First Congress of The Third International, at Moscow, March 2-6, 1919.

THE UNITED STATES is not at war with Russia. The United States is not seeking Russia. Nor England. Nor France.

But there is war against Russia. There is blockade against the Russian people. Though this war and blockade persist about to collapse, thanks to the might of the Red Army.

It is the League of Nations—the Black International—that carries on this war and blockade. And in fact it is not against Russia. It is against the proletarian revolution—war and blockade against the Red International!

The same war and blockade were carried on against Communist Hungary. War was ordered by the Black International against Communist Munich, and against Communism wherever it asserts itself throughout Germany.

The same war goes on in a smaller way in every country of the world today: the armies, the police, the jails—all the powers of the capitalist world are turned against the Red International, even in its least manifestation of life.

LONG LIVE THE RED INTERNATIONAL!

A SPECTRE IS HAUNTING EUROPE—the spectre of Communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exercise this spectre; Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies. This is the opening sentence of the Manifesto of 1848. How little need be changed for the situation of today! Not only Europe, but also America, Asia, Australasia, Africa! No longer Czar, but now Democratic President! Now in the place of French Radicals, the Yellow Socialists of all countries!

A SPECTRE IS HAUNTING THE CAPITALIST WORLD—the spectre of the working class come to consciousness of power, the spectre of a working class resolved to conquer freedom from wage slavery, determined upon the annihilation of destructive Capitalism, inspired by taste of victory to carry everywhere the red flag, symbol of life triumphant!

DOWN WITH THE BLACK INTERNATIONAL!

LONG LIVE THE RED INTERNATIONAL!

ONWARD TO THE WORLD FEDERATED COMMUNIST REPUBLIC!
THE COMMUNIST
National Organ, Communist Party.

LOUIS C. FRAINÉ, Editor
ISAAC EDEN, PERSUADON, Acting Editor.
Published Weekly, and owned and controlled, by the Communist Party of America.

6 cents a copy, $2.00 six months, $2.00 a year.

We publish 10 or more, 5c a copy.

Address all communications
1219 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

November 29th, 1919.

THE COMMUNIST

THE STRIKE

The strikes are being choked to death. The steel workers are only supported as beggars are supported, by charities, as the army of starved workers. By speaking they are part of an organization of three million workers—an organization which could easily rally to itself other millions of workers. Actually it is a contest of the infant steel union against the powerful Steel Trust. With grim cynicism, Cesar Gary measures past and prospective profits against time and the gnawing hunger. There is no passionate sympathy with the steel workers on the part of millions of workers. It finds no outlet in action. The A. F. of L. is a barrier against action. The coal strike is likewise in the hands of the coal operators. The government gave them the upper hand by its court interference. The strike leaders came to their knees, and now the operators are using the process of stalling a settlement, deliberately calculating the break in the morale of an army without a guiding star. All the settlement will ever amount to is a saving of the face of the Administration. The fundamentals of the strike will be sheathed—until the miners find new modes of expressing their mass power, new leadership and a new determination.

It is not out of the question but that part of the miners, at least, will take matters into their own hands at once, developing independent organization out of the strike itself.

Few of the newspapers had the reserve to soft-pedal the howl of glees with which they greeted the surrender of the United Mine Workers. There will be a howl of another character when they see coming out of this a unionism equal to this kind of combat.

It will come. Even the African slave had his John Brown and Harper's Ferry. And then his Lincoln.

The American miners are spending a few days above the ground. They will see the sunrise in the far East. They will watch its triumphant course. They will ask: If in Russia, why not here?

Strike can be strangled, but not the mass life—not for too long a time.

Deportation

Writt editors and cartoonists cannot get over their own bitterness about aliens who oppose American Capitalism not wanting to go back to their own country—not being deportable.

Some of the Socialist editors are quite insistent that these aliens will go back voluntarily, if only passports are giving. That does not meet the issue.

The Communist Party is fighting deportation in the courts, regardless of whether the particular member wants to return to Europe or not. Nor is the Communist Party concerned about the workers of any nation, but about the "principles of American political liberties." We understand well enough that these "principles" are definitely cut off by the class line; that there cannot be free speech, free assembly and un molested residence for those who challenge the system of Capitalism and the revolutionary challenge of Communism.

But we yield nothing to the courts and the government. We make no agreements, no compromises. We fight every inch of the way, challenging the bourgeois forces in every use of their formal and informal powers, their institutionalized and their non-governmental means. We refuse the illusions of proletarian "rights" as against the power which it challenges unto death. But we make no servile obsequies. We fight, in the context of the outside tramp of the game, and by every strategy which we can invent.

If of course it is not worth our while to make an undue expenditure in meeting every petty attack, such as this attack by deportations, that is a matter of expediency. If we do not defend, the alternative is not to make bargains with the official representatives of the capitalist order. Then are we confronted with other possibilities. One is to accept the penalties without challenging the process. As to the penalties involved in the deportation cases, there is a considerable discussion, as summarized in The Literary Digest (November 22):

"The Government, according to the New York Globe is watching the Mexican and Canadian borders to prevent the escape of revolutionary leaders from the set that is closing up. But many of these alien firebrands are Russians, and as the United States at present has no official connection with Russia the question of deportation presents difficulties. Says the Globe: 'There are two things the government can do, however. It may send the Reds to the Riga front and turn them loose, letting them find their way to the Bolsheviks as best they can. The other way is to take them to Siberia, by way of Vladivostok, and turn them over to Koltchak's forces to dispose of as they see fit.'"

Add to these "two things" the fact that the Department of Labor has recently granted deportation to 20,000,000, and there is the uncanny sensation of deportation as another name for official murder. It is not only Russians who face this jeopardy, but in all the deportations to nations where there is actual or potential civil war—in the present stage of the class conflict, deportees to any country.

The Communist Party is warranted in making a considerable expenditure of money and effort against deportation.

If the technical defense fails, if there is no escape in law or fact, the second course becomes imperative—not to get caught. It does not mean a cessation of party activity, nor the least change of propaganda. It means to keep down the toll of victims by change of policy methods of propaganda.

The point of principle is that we stand defiant so far as the charge is concerned. The strategy depends upon events.

Every activity of the government which exhibits its class character is an important item of our propaganda. There is nothing more glaring than deportation, which unmasks most terrifically the whole hypotheses about American liberties, which sets up (with actual transfer of some of the spies) the Russian czarist regime in the United States.

We must use deportation without letting it hurt our members more than is absolutely unavoidable.

Aliens

I N connection with the foregoing it is illuminating to consider the recent study by the National Geographic Society on immigration to the United States. This country has absorbed 33,000,000 aliens since we became a nation. The present makeup of the population is as follows:

Foreign born .................................................. 11,500,000
Children of foreign born parents .................. 14,500,000
One parent foreign born .................. 6,500,000
Negroes .................................................. 11,000,000
Native white ............................................. 24,000,000

100,000,000

Little over half the population is of native extraction, ten million counts but one ancestor born in America.

The preponderant immigration since 1890 has been from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia and the Balkans. It is these immigrants who have been closely identified with the coming citizens, because the opportunity and inducement has been least in their case. The earlier homesteading and English-speaking immigration has naturally accepted naturalization as an advantage. The newer immigration was definitely destined for the heavy labor in the big factories. In consequence of this all the deportation has been directed against the alien, which does not seem to be class allegiance, and their real advantage is with the proletariat revolution.

And note, not scientifically, either, when the underlying philosophy is considered,—this is the time chosen by the Socialist Party for a referendum compelling American citizenship as the price of labor union membership, that is, the acquisition of citizenship within the time of the naturalization law. This at a time when courts all over the country are deciding cases in favor of naturalization on the theory of Bolshevism, or anything akin to it,—when citizenship is denied miners in Pennsylvania for being on strike! One Kansas judge set aside a judgment in favor of a Chinaman when it was learned that he was a member of the I. W. W., on the ground that a member of the I. W. W. had no standing before a court of law (shades of the Dred Scott decision again come to life).

The Socialist Party means to fight the class struggle strictly within the capitalist role of the game. The Communist Party does not. It means to develop the most effective methods of struggle possible for working class victory.

The Communist Party will urge citizenship upon aliens, when it has working class governmental advantages to offer, when it has working class freedom and democracy to offer,—and it will not urge citizenship sooner.

And the Communist Party will welcome the help of aliens in its work of propaganda and organization, realizing the supreme importance of the foreign language agitation and education, without imposing any conditions upon party membership other than faithfulness to the Communist cause.

That the Socialist Party means by this to free itself of its dastardly role of betrayal.
C. E. C. Resolution on Strike Situation.

THE outstanding feature of the class struggle in the United States at this moment is the large strikes which are convulsing industry. Out of this situation is developing: 1) direct state interference in strikes, and 2) revolt of the workers against the yellow, compromising, traitorous union officials.

These strikes and their developments reflect the acute stage of labor unrest now prevailing in the United States; and this unrest is in turn a direct result of the ever-increasing cost of living. With great outlet for export trade on account of the European war, inflated prices in foodstuffs, manufactured products, and raw materials, there is no prospect of a lowering of prices. In fact, prices are still on the increase.

Also the currency conditions which enter into the high cost of living, arising out of the vast fluctuations of credits during the past five years, cannot be changed for a long time. The high cost of living has come to stay. Moreover, because of the process of dissolution through which European Capitalism is passing, there is no prospect of a quick economic recovery of society.

The workers, under pressure of the unbearably high cost of living, are engaged in strikes for higher wages which constantly assume larger dimensions. The United States has entered an era of great and prolonged strikes.

These strikes, because of the world conditions of capitalist crisis, must necessarily assume a potentially revolutionary character. The capitalists of America are bound stubbornly to resist the wage demands in order to discourage strikes and to prevent the breakdown of production. Under these conditions strikes are apt to be bitter and protracted.

The government has no policy other than to use its resources of force to break the revolt of the workers. The policy of compromise with the American Federation of Labor, against the yellow, compromising, traitorous union officials.

The setting up of martial law and military invasion is another indication.

State participation in the industrial conflicts, with the imperialist policy of the government in the international arena, will make every large strike take on the character of a political strike, actually if not consciously.

In practically every important union of the A. F. of L., and in other unions, there is developing enormous dissatisfaction with the officials, flaring into open revolts. Of 70 strikes declared during recent months, 66 were without sanction of the officials and against their protest. The inevitable transformation of isolated economic strikes into general political strikes will make the trades union officials of the old type still more cautious in calling strikes. It will lead them to betray the strikes forced upon them by the rank and file. The revolts against these leaders will grow. and this is a tendency which must be utilized to the utmost by our party.

The high cost of living and the strikes for higher wages are developing proposals for the nationalization of certain industries. These proposals indicate a partial awakening of the American workers to the necessity for larger means and purposes in the struggle. The conception of the class struggle as a political struggle is developing among the workers in a concrete but as yet incomplete way. This development may become the issue of Labor Party parliamentary politics in the near future. The impetus behind this development is in futility of the isolated economic strike to accomplish any substantial results; it is the task of the Communist Party to indicate that the strike cannot be isolated and purely economic, but that it becomes a strong weapon of struggle the moment it assumes the character of general political strike.

The concrete situation now existing is that over a million workers are on strike, without any fundamental action developing. The strikes are isolated. The workers create means independent of the A. F. of L. in order to unify their strikes.

The Communist Party shall encourage and assist, in every city where there are large strikes, the formation of Strike Councils, to assume general direction and control of the strikes, secure unity and common action, combining the organized and unorganized workers. Strike Councils should be formed on the initiative of the workers in the districts and the national level, by the workers, for the workers, in conformity with the laws of the land.

The Communist Party and the Communist workers must enter into the concrete strike situation with the purpose of developing a mass movement which will express increasing demands for working class power and weaken the class power of the capitalists. The actual conflict will itself determine the moment when that mass movement shall merge all of its economic and political demands into the revolutionary demand: All power to the workers!—for the Communist reconstruction of society!

SPECIAL CABLE FROM OUR STOCKHOLM CORRESPONDENT.


—Chalow

Stockholm Cablegram addressed to Comrade Carlson—

Long Live Y. P. C. L.!

Samuelsson

Scandinavian Youth

November 17, 1919.

Supreme Court Leak on Wall Street

MONDAY is decision day in the United States Supreme Court. A case of decided interest had been before the court. It was that concerning ownership of 6,000 acres of oil lands in California patented by the Southern Pacific Company.

Wall street was confident the high court would uphold the lower courts, which had sustained the Southern Pacific and refused to entertain the government's contention that the company had obtained its patent by fraud. On this expectation Southern Pacific stocks climbed up to a point just below a dollar, the fund for the lands were valued at a good many million dollars.

But one hour before the Supreme Court handed down its decision some persons in Wall street knew the court had overruled the lower courts. The stock was thrown on the market in enormous volume. One concern unloaded 10,000 shares. Southern Pacific dropped 7 points in a very short time.

Evidently there was a leak from the Supreme Court. There have been leaks before. Sometimes the auger justices forget themselves, or seem to forget themselves, and advise counsel, in the strictest confidence, of the court's finding, and counsel, in the strictest confidence, advise persons interested in the situation. Ordinarily, some one around the court is bribed by a gambling person of Wall street. One of the notorious figures of the stock market is credited with having made a "killing" in that hour before the decision was announced.

Wherever or however the leak in this instance, the Supreme Court should bare it. If there was corruption of some one connected with the court, the unhappy one should be cast out. If one of the justices inadvertently gave the "tip," he should acknowledge the fact and hereafter have the good sense to keep a still tongue.

It is not pleasant to have the Supreme Court of the United States mixed up in a Wall street scandal. The court is one thing that should not be soiled, even by suggestion.

There would be little difficulty in getting at the truth as to this "leak." The trading in S. P. in that hour before the decision was announced is recorded in the "stocks and bonds" Stock Exchange. All the brokers can be called to court and made to reveal from whom the selling orders came and the persons who gave the orders. The court can then decide where they got their information as to the court's finding.

What a "killing"! The clever crooks may be imaging from the fact that 122,000 shares of S. P. ordinarily a none too active stock, were sold on Monday, and the bulk of this lot in the hour before the decision was announced officially—Chicago Examiner.
Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship

By N. Lenin

(Continued from last week.)

And, as a matter of fact, the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has already been worked out in practice, i.e., the Soviet Government in Russia, the Rate-system in Germany, the Shop Committees and other analogous institutions in other countries, all these realize and signify for the working classes, i.e., for the overwhelming majority of the population, a practically possible fulfillment of democratic rights and privileges such as has never before existed in even approximately equal measure.

The nature of the rule consists in the fact that the mass-organization of precisely those classes which have been oppressed by capital, i.e., the workers and the semi-proletariat (peasants who are not exploiting the labor of others and who are compelled regularly to sell at least a part of their own labor power), constitute the permanent and only basis of the whole state-power. Precisely those masses, which even in the most advantageous bourgeois republics have equal rights under the law, but as a matter of fact are prevented by a thousand means and devices from participation in the political life and from the exercise of democratic rights and liberties, are now enlisted in a permanent, unconditional, and decisive participation in the democratic rule of the state.

The equality of citizens without regard to sex, religion, race, nationality, which has always and everywhere been the promise of bourgeois democracy, but which has nowhere been fulfilled because of the domination of capital, has been realized suddenly and completely by the soviet government, since only the working people, who have no interests at stake in private property, in the exploitation of production, and in the struggle for their distribution and redistribution, can realize this ideal. Bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism are so organized that it is precisely the working classes who have least to do with the administrative apparatus. The Soviet power, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the other hand, brings the working classes closer to the administrative apparatus. The same end is also served by the union of the legislative and executive functions in the soviet organization of the state, and by the replacement of geographical voting-distinctions by production-units, such as shops and factories.

The army was an instrument of oppression not only under the monarchy, it retained this character in all the bourgeois republics, even in the most democratic. Only the Soviet Power, as the sole established state-organization of the classes oppressed by capital, i.e., of the decided majority of the population—the great landlords and the capitalists.

From this it follows that, in general, the dictatorship of the proletariat must bring with it not only an inevitable alteration of democratic forms, and institutions, but such an alteration as will yield a hitherto unknown extension of the actual application of democracy among those who are enslaved by capitalism, among the working classes.

XX.

All Socialists, and among them the Mensheviks, have set up as their goal the destruction of the power of the State. If this goal is not achieved, true democracy, i.e., equality and freedom, are not attainable. The only practicable means to this goal is the soviet or proletarian democracy, for it sets out forthwith to prepare the complete atrophy of all State machinery which remained intact, under Capitalism, even in the most democratic republics, since it developed into the greatest bulwark against the laboring classes in their attempt to realize democracy. The Paris Commune took the first world-historical step in this direction; the Soviet Power has taken the second.

XXI.

The complete bankruptcy of the Socialists who assembled in Berne, the utter lack of comprehension of proletarian democracy which they revealed, is especially patent in the following. On February 10, 1919, Branting dismissed the conference of the Yellow International at Berne. On February 11, 1919, their colleagues in Berlin published 'Die Freiheit' an appeal to the proletariat by the Independent of the Yellow International, in which the bourgeois character of the Scheidemann government is admitted, it is accused of the intention of abolishing the 'Rate' (soviets) which it designates as the 'defenders and the instruments of the revolution', and the proletarian transition is advanced that the 'Rate' be legitimized, entrusted with certain rights in the State.

A proposal of this sort indicates the complete spiritual bankruptcy of the theoreticians who defend democracy and do not understand its bourgeois character. The laughable attempt to combine the Rate-system, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the National Assembly, i.e., the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, reveals conclusively the intellectual bankruptcy of the yellow Socialists and Social-Democrats, and the reactionary policies of the petty bourgeois, as well as their cowardly concessions to the inscrutably increasing strength of the new proletarian democracy.

XXII.

The majority of the Yellow International at Berne, condemned Bolshevism, but did not dare assert their will or to adopt a resolution condemning Bolshevism, since it feared the working masses, behaved quite correctly from the class-viewpoint. This majority is completely in tune with the Russian Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries and with the Scheidemann-group in Germany. The Russian Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries who complain of Bolshevist persecution, take pains to conceal that this
A MIXED crowd of men, women, and children crowded the platform, and as they stood they sang. It was the first train to Budapest after Bela Kun's fall, the first for quite a long period. The city itself was still some few miles away, for the station belonged to one of those outer industrial suburbs that characterise those Central European towns that are factories and slums. Distant rifle shots and an occasional thud signalled the gradual approach of the dreaded Roumanians from the parent city, of which they were by then in occupation. Under the flickering lamps one could see the strained expression upon the faces of these poor working folk as they anxiously stood there and waited. There was no talk. All were singing. They sang with intense earnestness, and the chant of the night was a hymn of protest against the last, the most savage, of the “Internationale.”

The pathetic singing of the "Internationale" sounds strange and somehow revolting with its banal melody and almost unspiritual sentiment. On the Continent of Europe in the year 1919 it catches the ear very differently. You recognise it as the "Mars- eillaise" of a tremendous and dangerous revolutionary movement that, unlike that of other countries, has no frontiers and to be unconscious of nationalism. It becomes unpleasantly familiar, and—I can speak for myself—always brings a certain feeling of sadness to me. I had heard it sung in the streets of Paris on the First of May, when masses of workmen in the Place de la République had "barred" it hoarsely and savagely into the faces of the Cuirassiers; in Berlin again and again, sometimes to the accompaniment of machine-gun fire; in Hamburg.

Here it had a pathetic note. It was, almost certainly, the first time it was sung in this unhappy country; it was, as it were, Bolshevism's swan-song. Behind us we had left the White Terror raging in its full fury. White Guards and Cuirassiers had raised our train up the line for Red fugitives. At Raab the hue and cry was still on. In front of us lay the occupied city. A few hours later even this last pool of freedom would be scorched dry.

The pathetic singing of the "Internationale" by the occupied town, the little that came under the tide of denunciation and espionage, by the ferreceness of the Terror. You would suddenly find whole blocks of the town shut off by a cordon of Rumanian troops. Within the cordon no one was allowed to go out of doors, while a house-to-house search went on. Well-dressed Hungarian civilians or officers often accompanied the Rumanian search with lists in their hands, and anyone found within the cordon one would see groups of men being marched off. Occasionally a band of Red Guard soldiers would traill through the streets under heavy escort; simple boys, most of them, who had accepted their conscription as passively under the Reds as they had done under the Hapsburg. No man felt himself safe. Even among the bourgeoisie that had hailed the fall of Bolshevism with delight there existed quite a strong fear. Denunciation was indiscriminate.

Amid this atmosphere of dread and suspicion men became afraid even to speak to you. I found it almost impossible, for example, to extract a statement from Mr. Polid, the Socialist non-Bolshevik leader, whose short Prime-Ministership after the Communist collapse and splendid effort to rally all parties was brought to an abrupt end by the entry of our allies. Yet throughout all this hard time the working class remained stalwart. They held aloof from the anti-Semitic fury. A Jew, of whatever class, was as safe in the city as in the far-away, for the Hapsburg. No one could speak for the determination of their money; that is, the so-called peasants. The hotel proprietor has told us there is no limit of money of the Austro-Hungarian Bank was held exclusively by the rich and the peasantry. All the laws and regulations governing the hours and conditions of work were swept aside. Wages went down with a swoop. Instead of the equal rationing of food in a starving town, the little that came in went principally to the rich and to the workers, moneyless, foodless, workless, and hopeless, would, as it was thought, be cloven enough to take their old place under the old discipline in the reopening factories that, of course, had shut down on the collapse of the Soviets. Even the Rumanians spoiled this calculation and gave a final touch of catastrophe by gutting the factories of their plunder.

I will give a piquant instance of the state of working-class mentality—even after the overthrow. "What do you think of Bela Kun?" I asked a chief waiter at the Ritz, an efficient, deferential man who had served for years in one of the greatest London hotels. Most of the other guests, by the way, were English and American officers. The hotel was a part of the Mission-headquarters. The answer was smoothly spoken, but just as blunt. "No doubt it was bad, sir. But I am a working man, and things were much better than now. Then I worked only eight hours a day and got good wages and time to live for myself. Now the proprietor has told us there is no limit of hours, and we must work as long as there is work to do; in practice, the whole day. Then I got as much to eat as other folks. Now I serve food to others that I cannot get myself." He added that he had not tasted meat for weeks and that his family was starving. Cynically regarded, the waiter's answer indicated a completely egotistic standpoint. It is a typical answer which almost any Hungarian worker gives. Short hours and high wages would seem at first to be their only standard. So with the workers of Berlin and Munich and in every corner of Central Europe. Everywhere they are accused of lack of any will to work and of an insatiable appetite for wages. Thus crudely stated, this charge is untrue.

What has happened in Hungary since 1918? Has all these countries in a sort of servile rebellion, now definitely crushed in Hungary, but simmering elsewhere?

The mass psychology has undergone a vast transformation. It has lost its old aligences and faith in authority, whether of masters or of Government. Freedom is its dominating motive; freedom to live, which means, though not freedom to enjoy; and freedom to live a full life, which means wages enough to permit enjoyment of leisure. It may be egoism, but it has its good side. The worker is hardly conscious of any change of mentality. He believes in his right to freedom and a full life just as innocently and unself-consciously as he formerly accepted his relatively inferior human status. Nor can he understand any denial of this right. Such a mass psychosis is a far more formidable fact than the rise or fall of a Bolshevism. It is universal in Central and Eastern Europe. It is spreading westwards. Proletarian Governments may be crushed or fall by their own weight. But a mass psychology is not so easily dealt with. On the contrary, it has to be taken into account if social stability is to be regained.

The pathetic singing of the "Internationale" in the outer suburbs of Pest was symptomatic. The class of Hungary is faced with a situation in which it is either to go on and wait and hope at the factories there can be work, or the workers will perish of hunger or they will drift away from the country or to Russia or Roumania. They were already being drafted off, partly by force, partly as indentured labor, when I left Budapest. But wherever they go, they can claim "Internationale," their new and simple ethic with them. Probably they will find it already in existence wherever they are likely to arrive. This is Bolshevism.
The Workers' Struggle Calls You, Comrades!

Proclamation to the Party Membership by the Central Executive Committee.

Class and its instruments of oppression. The plan of work approved by the Central Executive Committee can be adapted to both the conditions of open propaganda and the reverse, if that becomes necessary. It has already been nominally used in the places where the action of the ruling class has made it necessary. The details will be placed before every branch within the next few weeks.

The period of adjustment to new conditions will be a difficult one. It will be hard at once to adapt ourselves to the situation we face. In order that we may master our new problems as quickly as possible, we ask every party member that he co-operate to the fullest extent with the party officials and take up the task allotted to him in that earnest and serious spirit that will bring success.

Communist Party Shop Branches

The shops are the centres of activity of the Communist Party. The workers in the shops are most easily reached with our message and convinced of the soundness of our principles. Our program of action has its basis in the shop. There the party can lay the foundation upon which we can erect the structure of a powerful organization.

The workers in the shops come together daily. They are in a constant contact and communication with each other. It is in the shops, therefore, that they can be most easily brought together for united action.

The shops do not only unite the workers physically, but it is there that their interests are one and there they will most readily act together.

The party program is definite in the statement that the great industrial struggles are the most important factors in the party campaigns. The party has also declared its purpose to propagate for the establishment of the One Big Union in industry. To carry on this work it must be deeply rooted in the shops.

It must have the means for continuous and aggressive propaganda there.

Because of these considerations the Central Executive Committee urges immediate action by all party units to establish Communist Party Shop Branches. The present members of the party branches should become the nucleus for the organization of shop branches. The place of employment of each member should be ascertained. Where several members are employed in the same shop they should be constituted a committee to build up a Shop Branch. If sufficient members are employed in one place they should immediately constitute themselves a Shop Branch.

The advantage of Shop Branches is really apparent. The members of such branches are in daily contact with each other and can discuss the problems of organization, pay dues, raise funds, make plans for agitation work and register their decisions on party problems with the proper officials of the party to any danger. The Shop Branch is proof against the ruling class measures of suppression.

Each Shop Branch should be a centre of agitation. Leaflets dealing with the struggles of the workers, which are being issued by the National Organization, should be distributed regularly. Books and pamphlets and the party papers and magazines should be sold.

The work of the Shop Branch is to carry on our campaign of leaflet distribution against the other workers in the shops with the fundamental Communist principles and for the organization of the industrial union, and to furnish the leadership in the time of action.

The work of creating Shop Branches is fundamental. We must take action at once to bring these organizations into existence.

Leaflet Distribution.

Events are developing quickly in the present world of capitalism. New crises appear with startling rapidity. The Steel Strike, the Miners Strike with its coercion by the Government, followed each other in quick succession. Another crisis in the threatened strike of the Railroad Workers is looming.

Each of these situations presents the opportunity for Communist agitation. It is precisely in these situations that the party must intervene. It must be in a position to present a Communist interpretation of events to the workers throughout the country on a few days notice.

To accomplish this the party administration has in hand a series of leaflets. While these were successfully distributed, the old method of sending out circulars asking for orders and then printing and shipping the leaflets made the party action drag. It causes delay and the crisis may pass before our message is in the hands of the workers.

The Central Executive Committee considers the following plan to be the most effective form of agitation. It urges that those branches which thus far have not participated in this work immediately organize themselves for this form of propaganda.

Our present organization is capable of distributing several million copies of each leaflet issued when properly organized for this work. We must mobilize all our power of action to do the job.

To avoid the delay and the drag on our action which results from the old method the Central Executive Committee urges that we place a standing order for the quantity of leaflets it can distribute, just as orders are placed for bundles of papers and other periodicals. This plan will enable party officials to print the number of leaflets of each issue which the whole organization can handle and to ship them out as soon as they are ready, thus avoiding the delay which military tactics against the effectiveness of our propaganda. Leaflets will be issued at intervals of about two weeks.

The leaflets issued thus far speak for themselves. There is evidence that the party administration can be depended upon to furnish leaflets that meet the test of principle, simplicity of language, and yet are effective in furthering the party end.

Blanks for standing orders for leaflets have been furnished by mail. Make this question a standing order of business at your meetings and help to mobilize our entire organization strength for this work of propaganda.

The Party Growth

The party growth during the two months that the National Organization has been in existence has been indeed gratifying. The membership figures of approximately 22,000 shown by the convention credentials are being realized in dues payments. In addition...
The Party Organization

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

Organization and Defense

The recent attack on the party organization through arrests and deportation proceedings threatens to make a heavy drain on the treasury of the party. The comrades who are the victims of the ruling class must be defended to the extent of our ability. They have the right to expect that the organization they served will stand behind them.

To meet the situation the Executive Council has decided to combine the Organization Fund with the Defense Fund and issue a call for contributions for these two purposes.

Many branches have already responded to the call for contributions for the Organization Fund. Other have not yet contributed. Whether branches have or have not contributed it is their duty to answer the call that is now being made.

Every comrade will contribute something to the Defense Fund if called upon. Where branches have funds in their treasury and they themselves have escaped the attack of the ruling class, they are urged to make contributions from these funds.

Subscription lists will be mailed to all party units within a few days. Place these in circulation in the branch and also secure the contributions of as many other workers as possible.

We started to raise an Organization Fund of $25,000. Several thousand dollars have already been contributed for this purpose. For the combined purpose we should be able to raise the entire sum in a short time.

Let us show by our action that we can defend our own.

Organization News.

The English Branch of Willimburg, N. Y. has applied for a charter.

The Debodtbor, Mass. Scandinavian Branch has joined the party.

An Italian working class organization at Jersey City, N. J., which for many years maintained an independent position because there was no organization it could consistently join, has found in the Communist Party the organization which expresses its principles and has applied for a charter.

An Italian branch of the Communist Party has been organized in Chicago and has been granted a charter.

A Greek Communist branch is also being formed, made up of the most active members of the former S. P. branch.

In this connection it is a matter to note the claim of the C. L. P. that the Greek comrades chase the C. L. P. after a debate between Kappel and Ferguson. When the discussion at this particular meeting was over, the chairman asked those who understood English to raise their hands. Five members responded, the meeting consisting of less than twenty. Evidently at a subsequent meeting, Comrade Hassan, organiser of the branch and a C. L. P.-ite, obtained a majority of one, whereupon the Communist members proceeded to the organization of a new Greek branch.

Another S. L. P. Branch Joins.

The Leftish Socialist Labor Party Branch of Philadelphia, at a meeting held Nov. 19, voted to merge with the party that is now forming the Philadelphia Leftish Communist Branch in a body.

This is the second S. L. P. branch which has broken away from that organization to join the Communist Party, the first being the Mount Olive, Ill., South Slavic Branch.

The Philadelphia Leftish Branch at the same time that the vote was taken appropriated $50.00 of its funds as a contribution to the Organization Fund of the Communist Party.

Pamphlet No. 3.

Pamphlet No. 3 issued by the Communist Party is now on the press. It contains a report of a debate between J. E. Ferguson and Harold L. Varyon the subject: Resolved, That the Communist Party offers a more complete program for the emancipation of the working class than the I. W. W. The debate was conducted in a spirit of friendship and effort to develop the position which the I. W. W. and Communist Party occupy in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers. This pamphlet will undoubtedly have a large circulation as it covers a subject in regard to which there is a great deal of interest. Prices will be announced next week.

Proclamation of C. E. C.

(Continued from page 6)

to the Hungarian, Lettish, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, South Slavic, Estonian and Ukrainian Federations, strong Jewish and German Federations have been created. A nucleus of Italian and Scandinavian branches are already in the party. The work of organizing the Finnish Communist elements is just beginning. The American branches in all the large industrial centers of the country have joined our organization, and the test of action is disclosing the character of our organization, smaller branches throughout the country are gradually coming into the organization.

The organization has grown by its actions that it not only has power, but that it is ready to use its power by intervening in the struggles of the workers and giving them Communist meaning and purpose. Our organization is not a mutual admiration society of half-splitting theorists, but a militant fighting organization that finds its place and work in the heart of the everyday struggles of the workers. We have had a sound theoretical basis for our party. Now we carry out the theory into action.

Let us fulfill the promise of this beginning.

Let us each give the best we have to our unit of the Communist International!

On with the struggle! ON TO VICTORY!

Leaflets

Several hundred thousand copies of the leaflets are on the press, due to the flooding in of orders, particularly "Your Shop and Break the Blockade!"

First Issue

"The Communist International"


Features of First Issue:

"The Proletarian Revolution and the Betrayal Kautsky" . . . . By Nikola Lenin
"The Red Army" . . . . . . By Leon Trotsky
"Communist Party Problems" . . . . . . By Louis C. Fraina
"Dictatorship and Democracy" . . . . By Eugene Debs
"The Communist Party, Manifesto and Program" . . . . By J. Bittelman
"Unionism and Reconstruction in Russia" . . . . By B. Korschelk

Other articles and 28 pages of Editorials

Send orders at once. Single copies 25¢, Bundles of 5 or more 15¢
The Revolutionary Movement in Roumania

From "Nova Ostina", the official organ of the South Slavic Communist Party, Zagreb, Croatia.

Many will remember the tragic results of the peasant revolution in Roumania in 1907. The "hero" who suppressed that revolt was the well-known blood-hound Bratianu, president of the political party Marele A. Jonea. Then, at the head of the government, he had shown the courage to proceed against the revolutionaries; he transferred the power to a new government, with King Carol, who was responsible for the slaughter of eleven thousand peasants. King Carol is dead, but Bratianu still lives and holds power, and is the foremost terrorist and enemy of Socialism in Roumania.

Until 1917 there was an orderly socialist movement with the weekly organ "Roumanie Municatore", published in Bucharest. But since 1907, after the suppression of the Socialists by Bratianu, mentioned above, the entire movement changed its form, but became much stronger. All the world knows how many times our comrades of Roumania were driven out of the country, but the number of arrests and the chicanery will never be known.

Then the World War came. With all their power our comrades opposed the belligerency of the countries for years (1914-1916) our comrades fell as victims of the heroic struggle against the bloody imperialist aggression. All in vain. The dark days did not spare the Roumanian proletariat.

The 15th of August 1916 stands out as a day of terror in the memory of the Roumanian proletariat. On that day the Roumanian army, after a short 24-hour period, began its campaign into Flanders, where they were met by the Germans, and in a short time, practically exterminated. The frightened Roumanian oligarchy, with King Carol, fled to Moldavia, while the Roumanian people were left in the trenches to starve and freeze. This horror and the terrible conditions in general were not sufficient—all our leading comrades were thrown into inhuman prisons as Socialist agitators. Many of them, Max Vesler among others, were shot as anti-militarists.

Comrade Rakovsky was dragged from prison to prison during the night-time, in order to keep the place of imprisonment secret. The blood hound Bratianu declared that he would not be satisfied until he had purged the Roumanian people of Socialism. But to his astonishment his unparalleled persecution brought results exactly contrary to his expectations. In Russia the revolution broke out and the Roumanian oligarchy lost the ground from under their feet. The Russian revolution freed those of our comrades who were still alive, and many of them went to Russia, where their number was among that number, and he is in Russia at present.

But German hegemony and militarism also came to an end in the Fall of 1918. Mackensen, with his hordes, left Bucharest. In order to free themselves from the power of Bratianu, our comrades took advantage of this propitious moment, to inaugurate a struggle of the people against the oppressed masses. A daily paper, "Tresa Socialismul" (Long live Socialism) was issued. Millions of leaflets and manifestos were distributed. Bratianu alarmed at this tremendous danger; he realized the far-reaching influences of the Socialist propaganda; therefore before his return to Bucharest he organized a reactionist army, composed of Cossacks and other elements unfit to fight at the front. This new army of parasitic hordes fell upon the discontented masses who were demanding freedom. Armed to the teeth, they marched into Bucharest and succeeded, momentarily, in suppressing the will of the people. They closed all gathering places of the workers throughout the country, and the paper was immediately suppressed. This terrible regime aroused the workers of Bucharest and the freed masses. Preparations for a great mass demonstration were made to take place on December 13, 1918. But the reactionary hordes of Europe and the Roumanian counter-revolutionaries prepared to counteract the demonstrations.

At the very moment when the demonstrators entered the Calca Victoria (the main street of Bucharest) they were cut down by the "Elite" troops with a rain of bullets from mitrailleuses and machine guns. In a moment sixty dead and numberless wounded covered the ground. The Roumanian army had come to an end. The International, however, was among that strong army of the bourgeoisie, the reactionaries, and the hordes of Bratianu who had long been incomparable ill-treatment, answered the threat to their vantage point, and with a gibe: "Down with Ferdinand, "Long live Leon Trotsky" etc.

After such prearranged provocations the gunners arrested the speakers and broke up the meetings. But soon the comrades became aware of these methods, and they adopted the necessary precautions against such interference, in order to forestall the plans of the reactionaries.

The Roumanian movement is now one of the soundest Marxian movements in Europe. Christian Socialists, Social-patriots, revolutionaries and the whole proletarian interests are lured from the movement. The Second International is dead for the Roumanian proletariat, and no one mourns it. Because of the terrible persecution, the Roumanian comrades at first hesitated to affiliate with the Third International; but they adhere to it unreservedly; while whole-hearted zeal they are striving for the dictatorship of the proletariat; and they stand ready, at any moment, to make any sacrifice for the realization of the stupendous aspirations toward which the International proletariat is striving.

Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship.

(Continued from page 3)

persecution was the result of the participation of the Menshevik and of the Social-Revolutionaries in the civil war on the side of the bourgeoisie and against the proletariat, the Socialist-Roumanian party revealed its sympathy in the civil war for the bourgeoisie as against the proletariat.

It is therefore quite natural that the majority at the Berne Yellow International came out in condemnation of the Bolsheviki.

This action was not, however, in the nature of a defense of "pure democracy" but rather in the nature of a self-defense of individuals who realize that in the civil war they stand with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

* * *

On the basis of these theses and after due consideration of the reports of delegates from various countries the Congress of the Communist International proclaims the chief task of the social democrats in those countries where the soviet-system has not yet been established as follows:

1. The enlightenment of the broad masses of the population of the countries of the soviet-system about the political significance, and the practical necessity of the new proletarian democracy which must be established in place of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism; and the struggle for soviet democracy in all branches of industry, in the army, the fleet, as well as among agricultural workers and small farmers, and

2. The gaining of a reliable, conscious, Communist majority within the soviet.