The strike of the steel workers is a revolt against intolerable conditions, a revolt the explosive forces of which have been accumulating for 27 years. Since the ruthless, bloody crushing of the Homestead strike in 1892, and particularly since the organization of the Steel Trust in 1901, the workers in the steel industry have been the most abject of slaves. All efforts of the steel workers to organize unions in the past have been baffled by espionage and discharges. All the most modern methods of fleecing the workers, such as "the task and bonus" system, have been adopted in the steel industry. Wages have been frightfully low, and the workers have been robbed by various schemes bordering on actual peonage.

Steel mill towns are a sort of baronial estate, where church and government are in the pay of the steel barons. Protest was crushed by the company secret service, the church and the local governments.

Much capital is being made concerning increases in the steel workers' wages during the war. The figures used are shamelessly garbled. But even these figures tell a terrible story. They try to prove that the steel workers' wages during the past five years have increased 20 per cent more than the cost of living. These figures are not accurate; but let us accept them. In five years the workers' conditions have improved 20 per cent—but these workers five years ago were, according to bourgeois investigators such as John A. Fitch, living in sub-human conditions. Splendid improvement, indeed!

For the steel strike is much more than an ordinary strike. It is, in the first place, a strike in the basic industry of the nation; and, in the second place, it is a strike of the unskilled, who have not been corrupted by craft unionism and petty bourgeois aspirations, as have the dominant elements of the railway unions. This strike thrusts directly at the heart of Capitalism; and Capitalism realizes the menace.

The general sentiment in the capitalist press, among the employers and government officials is: "It has come to a test. We must crush this strike, in order to assure the submission of the workers in other industries." The strike, according to Senator Thomas, is a "national menace." The strike is a national menace—a menace to the Capitalism of our nation. There are more than 300,000 men on strike, involving about 20 states—the scope of this strike is unprecedented. In 1912, a strike of 25,000 workers in Lawrence made Capitalism tremble; what might not come of this strike of 300,000, in a basic industry and among workers the most oppressed in the world?

The steel strike comes as the climax of a series of aggressive strikes that have characterized the condition since the armistice. Every strike has contributed to the general unrest and developed a new spirit of proletarian aggression. The steel strike is the mightiest and most potential of them all—it is not alone a challenge to the most powerful industrial empire in the United States, it is equally a challenge to the government. Victory in this strike means weakening the prestige of Capitalism and the state, and correspondingly increasing the aggressive spirit of the workers.

But the strikers are not frightened. They are firm, inspired by the struggle and by the spirit of solidarity. Their determination is magnanimous, and their numbers daily grow larger.

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OFFICIALS OF THE A. F. OF L. have been the most abject of slaves. The steel workers' wages during the past five years have increased more than the cost of living. These figures are proved.

"This action follows the passage of a resolution by the Central Labor Council endorsing the action of waterfront workers in their planned refusal to ship munitions to kill Russian workers.

"According to reports they were not armed when they reported for work Thursday morning as usual and began loading the cases when the question was asked as to whether they were armed. After some further questioning a customs officer was called and opened some of the cases. In one case, one of the workers declared, displaying war-like contents. The police immediately got the rustlers and refused to continue the loading. The strikers were on the waterfront have been warned to keep a careful watch for rifles concealed in innocent appearing packages."

The strike is of the utmost importance. It may have far-reaching effects on the American working class movement; the forces of Capitalism must not end in defeat—a defeat for the whole working class. This strike is the key to the present American working class movement; the forces of Capitalism may convert the strike into the 1877 of the American proletariat revolution. Who knows?

But this we know, the American workers are preparing to act—are acting. The task is to participate in this action, to make it conscious of its larger purposes, to develop the general political strike that will break the power of Capitalism and initiate the dictatorship of the proletariat—all power to the workers!
Union Revolts

T HE Chicago District Council of the Federated Railroad Shop Craftsmen’s Union has cried a call for an “unauthorized” convention to protest withdrawal of American troops from Russia; but this withdrawal has not materialized, the Government of Wilson furnishing money and munitions to Kolchak & Co.

Now it appears that not only are the American troops not to be withdrawn, but that there has been an anti-Russian campaign against American troops for service in Russia, and, this campaign having failed, these troops will be used. Furthermore, it appears that President Wilson and his Government are the centre of the reactionary clique directing a counter-revolutionary war against Russia.

In the Chicago “Tribune” of September 25, Arthur Sears Heming wrote from Washington:

“The United States has undertaken to furnish Kolchak with the principal aid from allied sources, while Great Britain and France have agreed to furnish supplies and other aid to General Denikin, who is the anti-Bolshevik commander in South Russia. The extent and precise character of the assistance the president has promised Kolchak is not known.

“President Wilson has instructed the secretary of war to prepare an army of 100,000, to be called the American Volunteer Army, to be used against Russia.

“The Department of Justice will proceed to suspend the naturalization of all Russian soldiers and sailors who are refused entry into this country.”

It has been clear for some time that President Wilson was placable in his determination to wage war against the Communist Republic of Russia. In the Peace Conference Wilson united with Clemenceau and Lloyd George in demanding that Russia be isolated from the Allies by a large military occupation of Russian territory. In this he was supported by the newly formed Allied Imperialist Committee of Five, which was determined to assure the permanency of the Allied occupation of the World. It is this permanent occupation of Russian territory which is the object of the war against Russia, and the object of the United States military occupation of railroads, railheads, and the industrial resources of Russia.

The final struggle against Capitalism, which will assure the World Communist Republic, will be fought out in the United States.

Center of Revolution

INDULGENCE in gracious verbiage has deceived many persons, unconscious of the material force determining events. That President Wilson was a “friend” of Russia. The United States Government has repeatedly announced the withdrawal of American troops from Russia; but this withdrawal has not materialized, the Government of Wilson furnishing money and munitions to Kolchak & Co. All this during a time when Wilson was speaking of universal liberty and disarmament, and pleading with our people to “break the hands of the IWW and help to control the workers.”

This situation suggests a number of very interesting questions.

Where does Congress participate in this international operation and what is the difference of opinion between Mr. Wilson’s Private Secretary, Mr. Ketelsen, and Mr. Wilson’s Secretary of War, Mr. Secretary Daniels? Mr. Daniels has consistently been in favor of the war against Russia, and Mr. Ketelsen has been in favor of peace at any price.

Is universal peace to be realized by means of waging secret and open war against the workers wherever the workers conquer power?

What are the secret agreements with Japan, granting compensations to American Capitalism, with the encouragement of Japan’s support of Japanese brigandage in Siberia?

After Kolchak is defeated, which is inevitable, who will carry to the American Government the millions of dollars spent to finance Kolchak & Co.?

What has become of the promises made to the mothers of American troops in Russia? If the money is not being spent to murder the Russian people and crush their Communist liberty, then the Democratic Republic of Wilson shall pay the international debts of Capitalism contracted for the purpose of crushing the Russian people.

The Soviet Government, yielding to the shibboleths of international finance, has already expressed itself as willing to pay these debts. Now an official of the Czar’s Empire is contracting loans, by means of which to crush the Russian people: the Allies, of course, will insist that the Russian people honor these debts.

The situation in connection with the war against Soviet Russia is very simple. International Imperialism, united in the common purpose of fighting against the permanency of its financial and territorial division of the world, thereby assuring the permanency of Capitalism. Soviet Russia, with its inspiration to the workers of the world, threatens this permanency. International Imperialism, therefore, mobilizes its forces against the Communist Republic of Russia, against the revolutionary movement throughout the world.

That the United States should assume a dominant position in this reactionary war against the Republic of Russia is clear, not only to the Communist who interprets events by means of Marxism. The representatives of the United States is the Party, a liberal language, but its Capitalism speaks in the iron tongue of reaction. American Capitalism has a larger stake in Imperialism; American Imperialism today is the Constantinople of American Capitalism, having usurped financial world-power. The United States, accordingly, is the centre of world reaction, representing the mightiest and most reactionary Capitalism in the world.

Consequently, American Capitalism has enormous interests at stake in the general international issue of the Russian Revolution; and it is clear that staing that stake, menaced by the coming World Revolution.

Leon Trotsky is quoted as saying: “It is not in Finland or East Prussia that the Russian people are to be crushed, but in the United States to look after Kolchak.”

It has been clear for some time that President Wilson was placable in his determination to wage war against the Communist Republic of Russia. In the Peace Conference Wilson united with Clemenceau and Lloyd George in demanding that Russia be isolated from the Allies by a large military occupation of Russian territory. In this he was supported by the newly formed Allied Imperialist Committee of Five, which was determined to assure the permanency of the Allied occupation of the World. It is this permanent occupation of Russian territory which is the object of the war against Russia, and the object of the United States military occupation of railroads, railheads, and the industrial resources of Russia.

The final struggle against Capitalism, which will assure the World Communist Republic, will be fought out in the United States.

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Boycott the Elections!

The Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City, in accordance with the policy of the old party, recently made contests in the primary elections for its own candidates to the Senate, and in a number of districts the Left Wing nominees defeated the old Socialist Party nominees. The Left Wing is now almost unanimously the Communist Party of New York City, these victorious nominees being from the Socialistic Party ticket. But the election law prevents the acceptance of these resignations. The Communist Party candidates will appear as candidates on the Socialist Party ticket.

This apparent complicated situation is solved very easily. The Communist Party candidates are appearing on the Socialist ticket as Socialists, with the clear claim that those who vote for them are voting for the old Socialists. They are voting against the old Socialists, and for the new Socialists. They are voting against the old Socialists, because a Socialist will vote against a Socialist, and they are voting for the new Socialists, because a Communist who is a Socialist will vote against a Socialist. The only difference between the old and the new is that the old Socialists are voting for the old Socialists, and the new Socialists are voting for the new Socialists.

The elections are this year a test. They are a test of the Socialist Party's claims of former affiliation with the Left Wing. A. Wagenknecht, the Executive Secretary of the American Labor Party, urges Socialist Party locals in Ohio to affiliate with the old Socialist Party. This is a characteristic expression of the vindictive Centrism, of warring between the old and the new, of compromise and inconsistency. Stil linger to the discredited name, Socialist Party! Still fight the old game of votes, votes, votes! And this is the Party that claims to represent Communist principles.

The decision of the Communist Party to boycott the coming elections while participating in the campaign is in accord not only with the temporary necessity of abolishing all relations with the old Socialists, but with the general character of Communist parliamentarianism and the prevailing conditions in the proletarian class struggle.

Campaigns and elections are not necessarily interwoven: they may be separated. There is a distinction between elections and campaigns; and there are moments when the Communist Party will participate in a campaign but boycott the elections, in order to emphasize the mass character of the proletarian struggle, just as the general considerations of the class struggle, by the necessity of development of the consciousness and action of the proletariat, must provide the means necessary to gain this objective—the general political strikes of the proletariat and the development of proletarian organs of state power.

The proletarian revolution is a process, each phase developing its own problems and requiring the adoption of special tactics in accord with Socialist fundamentals and life itself. It is the characteristic of the Socialist betrayer of Socialism to evade all actual problems of the revolution. The proletarian revolution is a process; it has its own peculiar problems at particular stages of its development. Our tactics, accordingly, must be flexible, living, in accord with the problems of each phase of development. In preliminary stages, we shall not, if necessary, boycott the elections while participating in the campaign; in the final stage it may become necessary to boycott parliamentarism completely, as did the Spanish-Communists in Germany during the elections to the German Assembly.

At this moment, in the United States, the workers are instinctively adopting the Communist Party must develop the conscious- ness of the political character of the class struggle, the conquering of power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, not to vote for them, or, to vote for the Socialist Party. The感动 of the masses, the 1903 strikes, to make them adopt the Socialist Front Plan that they may have to use the strike in order to coerce the government to accept their plans. The giant steel strike is the most vivid portrait in the struggle of the American proletariat, a strike of revolutionary action against Capitalism. These mass strikes of the workers are of the utmost importance, the momentary development that the momentary development of the tactics of the Communist Party in the immediate days to come. The United States is now, presently, in the first stage of a revolutionary crisis, as in England, where the Communist Party boycotted the elections to Parliament. The Communist Party task is to unify these strikes, to make them adopt the mass character and size, to develop the consciousness and action of the general political strike. Out of these mass industrial struggles must be developed the means and the inspiration for the conquest of power by the proletariat.

These mass strikes are still directed against the employers, although often equally a challenge to the state. The Communist Party must develop the consciousness of action against the state, of the political character of the class struggle, the actual development of means of participation in political campaigns and our general agitation—but, simultaneously, the Communist Party must emphasize the possibility of parliamentarism and elections realizing the conquest of power—and we accomplish by means of a boycott of the elections.

The American workers are emerging in a period of strikes and aggressive mass struggles. They must not look to parliamentarism, but must hold parliamentarism to the requirements of the mass struggle. The Communist Party, accordingly, urges: Boycott the elections!

The accomplishment of the revolutionary task—the conquest of the power of the state, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the realization of the Communist Republic—is a vital problem of the Workers of the World, the conscious elements of whom are organizing in the international Communist Party.

This problem and this task are gigantic. They mean nothing short of a transformation of the world, an implacable struggle against Capitalism representing the most powerful class enemies in human history. We shall meet temporary victory and defeat, a process out of which will come the development of Capitalism and a strengthening of the class power of the proletariat. In this struggle, the masses and workers are not alone necessary: a movement must be judged by its deeds, by its application of program and words. The conception of parliamentarism and elections is a test of Communist understanding and sincerity.

Arbitration

Compromise, miserable and deadening compromise, is bred in the bone of A. F. O. officials. They can never take the initiative in progressive action: always in the crisis they weaken, and betray. The General Strike in Seattle was in great shape, the workers determined and the government in fear of threats of drastic action; union officials weakened, spoke of agreement and compromise, and contributed directly to the strike's collapse.

Now again, apparently, in the steel strike. This strike has assumed gigantic proportions: the spirit of the workers is agast at this terific portent of what may come. Unions not directly affiliated with the unions participating in the strike, such as the Great Lakes Mariner's Union, are deciding for a general strike. This steel strike may mark a new epoch in American labor history, if the spirit of the workers is mobilized for definite, uncompromising action.

But even prior to the strike the A. F. of L. officials are making compromise. They asked a conference with E. H. Gary of the U. S. Steel Corporation; and when this was refused the order for a strike was issued, in spite of Wilson's plea and because of the determined spirit of the men.

Now the strike is a great fact. But still the A. F. of L. speaks compromise—this time arbitration. At a session of the Senate Committee on Labor, investigating the steel strike, John Fitzpatrick, chairman of the Strike Committee, pledged the end of the strike in the event that the steel concerns submit to arbitration. This is the record:

"Will the men go back to work if the steel company will agree to submit the case to arbitration?" asked Senator Kenyon of Iowa.

"Yes," promptly replied Mr. Fitzpatrick.

"Would the men be willing to lay the case before a commission appointed by the president?"

"Yes," responded Mr. Fitzpatrick.

And Fitzpatrick even said the strike could be called off if Gary agreed to arbitrate, and that the men would abide by the decision of an imparaticial arbitrator.

This is frightful weakening. It may break the spirit of the strike. It creates illusions in the minds of the workers concerning arbitration. Nothing permanent is secured from arbitration, which is always determined by fundamental capitalist interests. Arbitration invariably betrays the value of the strike is not in the immediate concessions secured, but in the reserves developed for action in the days to come.

The steel strike is arousing the spirit of proletarian revolt. The steel workers are sensing their power, developing the consciousness of action. Small concessions secured from arbitration mean nothing, since it destroys the independence and power of the workers. The victory of the steel workers can come only from determined action against Capitalism. Why are we to urge compromise? The steel workers control the situation, and will control still more as other workers will follow their example. They can strike for the sole purpose of immediate gains, but for larger action in the days to come. Fitzpatrick speaks of the strike's mass and novelty; as an assembly of strikers: but these dead and injured are less than the dead and injured from industrial accidents. Fitzpatrick urges arbitration and compromise: they must conquer, not arbitrate.
To the Workers of the World

The governments which began the war of plunder five years ago are now trying to end it not with a predatory peace. The English, French, and American capitalists represented in Versailles are making an effort to impose on the peoples of Europe the capitalist peace which they have been preparing for years. TheVersailles peace terms will do very little to catch many workers with the band of League of Nations. The League of Nations at whose cradle stands Clemenceau, the butcher, is undermined before the eyes of the whole world by the league of murderers, who are nailing to the cross the millions of the laboring masses of Europe.

The Versailles peace, with all its weight, is first of all laid upon the working class of Germany. The workers of the world know no bounds. The famous bourgeois, who are the instigators of those Versailles peace terms as a blow to the international proletariat, as an effort which can be only put down by the unifying strength of the proletariat of all countries.

The present German government, which in words professes the capitalist peace, in fact aids the imperialists of the Allied Powers to realize their hellish purposes in relation to the German working class. The executioner Clemenceau has no truer servants in Germany than Scheidemann and Ebert. The Scheidemann and Ebert party from the first moment of the German revolution hounded down to the last imperialists of the Allied Powers. Under the direction of Clemenceau, Scheidemann and Ebert sent the White Guard armed against the Russian revolution. In order to satisfy the imperialists of the Allied Powers, the Social-Democrats under the leadership of Ebert and Scheidemann killed Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and with fire and guns crushed the great movement of the German workers to realize Soviet power. Fulfilling the directions of the London and Paris Peace conferences, the government of Scheidemann has killed already not less than 10,000 workers-Communists. Germany is within an hour from the time when the wave of the workers' movement in Germany rose especially high. Chesterfield, the government traitor-Social-Democrats, Scheidemann and Ebert threatened the starved workers that if Soviet government was established in Germany, the Allies would refuse to give bread to the German workers anymore.

The Central Committee of the Scheideman Social Democratic Party, in its appeal in connection with the Versailles peace, maintains that the Versailles peace is "reasonable." The best evidence of the correctness of this position of the Central Committee is the fact that the workers of all lands, do you understand at last our way of acting at the time of war?" asks Scheidemann in his appeal. Oh, hypocrites! Oh, cynics!

Two robbers in 1914 fell on the same prey. One of them is now proved to be most successful. This criminal not only grabbed the whole prey which his competitor has dreamed, but went into the pockets of his rival. Then the other thief, made benefactor through want and having on his face the expression of innocent simplicity, spoke to the world and exclaimed, "You see, the conduct of my rival has shown the entire criminality of all the parties, in the result, that you do not yet understand that we, Scheidemann, are whiter than the snow of the Englishsnow.

The Versailles peace terms have proven to all conscious workers something altogether different. The enlightened workers of the whole world fully realize that if the German imperialists had been the victors they would have destroyed useful to the defeated as their rivals are now to them. And then most likely the Hen- derzens and the Saarfields, these same lying phrases as now Scheidemann and Noske are using.

The Versailles peace terms show us that while Imperialism exists in any country, until then force and robbery will also exist. The Versailles peace terms prove that Imperialism of any coalition is equally blood-thirsty. No matter how "democratic" the leaves which they use, Imperialism, it remains the inanition of barbarism and blood lust.

The Versailles peace terms have shown us that social-patriots of all lands have permanently and forever become the serv- ants of the bourgeois. The Versailles peace terms show how meaningless are the hopes of the sympathizers of the Berne yellow "International," of Kautsky and his friends, about the disarmament under Capitalism, about the good and beneficent League and the wing of Wilson. The Versailles peace terms have shown that those bourgeoisie, which will have removed for the workers of all lands only one road--the road of world revolution, the road of the concrete class struggle.

Workers of France! Workers of England! Workers of America! Workers of Italy! The Communist International appeals to you to expand the gigantic task of tens of millions of workers of Aus- tria and Germany. You must say your word now. You must pull out of the bloody hands of your government that millions of workers. You must bring under the heads of the German and Austrian workers. You must say for you that the demands and the lessons of the five years war have not been in vain. You must not forget for a moment that the victory of the allied imperialists could not have been possible on the road of world revolution, the road of the international proletariat.

The Versailles peace terms show you that you have no choice whereas the government of capitalists, which are your only lawful government, is putting a direct preliminary condition to the government of Scheidemann to crush the Soviet Power in Germany. It is they, the Anglo-French bankers and generals, who are disarming the revolutionary soldiers in Belgium. It is they who are choking the mass movement of the peoples and the revolutionary spirit in Serbia and Slovakia.

International gendarmes--such are the English and American imperialists, who claim to be the representatives of world "democracy." The rise of imperialism is now broken. The masks are thrown off. Those whom the long and ter- rible imperialistic war has not taught a lesson, these will have to be taught by that imperialist peace with which the "hu- manitarians" of Versailles are trying to "make peace" in the world. The govern- ments which during the four and one and half years lied to their people about carrying on the war in order to "end" the war, in order to "independence" of small peoples, for "peace," for "democracy."--these governments are now unmasked as arch-criminals, as the worst kind of slaves, serving mercy to none. The fairy tale of the League of Nations is dying without having had a chance to Declaration of the Communist International Against the Versailles Peace.

(Continued on Page 6)
A FEW months ago a bill was intro-
duced in the Senate concerning the
reorganization of the army of the
United States. The authors of this bill are
Secretary of War and Secretary of
March. This bill was discussed recently
in the Senate on Monday. It is clear that the
future will see this matter discussed in the
Senate. The aim of this bill is to strengthen
and increase the army of the United States.
This militarism is being forced upon the
country, in spite of the fact that advocates
are supposed to be sound in the wisdom of
the people. If one had his way, he would discard
these hopes now that the bill has been
March be considered. The authors of
this bill have apparently learned a big
lesson from German militarism, to "crush all
which the power of the land was mobilized.
They know that militarism does not
make peace, even with democracy. Therefore
they prohibit the intervention of ele-
ments, i.e., even of Congress, in the
internal affairs of the army.
In the past Congress decided upon the
size of each of the army, of artillery, arti-
illery, etc. Congress decided upon the
budget. Congress appointed committees to
investigate whether money for the
army was expended as Congress decided,
in the near future, if the Baker-Staff
bill passes, conditions will change. The
chiefs of staff work out the expenditures for
the entire army. He has these ac-
counts to the secretary of war and the
later through the secretary of the
Treasury has figures to Congress. Neither
the secretary of war nor the secretary of
the treasury are at liberty to make
changes in these figures. Congress must
appropriate the required sum wholesome.
This sum is divided among the different depart-
s: the secretary of war only
with the assistance of the commander-in-
chief. The commander-in-chief superin-
tends the reports of all expenditures. In
this way he proposes to take away from Congress
the only means it had with which it could counteract this
militarism. Now this last means—
the expenditure of the people's money—is taken
away from Congress and given to the
commander-in-chief.
The main reason for this bill is to strengthen the power of the General Staff.
For this end its membership is very much enlarged. Previous to the war the mem-
bership of the General Staff consisted of 55 officers, 2 of whom were Generals, 10
Colonels, 18 Lieut-Colonels, 15 Majors, and 17 Captains. According to the law
of May 12, 1917, the number of officers of the
General Staff was increased to 91. A
new law increased the number of officers of the
General Staff to 231. Of these some
will have the full rank of generals, 5
Major-Generals, or Lieutenant-Generals, 5
Brigadier-Generals, 41 Colonels, 73 Lieut-
Colonels, 89 Majors and 17 Captains.
This means that for the command of a
half-million army at times as many of
officers are appointed as was necessary pre-
viously for a four-million army. This will become clear when the following com-
parison. Until this time the army of the
United States had no full general. Who had the
rank of full general. This bill provides for one
full general, who will command the Gen-
eral Staff. Before one major-general was
necessary for every two million soldiers,
now one major-general for every 80,000
soldiers. At the time of war the entire
four million army had no Brigadier-Gen-
erals, now a half-million army will have
five Brigadier-Generals. Before one
Colonel was enough for every 400,000 sol-
diers, now there will be one Staff Colonel
for every 12,000 soldiers. Before one
Lieut-Colonel was enough for every 210,-
000 soldiers; now for every 7,000. Now
one Major for every 5,000 soldiers; before
one General for every 600,000 soldiers.
The result is that in comparison with the num-er of Generals increased twenty-five times, the
colonel increased a hundred times, the
number of Majors eighteen times. Besides this
5 new Brigadier-Generals are appointed and
one full General. This increase concerns only the General Staff.
The bill further takes away the power of
Congress concerning the appointment of
officers. Article 32 says that the "president has
the full power to appoint any officer for
any service which he finds necessary and
for whatever period he thinks advisable." Therefore
all these newly formed, well-
paid positions will be in the hands of the
president a tool for remuneration of all
well-deserving citizens who are his
servants and valets.
Generally, the General Staff will
control the life of not only a half-million army of soldiers, but of thousands of officers of
all ranks and titles. The General Staff, according to its own opinion, will be
able to force the officers to resign or transfer
them to another corner of the world. The
General Staff has acted in this way more
often. When the president had launched into
this practice of the General Staff, ref-
used to give evidence of any sort to Sena-
te committees investigating military ex-
penses. For these officers the Senate's
anger was less important than the anger of
these officers of the General Staff.
The bill gives the General Staff power also over the officers in reserve forces. Even
officers of reserve forces in a time of
war may be taken away from his service,
for military service; but this service can
not last more than 25 days.

Industrial Unionism and the Revolution

By J. T. Murphy

From "The Workers' Dreadnought" (Eng.)

However desirable a perfect weapon may be, we are compelled by the force of
circumstances to accept the weapon which is given us. The theory that
the value of all ideas on organization
and the Revolution should be the objective
are never to have the chance to
be applied. The masses, however, will not
move because they are Industrial Unionists
or trade unionists, but on account of the
pressures of circumstances. Under
such stress they will use any organization,
old or new.

The movement of the masses towards
Socialism is the thing that matters.

The value of all ideas on organization
will be tested by how far they can be applied in a crisis, in a revolution-
ary transition, and in the maintenance of this transition.

A year of revolution will teach the masses more of industrial organization
than a lifetime of politics.

Social Revolution should be the objective determining our activities.

Industrial Unionism should be the ar-
my from which can be drawn valuable ideas to help in the conflict.

Industrial and political crises should be regarded as the revolutionary situations to
be harnessed for social revolution.
The plea for Communist Unity

The time for indecision has passed. Now it is clear to each one of us that it cannot be worse, that the government of Social-Democracy which is uncompromising on the principle of party-faction is unitedly engaged in starting the world from the Versailles methods.

But the Federation majority in the Communist Convention yielded to conviction, without tinge of sectarianism or cliquism. The 10,000 members unrepresented in either of the two real congresses in Chicago, most of these members from the Western States, will settle the question of unity without need for diplomatic negotiations. They will not abide by the illusion of a Communist Party, which is bound to be automatically ousted in this competitive struggle for life. These members will join the Communist Party, or remain with the Social-Democratic Party.

There is no element of language federations. But the Communist Party Convention yielded to principle, without tinge of sectarianism or cliquism.

The Communist Party Convention yielded to principle, without tinge of sectarianism or cliquism.

The Communist Party was justly chargeable against the Minority Left Wing group which first issued the call for the Communist Convention, it was only the National Left Wing Council which undertook an actual combat against Communist Party and fought against these charges, without making that combat one against the Communist Party. It was this combat that made the fight against sectarianism within the Communist Party Convention, that is, that fed up against the 30 delegates who joined themselves with the Council members. This group fought against the third party—against Michigan scholasticism — and fought to a successful finish, while the other party ran away from the fight, carrying their foolish little side-show an opposition camp! The Federation majority in the Communist Convention yielded to principle, and the clear-cut work of this Convention was made possible because of the effective criticism by the organised minority. It was the opposition of the National Left Wing Committee to the Federation extremists which won them respect; within the Michigan truckling to the same group won nothing at all.

The 10,000 members unrepresented in both of these two real congresses in Chicago, most of these members from the Western States, will settle the question of unity without need for diplomatic negotiations. They will not abide by the illusion of a Communist Party, which is bound to be automatically ousted in this competitive struggle for life. These members will join the Communist Party, or remain with the Social-Democratic Party.

There is no element of language federations. But the Communist Party Convention yielded to principle, without tinge of sectarianism or cliquism.

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The Party Organization

C. E. Rutenberg, Executive Secretary
1219 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago.

"Socialist Party or the Socialist Labor Party which endorses the program and constitution of the Socialist Party," etc. Of course we didn't mean it. The section of the constitution in question reads:

Any branch of the Socialist Party or the Socialist Labor Party which endorses the program and constitution of the Communist Party and applies for a charter before Jan. 1, 1920, shall be accepted as a branch.

Branches which affiliate under the clause above are not required to pay the initiation fee of 10 cents for their members, but new Communist Party dues books should be issued to all members at once. Dues must be paid beginning with the month of affiliation irrespective of any advance payment to the organization previously affiliated with. If a member is in arrears he may purchase Communist Party stamps to cover the arrears.

The part of the Communist Party dues cards carrying the transfer record of the member should be retained by the members' previous affiliation and length of membership.

Communist Party state organizations are established in the following states:

- Connecticut: H. S. Ovitt, Carried.
- Michigan: Oakley C. Johnson, 1231 Volland Avenue, Ann Arbor.
- New Jersey: Walter Gabriel, 56 Hobson Street, Newark.

Branches in the above stated should send their charter applications to their state offices and order dues stamps through their state secretaries. Federation branches should send for charters to the secretaries of their organization.

A fee of $1.00 should accompany each charter application to pay the cost of printing and postage in connection with the issuance of new charters.

MINUTES OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SUNDAY, Sept. 7, 1919.

Comradse Ferguson elected chairman.

C. E. Rutenberg passenger.

Present, all members but Comrade Petras.

Motion that we proceed to the Executive Council. Carried.

Comrade Wicks, Schwartz, Karna, Ferguson and Bertram elected. These together with Comrades Ruthehbank and Fratino constitute the Executive Council.

Motion, that we elect an associate editor of "The Communist" and "Communist Internationale." Carried. Comrade I. H. Ferguson elected.

Comrade Bicken was given the boss and stated that the Lithuanian Federation Convention was to be held in Brooklyn, N. Y., on Sept. 7, and suggested that the party send delegates to officially represent it. Comrades Lovestone and Hit­

tman elected.

Motion, that we elect two delegates to attend the convention of the Jewish Federation at Philadel­

phia, Oct. 9th, 10th, 11th. Carried. Comrades Lieberman and Hochstein elected.

Motion, that we elect two delegates to attend the South Slavic Convention at Cleveland, Oct. 31st. Carried. Comrades Hovisich and Fergu­

son elected.

Motion, that the Central Executive Committee take charge of the defense of all the comrades ar­

rested and that we establish a Legal Bureau to defend party members against prosecution. Car­

ried.

Motion, that the party undertake the defense of Comrade Bick. Carried.

Motion, that Comrade Ferguson be appointed as the party's representative. Carried.

Motion, that the Executive Council shall con­

stitute the Legal Bureau. Carried.

Our fund of $45.00 per week for persons with families and $85.00 per week for employees without families be established for the positions of Executive Secretary, Editor, Organ­i­

izers and Translator Secretaries. Carried.

Motion, that members of the committee who live in New York constitute the committee. Carried.

Motion, that members of the Executive Committee and Translator Secretaries be used as organi­

zers wherever possible. Carried.

Motion, that Bertram Wolfe be appointed or­

ganizer for the state of New York.

Amendment, that we request the New York mem­

bers to make a recommendation for organizer for New York.

Amendment to amendment, that the New York mem­

bers still stand by their earlier request and report that the party should look for persons to or­

ganize a District or State Organization. Amended to amendment carried.

Motion, that Comrade Cohen set an assistant secretary of the New York Committee. Carried.

Motion, that the Executive Committee be author­

ized to divide the country into districts for the purpose of organizing District and State Organ­

izations. Carried.

Motion, that we endeavor to have the members of the Party develop a Co-operative Publishing Flunt. Carried.

Motion, that we appoint as a Free Bureau, the editors of the national, state and Federation Party papers, and that the national editor act as secre­

tary of the Board. Carried.

Motion, that we print a pamphlet containing the constitution in regard to unity with the brother parties and that it contain the program and constitution of the party and be mailed to all sections with a pamphlet. Carried.

Motion, that Comrades Ferguson and Fratino be appointed editors of the "Proletarian" and that it, if­

gether with the program, be printed in pamphlet form. Carried.

Motion, that we instruct the Executive Council to make steps to publish the statistical report of the Convention Proceedings. Carried.

Motion, that the Executive Council act as the Special Committee called for by the Convention actions. Carried.

Motion, that the Central Executive Committee meet again on the first Saturday in November. Carried.

Motion, that the Executive Secretary endorce to arrange meetings for the members of the committee on their route to the meetings of the convention committee. Carried.

Motion, that the Executive Secretary be organi­

ized and Translator Secretaries. Carried.

Motion, that Emergency Meetings of the Central Executive Committee may be called by major­

C. E. Rutenberg, Executive Secretary.

ity vote of the committee or by the Executive Council. Carried.

Motion, that the work of the Central Executive Committee be carried on through executive ac­tions, which shall be held every fifteen days, and which may be supplemented by special meetings of the committee. Members of the Executive Council may have adverse comments to express sent out with the motion. Carried.

Motion, that the fund of the party be depos­

ited in a bank and that all bills be paid by check signed by the Executive Secretary and counters­

igned by one of the members of the Executive Council. Carried. Comrade Ferguson designated to countersign checks with Comrade Schwartz as alternate.

Motion, that the party take over the "Com­

munist" and "Revolutionary Age" and all their as­

sets and liabilities. Carried. Carried.

Motion, that Comrade Bick continue as secre­

tary for one week. Carried.

Comrade Elbaum made a statement in regard to the printing of the leaflets on which was the in­

questioning that speed was not necessary printing by the machine. This was referred to the Executive Secretaries, to be followed up in a timely man­

ner. C. E. Rutenberg, Executive Secretary.
Hungary -- An Appeal

By an Eyewitness

Hundreds of them were even then suffering imprisonment.

What is the fate of the twenty women members of the Hungarian Soviet who have been “delivered”? I can see them now as they told me of the way they had been worked for under the Hungarian Government organizing and inspiring faith in their cause until they saw the fruits of their victory. Their comrade said to me later that they had already secured equal pay for equal work, so that scrub-women received the highest wage paid. Women teachers had been given a living wage, public baths had been organized so that every child got a bath a week. They had adapted confis­cate villas on Lake Balaton for the use of sick children. Orphanages were no longer isolated in hideous orphan asylums. The young girls under eighteen were sent out of every factory back to school and paid while they studied. The older women received at least two hundred percent more wages than ever before.

I can see Bela Kun, overworked, heavy eyed, but absolutely direct and decided in every answer to our enquiries, working at least sixteen hours a day, speaking at as many as twelve meetings some days, but always available and ready to reveal his every move for the welfare of Hungary. I can see Haviess, the twenty-nine year old Communist of Social Production, with his prematurely seamed face and his dead­gone look as he came in night after night as dinner at the headquarters at 9:30 o'clock, but never too tired to ex­plain to me his latest solution for making their production both in­dependent and efficient for the workers, and his plans for using every factory as soon as the Allies would let him. I can see Hamburger, the Commissaire of Agriculture, bending over his charts dotted with co-operative boosters for the diet outline of food products which he had already, of two months ago, organized in the vari­ous provinces, or showing me the maps of these provinces where formerly 75 per cent of the land was owned by landed nobility and was totally unproductive. I can see Erdilloy poring over his district maps of Budapest, pointing out where lie was going to distribute the food that was brought from the country, and I can see each and every one of the earnest faces of the women who work for the Communist Government.

And I can see the various members of the Entente “missions” strutting about in the streets of Budapest watching which way the cat would jump. Bela Kun welcomed them there, as he had nothing to hide. And then I can see the American Captain Gregorienko taking off for Joseph. He tells me that he is watching things closely as he knows no govern­ment can stand without food, and then he relates how he expects to feed Vienna bet­ter next week when the food comes from the southern provinces of Hungary. He did not say Jugo-Slavia.

And then the last thing I remember is the beautiful pale face of young Maria Gosthovri, as she sat up in her bed at the socialized hospital recovering from an automobile accident, and with her blue eyes filled with the youthful hope of twenty­one years calmly said to me: “It really makes little difference whether the Entente succeeds in starving the govern­ment of Hungary or not, as long as Communism is planted and cannot be killed. I am not nationalistic or individual­istic enough to be willing even to ask whether this particular government lasts or not, as Communism is sure to triumph by the mere establishment of it in Russia and Hungary, so that the workers can see that it is not a mirage.”

Yes, it has been done and can be done again. I wonder how Count Andraszy, the first Hungarian prime minister, would have felt if he had met the beautiful pale face of young Maria Gosthovri. Inasmuch as he was in Switzerland frank­ly working for the monarchists, does he not deserve the same treatment as the American Captain Gregorienko who substi­tuted the foreign conqueror for the native Communist? Having talked with him for three hours I think he will be just as mad as the five are in Paris. And what about the Queen of Roumania? Will she make another trip to Paris and England to “ar­range” how small nationalities are to be allowed to have self-determination, so that Roumania can become the great state fitting for such a Queen to rule? Time alone is also sure to bring up your minds what you will do about it.

A. R. H.