The Communist

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Combined with "The Revolutionary Age"

The State—Strike-Breaker

Proclamation by the Communist Party of America

The President of the United States denounced the strike as "illegal." He threatened the miners with the power of the Government has already secured an injunction to prevent the miners from using their own funds and the power of their organization to support their strike.

The Government of the United States through its injunction is seeking to starve the wives and children of the miners by preventing the miners from securing a living wage and the hours that should prevail in the mining industry.

The State has stepped in!

This it did in the Steel Strike. This it threatens to do if there is a coal strik.

The State does not coerce the capitalists; it does not tell the capitalists they must yield to the demands of the miners in order to prevent the stoppage of the mining of coal. The State never coerces the capitalists; its legal machinery is never directed against the capitalists, except occasionally against minor groups in the interest of the whole capitalist class. Its army is never used to destroy the lives of the capitalists.

The State coerces the workers. Its legal machinery is used to enforce demands upon the workers. Its army is used to destroy the lives of workers who dare demand a living wage and a little more sunshine and fresh air.

Workers, rally to the support of the miners!

The capitalists are playing to establish an industrial slavery in which their rule will be even greater than in the past. To make strikes "illegal" and crush them with the power of the state is the first move.

The Government of the United States, which some workers have been fooled into believing is a government "of the people, by the people and for the people" is in reality the government "of the capitalists, by the capitalists and for the capitalists." It is the instrument through which industrial slavery is maintained.

The workers cannot win their freedom, they cannot win even a living wage and a little more sunshine and fresh air, while the capitalists control the power of the state.

The workers must conquer that power. They must make themselves the ruling class. They must establish in the place of the dictatorship of the capitalists the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Workers, rally to the support of the miners. Make their strike general. Unite for the struggle against industrial slavery. Take from the capitalists the power of the state which they seek to increase your slavery!
THE Marxists are greatly helping the conservative labor leaders in their struggle to regain and hold control of the unions if they will recognize the vital importance of doing so and make reasonable concessions. Collective bargaining... should be given to workers freely. The rejection of the leaders to this extent strengthens them with their followers, instills in them a worthy pride to fulfill their contracts and strengthens their conservative influence with the members of the union.

The rejection of collective bargaining by the representatives of capital may appear strange. The co-operation of employers and union officials, while not avowed, has been a fact. The whole tendency of trades unionism makes for just this co-operation. Moreover, the tendency of the Communists in itself, of Imperialism, drives Laborism and Capitalism to closer co-operation against the oncoming proletarian revolution.

Then why this break at the Industrial Conference between capital and "labor"? It may appear as an accidental circumstance determined by the particular individuals chosen to represent capital, and not at all representative. But the reasons are much more fundamental.

Capitalism, the dominant interests of Capitalism, is apparently determined to act uncomromisingly. "It has come to a test," they feel, and "we must meet the test." Capitalism is provoking a battle to be believing that the capitalists will find capital stronger than labor. If Capitalism can provoke this clash and conquer the workers in blood, then Capitalism can maintain its supremacy without making any concessions; if the situation becomes too critical, there is always time for concessions and compromise—particularly as the trades union officials will eagerly accept compromise.

The uncompromising attitude of capital at the Industrial Conference is not a challenge to the labor leaders; these would sneak back willingly and continue their miserable bargain-counter negotiations. The resolution is exscludingly mild. Its acceptance by capital would mean little to the working class; its spirit and purpose of the uncompromising attitude of capital in the test of power between the capitalist class and the proletariat; it vacillates between the two; it may favor labor but in crucial issues it accepts Capitalism. The psychology of the public was aptly expressed in a declaration of one of the "public" representatives: "The United States Steel Corporation is a public nuisance and should be suppressed...."

The public, accordingly, is the smallest potential force, either in actual social status or in ideology.

Contrary to a general superstition, "the public" has no independent life of its own. Power is concentrated at the two extremes,—the larger capitalists and the proletariat. "The public" must vacillate between the two; it may "favor" labor but in crucial issues it accepts Capitalism. The psychology of the public was aptly expressed in a declaration of one of the "public" representatives: "The United States Steel Corporation is a public nuisance and should be suppressed...."

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On every vital issue the public is reaction. It may have an electoral importance, but in the test of power between the capitalist class and the proletariat, this importance dwindles. With "the public" provides the deceptive measures that are used to lead the workers astray; and in the final test of power the "public" will provide the forces of counter-revolutionary soldiery—precisely as this "public" has organized "gum and formations" in the steel strike zones. It plays a sickly role, since it has no independence of its own, being the vassal of big capital.

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words and facts

one of the evils of the old socialist party was its trimming of sails to catch every breeze of opinion that might bring votes and members. while pursuing a fundamental reformist and petty bourgeois policy, the socialist party was unwilling to make concessions in words to revolution. the old socialist party resembled nothing so much as a mass of dough, assuming a different shape at each slight pressure.

you would imagine that this policy would have worked with the revolution in the socialist party, resulting in a clear division of the movement—the old party at the right, the communist party at the left, and the communist international in the centre. but there is still a group in the socialist party pursuing a policy of camouflage; this group preens itself upon being revolutionary, about as ecstatically about the communist international and imagines it can deceive the international. the socialist party is still a group in the socialist party preens itself upon being revolutionary, a party such as the soviets. the fundamental principles and tactics of the international. the soviets. this is precisely this reformist conception of demobilizing the state, of gradually centralizing the means of production in this state, of bringing the coming of socialism upon the "majority of the people," which means class repression and class cooperation. it implies an acceptance and understanding of the fundamental principles and tactics of the international. the "socialist" however, follows a consistent policy of reformism and petty bourgeois opportunism; it has no conception of the massa character of the proletarian struggle; it emphasizes votes and members as precisely as did the old socialist party. there can be no affiliation with the communist international without realization of the stern requirements of revolutionary socialist reconstruction.

in its issue of october 18 the "chicago socialist" in an editorial on "the constitution of the communist party," states: "the most logical place to express class solidarity is at the polls. the class conscious vote is a real protest. when it is small the capitalists smile, when it is large they plot. what the capitalists plotted when the workers give a united expression and prove that the capitalists have not the consent of the majority of the people, then the workers will take their seats at the table." this is clearly an acceptance of reformism and the parliamentary conquest of power. the gentlemen responsible for this formulation have not only learned nothing during the past five years; they have apparently not read (at least not understood) the manifesto of the communist international. this document uncompromisingly maintains that the conquest of political power by the proletariat is an extra-parliamentary process proceeding by means of mass organizations such as the proletariat. campaigns and parliamentarism are neither decisive nor of major importance, although necessary.

the "left wing" of the socialist party replaces the fundamental tactic of the communist international, while urging affiliation with the international.

the emphasis on parliamentarism means using the means of a constitutional state to introduce socialism. that is the reformist position of the "chicago socialist" is manifest in its urging an amendment to the state constitution of illinois (the gate-

The New Life in Russia

by Angelica Balabanoff from "l'Avanti"

you cannot form any idea of what is taking place here. one witnesses daily the miracle of re-organization of an old, decrepit and rotten system which only the new regenerative forces can put life into; one looks on at the mad new going on amidst attempts to boycott it, to sabotage and blockade it in all directions. the spectacle is infinitely inspiring; yet the revolutionaries, who often use the word "creativity" in human power and in the divine potency, of the ideal. with all kinds of material deficiencies and with a continuous struggle against the plutocracy of the rich, their creative work is nevertheless being undertaken in the domains of science, art and the education of the masses and the new generation.

when the history of the times comes to be written, people will marvel how with such small numerical strength, we were able to resist, to rule and to regenerate an organization that was long a source of weakness and threatened with utter ruin. as regards the mere negative sides of the question which are being described to you with such abundance of lying and calumny, i dare to believe about a thousandth of what you hear. then compare it with what is happening in other countries, and you will see that the attempt to realize the soviets is one thing here supported and shared justly all around. therefore, when they tell you that we are living in the midst of terror and assassinations, keep ever present before your minds the fact that never before have there been so few of the latter, as at present; as to the 'terror', it suffices to compare it with the few days of struggle in germany, and elsewhere to understand that here it has been a question of a very mild sort of struggle indeed, and of methods of work which are truly patriarchal. and knowing as you do how much my imagination is obsessed by violence, you may believe me when i tell you that the white terror is a thousand times more crude, deliberate and treacherous, and that all this money and time, forfeited and wasted for the red terror are just so many inventions. they have had the effrontery, intentional of course, to pass off as terrorism what was merely legitimate self defense. the locke, hetch, locke ratio suffices to show up the attempts that were made to damage not only us; but whole populations. i acted as translator in this trial, so i know what i am talking about—the devilish plans to blow up bridges, to reduce tens of thousands of people to hunger. it was not only a question of mere economic terrorism to them; their only end was the lives of people, as witness, for example, the plot hatched against the people's commissioner. in the light of these facts look at the mildness of the white terror, carefully passed. those most directly concerned in the plot escaped and the foreigner who had been proved guilty of espionage was allowed to remain here. the carrying out of the sentence was put off. in the midst of this work of constant temporal exchange of prisoners. and this is the "red terror."

with regard to the defects in the state machinery, due to the lack of capable and conscientious co-workers, a severe and remorseless criticism is kept up in the party's newspapers, constituting an aspiration towards self betterment only possible to a re-

(Continued on page 8)
"Wear a red flower, tonight."

This was his invitation to the thousands of conscious workers who flocked to hear Gershuni a few years ago, Gershuni, the Russian Revolutionary, who escaped from Siberia, arrived in New York and was to speak in Carnegie Hall that night—but a short while before he returned to the land of Tsarist rule.

"Wear a red flower, tonight."

And when Gershuni stood before his vast audience in the evening, and saw Nature flaunting her scarlet beneath the multitude of pale faces raised eagerly for his message, he said:

"I wanted you to wear this symbol of the joy and the beauty of life because we demand not only bread, but roses."

Just as when the Revolution was successful, did our fellow workers think only of bread? No. Great and terrible as the need was, they held their own time measure possible—Roses! Roses! The flowers of Song, the Dance, the Opera, Drama. The flowers of Science—of Knowledge.

The Moscow Opera, a half-horse plant nurtured exclusively for the Few, has been transplanted in Russia to the fields and the meadows, where it blooms freely as the common daisy for all the common folk to pluck at will.

The king and queen of Belgium visited the United States. There is a great stir of interest among the people in the exploiters. The Opera House here makes a gala night of their visit to that temple of music.

The Workers take control of Russia. Their Opera, becomes the Soviet Opera. There is a great stir among the common folk. The workers fill the Opera House. It is a gala night.

Just as it is natural for Capitalist America to give a special performance at the Metropolitan Opera House in honor of the king and queen—charging incredible prices for seats; so it is natural for Soviet Russia to give an Opera night for the Russian workers—where he is entitled to a seat by virtue of his useful labor.

The masses, lovers of song, inspirers of all the great music that has ever been written—it is for them that the great artists of the Moscow Opera vie with one another to give their best. For are they not themselves sprung from that common people? And are not the people at last masters of all life? Taars and Empressees, drainers of the people's life-blood, are no more! and no more do they "grace" the "royal" box. All space is the people's. They grate the house from pit to gallery. The sparkle of diamonds and precious stones, symbol of tears and slavery, has given place to a sparkle of happy eyes, new-wilt, with the fires of liberty.

Not alone in music may the Russian worker now satisfy his hunger. Imagine yourself quitting after a half of a shelled day's work to be a great singer of the people's songs— in your own factory, now become a fit place to learn and enjoy, as well as to work in? Or to get the instruction and entertainment of an illustrated lecturer; or chance it is a fete where you recreate body and spirit in the joy of the dance. Or maybe a troupe of Soviet players whose itinerary includes factory, arrives to entertain or instruct you through the drama.

This is but a hint of what the workers are doing for themselves in Soviet Russia. All these have anything of art or science and general knowledge or literature to give, are giving freely to the people and the people in turn support them in security. The doors are opened wide to the vast treasure house—the doors that once were slammed in the workers' face! The priceless gifts that these workers in bent backs have painfully piled up, that the parasites have abused for the creation of a false and narrow culture, are now the heritage of all to be used in the creation of a true and general culture.

Libraries, traveling on swift wheels throughout the country, giving service to a million village English literates;oke, books, books! brought to the doors of all! Traveling instructors, lecturers, professors and teachers giving courses in every remoter parts, bringing knowledge to the workers from the farthest centers of learning.

Traveling picture galleries, theaters, concerts, touching the humblest in the land with the fairy-ward of Art. True Art, not that tawdry, cheap thing that parades in name to corrupt the common taste in every commercial country in the world.

Thus the masses, through their own government, are developing in themselves the highest possible conception of art, the foremost possible appreciation of true culture.

Art institutes endowed as never before by any government, in which the talented spirits among the masses receive the training they strained for in the past; research laboratories open to all who have any real interest in using them; Universities no longer exclusively the province of the exploiters' sons. The common school becoming the universal school, the college and university, the common school, the higher culture the general culture. Is it any wonder that Soviet Russia is spending more on education than any country in the world? Industry, agriculture, yes. Bread, security, yes. But Roses, Roses, yes, a thousand times yes! Are we workers hungery for joy and beauty, for art and culture? Today, Russia answers for us until the day when we shall answer for ourselves. The worker, starved through the centuries amidst the very plenty of all, is satisfying his hunger at last—in Russia. Having taken control of his own industrial and social destiny, has in that same moment grasped with all of a creator's enthusiasm the tools of the old bourgeois art. And the master is already modelling for himself the art forms that will express the new culture—that of the Communist society, the Workers of the World, the Communist.

Surrounded as she is by world-capitalist armies, fighting for her very life on every front of her vast territory, Russia is still able, by virtue of working class rule to give Art, Truth a beauty they have not known and do not know in any other land on the face of the earth. And we workers are invited, by every subtle blandishment, to join with our capitalist Government in a war of extermination against our fellow workers of Russia.

We may not do the shooting ourselves, but we are no less guilty if their freedom is lost through the guns we make. Longshoremen load the guns on ships, railroad men bring them to the piers, sailors, workers too, carry them over seas, and soldiers, I's also, used to have to join and receive them and use recruits to shoot Bolshevik workers, (but what workers!) fighting in the front trenches of the world in the cause of the Social Revolution which will set the world's workers free?

Yet despite this tragedy, than which there can be no greater in all history, the Russian worker, wounded, bleeding, half blinded with blood and tears, still marches erect, bearing aloft the standard upon one side of which is inscribed the appeal "Workers of the world, unite!" (This side faces outward to the fighting front). An on the other (facing in toward Soviet-Russia) the inscription "Art, Truth, Beauty!"

They are dying for us, and we are killing them for Capitalism! If the Russian workers and their culture are destroyed by us, we shall not only have played the Judas to our own Comrades, but we shall also by that same act bore our locks to the lash of Bourgeois Exploitation for a period that History will not contemplate! A lash that will be laid on with a more cruel hand than Master has ever laid on Slaves before. And who shall say that Russia shall not stand for the other culture? But this surely will not be! Everywhere the workers are awakening to consciousness. In Italy the workers forced their Capitalist Government to recall their troops from the front. In France and in England there is an awakening; here too, though less thorough, the protest is being made effective. There are workers everywhere who are refusing to destroy their own. Hope of emancipation by destroying the freedom of the Russian Working Class. We are learning that if we rise to power, we rise by Russia, even as Capitalism has learned that it falls if Soviet Russia stands.

The Associate Federation of the World's Workers Powers may combine to lie about the Soviet Government until they make old Annessias sound as truthful by comparison as a wireless message from Moscow. It will help them men to remember that workers stand by Russia, Russia stands—lied about or not. If Russia stands, Capitalism falls and the workers everywhere rise to power.

Stand by Russia, Workers of America Stand by your own cause. The issue is joined; the fight is on. Unite, use your power in Russia—for ourselves—For Bread and Roses!
The Red Army's Deeds

Problems of The Red Army
By Leon Trotsky

RED divisions are over a front of vast length. Draw them from Moscow to Perm in any direction, prolong it, and you will reach some part of the Red Army which is fighting for Soviet Russia so heroically. The organization of the Red Army is a very good example of the efficiency of the revolution.

No wonder the war was called an examination to the people. Of course, war itself is a great barbarity, and all Socialists are against it. But it must be overcome; that is, circumstances must be changed so that war will become not only needless but impossible. The people cannot leap over war instantly, surrounded by the jackals of imperialism, until the mad teeth are jerked out of the mouths of these jackals. And if the people are forced to wage war, then as far as possible look to the general battle and attack all the resources of the people are shown: its economic power, its strength of organization, the spiritual average of its masses, the amount of material for leadership, etc., etc.

And so, taking the question from this angle, we may say with assurance that in a land such as ours, worn out, despooled and ruined to the last degree, a people who have religion could organize an army. We may say with certainty that an army will not be successfully organized in Germany, neither by Ebert or Scheidemann. Only Communists, who are nearer to their own masses, could organize an army. We may say with certainty that an army which will become the dependable hedge of the Socialist Republic.

We commenced with the divisions of the Red Guards. Into these we accepted workers, not seldom those who took a gun into their hands and shown in a practical way that this power knows no interests, worries or problems other than those of the working class, will find it possible to organize an army which will become the dependable hedge of the Socialist Republic.

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The Red Army is a creation of the working class, but some of the friends of the workers thought that there is no way out, salvation is impossible.

It was this moment of deadly danger for the revolution which gave birth to the crisis of salvation. The watchword: "The Socialist Fatherland is in danger!" awakened the best that is in the laboring masses. This was the test of our revolution. Now we say with open assurance that the workers' revolution has passed the test.

Where are we to get soldiers? How are we to get the peasants into the army of workers, who have never yet had a breathing spell since the imperialist war? Will the people accept universal mobilization? Where are we to get the commanding staff? How can the old officer class take the new work of government in Russia?

Each of these questions pressed its vexations and it seemed like the crushed

The Red Army Celebration
In February 1918 the Red Army was created, by decree of the Soviet Government; in February 1919, the Red Army celebrated the first anniversary of the first army of the proletarian revolution. In an editorial, "A Year of Struggle and Achievement," the Moscow "Pravda" organ of the Communist Party, said: "In the work of building our army we were faced with insurmountable obstacles. There was the constant weariness of the masses tired out by the war; an economic breakdown due to the collapse of the discipline; the decay of the old army, politicizing the air and hindering the reconstruction of a new army; civil war in the whole country, and war even without...."

"We were compelled with weapons in our hands against the most direct enemy and at the same time to lay the foundations of a new army of the Red Republic. Truly, that was building under a rain of bullets.

"Today, as we look back, we may daringly say: the chief task has been performed, the efforts of the army are in vain: the army has been created. We may be debatable, we may be repelled, but nothing can succeed in killing the Communist Revolution.

"There is still a great deal of work ahead. Forward comrades—to the work, to the struggle and victory.

"Long live the Red Army of the Revolution!

"Long live World Communism!"

The articles here printed were published in celebration of the first anniversary of the Red Army.

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has long ceased to be any question of trust on the part of the army. If there is still collaboration and argument going on, it can only be considered exaggerations. It is needless to prove the simple truth that no matter what is the foreign policy, it cannot be successful unless it is carried forward with military success immediately influences our foreign standing, just as the defeats, for in any period of imperialistic war? Will the people accept universal mobilization? Where are we to get the commanding staff? How can the old officer class take the new work of government in Russia?

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mediately are harmful to our diplomatic relations. We may say with certainty that the intervention of the Allied powers would not have taken place if in the Spring of last year we did not face a strong and well-organized Russian Army—our Army as we have now; if the Allied powers had not considered Russia easy bait, which would not cost them much effort to conquer.

As is known, the Czecho-Slovak revolt acted as the indirect excuse for the intervention of the Allied powers. It gave a ready dependent wall in one of the most tender parts of the Russian territory, on the border which connects European Russia with Siberia. The uprising of the Czecho-Slovaks was itself possible only because at that time Soviet Russia was completely disarmed and the Czecho-Slovaks had the opportunity to take all those important strategic points and railroad intersections. These were taken without much trouble and thus they stationed themselves near the border of European Russia and Siberia.

All of us who have taken account of our foreign policy after the Break in the second period when we were forced to undergo, when month after month the life of the Soviet Russia hung on a hair, when our safety and independence hinged upon the good will of the German victors, understand the calculations of German capitalists who would rather cheat us in a peaceful manner than at the cost of a war of ruin, upon the desire of the German militarists not to disclose their forces and not to take upon themselves the responsibility for all the complexities to which the occupation of vast foreign lands would lead. We all felt every moment that the wall which separated us from foreign occupation and incalculable misery for the people, with crushing blows to the Russian revolution was very thin and weak.

We recall those dangers as they were called forth by all sorts of new moves of the German armies within the bounds allowed, by literal understanding of the Bret treaty, to the German occupation.

We experienced and felt then what the sword hanging over the head of Damocles really means. But out of these hardships Soviet Russia emerged forth with the Red arms of youthful strength and hope—and with the ventures of the Red Army. The organization of the Red Army had a great independence upon the minds of Western Europe, making them respect not only the strength of Soviet Russia but the Soviet power itself, which was capable so quickly notwithstanding all sorts of hardships, to organize a strong and well-disciplined new army. The representatives of the German official circles admitted to us that the organization of our army was to them an amazing phenomenon, coming from the strength of the Bolsheviki. It had a great propaganda significance; it proved to the entire world the seriousness, depth and intensity of all the people's revolutionary movement in Russia and the outlook for the future development of the worker-peasant Soviet regime. Facts are more salient than words and the Red army and heroic deeds of the Red Army were mightier propagandists than the countless leaflets and brochures. The pathos of its organization in the midst of the leaderships of the new working-class regime fighting against countless foes supplied with the latest instruments of military technique and with full equipment of first class armed power, deeply impressed millions of the onlookers of the entire world as something coming out of the Russian revolutionary hearth.

Our good Red Army; heroically battling against pillagers making an effort to crush the liberty of the working masses deeply stirred the imagination of the laboring masses of all lands, and began to spread the joy and in it to learn to love it as the vanguard leading them in their fight for power, fighting for them. The fight which we have to wage against the reaction—against the bourgeoisie, militarism and patriotism, which mark the strengthening of the power of the ruling classes over the peoples, is made most effectively through the instrument of a war revolution fighting for its own salvation. It is made in the psychology of the Red Revolutionary Army, the power upon which the worker-peasant revolution in Russia depends to ward off the attacks of world counter-revolution from all sides.

Being the uncompromising foe of militarism to the end, we distinguish ourselves from the bourgeoisie pacifists, such as the English Quakers, in that we wish to put the bourgeois army out of existence, as the enemy to the working class, and to put in its place a workers' revolutionary army.

Looking over foreign newspapers we see that Soviet Russia is a great power in the world arena, occupying the minds and awakening the wonder and hopes of one side and the unbounded hatred of the other. And in the first place, in the centre of the historic process which Soviet Russia chose, are to be found those who lead the struggle for the historic fortunes of Russia with their heroic deeds and death on the field of battle, those whose courage and revolutionary ardor lights up one country after another with the fire of revolutionary enthusiasm.

It was foreign policy, i.e., in the historic effort of Soviet Russia in world events, one of the most powerful elements of her historic activity is the glory and pride of Soviet Russia, our young, heroic Red Army.

The Red Army and the Counter-Revolution.

By N. Bucharin.

The war correspondent of a large English newspaper, "The Times," wrote: "At the time when all the armies of the world are decomposing and falling apart, only one army exists which continues to grow and develop, and that is—the Red Army of the Soviet Government."

The bourgeoisie press is diligently threatening the civilians of the world with the danger of the Red Army. In order to antagonize the mass of property holders against the revolutionary proletariat, they continually exaggerate the strength and size of our army. But, nevertheless, the war correspondent of "The Times" was quite near the truth. Where is the wonderful army of Wilhelm? It has disintegrated, disappeared. Where are the Czarists "good" regiments? Already forgotten. Where is the famous Hungarian cavalry? It has perished. Where are the first class artillery divisions of Austria? They also have disappeared. And this is not all. Even the victorious Allies feel that the revolutionary germ has infected imperialist discipline, crushing the spirit of obedience and slavery. Already the French and English armies began the beginning to pass through an experience similar to that of the armies of the Caesar, of Keren­sky, Wilhelm and Karl. And just at the time when the armed workers and pillagers are falling to pieces, the Red Army springs into being, first as volunteers, growing little by little, and then expanding by way of compulsory training of workers and peasants.

And now it is clear to everyone that international imperialism did not crush us. just because with their first blow our army began to grow and develop. The world counter-revolution tried to choke the Russian workers with the hands of that Czecho-Slovaks; in this they did not succeed. The counter-revolution organized excellently in the Don—but now that grey murderer, the hangman Krasnow, is already shedding tears on the grave dug for him. The bourgeoisie general, archdukes, ministers, landowners, with the aid of German and Allied imperialists, will build a strong fortress of reaction in the Ukraine.

But the Red Army did its work here too, unsaddling the enemies of the working class. The international reaction could not draw us into its greedy jaws neither from the Don, nor from the Ukraine, nor from the Baltic Sea, nor from the Urals. We owe this victory to the Red Army which grew by the strength of tens of thousands of armed workers and pillagers, who gave and are giving their revolutionary spirit, their energy and their lives for the organization of the Red Army.

World imperialism did not expect such a reception. They expected us, to come as all over as destroyers who could burn, run, overthrow, but who could build or organize nothing. And the capitalist pillagers thought their attack upon us would be an easy and jolly excursion; they thought they could take the Russian proletariat with their bare hands, but only succeeded in singing their fingers. Their policy shifted: on the one hand they sought to defend themselves against the Red Army,—on the other hand even the maddest imperialists changed the subject from cannon to a consideration of diplomatic notes.

Of course, we are not so naive as to believe in the kindness of the world gendarmes. We know they will do all in their power to find the opportune moment to crush the revolution.

The Russian revolution has long since become an international revolution. And the Red Army is a division—the largest, the best organized and the most effective, of the world revolution. So the German, the Austrian, the Hungarian and the English Communists consider it.

But the gendarmes between the movement abroad and our Red Army. When the Soviet Power organized workers' regiments, not only Russians, but Lut­tish, German, Hungarian and Czecho-Slovaks workers joined. The Chauvinists and the bourgeois patriots, beginning with the "left" social-revolutionaries, condemned us at every point. But just that fact, that many foreign con­rades passed the military-revolutionary school in our country, gave to the world a new type of "war-prisoners", who, instead of "left" social-revolutionaries, condemned us at every point. But just that fact, that many foreign con­rades passed the military-revolutionary school in our country, gave to the world a new type of "war-prisoners", who, instead of "left" social-revolutionaries, condemned us at every point. But just that fact, that many foreign con­rades passed the military-revolutionary school in our country, gave to the world a new type of "war-prisoners", who, instead of "left" social-revolutionaries, condemned us at every point. But just that fact, that many foreign con­rades passed the military-revolutionary school in our country, gave to the world a new type of "war-prisoners", who, instead of "left" social-revolutionaries, condemned us at every point. But just that fact, that many foreign con­rades passed the military-revolutionary school in our country, gave to the world a new type of "war-prisoners", who, instead of "left" social-revolutionaries, condemned us at every point. But just that fact, that many foreign con­rades passed the military-revolutionary school in our country, gave to the world a new type of "war-prisoners", who, instead of "left" social-revolutionaries, condemned us at every point. But just that fact, that many foreign con­rades passed the military-revolutionary school in our country, gave to the world a new type of "war-prisoners", who, instead of "left" social-revolutionaries, condemned us at every point. But just that fact, that many foreign con­rades passed the military-revolutionary school in our country, gave to the world a new type of "war-prisoners", who, instead of "left" social-revolutionaries, condemned us at every point. But just that fact, that many foreign con­rades passed the military-revolutionary school in our country, gave to the world a new type of "war-prisoners", who, instead of "left" social-revolutionaries, condemned us at every point. But just that fact, that many foreign con­rades passed the military-revolutionary school in our country, gave to the world a new type of "war-prisoners", who, instead of "left" social-revolutionaries, condemned us at every point. But just that fact, that many foreign con­rades passed the military-revolutionary school in our country, gave to the world a new type of "war-prisoners", who, instead of "left" social-revolutionaries, condemned us at every point. But just that fact, that many foreign con­rades passed the military-revolutionary school in our country, gave to the world a new type of "war-prisoners", who, instead of "left" social-revolutionaries, condemned us at every point. But just that fact, that many foreign con­rades passed the military-revolutionary school in our country, gave to the world a new type of "war-prisoners", who, instead of "left" social-revolutionaries, condemned us at every point.

The war correspondent of "The Times" was right. The capitalist army is decomposing and passing from one to another in ruins the power of the workers is growing the world over. And the stronger, the better organized the working class, the more powerful will its class army be, the sooner will it crush capitalism, and drive into its grave the present pillaging regime.
Collapse of Hungarian Soviet Republic


of the state entirely into the hands of the Social Democrats.

THE "UNITY" OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WITH THE COMMUNISTS.

The Social Democrats now had to choose from three alternative courses: 1) Resignation; 2) merciless war with the Communists; and 3) unity with the Communists.

Not willing to resign, and equally not anxious to play the role of Ebert-Schiemann-Noak, because they were the weak and therefore unable to play that role, the Socialists chose the third alternative: Unity with the Communists. Kunly, who was minister in the government of Karkoly, held conferences with Bela Kun, who was still in prison. On the basis of a platform Bela Kun had drawn in prison, unity of the two parties was realized. The platform was led for the arming of the people, dispersing of the bourgeoisie, expropriation and confiscation of large estates, and the socialization of the banks, the wholesale houses, the stores and the industries. On March 27, the wire carried the famous message that the Soviet Republic of Hungary had been proclaimed. All people were taken over by the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Councils, who at their first convention constituted themselves as the "Hungarian Party of Social-Communists."

Thus the revolution was achieved without disorder and bloodshed.

The news of the revolution in Hungary was received with a certain reservation in revolutionary circles abroad, because of the experience that without a revolutionary tradition the social revolution cannot be accomplished. The bourgeoisie and the social-patriots saw in it only a game of the Hungarian imperialists to save their integrity. In the meantime Bela Kun issued a proclamation in which he renounced the territorial integrity of Hungary and affirmed the ethnic principle of self determination.

Such a transformation without bloodshed can only be explained by the weakness of the Hungarian bourgeoisie, which could not resist the aggression of the proletariat; and by the apathy and the nationalism of the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals. This example certainly will not repeat itself in the world revolution. The Hungarian intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie, who are entirely conservative and uncultured, during the first day looked with favor on the dictatorship of the proletariat, because they expected from it the salvation of their nationalism and the satisfaction of their own personal interests. However, the Soviet government carried on the socialisation of the banks, the industries and the commercial enterprises. All deposits in the banks over 100,000 forints were expropriated and all large land holdings of over 100 acres were declared the property of the commune. Because of the lack of progressive intelligence, the system of public communication proceeded very slowly. With the energetic measures of the revolutionary judiciary, crime decreased to a minimum. The production of alcoholic beverages was prohibited, personal safety was assured much more than under the government of the bourgeoisie; but the bourgeoisie prepared the counter-revolution within the ranks of the semi-proletariat and the hoodlums.

After the first decrees of the Soviet Government were introduced the bourgeoisie and the conservative elements in Hungary themselves oppressed, and the petty bourgeoisie and the semi-proletariat became discouraged because the iron discipline prevented them from looting and plundering. In the hope of the revolution for their own personal advantages, their movement accordingly turned into counter-revolutionary channels. Society damed itself up, detected and punished, counter-revolutionary activities were driven, from the convents, mingled in disguise with the unconscious masses and plotted against the Soviet Republic. The Christian Socialists took advantage of the efforts of Bela Kun to accomplish the revolution in a humane way, and seduced and betrayed the people, as well. With the co-operation of the bourgeoisie they weakened the moral strength of the proletariat to a great extent. And so far as there was honest effort among them, they were already too corrupt through their social-chauvinism to be able to fill the important revolutionary positions that they were willing to resign, and the Socialists. So the unity of the Hungarian proletariat, which on March 21 was accomplished by the leaders of the Communists and the Socialists was only an illusion, because it contained the germ of disintegration.

The organization of the Red Army was at first a hard task, because of lack of real proletarian discipline. The Rosenians and the Czechoslovas with the help of the French troops were advancing toward Budapest. At first the Red Army was defeated at every point. On May 2 not only the bourgeoisie but the Communists anticipated the collapse of the Soviet Republic. Nevertheless, the Government did not lose hope and courage. The Central Workers Council ordered the mobilization of half of the industrial proletariat. One half of the members of the government in a noble proclamation called upon the workers of Hungary to rise and overthrow the Socialist Republic. In the short time of a few weeks the Red Army increased from 27,000 to 240,000 men. The Rosenians were thrown back behind the borders of Austria. Thence the Czechs suffered considerable losses, being compelled to give up two-thirds of the Slovak territory, in which a Slovak Soviet Republic was immediately proclaimed. The Czechs, however, raised the morale of the other formations; but when, under the pressure of the Entente, the Red Army had to withdraw from Transylvania, their spirit waned. While counter-revolutionary activity became more intense, proletarian class consciousness began to disappear; the working women publicly demanded that...
and thus Soviet Hungary's offensive against the Roumanians on July 25st, as first successful, instantly came to a standstill. The Roumanian officers gave the order on July 28 to cross the Tisza and on August 1 the social democrats reported to the People's Commissaries the demand of the Entente, that Kun's government must resign, in which case the blockade would be lifted and the Roumanian offensive was continued. The Social Democrat Habschvir, the commander of Budapest, described the blackest colors the dissolution of the Red Army. Bela Kun without opposition submitted to the recommendation, but Emil Bela muelly, the Robespierre of the Hungarian revolution, energetically opposed resignation and demanded a fight to the end — "The duty of the Hungarian Communists," he said, "is to fire on the barricades for the liberation of the proletariat of the whole world!" But his voice was not heard. It was decided to summon the general assembly of the 500 representatives of the proletariat of Budapest and vicinity, which should receive the designation and name the new government.

**LAST ADDRESS BY BELA KUN**

As the most conscious of the gravity of the hour, the representatives of the Hungarian working class assembled in the afternoon. When Bela Kun appeared he was greeted by a frantic ovation. The courageous fighter, the soul and brain of the Hungarian revolution, was very depressed. On his tired face, with eyes red from lack of sleep, one could feel the whole tragedy of this episode of the World Revolution. The heartly ovation made Bela Kun only more nervous. While leaning on the back of a chair, he started to weep like a little child. Then he became more calm and began to speak. Among other things he said:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat rested on three fundamental factors: on the spirit of the Hungarian proletariat; on the possibility of establishing contact with Communist Russia, and on the progressive conception of the World Revolution. Those three factors partly or entirely failed to realize themselves and therefore the Hungarian Soviet Republic could not be given to the early workers. They would like to fight on the barricades rather than resign without a struggle. But he knows that the majority is opposed to such a proposition. And then the Soviet Government resigned.

Then came the short-lived government of Peidl, composed entirely of social-patriots, who, during the whole period of the war stirred the chauvinistic instincts of the proletariat and were supporting Austro-Hungarian Imperialism; and of the bureaucracy of the trade unions. Peid's government used the means of protection, which were expropriated by the Communists to the former owners and established again private ownership of the means of production; in short, the dictatorship of the bourgeois again came into existence. At that time the paid hordes of the Roumanian Boyars (feudal landlords) approached Budapest, looting and destroying everything they got hold of.

Government of Peidl did not exist three days. In the shadows of the Roumanian bayonets and in the person of Grand Duke Joseph, the Hungarian bourgeoisie came like a vampire to life again. The monarchs carried out a Coup d'état.

The very same rulers, the same oligarchy, speculators, officers, Christian Socialists and their appendages, and the whole corrupt of the government bureaucracy of which Budapest has more than enough who for four years poisoned the Hungarian proletariat and drove it with the proletariat of other countries into that terrible human butchery, the very same element sat again on the back of the Hungarian proletariat. Immediately armed formations were established, composed of former officers, non-commissioned officers and such, who fought for the defense of the old monarchy. A terrible round-up of the Communists began in the streets and the houses. Whosoever was caught, was shot on the spot and many were thrown into jail, even those of the Danube. On the first day hundreds of our comrades were killed. The prisons were transformed into human slaughter-houses.

The Hungarian proletariat now feels what has lost. The Hungarian people never was subdued. Even the history of Hungarian Socialism does not show any serious persecution, only a few were put away as social-patriots. This is the great difference between the Hungarian revolution and the Russian revolution. In Russia since the uprisings in 1870 and 1871 the workers always were glowing. In the cells of the prisons, in the icy fields of Siberia, in the blood of the crushed strikes, and in the numberless insurrections the working class developed class consciousness, revolutionary intelligence and a revolutionary tradition. All this Hungary lacked. For the first time the Hungarian proletariat has to go through all the terrible consequences of making an error in measuring the tempo of the Revolution. The World Revolution is developing, but much slower than Bela Kun supposed. Still it will drive on, but the workers expected an easier victory, but only postponed it. The struggle Hungary was engaged in will have to go through again, will create the same classic consciousness, revolutionary intelligence and revolutionary tradition for final victory.

**The New Life In Russia.**

(Continued from Page 3.)

volutionary Government. The crux of the whole matter, in so far as internal politics are concerned, is that the Government and party in power in Russia have to bear the consequences and take the responsibility for the acts of enemies, of traitors, of impostors, who find their way into our government, and who act contrary to the good faith, carry out acts of sabotage and strive by every means in their power to put obstacles in the way of normal life.

In spite of all this the country Eves and is reconstructing itself; new organisations are springing up, although the flower of the working-class must needs leave the work of public administration. But there is one thing you knew but knew with what joyful spirit of sacrifice the work of reconstructing goes on here. I have been present at meetings of "Red" officers which in the spirit of enthusiasm and courage shown, were truly religious in the best sense of that word. One always feels the difference between the war for the masters and this war, which is our way.

The people are in general only convinced that the workers of other countries will not allow the Russian Revolution to be drowned in blood, nor the German Revolution either; which, through such difficulties, is slowly steering towards victory. At the present time the fate of the peoples depends on the proletariat of the Entente. Encouraging news continues to reach us.
"All Is Quiet in Berlin!"

By Rosa Luxemburg

The first glorius entrance

Nov. 5th, 1917

THE COMMUNITY

By Rosa Luxemburg

Her last Article

"All is quiet in Warsaw," declared minister Sabastian in the Paris Chamber of Deputies in 1831, when the hordes of Suvorov, after the capture of Prague, a suburb of the Polish capital, and the Polish capital, and after the capture of Warsaw, had begun their murderous suppression of the people in revolt.

"All is quiet in Berlin" declares the triumphant bourgeois press, declare Ebert and Noak, the editors of the "victorious army" whom the bourgeoisie mob joyfully greet on the streets with floating placards cets on the German history. Defeated on the fields of Flanders of a lasting victory in the German arms is saved before the world's proof that in this world's proof that in November, as the 24th of December—a disaster derives its energy—is as yet in the bourgeois upon the corpses of the fallen in Berlin proletariat, and there—this bourgeois mob joyfully permit suppression of not, but would bring about a final test of strength between the contending forces.

Here, too, we discover one of the great tasks of the revolution by which is shattered into dust the clever trickery and patented knowledge of the Independents, who in every clash endeavor to find an excuse for their defeat. And this is the exact opposite of the parliamentary deputies as the one unifying formula for all the separate conflicts, and, due to its intrinsic objective logic, this slogan, why you like it or not, tends to precipitate the outcome of the separate episode of the struggle.

From this contradiction between the intensity of the problem and the inadequacy of the conditions required for its solution at this stage of revolutionary development, arises the cause wherefore the separate episodes of the revolutionary struggle end in formal defeats. But a revolution is the only force of war where the final victory culminates from a whole series of "defeats".

What is shown by the history of modern revolutions and Socialism? The first flame of the class struggle in Europe, the uprising of the Lyons weavers in 1831 ended in bitter defeat. The Chartist movement in England ended in defeat. The rising of the Paris proletariat in June 1848 ended in a terrible defeat. The Paris Commune was brought to an end by a crushing defeat. The entire road to Socialism—as far as the revolutionary struggle is concerned—is paved with defeats.

And nevertheless, this same history leads us, uninteruptedly, step by step, to the final victory. Where would we be without those defeats, from which we derive our historic experience, learning, fighting power and idealism? Now, on the eve of the last defeat, in the proletarian class struggle, we actually base ourselves on those defeats which are all supremely important for us, each one of them forming a part of our strength and our consciousness.

In this respect the revolutionary struggle is the exact opposite of the parliamentary struggle. We in Germany have had for forty years steady parliamentary "victories", we marched forward from victory to victory with the result in the great historic test of the 4th of August 1914—an amnilifying political and moral defeat, an unparalleled smash, an unprecedented bankruptcy. As revolutionaries we have thus far gained only defeats, but these inevitable defeats are the surest guarantee of the future final victory.

True, on one condition. The question is under what circumstances occurred each defeat: was it on account of the fact that the (Continued on page 10)
The Soviet Republic in Action

By W. T. Goode.

A bourgeois impression—From the "Manchester Guardian" (England).

was made one of the crimes answerable to a revolutionary tribunal—the extraordinary commission.

The head and front of the whole organization is supplied by pure Socialists—Communists—who have a party organization of their own to which the leaders belong. Discipline, self imposed, is complete and unique and is rigidly observed. When called upon for some duty, however distasteful, the professional Communist must obey without hesitation. At times even the leaders are ordered off into the country to some part where propaganda, explanation or justification is needed, and they go.

Punishment to Fit Responsibility.

In cases where some lapse occurs—bravery or lawbreaking—if the offender be a non-communist, he is punished with prison; if a Communist, he is shot as a traitor to his principles. It will be seen, then, that the Communists form the spearhead of Bolshevism and are a formidable weapon.

But for supervision of the whole organization of government there has been set up an official department of state control, which serves a brief description. It is subdivided and covers the whole administration, concerning itself only with officials, not with private persons, and its powers extend to all departments, to the chief executive committee, even to the commissaires of the people. It controls the finances and budget. It is capable of compelling departments to improve their work, and has authority to stop overlapping of departments and duplication of work. It has suppressed departments as unnecessary. If an official does work that is unsatisfactory, it can recommend his removal, and it can and does prosecute incompetent or sinning officials.

Instructs While It Governs.

And not only does it control; it also instructs.

"All is Quiet in Berlin"

(Continued from page 9.)

forward surging militant energy of the masses encountered an insufficient maturity of historic pre-requisites or was it the result of the revolutionary action being paralyzed by half-heartedness, indecision and internal weakness?

Classic examples of both cases are, on the one hand, the French February revolution, and, on the other, the German March revolution (1848). The heroic deeds of the Paris proletariat in 1848 became a living fountain of class energy for the entire world proletariat. The lifelessness of the German March revolution is in an even sharper contrast with the whole direction of modern German development. Its stagnating influence was apparent during the entire history of the official German Social-Democracy till the last events of the German revolution, the most recent tragic crisis.

What does the defeat of the so-called "Spasaian week, 1848" signify from the standpoint of the above-mentioned historical law? Was it a defeat born from the violent revolutionary energy encountering an insufficient maturity of existing conditions, or was it the result of feebleness and half-heartedness?

Both. The double character of this crisis, the contradiction between the powerful, determined militant aggressiveness of the Berlin mass and the hesitation, tardiness and half-heartedness of the Berlin leaders, represents a distinct characteristic feature of the last episode.

The leaders failed to rise to the occasion. But leaders can and must be created by the masses themselves and from the ranks of the masses. For the masses are the determining element, they are the rock upon which will rest the final victory of the revolution. The masses were at their best, they have transformed their "defeat" into a link of those historic defeats which form the base of world Socialism. And therefore from the defeat will blossom forth the future victory. "All is quiet in Berlin." You stupid lackeys! Your tranquility is based on epicures, and tomorrow again the Revolution will rise to the heights, and, in trumpet tones horrifying you, it will declare: I was. I am. I shall be.
The Party Organization

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

Answers to the Call of the Workers of Russia

When Trotzky negotiated with the agents of German Imperialism the first blow to be struck was to appeal to the stricken masses, to the workers of Germany and elsewhere to join in the struggle for the overthrow of the imperialist system. He called upon them to come to the aid of the hard pressed workers of Russia and preserve the Russian Revolution.

Again the workers of Russia are hard pressed. This time it is International Imperialism that seeks to strike down the Soviet Republic of the Workers and Peasants. Though the voices of our comrades of Russia may not reach us, we may be sure that they are again calling upon the workers of this country to come to their aid, to stand by their side in the struggle against the International Capitalists who seek their destruction.

We have a way of answering this call. The workers of this country are not yet sufficiently enlightened to use their full power in the hands of the Russian comrades. It is our work, however, to carry on the campaign of agitation and education that will enlighten them and make them conscious of the unity of their interests.

That is the aim of the "Break the Blockade of Russia" campaign. The National Organization of the Communist Party has launched in connection with the celebration of the beginning of the third year of the Soviet Republic, the "Break the Blockade of Russia" leaflet campaign. The National Organization of the Communist Party has called upon the party in all branches and in all parts of the country to send out this leaflet and to have them distributed.

The Organization Funds

The Organization Fund, which is to furnish the party principles by distributing the literature that we will need, is the Organizational Fund. The total receipts for the Organization Fund thus far are $2,418.36.

Every Communist organization, every Communist Party branch should become a unit in the organization for the distribution of pamphlets, leaflets and copies of books. Every Communist Party branch and every Communist should do all in his power to support the Organization Fund.

These Are Ready

"THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN GERMANY!" By LOUIS C. FRAINA. Paper, 456 Pages.

"REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM" By LOUIS C. FRAINA. Single copies $0.15. 10 copies or more, each, $1.00. 25 or more, each, $0.50.

"Manifesto, Program, Constitution of the Communist Party and Report to the International." Single copies $0.10. 25 copies $0.25. 50 copies $0.50. 100 copies or more, each, $0.25.

"YOU AND THE SHOP!" Send order and remittance to 1219 Blue Island Ave. Chicago, III.

Organization Progress

Edgewood, N. J. and Mt. Morris, N. Y. German branches have joined the Communist Party.

More than thirty branches of the Jewish Communist Federation were chartered last week.

The Ft. Wayne German Branch decided with a standing vote of 92 to join the Communist Party.

Eighteen new branches of the Communist Party have been organized in the city of Los Angeles, Ca., Chartered as a Communist Party local last week. The local is constituted the delegation of their delegates to the Chicago convention.

The Cleveland local is showing other party units how to handle leaflets. When the records are complete it will be found that the major portion of the former Socialist Party membership in Cleveland has joined the Communist Party without a dissenting vote.

Plans are being developed for a school for Communist agitators and organizers in connection with the National Headquarters. The school will train young workers in the details of the work. When the records are complete it will be found that the majority of former members of the various Western State will be members of the Communist Party.

PAMPHLET NO. 2 NOW READY.

By KARL RADEK
"The Development of Socialism from Theory to Practice." The development of Socialism from utopian to scientific Socialism by the writings of the men who formulated the principles of Scientific Socialism. The Russian Revolution developed these theories on the field of action. Karl Marx is described as the foremost man in the Communist movement of Russia. It was he who organized the Bolshevik movement during the spring of the Spartacists. This pamphlet by Radek will hold a place equal to Lenin's "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific." Price $1.00.

Leaflet No. 4. "THE STATE-BLICKER" appears on page 1 of this issue of The Communist. First issue 250,000 copies. Shown over the Million mark. Order at $1.50 each.

Leaflet No. 3 deals with the organization of the workers to use their power in the shops. It is a simple, direct way that will work out. It will help build Communist Party Shop branches and shop organizations of all the workers. Order at $1.80 each.

The Celebration of the Second Anniversary of the Russian Communist Republic imposes the task of unrelenting revolutionary agitation. Break the blockade! Long live Soviet Russia! Long live the world revolution!
The Communist International

The Communist Party of Mexico

The Left Wing of the Mexican Socialist Party is now provisionally organized as the Communist Party of Mexico, with its first convention scheduled for some time in November. The break occurred at the Socialist Party Convention (almost simultaneously with the formal split of the Socialist Party in this country), upon the issue of the seating of Luis N. Morones, the "Mexican agent of Gompers," as a delegate in the Socialist Congress. It is this same Morones who sat in the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor as a fraternal delegate while a resolution was adopted favoring the exclusion of communist elements (from Mexico also) for a period of two years at least. The issue was Composmer versus radical unionism.

The main feature of the Communist program of action in the United States is the fight against intervention, and insistent appeal is made to the American workers to oppose the plans of our imperialists by revolutionary mass action. The Communist Party of Mexico may soon become the majority party.

So far the Communist Party of America has had no opportunity for such contact with the new Mexican group as to formulate a basis for common action. The emergence, in Mexico, of an organization which seeks identity with the Communist International is an event of great importance—an event which may have crucial significance in the Communist conflict with American Imperialism.

The Communist Situation in Germany

PAPERS from Germany, Communist, Independent, Socialist and social-par- tisan, are all in accord about one feature of the revolutionary movement there. While Independent and Majority papers state with certainty the Communists papers state with satisfaction, the growth of the Communist Party of Germany. It is admitted that the Communist Party is gaining ground so rapidly that a new uprising of the Spartacists is certain during the coming winter months, or soon after.

The Spartacists issued recently a Manifesto to the peasants of Germany calling upon them to organize a Communist Party on the basis of its Agrarian Program. This Program proved to be what the peasants of Germany were looking for, because neither the Independent Socialists nor the Majority Socialists were able to offer anything for the benefit of the rural proletariat and the small landowners of Germany, upon which the success of the Communism is dependent to a large extent. After issuing this program, the Communists began to gain ground, mostly in the village Workers' Councils. While the Majority Socialists are trying to prevent the spread of Communist papers, the Independent Socialists are looking with envy upon the rapid growth of their rival on the political field.

Both the Independent and the Majority Socialist parties are facing the danger of factional splits, by which the Communists alone will profit.

Declaration on Communist Unity

To the Executive Committee and the Members of the Communist Labor Party Comrades:

This statement by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party is in response to a request from the member parties of the First International of Communist Parties and to the Second Executive Committee to see if there is some basis for unity. The Eastern States.

It is important that in so far as there are other points in the Eastern States, where there are perhaps an -

We will accept Communist Labor Party branches as branches of the Communist Party, if and when the organizational question is settled. This will at once give this membership a "basis of equality" with the existing Com- munist unity and a full opportunity of joining the Left Wing delegates for the Left Wing delegates in the Communist Party. No elections or appointments by the Communist Party can go beyond this June con- vention, so the membership will have every opportu- nity for sharing in the control of the party at this early date. There is immediate re- quirement and the party is not the same. There is every opportunity for any party official, with every opportunity for discussion. No responsibility incurred by the joining.

For such purpose, we will be glad to appoint a special committee of the Communist Labor Party, this joint committee to arrange for the liquidation of the national organization of the Communist Labor Party.

We appeal to the Communist Labor Party membership which is truly Communist to take this situation as an opportunity for the greater achievement of Bolshevism, an opportunity for the greater achievement of the Communist Party. We appeal to the Communist Labor Party to take this situation as an opportunity for the greater achievement of Bolshevism, an opportunity for the greater achievement of the Communist Party.