

Combined with "The Revolutionary Age"

# The Communist

All Power To The Workers!

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## Break the Blockade of Russia!

Declaration Issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party

It is nearly one year since the armistice was signed. Peace! It was what an agonizing world had yearned for. Peace! It sent a thrill through the world, a thrill of joy and promise. . . . No more dead. No more maimed. The mother could again clasp her son and the sweetheart her lover.

In all this joy at the coming of peace there was promise of finer things, of a new world, of international fraternity and a more human civilization.

Peace was granted Germany and Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria; but peace was not granted to Soviet Russia, where the workers were in control.

Why this war against the Russian people? They starved during the war; their dead and injured are more than of all the Allies put together. If the dead are the price of peace, then Russia paid the price in full.

But the "why" of war against Soviet Russia immediately was apparent. The diplomats of the Allies in the Peace Conference repudiated the ideals used during the war to make the people fight. The Peace Conference was not concerned with making the world safe for peace and democracy; it concerned itself with dividing the world economically, financially and territorially among the Great Powers,—France, England, Italy, Japan and the United States. The Peace Conference divided the spoils; it was a peace of plunder, an imperialistic adjustment of power, a dagger thrust at the heart of the peace and liberty of the world.

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

So the Peace Conference declared war against Soviet Russia.

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

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

But this war that Soviet Russia is compelled to wage in self-defense is a terrible agony. Instead of the factories producing shoes and clothes and agricultural machinery, they are forced to produce munitions. Instead of the men working in factory and mine, they are compelled to fight. Instead of the people's energy being used to build their new and finer

ure, of life, liberty, and peace to all the peoples.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

On September 25 the following cable was sent to the Left Wing of the Socialist movement of Sweden

"Greet Left Wing of the Swedish Party in name of the Communist Party of America, recently organized with more than 55,000 members. Long live the Third International!"

"LOUIS C. FRAINA,  
International Secretary."

On October 7 the following cable was received from the Secretary of the Swedish Left Wing:

"Long live the Communist Party of America! We return greetings! Cable Third International and Communist Party of Russia through us."

"STROEM,  
Secretary Left Party of Sweden."

Thereupon Comrade Fraina immediately sent the following cable answer to Comrade Stroem:

"Greet Third International and the Communist Party of Russia in name of the Communist Party of America. We apply for admission to the International Bureau. Our party campaigning now to end blockade against Russia."

civilization, they must use this energy for war against counter-revolution and aggression of the Allies.

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

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

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

Why?

Soviet Russia is a Communist Republic. A Communist Republic is a republic in which the power of the capitalists to sweat the workers is broken, where the workers control industry; a republic in which life is supreme and not profits. The Communist Republic of Russia is the promise of a new world and a finer cult-

# The Communist

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## INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCES.

**C**APITALISM possesses an infinite capacity for adaptation. Its policy, while rigid in the general purpose of maintaining supremacy, varies in particular application to particular conditions. Having power and control of the resources of power, Capitalism can use a large variety of means to maintain its oppressive control of society.

In the United States, at the moment that Capitalism was using all its resources of brutality and coercion against the working class, Capitalism was simultaneously preaching fraternity and financing the Civic Federation, the particular purpose of which was cajolery of labor.

In spite of coercion and brutality, the American working class developed more and more consciousness and militancy. This development has been accelerated by the inspiration of the proletarian revolutions in Europe and by the industrial crisis in our own country. The workers are becoming restless, more militant, impatient of small means and purposes. There is the threat of potential revolutionary action. Capitalism resorts to new forms of coercion—legislative measures are adopted which make almost any advocacy of militant proletarian action a crime; all the resources of the state power are mobilized against the revolutionary movements of the working class, and armed force is used against workers on strike.

But still proletarian unrest grows, revolutionary agitation becomes more general and aggressive. Capitalism, while intensifying its coercion, resorts again to cajolery and deception. The Industrial Conference, now in session, is of this character.

This Industrial Conference, the creature of President Wilson, is composed of representatives of capital, labor and the public. (Among the representatives of the public, incidentally, are two traitor Socialists.) The labor representation is an A. F. of L. representation; consequently, in fundamental issues of class policy, necessarily representing Capitalism. The public—in a society rent by class divisions and class struggles, there is no public neutral in fundamental class disputes—the public must necessarily align itself either with capital or labor; and, the Conference being determined by President Wilson, the representatives of the public are necessarily capitalistic. The Industrial Conference, therefore, represents Capitalism in fundamental issues, whatever disagreements there may be on minor issues of controversy.

The purpose of the Conference is to ascertain means for assuring industrial peace. Capitalism realizes that brute force alone is insufficient to suppress the developing revolt of the working class. Therefore, if certain strata of the workers, the "aristocracy of labor," can be given slight concessions, and the great prestige of the A. F. of L. secured in favor of a program for industrial peace, Capitalism is strengthened in its usurpation of power.

That is the meaning of the Industrial Conference—to strengthen the authority of the capitalist class over the working class.

Industrial peace is impossible under Capitalism—the development of economic and political forces smashes every dream of industrial peace. The antagonisms of class against class are a necessary phase of Capitalism. These antagonisms must become more and more acute, until they flare up in the final antagonism of revolutionary crisis.

## TWO STRIKES.

**T**HE Socialist Party and the Communist Labor Party agree on one thing—an "American" movement, not a "foreign" movement, is necessary. It is appropriate that the Communist Labor Party, which has not yet severed the umbilical cord binding it to the Socialist Party, should express this treacherous ideology of "Americanism."

Marxists are not idealogues; they consider objective facts, variations in class relations, every peculiarity of social development that may determine tactics. But the fact that there are peculiar problems of each proletarian movement does not alter the general character of the problems of the revolutionary proletariat. The Right Wing and the Centre use a perfectly good principle not for purposes of revolutionary action, but either to discourage revolutionary action or to promote a malicious controversy.

That the general problems of the proletariat are international is attested repeatedly by an abundance of testimony, theoretical and practical. Consider the steel strike in the United States and the Railway strike in England.

The British Railway strike was initiated by a mass impulse of the workers. It was an expression of the developing revolt of the workers, forced upon the union officials, who were as much terrified by the strike as the British Government. Prior to the strike the Railway union officials acted against the strike, tried every resource of compromise; but caught between the militancy of the workers and the hostility of the government, the union officials were forced to yield and declare a strike. But the day the strike was declared, J. H. Thomas, secretary of the Railway unions, said: "This is the saddest day of my life."

Starting on this compromise basis, the Railway strike persisted as a strike unwelcome to the officials. These tried every opportunity to compromise the strike. They used every means to prevent the strike assuming a revolutionary character; other unions were discouraged from participating in a general strike. The union officials argued that a general strike might mean revolution!

The compromise was effected. It was,

not the government that broke the strike but the trades union officials. The New York "Times" says that the trades union "Conciliatory Committee" deserves more credit than any others, including Premier Lloyd George, in settling the strike. The depth of this betrayal of the strike and the workers is more than apparent in this clause of the agreement: "The Union of Railwaymen agrees that members of the union should work in harmony with the workers who returned to work or who continued working during the strike."

The Steel strike also started as a mass movement of the workers. The trades union officials of the A. F. of L., in control of the organization work, tried compromise from the start. They wanted a conference with the Steel magnates before the strike; now they are willing to accept arbitration—anything but the aggressive struggle. In this strike, as in the British Railway strike, the union officials are preventing any expression of solidarity from the other workers. The Steel strike might have eventuated in a general strike; but the leaders of the Steel strike not only do not carry on an agitation for a general strike, they set their faces as flint against it. The A. F. of L., moreover, is not at all sympathetic to the strike; the "philosophy" of trades unionism sees in this strike a menace, and they are not supporting the strike. The Steel strike is now languishing, in spite of the determination and courage of the men; the situation now is either defeat or a miserable compromise—unless the strike workers can take control of the strike and oust the reactionary leaders.

The parallel between these two strikes—one British, the other American—is a drastic illustration of the international character of the proletarian struggle, of the similarity of problems and the fundamental tactics that these problems impose.

Trades unionism is the arch enemy of the militant proletariat. It is archaic in organization structure and counter revolutionary in spirit. It accepts capitalism, and thereby places itself at the mercy of Capitalism. In all nations the trades union organizations are against the militant struggle of the workers; they develop into bulwarks of Capitalism in the revolutionary crisis, in Russia, in Germany, in England, in the United States.

But in the United States, as in England, there is developing a revolt of the workers in the unions. They are discontented by conditions; they are being awakened by the betrayals perpetrated by their organizations. This provides excellent opportunity to agitate revolutionary industrial unionism and the Communist program.

This is one of the tasks of the Communist Party—the destruction of the existing trades union organizations. The particular means by which this may be accomplished depend upon circumstances; the task is clear and imperative.

The Communist Party possesses a sense of revolutionary realism; it recognizes any peculiarity in our American problems, but it does not use that as the pretext for an hysterical "Americanism." Only the adherence to fundamentals, among which is a recognition of the international character of the proletarian struggle, will build a Communist movement.

### COMMUNIST PARTY AND LEFT WING.

THE main argument now being made against Communist unity through the Communist Party is that the Communist Laborites are the rightful successors of the Left Wing. At the same time they are the rightful "inheritors" of the Socialist Party. We do not dispute with them the latter claim. But it is plain that those who desire to go in the line of the Left Wing evolution within the Socialist Party must now take up the work of the Communist Party.

In spite of all insistence that the reunion of the Left Wing brought about by the National Left Wing Council, through the Joint Call for the September first Communist Convention, was contrary to the will of the National Left Conference; in spite of the contention that the Communist Labor Convention was the real Left Wing Convention, it is discovered by comparison of the lists of delegates that only 11 of the Communist Laborites were also delegates at the New York Left Wing Conference, as against 33 of the Communist delegates.

The five members of the Manifesto and Program Committee at New York were all in the Communist Convention.

The *Revolutionary Age*, the predominant national expression of the Left Wing movement, is merged in the national organ of the Communist Party.

The Left Wing organization of New York, which took the lead in the party fight, was represented solidly in the Communist Convention.

Boston, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Detroit, Newark, Buffalo, Rochester, Providence, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, New Haven—the big centers of Left Wing strength have all become the strongholds of the Communist Party. It was in such locals that the Left Wing movement became an organized force; it was from these cities that most of the delegates came to the New York Conference. It was this membership which acted on the Joint Call upon which the Communist Convention was based.

There is no important Left Wing center in the country without some measure of Communist Party organization.

A committee of five was chosen by each of the conventions at Chicago to consider a basis of merger. The Communist Labor Party Committee, which took the position that it was the only committee which could legitimately speak for the Left Wing, had one member who was also a Left Wing delegate to New York, Alfred Wagenknecht. But it was Comrade Wagenknecht who, upon leaving the New York meeting, was very careful to impress upon the other delegates that he did not consider himself in any way bound by the actions of the Conference; that he looked upon these actions merely as recommendations or suggestions.

On the other hand, the committee of five of the Communist Party, which asked that all additional delegates to their convention should meet the same requirements as to representation of Left Wing membership as the delegates already seated, consisted of Elbaum, Ferguson, Hourwich, Ruthenberg and Stoklitsky, all of whom played an active part in the Left Wing Conference at New York.

The National Editor of the Communist Party was editor of the *Revolutionary Age* from its inception, also editor of *The Class Struggle*. He was reappointed as editor when the *Revolutionary Age* became the official national organ of the Left Wing. The Associate Editor of the Communist Party publications was National Secretary of the Left Wing. The Executive Secretary of the Communist Party received the highest vote at New York as member of the National Left Wing Council. These are but a few items of the Left Wing standing of the Communists before the Wagenknecht-Katterfeld-Lore-Carney-Lloyd judgment was pronounced against their Left-Wingism.

It might seem to the innocent bystander that when the National Wing Conference at New York selected nine men to take over the destinies of the Left Wing that these were the men to assume the Left Wing leadership. The Left Wing Council was chosen expressly to continue and complete the work of the Left Wing Conference. Indeed, the Council was itself the one tangible achievement of the Conference. There were five or six different resolutions as to the starting of a new party, depending on the turn of events. Everyone realized that the responsibility was squarely upon the Council, and everyone realized, who was honest enough to face the facts, that the real job was the starting of a new party, not the capturing of the Socialist Party.

The Council acted in issuing the Joint Call by vote of 5 to 2 (or counting the editors, not voting, the lineup would be 6 to 3). The six were Fraina, Ballam, Cohen, Ferguson, Ruthenberg, Wolfe; the three were MacAlpine, Gitlow, Larkin. These three received the lowest votes as members of the Council at the New York Conference. An Emergency Committee of nine was chosen at New York while the Federation and Michigan delegates were still voting; none of these three were elected, though five of the majority members were chosen in the emergency election.

Tested either by membership or by personnel, the overwhelming preponderance of the active Left Wing was in the Communist Convention and is now in the Communist Party.

The Communist Party will not be distracted from its real work by the hypocritical cry of "unity" coming from those who deliberately set up a new cleavage within the Left Wing without the shadow of a principle (except that of Americanism!) involved in the break. The membership is the only recourse for unity, not dickering with a few pretentious individuals who have set themselves up as a law unto themselves, against anybody and everybody who may disagree with them. The membership is acting; real Communist unity is advancing every day.

### COMMUNIST POLITICAL ACTION AND I. W. W.

IT is curious to note the lack of comprehension that the program of the Communist Party has met, on the part of elements, which, because of their relation to the working class movement, would naturally be expected to read it with some understanding.

That the Moderate Socialists of the Socialist Party should declare that after

all there is no reason for the existence of the Communist Party,—for has not the Socialist Party adopted a "revolutionary" manifesto?—is understandable. The Moderate Socialist will never admit that the difference between their position and that of the Communists is something else than the language used in a manifesto. They have not yet grasped the fact that the gulf that divides the Socialist Party and the Communist Party is the question of how the working class is to capture the power of the state,—by electing representatives to congress or by organizing the industrial power of the workers so that in the hour of crisis they will be prepared to use that power to supplant the capitalist state and establish the working class state—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

But that the spokesmen for the I. W. W. should be unable to grasp this distinction is less understandable. That they do not comprehend the purpose of the Communist Party is shown in two articles which appeared in their publications in recent weeks.

In the "One Big Union" monthly for October, Donald M. Crocker, writing on "The Passing of the S. P." charges the Left Wing with seeking to capture the power of the state by votes and makes an extended argument to prove that it cannot be done! The argument is summed up thus:

"Now, then it is not fairly apparent that the strength of the revolutionary proletariat at the ballot box is ill—the prospect of capturing the political state very promising?"

The other article is an answer to an interview in the Christian Science Monitor in which C. E. Ruthenberg outlined the difference between the I. W. W. and the Communist Party. The reply, which appeared in *The New Solidarity* and was written by the editor C. E. Payne, carries the same note as the quotation above. It argues against politicians and politics, leaving the impression that the Communist Party is engaged in the same kind of political struggle as that which the Socialist Party has carried on for twenty years.

A reading of these articles raises the question whether either writer has read the original Left Wing Program or that of the Communist Party. Both programs specifically repudiate the suggestion that the state power can be captured by the proletariat through voting. Both state that the Communist Party engages in election campaigns merely for the purpose of education and propaganda. Both set forth in clear language the industrial organization which the Communist Party seeks to create and that it is through the mass power of the workers that the Communist Party proposes to capture the power of the state.

Are the spokesmen for the I. W. W. unable to find any flaw in the Communist Party program that they must credit that party with supporting a form of political action it specifically repudiates, and then, by laughing that conception out of court give the impression that they are hitting the Communist Party? It would seem so from the two articles referred to above. Though the purpose of such attacks is hard to figure out, coming from such a source.

## Report of Louis C. Fraina, International Secretary of the Communist Party of America, to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

(Continued from last week)

ONE important thing was accomplished by the Left Wing Conference—it made definite the issue of a new party, which until that moment was very indefinite. The minority in the Conference emphasized the inexorable necessity for the organization of a new party. This was in the minds of practically all, but it now became a definite conviction. There were centrists in the Conference who still felt that the old party could be captured, who recoiled from a split; and these voted with the majority to go to the Socialist Party convention; but the majority in the the majority was convinced of the necessity for a new party, differing with the minority of 31 simply on the right procedure to pursue.

After the Conference, the minority of 31 issued a call for a convention on September 1 to organize a Communist Party, repudiating all participation in the Socialist Party convention.

In the course of its development the Left Wing, while Communist in its impulse, had attracted elements not all Communist. There were conscious centrists; comrades who had for years been waging a struggle for administration control of the party; and comrades who were disgusted with the gangster tactics pursued by the Old Guard in control of the party administration. The situation now began to clarify itself—Right Wing, Centre, Left Wing.

The important factor in this situation was the division in the organized Left Wing—the National Council, elected by the Left Wing Conference, and the minority which had organized a National Organization Committee and issued its own call for a Communist Party convention. This constituted more than a split in the Left Wing: it was a split of the conscious Communist elements in the Left Wing. This division if persisted in, meant disaster. Unity was necessary—not simply organization unity, which at particular moments must be dispensed with, but revolutionary unity. This unity was accomplished by agreement for the merger of the two factions on the basis of a Joint Call for a Communist Party convention on September 1.

The overwhelming majority of the organizations and delegates represented at the Left Wing Conference accepted the Joint Call.

The Left Wing had found itself, unified itself, determined upon the organization of a real Communist Party.

### 5. The Conventions and Revolutionary Reconstruction

The Socialist Party Convention met on August 30th. The repudiated National Executive Committee manipulated the roster of delegates to insure Right Wing control, dozens of delegates suspected of sympathy for the Left Wing being contested and refused admission to the convention. The police was used against these delegates—an indication of the potential Noske-Scheidemann character of the Old Guard of the Socialist Party. The Left Wing was stigmatized as anarchistic, as consisting of foreigners, as an expression of emotional hysteria. The

Socialist Party convention was ruthlessly dominated by the Right Wing, which used the camouflage of greetings to Soviet Russia and words about the "Revolution." It did not adopt a new program in accord with the new tactical requirements of Socialism, avoiding all fundamental problems. The Socialist Party convention adopted a resolution calling for an "international congress" to organize the "Third International," to include the Communist Party of Russia and of Germany, but ignoring the existing Communist International! A minority resolution to affiliate with the Communist International was decisively defeated. The two resolutions are submitted to referendum vote. (There is a group still in the Socialist Party styling itself "Left Wing" which is unscrupulously trying to garner sentiment for the Communist International to revitalize the old party.) The Socialist Party now represents about 25,000 members.

The delegates refused admission to the Socialist Party convention proceeded to organize their own convention, the first act of which was to proclaim itself the "legal convention" of the Socialist Party—a beautiful centrist twist! These delegates organized themselves as the Communist Labor Party. This was on Sunday, August 31.

On Monday, the Communist Party convention met with 140 delegates representing approximately 58,000 members.

A committee of five from the "Left Wing" convention met with a committee of the Communist Party to discuss unity. The C. L. P. offered unity "on a basis of equality," that is, to combine the two conventions as units, delegate for delegate. This the Communist Party rejected. The delegates in the Communist Labor Party convention were a peculiar mixture, some of them openly repudiating the Left Wing principles and tactics, others notorious Centrists. The Communist Party committee proposed that all delegates at the Communist Labor convention having instructions to participate in the Communist party convention (about 20) should come in as regular delegates; while delegates whose organizations had adopted the Left Wing Manifesto and Program but who were not instructed to organize a Communist Party (about 20) would be admitted as fraternal delegates. The other delegates, representing an unknown constituency, or no membership at all, who were simply disgruntled at the Old Guard for its gangster tactics, could not be allowed to participate in the organization of a Communist Party.

The Communist Labor Party convention refused this offer and proceeded to organize a permanent party. The delegates organizing the C. L. P. represented not more than 10,000 members, many of whom are now joining the Communist Party.

This third party adventure was the result of a number of factors: personal politics, centrism, and the fact that Communist elements from the Western States had not been in close touch with the more rapid developments in the East.

Having consciously organized a third party, the Communist Labor Party is now making "unity" its major campaign. The former Left Wing organizations are almost entirely accepting the Communist Party, achieving unity through membership action. One word more: the C. L. P. speaks much of "an American Communist movement" and fights our party on the issue of "Federation control." This is malicious. There has been one disagreement with the Federation comrades: concerning this, it might be said that the Federation comrades may have been too precipitate and the American comrades too hesitant. But the Federation comrades have worked earnestly for an uncompromising Communist Party. In any event, if the Federations offer any problem, it is a problem of internal party struggle and action. The sincerity of the Federation comrades, all other considerations aside, is attested by their yielding administrative power to the non-Federation comrades.

The Communist Party Manifesto is a consistent formulation of Communist fundamentals; its Program a realistic application of these fundamentals to the immediate problems of the proletarian struggle; its constitution based upon rigorous party centralization and discipline, without which a Communist Party builds upon sand.

### 6. The General Situation

The Communist Party appears at a moment of profound proletarian unrest. There has been strike after strike, developing larger and more aggressive character. There is now a strike of more than 300,000 workers in the steel industry, a really terrific portent to American Capitalism.

There is a revolutionary upsurge in the old unions: the longshoremen of Seattle have just refused to allow munitions for Kolchak & Co. to be transported. There is a strong sentiment in favor of the Russian Soviet Republic. In the unions the workers are becoming conscious of the reactionary character of their officials and movements of protest and a sentiment for industrial unionism are developing.

But the American Federation of Labor, as a whole, is hopelessly reactionary. At its recent convention the A. F. of L. approved the Versailles peace treaty and the League of Nations, and refused to declare its solidarity with Soviet Russia. It did not even protest the blockade of Russia and Hungary! This convention, moreover, did all in its power to break radical unions. The A. F. of L. is united with the government, securing a privileged status in the governing system of State Capitalism. A Labor Party is being organized—much more conservative than the British Labor Party.

The Industrial Workers of the World is waging an aggressive campaign of organization. It has decided to affiliate with the Communist International; but its press and spokesmen show no understanding of Communist tactics. The I. W. W. still clings to its old concepts of organizing all the workers industrially, gradually "growing into" the new so-

# NOTES AND COMMENT.

THE Chicago Tribune scores the "mild reservationists", in connection with the treaty bantering.

"There is nothing mild about the treaty of Paris. There is nothing mild about the state of Europe. There is nothing mild about the policy of any of the powers that will make up the league of nations, the real league within the league. Every point of self-interest is vigorously contended for by our rivals. . . There are no 'mild' Britons at Downing street, or 'mild' Frenchmen at the Quai d'Orsai, or 'mild' Italians at Via Vigesima Settembre, or 'mild' Japanese at Kasumiga Seki. . . . The times are not 'mild'. World politics is not 'mild'. America needs something more effectual than 'mild' defenses and 'mild' Americanism."

When thieves fall out—we get a little capitalist truth about the League of Nations. There is so much to reflect upon in this vivid picture of the plenipotentiaries for safeguarding democracy.

There is also the moral. The class struggle is not mild. There is nothing mild about the state of capitalist industrialism. There is nothing mild about the policies of Morgan, Gary, Schwab & Company—"the real league within the league" of American Imperialism. There are no mild sentimentalists on Wall Street. The working class needs something more effectual than the mild defenses of A. F. of L. unionism and Socialist or Labor reformism.

"If we look world conditions in the face, we shall see that sentimentality is an indulgence we cannot afford at such a time. . . . This is no time for a mild policy of self-defense. . . . The times are not mild."

OSCAR T. Crosby, president of the Inter-Allied Council on War Purchases and Finance, says that Europe is not ruined, either industrially or financially. Actually the war increased production. The huge armies were fed and equipped to the end. If Europe could do all this during the war it can do so more easily now that the war is ended and the soldiers released to industry. The actual war devastation is confined to limited local areas.

All this was pointed out quite insistently in the argument that the war costs could be paid during the war because the war costs represented current production. If the munitions and supplies could be made and used up while the industrial workers and farm workers fed and maintained themselves and their families, where was the occasion for the piling up of the colossal war debts?

The answer is—profits. The workers behind the lines could only convey materials to the armies through the profit method of production and exchange. The war debts represent delayed collection of part of the profits in war commodities.

Europe is capitalistically ruined. That is, the European financiers cannot cash in their accumulated profits, converted into war bonds, without pressing down so hard on the working masses as either to crush them completely or drive them to revolution. American finance is rapidly

unifying itself with the general bankrupt finance of world capitalism. The working masses will not be crushed. Life has its fundamental impulses of resistance. There is no ruined industrialism; that is, the workers have it in their grasp to provide their needs easily, once the interest and profit burdens are out of the way. One item will balance the account of the world finances of today—the item of the proletarian revolution.

AGAIN we quote a Tribune editorial, this time in solution of the race problem. The theme is re-stated several times:

"The blacks form less than 10% of the population of the United States. They have less than one-tenth of a ghost of a show if the relations between white and black become bitterly hostile."

"We know what will happen if the two races cannot live in the same locality in peace. The whites will make a peace which will be their own. If intelligent negroes could control their own people the tension would relax."

"We know that if it comes to violence the black will get the worst of it."

Terrorism the cure for terrorism!

The editorial also says: "The Negro is at an economic disadvantage. He is needed in the south and has been brought into the north to meet labor emergencies, but he does not have an open field of work. These disadvantages cannot be removed by discussing them. They exist in race instincts and, along with the other disadvantages which the Negro meets, arise from causes not at the control of the reasoning faculties."

The Tribune says: Suppress the agitators and terrify the negroes. We say: get rid of the economic disadvantages, consciously enforced, by which the Negro is used as strike-breaker and low-wage job competitor. Get rid of the capitalistic system which cannot get along without such use of labor hordes, either alien, negro or coolie. The aliens, the negroes, the coolies—all are inexorably driven to class-consciousness through the primal human impulses which finally break the chains forged out of ignorance and terror.

TUBERCULOSIS last year killed 150,000 Americans, twice as many as were killed in the year of European fighting. There is a rapid growth of tuberculosis in the United States, according to the National Tuberculosis Association. The "white plague" is largely preventable and can be cured.

Tuberculosis is one of the flagrant aspects of poverty. It goes with the unsanitary living conditions of the slums; it is a by-product of the dust trades. It is not prevented in its destructiveness because the remedy is change of climate, occupation, general mode of living. The pitiable recourse of charity comes only in the advanced cases, for the most part with the odds fearfully against cure.

Tuberculosis advances because science is impotent in the face of capitalistic economics. Medical science, supported by charities, cannot wage a successful

fight against this dread disease, because it is really a fight against poverty.

With some of the billions of the social surplus diverted to the free play of science; with every worker in a position to command the change of work and climate, or the leisure, needed for cure, there can be an effective campaign against tuberculosis. The profit system stands in the way of anything except palliation on a small scale.

The profit system will not yield itself without a revolutionary conflict. Tuberculosis is as firmly entrenched as the profit system. Both must give way to the working class demand for full, free, healthy life. The struggle is on. The immediate apparent power is with the system of capitalistic privilege. The overwhelming reserve power is with the working class. The victory of science applied to the life of the poverty victims of tuberculosis is near at hand.

## Report of Louis C. Fraina, International Secretary

(Continued from page 4)

ciety, as the only means of achieving the revolution: a conception as utopian as that of the moderate Socialist, who proposes to "grow into" Socialism by transforming the bourgeois state. The Communist Party endorses the I. W. W. as a revolutionary mass movement, while criticising its theoretical shortcomings.

Imperialism is now consciously dominant in the United States. In his recent tour for the League of Nations, President Wilson threw off the mask and spoke in plain imperialistic terms, emphasizing the absolute necessity of crushing Soviet Russia. Congress drifts, and is impotent. The government, federal and local, is adopting the most repressive measures against the proletariat. Armed force, martial law and military invasion are used against strikes. State after state has adopted "Criminal Syndicalism" measures, making almost any advocacy of militant proletarian tactics a crime. On the least pretext agitators are arrested. Deportations occur almost daily; one of our international delegates, A. Stoklit-sky, is now under trial for deportation.

American Imperialism is usurping world power, constituting the very heart of international reaction. Reaction in Europe and the campaign against Soviet Russia are supported morally and financially by "our" government. An enormous agitation is being waged for military intervention in Mexico. The American capitalist class is brutal, unscrupulous, powerful; it controls enormous reserves of financial, industrial and military power; it is determined to use this power to conquer world supremacy and to crush the revolutionary proletariat. The Communist Party realizes the immensity of its task; it realizes that the final struggle of the Communist proletariat will be waged in the United States, our conquest of power alone assuring the world Soviet Republic. Realizing all this, the Communist Party prepares for the struggle.

Long live the Communist International! Long live the world revolution!

# Communist Party and Socialist Party

## The Use of the Ballot

THE Socialist Party depends entirely for working-class gains upon electing representatives to public offices, these representatives to formulate and support various kinds of occupational, political, and social reform measures.

The Communist Party does not carry on a propaganda of reforms, most of which are of no real benefit to the workers, but simply mean better methods of capitalist domination. The Communist Party carries on the propaganda of the class struggle, pointing out all the time that in this struggle the only real victory for the working-class as a class is the attainment of complete political control. That is, the workers must have such control that they can change the entire character of the laws and political institutions so as to make an end of the profit system and to set up a workers' administration of industry.

The Communist Party declares that the working-class can never obtain this control through the channels of the capitalist legislatures. The Communist Party brands as a rank fraud the Socialist pretense that this can be done by piling up many reform measures.

The Communist Party looks upon the present government of the United States as a weapon of the capitalist class, against the working-class. The economic power of the capitalist class, with the banking houses of Wall Street at the apex, is the power which controls this government and directs its use against the working-class. But this is more than a temporary circumstance, more than a matter of popular neglect (in which sense Woodrow Wilson speaks of this control of the government in his "New Freedom.") It is a control which is inherent in the capitalist system, a control which is bound to persist so long as the game is played according to the rules of capitalist "democracy."

The world war was fought to make the world safe for capitalist democracy. The class war must be fought to make the world safe for proletarian democracy. There can be no democracy which means anything to the working-class until the workers get into a position where they can possess themselves of the railroads, the factories, the mines, the mills and the forests. Economic power is superior to political power. It dictates the entire character and operation of the political government.

The fundamental nature of the American government has been from the beginning a reflex of the economic power of American Capitalism. Our democracy is a rule against the working-class.

The Communist Party, unlike the Socialist Party, faces this situation squarely and openly. The Socialist say: "Yes, it is true that the government is the powerful weapon of the ruling class. That has been true of all governments since one group in society has been able to compel slave or wage service from another group. But we will try to change the government first, then we can use the government against the capitalists."

How change the government? By use of the ballot. In actual practice the So-

cialist method comes down to this: to change the government according to the rules of capitalist democracy. In other words, to beat the capitalists with their own loaded dice.

The Communists say: "The working-class has not a ghost of a chance to win the class fight through the capitalist government, nor even to win a first-class skirmish in this way. What the workers must do is so to organize themselves and so to direct their mass power that they can overwhelm both the economic and political power of the ruling class. This organized working-class power cannot be developed within the capitalist frame of government but outside of it. The political organization of the workers must correspond to the actual circumstances under which the workers now find themselves. It must be something new, something growing out of the circumstances at hand. It cannot be the sickly aping of regular capitalist politics which has disheartened the workers who have put faith in reform socialism. It must be an organization based on the politics of revolution; that is, the politics which challenges the capitalist system in its entirety"

Take the Triple Alliance of England, the alliance of the powerful unions of the railroad workers, the miners and the transport workers. These unions develop out of the immediate circumstances of the work in the mines, on the docks and in the railroad shops. The combined power of the workers in three such unions is something capable of being pitted against the power of British Capitalism entrenched in the British Government.

The threat of a strike on the part of the Railway Brotherhoods in this country compelled the capitalist Congress to adopt the Adamson law as a means of granting the workers' demands.

Such organized power of the workers, which may take on many forms, when directed to the goal of winning for the workers the complete political power which enables the workers to take over industry, finance and the natural resources of the country, is Communism in action. The development of such organizations and the simultaneous development of the understanding on the part of the workers of the class struggle in its fullest sense is the immediate process of Communism. The organizations come as the necessary response to the job needs of the workers. The understanding of the workers must be developed by Communist education.

Do the Communists disavow the use of the ballot? No. They declare that the ballot, under capitalist democracy, is not a weapon which can win for the workers fundamental victories. But the political campaigns and the legislative forums offer excellent opportunities for Communist agitation. These campaigns present the opportunity to analyze the programs of the other parties, whether Democratic, Republican, Socialist, Labor or Non-Partisan, and to show how any and all of these programs fail to meet the real issues which face the working-class. These campaigns, and the legis-

latures, can be used for the propaganda of the revolutionary class struggle. (The Communist Party makes absolutely definite its use of the elections for propaganda purpose only by limiting nominations to legislative offices, thereby emphasizing the point that it does not seek any part in the administration of the capitalist government).

There can be no possible objection to the use of the ballot, except that it be used in a way to deceive the workers into false expectations. This is the way of the Socialist and Labor Parties, which lead the workers to expect a transformation of the social system by casting votes according to the rules of capitalist democracy. It is only in a workers' kind of government that the ballot becomes a real exercise of democracy to the worker. In the capitalist government there are hundreds of devices within the scheme of government and by outside economic pressure or bribery, by which the vote is nullified. In the workers' government, such as now exists in Russia, there is nothing to thwart the workers' vote. There is no powerful group of financiers and monopolists to pull the strings attached to governmental puppets, as is now the case in the United States.

The supreme delusion of the Socialists has been that the proletariat actually has an overwhelming majority of the votes. The actual fact in the United States today is that not more than 25% of the 30,000,000 wageworkers can cast a ballot, not more than 7,500,000; while the recipients of profits, fees, salaries, etc., have an effective voting strength of about 12,000,000. Non-citizenship, disqualification of negroes, residential disqualification, and age limitations dispose of over 75% of the wage-earners as voters.

The most solid group of voters is the farmer group of 6,000,000 owners and tenants. This group is over 90% native born, nearly 100% citizens and voters. The farmers, except for the few real insurgents, vote with the same regularity and enlightenment with which they go to church; by the same rules of routine and tradition which their ancestors transmitted to them, and with a jealousy of small property notions which makes them a social anachronism. (Even the Non-Partisans, who still go no farther than to make a choice between the Republican and Democratic candidates, are only distinctive in their special concern for farmer advantages as against the other economic groups, labor included.)

Consider the 6,500,000 farm laborers by contrast. Most all of these are floaters, aliens or disfranchised negroes; and, at the very best, it is inconceivable that any method might be found to bring these scattered laborers into effective class-conscious voting groups.

This sort of contrast can be shown all along the line as between the bourgeois and petty bourgeois (capitalist and small property owner) voting strength and that of the proletariat (the wage-workers). It will be found that the only real

(Continued, page 8.)

# The Party Organization

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

## We Have Fifteen---Shall It Be Fifty?

**The Communist** now has a circulation of fifteen thousand copies weekly. How quick can we raise it to fifty thousand?

To increase the circulation of the National Organ of the party should be the first work of every Communist Party member and branch. It will be only as we increase the circulation of our paper that we will gain power, that power which results from the united action of the masses.

Every branch and every member can contribute to this work. Our campaign of agitation and propaganda must of necessity be largely a literature campaign. The most effective literature campaign is the regular delivery each week of the party paper. Every branch that has joined the Communist Party should order a bundle each week of from ten to one thousand according to the size of the branch. The branch should be organized for the sale of the papers. Any branch can sell ten papers weekly, many can sell one hundred weekly, some can sell a thousand weekly.

**The Communist** sells for 3¢ per copy in bundle lots of ten or more. It retails at 5¢ per copy. Bundles are mailed out upon receipt of order and bills rendered at the end of each month. The bundle order thus finances itself and the branches cannot only help along the party propaganda by ordering a bundle but can put some money in their treasury for their local work.

Bundle orders alone, however, are not sufficient. When the way has been prepared by the sale of single copies subscription can easily be secured. The subscription rate is \$2.00 per year or \$1.00 for six months.

"**The Communist**" must grow. It should reach the fifty thousand mark by Jan. 1. and then go on upward.

Let every branch elect a committee on **Communist** circulation and develop ways and means of placing the paper in the hands of the workers. The Communist Party is to be a party of deeds. Let us begin by building up our paper.

### Minnesota Goes Communist

On Sunday, Oct. 5th, the former branches of the Socialist Party of Minnesota held a convention in Minneapolis to decide the future affiliation of the State Organization. Twenty-seven delegates were present representing eighteen locals and about fifteen hundred members, half the membership of the state.

The delegates from Minnesota had split at Chicago, Jack Carney going to the Communist Labor Party and the other four delegates to the Communist Party. These delegates presented their report. The floor was given to a representative of the Communist Labor Party for a half hour with fifteen minutes for rebuttal and the same time allotted to the Communist Party representative. Jack Carney presented the case for the Communist Labor Party and C. E. Ruthenberg for the Communist Party. At the close of the debate the convention voted 18 to 9 to affiliate with the Communist Party.

While only eighteen locals were represented the vote carries with it the bulk of the membership of the state. A number of branches of the Finnish Federation were represented and will join the Communist Party.

A new State Executive Committee was elected and A. S. Broms was elected State Secretary to take the place of Charles Dirba, who expects to begin a prison sentence soon.

An interesting result of the convention was the statement by a number of delegates who had come instructed to vote for the Communist Labor Party, that after hearing the discussion, if they had been free to express their own judgment they would have voted to affiliate with the Communist Party. They had been instructed for the Communist Labor Party because their locals had heard only one side. The invariable result of a thorough discussion of the situation is a decisive vote for the Communist Party.

### German Federation Grows

The revolt against the effort of the Executive Committee of the German Socialist Federation to hand that organization over to the Communist Labor Party grows daily. The St. Louis Branch, which first showed a leaning toward the Communist Labor Party, after getting the facts, swung in line for the Communist Party.

The German Branch of Pawtucket, R. I., has applied for a Communist Party charter.

The Ferdinand Lasalle of Cincinnati decided forty to one to join the Communist Party

The situation in Chicago is developing more favorably for the Communist Party. Two

branches are already in existence and the organizations are growing.

### German Weekly Out

The first issue of the German weekly of the Communist Party was sent out last week. It is known as "Die Kommunistische Internationale". The subscription rate is \$1.00 per year, or two cents per copy in bundle lots. Single copies are 3c. Branches should order a bundle for distribution among the German comrades where they have not yet got the truth about the party situation. Address 1219 Blue Island Ave.

### Getting Under Way

The branches are just getting under way in collecting the Party Organization Fund. Subscription lists are coming into the office in increasing number. The Russian Branch No. 6 of New York led the way last week with a contribution of \$50.00 with the Sangamon Russian Branch a close second with \$41.75. The German Branch of St. Paul sent in \$25.00, Dona's Russian Branch \$18.00; Lettish Branch No. 2 of Cleveland \$15.00; William M. Brown of Galion \$10.00; Russian Branch No. 2 of Pittsburgh \$8.00; Clarendon N. H. Branch \$7.20 and the South Bend Russian Branch \$6.70.

The Organization Fund means party growth. It will provide the means for aggressive agitation and the building of a powerful organization that will enable the party to do things. We must build so that in a short time we will be able to distribute millions of leaflets on a few days notice. We have made a beginning on this work, but it is only a beginning. The growth of the Organization Fund will spell growth of the power of the party in this respect. Boost it.

### Communist Party Literature

The party has secured a quantity of literature published by "The Revolutionary Age" during the Left Wing fight in the Socialist Party and is ready to fill orders for both "Revolutionary Socialism" by Louis C. Fraina and "The Social Revolution in Germany" by the same author.

In order to make this literature available for propaganda work the prices have been reduced and the books will sell as follows:

"Revolutionary Socialism"	
Single copies.....	50c
Ten copies.....	\$4.00
Twenty-five copies.....	9.00
Fifty or more.....	.30 per copy
"The Social Revolution in Germany"	
Single copies.....	15c
Ten copies.....	\$1.25
Twenty-five copies or more.....	10c each

Orders for the Manifesto and Program are pouring into the party headquarters and there is every indication that the pamphlet will have a wide circulation. Prices are 10c for single copies, 25 for \$2.00, 50 for \$3.50 and \$6.00 per hundred.

The second pamphlet to be published by the party which will have the title "The Communist Party and the Socialist Party" is now in preparation and will go to press at an early date.

Distribute the Communist Party literature to give the workers an understanding of Communist principles.

### The Party Emblem

The Constitution of the party provides:

The emblem of the party shall be a button with the figure of the earth in the centre in white with gold lines and a red flag across the face bearing the inscription "All Power to the Workers". Around the figure of the earth a red margin shall appear with the words "The Communist Party of America" and "The Communist International" on this margin in white letters.

Celluloid party buttons will be ready for delivery by the time this paper reaches you. The price is \$3.00 per hundred to branches. The buttons will sell for 5c. Send in your order.

Gilt buttons are being manufactured, but delivery on these cannot be promised until several weeks later. The gilt buttons will sell at 40c for single buttons or \$3.50 per dozen.

### DISTRIBUTE LEAFLETS

#### READY NOW:

"Proclamation of Communist Party on Military Invasion of Gary."  
"Declaration of Communist Party on Russian Blockade."

#### IN PREPARATION:

"Your Shop"—an appeal for Shop Organizations.

PRICE—\$1.50 per 1000

Begin your Communist Agitation Work by ordering as many as you can distribute.

COMMUNIST PARTY of America,  
1219 Blue Island Ave., CHICAGO, ILL.

# To the Workers of the Entente Countries

WITH inexhaustible resources and great energy, the capitalistic assaults on the Russian Soviet Republic are being continued, and yet no effective effort is reported by the workers of the remainder of Europe to resist the crimes that are being committed against our Russian class comrades. In fact, there is hardly a trace of desire discernable to help our struggling brothers in Russia.

Unprecedented quantities of arms, munitions, and machines of warfare of every kind, are being shipped from England, France and America and forwarded to counter-revolutionary centers in Russia. In addition to the support of the counter-revolution and the attacks of the capitalistic world trust against the Russian workers republic, which stands like a barricade against the autocracy of capital, there are being maintained in Russia great military forces of these same capitalistic nations.

Comrades of these countries. Do not be misled by the false statements of your capitalistic press to the effect that armed expeditions and transports that are being sent to Russia are for the purpose of rescuing troops in Russia and bringing them back home. That is a base lie.

The Russian workers' republic is to be put down at any cost, and we here in Denmark have every opportunity to observe the great efforts that are being made for this end, in the form of the

*"Solidarity" the organ of the Danish Syudicalists, prints the following appeal to the workers of the Entente countries:*

enormous daily cargoes passing through Danish territory. The warships of England, France and other nations, as well as transports, are daily passing on their piratical voyage to the Baltic Sea and to other places, with great cargoes of arms and ammunitions.

We ask: Is it compatible with the dignity and class-duty of English seamen to lend their services to this end? Some may perhaps say that they are struggling against the dictatorship of Bolshevism for democracy, and that they understand by democracy the equal right of the people in all fields. But we, even in our democratic country, are living under the most ruthless capitalistic autocracy.

In their cast-iron dictatorship, they are putting their feet upon our necks. They rule the land, the factories, in short, all of economic society. Their celebrated democracy has created a parasitic class of capitalistic transients in all large cities, whose number exceeds even that of the producing masses, and they will continue their oppressions until we free ourselves by force, for capitalism will never give up voluntarily its autocratic domination. The parasites of Russia are at present promoting the counter-revolutionary struggle in order to put the Russian workers once more in the

chains of Capitalism. Class-comrades, it is high time to put an end to the crimes and transgressions of capital.

We particularly address our fellow-syndicalists in the Entente countries, exhorting them not only in their own circle to work against this shameful traffic but also to carry on agitation on the economic field, wherever they may have influence, to make the workers utilize their economic resources to force a cessation of such transports. We have come to the point where practical action is a necessity, if our Russian brothers are to retain their hard-won freedom — a question which is of decisive importance for the world revolution.

Only by actual co-operation can the working-class defend its position and resist the forces of capitalism and by an economic industrial union of the workers in all countries they may be able to build up a new society based on free Socialist principles.

The Russian population of workers needs real action on the part of its foreign class-comrades, first and foremost, in order to attain the goal of obliging the capitalistic and imperialistic governments to stop the bandit war which they are at present waging in Russia.

Comrades, let us discharge our duty towards our Russian brothers by real action.

Stop the transport of material for the criminal counter-revolution in Russia.

## Communist Party and Socialist Party

(Continued from Page 6)

voting strength on the side of the working class consists of the skilled mechanics, who have fairly permanent homes, many of them owning their homes. This group of workers has already shown that it has such jealousy of its little property, or its "property in skill" as protected by tight little craft unions, that it will vote and act against a fundamental change of the social system. The Labor Party, assisted by Moderate (Reformist) Socialism, may build up this voting strength of about 2,500,000, together with as many more of the small farm-owners and small shopkeepers and clerks, into a powerful phalanx against the revolutionary momentum of the 25,000,000 unskilled or semi-skilled wage-workers. That is exactly the situation in Germany today, where the Social-Democracy is doing such splendid service for German Capitalism and Junkerdom against the working masses.

But the spirit and understanding of Communism is already making rapid headway against reactionary Socialism and Laborism in the United States. American Imperialism has overplayed its hand, and it is no longer so easy for reactionary unionism and reformist working-class politics to fool the workers. Also there is the stirring example of successful social revolution in Russia, and the demonstration in Hungary and Bavaria that there is no power of capitalism which can cope with the organized, conscious mass action of the workers. It is going to be hard any longer to stave off the working masses with

the false hopes of capitalist democracy, even when held out by Socialist or Labor parties.

The capitalists understand keenly their own voting game. Note the statements of Mark Sullivan in the current issue of COLLIER'S: "If you have nightmares about revolution in America, there is one thought you can always take to bed with you. Farmers who own their farms don't engage in revolutions. In any presidential election in America the farmer and his sons contribute over a third, and close to a half, of the entire vote. . . . In politics the farmer gets what he wants and keeps what he has. Every politician knows that the farmers are not only the most numerous class of voters, but the most dependable. The farmer swings the country.

"Now, the farmer who owns his farm is a conservative and a capitalist. There is no more intense devotion to any form of property anywhere than the farmer has toward his acres. Not only is the farmer certain to oppose anything in the nature of communism; further than that, the farmer hates labor as a class. With the farmer dominant in politics, the real difficulty is going to be to put through as many concessions as labor seriously ought to have. . . . The farmer is the dominant element in American politics and American life, and there isn't going to be any revolution."

Mr. Sullivan journalistically plays up the farmer to the exclusion of similar city groups, like the shopkeepers and the artisans. But it is undoubtedly true that

so far as the use of the ballot is concerned, the case is complete against fundamental change by count of the farmer vote alone.

The "dominant element in American politics" is the farmer, manipulated for the general capitalistic use by the astute political experts employed by the financiers, manufacturers and jobbers. But the "dominant element in American life" is the proletariat in the basic industry.

And the game of politics of which the farmer is himself the dupe is only a small aspect of the class conflict. Mr. Sullivan's reassurance against the proletarian revolution in America will not end the capitalistic "nightmares". They will go on with their Loyal American League preparations for working-class massacre. They will go on with their assassinations, deportations, jailings and bomb-planting.

They know that the use of the ballot is only a side-show. They know vaguely that there is reason for "nightmares" in the mass power of the industrial workers. And their civilization and its culture has taught them only one method to use against this power, the method of terrorism.

The Communist Party calls upon the workers to give effective organization and direction to their mass power. Not to be deceived by the emptiness of capitalist democracy or the evasiness of Socialist or Labor reformism, but to meet squarely the issue of capitalist dictatorship of society versus working-class dictatorship.