

Combined with "The Revolutionary Age"

# The Communist

All Power To The Workers!

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## 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 proletarian 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 fatherlands, but against the phrases there was 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 Russian Czarism—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 conscriptions 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 administrators, with its tolerance of such an orgy of profiteering as the world had never before imagined—these revelations dulled the promise of the war phrases.

But the peace would be the compensation! And now we have it, the "peace" of Versailles—the peace of glittering bayonets in every part of the world. The peace of the Adriatic, the peace of Roumanian devastation of Hungary, the peace of Chinese spoliation 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 out of 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 so 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 hold their tongues. The time for camouflage 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 the 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 Bolshevik 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.

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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 anniversary of Russian freedom!

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 bourgeoisie 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 means of precipitating the "irrepressible 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 capitalistic czarism. We appeal to the workers to know and to understand.

Of what calibre will the officials of the United Miner Workers prove themselves? Perhaps a few among them will develop out of this experience and out of their instincts 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 terrorism 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 COMMUNIST

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## 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 upon 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 participate in the elections; while 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 surge 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 on the issue of stern repression of the recent police strike in Boston has evoked the congratulations of men all over the country, including President Wilson and other Democrats, 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."

And, peculiarly, 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 unctious 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 indication of class power.

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 Socialists were beaten and bourgeois reaction conquered, 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 froth upon the surface of events. They are not in contact with reality, with the dynamic forces that shape social and political developments. They are afflicted with the "parliamentary idiocy" scored by Marx, which imagines that destiny is determined by an electoral majority and resolutions in parliament.

The revolutionary Marxist, in considering the social topography, 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 "parties of order" 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. A fact will hasten its 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 its influence upon the ideology of the workers. The American Federation of Labor, under the pressure of Capitalism and the militant workers, is rapidly approaching disintegration, thereby accelerating the impetus toward industrial unionism. The fact that these strikes clash with the power of the state 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.

The strike is being broadened and deepened, the workers moving toward the concept of mass action. The impulse for the 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 feverish speed and larger consciousness: the electoral majority of Capitalism can not stop its onward sweep. To impart to this strike movement a larger and more conscious character, to develop out of its circumstances definite revolutionary demands, to develop the understanding and action of the political general strike—it is this task that calls the revolutionist to action, 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 law-and-order game is producing many wierd 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 the law-and-order fangs are cutting too deep into the flesh to make any successful pretence of purposes other than gigantic piracy and suppression of the masses.

Note the clumsiness 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 Tribune draws the line between the lawful strike and the unlawful strike as a division between strikes in "purely private, nonessential industry" and strikes in "essential industries".

The Chicago Daily News marks the distinction as between a number of "free men, in the absence of a contract voluntarily entered into" choosing to leave their work and a combination, with organization and leaders, which conducts a general strike 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 general capitalism. 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 workmen deliberately enter upon a countrywide plan to take the nation by the throat."

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, or a series of general strikes, just so surely as capitalist ethics will brand any such strike as a criminal conspiracy. When the "enormous combinations of workmen" really do "take the nation by the throat"—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, in institutions and 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 present sanctified processes of labor exploitation 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 life right. Communism in action is the social expression of the life might, the action of the great working masses bursting asunder the chains of slavery to Capital.

## The S. L. P. in Action

SINCE the development of the Left Wing movement, the Socialist Labor Party (that is, the pitiful remnants of a once virile organization) has, through its official organ, carried on 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 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 learnt 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, and to make moss-backs of themselves. All we shall say concerning this 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, when it blames Communist "anarchy" for Capitalism arresting 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, the tactics of the Communist 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 wings and right wings, Communist parties and Communist Labor Parties of innumerable shades, advocating 'mass action,' 'mass strikes,' 'mass struggles,' i. e., physical force, naked or veiled."

Mass action is not anarchy. The S. L. P., the petty bourgeois officials of which claim a monopoly of revolutionary knowledge, should know of the controversy between Anton Pannekoek and Karl Kautsky, in which Kautsky claimed that mass action and mass strikes represented slum-proletarianism and anarchy, and Pannekoek's brilliant answers to Kautsky's stupid misconceptions. But the S. L. P. repeats Kautsky's stupid characterization of mass action.

Anarchy and physical force are not one and the same thing. Physical force is a phase

of revolution under certain conditions: as a mass revolutionary factor, 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 aggregation of Anarchists. And the S. L. P. denies that it repudiates the Communist International!

Nor does the S. L. P. realize that in pre-revolutionary periods the supreme form of mass action is the political strike, and the political strike does not involve the use of physical force—that where physical force may develop out of a political strike it is an expression of capitalist repression and terrorism.

Thus far, "The People" editorial is simply stupid, if viciously stupid; but it proceeds further and steps 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 'American Cossacks,' of long jail sentences for its 'martyrs.' 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 country." (Our italics.)

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

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

Then the monstrous complacency of pitying the "legitimate" Socialist movement—pity the poor, cowardly, miserable, "legitimate" S. L. P. that must suffer because of the "anarchy" of the Communists!

The S. L. P. officials are a pretty bourgeois aggregation 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 even 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. I. U., when the Bolshevik call for a congress to organize the Communist International was printed in "The Revolutionary Age," branded the call as "having all the ear-marks of the work of agent provocateurs."

It is serious, this campaign of malicious provocation. It is serious, this work of denunciation against Communism by an organization that claims to recognize the Communist International.

Let the virile, revolutionary members of the S. L. P. repudiate this monstrosity.

For the officials of the S. L. P. have neither revolutionary integrity nor revolutionary honor.

## Petrograd

THE military campaign against Petrograd has collapsed. General Yudenitch has been driven back, almost routed, and the Red City is out of danger, while the Communist Army of Revolutionary Russia 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 'Red Petrograd represents the soul of the Russian Communist Revolution, it is a symbol of the Revolution.

Petrograd was the 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 of the world, Petrograd has become identified with the Revolution.

As the symbol of the Revolution, Petrograd represents an important prize. The attack by Yudenitch upon Petrograd, accordingly, was an attack upon the Idea of the Revolution. The comrades of Petrograd were not simply defending a city, they were defending the Idea of revolution; as this Idea is international, the attack upon Petrograd was an attack upon the developing world Revolution, and the intrepid and successful defense by our Petrograd comrades a defense of the World Revolution.

The decisive aspect in the war against Communist Russia is that it is not so much a war against the Revolution in Russia, as a war against potential revolution in all the developed nations of the world.

The Allies, it is true, are defending immediate interests in Russia—their blood-loans 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 dismembered and become an economic and financial vassal of the Allies.

But the Allies might waive these immediate interests, since the war against Russia is unpopular among their masses. But the general interests of Capitalism demand war against Russia because the successful working of a Communist Republic in Russia would inspire the workers of the World to establish similar Communist Republics—and that would mean the end of Capitalism.

Communist Russia is a threat to international Capitalism. Communist Russia is a menace to the stability of the imperialistic peace of violence and plunder imposed by the Peace Conference upon the world.

The existence of Soviet Russia is an assurance of the world Revolution. 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 proletariat can not only conquer power, but can actually rule and reconstruct society, that Communism works. Soviet Russia is the inspiration—it is the heart and brain of the coming revolution of 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.)

COMRADES! It is very natural that in the development of the proletarian revolution we should place the greatest emphasis now on one, now on another of the intricate and important questions of social life. And if at present we find it necessary to discuss the question of our work in the villages and detach from this question primarily the condition of the middle-peasant, it cannot be considered strange and abnormal from the standpoint of the development of the proletarian revolution.

Of course, the proletarian revolution had to start from the fundamental relation between the contending classes, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The fundamental problem was to transfer power into the hands of the working class, to secure its dictatorship, to overthrow the bourgeoisie and deprive it of those sources of power, which undoubtedly are a hindrance in any work of Socialist reconstruction. Being familiar with Marxism, we never doubted the assertion that the decisive role in capitalist society must belong, according to the economic structure of society, either to the proletariat or to the bourgeoisie. But now we see many former Marxists, for instance from the camp of the Mensheviks, who claim that during the period of decisive struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie the regime of democracy can be maintained. So speak the Mensheviks in complete unison with the Social-Revolutionaries. As if the bourgeoisie does not establish or abolish democracy according to its own sweet will. And once that is so what sense is there in the talk of democracy at the time of the fiercest struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It is only too surprising how quickly these Marxists or would-be Marxists, like the Mensheviks, 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 bourgeois democratism. Marx constantly ridiculed the liberty of the worker under capitalism,—which means his liberty to die of hunger,—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 all of his economic writings Marx 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 Socialists 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 Social-Revolutionaries as well as the leaders of the Socialist 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"

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 beating-down of the rising workers. So it was, beginning in 1834, at any rate. History shows that particularly in bourgeois democracy does the fiercest struggle develop 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 receded 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, when the bourgeoisie is already overthrown, when the political power is already in the hands of the proletariat,—that we can then afford to reject the aid of the middle-class, intermediate elements. It is natural that in the beginning of the proletarian revolution the attention of its representatives is concentrated upon the main and essential task—domination by the proletariat and safeguarding against a return of the bourgeoisie to power. We realize perfectly well that the bourgeoisie still retains certain advantages derived either from wealth in foreign countries, or in the form of money hidden by it right here in this country. We realize perfectly well that the bourgeoisie has not abandoned the hope of regaining power, has not ceased plotting to restore its domination. But this is by far not all. The bourgeoisie whose faith is: "Where is the money there is our country," the bourgeoisie which financially has long been international, the bourgeoisie in its world-sphere is as yet stronger than we are. It is beginning to grasp that its domination is shaking, that its freedom of

action is lost. But at present, if we calculate the material means in the whole world we must admit that the bourgeoisie is materially still stronger than we are. This is why nine-tenths of our attention, of our practical activity, had to be devoted to the fundamental task,—the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the strengthening of the proletariat, the eradication of every possibility of the return of the bourgeoisie to power. It was absolutely natural, lawful, inevitable, and a great deal of it was successfully accomplished.

## The Question of Other Social Strata.

Now we must place on the order of the day the question concerning the other social strata. We must,—this was our common conclusion in the agrarian question, and on this we believe all our party workers will agree, for we only summarized their observations—we must place on the order of the day in its entirety the question of the middle-peasantry.

Of course, there will be people who instead of reasoning out the course of our revolution and comprehending what problems we are facing, will utilize every step of the Soviet Government as a target for scornful laughter and so-called criticism, of the type which we observe among our gentlemen Mensheviks and Right Social-Revolutionaries. These are people who have not as yet comprehended that they must choose between us and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. We have manifested towards them much patience and even good-naturedness, we shall once more give them the benefit of our good-naturedness, but in the near future our patience and good-naturedness will be exhausted, and if at that time they will not have arrived yet at a definite choice, we shall most earnestly offer them help to go to Kolchak (applause). We do not expect very brilliant thinking from those people (laughter). But we expect that having experienced the cruelty of Kolchak they could understand that we have the right to demand of them that they make their choice between us and Kolchak. If in the first months after November many naive people were foolish enough to think that the dictatorship of the proletariat is something ephemeral, accidental, at present even the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries should understand that there is something in the nature of a law operating in the struggle which is now carried forward under the onslaught of the international bourgeoisie.

In reality there exist only two forces: the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whoever did not find that in the writings of Marx, or in the writings of all the great Socialists, was never a Socialist, understood nothing about Socialism, but merely called himself a Socialist. We give these people a little time to think it over and demand that they settle this question. I speak about them, because they say or will say: "The Bolsheviks raise the question of the middle-peasantry in order to entice it." I am fully aware that such arguments and even arguments of a cheaper sort are given much space in the Menshevik press. We throw them to the winds, because we pay little attention to the clap-trap of our opponents. People capable of vacillating at the present time between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat may say what they please. We go our own way. Our path is first of all determined by the weighing of class power. In capitalist so-

(Continued on page 8)

## MASS MEETING

### Czarism in America

Sunday, Nov. 16, 2 P. M.

## Ashland Auditorium

(CARMEN'S HALL)

Ashland Blvd. and Van Buren St.

Leading Communist Speakers from New York, Boston, and other cities.

Communists are arrested throughout the country and many are being held for deportation, upon no evidence other than membership and activity in our party. This is a time for a strong showing of solidarity.

Auspices of Communist Party of Chicago and of the National Office. Meeting opens promptly at 2:00 P. M.

ADMISSION FREE.

# Communism and American Psychology

There has been much casuistry 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.

From 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 repeats when he talks the day by day gossip that goes on under the dull glow of the carbide lamps in the pit. Ed and his fellows have figured out in the last two years that the world was changing and that the time was coming when labor would 'do all the talking.'

I'm no red, m'lud. I'm talking to you as one American to another. Now, what 's government? It's a sort of scattered institution that can't help a man. It's too sort o' cumbersome.

Take the unions, now. They're different. You can get action through the union. Down state here nobody thinks much o' government. We all have our unions, and the government is sort o' out of it.

I guess as how there's going to be a general strike soon and as how the unions are going to win out all over and take charge of affairs. Then, believe me, you won't be payin' no 20 cents a pound for sugar or no 40 cents a pound for beef.

Now, I hope you're convinced. Why, my father was postmaster in this same city thirty years ago, and what I've been tellin' you is what every American's thinkin' right this moment. Now, you go put that in your paper and give folks the truth once."

The reporter also interviewed the town banker.

"I have no love for the mine operators," said the banker. "The boys are pretty near right in asking what they are. But it isn't

the strike so much that worries me. It's what's behind and underneath the strike. I've been staying pretty close to Virden the last few years, and I don't know about the rest of the country. But if the way Ed Norton and those boys talk is a sample of the general talk, why things are pretty bad."

Which is to say, pretty bad for the usury business.

We do not think our friend Ed Norton would object to enlarging the union idea so as to let in the 90% of the wage-workers as yet unorganized—and the council or soviet idea undoubtedly would meet his ready acceptance for this purpose. Nor would Ed Norton object to a Central Administration by the unions and soviets, with suffrage limited to wage-workers, and with the avowed program of making an end of the profit system which accounts for the present price of sugar and beef. Ed Norton would quickly catch the points involved in the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which is the working-class organ of control to replace the government which "is sort o' out of it"—except for purposes such as are plainly revealed in the strikes now going on.

Ed Norton would probably allow that the general strike sufficient for the purposes of making the big change would be of a broader and somewhat more positive nature than the ordinary unionist understanding of the general strike. It would include hundreds of thousands, millions of unorganized workers. It would proceed to build out of itself organs of permanent administration to supplement the unions, as the strike gets beyond the goal of a stoppage of work to coerce wage and hour concessions from employers, as the strike takes over the social functions usually performed by the capitalistic

agencies crippled by the strike. There isn't much question but that Ed Norton, if he set his mind upon the problem of just how it is all going to happen—what he expects to happen soon—would accept the Communist conception of mass action.

It is Ed Norton and his fellows who are going to give living definition to the whole program of Communism.

There is plenty of red blood in the American working class. And red blood pumping through the hearts of millions upon millions of workers denied life and light for themselves and their children is bound to produce red thinking. That's why Communism meets the American psychology. It is of the red of love of life and freedom; red of a united humanity.

When Ed Norton understands that the same kind of a fight faces the working class in every country; when he understands what methods will be used against his fellows in this fight, as evidenced by the butcheries of workingmen whose demands are not based upon a high degree of organization and are demands which really challenge the perpetuity of the profit system; when he gets the vision and the feeling of the class struggle as a revolutionary conflict now in full swing, not only in Europe but in darkest America with its political imprisonments and deportations, and military suppression of strikes, then Ed Norton will not be so quick to disclaim the red color, the common banner of this world-wide fight.

There is plenty of red in the American psychology.

## Law and Order in Hungary

COMMUNISM has been pat down and law and order again rages in Hungary. Some extracts from special correspondence to the "Manchester Guardian" are here reprinted:

"The Rumanians are stripping the whole land as they go, leaving not one span of oxen to the peasants, taking even bedding, and the rings from the fingers of the women.

The looting seems sheer "Schadenfreude" (pleasure in the trouble of others, especially of those whom one has formerly feared or envied), so stupidly and recklessly is it done. It is heart-breaking to see the giant lathes from the national arsenal at Raab, of English or German make, with base-plates wantonly smashed to get them into unsuitable waggons, or other parts wrenched off to enable them to pass under railway bridges. Parts from printing presses, lathes, borers, steel furnaces, and similar plant are piled up together in hopeless, unsortable confusion in one railway truck. The mechanical equipment of the national industry is being turned into scrap steel, the inevitable result of turning soldiers to such work, particularly such a vicious, ignorant instrument as the Rumanian army.

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All telegraph apparatus at the General Post Office has been dismantled. Eight hundred locomotives, 31,000 waggons laden with loot, have already crossed the Theiss bridge to Rumania, leaving only 4,000 waggons for 6,000 kilometers of railway line in Hungary. A civilized nation is now without possibility of communication.

The Rumanians have commandeered 150 million crowns of Legation blue money from the Austro-Hungarian Bank, paying in return the same amount of now worthless Soviet so-called "white" money. This leaves the Treasury without money to pay State officials and completes State bankruptcy.

The British-American Missions here are believed to be recommending recognition by the Entente of the adventurer Friedrich and his anti-Semitic, White-terroristic, incompetent, crime-stained Government. Not having the least understanding of political realities in Hungary, and obsessed by their thoroughly justified animosity and contempt towards the Rumanians, they are favorable

to Friedrich simply because he opposes a separate treaty with Roumania. Morally and politically such step would be a disastrous blunder.

## Mexico and the Russian Blockade

THE following resolutions were unanimously adopted by Local Mexico City of the Communist Party of Mexico:

WHEREAS, The so-called League of Nations, which is in reality a league of imperialistic bandits using the governments of the victorious nations and the new tyrannical international government they have created, has issued to the government of Mexico an "invitation" to participate in the blockade of the people's government of Soviet Russia;

WHEREAS, This same League of Nations insolently refused Mexico admission as a member with other nations, thus denying the 16,000,000 Mexican people and their government a voice in its affairs;

WHEREAS, The unscrupulous financial interests which really own and dictate the acts of this League of Nations, are the same interests that are conducting a vile and slanderous newspaper campaign in the United States against the people of Mexico, in order to fan the flames of national prejudice into the hideous conflagration of another war;

WHEREAS, This same League of Nations has imposed on the helpless people of Germany the most brutal and inhuman terms of peace in the history of the world, taking from the German people one-fourth of the milk cows of that country and condemning 600,000 German babies to starvation;

WHEREAS, This same League of Nations has prevented the shipment of surgical instruments and anesthetics into Russia to be used in hospitals and recently stopped a Swedish Red Cross ship from taking food to the suffering children of Russia; and

WHEREAS, It is perfectly evident that this League of Nations is a criminal orga-

nization of international brigands and murderers, guilty of starving the babies of Germany, sending soldiers to kill the workmen of Russia and plotting to seize and enslave the people of Mexico;

BE IT RESOLVED, By Local Mexico City of the Communist Party of Mexico, in regular meeting assembled, Saturday evening, October 18, 1919, that it denounces the so-called "invitation" issued by the League of Nations to the government of Mexico, as an insult to the very government that this League is secretly and treacherously conspiring to overthrow—an insult to the intelligence of the Mexican government and Mexican people, implying that they are so stupid as to become instruments in the hands of their enemies, and an insult to the integrity and manhood of the Mexican government and Mexican people, implying that they are so depraved as to participate in such fiendish business; and

BE IT RESOLVED, That Local Mexico City of the Communist Party, while expressing complete confidence that neither President Carranza nor Secretary of State Berlanga nor any other official of the Mexican government will countenance this wicked and wanton proposal, will communicate this protest in writing to President Carranza, Secretary of State Berlanga and such other officials as may be deemed advisable; and further

BE IT RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to L. C. A. K. Martens, head of the office of the Russian Soviet Republic in New York, the Communist Parties of the world, the Communist and Socialist newspapers in Mexico, the United States and other countries, and to Nikolai Lenin, premier of the people's government in Russia.

Adopted, Mexico City, D. F., Mexico, October 18, 1919.

## LIEBKNECHT'S BOOKS PROSCRIBED

That the revolution in Germany did not change anything but the personnel in the high positions, is proved by the prohibition and confiscation of Karl Liebknecht's book "Militarism". That is the kind of "democracy" the Allied governments favor for Germany. Very much like the American variety.

# The Soviets and The I. W. W.

By I. E. Ferguson

A 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 touch, but mass democracy—a democracy which reaches out in a conscious effort to bring ever widening circles of industrial and rural workers into the active administration and control of the national economy.

It seems a strange perversity that at this late day in the history of the proletarian revolution in Russia there are yet among us, in such radical 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 that there is exclusion from suffrage, exclusion of the exploiting groups which have up to this moment used the state power for the bourgeois class purposes, have used this power ruthlessly and brutally, even in the countries which make the greatest pretense out of the hollow forms of bourgeois democracy, as in the United States.

The proletarian revolution contrasts with the 18th century bourgeois revolutions in honesty. The bourgeois revolutionists, some with sinister cunning, others with generous zeal and glow of love of liberty, used the slogans of "liberty, fraternity, equality" as if these meant what they said. The masses responded, under the impulse of their oppressions, and in the faith of Reason and Liberty. Then came the black night of bourgeois rendering of blood and bone and soul into avid profit.

The proletarian revolution does not conceal its problems and difficulties—from whom shall it conceal, if it is in truth of the masses? Nor does it deal in hypocrisies with its enemies. It is the Socialist dealing in hypocrisies which finally brought the Socialist parties to the level of their own hypocrisies. The hypocrisies offered for bourgeois consumption converted themselves into the justification for working class betrayal.

Even the Liberals, with generous instincts and love of liberty in confusion with compelling upper class loyalty, nevertheless are swept off their feet by the honesty of the proletarian revolution. They are sickened of their own sham democracy, but the bonds of social caste hold them firm. At most they talk for the masses; they do not act with the masses.... The Liberals accept the marking off of the limits of proletarian democracy during the transitional revolutionary period, under the name **dictatorship**, as a welcome relief from the phrase-democracy which is nothing other than finance-dictatorship as against the whole people.

Not so the I. W. W., in its official literature. Not so the S. L. P. There are those who value phrases like their fellows cling to opiates.

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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. As the reconstruction advances, 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 mili-

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 for a great country like Russia, especially immediately following the world war destruction and the czaristic chaos, requires a span of years for adjustment in detail. But the actual achievements up to date, and the cementing of the confidence of a vast unenlightened people in the proletarian democracy, and the winning of the acquiescent 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.

The official literature of the I. W. W. describe the Soviets as a makeshift substitute for industrial unions. 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 revolution—that the revolution is the **elimination of the state**, as against the Communist conception 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 advance of the revolution for taking into itself all the functions of social reconstruction is not only a phantastical myth, not only an evasion of the obvious reality that the industrial union comes into life under capitalism 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 revolutionary movement 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 responsiveness to the life needs of the workers in the mines, in the forests, on the docks and in the shops. And so do 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 desperate 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 unskilled 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 unionism 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 perverse 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, which is of importance; when it insists that the whole revolutionary agitation in the United States can be nothing except one continuous hallelujah to the I. W. W.

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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 goes to unbelievable extremes in its official denunciation of **mass action** and **Dictatorship of the Proletariat**, conceptions which are the essence of the world proletarian revolution now in full swing. It still makes attacks upon the Communist Party for advocating **political action**, even though the Communist Party puts overwhelming emphasis on industrial organization and action as the most effective means of political assertion by the workers of the United States today. Again it is the anarchist infusion 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 parliamentarism against which the Syndicalist movement was a protest. The Syndicalists set up the general strike in opposition to the indirect, futile, wheedling method of legislative reformism. The Left Wing Socialists accepted the challenge, and in the European countries, in Australia and in Canada there is the closest cooperation between the radical unionists and the revolutionary Socialists, 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 discover 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 exemplification in the activities of the Syndicalists.

The I. W. W., for the moment, lines up with the Scheidemann-Ebert-Kautsky regime 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 working class makes itself the 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 process of 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 in 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 splendid 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**.

# Why Bolshevism Failed in Hungary

THE primary cause is of course Allied hostility, the Allied blockade, and Allied intervention, but that need not be here discussed. Other factors of a more intimate 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 Budapest by the peasants—a blockade that still continues, is entirely non-political, and originates in the narrow egoism of the peasant mind anywhere and everywhere. A third, and less important cause was the sabotage of the upper bourgeoisie. 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 difficulties was a miracle. This Jewish clerk had the miraculous gift of leadership as few popular leaders have had it; for the nearest parallel one must go to our revivalist preachers; he knew and played upon the mass psychology in politics as a Sankey or a Billy Sunday does with the religious emotions.

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 Socialism, of a central bureaucracy and autonomous 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 right degree of authority to skilled knowledge and the communal representative.

It was Bela Kun's desire that the central department should have the deciding voice, that the production commissaries should be men of expert ability, and at least some members of the workers' councils too should be experts. Nor was there any insuperable obstacle. The technical experts—engineers, chemists, foremen, and the like—lent themselves 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 unpropitious. Things were done at a stroke which, for example, the clear-sighted bureaucrats of the Imperial Economic Ministry at Berlin 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 expenses. Big financial men proffered their advice, not for any doctrinaire belief in Communism—on the contrary, their antagonism remained,—but in the patriotic belief that sound finance is necessary for any regime.

But everything was spoiled by the proletarian fury that rapidly roared up into white heat. Class hatred took the place of the communal spirit, and soon developed into a class terrorism. It is idle to apportion blame

## From Viewpoint of a Radical

Special Budapest Correspondent to Manchester Guardian Weekly.

for what happened. If there is any blame, it is upon the abominable social system that obtained in Hungary before the first or Károlyi revolution of October. Suddenly released from their political and economic slavery, the workers became intoxicated with a sense of power, and unfortunately they used their power to their own undoing.

They could not bring themselves to believe that these "intellectuals" were, after all, proletarian like themselves, men who worked for their livelihood, who loved their work, and whose work was indispensable. No; they were "bourgeois," black-coated, well fed, formerly privileged, and therefore were they suspect. Production commissaries who knew their business found themselves resisted and without authority. Ere long their place was taken by some demagogue from the ranks.

So with the central Productions Department. It became, or nearly became, for one must not exaggerate, a department of mob-orators. Some good men did remain. There were production commissaries who retained authority in their factories and did splendid work. There were factories—big ones, too—that functioned as admirably as if they were run by a board of directors. But these were exceptional instances. It is little wonder that the well-meaning intelligenzia—this useful and high-minded section—"downed tools" and adopted a passive sabotage.

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 propagandist reports, stained to any great extent by atrocities, this class suffered unjustly 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 saps any faith, and the workers needed exhortation as a patient in an hospital needs morphia injections. Mob-orators were poor works managers, but they were necessary stimulants to endurance. Without them the Bolshevik enthusiasm would soon have faded away out of pure inanition. They were to Bolshevik Hungary what the Puritan preachers were to Cromwell's army.

Of all these exhorters the prince was Bela Kun himself. Again and again he rallied the masses when they were all but lost to him by a hypodermic injection of his mob-oratory. Eventually even he failed, and the Red army melted away almost in a night. It was never defeated by the Rumanians. It was deserted by the workers in the rear when the strain had finally brought their nerves to the breaking-point.

Bela Kun was hampered throughout and finally borne down by the deadweight of the peasantry. The Hungarian peasant resembles the French peasant as described by Zola in "La Terre," narrow, suspicious, grasping, miserly. He has been neither pro-Bolshevik nor anti-Bolshevik, pro-Monarchist nor anti-Monarchist. His one political

potestiar is himself. If he does not always swing immediately true to this star, it is because he is momentarily deflected by his traditional religiosity and the influence of the priest. His habit of keeping a "stocking" has long been an embarrassment to Austro-Hungarian finance. Into the stocking he regularly has put by year after year the thick, blue-tinted notes of the Austro-Hungarian Bank—of 1,000 kronen denomination and less—until a vast proportion of the paper currency of the Dual Monarchy has thus accumulated and become stagnant.

Bela Kun's Government had to issue paper money, like any other Government. Had the printing press of the Austro-Hungarian Bank been in Budapest instead of Vienna, this would have been simple enough. As it was, the Soviet Government had to make the best imitation it could, and it was a very poor imitation.

All the stories about Bela Kun's forgery of foreign money, English bank-notes and the like, are the impudent invention of cheap journalism. He had not the resources or the skill to turn out Hungarian money, much less that of other countries. Indeed had it been possible to set a first-rate note forger to work on the national currency—and it is questionable how such notes would have been forgeries—the Soviet regime might have been saved. The Hungarian peasant refused to accept the new "white" money, so-called because it was white instead of blue-black. To him anything but the stiff, inctuous rich blue notes to which he was accustomed was not money. He simply refused to sell, and the fatal blockade of the town by the country began. Only the few fortunate townspeople who had hoarded up a store of blue money or who had jewelry to sell could obtain food. The masses dependent upon daily, weekly, or monthly wages had only the new money, and had to starve in a land of plenty.

Nothing that Bela Kun could do, no measure was conceivable that could have shaken the peasant. Five years of unchecked profiteering at the expense of the city, the nation, and the neighboring countries had enriched the countryside. It had money enough, and in any case, thanks to the Allied blockade, the town had nothing to sell that the peasant wanted. And such is the egoism of the peasant—as Budapest in the last six months and Vienna during the last five years have shown,—so stubborn and insensible is he,—that he will calmly allow millions to starve rather than mitigate his greed. Sooner or later the peasantry, among whom are classed also the landowning class, would have brought Sovietism down in Hungary.

Among enlightened people here it is believed that in course of time Communism would have shed of its faults and have settled down into a fairly good working system, distinguishable perhaps only in psychology and name from that which will inevitably come throughout Central Europe. Experience has begun to teach the lesson that outside intervention brings only disaster in its train.

## Anniversary Greetings from Russia

London, Nov. 7.—Bolshevik forces in Russia have advanced, during the last week, an average of thirty miles along fronts totaling from 250 to 300 miles. They are now moving forward on virtually every front.

# Socialism and the Russian Revolution

By Louis C. Fraina

IN the midst of terror and agony, its frontiers bristling with cannon and aflame with the fires of war, compelled to bend its industrial resources to purposes of war instead of peace and isolated by the Allies from the world,—in the midst of immemorial travail Soviet Russia is constructing the Communist order.

Soviet Russia appears to the imagination as a Titan, defying chaos and creating a new world out of the fragments of the old. Be-leagured on all sides, 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 phase of revolutionary development, since it glaringly exposed the evils 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 perversion of real Socialism.

But while the war exposed the reactionary character of the dominant Socialism, this was simply the negative side of the task; it gave 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 power. 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 equally the 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 used as a means for justifying the miserable compromises of the parliamentary Socialist movement. Some clung to Marxism as an abstract theory, while violating its spirit in action; others, more realistic and sincere, repudiated Marxism completely, as outworn and not in accord with the actual developments of Capitalism. The struggle was abandoned in 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. The 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 mo-

dification 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 Marxian 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 life, 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 the form of the proletarian state; but it remained for the Russian Revolution to show the final means—the organization of

the workers in shop, mill and mine into Soviets, which would constitute the newer proletarian state functioning temporarily as a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The concept of the Soviet state is the realization of the Marxian theory of proletarian dictatorship. All attempts to show that the Soviets are a peculiar Russian development are futile, since the Soviet is possible only where Capitalism has thrown the workers together in masses in large industrial establishments. The Soviet is not a product of Russia's undeveloped industrial conditions, but a product of the highly developed industry in Russia—for while Russia is still largely agrarian, its industry is the typical industry of modern concentrated Capitalism. During the Paris Commune the Soviet was inconceivable, since industrial development had not yet massed the workers together industrially. That the Soviet is peculiar to Capitalism, to the modern revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, is attested not only in theory, but in practice: wherever the revolutionary proletariat engages in the struggle for political power, there it rallies to the call of all power to the Soviets of Workers and Peasants.

The most vital accomplishment of the Russian Revolution, accordingly, is the impulse it has generated making for the reconstruction of Socialism. Socialism has become action, Socialism has again become Communism. United in the Communist International, this new Communism calls the proletariat to the final struggle against Capitalism.

## Phases of Communist Reconstruction

(Continued from page 4)

ciety a war is raging between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. So long as this war is not terminated, our attention will be centered on fighting it to the finish. A great deal has been done in this conflict already. At present the world bourgeoisie cannot act with a free hand. Hence it is evident that our work of reconstruction in the villages has outgrown the confines where all was subordinated to the fundamental requirement.

This reconstruction has gone through two primary phases. In November 1917 we seized the power together with the entire peasantry. This was a bourgeois revolution in so far as the class war in the village had not then assumed a well-defined character. As I have already said, only in the summer of 1918 did the real proletarian revolution sweep into the villages. Had we not been able to initiate this revolution, our work could not have been completed. The first stage was the seizure of power in the city, the establishment of the Soviet form of government. The second stage was what is for all Socialists the basis, without which Socialists are not Socialists: the awakening of the proletarian and semi-proletarian elements in the villages and their unification with the city proletariat for the struggle against the rural bourgeoisie. This stage is in the main concluded. Those organizations which we originally formed for that purpose—the poverty committees—have been so simplified that we deemed it possible to substitute them by regularly elected Soviets, that is, to so reorganize the rural Soviets as to convert them into organs of class domination, organs of proletarian authority in the village. Such

measures as the decree of Socialist Farming, —which decree passed not long ago through the Central Executive Committee and is, of course, familiar to everybody—summarize our experience from the standpoint of the proletarian revolution. That paramount work which forms the primary and basic task of the proletarian revolution we accomplished. And precisely because we have done that, on the order of the day appears a more complex problem: our attitude towards the middle-peasantry. Whoever assumes that the emphasis on this problem is suggestive of a weakening of the character of our authority, a weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a change, though a very slight change, of our fundamental policy, is himself betraying an utter lack of understanding of the problems of the Communist Revolution. I am positive that such people cannot be found in the ranks of our party. I only wanted to warn the comrades against such people who will be found not in a workingmen's party and who will speak without basing themselves on a world-philosophy, but simply to interfere with our work and afford "aid and comfort" to the White Guards, or plainly speaking, to arouse against us the middle-peasant who is still vacillating and who will for quite a while yet continue vacillating. To incite him against us, they will say: "Look, they are coqueting with you! Consequently, they are afraid of your riots, consequently, they are shaking," etc. It is necessary that all our comrades shall be armed 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 and the Revolution

By E. Sylvia Pankhurst

From an article in "The Worker's Dreadnought".

## The Workers' Movement in Turin.

"ITALY is already in a state of Revolution," said a Hungarian comrade who took an active part in the revolutionary agitation which preceded the creating of the Hungarian Soviets.

"Italy is to-day what Hungary was last year. The same revolutionary types are emerging. There is the same high cost of living, the same scarcity of necessities, 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, more often, allow it to be thought that they have gone there. The excuse will be acceptable to the officers, who approve the annexation. D'Annunzio has set with impunity an example of insubordination which others will follow. The Army and the Government have taken opposite sides upon the Fiume question; therefore a wedge has been driven between the Government and its military forces, which may lead to a wide gulf. The nationalist spirit of Italy has been aroused, and that spirit will eventually break loose from restraints and dash onward to the formation of a nationalist Republic. Thus will come the bourgeois revolution. After that Italy, suffering under the blockade which the other Allied nations will apply by way of punishment, will pass on to the rising of the masses, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviets, and Communism.

Fiume is coveted by Italian capitalists, because the possession of this port would facilitate Italian trade with Central Europe and the provision for Italy of coal, oil and other needed raw material. Italian Imperialism probably thinks also that an Italian Fiume may be the jumping-off place for future conquests. Italians believe that British Imperialists are opposed to the Italian possession of Fiume, because Britain could secure more control over the port and the territory behind it if it were held by a weak newly created Slav nation than by Italy.

Therefore Italian nationalism, stimulated by the press, flares up on the Fiume question. Even some of the Italian private soldiers are asking: "Of what use is the League of Nations when it allows Britain and France to make great gains by the war and refuses this to Italy?"

On the other hand, Socialist comrades speak also of other tendencies. Italy was but recently a nation; there is a movement in her component parts to break away under the debts and scarcity which are the harvest of the war. Should any part of the old kingdom break away, it would repudiate its share of the war debts of United Italy; this is an inducement to disunity. Should one of the old kingdoms break away, it would call itself a republic and make a pretence of setting up a democracy; that is a necessary pretence of the present day. But there is no half-way house to democracy in times of scarcity; it is either share and share alike, or the rich seize the major portion whilst the poor die of want. In face of famine and danger there are only two alternatives—the Soviets or the dictatorship of the rich.

Whilst in Italy the capitalist State is struggling with the overpowering difficulties created by the war, the movement of the proletariat is growing apace in numbers, in strength, in coherence, and in strength and definition of purpose.

In the city of Turin the Socialist Party has 1,000 members, of whom about 50 only are women. The members' subscription varies according to the occupation of the member; students and manual workers pay 70 centesimi per month, professional men pay 5 lire a month. Every member must belong 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 3 divisions:—

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 disabled soldiers. This work has been largely done by Young Socialists. It was found that there was 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 varied occupations—cobblers, blacksmiths, and so on—and as many were unable to work at all, it was found easier to link them together in a discharged soldiers' organization for Socialism. There is also a bourgeois organization for discharged soldiers.

\* \* \*

In Turin the Majority 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 Soviets, and desire to use 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 now towards preparing for the Soviets and the insurrection.

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

Pietro Rabuzzana, the Secretary of the Turin Socialist Party, and Gramsci, the Editor of "L'Ordine Nuovo," a new pro-Soviet weekly, both advocate Parliamentary action for propaganda purposes.

Rabuzzana 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 any moment 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 Socialist Party.

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 support him, and he would probably be returned. Gramsci bases his advocacy of Parliamentary action rather on the argument that if the Socialist abstain from such action, the workers who are not yet advanced enough to look beyond Parliament will drift away from the Socialist Party and come under capitalist influences. He urges also the propaganda value of election work, saying that the censorship has checked propaganda, but that election propagandists need not fear the censorship.

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

At Iglezia, in Sardinia, we were told, the miners supported a Socialist candidate. 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 between 500 and 600 Socialist electors were imprisoned over the day of the election. In another district a table was placed across the entrance to the ballot box. Supporters of the Government were 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 fulfil. 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 Holiday and demonstrate for freedom for Debs, 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 capitalists 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 prison on terms running from thirty days to a year and the indictment of C. E. Ruthenberg, Tom Clifford and Julius Fried for "assault with intent to kill", on two policemen injured during the struggle in the streets. It was charged that Fried committed one of the assaults and that Ruthenberg and Clifford inspired them through speeches they had made prior to the May Day Demonstration. In addition a general policy of suppression was adopted against the branches of the local movement, which had endorsed the Left Wing position.

When the bomb frame-up was staged (the house of the mayor of Cleveland was slightly damaged by one of the "bombs"), this was immediately used as a reason for a new attack upon the movement. Raids were conducted nightly and all the members found at branch meeting loaded into patrol wagons and locked up, sometimes for three or four days. The Russian branch was particularly under attack, three raids being made on its headquarters in one week. In one of these raids the members were found quietly studying the parts of an automobile. The machine parts were heralded the next morning as having some sinister significance, although the comrades arrested were merely a class in machine practice, studying to train themselves for greater service to Soviet Russia when they returned there.

When the local advertised that it would

tire press of the city at once began a campaign of provocation and intimidation. One day it was announced that the police had been furnished with new ammunition to prepare for the Bolsheviki on the Fourth, the next day two thousand clubs had been distributed to beat up the Bolsheviki, etc.

## On Trial

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, the charges involve FIFTY YEARS in prison. This is one of the results of the "white terror" in Cleveland.

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 aroused 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 "displaying" literature on the bookstand at the headquarters. Among the literature cited as violating the law was the "Revolutionary Age", "The New York Communist", "The Liberator", "The Messenger" and thirty other pamphlets and publications.

On July 19, C. E. Ruthenberg was again arrested for violating the Criminal Syndicalism law, when an effort was made to break the ban against meetings and he delivered a speech in Royal Hall.

Comrades who were caught distributing literature were regularly arrested and held as "suspicious persons". On a single day five comrades were arrested on this charge.

The Criminal Syndicalism law was also brought into play to prevent the party branches from securing meeting places and

to frighten hall owners from renting their halls to the party for mass meetings. Two comrades of the Russian branch who held the lease of the hall in which this branch met were arrested under the provisions of the law making it punishable by a year in prison and \$1,000 fine to rent a hall for a meeting to teach or advocate Criminal Syndicalism.

John Dequer who spoke at a picnic held Labor Day was arrested under the same law and has since been indicted.

Since the local has affiliated with the Communist Party the terroristic campaign has 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 Manifesto, Program and Constitution 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 Russian 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.

Twenty-six cases are now pending in the courts of Cleveland, four of them being charges of "assault with intent to kill" and twenty-two for violation of the Criminal Syndicalism law.

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.

In spite of this oppression and white terrorism the Communist Party is distributing more of its propaganda leaflets in Cleveland than in any other city of the country. The party is adjusting itself to the circumstances 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 Revolution and the Technicians

**T**HORSTEIN VEBLEN, incomparable satirist of capitalist business enterprise, kicks up his heels at the state of "Red trepidation" which has seized upon the "Guardians of the Vested Interests". In a recent issue of the "Dial", he assures these Guardians that there is yet awhile during the Vested Interests shall remain secure "in their continued usufruct of the country's industry."

He points out that "a more genial policy of conciliatory promises and procrastination will be more to the purpose than any noisy recourse to the strong arm and the Star Chamber." . . . "All that is needed to keep the underlying population of America in a sweet temper is 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 plan 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 organizations 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 class connection between some of the technicians and their employers might create measurable disruption at the moment of the passing of ownership and control of the "flotsam of industry." But not, perhaps, any more disruption than is now involved in the speculative interference with industrial management?

"The 'sanguine malcontents' need not be discouraged by the Professor's reassurances to the Vested Interests. They are sure enough 'riding for a fall.' Of course if it cannot be under two years' time, as Prof. Veblen thinks unlikely, we need not quibble about a few days.

# The Party Organization

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

## The Response Is Increasing

The Organization Fund which is the fighting fund of the party in its work to build a strong organization, had another big boost during the period since the last report was printed. The following organizations and individuals have made remittances:

Lettish Branch, Newark	\$50.00
Ukrainian Branch, Wilkes Barre	8.75
Russian Branch, Cleveland	52.30
Lithuanian No. 129	14.09
Russian Branch, Moline	18.25
Pietro Panek	10.00
Lithuanian No. 73	12.50
Lithuanian No. 259	3.75
Russian Branch, Newark	18.75
Karl Liebknecht, German, Detroit	50.00
T. Suskevich	15.50
Jewish Branch, Springfield	21.09
K. Matuchachs	9.75
Lithuanian Branch	2.00
Russian Branch, Elizabeth	28.70
Lithuanian No. 267	2.00
Ukrainian Branches	21.75
Russian Branch, Wilkes Barre	9.60
Russian Branch, Paterson	12.75
Philadelphia, Lettish	26.00
J. Kalman	4.15
Lithuanian, Middleboro	8.00
Chicago Lettish	65.15
Wm. M. Brown	10.00
Muskegon Russian	15.75
Russian Branch, St. Paul	18.75
Toledo Lithuanian	5.00
Wm. Kroney	32.25
Nanticoke Lithuanian	1.00
Lincoln Russian	17.05
Peabody Russian	40.40
Detroit Polish	28.65

The response since the last report has been double that of the previous period. Let us keep on increasing it. The figures must go up. Every branch must do its part to reach the total of \$25,000.

## Charters

In order that there may be no misunderstanding about the matter we wish to again emphasize 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.

Where a City Central Committee is formed a charter for the City Central Committee is issued.

No charters are issued by City Central Committees, State Organizations or Federations. Branches are first branches of the Communist Party and all must secure their charters from the National Organization.

## Get Your Party Button!

The supply of buttons with the party emblem thereon is now available. Single buttons are 5c. In lots of 25 or more they are 3c each. Show your colors.

## The Leaflets Go Out

It is a pleasure to watch the work of the shipping department at the National Headquarters these days. Every day brings additional orders for big bunches of all the propaganda leaflets. Branches in every corner of the country are throwing themselves into the work of literature propaganda. After learning the quality of the leaflets the National Organization is putting out quite a number of the party organizations have placed standing orders for each leaflet as issued.

At the present rate of progress it will soon be an easy matter for the party to distribute a million leaflets within a few days from the time they are off the press.

A special literature bulletin is now being printed and will soon be sent to all the party branches. It contains suggestions for the organization of branches so as to bring every member into the work of distributing and selling the party literature.

## First S. L. P. Branch Joins

The South Slavic Socialist Labor Party Branch at Mount Olive, Ill. has the honor of being the first branch of that organization to accept the invitation of the Communist Party to join in building a strong, united revolutionary working class movement in this country. A charter has been issued to this branch.

The Communist Party constitution extended an invitation to all branches of the Socialist Labor Party as well as former branches of the Socialist

Party, which endorsed its program and constitution, to become units of the party organization. Other S. L. P. branches are expected to avail themselves of this constitutional provision in the very near future. The Philadelphia Lettish S. L. P. Branch has this question up for November 13th.

## Pamphlet No. 2

Because of printer troubles Pamphlet No. 2 containing "The Development of Socialism from Science to Action" was delayed. It is now ready for shipment and orders are being filled. Prices are 10c single copies, 25 copies \$2.00, 50 copies \$3.50 and 6c each in larger quantities. This fine essay by one of the brilliant minds of the Communist Party of Russia (Karl Radek is the author) should be sold by all branches.

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 publish and distribute this 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.

These Are Ready

### "THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA."

By N. LENIN and L. TROTZKY.

Edited by L. C. Fraina.  
Paper, 450 Pages.

Single copies.....\$1.00  
5 copies or more, each......65  
Cloth:

Single copies.....\$1.50  
5 or more, each......1.00

This book contains the story of the Russian revolution as told by Lenin and Trotzky in their articles written as the events took place.

### "THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN GERMANY."

By LOUIS C. FRAINA.

Single copies.....\$0.15  
10 copies......1.25  
25 or more, each......10

### "REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM"

By LOUIS C. FRAINA.

Single copies.....\$0.50  
10 copies......4.00  
25 copies......9.00  
Fifty or more, each......30

### "Manifesto, Program, Constitution of the Communist Party and Report to the International."

Single copies.....\$0.10  
25 copies......2.00  
50 copies......3.50  
100 or more, each......06

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 Lorain, Mansfield, Canton, Bellaire and Akron, all in Ohio.

\* \* \*

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

\* \* \*

The "Amilcare 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 Stamford, 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. The Detroit Branch sent \$50.00 for the Organization Fund with its application. Vincennes, Ind. German Branch has also joined the party.

\* \* \*

The Scandinavian Branch of Dorchester, Mass. has presented its charter application. The Finnish Branch of Minneapolis has also voted to join the Communist Party. Every indication point to a big Communist membership from both these Federations as the result of pending referendums.

\* \* \*

Ninety-two charters were issued to Russian Branches with a membership of over five thousand last week. Other charter applications are still to come. The Lithuanian Federation branches are also sending in their applications in big bunches.

\* \* \*

An English Branch with about 20 members has been organized at Ft. Wayne, Ind. as the result of the efforts of Comrade John Schedel, who was formerly organizer of Allen County.

## Hungarian Federation Joins

The Hungarian Federation held its convention in Detroit, beginning Nov. 1. Fifty-two delegates representing locals in all the large cities of the country were present. After a thorough discussion of the situation the convention voted 39 to 13 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.

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

FIRST ISSUE

## "The Communist International"

Critical and Scientific Magazine of the Communist Party of America. Ninety-six pages of special articles and editorials.

Features of First Issue:

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"The Red Army" ..... By Leon Trotsky  
"Communist Party Problems" .....By Louis C. Fraina  
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"The Communist Party, Manifesto and Program" .....By J. Bittelmann  
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# 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 as well as in former border provinces of Russia, the proletariat generally is in favor of a Workers' Republic and opposed to the nationalistic policies of small ruling cliques who are backed by foreign bayonets. There is a strong Communist party which is gaining ground day by day. The problems of this party are outlined in an appeal recently issued in Warsaw and widely circulated among Polish workers. The following 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 established a new order,—a Socialist order. The Russian factory owners no more are able to rob the workers, because the Russian people have confiscated from the exploiters 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 being assured that the people of Poland have acquired everything that they have aspired to. It is being pointed out to you that Poland has become independent. Attempts are made to divert your attention from your vital interests,—from the revolution. You are being excited against the Germans, the Ruthenians, the Czecho-Slovaks, the Russians and the Jews. The Polish bourgeoisie has already started a fight against the Ruthenians in eastern Galizia, and against the Lithuanian workers and peasants. Savage and bestial massacres of Jews are taking place in White Russia. All this is being done so that the working class of Poland should become imbued with a spirit of hatred toward their fellow workers in Germany, Russia, Bohemia and toward the Jewish workers. The Polish bourgeoisie wants to use you as defender of its class interests. It is to the great advantage of that bourgeoisie that you should forget your own needs and forget Socialism.

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

"If we do not want to be bound by new fetters we must begin our own revolution, we must throw down the rule of the bourgeoisie and transfer all power into the hands of the Councils of workers' delegates in all towns and villages of Poland and we are deeply convinced that these councils will become the centers of the struggle of broad masses of the proletariat.

"We want no classes in the country and we want to deprive the millionaires of their millions.

"Workingmen and women! All promises that the Constitutional Assembly will bring happiness to the masses are lies. The masses of the people can expect nothing good from that Assembly. The main task of the Assembly is the struggle against the working class. Supported by the power of the Assembly the Polish bourgeoisie will start a warfare against labor organizations, against the right to strike and against the "loafing 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 landowners. The Constitutional Assembly will only initiate special laws against the workers and the peasants. It will approve of the budget of the nationalistic Government and it will heavily tax the poor people, and what is more, the Constitutional Assembly will establish military conscription and will give to the Government soldiers for a war against revolutionary Russia and against the Ukraine of the peasants."

## Italy Prepares for Civil War

According to news from Milan, Italy, "L'Avanti", Central Organ of the Italian 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 who have the rank of officers, are requested to send their addresses to the secretary of the Socialist Party of Rome. They are also requested to state the rank they held in the army. 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 large 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 Petrograd alone more than 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 Commune of Petrograd appeals to all other communes 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.

## Japanese Communists to the Russian Communists

WE, 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 trying conditions that are pressed upon them by the brutal imperialistic Allies.

This struggle and heroic and enthusiastic fight against the worst reactionary capitalistic and imperialistic 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 capitalistic and imperialistic governments are rapidly losing their heads and proceeding to adopt unusual methods 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 August 1918, the month of the great food riots all over the country, they are revolting

## 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 Internationals was discussed. After a hot 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.

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

## Unity of the Revolutionary Industrial Organization of Germany

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

against the ruling classes in strikes and riots.

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 much 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 are all those of Bolshevism and their leaders are utilizing the masses already roused against the Japanese Imperialists to turn them against the rich and the Pekin Government.

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

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

S. NONAKA  
UNZO TAGUCHI  
SEN KATAYAMA

The Committee of the Japanese Communist Group in America.