Czarism and American Freedom

November seventh witnessed the beginning of the third year of the Soviet government of Russia. After two years—two years of such resistance to internal and external assaults upon the working-class rule of Russia that it is impossible to find comparison in all history—Soviet Russia is on the eve of decisive triumph. But more, these two years of struggle by the peasants and industrial workers of Russia have already blazed the trail for the working class in all countries. Not only is there the great inspiration of working-class power and hope against the most fearful odds, but there is the concrete example of the peasant revolution and of the Communist program of reconstruction.

It was in March 1917 that the Czar was overthrown. Everywhere the hearts of men and women were glad. Long had Czarism been the symbol of the world's darkest and most ruthless reaction—and now this high throne of despotism was gone! From August 1914 to March 1917 the war had dragged its destructive course toward an ever deepening abyss of despair. There were phrases about liberties and about the inspiration of the concrete American Democracy to take the place of the old phrases which were Kaiserism on the one side, and on the other, Czarism.

Then on the side of the Allies came American Democracy to take the place of the fallen Kaiserism—and the phrases took on a new life, the phrases glorifying the killing and maiming of the many millions.

The revelations of American Democracy with bayonet in hand, with its conceptions of life and conscience, with its iron despotism crushing out even the least pretense of democratic privilege, with its open scorning of its own "representative" bodies in favor of Wall Street super-legislators and administra1tors, with its tolerance of such an orgy of profiteering as the world had never before imagined—the revelations dashed the prop of the war phrases.

But the peace would be the compensation! And now we have it: the "peace" of V 2-ozzles—the peace of glittering layouts in every part of the world. The peace of the Adriatic, the peace of Romanian devastation of Hungary, the peace of Chinese opulation by Japan, the peace of the Saar valley with its constant challenge to renewed war, the peace of a Poland given new boundaries which carry the assurance of another world war, the peace of brutalities and oppression in Egypt, Ireland and India surpassing anything else in the old records of Imperialistic ruthlessness—the peace of a world at war with the workers and peasants of Russia, the peace of the deliberate aim to starve the women and children of Soviet Russia is that the resistance of the heroic Red Army will be broken.

The phrases of the war and of the peace are heard no more. Now it is said: "Let us waste no more time with phrases. American Democracy is what it is, and let those who do not like it go their tongues. The time for cannon-flags has gone by. We have the courts and the jails and we mean to use them. We have the power to drive out of the land those who speak of these things in the foreign languages used by the mass of industrial workers in the United States. We will drive them out. We will use the mob power which is allowed by our servile officials when it suits our purposes. This country belongs to us—the men of substance and power today—and we will run it to suit ourselves."

In Russia the workingmen and peasants discovered between March of 1917 and November of that year that Czarism was nothing of itself, that the falling of the Czar made no change in their lives. They learned that Czarism could live though the Czar lived no longer. They learned that all pomp and circumstances of the Imperial throne was only the hollow symbol of the real despotism which held their lives in bondage. The Lvoff-Miliukoff regime came and went, and life was the same. The Kerensky government came and with it many new phrases of liberty and of peace and of the chance to till the soil so that there might be more bread for the people. Yet the life of the masses was the same.

It was the November revolution—the Bolshevist triumph—which gave to the masses of Russia, not new phrases, but peace, the land, and all power to the workers and peasants—actual control of the destiny and the wealth of their great country. The November revolution was a victory over the reality of Czarism.

And now it is becoming glaringly clear, day by day, to the working masses everywhere, that Czarism was different from British Imperialism and American and French Democracy only in form; that the reality of Czarism is the same in all countries where the life and substance of the nation is in the hands of a ruling class bent upon the perpetuation of the profit system, no matter at what toll of life.

There never was a greater irony in all history than the performances of American Democracy at the time of the celebration of the second anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic. The White Terror broke loose. The page of history is hardly turned upon the Czar rule of Russia with its executions of agitators by the hundreds of thousands, with its countless exiles and imprisonments, and here we see the repetition of this "statesmanship" in the United States—upon the revolutionary working class.

We do not appeal for free speech. It is folly. Have we not seen our courts at work these past two years? Do we not know that the class rule of the bourgeoise outlaws the revolutionary working class? We appeal for working class understanding of what is going on.

Then, on this anniversary of Russian freedom, comes the decision of Judge Anderson—the order to rescind the call for the strike of the coal miners. This decision will have a more momentous place in history than the Dred Scott decision. Judge Anderson, by the trick of fate which located him in Indianapolis, will rank alongside of Judge Taney. Both able jurists, both men of high standing in their own time, both the unconscious proponents of precipitating conflict. . . . There is an innate momentum in capitalist law and capitalist government which leads to the administrative, legislative and judicial expression of czarism.

We do not argue or appeal against the inevitable course of capitalist czarism. We appeal to the workers to know and to understand.

Of what calibre will the officials of the United Miners Workers prove themselves? Perhaps a few among them will develop out of this experience and out of their insti­ tutions of freedom the same spirit of resistance which doomed czarism in Russia and which holds the newly-won liberties of the Russian masses safe today. Perhaps there will be another Debs among these officials, to give inspiring leadership to those who toil in weariness in the dark places under the earth.

No matter. If these officials fail the test, if they prove craven under the clear challenge, there will be others to say what is in the minds of the half million miners; there will be others to voice the passions of their hearts, their longings for more of the warmth of life which is kindled out of their heavy toil.

And will the Communists be dismayed by the deportations and the raids and the terror of the minions of profit? It is the time-honored recourse of decadent power. It is another such historical episode as that of Louis XVI declaring his absolute power and the inviolability of the feudal rights before the State-General on June 23rd—when the Bastille was about to fall on July 14th!

Go on with your petty persecutions if you dare. It is within your hands to determine the mode of the class conflict in the United States. Deporting and jailing a few hundred agitators—the teachers of the masses—will only breed blind fury. But the mass life will have its say!

The day of the people has arrived! Czarism is doomed—everywhere. Freedom must prevail—everywhere. The freedom of Communism, of a society rid of profit oppression, of a society of freely co-operating workers! The answer of the Communists to the White Terror: Long live the Social Revolution! On to the Federated Soviet Republic of the World!
THE ELECTIONS

The political campaign this year, while ordinary in itself, occurred under extraordinary conditions. The campaign as such possessed no vital issues; but circumstances imposed issues on it—issues, however, which appear incidentally and not consciously. One fact stands clear in the recent campaign: in spite of opportunity for mobilizing revolutionary issues politically, there was no such mobilization. The Communist Party did not do as well in the elections as the Socialist Party campaign was more than usually a petty bourgeois campaign about humanity, milk, democracy and such issues. The campaign and the elections were of the regulation cheap political character.

Another fact that stands clear is that the revolutionary surge among the masses, expressed in dynamic strikes did not express itself politically, could not express itself since there was no real opportunity for expression, and since, moreover, the revolutionary character of the masses is still economic and has not yet acquired a political revolutionary consciousness. But there is still a third fact, and that is: the mass of the voters are reactionary. In New York City, where a number of Socialists were elected to public office, they are typical reactionary blatherskites—and this is another expression of reaction, much more dangerous than an outright capitalist vote.

The re-election of Governor Coolidge in Massachusetts is further evidence of the increasing reaction of the masses. The re-election of the present political party in Boston has evoked the congratulations of men all over the country, including President Wilson and others, who consider the re-election a victory for “law and order.” The police strike was considered an assault upon “law and order.” Governor Coolidge’s uncompromising policy of breaking the strike was enthusiastically approved by apologists of Capitalism, and his re-election against a candidate who mildly favored the police is considered a blow “at Bolshevism.”

Nevertheless, the election is generally considered by the capitalist press as a repudiation of Bolshevism. Repudiation—in what way?

Bolshevism was not represented in the elections—surely the Socialist Party did not represent Bolshevism! But still the bourgeois take flattering unrest to their souls and sigh happily about the defeat of Bolshevism during the recent campaign. “This comes from the inherent bourgeois idea that electoral majorities are the final expression of the working class.”

Electoral majorities, however, are not the final indication of class power. The capitalist press claims a great victory for Capitalism in the recent elections; but in spite of that American Capitalism was never as near a crisis as it is at this moment. Not votes but social forces are the determining factor. This superstition concerning electoral majorities afflicts the Socialist Party as well as Capitalism. Precisely as the capitalist press is trying to prove by means of percentages that the recent events were bourgeois and reactionary, so the Socialist Party is trying to prove also by means of percentages that Socialism made enormous strides onward. The Socialist Party is developing the percentage conception of the revolution.

But these experts in percentages are mere larks upon the surface of events and are not in contact with reality, with the dynamic forces that shape social and political developments. They are afflicted with the “parliamentary idiom” so dear to Mazzini, who imagines that destiny is determined by an electoral majority and resolutions in parliament.

The revolutionary Marxist, in considering the social topology, the measure of development of the revolutionary movement, pierces through parliamentary forms and electoral illusions. It is the play of social forces behind these forms and illusions that must be analyzed in order to appreciate the revolutionary “lay of the land.”

The electoral majority secured in the recent elections by the Socialist Party will encourage them to repress still more, and this repression must necessarily hasten the proletariat’s awakening to revolutionary consciousness.

This electoral majority will not mine coal for Capitalism, nor produce steel, nor prevent the workers from securing out of life itself the courage and inspiration for more aggressive struggles against Capitalism.

The votes and public offices secured by the Socialist Party will not alter that party’s reactionary character. In fact, it will hasten the development into an open party of petty bourgeois progressivism and laborism, thereby hastening the workers’ realization of the necessity for Communism.

At this moment the most vital, and potentially revolutionary tendency is the strike movement of the workers. This movement developed out of the economic circumstances of Capitalism, is a real menace to the dominant social system. But the revolutionary importance of this strike movement is not in its direct threat to Capitalism, but in the influence upon the ideology of the workers. The American Federation of Labor, under the pressure of Capitalism and the exittant workers, is rapidly accepting the industrial union, thereby accelerating the impact upon the masses.

The fact that this strike of the workers is developing a political consciousness among the workers, and preparing conditions for the political strike of the masses which is more vital and powerful than the largest electoral majority.

This strike is being broadened and deepened, the workers moving toward the concept of mass action. The impulse for this revolution comes out of the mass struggles of the proletariat, out of its actual clash with Capitalism and the state in its mass strikes, not out of electoral majorities.

This mass movement of the workers is acquiring a larger and more conscious character, is developing out of its circumstances definite revolutionary demands to develop the understanding and action of the political general strike—It is this task that the revolutionary action, when it is upon the measure of fulfillment of this task that we can gauge the maturity of the American proletariat for action and the conquest of power. The Right to Strike

The legal and order game is producing many weird pranks of law and order nowadays. In fact the law-and-order moralists can no longer keep pace with the performance. We have come to the time when even the pool hall fags, are capitalist champions, deep into the flesh to make any successful pretense of purposes other than gigantic piracy and suppression of the masses.

The plummetings of the efforts to defend the use of the courts and the army and all the prestige and influence of the Federal government against the coal strike. The Chicago Daily News marks the distortion of the Social strike as a division between strikes in “purely private, nonessential industry” and strikes in “essential industries.”

The Chicago Daily News marks the distortion as between general strikes, men, in the absence of a contract voluntarily entered into, choosing to leave their work and a combination, with organization and leaders, which controls a part of the mass of the working class, with the intention and known effect of paralyzing industry.

In other words, a strike is lawful when it is small, of no particular consequence, and of no threatening aspect to the capitalist system. But it is unlawful when it is organized so effectively that it can tie up an entire industry. And the degree of unlawfulness apparently increases—it is unlawful conspiracy, according to Mr. Taft—“when enormous combinations of workers deliberately enter upon a countrywide plan to take it from the nation the very breath of life.”

Undoubtedly the general strike will be illegal. The business of law-and-order is to make everything illegal and immoral which is contrary to the fundamentals of the private property exploiting system.

But the general strike will happen just the same. Capitalism will compel the general strike, just so surely as capitalist ethics will brand only such strike as a criminal conspiracy. When the “enormous combinations of workers” really do “take the nation by the throat,” the question is what then? Why, they will quickly realize that the overwhelming degree of suffocation is on the part of the working class, and they will relax the grip, but not entirely. That part of the national life, which administers the practices, which compels the general strike, will be held by the throat and choked to death.

Revolution— upon this all jurists agree—is a law unto itself. The Communist revolution will inaugurate a system of Law and Order founded upon the needs of expansive human life. The law-and-order of Capitalism is founded upon the needs of investment for profit.

Between these two systems is the transition period of the class struggle. Until a certain day the working class, in its mass manifestations of power, will be compelled to act under the cloud of the law or in direct defiance thereof. Upon the next day the revolutionary action of the proletariat will become the most serious of crimes.

This does not prove that Might is Right. It only proves that Might is Right at certain times and under certain circumstances. There is a profit right and a life right; there is a profit might and there is a life might. Communism as a goal is the social expression of the concept of the American proletariat for action and the conquest of power.
The S. L. P. in Action

SINCE the development of the Left Wing movement, the Socialist Labor Party (that is, the political remnants of a once vigorous organization) has been engaging in a campaign of gutter abuse and misrepresentation of American Communism. Now this lying, slanderous, provocative campaign against the Left Wing is being carried on against the Communist Party. This campaign would not matter much if it were against the Communist Party as a party, but it is against a campaign against Communist principles and tactics, and it is, moreover, a campaign directly instigating Capitalism against the Communist movement.

Capitalism stigmatizes mass action as meaning riots and mob violence—the S. L. P. repeats that mass action means riots and mob violence.

Capitalism stigmatizes the Communist Party as representing Anarchy—the S. L. P. repeats that the Communist Party represents Anarchy.

This S. L. P. campaign of provocation is contemptible. It is treason to Socialism. We shall not discuss the fact here that the S. L. P. has led nothing concerning tactics during the two years of the proletarian revolution in action; it is the privilege of men and women to close their minds to new ideas to make mass-backs of themselves. All we shall say concerning that is that an organization that scorns the lessons of the proletarian revolution, that in fact repudiates the tactical fundamentals of the Communist International, is directly counter-revolutionary. But even here we might not quarrel with the S. L. P.; but when the S. L. P. lies vilely about the Communist Party and uses the phrase “anarchy” for Capitalist raising and imprisoning agitators—then, in the name of revolutionary honor, we must emphatically protest.

This revolutionary dishonor of the S. L. P. comes to a climax in the November 1 issue of the “Weekly People,” the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party. The “People” says editorially: “The Socialist Party has left a numerous brood, and the name of that brood is anarchy.”

This “brood of anarchy” refers to the former Left Wing and to the Communist Party. The fact that fundamental Communist tactics are not followed by the Party, are a direct denial of Anarchy, does not concern the S. L. P. “The People” continues: “A house (the Socialist Party) thus divided against itself could produce nothing but continuous disharmony—and the children of disharmony are disorder and anarchy. Thus we witness the S. P. split against itself! into Left wing and Socialists, and thus, against the Communists, and against the Party, and against the S. L. P., which is itself a threat to internal and international Socialism.”

Mass action is not Anarchy. The S. L. P., the petty bourgeois officials of which claim a monopoly of revolutionary knowledge, should have known of the controversy between Anton Pannekoek and Karl Kautsky, in which Kautsky claimed that mass action and mass strikes represented a “mutilation” of the working class and anti-revolutionary. The Socialist Labor Party’s officials are liable to Kautsky’s stupid misconceptions. But the S. L. P. repeats Kautsky’s stupid characterization of mass action.

Anarchy and physical force are one and the same thing. Physical force is a phase of revolution under certain conditions: as a mass revolutionary tactic, physical force is not an affirmation, but a denial of Anarchy. Was Marx an Anarchist when he said that “force is itself an economic power” and that “force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with the new?” The Communist International indicates the function of force in the final revolutionary struggle; according to the S. L. P., the Communist International must, therefore, be an aggr. ection of Anarchists. And the S. L. P. de- nounces what it repudiates the Communist International.

Nor does the S. L. P. realize that in revolutionary periods the supreme form of mass action is the political strike, and the means which it involves the use of physical force—that where physical force may develop out of a political strike it is an expression of capitalist repression and terror.

Thus far, “The People” editorial is simply stupid, if viciously stupid; but it proceeds further and steep itself in dishonor when it says: “Anarchy below produces anarchy above, as well as vice versa. Let not the Socialist Party complain of raids, attacks by ‘Anarchists’; look at how they sentence us to ‘martyrdom.’ It has called this down upon its own head. It has also called it down over the head of the legitimate Labor and Socialist movement of the world.” (Our italics.)

It is almost inconceivable that an organization styling itself Socialist and revolutionist should use such language.

The implication of the S. L. P. is that, not only does the Capitalism, but the Socialistic Party and particularly the Communists are responsible for the government terror against our movement. Repression is the nature of the beast of Capitalism; but it seems the S. L. P. does not know that, and blames our imprisoned comrades for being imprisoned!

Then the monstrous commonplace of pitying the “legitimate” Socialist movement—pity the poor, cowardly, miserable, “legit­ mate” S. L. P. that must suffer because of the “anarchy” of the Communists! The S. L. P. officials are a pretty bourgeois agglomeration of mongers of phrases.

During the war the S. L. P. played a cowardly role: we remember the editorial plea of the “Weekly People” at the time the second Espionage act was passed, concerning the S. L. P. being lawful, and believing in lawful agitation, but that under the Act the S. L. P. could not carry on its work, and warning the S. L. P. members against the “radical” Socialists of the Socialist Party.

Nor shall we forget that copies of the “Weekly People” were used during the I. W. W. trial in Chicago by the Government to prove that the I. W. W. advocated anarchy, and was repudiated even by Socialists! Nor shall we forget that the “Industrial Union News,” organ of the S. L. P. organization, the W. I. U. U., when the Bolshevist call for a congress to organize the Communist International was wounded in “The Revolu­tionary Age,” branded the call as “having all the ear-markers of the work of agent provoc­ateurs.”

For the sake of peace, this campaign of malicious provocation. It is serious, this work of de­nunciation against Communism by an organ­ization that claims to recognize the Com­munist International was founded by Karl Kautsky’s brilliant answer to Kautsky’s stupid misconceptions. But the S. L. P. repeats Kautsky’s stupid characterization of mass action.

Petrograd

THE military campaign against Petro­grad has collapsed. General Yudenich has been driven back, almost routed, and the Red City is out of danger, while the Communist Army of Petrograd is carrying on a successful joint offensive against Yudenitch and Denikin.

Petrograd is not a vital military centre. The capture of Petrograd by Yudenitch would not materially alter the military situa­tion in Russia, it would be a Pyrrhic victory. Why, then, the glee with which the false reports of the capture of Petrograd were received by the capitalist press? Because the Red Petrograd represents the soul of the Russian Communist Revolution, it is a sym­bol of the Revolution.

Petrograd, scene of the decisive events of the first Revolution, and the scene of decisive events of the Bolshevik revolution, in the imagination of the Russian people and in the brain of the coming generation, is itself an economic menace to the stability of the imperialistic peace of violence and plunder imposed by the Peace Conference upon the world.

The Allies, it is true, are defending im­mediate interests in Russia—their blood­loans to the Czar, money which was used to murder the Russian people, but which the Allies insist the Russian people repay. They are defending, moreover, potential profits which they may secure by exploiting Russia’s natural resources under a capitalist government, for, should the Soviet-Gov­ernment be overthrown, Russia would be divided between the imperialists and a financial vassal of the Allies.

But the Allies might waive these immediate interests, since the war against Russia is an economic war, for economic and financial reasons.

The existence of Soviet Russia is a menace to the stability of the imperialistic peace of violence and plunder imposed by the Peace Conference upon the world.

As long as Soviet Russia endures, the international proletariat must necessarily draw inspiration from that fact and that symbol. Soviet Russia is a living proof that the principles and aims of Communism can not only conquer power, but can actually rule and reconstruct society, that Communism works. Soviet Russia is the inspiration and model for the international proletariat.

The successful defence of Petrograd is a victory for Russia; but, more, it is a victory for the world revolution that is de­veloping and must come.
Phases of Communist Reconstruction.

By N. Lenin

(From a Report to the 8th Congress of the Russian Communist Party.)

by saying: "the dictatorship of the proletariat."

This is an absolute absurdity. We know from history perfectly well that the dictatorship of the democratic bourgeoisie means nothing else than the bare domination of the emerging workers. So it was, beginning in 1834, at any rate. History shows that particularly in bourgeois democracy the fiercest struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, unfolding itself widely and freely. We were convinced by practice of the correctness of this truth. And if the policy of the Soviet Government from November 1917 was characterized by adherence to this truth in questions, it is exactly because we never recoiled from this truth, we never forgot it. Only the dictatorship of one class—the proletariat—can solve the problem involved in the struggle for domination. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat can conquer the bourgeoisie. Only the proletariat can overthrow the bourgeoisie. Only the proletariat can carry the masses in the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

Nevertheless, under no condition does it follow, such a view would be a great mistake—that in the future construction of Communism, the bourgeoisie still reigned, and at the present we are already in the hands of the proletariat. As if the bourgeoisie does not establish or abolish democracy according to its own sweet will. And once is so shown, that the fall of democracy by the time of the most struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is only too surprising how quickly these Marxists or would be Marxists, like the Monroe, display their true colors, how quickly their true nature is exposed, the nature of petit-bourgeois democrats.

All his life Marx chiefly fought against the illusions of petit-bourgeois democracy and bourgeoisation democracy. Marx constantly ridiculed the liberty of the worker under capitalism—which means his liberty to sell his labor and that equality of persons to sell their labor and of the bourgeois who has an equal right to buy that labor freely, buy in a so-called free market, etc. In his economic writings Marx constantly endeavored to clarify this point. It might be said that Marx's entire "Capital" is devoted to the exposition of the truth that the basic forces of capitalist society are embodied in the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the bourgeoisie as the builder of that capitalist society, and the proletariat as its grave-digger, as the only force capable of supplanting it. There can hardly be found a chapter in Marx not dealing with this question. It might be said that the Socialist-Liberals of the world as represented in the Second Internationale have sworn numberless times before the workers, attesting their understanding of this truth. But when events reached the stage of the decisive struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for power, then we observed how our Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, the leaders of the Social-Democrats, parties of the world renounced this truth, and began mechanically repeating pseudo-scientific phrases about "democracy in general." The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Some are trying to add to these words a "something" to make them still "stronger"
**Communism and American Psychology**

There has been much curiosity about the unique variety of working-class "psychology" in these United States. The Communists have patiently retorted that the "psychology" will come along all right; that capitalism will take care of that.

To the coal district of Illinois comes the verification of all that the Communists have said about American working-class psychology, in the accounts of Ben Hecht (Chicago Daily News) of interviews with "the tall gawky down-state citizens who look like Abe Lincoln and talk like Nikolai Lenin."

"Ed Norton is the heart of the miners' strike. He talks the day away by gosh that goes on under the dull glory of the sun, and his fellows have flung out in the last two years that the world was changing and that the time was coming when labor would 

"I'm no red, I warn. I'm talking to you as one American to another. Now, what if government? It's a sort of scattered government. We all have a say in this. It's a sort of out of it government. Some

Arthur Livingston and talk like Abe Lincoln and talk like Nikolai Lenin."
The Soviets and The I. W. W.

By I. E. Ferguson

The I. W. W. is capitalizing the sympathy which it has won by the capitalistic brutalities against it as an offensive against the Communist movement in this country. It has been the denunciation of mass action and Dictatorship of the Proletariat, conceptions which are the essence of the world proletarian revolution, that has yielded the final sag. It still makes attacks upon the Communist Party for advocating political action, even though the Communist Party puts overwhelming emphasis on mass action as the most effective means of political assertion by the workers of the United States today. Again it is the anarchist confusion which explains why these I. W. W. propagandists shun anything done in the name of political power, even though it is the politics of the revolution itself, not the Socialist politics of parliamentarianism against which the Syndicalist movement was a protest. The Syndicalists set up the general strike in opposition to the indirect, futile, wheeling method of legislative reformism. The I. W. W. has accepted the challenge, and in the European countries, in Australia and in Canada there is the closest cooperation between the radical unionism of the Syndicalists, who in almost all the countries now differentiate themselves as Communists.

This opposition of radical unionism to Communism and Sovietism is a distinctive American phenomenon. In other countries one cannot draw the line between the revolutionist within the union and the revolutionist as an advocate of Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The mass action conception, even more, has its practical embodiment in the activities of the Syndicalists.

The I. W. W., for the moment, lines up with the Scheidemann-Ebert-Kautsky régime against the Communist movement, the cardinal principle of which is: All power to the Soviets. All power to the special new organs of power, political and industrial, by which the Syndicalists replace the old ruling class of society, using this power for dictatorial inroads upon the private property system of labor exploitation.

The I. W. W., for the moment, refuses to realize that the struggle for proletarian class power and the revolutionary reconstruction will determine new forms of organization and management, just as the struggles in the capitalist industries have produced unions of one kind and another. The I. W. W., for the moment, refuses to concede that Sovietism does not in the least negate the immediate importance of the industrial union movement in the class struggle; that Sovietism does not at all negate the potential usefulness of pre-revolutionary industrial unions as units within the general Soviet system.

In other words, there is nothing for the I. W. W. to surrender to the general revolutionary movement. The United States except an arrogant conceit, and failing this, the present official policy of the I. W. W. will result in a miserable betrayal of all the spirit, courage and sacrifice that have gone into the making of I. W. W. history.

The Communist Party stands for a unity of revolutionary proletarian propaganda in the United States, a unity based on the Manifesto and Program of the Communist International.

The new political form has seized upon the imagination of people everywhere as the highest expression of democracy. Not the democracy of phrases and abstract personal liberties, which vanish upon the basis of mass democracy—a democracy which reaches out in a conscious effort to bring ever widening circles of industrial and rural workers to the active administration and control of the national economy.

It seems a strange perversity that at this late date in the history of the proletarian revolution in Russia there are yet among us, in the ranks of our organizations as the I. W. W. and the Socialist Labor Party, many who cannot transpose in their own minds the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the outward expression of a real democracy of the working class. There is dictatorship in countries W. and the Socialist Labor Party, many of whom shall not take back to the proletariat their own functions come to the forefront. Even the Liberals.

There are those with sinister value phrases like their fellows cling to opiate.

The Soviets are a form in process of evolution. At the moment they are a blend, not without confusion, of the initial unit both in the Communist political control and of the Communist economic administration. At the moment, in advance, the political functions diminish and the economic functions come to the forefront. Even now, with the Red Army fighting on some fifteen fronts, there is already a tremendous alteration of the national budget away from milli-

tary expenditure in favor of educational and economic expenditure. With the intervention out of the way, the Soviet government would already exhibit itself as almost entirely a communist administration of national economy. It goes without saying that such an administration is a great country like Russia, especially immediately following the world war destruction and the exar­ chistic chaos, requires a span of years for ad­ justment in detail, the actual developments up to date, and the cementing of the confidence of a vast unenlightened people in the proletarian democracy, and the winning of the acquiescence of tolerance of political mi­ norities ranging from Anarchists to Liberals, and the drawing together with the industrial proletarians of the peasantry and large ele­ ments of the petty bourgeoisie—these testi­ fy to the high adaptability and democratic appeal of the Soviets in operation.

The official literature of the I. W. W. describes the Soviets as a makeshift substitu­ tute for industrial unionism. An analysis of these I. W. W. writings shows that the root of the argument is nothing other than the anarchist conception of the proletarian revo­ lution—that the revolution is the elimination of the state, as against the Communist con­ ception that the revolution is the elimination of the private property system of exploitation, with the disappearance of the state as a necessary sequence of the passing of class exploitation.

Careful reading will show that the idea of the industrial union prepared in ad­ vance of the revolution, for taking over the existing state all the functions of social reconstruc­ tion is not only a phantastical myth, not only an evasion of the obvious reality that the in­ dustrial union comes into life under capital­ ism as an immediate fighting weapon for better conditions of labor (and that this is its whole equipment as an industrial union), but also a mischievous boomerang against the revolution. First, it imperils the revolution itself, since it leads to the negation of everything except the unions built according to this theory. The I. W. W. insists that it came into being in direct response to the life of the workers in the mines, in the forests, on the docks and in the shops. And so all other unions come into being under like impulse. The difference is that the I. W. W. was built out of such elements and under such conditions of capitalistic exploitation that it took on a special character of des­ perate struggle, and that it required a kind of organization and methods of action which were in fundamental antagonism to the dominant trade unionism. Under like conditions of exploitation and with the craft groups losing control as the un­ skilled and semi-skilled come to the front in unions such as those of the steel workers and the miners and the machinists and the longshoremen, the trend toward aggressive industrial ani­ mism takes its way throughout the labor movement. This process is helped by the agitation and example of the pioneer I. W. W. But the I. W. W. becomes a powerful element in the labor movement when it loses sight of the realities which brought it into life and insists that it is its theory, not its example, that is important. It insists that the whole revolutionary agi­ tation in the United States can be nothing except one continuous hallelujah to the I. W. W.

The Soviets are a form in process of evolution. At the moment they are a blend, not without confusion, of the initial unit both in the Communist political control and of the Communist economic administration. At the moment, in advance, the political functions diminish and the economic functions come to the forefront. Even now, with the Red Army fighting on some fifteen fronts, there is already a tremendous alteration of the national budget away from militarility in favor of educational and economic expenditure. With the intervention out of the way, the Soviet government would already exhibit itself as almost entirely a communist administration of national economy. It goes without saying that such an administration is a great country like Russia, especially immediately following the world war destruction and the exarchistic chaos, requires a span of years for adjustment in detail, the actual developments up to date, and the cementing of the confidence of a vast unenlightened people in the proletarian democracy, and the winning of the acquiescence of tolerance of political minorities ranging from Anarchists to Liberals, and the drawing together with the industrial proletarians of the peasantry and large elements of the petty bourgeoisie—these testify to the high adaptability and democratic appeal of the Soviets in operation.

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The primary cause is of course Allied hostility, the Allied blockade, and Ali-
died intervention, but that need not be here discussed. Other factors of a more immediate kind helped to bring Bela Kun's Communist experiment to the ground. The first of these was the excessively proletarian character of Hungarian Communism. The second was the blockade of Hungarian peasants—a blockade that still continues, is entirely non-
popular, and originates in the narrow ego-
ism of the peasant mind everywhere and at every time. The third, and last, but equally important cause was the sabotage of the upper bour-
geoisie. Among the subordinate factors one might mention the dependence of Hungary's industrial life upon that of her neighbors, particularly Germany, for raw materials and certain essential industrial processes. That Bela Kun was able to hold out for four months against this complex of diffic-
ulties was a miracle. This Jewish first had the miraculous gift of leadership as few popular leaders have had it; for the nearest parallel one must go to our revivalist preacher, who knew and played upon the mass psychology in politics as a Sankey or a Billy Sunday does with the religious emo-
tions.

Hungarian Communism was by no means the farcical thing that hostile propaganda has made it out to be. Essentially it consisted of that compound of State and Guild Soci-
alisms, of central bureaucracy and au-
tonomous factory councils, towards which all Europe east of the Rhine seems to be tending. Every factory was controlled by its workers' council of three, five, or seven "shop stewards," but it was managed and run by the Production Commissioner, an expert appointed by the State Department of Production. The Commissioner was not supposed to be under the orders of the Worker's Council, and any dispute had to be referred to the central department. It was intended to preserve proper discipline and to give the authorities the knowledge and the communal represen-
tative.

It was Bela Kun's desire that the central department should have the deciding voice the more its representatives should be chosen by men of expert ability, and at least some members of the workers' councils too should be experts. Nor was there any insuperable obstacle to the selection of good chemists, foremen, and the like—lent them willingly to the task. Most of them did so perhaps because it was the only way of earning a living. Many, however, seriously accepted Communism as the only way out of Hungary's appalling difficulties. Nor was the start altogether unpropiti-
os. Things were done at a stroke with which, for example, the clear-sighted bureaucrats of the Imperial Economic Ministry at Ber-
lin frankly admitted to be necessary—the concentration of industry at a time when two-thirds of the factories were almost paralysed by lack of raw material, the elimination of useless factories, the cutting down of unnecessary establishment ex-
penses. Skilled and unskilled men preferred their advice, not for any doctrinaire belief in Com-
munism—on the contrary, their antagonism remained—but in the patriotic belief that they were men who knew their business. Only those who had hoarded money, whose work was indispensable, were exceptional instances. It is little wonder that the well-meaning intelligenzia—this useful and high-minded section dooms" down tools" and adopted a passive resistance.

No class in Hungary is more to be pitied. Under the Red Terror, which was none the less real, though it was not, despite all the propaganda reports, stained to any great extent by atrocities, this class suffered justly from proletarian distrust. To-day it is suffering equally unjustly under the White Terror for having attempted to do its duty to the community under the Bolshevik system.

In fairness, again, to the working class, it must be remembered that the new regime was fighting for its life against enemies within and without. Starvation says any faith, and the workers needed exhortation as much as the peasants who had hoarded money, whose work was indispensable, were exceptional instances. It is little wonder that the well-meaning intelligenzia—this useful and high-minded section—shuddered and adopted a passive resistance.

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In the midst of terror and agony, its frontiers bristling with cannon and machine guns, the workers of the old order, compelled to bind its industrial resources to purposes of war instead of peace and isolated by the alien forces from the world, the French Revolution, in fulfillment of the Marxian tasks, is constructing the Communist order.

Soviet Russia appears to the imagination as a Titan, defying chaos and creating a new world out of the wreckage of the old. Belonging to all the world, fighting on a dozen fronts and meeting a thousand perils, Communist Russia throws back the enemies and incites civil war in the countries of the enemy. The Russian revolutionary proletariat inspires the proletariat of the world; it reconstructs its own social system anew while it encourages the workers of Europe to crush the old and build the new.

Objectively, the assurance of the world revolution is in Capitalism itself. The old order is in collapse; the contradictions of Capitalism are multiplying; the productive forces are in revolt against the fetters of Capitalism, and conditions are feverishly developing a crisis that, unless met by the dictatorship of the proletariat, must mean the collapse of all civilization.

Subjectively, the world revolution is assured by the ideologic response to the Russian Revolution—by the fact of the Communist International.

Socialism as an organized movement broke down miserably under the test of the war. But this great catastrophe was the necessary condition for revolutionary development: it is glaringly the evil, the defeat of the old Socialism. What the theoretical criticism of the revolutionary minority in the old International could not accomplish, was accomplished by life itself. Under the test of war, the old Socialism revealed itself as a fetter upon the emancipation of the proletariat, a cancerous appendage of the world Socialism, a cancerous appendage of the world Socialism.

But while the war exposed the reactionary character of the dominant Socialism, this was simply the negative side of the task. The revolutionary Socialist minority material for ample criticism, but there was still missing a great dynamic force to reconstruct the forces of Socialism into a mighty revolutionary movement. The Russian Revolution performed this positive task of reconstruction, placing Socialism upon the unshakable basis of revolutionary experience and reality.

Marxism is the soul of Socialism, as it is the equal technique of Socialism. Marxism is a revolutionary unity of theory and practice, a system of revolutionary action. But the representatives of the old dominant Socialism perverted Marxism into an instrument of historical research; more, Marxism was turned into a weapon for justifying the miserable compromises of the parliamentary Socialist movement. Some cling to Marxism as an abstract theory, while violating its spirit by formalism; others, more realistic and sincere, repudiated Marxism completely, as worn out and not in accord with the actual developments of Capitalism. The struggle was between the favor of class reconciliation; revolution was scorned as a product of diseased imaginations, and reformism idealized as the real tactic for the realization of Socialism. But class struggle against Capitalism was substituted by the policy of agreement with Capitalism. The modification of class antagonism and class reconciliation were to realize Socialism; the modification of national antagonism and national reconciliation were to realize universal peace.

Socialism was divested of its revolutionary urge; it was peaceful, respectable, counter-revolutionary. . .

But the Russian Revolution, the violent product of the antagonism of Capitalism and the war, proved all these ideas of reconciliation the most reactionary illusions. By means of a magnificent expression of revolutionary energy and audacity, the Russian Revolution proved the truth of the Marxist conceptions of the class struggle and revolution.

It is indisputable that the proletarian revolution in Russia is in accord with Marxism. Its tactics are not peculiar to Russia: they are the universal tactics necessary in the process of the proletarian revolution. But the Russian Revolution is more than simply in accord with Marxism; in making Marxism live, the Russian Revolution supplements Marxism, indicates how the theory of Marx may become realized in actual practice.

Marxism projected the dictatorship of the proletariat as the objective of the revolutionary class struggle—the necessity of destroying the bourgeois parliamentary state and replacing it with a proletarian state. The Paris Commune was a partial realization of this task; in fact, it remained for the Russian Revolution to show the final means—the organization of the Free Trade Unions into a system of Workers' and Peasants' Soviets as to convert them into an instrument of universal revolution.

Revolution, by the Second International, was simply in accord with Marxism; in making the theory of revolution live, the Second International, typified by the Paris Commune, showed the final means—the organization of the Workingmen's party into a system of Workers' and Peasants' Soviets as to convert them into an instrument of universal revolution.

But the representatives of the old dominant Capitalist policy, is himself betraying an utter lack of understanding of the problems of the Communist Revolution. I am positive that such measures cannot be found in the ranks of our party. I only wanted to warn the comrades against such people who will be exerting such a profanation of Marxism and who will speak without baring themselves on a world-philosophy, but simply to interfere with our work and afford "aid and comfort" to the "benevolent" reformist and counter-revolutionary element.

Consequently, they are afraid of your agitation. And we shall say: "Look, they are coquetting with you! Consequently, they are afraid of your riots, consequently, they are shaking," etc. It is indispensable for the workers of the world to arm themselves against such an agitation. And I am certain that they will be armed, provided we succeed in formulating the question from the standpoint of the class struggle.
ITALY is already in a state of Revolution," said a Hungarian comrade who took an active part in the revolutionary agitation which preceded the creation of the Hungarian Soviets.

"Italy is at this time Hungary was last year. The same revolutionary types are emerging. There is the same high cost of living, the same scarcity of necessaries, the same unemployment, both civil and military."

The struggle for Fiume, he declared, will hasten the military disorganization; soldiers who wish to desert will go to Fiume or, make a pretence of setting up a democracy; and since they belonged to all sorts of party, they need not fear the censorship.

The Workers' Movement in Turin.

In the city of Turin the Socialist Party has 1,000 members, of whom about 50 only are women. The members' subscription varies in accordance with the occupation of the member; students and manual workers pay 70 centimes per month, professional men pay $1 a year. Every member must be belonging also to the national Socialist party, for which the subscription is 2 lire a year. Those who desire to join the party must sign its programme, and no one is received as a member who has belonged to any capitalist political party within a year at least. Members of the Socialist party must belong to a Trade Union if there is one which they are eligible to join. In addition to the Socialist Party of Turin, there are 25 Socialist Clubs which together have a membership of 5,000. Every member of the Party must belong to a Socialist Club, but members of the Clubs need not join the Party. The Clubs are in fact recruiting and training centres for the Party. Each Club has its own premises and comprises 1 division:—

1. Adult men.
2. Youths between 14 and 25.
3. Women and girls over 14 years.

Upwards of 300,000 discharged soldiers have been organized into a Socialist organization for discharged soldiers. This work has been largely done by Young Socialists. It was found that there is a natural tendency for the discharged soldiers in the villages to meet together to discuss their war experiences, and since they belonged to all sorts of variegated occupations—cobblers, blacksmiths, and so on—and as many were unable to work at all, it was found easier together in a discharged soldiers' organization for Socialism. There is also a bourgeois organization for discharged soldiers.

Turin is the Major Socialist movement stands for the Soviets, and believes in the necessity of insurrection. In the Camera del Lavoro, a meeting was being held the night we were there, to discuss the military organization of the workers.

There are three main currents in the Italian Socialist movement:—

1. Those who believe that Socialism can be won through Parliament, and desire to obtain a Parliamentary majority for the Socialist Party.
2. Those who wish to establish the Soviet, and believe in Parliamentary action for propaganda purposes only, who believe that the Socialist aim is not securing a majority; they consider that eventually an insurrection will be necessary.
3. Those who believe in abstaining from Parliamentary action altogether and in bending all energies towards preparing for the Soviets and the insurrection.

In Turin the last two factions predominated, but it is important to notice that all three sections belong to the one Socialist Party.

Pietro Rabuzzi, the Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party, and Gramsci, the Editor of "L'Ordine Nuovo," a new Socialist weekly, both advocate Parliamentary action for propaganda purposes. Rabuzzi and others are agitating that it shall be a rule of the Party that all Socialist Members of Parliament, as a condition of their candidature, shall place in the hands of the Party Executive a signed letter of resignation from Parliament, which the Executive may at its discretion send to the Government, and thus secure the withdrawal of the M. P. if the Party thinks that he has deviated unduly from the policy of the party. This plan it is contended would preserve party discipline amongst Socialist Members of Parliament and would insure their adherence to the principles of the Socialists.

Gramsci, on the other hand, though not a single Italian Socialist Member of Parliament is satisfactory from his standpoint, thinks little of this proposal. He rightly says that should a Member of Parliament betray the Socialist Party and the Party then cause resignation, the forces of reaction would combine to sustain him, and he would probably be re-elected. Gramsci hopes his advocacy of Parliamentary action is less on the argument that the Socialist abstain from such action, the workers who are not yet advanced enough to look beyond Parliament will drift away from the Party and come under capitalist influences. He urges also the propaganda value of election work, saying that the censorship has checked propaganda, but that elections are a propaganda which need not fear the censorious.

The time of the election contest is the time, he declares, in which the workers are most revolutionary and instances of coercive manipulation of the elections cited to us made this easy to understand.

At Iglesia, in Sardinia, we were told, the workers supported the Socialist candidates, while the police went to one of the miners' meetings, and slipped knives into the pockets of Socialist enthusiasts, marking the coats of these same men with chalk. The men whose coats were marked with chalk were presently arrested, and as they were of course found to be in possession of illegal weapons, they were imprisoned until after the election day. At Gioia del Colle the Socialists were refused permission to be allowed to enter by crawling under the table, opponents of the Government were beaten back with sticks and prevented from voting.

The Italian General Election has been called by the Prime Minister, Nitti, because he cannot solve the Fiume question to the satisfaction both of the Italian bourgeois opinion and of the Big Four. Gramsci and others believe that the result of the present election will be the return of a larger band of Socialists, the elimination of the Liberals, an increase in strength for the parties of reaction, including the Christian Socialists, whom they allege to be more reactionary than the Liberals, and who they believe will secure a larger number of seats by promises which they will be unable to fulfill. A strongly militarist Government is anticipated and it is believed that this may goad the Italian workers to insurrection.

Chicago Meeting Nets over $1000

The November ninth meeting at Ashland Auditorium netted over $1000 for organization work, to be divided between City Central and National Office. This testifies to the character of the Revolution celebration by the Chicago Communists.
White Terror in Cleveland

SINCE the workers of Cleveland made their splendid demonstration on May Day, when forty thousand left the shops and factories, closing scores of them, to participate in the celebration of Labor’s International in the demonstration for freedom for Henry Deacon, freedom for Mooney and all other political and industrial prisoners, the capitalists of the city have been making a desperate effort to destroy the revolutionary working class movement.

For this purpose they organized the Loyal American League. This organization is an outgrowth of the American Protective League. It is financed by the local bar associations and maintains offices, attorneys and a host of agents for no other purpose than to fight the revolutionary movement.

The immediate result of the May Day Demonstration, which was attacked by the capitalist thugs and the police, was the railroading of about a hundred comrades to await one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was immediately arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested and that one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg was arrested.

But the picnic was held, although every worker who attended had to run the gauntlet of two squads of police stationed at the end of the city car line and at the city limits, who searched every one going in the direction of the picnic grounds.

The fact that several thousand workers attended the picnic in spite of the campaign of provocation and intimidation around the Loyal American League to new action. A few days later the party headquarters were raided and all the literature found carted to police headquarters. C. E. Ruthenberg, then secretary, and his assistant Carl Hacker, were arrested and charged with violating the Criminal Syndicalism law through "bombs," "assault with intent to kill," and two charges of "assault with intent to kill" and two charges of violating the Criminal Syndicalism law. In all, a charge 50 years in prison. This is one of the results of the "White Terror" in Cleveland.

Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary of the Communist Party, is now before the court in Cleveland. He will be tried successively on two charges of "assault with intent to kill" and two charges of violating the Criminal Syndicalism law. In all, a charge.

The trial is to begin soon. It will be conducted by a new jury.

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At the present time no Communist branch can hold even a business meeting in Cleveland. In the eyes of the police and the paid spy organization of the capitalists the Communist Party is an illegal organization.

Twenty-six cases are now pending in the courts of Cleveland and four of these charges: Twenty-six cases are now pending in the courts of Cleveland and four of these charges have been redoubled. Recently ten members of the Second Ward Branch met at the home of a comrade for some organization work, when the police marched in the front and back door with loaded revolvers in their hands and arrested all those present. Nothing was said or done at the meeting which violated any law, but the mere possession of a number of copies of the pamphlet containing the resolution of the Communist Party was sufficient to bind them over to the grand jury. A similar raid was conducted at Acme Hall in which a committee of the German Branch and the Executive Committee of the Second Ward Branch were arrested because they had Communist Party membership cards in their possession.

These raids are being linked up with the arrest of alleged bomb makers, for the purpose of arousing public sentiment against the Communists.

The reassurance against imminent collapse of the Vested Interests is that it is possible to deal with the Bolsheviki, etc. No matter what the action of the capitalists the work of building the Communist Movement in Cleveland will go on.

The Revolution and the Technicians

THORSTEIN VEBLEN, incomparable satirist of capitalist business enterprise, kicks up his heels at the suggestion of "Red trepidation" which has seized upon the "Guardians of the Vested Interests".

In a recent issue of the "Dail," he assures these Guardians that "nothing will stop them while the continued usufruct of the country's industries remains secure." He points out that "a more genial policy of conciliatory promises and procrastination will be more to the purpose than any noted recourse to the strong arm and the Star." He concludes: "The underly ing corruption of America in a degree of patient ambiguity and delay, something after the British pattern, and all will yet be well with the vested rights of property and privilege, for some time to come.

Of course Professor Veblen is too good a student of history to believe that the lessons of history will be given effect by the Guardians of the Vested Interests. It is too natural to their rule to use the "bellicose gestures" and "desperate remedies." The British "gentlemanliness" consists in dispensing with the "bellicose gestures," not with the "desperate remedies." The reassurance against imminent collapse of the Vested Interests—against the two year period allowed by some—is that there is not at hand an organization which is competent to take over the country's productive industry as a whole, and to administer it from the start on a more efficient basis than that now pursued by the Vested Interests."

There is one place, however, where this technical organization does undoubtedly exist, that is, within the business organization of the capitalists as presently constituted. There is no inherent connection between the technical organization within industry as now constituted and the control of that industry by the Vested Interests. The clear connection between some of the technicians and their employers might create measurable disruption at the moment of the passing of ownership; but that is only the immediate circumstance and the capitalists will have to deal with an underground organization in the future. No matter what the action of the capitalists the work of building the Communist Movement in Cleveland will go on.
The Response Is Increasing

The Organization Fund which is the fighting fund of the party in its work to build a strong organization is growing larger as the result of the drive which has been launched since the last report was printed. The following organizations and individuals have made remittances:

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Charter

In order that there may be no misunderstanding about the matter we wish to say again emphatically that no branch is officially affiliated with the Communist Party until it makes application for and receives a charter. Branches which have not yet made application should do so at once.

When a City Central Committee is formed a charter for the City Central Committee is issued. No charters are issued by City Central Committees.

Get Your Party Button!

The supply of buttons with the party emblem that are now available. Single buttons are $0.10. In lots of 25 or more they are $0.05 each. Show your colors.

The Leaflets Go Out

It is a pleasure to watch the work of the shipload of printer's ink that is being poured into the work of literature propaganda. After learning the quality of the literature the National Organization is putting out quite a number of the party organizations have placed standing orders for the leaflets as issued.

Every Communist organization, every Communist Party member should become a unit in the organization for the distribution of party literature and increase the knowledge of the party principles by placing books and pamphlets in the hands of the workers. To procure and distribute party literature is one of the great functions of our organization, for as knowledge and understanding increases among our members and the masses, our power grows.

The Body

"THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA"

By N. Lenin and L. Trotsky.

50 copies, $0.75 each.

Every copy contains an address of greetings to the first issue of the new magazine, the "Communist International.

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Ten thousand copies of this pamphlet have already been sold. The title speaks for itself.

Send order and remittance to

1219 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Organization Progress

Charters have been issued to German branches at Chicago, Springfield, Canton, Beloit and Akron, all in Ohio.

The Pittsburgh City Central Committee has been organized with more than one thousand members represented.

The "American Cipriani" Italian Branch of Jersey City has joined the party.

The state secretary of New Jersey reports the organization of several English Communist branches and more are on the way.

The Stanford, Conn. English local has joined the Communist Party.

The German Communist Federation is growing daily. The latest charter applications are from the big branches in Detroit and Philadelphia. Two extra charters have been issued to the application.

The Russian Branch of Davenport, Iowa has four hundred charter members. The party is getting strong in the state.

The Lithuanian Federation is growing rapidly. The party has been organized in all the large cities of the country where it was present. After a thorough discussion of the situation the convention voted 39 to 15 to affiliate with the Communist Party.

The thirteen votes cast in the negative were either for affiliation with the I. W. W., as a propaganda organization or for the Federation remaining independent, there being no sentiment among the delegates for either the Communist Labor Party or the Socialist Party.

C. E. Ruthenberg delivered an address of greeting to the convention in the name of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party.

The possibility of fifty active branches in the Federation which has a membership of about 2,500.

"The Communist International"


Features of First Issue:

"The Proletarian Revolution and the Betrayal Kautsky"  By Nicolai Lenin

"The Red Army"  By Leon Trotsky

"Communist Party Problems"  By Louis C. Fraina

"Dictatorship or Democracy"  By William Z. Foster

"The Communist Party, Manifesto and Program"  By J. Bittelman

"Unionism and Reconstruction in Russia"  By B. Koseff

Other articles and 28 pages of Editorials

Out about November 20th. Send orders at once. Single copies 25c. Bundles of 5 or more 20c.

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

1219 BLUE ISLAND AVENUE

CHICAGO, ILL.
The Communist International

Polish Communists

ONE sided reports from Poland have created the absolutely erroneous impression that the Polish working classes favor the present regime in that country. In Poland, where border provisions of Russia, the proletariat generally is in favor of a Workers’ Republic and opposed to the nationalistic policies of small ruling cliques which are backed by foreign hangers-on. There is a strong Communist party which is gaining ground day by day. The problems of this party are outlined in an appeal recently circulated by the Warsaw and widely circulated among Polish workers. The follow-

ing is quoted from this proclamation:

"The Russian workers and peasants were the first to overthrow the rule of the lords and exploiters. All over Russia they have raised a new order,—a Socialist order. The Russian working class is now completely able to rob the workers, because the Russian people, indignant from the exploiting all their riches and made them into common property."—

"Following the example of the Russian workers, the working class of the Central Powers likewise joined the struggle."

"We are very assured that the people of Poland have acquired everything that they have fought for. To it you that Poland has become independent. According to your interests, we our attention from your vital interests,—from the press that the Jews, the Polish bourgeoisie has already started a fight against the Polish proletariat. Against the Russian, eastern Galicia and against the Lithuanian workers and peasants. Several times a day as many as 1,500 Jews are taking place in White Russia. All this has made so that the working class of Poland should become imbued with a spirit of the fighting for the Polish working class in Germany, Russia, Bohemia and toward the Kharkoff Pole. Polish bourgeoisie wants to use you as defender of its interests. The Polish bourgeoisie that you should forget your own needs and bestial spirit."

"The Communist Party of Poland is marching toward the dictatorship of the proletariat, toward a Socialist order of society."

"If we do not want to be bound by new fetters, and we must begin our own revolution, we must throw down the rule of the bourgeoisie and turn all the power into the hands of the Councils of workers’ delegates in all large factories and villages. We are deeply convinced that these councils will become the centers of the struggle of broad masses of the proletariat, of the whole country and we want to deprive the millionaires of their power."

"Workers and women! All promises that the Constitutional Assembly will bring happiness to the workers are lies. The masses of the people can expect nothing good from the Constitutional Assembly. The Constitutional Assembly is the struggle against the working classes, and the power of the Constitutional Assembly the Polish bourgeoisie will start a warfare against labor organizations, against the right to strike and against the "looting of the unemployed." They will attempt to prolong the working day, to legalize starvation wages and to drive us out into the rural districts to slave for the landlords. The Constitutional Assembly will only initiate special laws against the working class and in the cities. It will approve of the budget of the nationalistic Government, and it will heavily hit the poor people, and what is more, the Constitutional Assembly will never undertake any military commission and will give to the Government soldiers and sailors in the revolutionary Russia, and against the Ukraine of the peasantry."

Italy Prepares for Civil War

According to news from Milan, Italy, "L’Avanti," organ of the Italian Communist Party, printed a manifesto to the demobilized members of the Socialist party in Rome in which it says: "All members, especially those who still have their military uniforms and the rank of officers, are requested to send their addresses to the secretary of the Socialist Party of Rome. They are also requested to rate the rank they held. From the moment when it is permitted to a small minority of officers who fish in muddy water to appear with arms in their hands and threaten the majority of the people, we think, we are at liberty to call upon our comrades to prepare for defense."

Voluntary Work for International

Krasnaja Gazeta prints the following news item: "There are at this time special Saturday working shifts. The men who work on Saturday in these special shifts receive no remuneration. In Poland alone, some 10,000 are working four hours extra Saturday. The money thus earned is turned over to the government, which forwards the money to the department of propaganda of the Third International for the purpose of creating a fund to spread the Idea of Communism throughout Europe and America."

The Communist of Petrograd appeals to all other comnrades to follow the example of the Petrograd workers and emphasizes that only through the efforts of the Russian Communists can the final victory of the World Proletariat be assured.

Lorraine for Third International

The socialists of Lorraine recently held a well attended convention at which the question of affiliation with one of the two International revolutionary organizations was debated. After a long debate, the convention adopted a motion to affiliate with the third, the Moscow International, by a large majority. In Alsace soon a special convention will be called to decide the same question."

"The Spanish Socialists have also aligned themselves with the Communist International."

Unite of the Revolutionary Industrial Organization of Germany

According to the "Kommunistische Arbeiterzeitung" of Hamburg, unity of the General Workers Union, the Miners Union, the General Workers Federation and the Syndicalist Federation was accomplished at a congress in Düsseldorf. The name will be "The Free Workers Union.""

Japanese Communists to the Russian Communists

W E, the Japanese Communists in America, send our warmest greetings to our Russian Communist Comrades upon the second anniversary of their successful revolution.

We are greatly indebted to the Russian Comrades who are fighting for the Proletarian Republic not only of Russia but also of the world, under the most difficult and most dangerous conditions that are present upon them by the brutal imperialist Allies. This struggle and heroic and enthusiastic fight against the worst reactionary capitalist and imperialist powers is all for the world's proletariat.

We hereby celebrate the second anniversary of the Russian Socialist Republic.

We congratulate our Russian comrades above all in their splendid display of capacity, exhibited in the actual work of building the new Socialist Republic in spite of all the obstacles and difficulties.

Their constructive works already so far advanced will encourage the workers of the world in their struggle against their own exploiters and oppressors.

Russian Soviet Republic has become now the guiding spirit and living example that is causing the working masses everywhere to realize what a great possibility and hope there is in the Soviet system for them!

The Socialist Revolution was victorious not only in Russia but also in other capitalist countries. See how those imperialist and imperialistic governments are rapidly losing their heads and proceeding to adopt unusual means to sustain their lost cause against the ever growing proletarian power! Capitalism, indeed, is in the death struggle. It faces the rising power of the proletariat who are guided by the Russian Communist comrades.

It is a fitting occasion for us, the Japanese Communists, in congratulating our Russian comrades upon the second anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic and the November Bolshevik Revolution to make a report to them upon the condition of the Japanese workers at home.

Thanks to the Russian revolution the Japanese workers have awakened, and since the first of August, the month of the October revolution all over the country, they are rebelling against the ruling classes in strikes c of first.

The latest development of our workers’ tactics in fighting the greedy employers is something very interesting. They wisely adopted a sabotage, a passive form of sabotage, which has been proving a great success to them.

Recently this form of labor fight was conducted successfully by 15,000 workers at Kawasaki ship yard at Kobe. The method they adopted was sabotage for ten days. Every worker reported at the ship yard as usual, all 15,000 on duty getting of course wages, but actually producing nothing!

Thus they earned not only wages but also 8 hour day with 10 hour pay and even increase of this pay.

This has now proved to be the best form of fight against employers in Japan, for the law and police cannot reach the workers and there is no need of strike funds! The sabotage has now become a vogue in Japan.

It is also reported that some Japanese soldiers have joined the Bolsheviks in Siberia, and such propaganda is being carried on there and also in Japan. The latter by the returning soldiers from Siberia, Japanese comrades with underground literature. Also there are some Russian Bolsheviks in Japan.

It is also reported that the Korean uprisings of last spring were the direct result of propaganda of the Bolsheviks.

It is admitted by the Japanese army authorities that the anti-Japanese movements in China have been converted into a Bolshevik movement. Their principles and all those of Bolshevism and their leaders are utilizing the anti-Japanese movement against the Japanese Imperialists to turn them against the rich and the Pekin Government.

These and many other happenings in Japan are a direct influence of the Russian Soviet System, and so we send our warmest greetings and congratulations to the Russian Soviet Republic.

Long live the Russian Soviet Republic! Long live the Communist International!"

S. NONAKA
UNZO FAGUCHI
SEN KATAYAMA

From the Committee of the Japanese Communist Group in America.