Combined with "The Revolutionary Age"

THE COMINTERN AND THE SOVIET 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 organised with more than 5,000 members. Long live the Third International! "LOUIS C. PRAYNA, 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 Wing of Sweden."

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

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

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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 children people’s energy being used to build their new and finer civilization, they must use this energy for war against counter-revolution and oppression 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.

Soviet Russia has repudiated Imperialism; it has repudiated annexations and war 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 Russian 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 freedom for Russia and the world, has beaten back the counter-revolutionary forces.

Lett us begin to construct.

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 war and 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

October 15, 1919

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The Communist

National Org., Communist Party

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INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCES.

CAPITALISM 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 the control of society.

In the United States, at the moment that Capitalism was using all its resources of coercion and brutality against the working class, Capitalism was simultaneously preaching fraternity and finance the development of the particular purpose of which was to jealously 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 resists 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; in fact, every 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 jealously 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 labor—in a society rent by class divisions and class struggles, there is no public neutral in fundamental class disputes—the labor must necessarily align itself with Capitalism; and, the Conference being determined by President Wilson, the representatives of the public must necessarily align themselves with Capitalism.

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 class consciousness 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 necessity of the revolutionary development that may determine tactics. The antagonisms must become more and more acute, until they flare up in the final antagonism of revolutionary crisis.

TWO STRIKES.

The Socialist Party and the Communist Party Labor Union agree on one thing—a "American" movement, not a "foreign" movement, is necessary. It is appropriate that the Socialist Labor Union, which has been the most relentless in theohlavement of the railway strike, is the most ardent in the anti-Capitalist propaganda which is appropriate that the Railway unions, said:

"This Industrial Conference, now in session, is not the government that broke the Strike; it is the A. F. of L. who continued working during the strike; it is the A. F. L. who continued working during the strike."

The Steel strike and the British strike are a part of the world-wide movement towards the control of the resources of power. Capitalism possesses an infinite capacity for adaptation. Its capacity for adaptation is archaic in the revolutionary moment.

The British strike was initiated by a mass impulse of the workers. It was an expression of the developing revolt of the workers against the conspiracy of union officials, who were as much terrorized 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."

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 Capitalist Union. "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 strike. The American Railwaymen agree 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 Capitalist Union—by 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 prepared to fight it to a finish. 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 revolutionary 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 trade union organization is the militant struggle of the workers; they develop into bulwarks of Capitalism in the revolutionary moment. 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 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.

Starting on this basis, the Communist Party possesses a sense of revolutionary realism; it recognizes any particular class presenting problems, but it does not use that as the pretext for an hysterical "Americanism." It remains the only alliance of fundamentals, upon 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 Left Wing Laborites are the rightful successors of the Left Wing. At the same time, the so-called "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 direction 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 revision of the Left Wing brought about by the National Left Wing Council, through the Joint Call for the September first conventions of the Left Wing Convention was the representative of the Left Wing movement, it is discovered by comparison of the lists of delegates that 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 official organ of the Left Wing, is merged in the national organ of the Communist Party.

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

There is no important Left Wing center in the country without some measure of Communist Party organization. At least one 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 at New York, consisted of Elbaum, Ferguson, Hourwich, Rubenget and Stokitsky, all of whom played an active part in the New York 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 editor when the Revolutionary Age became the official national organ of the Left Wing. The Associate Editor of the Communist Party was the 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 stand off 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, who was most anxious to get at 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 4 to 3). The six were Fraina, Ballam, Cohen, Ferguson, Rubenget, Wolfe; the three were MacAlpine, Gillover, Larkin. The 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 Conference and is now in the Communist Party.

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

COMMUNIST POLITICAL ACTION AND I. W. W.

But that the Socialist Party is shown in the election campaign 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 government.

Are the spokesmen for the I. W. W. unable to find any flaw in the Communist Party program that they must credit that program with an urgent and vital action? Is there not a simple and obvious solution of the problem? The answer is simple. The leaders of the I. W. W. will not have to do with the Communists unless they do something more than talk about how they will solve problems. They will have to do something to solve them. They will have to prove that they are capable of solving the problems. They will have to prove that they can solve them.

The lack of comprehension that the program of the Communist Party has met, on the part of elements of the I. W. W., which, because of their relation to the working class movement, would naturally be expected to read it with some understanding, is also a perplexing problem for the Socialist 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 Socialist will prove himself inferior to the Communist in the language used in a manifest...

Though the purpose of such articles as the one referred to above, though the purpose of such articles as the one referred to above, are often hard to figure out, coming from such a source.
The 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 Conference emphasized the inescapable 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 Conference was convinced of the necessity for a new party, differing with the minority of 21 simply on the right procedure to pursue.

After the Conference, the minority of 31 issued a call for a convention on September 1, to form 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 centrists; there were quite radical centrists who had for years been waging a struggle for administration control of the party; and comrades who were more or less complete gangsters. It was the gangster tactics pursued by the Old Guard in control of the party administration that 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. The unity was needed for a political agreement for the merger of the two factions on the basis of a Joint Call for a Communist Party convention in September.

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.

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 potent Noske-Scheidemann character of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party. The Left Wing was stigmatized as anarchic, 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" to hoodwink the delegates into a new tactical 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 Left Wing. Internationalities 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 Left Wing of the "legal convention" of the Socialist Party—a beautiful capitalist 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 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 nominally centrists. The Communist Party committee proposed that all delegates at the Communist Labor convention having instructions to participate in the conference 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, centered in 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 all joining the Communist Labor Party, achieving unity through membership action. One word more: the C. L. P. speaks much of "American Communist movement" and fights our party on the issue of "Federation control." This is malicious. There has been one dis- agreement with the Federation comrades: concerning this, it might be said that the Federation comrades may have too precipitate and the American comrades too hesitant. But the Federation comrades have worked earnestly for an American 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 is attested by their yielding administrative power to the non-Federation comrades.

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

The Communist Party appears at a moment of profound proletarian unrest. There has been strike after strike, developing larger and more aggressive in 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 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 is 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—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 under- standing that the IWW was developed by the W. W. still clings to its old concepts of organizing all the workers industrially, gradually "growing into" the new so-
NOTES AND COMMENT.

A GAIN we quote a Tribune editorial, this time in solution of the race problem. The theme is restated 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 place 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 the South and, along with the other disadvantages which the Negro meets, arise from causes not at the control of the controlling 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 use of labor hordes, either alien, negro or cooile. The aliens, the negroes, the coolies—all are inexcusably 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 unemployment, the starvation, the disasters 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 by the victims of the cure.

Tuberculosis advances because science is impotent in the face of capitalistic economics. Medical science, supported in part by charities, cannot wage a successful fight against this dread disease, because it is a reality against poverty.

With some of the billions of the social surplus diverted to the practice of science; with every worker in a position to command the change of work and climate, the wage of a life is not secured, 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)
The Social Party depends entirely on working-class groups in selecting 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 is the attainment of complete political control. That is, the workers must have such control that they can change the whole content of the laws and political institutions so as to make an end of the power of the capitalists to set up a workers' administration of industry.

The Communist Party declares that the American government has never obtained control through the channels of the capitalist legislatures. The Communist Party has never pretended that this can be done by piling up many reform measures.

The governmental program of 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 new government is not a change for 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 railroad, the mines, the mills, the mines, 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 Party says: "Yes, it is true that the government is now controlled by the workers who have lost faith in reform socialism. It must be an organization based on the politics of revolution; that is to say, on the political 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 Adams 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 control of the government which enables the workers to take over industry, finance and the natural resources of the country for the Communists in action. The development of such organizations and the simultaneous development of the struggle depending on them 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? They declare that the ballot, under capitalist democracy, is not a weapon which can win for the workers fundamental victories. But the political campaign and the legal forums offer excellent opportunities for Communist agitation. These campaigns present the opportunity to analyze 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 legislative, can be used for the propaganda of the revolutionarian program. The Communist Party makes absolutely definite its use of the elections for propaganda purposes only by limiting nominations to legislative candidates, 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, within the scheme of government and by outside economic pressure or bribe. In the worker's government, such as now exists in Russia, there is nothing to prevent the workers from using the powerful group of financiers and monopolists to pull the strings attached to their ballot, 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 wage workers 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, disfranchisement of negroes, residential disfranchisement, and age limitations dispose of over 75% of the wage-workers 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, alienated by real estate, or in real estate, or in labor, or in self-sacrifice for the cause of the workers are, real insurgents, vote with the same regularity and enlightenment with which they tend their fields, and they are the natural allies of the workers in the struggle for socialism. The farmers, in the course of time, will be able to work out a program of their own which will make them a social atheist. (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 5,000,000 farm laborers by contract. Most of all these are disheartened, alienated, or disfranchised negroes; and, at the very best, it is inconceivable that any method might be found to rid these scattered laborers into effective class-conscious voting groups.

The United States is divided into two great sections 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 very real (Continued, page 8).
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 point for the issues of the party.

Every branch and every member can contribute to this end. A few words to each newspaper or propaganda must of necessity be largely a literature campaign. The most effective literature campaign is the regular delivery every 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 paper. Any branch can sell ten papers weekly, many can sell one hundred weekly, some can sell a thousand weekly.

The Communist sells for $2.00 per copy in bundle lots of ten or more. It retails at 50 cents 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.

Bundles ordered 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. Rutenberge 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. E. Brown was elected State Secretary to take the place of Charles Ditka, who expects to begin a prison sentence soon.

An interesting part 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 discussion which swung from one side to the other was given to a Communist Party member and branch.

The German Federation Grows

The revolt against the effort of the Executive Committee of the German Socialist Federation to band 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 joined the Communist Party. The action 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 ten cents per copy in bundle lots. Single copies are 3¢. 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

This issue of the party paper should be sent to every branch and member for the purpose of building up our paper.

The Party Emblem

The Constitution of the party provides: The emblem of the party shall be a bundle 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 30 cents per hundred to branches. The buttons will sell for 5¢. Send in your order.

Gilt buttons are being manufactured, but delivery on these cannot be made until sometime during the coming spring.

The Party Organization

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

Distribute Leaflets

Ready Now:

"Proclamation of Communist Party on Military Investigation" 
"Declaration of Communist Party on Russian Blockade."

PREPARATION:

"Your Shop"—an appeal for Shop Organizations.

PRICE—$1.50 per thousand

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 inextricable resources and the capitalistic aims and the consequences on the Russian Soviet Republic are being continued, and yet to effective effort is reported by the workers of our Entente countries, to mobilize the masses, 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 capitalist nations.

Contrast these countries. Do not be misled by the false statements of your capitalistic press to 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.

And yet in their cast-iron dictatorship, they are putting their feet upon our necks. They rule the land, the factories, in short, all of economic life in the country. Proletarian democracy has created a para-sitic class of capitalist financiers in all large cities, whose only remembrance is that of the producing masses, and they will continue their oppressions until we free ourselves by force, for capitalism will never give up 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.

The “Solidarity” organ of the Danish Syndicalists, prints the following appeal to the workers of the Entente countries: 

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The capitalist understand keenly their own voting game. Note the state-ments of Mark Sullivan in the current issue of COLLIER'S: "If you have night-mares about revolution in America, there is one thought you can always take to bed with you. Farmers who own their farms can't engage in revolutions. There can be no presidential election in America, 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 put through as many concessions as labor seriously ought to have. ... The farmer is the dominant element in American politics and American life, there isn't going to be any revolution."

Mr. Sullivan journalistically plays up the farmers 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 agents employed by the financiers, manufacturers and jobbers. But the "dominant element in American life" is the farmer, manipulated for the general capitalistic use by the astute political agents employed by the financiers, manufacturers and jobbers.

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 reassertion 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 terror.

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

(Continued from Page 8)