DURING the war administrative boards were set up at Washington to dictate the economic life of the nation. American business, which had bitterly opposed everything along the line of governmental economic regulation, quietly accepted the new order of things. For the most part, as the records clearly show, this regulation was not inimical to the most exorbitant profits. It was largely a matter of business men dealing with the government through themselves as government agents, or at any rate through their more or less direct special representatives at Washington.

But there was the period of the railroad breakdown and, early in 1918, the drastic mandates closing up business in order to conserve coal. Similar measures were taken as to other essentials of production. Against this most severe and highly arbitrary control of the economic life of the nation there was considerable protest—but no disobedience.

The war compelled a temporary shift from the normal business anarchists in the United States to an orderly economic activity in behalf of the war. American business accepted this economic rule, with its own special representatives at the helm, because of the collective American business interest in the war.

During the last few days American business has again been put under the arbitrary and absolute control of government administrators, due to the coal shortage. There is much grumbling—but no disobedience.

On the whole, given a few days for adjustment, it appears to be a fairly easy matter to establish by edict a universal six-hour day, allowing for some few exceptions and variations for special cases. It appears to be not anarchic but the essence of orderliness to redistribute the coal supply according to the immediate social needs. It appears the better course not to rely on individual initiative but on central administration guided by exact information as to the economic life in its entirety.

It appears, then, that the coal supply can determine the transition from business anarchy to business order. It appears that the essential element of business order is the elimination of independent individual control in favor of informed central control. When the productive life of the nation attains the point where it is divided up into a few great business enterprises, absolutely dependent upon one another, as all business is now dependent upon coal mining, then the continuity and efficiency of each of the great departments of production becomes the most vital concern of all the people of the nation.

At the same moment that the Wilsonian administration enforces this adjustment of the life of the whole nation to the short supply of coal, it also enters into the conflict between miners and operators which is the cause of the coal shortage. In this aspect of the government activity we see very quickly a high degree of tolerance for the profits of the coal operators and a high degree of intolerance for the wage and hour demands of the coal miners. We see no attempt to use judicial and military power to compel men to work at dictated wages and to crush the resistance which the miners can make because they are effectively organized—a resistance which consists only of collective refusal to go into the mines, a purely passive and peaceful resistance.

But a coal shortage of itself threatens a collapse of the entire economic life of the nation. The coal strike of itself has the full tendency and effect of a general strike. If less than half a million workers can thus compel a revolution in the economic system in the United States, and if this sort of organized action continues and takes on larger and larger proportions, it is apparent (Continued on page 3).
THE COMMUNIST
December

The President's Message

WHAT is the question on the peace treaty and the League of Nations? Nothing. What on the President's own war venture in Russia? Nothing. What on the settling agitation for predatory intervention in Mexico? Nothing. What on the steel and coal strikes and the threatening railroad strike? Nothing, except a few pious phrases which mean less than nothing, such as general democratization of all industry, and a council of peace and unity, etc., etc. What on the national debt and the billions due us from our bankrupt allies? That Congress shall relax the tariff to ease up on our favorable balance of trade, but that Congress shall go easy on the income and profits taxes. What on the high cost of living? That the farmers shall be coaxed to grow more foodstuffs and shall be kept generally contented. Also, another conference, a fresh, comprehensive survey made of rural agriculture which shall be kept properly contented, and have proper cold storage facilities.

Under the high cost of living theme comes the recommendation for federal licensing of commodity and interest rate business, and this is typical of a series of recommendations for an intensification of the program, static Capitalism inaugurated by the war. The message is not worthy of serious analysis. Where it is not a rebuff of former solutions, already proved empty by actual test, it is mere verbiage—and not as ornate as the usual Wilson verbiage.

The capitalist press featured in glaring headlines the dominant theme of Wilsonian statesmanship: down with the "passionate and malevolent agitators." Even here the meaning is "strong" as the headlines would indicate, because it seems to admit that punishing the evil agitators will not of itself cure all the economic and social ills of the nation.

This is an unfortunate admission. It shows a confusion of thought. Why not just blame it all on the agitators and let it go at that? Because the moment it is admitted that there are problems and causes, need for remedies and all that sort of thing, how on earth are you going to determine what agitation for one remedy or another is "passionate and malevolent agitator"?

Simple. My kind is good and just; yours is vicious and criminal—even if my kind is worthless. Swat the Bolshevik! Wilsonian statesmanship!

How Soon in Italy?

DEMONSTRATION and counter-demonstration in Italy, with tell of a hoarded and deaths, means that the revolution is in full progress. Of the dramatic demonstration of the Fascist movement against the king the press gave us barely enough lines to know that such an event happened—even though it is historically even more significant than the anti-Kaiser demonstration in the German Reichstag in March 1914.

The Italian Socialists in the Parliament refuse the oath and all homage to the monarchical government as the representatives of a powerful division of the Communist International. There is nothing to conjecture about what all these mean. There is only one question: how soon? How soon in Italy?

End of the Coal Strike

One item in the official conference on the President's terms of surrender to the miners tells the whole inner story of the strike. The "radicals" among the officials wanted the question of a strike to go back to the locals, by means of a delegate convention. The majority of the executive officials wanted the decision made over the heads of the locals.

The miners were not defeated. They will again rally their forces; they will yet find organized expression of the spirit of the rank and file. A revolution within American unionism cannot be held off much long.

Comment on a Commenter

By C. E. Ruthenberg

From Socialist News, Cleveland.

Benjamin Karr, who writes "Comments" for the Cleveland News was very much aroused by a speech made by Albert Rhys Williams at North Church last Sunday. So much so that he devoted his entire "comment" last Tuesday to that subject.

The first thing that aroused Karr was the fact that, as he says, "the more ardent (his)" (Williams') campaigning of the Russian Reds 'red's the better most of his hearers liked it." If that surprised this gentleman he has not been in touch with working class opinion in recent months. He should know that in spite of all the lies that newspapers like that for which he writes have been spreading, the working people of this country understand that in Russia something has happened that is of tremendous import to them, and it is only necessary to mention the word "Bolshevism" before a working class audience to secure a tremendous response. This is true in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, east or west, north or south. The naive surprise that Mr. Karr expresses on this point is, not however, the important part of his article. He attempts to prove that Williams was unfair and partisan. As an illustration he cites a passage from Mr. Karr's book which the speaker said that if in Russia there is a Dictatorship of the Proletariat in this country we have a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The latter statement is characterized as being "absolutely untrue." It is untrue, Mr. Karr says, because "there can be nothing which justifies the name 'dictatorship' in any country which has free unions, with universal suffrage, at the foundation of all its governmental institutions and power."

This is the kind of argument which writers such as he have been making for many years. They attempt to delude the workers by adding to the form of government, ignoring the fact.

It may be now Mr. Karr, but it is not thereafter, that Lenin himself does not consider the distinctions of the bourgeois and proletarian characteristics of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He stated in his writings on the subject that in some countries this dictatorship may be established without disenchaining the bourgeoisie. Whether a Dictatorship of the Proletariat exists is not determined by whether the bourgeoisie has the right to vote or not, but by the fact that the working class completely dominates the government and uses it in its own interest to wrest control of the industries from the capitalists.

In the United States we have the form of an "anticapitalist" government. It is true now and will be true after woman suffrage goes into effect, that even under this formal democracy millions of workers are disfranchised. There have no vote because of the character of their works. It will be true, therefore, even with woman suffrage in effect, that less proportion of the population will have the right to vote in the United States with its formal democracy, than in Russia under the Dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is not this fact, however, which determines the existence of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in this country. It is not a question of the basis of the franchise, but by the fact that the capitalists dominate and control the government of the United States is really more successful in a number of ways because Woodrow Wilson in 1912 was compelled to admit the truth of the statement that the capitalists dominated the government of this country.

The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is maintained by its control of the sources of information. The capitalists need not worry about the workers having the right to vote so long as they completely control the sources of information which determine how the workers will vote. So long as all the newspapers, the schools, the pulpit and most of the magazines and periodicals are subject to the will of the capitalists, they can well afford to permit the workers to remain under the illusion that they are really determining something when they go to the polls to vote. The fact is, though, that these workers are merely approving what the capitalists have already decided shall be done.

Hilari Robinson, who is a member of the "Bolshevik" group of the Red Army, has made an important article on the Red Army in the last number of the Communist. In this criticism Mr. Karr is not frank with himself nor with his readers. He knows as well as Williams, that there was no Red Army at the time of... (Continued on page 3)
Where is the Power? (Continued from page 1)

that we are rapidly approaching a dictatorship by the organized workers. Therefore the frantic, ruthless and violent methods to defeat the (Continued from page 3)

Comment on a Commenter

(Continued from page 3)

Russia was one of the Allies, from falling reason of the miners withholding their labor for a few weeks. We into the hands of Germany, after experience State Capitalism, the open class government of the Breshlavsk. It was because there was no Red Army and the use of the miners, in absolute control of the economic life of the nation. Even the electricians' demonstration is dropped; the control is exercised over the miners, through appointive administrators, the representatives of the highest inti- by the government, through the battery of workers, the open class government of the capitalists, in absolute control of the economic life of the nation. Even the electricians' demonstration is dropped; the control is exercised over the miners, through appointive administrators, the representatives of the highest inti- miny with and fidelity to the profit system.

The power to compel State Capitalism is the power to compel Communism! The power to compel a revolution within Capitalism, its voluntary acceptance of centralized control, is the power to achieve a revolution against Capitalism. The strike which can force Capitalism to seek refuge in the State for its own continuity can go further. It can force Capitalism to accept administrative control at the hands of the workers themselves; it can turn this control into the drastic elimination of profits as a permanent policy, to the point of absolute elimination of profits in all business which is already so far centralized that capitalist intervention does not exist any longer. A good example is the coal industry itself. More mines are already in operation than are needed, if the work were better managed and if the mining was more intensive and efficient. The profit incentive now only makes for more wastefulness though it formerly served to get the mines opened up; it is time for central control of the coal mines in the interests of conservation and better management.

There are many persons who believe that this can be done industry by industry, with the workers of the particular industry in control. This idea is to overlook everything depends on the ultimate political power, the State. So long as there is a State which represents the class power of the capitalists it is a mere playing with toys for some group of workers to have something to say about any part of the industry. At the most it might mean an intrenchment of this particular group within the scheme of State Capitalism. That is the gist of the Plunk Plan and of similar schemes for government ownership which accept capitalists State as the final organ of control.

The first requirement of the revolution against Capitalism is the setting up of a State power of the working class; firstly, to overcome the anarchy due to the breakup of capitalistic enterprise (just as such administration is set up today to preserve the profit system against the factory distrust). Secondly, it must make it appear to the working class not only that the government has decisive power, but that this is, in the United States, the power of the bourgeoisie—exercised dictatorially against the working class.

There is another item to be considered, a fundamental fact in these struggles, and that is the breakdown of the caste lines among the workers themselves. While the capitalist press is playing up the "alien" prejudice in every possible way—by a prejudice propaganda only surpassed in extent and viciousness by the prejudice campaigns against the Bolsheviks and the whipping up of anti-communism—there is quietly going on the effective blending of nationalities and languages in the steel strike and the coal strike. The only class lines which account for caste are the political lines. These are being broken down by the changes in industry itself, by the inevitable tendency of the manufacturing process toward a common level of work-skilled hands. Yet, as a result of these tendencies the class idea comes ever more insistently to the front, and at the same time it is seen that the class struggle centers around the State and its control.

Capitalism is compelled to become more orderly, to recognize the independence of business enterprise and the social life, because of the miners withholding their labor for a few weeks. We experience State Capitalism, the open class government of the capitalists, in absolute control of the economic life of the nation. Even the electricians' demonstration is dropped; the control is exercised over the miners, through appointive administrators, the representatives of the highest inti-
Communist Party and Soviet Institutions

By Vladimir Sorin
(Of the Left Communist Group).

Translation by Morris Gordin.

The reasons which have brought to a standstill the further development of our revolution and forced it, without a battle, to commence a gradual recession from the already attained positions, are universally acknowledged to be: the intricacy of the international situation, the tardiness in the rise of the Western-European revolution, the petty-bourgeois routine and apathy of one large section of the population, the colossal economic breakdown, etc. This summary, however, lacks one factor which is exerting a negative influence upon the revolutionary movement, and that is the achievement of the October Revolution. This is the conservatism of the Soviet organizations themselves—a conservatism which is conditioned by the material (social) status of the numerous army of the Soviet employees as well as by the distinct psychology which is beginning to crystallize in consequence of their material position.

To clarify this question let us approach it indirectly, that is to say, to the socialist democracy that undertakes to analyze the genesis and structure of one or another social group and to investigate its group interests and aspirations.

The November Revolution having destroyed the old governmental apparatus and having removed the officials connected with it, confronted the working class with the necessity of creating a new governmental machine and restoring social order. A wide field was open for men of organizing capacity, and tens of thousands of people acquired the possibility of utilizing their talents and abilities in the Soviet state. Of what elements was recruited the vast army of Soviet employees who swarmed into various commissariats and commissions, departments and branches, bureaus and committees, etc.?

Of course, first of all there is the category of the old much-tried party men; but if, however, we desire to be sober realists, we must recognize that only an insignificant number of these are to active and unrivaled are to think of the subsequent development of the revolution, of its extensions; the majority of the old party men, exhausted by the Ural workers, by the embracing of the working class, the nerve-wracking "underground" work and the life of the revolutionary fraught with dangers, —now after the triumph of the proletariat clinging to their quiet and peaceful work for the Socialist reconstruction. This group is inclined to consider its place in the Soviet organization as a natural consummation and culmination of their hard pre-revolutionary work, and they involuntarily begin to regard with hostility and concealed fear every determined measure which endangers the tranquillity attained by them through such hard labor.

Still another element was anxious to work for the Soviet organizations, i.e., a certain semi-intellectual stratum possessing a limited education, which under the old regime had not much of a chance; but now, due the sabotage of the highly trained technical personnel, anybody with a smattering of scientific training and an elementary grasp of arithmetic and grammar suddenly became a valuable and necessary man.

These semi-intellectuals (clerks, scribes, petty officials, etc.) who under the old regime could not even think of a "career", at the present time, as a result of the November Revolution, created a tremendous demand for all sorts of technicians and specialists, have "emerged into society"; they are on the whole (we do not speak of isolated "idealistic" individuals or groups) interested in conserving their privileged position; and this position is really a privileged one; a certain "weight" and respect in the eyes of people of their "circle", a fair salary, greater security in regard to the future, a multiplicity of privileges and advantages combined make the average Soviet employee to hold on to his job and by no means dispose him toward revolutionary daring.

The army of Soviet employees comprises also that politically indifferent "public" which is ready to serve anybody under any regime, and has now "worn its way" into the Soviet institutions. Finally, we shall mention the position of every of technicians and specialists who undoubtedly do not sympathize with the Soviets for which they consented to work only on the highest salaries, the position of the new republic in trained men.

This group is evidently the most reactionary; only the spur of an income (and not seldom the dollar-hunting impulse) impels the members of this group to give their knowledge and experience to the working class. The mere existence of the Soviets frightens them and, they are only willing to put up with them, provided the Soviet will be rebuilt and adapted to the middle-class, will become acceptable for the broad sections of the bourgeois democracy. Because the dominant power attributes importance to this group, appreciates it, therefore this group is able to exert a pressure from within upon the policy of the Soviets, tending in a conservative and even reactionary direction.

Such is the composition of that new social group which is designated as the personnel of the Soviet employees: a view of the culture and backwardness of Russia and lack of intellectual elements, the personnel could not be other; the general background is made up of partly tired and partly utterly unreliable groups, while seeking recognition and honors and nucli of active and tireless workers represent the exception.

From our analysis it follows that the personnel of the Soviet employees, being largely interested in the preservation of its privileged position and its purely professional interests, is prone to assert itself as a conservatice social group; hence the distrustfulness toward the working classes, the desire to isolate itself from them, to parry, to parry, the disposition to get away from party control, (against which the provincial party papers vehemently protest), its fear of perturbations, the inconsiderate position to the wants of the workers, the disposition to compromise, the desire to adapt the terrifying Soviet power to the middle-class, the official red-tape, etc. We are far from the assertion that the Soviet personnel has already become involved in a new-style bureaucracy, as hopelessly detached from the masses as happened, for instance, with the higher-up elements of the German trade-unions—but doubtless there is such a tendency in evidence. Certainly, this does not depend upon the evil-will of separate individuals, or upon the idiosyncrasy of the Russian Revolution: such a danger threatens every revolution, because the capitalistic fraction which has taken up the sack in the bud the independent action of the masses and to habitude them to the thought that the management of the government must be carried along by the shoulders of the lowest,Series trained men. At any rate, we must see to it that the November Revolution shall not be utilized for the aggravation of a comparatively small group; for that all groups and means: the participation of the broad masses in the political work, the facilitation and the strengthening of the control by the workers over the personnel which is called upon to attend to their needs, the abolition of the privileges enjoyed by the proletarian workers.

Finally, the Party itself, being considerately better guarded against disintegration, must extend its control over the Soviet factions and must make all the political workers accountable and responsible to the Party.

It was more than once pointed out that the power of the Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Delegates is the highest achievement of our revolution. This is, of course, correct, but should we suppose that the Communist Party is always and everywhere superior to the Soviets. And this is entirely comprehensible: only the Party functions as the center of the interests of the world-proletariat, of the international working class; while the Soviets are the representatives of the labor democracy in general, and its interests particular interests of the petty-bourgeois peasantry, do not always coincide with the interests of the proletariat.

The Left Communists are the most determined adherents of the Soviet power, but of course only to the extent to which the Soviet power follows a strictly proletarian line of action and does not permit itself to be diverted, under the influence of conditions, from the program referred to in the beginning of the article, in the direction of petty-bourgeois politics.

Our comrades are apt to charge us to introduce disorganization into the well-ordered work of the Soviets, that we are enemies of the Soviets "from the left". Such a view is indicative of a lack of understanding. A real thoroughgoing dictatorship of the proletariat, a non-compromise policy, a renunciation of all opportunistic measures are the demands of the left Communists.

We do not deny that the parsimony of a strictly proletarian course in the foreign and internal policy is fraught with terrific dangers, involving perhaps a temporary downfall, but we presume that in the interests of the world-proletarian movement it is preferable to fall under the onslaught of external enemies, than to fallah the Soviet power, rather than to save our course through bargaining with conditions, by means of a repudiation of the principles of Communist and the "rebirth" of the Soviet power which will be converted into an empty shell, a "form" of proletarian Soviets with an entirely unproletarian content. This second course spells the disintegration, the decay of the Soviet power, the disorganization of the working masses of Russia and Western Europe.
The United Mine Workers of America
Early History
By John Langley

Organization among the coal miners of the United States has been subject to marked vicissitudes. Not until the present organization, the United Mine Workers, got the twelfth hand did there seem any hope for a permanent unionization of the mining workers. The tremendous number of workers, the extremely different conditions in different districts, and the large proportion of immigrant workers have greatly interfered with the existence of miners' organizations. The first national miners' organization was the American Miners' Association, established in Illinois in 1861. Its founders were men schooled in English trade unionism. It gradually extended its powers to several eastern states. However, it lacked central control and, coupled with strike failures caused it to dissolve in 1867.

The Miners' and Laborers Benevolent Association

The year 1869 witnessed the birth of the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania. Soon it brought its influence to the bituminous regions of western Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Maryland and Kentucky. It did not extend to the western states, although separate organizations exchanged cards with it. In 1873 it was absorbed by the Miners' National Association, a more widely extended body. For two or three years the argument was the leading one, with John Sinye, rather prosperous. Soon, however, wages fell, and a series of disastrous strikes (culminating in the fatal struggle at Benton) blotted it out of existence. Some of the locals were absorbed by the Knights of Labor.

Chaos in organization ended with the formation of the National Federation of Miners' and Mine Laborers in 1885. It succeeded in securing trade agreements from the operators of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and West Virginia. January 1890 saw the first joint conference of miners and operators. Wrangling over interstate agreements decreased the power of the union very seriously.

In 1890 the United Mine Workers was organized. For the first time practically all the organized miners throughout the country were brought together. The great strike of 1897 was its Life Test. Thousands of the non-union men flocked to its colors and the number of members grew from 11,000 to 54,000 with the highly successful outcome of the struggle. An 8-hour day was won. The next few years showed the more remarkable strikes. On January 1st, 1900, there were 931 local unions and 91,019 members. In January of 1901 these numbers leaped to 146 locals and 172,529 paid-up members.

Unionism had now accepted by miners in 15 states, and practically half the miners of the country were within the folds of the U. M. W.; although it had not yet touched Colorado, Wyoming, North Carolina and a few other states. At this date its main strength was among the bituminous workers. To realize the phenomenal success of this organization one must consider the conditions faced by the U. M. W. Here was ignorance, the parent of distrust, in an un

(Continued on page 6)
The Central Executive Committee Meeting

The Central Executive Committee of the party met in Chicago on Nov. 15 to 18th. Resolutions on the unity campaign of C. L. P., on the party policy in reference to the present industrial crisis in the United States and a proclamation to the membership and appeal to the members of the Finnish and Scandinavian federations, adopted by the committee, have already been published in "The Communist." The following is a summary of the other business transacted by the committee:

International Relations
The first session of the committee was devoted to the question of the International Relations of the party. It was decided to take such action as would bring to the front the facts about the Communist Party, which have been grossly misrepresented in Europe, to the attention of the members and in more representative of the party at any congress of the Communist International which may be held in the near future.

Organization Details
A member of the Executive Council was designate to be acting executive secretary, in conjunction with the Executive Council, at any time that Comrade Rattenberg was unable to act. Comrade Rattenberg was elected acting editor of "The Communist," with the understanding that in case he was unable to act that Comrade Rattenberg have the editorial responsibility for the paper. Further provision was made in case these comrades could not act.

A telegram was received from Marion Speare advising that she had refused to speak from same platform with C. E. P. speaker prior to receipt of instructions from the committee in effect from the Executive Council.

The Executive Secretary was directed to see that the services of some competent Finnish comrade to take up work among the Finnish organizations.

The Executive Council was directed to proceed with the work of organizing Young People's Com." a word decided upon by the party convention.

The committee received the resignation of Comrade Petras and secretary was instructed to notify the first alternate elected by the convention, now to be a member of the committee.

United Mine Workers of America

(Continued from page 5)

Mexico

The Executive Council was instructed to draw up a declaration of the Mexican Communist Party in issuing this statement as a joint declaration.

Soviet Bureau

The Central Executive Committee adopted a resolution placing the party on record as supporting the Soviet Government of Russia with all its power and defining the attitude of the Soviet Bureau. While stating its support in principle of the position taken by the Russian Federation the committee decided that it would press the demands made, pending action by the Russian Soviet Government.

Party Discipline

A resolution adopted and sent out by the German Liebknecht Branch of Detroit, specifically repudiating the party program and manifesto was brought before the committee. Since, in applying for charter the branch had endorsed the program and constitution of the party, which it now repudiated, the committee considered that the charter had been obtained under false pretenses and voted to expel the branch from the party. (Since then it has developed that the resolution was the work of a committee which had not come before the branch under form sent out. The matter is now under investigation by the branch.)

"In view of the fact that Proletarian University and Clubs are engaged in propaganda contrary to the principles of the Communist Party and principles and organization, no party member shall teach, be a member of, or in any way promote the activities of the Proletarian University and Clubs." The Executive Secretary was also instructed to enforce Section 9 of Article 3 in relation to the magazine "The Proletarian." Party Policy

The International Secretary and International Delegate were authorized to revise the "Report to the International" and after such revision the report was ordered transmitted and also printed in the "Communist International" as an official document of the party.

The International Delegates were instructed to present to the Congress of the Communist Party of America a resolution on the question of the relation of Industrial Unions to Communism in accordance with the Program of the Communist Party of America.

A committee of three was appointed to study the relation of the party to the Unions of the laborers of the World and the general question of the industrial organization which party members are to be urged to support and join, which will make recommendations at its next meeting.

The committee agreed with Comrade Martens of the Soviet bureau against officials of the bureau using the prestige of their position in the International Communist Labor Party and against the Communist Party.

The question of establishing a school for party workers was referred to the Executive Council with the instructions to collect information on the subject.

Editors of all party papers were requested to send translations of articles of general interest to the "Communist," which will distribute these among its membership.

The action of the Executive Council to the effect that the publications of all newly created paper, "The Yoho" over to the Central Executive Committee to become the official organ of the German Federation.

It was decided that the printing of the paper "The Yoho" was to be controlled by the duties of the translator-secretaries the work of the organizers and require other services of them, but that the work of the translator-secretaries should at all times be primarily under the control of the Executive Council and Executive Secretary.

The sum of $100.00 was appropriated as a contribution to the Minnesota State Organization to assist in its work.

C. E. RUTHERFEBG,
Executive Secretary

CONCLUSION

The U. M. W. is not only the biggest union in the A. F. L. in numbers, but also in power and wealth. Its colossal fights are a constant drain upon its finances. In the 17 years ending December 1, 1915, the total expenditures of this single union were $217,747,790. Of this the staggering sum of $65,451,832.44 was spent for strike aid. This does not include the millions expended by the district and the local bodies. No other labor union on earth can show an equal expenditure for strikes, and all of this in spite of the fact that very few organizations have made more strenuous efforts to avoid such trials of strength. The U. M. W. not only conducts the biggest strikes, but its affairs affect all industry. The management of a miners' strike is comparable with the strategy of a great military campaign. For them to supply relief is to manage the commissary of an army. No funds are paid in cash as is done in city strikes, for the money is in cash in a mining camp would mean to play into the hands of the company's store.

The union therefore buys its supplies in train¬load lots and establishes a distributing center in each camp. An elaborate system of rationing is put into effect. This "war" demand has led them to establish similar stores in peace times. They are the leaders in the American co-operative movement. In the co-operative movement they run their own co-operative stores. As to a general benefit system, national organization has as yet done nothing, although districts are taking it up. Unionism to miners is more than a religion. Mr. Frank Julius Warne who has studied them closely calls this union "the maker of men and democracy in America." It has performed the functions of school, government, church and universities and has done it better than institutions bearing these names.

The U. M. W. know no "foreigner," though 62% of its membership is foreign-born. It is the problem of the "melting pot" and has welded over 25 nationalities into one highly social group. In 1914 ended one of the most wonderful strikes in the history of all Labor. For 14 months 17,000 miners of over 25 nationalities were striking and yet there was never the least suspicion of violence—not a window was wrecked!

Like the miners the world over the rank and file of the American Miners are in the front of radical thought. A consciously revolutionary miners organization means a proletarian dagger at the heart of American capitalism. Hence the hating and Intemational solidarity of that mad dog—American Bourgeoisism. On with the Communist task!
Help Defend your Comrades!

Organization Progress

Bulgarian Branch Joins C. P.

The revolutionary elements in the Socialist Labor Party are gradually beginning to realize that they cannot any longer remain in that organization and are severing their connection and joining the Communist Party. The latest organization to take this step is the Bulgarian Branch of Detroit. This branch has issued the following statement to other Bulgarian branches in the S. L. P.:

More than one-third of the members of the Bulgarian Branch of the S. L. P. of Detroit have severed their connection with the S. L. P. and joined the Communist Party of America.

These members took this action because they were dissatisfied with the inactivity and anti-revolutionary attitude of the S. L. P. and its conservative and pro-capitalist tactics.

Over forty members answered the call of the Third International and joined the Communist Party.

Being isolated from the Bulgarian workers whom we are appealing to the Bulgarian workers who are connected with the Communist Party to come in contact with the Bulgarian Communist Branch of Detroit. The branch is printing the Manifesto and Program, Constitution and Report to the International in Bulgarian, which will be ready in two weeks.

Those who wish to communicate with the branch may do so through the National Office of the Communist Party.

Charters Issued by the Communist Party up to December 1, totaled 631. The membership of the branches to which these charters were issued was 68,314. In addition to these 631 branches there are over 400 branches of Federations affiliated with the party which had not secured their charters. In the average membership of these branches is the same as that of those which have already been chartered the total membership of the party will go well over the 60,000 mark.

Charter Applications Must Be in by January 1

In order to secure a charter from the Communist Party as an organized branch the application for charters of such branches must be sent to the National Headquarters by January 1.

The provision of the constitution of the party under which charters are being granted to organized bodies reads as follows:

Any branch of the Socialist Party or Socialist Labor Party which endorses the program and constitution of the Communist Party and applies for a charter before January 1, 1920, shall be accepted as a branch.

Organized branches which do not send their applications before the date mentioned will have to make application as new organizations and each member will be obliged to pay the initiation fee of fifty cents.

Branches which desire to have a continuity of membership and have not yet applied for a charter should do so at once.

Radek Pamphlet Now Ready

Many difficulties with printers delayed the publication of pamphlet No. 1, which we promised several weeks ago. This pamphlet contains "The Foundations of Socialism recapitulated in Action" by Karl Korsch, one of the most valuable recent contributions to the literature of the movement. It is now off the press, however, and shipments are being made. Prices are as follows: pamphlet No. 1, "The Communist Party and the I. W. W. - A Debate" will be printed at a very early date.

Buttons

If you can't wear the party button any other way, you'll want one to put on your vest or your coat lapel. The buttons are now ready, shipped. The button shown is outlined in white on a red flag, everything except the assertion of the Socialism of the party is in red, with a red margin on which the words "The Communist Party of the World" are in white. Write in "Communist International." It is in red, 3c in lots of 100, or more.

Leaflet No. 5

Leaflet No. 5, "You Must Unite, Workmen," which appeared on the front page of the 10 issue of "The Communist" is now being printed and will be ready for shipment by the time you read this. This leaflet covers a very important subject - the unification of the strikes - and should be sent to every one of your co-workers. Send in the bonds and money to be used as bail to keep these comrades out of prison. Send in your contribution to the Defense Fund. We must have quick action.

Let us take up the challenge which the ruling class hurl at us and defend our comrades to the limit!
Communist Propaganda in Russia

BEARING in mind the necessity of a firm and lasting alliance between the proletariat and the poorest peasants and peasants of medium means, also bearing in mind the political darkness, the general ignorance and the low standard of agricultural knowledge in the villages, which are serious obstacles and which condemn the poorest peasantry and the peasantry of medium means to poverty and stagnation—the Communist Party is compelled to pay most serious attention to the matter of education in the villages in the broadest sense of the word.

For the purpose of educational activities in the villages the following elements must cooperate:

1. Communist propaganda;
2. General education;
3. Agricultural education.

Political propaganda in the villages must be carried among the literate peasants as well as among the illiterate.

The propaganda among the literate must consist first of all in the distribution of popular literature and newspapers of a Communist character prepared for this purpose. Such literature must be sold at very low prices in schools, reading halls, and in all Soviet stores.

It is necessary to strive for the organization of reading rooms in every school with a political department, and that such reading rooms should be in every village People’s House; and, in places where they are not out, and where the history of the Great Russian Revolution; (2) the interpretation of the Soviet constitution. For both of these courses proper text-books are to be prepared immediately.

The teachers are obliged to look upon themselves as upon agents not only of a general but also of a Communist education.

In this respect they must be subjected to the control of their immediate heads, as well as of the local party organizations.

Moving picture houses, theatres, concerts, exhibitions, etc., inasmuch as they will reach the villages (and all effort is to be exerted for this purpose), must be utilized for Communist propaganda directly, i.e., through the upkeep of these and also by way of combining these with lectures and meetings.

Depot villages and sub-commission county—with the assistance and under the control of the local party organizations, must organize legions of propagandists who are partly permanent, etc., attached to their special, partly traveling, i.e., such as will cover a more or less wide section.

In the big city centers it is necessary that the party organizations should form collegiums of propagandist-instructors (in accordance with the local organs of the Commissariat of Education), who would carry a travelling propaganda directly among masses, and also instruct the less experienced comrades in the localities.

In this connection the convention calls special attention to the possibility of utilizing the work of the regiments of industrial workers, who are under the direction of the All-Russian Soviet of Professional Unions.

For the illiterate, periodical readings must be arranged in the schools, on the premisses of the volost (county) Soviet of Deputies, in the reading halls, etc., for which purpose the departments of public education, with the assistance of the local party organizations, create special circles of readers, including the local teaching staff, with obligatory readings by the literate elements. The subjects of the readings should be the decrees and administrative orders of the Soviets, together with specially-prepared popular instructions sent out by the centres (party or Soviet Centres), also stories for readers, which are being constantly revised. It would be advisable to accompany such reading with illustrations by way of motion pictures or stereopticon slides; also a reading of fiction, as well as concerts for the purpose of attracting large audiences.

2. General education—within school and outside of school (including artistic education: theatres, concerts, motion pictures, exhibitions, etc.), endeavoring not only to shed the light of a varied knowledge on the dark villages, but primarily to aid in the creation of self-consciousness and of a clear conception of things—must be closely connected with the Communist propaganda. There are not any forms of science and art which are not connected with the great ideas of Communism and with the various tasks of creating Communist economy.

As far as the schools are concerned, the question of revising them on principles of continuity and labor has been decided. It is necessary to pay special attention to all forms of out-of-school education for adults. The party must by all means assist the Soviet authorities and the local population in the organization of a large system of community centers (People’s Houses), for which purpose the Soviet estates are to be used first of all. The community centers must be peasants’ clubs for resting, for sensible annuements, and broad enlightenment, general as well as Communist.

The Communist Party, permitting and encouraging the utilization of the efforts of the specialists and other educated persons for conducting courses and for aiding in conducting Communist centers—must take care at the same time that the elements catalogued above may not shun the use of the apparatus of general education and should not introduce in the form of literature, science and art any counter-revolutionary or in any other respect the efforts of Communist propaganda.

3. The peasants feel keenly the need of agricultural education.

The Soviet estates, as well as the farm schools, must become the light-houses of agricultural education. Agricultural institutions, organized by the People’s Commissariat of Education, must be in closest contact with the agricultural institutions of the People’s Commissariat of Agriculture.

There must not be any schools, colleges, or agricultural educational organizations in the villages which do not endeavor (in accordance with the principle of combining studies with productive labor) to function at least the same time as an organization of a model husbandry—complete or in part.

Agricultural education must be carried in such a way as to combine this with Communist ideas and it should serve as a pillar of building the new society, as opposed to the old construct private establishments into one organized Socialist institution.

They Got the Chicken Killers!

From Socialist News, Cleveland Communist Paper.

THURSDAY morning’s papers reported a raid made on the Socialist Labor Lyceum by Chief of Police Smith, Inspector Grauel, Bliss Morton, several captains, some lieutenant detectives, a score of policemen and more than fifty members of the Labor American League, otherwise known as the Black Hundred, which has as its special object to establish castrism in America.

With such an army and under the leadership of Chief of Police Smith himself, to say nothing of the redoubtable McGowen who officiates as the leader of the Black Hundred, the game haged should have been big indeed.

The newspapers reported that about seventy men had been arrested and the suggestion was that they were "bomb throwers", "reds", "Bolsheviki" and Communists. It is true that about that many men were loaded into the police trams and automobiles which the army brought with them. But, remarkable as it may seem, in place of bagging "bomb throwers", "reds", "Bolsheviks" and Communists, Inspector Grauel, Bliss Morton, McGowen, the captains, lieutenants, detectives, patrolmen and very loyal Americans carried with them to the police station nothing more or less than Chicken Killers! Yes, Chicken Killers.

Lest anyone gain the impression that this is some new and more dangerous variety of that group whose various names have been catalogued above, it should be added that it is a custom among orthodox Jews to have their chickens killed by certain special persons who possess some peculiarity for the task. These men are known as "choke-timbs". They have been receiving for their work of slaughtering fowl the sum of five cents each. This they claimed was too little and so they proceeded to organize a union for the purpose of increasing the price of killing chickens to ten cents. The union was in session at the Socialist Labor Lyceum when the army above enumerated descended upon the place and the unionists subsequently the bag of "chicken killers".

This raid which besides the "chicken killers" haged the conservative members of the Jewish "Arbeiter Ring" has given some workmen reason to wonder if the radical movement some taste of police methods in Cleveland at the present time. These men got their portion of brutal handling. They were brought into the police trams and automobiles, and thrown in jail for no other reason than that they are engaged in a peaceable meeting. Let the police and the "Loyal American" keep it up. They are doing well.