harmony with its previous reformistic attitude. Although recognized as an organ of socialism by that travesty upon socialism, the Socialist Party of America, it has never in its whole existence been a Socialist publication, but simply an organ of petty bourgeois reform. Not a single editor of the "Appeal" ever had understood even the fundamentals of socialism. J. A. Wayland, its founder, and Fred Warren, for years its editor, were as rare a pair of muddleheads as one would be likely to meet in a life time. The present editors and managers, Louis Kopelin and Emanuel Halde-man Julius, combine their muddleheadedness with a sinister viciousness that places them in a distinct category as enemies of the working class. It is that sublime pair who directed the war policy of the "Appeal." They were unique in one respect: No journalist prostituted to capitalism could sink so low that the "Appeal" outfit could not crawl beneath him. Kopelin and Julius could grovel lower and lick longer than any other lickspittles the world has ever seen. It would take them both a thousand years to remove the corns acquired upon their bellies while crawling before their masters.

But in the case of Debs it has plumbed absolutely the lowest strata in the aggregation of degenerates. If its previous

tactics have been vile they are now immeasurably infamous, as at the present time it is using the name of Debs, the man it helped to imprison, in order to boost its subscription list. In connection with its subscription campaign it is trying to make its readers believe it has sufficient "political influence" with the government to secure amnesty for Debs. Has the ruling class thrown aside this vile crew now that it is through using it for a time, or is the fake amnesty campaign it is waging merely another manner of serving its masters? Is the "Appeal" in a position to know that the government is soon to grant amnesty to its political prisoners, and is it using its amnesty campaign so that it can claim another of its alleged "victories" for the working class when amnesty is granted, thus placing it in a position to again receive the support of imperialistic capitalism when that capitalism finds it convenient to use it?

The revolutionist is also anxious to secure amnesty for political prisoners, but he realizes the utter futility of appealing to any capitalist government for anything. The only tactics that will open the prison doors before the capitalist State is willing to open them is a manifestation of power on the part of the working class. An appeal to a capitalist government is not a manifestation of power, but a confession of weakness. Instead of making overtures to the government, the revolutionist will urge the workers to use the political strike for the liberation of class war prisoners.

"The Appeal to Reason" is a true servant of the ruling class and a subscription sent to that publication is merely a dagger placed at the heart of the workers.

## Is the Syndicalist Movement Revolutionary?

The first principle of present day syndicalism is **no politics**. To the syndicalist, politics is a bourgeois delusion, unworthy the serious consideration of a revolutionist and, as he considers himself the revolutionist par excellence, he leaves politics for children and idiots to exhaust themselves upon.

The word "syndicat" is of French origin and is applied to any combination of individuals. Up to the time the idea of syndicalism began to influence the workers of the United States the word syndicate here was taken to mean a combination of capitalists. In most European countries the word now applies to a certain type of industrial unionism, which aims at the abolition of the capitalist system. This goal is to be obtained by the direct action of the unions, without parliamentary or any other kind of political action. Union activity is considered sufficient in itself to accomplish the complete transfer of industry from the hands of the capitalist exploiters into the hands of the workers, organized into industrial unions.

Anti-political syndicalism dates from the syndicalist congress, held at Amiens in 1906, when the vast majority declared in favor of a motion proclaiming the absolute separation of the political movement (of socialism) and syndicalism.

The anti-political propaganda of the syndicalists dates from the year 1900, when M. Millerand, one of the leaders of parliamentary socialism, entered the bourgeois ministry of Waldeck, Rosseau and Gallifet. Since that date the open antagonism between syndicalism and parliamentary socialism has been a feature of the labor movement throughout the world.

Both the syndicalist and the reformist socialist claim to be revolutionary, and although they have hitherto bitterly opposed each other, their conflicting tactics are not impossible of reconciliation, as events transpiring in European nations conclusively prove. Both of them fall into the fallacy of attempting to accomplish the revolution by the working class within the confines of the capitalist state.

The typical reform socialist, while desiring the abolition of capitalism, imagines the revolution to be an extremely gradual, almost imperceptible movement, culminating in the peaceful transfer of control of prevailing institutions from the hands of the capitalist class into the hands of the working class. This transformation is to be accomplished by making certain demands upon the state that will strengthen the position of the working class and gradually weaken the

position of the ruling class, such as workmen's compensation laws, the shorter work day, old age pensions, right to work bills, sanitary workshops, heavy progressive income taxes, etc., and through an indefinite continuation of such reforms within the capitalist state, finally legislate the capitalist class out of existence. These changes are to be realized by electing reform socialists to the various legislative bodies who are sworn to work diligently for such reforms, or to poll such a large socialist vote that the capitalist political parties will be compelled to grant the "socialist" demands. The reform socialist parties, of which the Socialist Party of America is an example, draw up long platforms, containing many demands upon the capitalist state and the politicians at the head of such organizations are always elated when a capitalist political party "steals some of its planks." Instead of a reorientation of their position in order to find out why a capitalist political organization should desire part of their program, they consider themselves flattered and boast of the fact that the public is beginning to accept "part of the socialist program." That brand of political action can only result in one thing—state socialism, or, more properly speaking, state capitalism.

The dominant socialism of the United



States, and of the world, up to 1917 was of a hesitating, compromising, reformist character, having as its goal merely the transfer of the larger industries of the nation from the hands of individual groups of capitalists to the control of the government. The war has hastened the development of government ownership in the various countries until the fondest dreams of the reformist socialists are realized. In fact, some of them have become alarmed at the rapid spread of government ownership under the stimulus of the war, and Allan L. Benson, presidential candidate on the socialist ticket in 1916, was compelled to exclaim that although he considers himself a socialist, he believed President Wilson was making a grave mistake by introducing "socialism" at too great a pace. The former presidential candidate for the socialists believes we should proceed at a slower pace. While we should take a "step at a time" they should be slow, deliberate steps, enabling us to feel our ground well, and not such a helter skelter gallop toward socialism as Mr. Wilson has so recklessly indulged in. Other socialists in the United States, who are more "progressive" than Mr. Benson, look with favor upon such socialization of industries, and in harmony with the European reform parties, work for a constant extension of the "achievements" gained, considering such action sufficient to drive the capitalist out of one position after another and gradually expropriating it within the bounds of capitalist legality, without any change in governmental power. Alongside of and within the capitalist state occurs the peaceful penetration of socialism into the capitalist system. Thus does the reform socialist "build the new society within the shell of the old."

If syndicalism can be said to have a theoretical foundation it is based upon M. Sorel's book, "The Socialist Future of the Syndicats," published in 1898. The book attracted little attention until the entry of Millerand into the French cabinet brought parliamentary socialism into disrepute in the labor movement of Europe. In this book Sorel correctly declares the state is an organ of authority, used by the capitalist class to impose its will upon the workers. Through direct action of the syndicats (industrial unions) the workers will gradually take over one function of the state after another, until there is very little for the state to do. Union action of the working class is substituted for state action. The syndicalist does not ask for laws from the legislator for protection of the working class as does the reform socialist, but he expects to force from the legislator facilities for proceeding with the transfer of power from the state to the union. This transformation comes about through the unions taking control of those departments that directly concern labor, such as government employment agencies, old age pension departments, workmen's compensation, shop and factory inspection offices, etc. Sorel explains his conception of the gradual decline of state power and the ascendancy of the power of the industrial unions in the following:

"It is necessary that the unions strip the state of its powers, little by little, by demanding them incessantly, by interesting the public in their efforts, by denouncing the abuses without respite, by showing the incompetence or the dishonesty of the public administrations. They will thus eventually take away from the old forms, pre-

served by the democrats, everything vital in them, and leave them nothing but the repulsive form of police repression. Then a new society will have been created, with elements completely new, with principles purely proletarian. The societies of resistance will have ended by enlarging their field of action to such a degree they will have absorbed nearly everything political."

Emil Pouget, the best known anarcho-syndicalist writer in Europe, is the one individual recognized as the modern theoretical exponent of syndicalism. Following the lead of Sorel, Pouget declares:

"Syndicalism does not look to a simple modification of the governmental personnel, but rather to a reduction of the state to zero, by transplanting into the syndicalist organs the few useful functions which keep up the illusion of the value of government, and by suppressing the others, purely and simply."

So we see that both the syndicalist and the reform socialist aim to stroll into the co-operative commonwealth or industrial republic while the capitalist class maintains control of the state. Both aim to "build the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." While the revolutionary socialist has no objection to building a new society within the shell of the old he recognizes the fact that it is impossible to even begin building the structure of the new society while the capitalist class maintains control of the state. The fundamental fallacy that brands both the position of the reform socialist and the syndicalist as hopelessly utopian is their misconception of the state.

Although the spokesmen of both organizations declare the state is the instrument of class domination, they picture this state as a machine from which some parts can be taken without wrecking the whole apparatus. The fact that the reformer uses parliamentarism and the syndicalist what he terms direct action does not change their fundamental misunderstanding of the structure of the capitalist state. When this idea of securing benefits for the workers within the confines of the capitalist state is carried into a revolutionary crisis the shallowness of parliamentarism and syndicalist direct action is completely exposed, not only as insufficient weapons in the struggle for working class emancipation, but as positive impediments in that struggle. The recent failure of the syndicalists of France to lead the masses of the workers into a political strike, which was called for July 21 as a protest against Allied intervention in Russia is the latest expose of the reformistic tactics of the syndicalists. For weeks the workers of three countries had been preparing for a general political strike, when just before the hour to call the strike the bourgeois Chamber of Deputies expressed its distrust of one of the minor members of the Clemenceau cabinet. The leaders of the syndicalists professed to believe the repudiation of this member was the signal for the fall of the cabinet, hence they tabled the orders for the strike to await the outcome of the parliamentary squabble. So we see the most rabid opponents of the working class political action childishly placing their salvation in the hands of a capitalist parliament. Whether this action on the part of the syndicalists was stupidly or perfidiously cowardice, it was a betrayal of the revolutionary workers in Russia and also the workers in the Allied countries. The most logical explanation is that it was ignorance and inability to recognize a revolutionary opportunity which made cowards of them. Rather than face the

stern reality of a proletarian test of strength they capitulated before the capitalist state without the representatives of that state so much as requesting them to do so.

Complete extermination of the capitalist class is the goal of the class conscious worker, but it is only the socialist, well grounded in the principles of Marxism, who can point the way to working class conquests of power. The Russian revolution is an illustration of the ability of Marxian socialists to correctly gauge a revolutionary crisis and to understand the action necessary for working class conquest of power. Instead of demanding anything from the capitalist state or trying by any action, direct or otherwise, to force concessions from it, the socialist endeavors to arouse the workers for the conquest of the political state of capitalism; to seize and destroy it and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in its place. This is in complete harmony with revolutionary theory and practice. Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto of 1848 declared the first act in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class, and the lessons learned from the experience of the Paris Commune proved to the revolutionary workers that the proletariat cannot simply lay hold of the ready made machinery of the capitalist state and wield it in its own interest, but must establish its own particular form of class domination.

The fact that the socialist points to the insufficiency of the syndicalist organization as a means to emancipate the working class does not mean that he minimizes the importance of all industrial organizations as centers of resistance against the encroachments of the capitalist class. The beneficial effects of the struggle for better conditions under which a group of workers sell their labor power should never be overlooked. Through the efforts of unions to improve the conditions of the worker, thousands of persons who before looked upon life from an individualist bias are aroused and brought into the organization. This activity develops discipline and mutual fidelity, and the suppression of individualism and the identity of interest existing within the group is learned in the struggles on this field. In this struggle the conflict of interest between the worker and the master manifests itself. It is at this point that the political struggle asserts itself. The union organization, whose activity is limited to the commodity struggle, only represents a particular group of the working class against a given group of the capitalist class. In the political struggle all this division disappears and the representatives of the working class political organization, instead of facing the capitalist class as the representatives of the workers in a single industry or group of industries, speak as the representatives of the working class as a whole. Hence the political struggle extends the conflict beyond the confines of the unions. The revolutionary socialist takes advantage of the political struggle and even nominates candidates for office, not as a means of attempting to ameliorate the condition of the worker under capitalism, but in order to be in a position to teach the working class the modus operandi of the capital-

ist system. This spreading of knowledge must be the first consideration of the socialist, as the class struggle must be a conscious struggle and the majority of the workers must be convinced of the correctness of our position. With the understanding of the class character of the capitalist state comes the knowledge that the class struggle is and always has been a political struggle and the necessity for the working class to organize itself into a political party for the conquest of power.

The syndicalist and the socialist have this in common: That they both strive for the reduction of the state to zero and the "building of a new society within the shell of the old." The fundamental difference between the two is that the syndicalist naively strives to build the new society while the capitalist class controls the coercive power, and the socialist

aims to destroy that power first and then begin the "building" process.

Karl, Marx, at the close of his book, "The Poverty of Philosophy," states the socialist attitude on the outcome of the political state in the following words:

"An oppressed class is the vital condition of every society based upon the antagonism of classes. The emancipation of the oppressed class therefore implies the creation of a new society. In order for the oppressed class to be emancipated it is necessary that the productive powers already acquired and the existing social relations should no longer be able to exist side by side. Of all the instruments of production the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself. The organization of the revolutionary elements as a class presupposes the existence of all the productive forces which can be engendered within the bosom of the old society."

"The essential condition of the emancipation of the working class is the abolition of all classes, as the condition of the emancipation of the third estate of the bourgeois order was the abolition of all estates of all orders.

"The working class will substitute in the course of its development for the old order of civil society an association which will exclude classes and their antagonism, and there will no

longer be political power, properly speaking, since political power is simply the official form of the antagonism in civil society.

"In the meantime the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a struggle between class and class, a struggle which, carried to its highest expression, is a complete revolution. Would it, moreover, be a matter of astonishment if a society, based upon the antagonism of classes, should lead ultimately to a brutal conflict, to a hand to hand struggle in its final denouement?

"Do not say that the social movement excludes the political movement. There has never been a political movement which was not at the same time social.

"It is only in an order of things in which there will be no longer classes or class antagonism that social evolution will cease to be political revolutions."

The revolutionary socialist movement, the movement based upon the principles of the Third International is a Marxian movement, and as the vanguard, the most advanced section of the proletariat will sweep on to final victory and the destruction of the last class society the world will ever see.

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**SOCIALISM DEBATED**

Dennis E. Batt vs. H. H. Nimmo.

A sixty-four-page pamphlet containing a debate which appeared in the Detroit Saturday Night, Feb. 15 to May 8, 1919. All phases of socialism are discussed. We have only a few hundred of these on hand. While they last the prices are:

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**THE FAMOUS N. E. C.**

Quiet, my children, and do not squeal  
 At the ranting and raving of James O'Neal  
 For he and Germer—of mighty name—  
 Are saving the party from traitors and shame.  
 Kraft, the old war-horse, just loves to expel  
 All insurgent states; they belong down in hell.  
 Then we have Goebel, that patriot real,  
 Who is proud to have worked for the New Appeal.  
 And then comes the "statesman," a fellow called Shippy;  
 Why, isn't he funny; he thinks himself witty.  
 Dan Hogan and Holt both come from the South;  
 They don't know a thing, but, MY, what a mouth!  
 You've all heard of Stedman—now please do not smile—  
 They say he's a lawyer and believes in "fair trial."  
 From the East comes a man whom you all should proclaim  
 As the greatest. He's Hillquit, of five-cent-milk fame.  
 And last, but not least, comes Berger, who bellows  
 "Hurrah for the Party, it's saved for the Yellows."

**GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING OF LOCAL UNION  
 COUNTY, N. J., COMMUNIST PARTY**

On Thursday, August the 21st, at 8 p. m., there will be a general membership meeting of Local Union County, N. J., Communist Party, at Lutven's Hall, 69 South Park street, Elizabeth, N. J.

This meeting has been called by the Ways and Means Committee of the Local, for the purpose of electing and instructing a delegate to the National Convention of the Communist Party (September 1). Other important matters concerning the welfare of the Local will be brought up for action.

The members of the affiliated branches should make it their business to attend this meeting. The members living in Plainfield should make arrangements to attend in a body.

Fraternally,  
 J. BISTRAJENE, County Secretary,  
 W. GABRIEL, State Secretary.

**OFFICIAL**

The South Slavic Socialist Federation, through its Executive Committee, has decided to send a fraternal delegate to the Communist Convention, to be held in Chicago on Monday, September 1. By this action the Federation severs all connection with the Socialist Party and urges all South Slavic branches to send delegates to the above convention.

GEORGE SELAKOVICH, Translator-Secretary.

**Subscribe Now!**

In this issue we are publishing the joint call issued by the National Organization Committee and the National Left Wing Council for the formation of the Communist Party. We are aware that many readers have hesitated about sending in their subscriptions to the Communist, due to the uncertainty which has existed. Now that the differences existing between the two groups have been adjusted, there need be no hesitation. The Communist will be the official paper of the new organization, and if you wish to help establish the new party, send in your subscription NOW.

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*Application for Membership*  
**COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA**

I, the undersigned, recognizing the necessity for the organization of a Communist Party in conformity with the call issued for a convention to be held in the city of Chicago, Monday, September 1st, 1919, hereby make application for membership in said party.

Name .....

Address .....

Age..... Occupation.....

Previous affiliation.....  
 (Give name of organization and period of membership)

Admitted.....1919, Local or Branch.....

Secretary.....

# THAT "MENSHEVIK CALL"

From certain quarters has come ignorant denunciation and vague criticism of the Michigan State Convention's call for the organization of a new party. We are publishing below the full text of the call, reprinted from the Michigan State Bulletin, for the information of our readers. We heartily invite opponents of the call to point out its alleged Menshevik character.

Although this call has been superceded, first by the Communist Call and later by the joint call of the Organization Committee of the Communist Party and the National Council of the Left Wing, we deem its publication necessary in fairness to the Michigan movement.

## TENTATIVE PROGRAM AS BASIS FOR THE CALLING OF NATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF A NEW SOCIALIST PARTY

Whereas: Some thirty-five thousand members of the Socialist Party have been expelled or suspended because of their attempt to gain the party for socialism; and

Whereas: The indications are that, the bourgeois socialists now in control of the party, will not even stop at the ruination of the organization in order to maintain their control thereof;

Therefore be it resolved: That a call be hereby issued by the Socialist Party of Michigan, through its Emergency State Convention in session June 15th, 1919, at the House of the Masses in the city of Detroit, for the convening of a national convention in the city of Chicago on the 1st of September for the purpose of organizing a Socialist Party in the United States of America.

The tentative basis upon which delegates will be seated in this convention will be as follows:

That a program, platform and constitution conforming thereto be adopted, which will express only the uncompromising principles of revolutionary socialism as the theoretical expression of the American proletariat in its struggle for the conquest of political power.

That the delegates work for the adoption of a policy and tactics, that will express in action the one and only aim of revolutionary socialism, the complete abolition of the capitalist system.

### Objects and Methods

That the object of such an organization be for the purpose of running for political office candidates representing the aforesaid, and to propagate socialism in conformity with the economic conditions and social institutions of the United States of America, along the lines of the struggle of the proletariat against the exploiting class, who through their political power hold possession of the means of life, the machinery of wealth production. This propaganda to be carried out in such a manner as to educate the proletariat and bring them to an understanding of their class interests and class position, and the nature of the historic task they are called upon to perform namely, the complete overthrow and abolition of all forms of exploitation.

In order to aid the working class in the attainment of this aim the proposed new party will confine its propaganda to this object alone, and leave all reform agitation, which has so characterized so-called socialist parties in the past, to the organizations and groups who consider the present social order worth reforming.

The Socialist Party of Michigan in issuing this call, after due deliberation, contends that only through an organization along the lines proposed, can the American proletariat be successfully headed to the desired goal; that the attitude of the party towards the capitalist class be one of unceasing hostility, and toward all other political organizations, whether alleged socialist or avowed defenders of the present social order, one of scathing criticism and militant opposition. For we must regard all attempts to defend and buttress institutions that support in any manner the present ruling class to be a betrayal of the workers in their struggle for emancipation.

As a political organization in a highly developed capitalist country like the United States of America, we shall endeavor to elect representatives wherever possible, to governmental offices, not to perpetuate the present form of government, but to be in a position to assist in the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship for the purpose of socializing the land and industries of the United States.

In addition to this revolutionary struggle for the possession of the state power, we shall carry on agitation and education on the broader aspects of political action. Conscious of the fact that all power, constitutional or otherwise, rests upon force, we shall endeavor to arouse the workers to a full consciousness of their mighty powers which now lie latent, so

that in the event of the capitalist class abolishing or nullifying constitutional procedure, they can have recourse to the revolutionary political action of the mass.

Our propaganda attitude toward present day institutions and social phenomena shall be to explain, criticize and attack if necessary, without exception, each and everyone of the institutions that prop up, apologize for or defend the capitalist class in their privileged position.

In this respect, religion as a social phenomena and the church as an institution shall be explained in the light of the materialist conception of history. The functions of the state, with its forces of repression and its institutions of entrenchment, the courts, the judiciary, democratic-capitalistic law and order, to be explained and mercilessly exposed by all means within our power.

Our attitude toward other workingclass organizations, such as labor unions, craft or industrial—shall be to explain to the workers their origin and functions, by pointing out that so long as the working class is forced to live by the sale of its labor power, that it is necessary for them to carry on a guerilla warfare on the industrial field for redress of grievances and to prevent further encroachments upon their present standard of living.

In this daily struggle with their employers, we should point out to the wage-workers that the most efficient method of carrying on the struggle between the master class and the working class is through the industrial form of unionism, which is the most powerful, most efficient and most militant form of organization as against the craft form—a survival of the days of craft production with its tendencies to divide the workers into small, conflicting, inefficient groups.

But in endorsing the industrial as against the craft form of unionism, we should on all occasions point out the characteristics and limitations of unionism at its best. To do otherwise would be a betrayal and a stultification of the position of the proletariat and the revolutionary object that confronts it. Explaining to the workers that so long as the unions confine themselves to the struggle over the wages and conditions of employment, their circle of activities revolves within the confines of the capitalist system, and it is only when the organized mass takes steps that are calculated to strike a blow at the political entrenchment of the capitalist class that their activities take on a revolutionary aspect.

The withholding of their labor-power (strikes) and the tying up of industry cannot be in itself the means of emancipation. So long as the powers of government remain in the hands of the exploiting class, the path that must be pursued—whatever its characteristics—must be a political one, and the first step to be taken is the capture of political power.

It is upon the basis of an understanding and acceptance of these principles that the new party shall formulate its platform and program of action, with a constitution adapted thereto, with a party-owned press that will propagate these principles and with a uniformity of expression throughout the entire country. The proposed new party shall align itself with the recently organized Third International, which held its first congress at Moscow, Russia, on the 2nd of March, 1919.

To all organized States, Locals or organized groups this call is made, and to all other groups whatever their present affiliations may be, that are ready to abandon their present allegiance—of any—to existing organizations and join with the socialists of Michigan, on the basis of this call for the formation of a real Socialist Party that will function with and through social institutions and social forces as they now exist in the United States of America for the complete emancipation of the working class from the yoke of capitalist slavery.

The basis of delegation will be one for each group, local or part thereof, with one for every additional 500 members and major fraction thereof. Credential form inclosed, same must be completely filled according to instructions thereon and duly signed by Chairman, Secretary or both of groups selecting delegates to this convention.

(Signed) ALBERT RENNER, Chairman,  
LOREN B. TEAL, Secretary,

Michigan Emergency State Convention, June 15, 1919.

An "American Socialist Party," which the old N. E. C. favors, will no doubt be able to serve this country much better than one which lays emphasis upon its international character. Then we have the AMERICAN Federation of Labor, dontchaknow.

# The League of Nations

None thought so much of the organization of the League of Nations, none fought so energetically for the abolition of wars and for the establishment of a general peace as the Socialists. But, nevertheless, or rather to be more exact, for that very reason true Socialists will be enemies of that League of Nations which was organized by the powers gathered at the Paris Peace conference.

## A Convenient Theory.

At the preliminary meeting of this conference on the 15th of February the plans of the League were made public. We do not yet know what form this beginning will take in the end. But even now we can judge that the worst can be expected from the imperialist powers and that the League of Nations will prove to a noose for liberty and the peace of peoples.

Where are all the pretty words of the Wilsonian program? Where did the high sounding words of the rights of nations, small ones and large ones, of self-determination and the freedom of the seas, disappear to? We would be naive if we would look for the least bit of truth in these words and expect to find them in the plan of the League of Nations set up by Wilson, Lloyd-George and Pichon. The only thought which, like a red thread, runs through the whole protocol summarizes in the forced safety of the conditions existing after a four-year period of war, the safeguarding of the powers, their victories and all that they gained, and to prevent any change to be made in the present state of affairs.

## Mutual Insurance.

First of all, the exalted imperialist powers seek to insure each other and to assure themselves a quiet digestion of their victories. The parties drawing up the treaty assure each other to respect and take care of all internal trouble in the nations belonging to the League and assure political independence for all governments taking part in this League. So, if Ireland wishes to put into life Wilson's program and to stand by her rights of self-determination, she will have to deal now not only with the English lords and capitalists but with the armed forces of the whole League of Nations.

Slavery of the defeated peoples by the world sharks will last forever under the League of Nations. Especially is this true of the so-called colonies who are, truthfully speaking, the majority of humanity. It is self-understood that the bourgeois Pharisees who came together at the Peace Conference least of all thought of giving the nations the right to decide their own destiny. Even those colonies which the Allies took from the Central Powers are divided among the victors. And which rule will be the worst for these colonies, the old or the new, remains to be seen.

The League of Nations represents an international company of life and profits insurance of the nations which are its organizers. The question of accepting any other nation to this League is to be decided by its organizers. It is clear that they will accept only those who will co-operate with them in the assurance

of their safety and their interests. Now since Germany became a counter-revolutionary bourgeois republic, destroying its own proletariat, its chances of being admitted are a great deal more certain, and it may happen that on certain conditions, or unconditionally, it will be accepted into the League of Nations. We may be sure that the more important partners will not accept Soviet Russia into their midst, if the Russian Republic would deign to ask admission.

## To Outsiders a Punitive Expedition

But what will be the position of the governments which will have no chance whatsoever of being accepted as shareholders of this League? The treaty foresees this question also. It clearly states that in case there arise misunderstandings between members of the League and governments not members of the League, the Executive Committee of the League will be the high court which will render the final decision. The treaty does not state, however, whether the League will intervene at the request of the interested governments or without their wish in case these governments do not happen to be members of the League. It is clear that the League takes full power into its own hands to judge all international conflicts. The executive committee will invite the concerned parties to carry out their decisions. In case they refuse to do so, they will take action against those governments, beginning with an economic blockade and ending with armed intervention.

Not a bad prospect is it? Now imagine how will it be in the case of Soviet Russia. It will be enough for any power which is a member of the League, not speaking of France or England, but even Roumania, Poland, Finland (they will of course be admitted into the league) to have anything against Soviet Russia, to have the League start action against this government which does not acknowledge it. And as the five most important governments of the league recognized all the counter-revolutionary governments of Russia, and are on very friendly terms with most of them, therefore, it will be enough for any Kolchak or Krasnow to protest against the Soviet to have the League take action.

## The Preparation of Objects for Intervention

It is absolutely clear that the powers of the League will accept into the League all sorts of small nations for the reason that with their help they will always be able to create trouble among the nations not admitted in order to have reason for intervention into their affairs. Such despotism, such full power by a group of governments, the world has not yet seen.

## Phariseic Spirit

The London Times, organ of the British imperialists stated that in the decree of the League of Peoples an English spirit was seen. Yes, and English spirit of the Bourgeoisie, the spirit of force combined with Phariseism and hypocrisy, in short the spirit of the English Kent is clearly seen in this document. Of course, the document speaks of the co-

operation of peoples, of honesty among peoples, of justice; the murderous colonial policy it tries to cover with false words of the supreme duty of civilization. The ultra-millionaires and exploiters who drew up this document had nerve enough to speak of justice and humanitarian conditions for the working class.

And what does all their drivel come to—it is shown in English telegrams received, together with the document of the League of Nations. One of the first steps taken is the robbing of Russia. Japan and the United States agreed to take over the control of the Siberian Railroads. The Siberian Railroads belong to Russia. The Eastern-Chinese are placed under the control of an Inter-Allied commission at whose head, for public opinion's sake, a Russian chairman has been appointed. That Russia's permission has not been asked in this enterprise is self-understood. The League of Nations is above such formalities.

## Fearful Dangers

The people of the whole world must know what awaits them. The League of Nations has been compared to the Holy Alliance. But it is worse and more harmful than the Holy Alliance a thousand fold, because it is much stronger, better organized and broader. The Holy Alliance was a conspiracy between the priests, monarchs and landowners against free peoples, but against it were not only the laboring masses but also the bourgeoisie. In the League of Nations the Bourgeoisie goes hand in hand with the monarchs, priests and landowners against the laboring masses. And besides, it controls all the means of present day technique and is expert in all the ways of fooling the masses.

The League of Nations does not prevent wars but declares war upon the working class and defeated peoples. It assures peace only to the victors, the imperialists. That is the reason why all real friends of peace and justice, and all true enemies of war must with all their might fight against the devilish plan of world untruth hidden under the bright colors of the League of Nations. And this hypocritical bourgeois league the proletariat will combat with Social Revolution, without which honesty between peoples can never exist.

U. STEKLOV,

of the Russian Soviet Government.

Superintendent of Detroit police department says he relies upon the good sense of the patrolmen to break up their union.

You mean "lack of sense," don't you, Mr. Superintendent?

"Congress to crush Bolshevism, \$2,500,000 appropriated for that purpose."

Dirt cheap. If properly approached, undoubtedly Kolchak will donate a few kopecks to the fund. Maybe the Czar, too, if he were still with us, would contribute his share.

"Priests strike for more pay." We still don't see the necessity for this. Couldn't this be obtained more easily by praying for it?

—The Proletarian.