The art capital of the world. Vienna, as the second decade of the 20th century draws to a close, makes the mind reel. Can it be that these five years of the highest development of bourgeois civilization have not hopelessly crushed the human spirit and destroyed all sanity? What is there left to give balance to life? It is past belief that there is still so profound and universal a fearfulness over the cost of revolution. All the revolutions of all of history have not cost more than the losses of a few days of the warfare which is the life principle of bourgeois civilization, the technically advanced warfare of the machine age. After the war—then the peace of starvation and cannibalism! Yet so many can yield their minds and souls to small purposes, lest their pitance of miserable possession be ever so remotely endangered.

The calculation was made of only those killed in battle these years of highest civilization that, marching in columns of ten, at the rate of ten columns a minute—6,000 an hour—the young dead, stopping neither day nor night, would require sixty-three days to pass a given point! There is no way for the mind really to grasp the destructiveness of these years, a destructiveness which will not spend itself for generations. A destructiveness that will be refreshed with new catastrophes so long as the effective causes remain active.

This civilization demands that men shall pay it homage or stop their mouths and minds! Oh, the cringing cowardice of the tens of millions who bow in submissiveness! Oh, the revolting pettiness of those who see in all this only their own small purposes of immediate security!

To be respected within the social scheme of this civilization is to be marked with approval of its savageries and bestialities. There are no free souls in the world today—except in the ranks of the revolution! The noblest of all are in the bourgeois prisons. The noblest are meeting death in the revolutionary struggle.

At one period and another, out of the abysmal depths of the dark mass life comes a new momentum, a new power, a new progress of life. Revolution is the life principle of society. From one revolution to the next some threads are carried over, and out of these threads, saved against all storms and mishaps, is woven a pattern of life ascendant.

Well then, men will speak and women will speak in bitter scorn of this master-civilization, and in rapturous hope of the new human life that comes now out of the heart of the great new working masses, the workers banded in armies for machine manoeuvres. They will hurl the challenge of destruction against the mad system of destructiveness; and these voices will prove to be the prophetic prelude of the slow but ponderous gestures of the dark masses—dark but with inner light of the new Civilization.

With the proletarian revolution will come the release of the material and intellectual powers of the 20th century to the service of a social system which seeks, not profits, but highest human potentialities.

Only the Communist revolution can save us from capitalistic destructiveness.
VIENNA has long been suggestive of gayety, exquisite artistry, civic beauty — art capitol of the world. Abysmal degradation of human life going with the world war, staggering atavism rampant everywhere, has dulled the mind to new sensations of horror. Yet to read of cannibalism in Vienna, as the second decade of the 20th century draws to a close, makes the mind reel. Can it be that these five years of the highest development of bourgeois civilization have not hopelessly crushed the human spirit and destroyed all sanity? What is there left to give balance to life?

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With the proletarian revolution will come the release of the material and intellectual powers of the 20th century to the service of a social system which seeks, not profits, but highest human potentialities.

Only the Communist revolution can save us from capitalistic destructiveness.
Legal Defense

There is a good deal of nonsense going around concerning the legal status of class war prisoners. In a recent editorial on deportations, we stated that our fight in the courts is not based on concern about legal precedents nor on illusions about the "principles of American liberties." We recognize fully the class character of the courts and of their "principles."

We also pointed out that we yield nothing to the opponents of the Communist Party who say that we "break the law" in trying to keep up the fight against deportations by illegal propaganda. We reply that where there is open propaganda, there is no law.

The Communist Party is contesting the proposition that membership in the organization is illegal on all legal, economic, and political grounds. There is no legal basis for the protest of the Appeals Group against the legal status of open propaganda. As a matter of fact, the Appeals Group is advocating illegal propaganda itself.

The theory of voluntary martyrdom is one that belongs to revolutionary romance, not to Communism. It is a link with the past, a ploy that will not get us anywhere in the class war to a flourishing of Russian nationalism. We yield nothing to those who say that we are "criminal" by trying to stop the deportation of our comrades.

The Communist Party to thetat membership in this organization is illegal on all legal, economic, and political grounds. There is no legal basis for the protest of the Appeals Group against the legal status of open propaganda. As a matter of fact, the Appeals Group is advocating illegal propaganda itself.

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The French General Elections

By Robert Dell

From The London Daily Herald"

The French General Elections

Most of the British Press has described the result of the French General Election as a victory for "Moderate Republicanism." The Bourgeoisie over Nationalists, Clericals, and other practitioners, who have enlisted under the banner of M. Clemenceau, is, indeed, Moderate, both in quantity and quality, but this is not a victory for moderation. It is the Peasants and the working classes who have placed the destinies of France in the hands of Chauvinists and militarists of the type which ruled during the greater part of the nineteenth century. It means social and political reaction at home and an aggressive policy abroad.

M. Clemenceau has been a wrecker throughout his political career. When he was Prime Minister for the first time, he broke the "Bloc"—the Coalition of the Left—and disintegrated the Radical Party, which has since declined steadily in power and influence, and is now reduced to nullity. Now that he is Prime Minister for the second time, he has of Press and parliamentary institutions and disintegrated the bourgeois Republic. For this general election will result in the destruction of the second reaction, which has created a situation from which there is no issue other than that of open reaction—a coup d'etat of a normal distribution of revolution.

Immediately, the result of the election will strenghten the revolutionary and anti-parliamentary elements in the French proletariat. It is characteristic of the Peasants, that they have voted against the party which has been its historic enemy ever since its foundation.

The complete results of the election are not yet available, but 586 deputies have been elected out of a total of 626 and the remaining 40 results cannot affect the situation. The respective political labels as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republican of the Left</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radicals</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialists</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist Republics</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialists</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist Republics</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissident Socialists</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourgeois Opposition</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various lists</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10,959,513</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is difficult to discover the exact number of votes for each list, but, taking the averages, about 300,000 electors voted for the Coalitionists and about 250,000 for the Socialists. The total number of effective voters in Paris and the provinces was 8,720,000; there were more than 20,000 spoiled papers.

In Paris itself no candidate obtained a clear majority of votes, and the result was that P. R. was elected in each of the three divisions. But the P. R. system adopted is so extraordinary that its results are far from proportional. Thus the six discontented Social-Peasants standing in Paris obtained only 191,481 votes altogether, and four of them were elected, whereas the Socialist party elected only 10 departments.

The Socialists are included in the table above in the bourgeoisie Opposition. Where the system of block voting (candidature de liste) operated alone, the results were still more extraordinary. In the suburbs of Paris the Coalitionors, 1,376,602, and the Coalition returned all the 14 deputies, because all its candidates were supported by the Peasants; 110,000 electors are thus entirely disfranchised.

In the provinces the Coalition also returned all the 12 deputies, although it must be said that by about 30,000 voters left 10 of 159,014, so that the Peasants would have won.

One of the 12 Coalitionists were returned, although only seven of them had a clear majority of votes. The results show that Peasants left over were not enough to go round on the system of P. R., so, under a clause of the law, they were all attributed to the list with the largest average. Nearly half the voters were thus disfranchised.

In one case, that of Honle-Vieuze, the Socialists carried all the seats (five), but nowhere else the block voting told in favor of the Coalition. As was anticipated in the "Daily Herald," the polls as a rule were weak. In Paris and its suburbs about 74 per cent of the electorate voted, but in other departments containing large towns the poll was much smaller. For instance, it was 64 per cent in the Seine and 65 per cent in the district of Marseille. Undoubtedly a large proportion of the abstentions was due to anti-parliamentarianism; it was expected.

It has to be remembered that the proletariat in France is in a minority. The rural population is about 45 per cent of the whole, and there is a larger proportion of persons living on unearned income than in any other country. Further, about a million and a half workers were killed in the war, of whom the great majority were Frenchmen. The proportion of old men among the voters is therefore larger that it has ever been before. It is possible that any Frenchman, now known in the name of his party, will be a member of the workingmen's organization in which he voted, and that a large section of the proletariat abstained from voting on anti-parliamentarian grounds.

What's in a Lie?

By Fritz Friedmann

Under the caption "What's in a Name?" the Communist Labor Party News prints the following item:

Did you know that the official name of the Bolsheviki, the governmental party of Soviet Russia, is "The Communist Labor Party Of Russia?" The Communist Labor Party of America is travelling in good company, thank you.

We thank you also—for that brave lie! There has never existed in Russia a party which called itself "The Communist Labor Party of Russia." In its issue of October 25, No. 21, the official organ of the Russian Soviet Bureau, "Soviet Russia," published two documents in which the Bolsheviki Party is repeatedly designated as "The Communist Labor Party." We knew most certainly that such a name for the Bolsheviki Party and therefore decided to send a letter of inquiry to the Soviet Bureau in order to clarify the question. In reply we received the following letter:

"Of your inquiry of recent date we wish to say that the official name of Bolsheviki Party of Russia is 'The Party of the Communist Trade Unions.'" Yours faithfully,

"(signed) G. Weinstein,

Secretary of the Representatives."

This letter shows at once that the Communist Labor Party News states a lie, when it declares that the Russian Party's name is "The Communist Labor Party." Moreover, the name of the Bolsheviki Party is still different from the name even as given in the reply above. In his pamphlet "Who are the Communists?" (ON THE QUESTION AS TO THEIR PARTY), on page 4, Comrade Steklov writes:

"Guided by the above mentioned considerations, the Seventh Congress of our Party held in January last decided to change the name of the Party to "The Communist Party of Russia," the Bolsheviki Party of America!"

This name also appears in some of Lenin's books. It also is mentioned in Bucharin's pamphlet "Our Program," which is sold by the Communist Labor Party of America under the false title of "The Program of the Communist Labor Party of Russia." This name, "The Communist Party of Russia," appears in works of Russian authors and it is more than evident that this is the real name of the Bolsheviki Party. Indeed, there is no plausible reason to have the term "labor" inserted in the name.

The falsification of documents, pamphlets and the distortion of the name of The Russian Communist Party is a new "tactic" of party propaganda. Our task is to get a foothold in the working-class movement of America, then we may assure the C. L. P. that they will have hard luck and uncertain victory without the necessary pre­

tene... We have no doubt that the real Communist elements attached to the C. L. P. at present will discover that they are in the wrong place and will soon find their way to the only real Communist organization in this country: The Communist Party of America!
The Menace of American Capitalism

By J. D. Newbold, M. A.
(British Socialist Party publication)

Woodrow Wilson had a plausible solution of their troubles to lay before the people. He spoke in generalities. He coined and trundled his vague and indefinable phrases about Liberty and Democracy, about Self Determination and Public Right, backwards and forwards before them. They knew the present and had forgotten the past before they had learned to know it. Hence they did not pause to ask him to explain what precisely he meant by these amiable abstractions which, throughout its history, have been the one great contribution of American Democracy to the leader-footed progress of human emancipation.

They recognised a difference, a most pleasing but, not necessarily, a fundamental difference between his speeches and those of Wilhelm II. and Georges Clemenceau. They looked upon the surface and looked no deeper. They missed the sub-rationing of the old diplomacy and in contradiction to the Anglo-French model read what they deemed to be a plain statement of facts in a series of elegant notes and declarations duly laid upon the guillotine table by Wilson.

Wilson is, essentially, an American in his methods. Not the American of the middle of the nineteenth century with his crude ideals, his lust for power, his contempt for trade and his love of the American businessman, college-trained and admirably tailored, ready with a suave tongue to take you for a pleasant afternoon's enlightenment and entertainment to his elegant departamental store. Wilson is admirable as the stately commissioner deputied to attract the world's custom to the wares in his store.

Prior to this, no President had gone abroad during his term of office. On this occasion, Wilson did not shatter the traditional distinction without causing considerable and not too favorable comment, but never before had the United States adventured its dominant interests in the cross-currents of world politics. Since 1914, the U. S. has attempted to extend its economic power into Europe and had since that time, offered seven and a half billion dollars of its official credits to the States associated with it into an entente cordiale for Democracy. Close on the heels of this economic force came its political custodian, escorted by lines of material warships and aeroplanes to give his idealism shape and sanction at the Congress of Paris. He crossed the Atlantic and came supported by a terrific weight of material power greater than any conqueror of the past. He was in Europe as commander-in-chief of his armies and navies, "utterly autocrat in Government," independent of Senate and Congress, executed by him, the mightiest capitalist state in the world.

Leon Trotsky came to Brest-Litovsk with no armies and no armaments, delegate of the first Soviet Republic, trusting only to the millions of Russia. He was scorned as a materialist. It is Wilson who is the great idealist.

Let us explore further into the circumstances attending this American appearance at the Peace Congress in the persons of her President and his suite, including, amongst others, McCormick, Charles M. Schwab and Mr. J. P. Morgan, Mr. Cro de, Mr. Hoover. Let us look around and about and behind the presidential seat and make ourselves somewhat more familiar with the forces which have determined the course of United States policy and the interests which have set the stage whereby Woodrow Wilson must play his part.

The American Democracy

The United States of America is a federation of states, thirteen in number, situated when she broke away from British sovereignty and thirty-five more which as divers times have been carved out of the robberies of the United States which makes so grand an empire. The War of Independence was no popular uprising but a serried quarrel between the landed, mercantile and manufacturing classes of the thirteen colonies and the government of the mother country. The American Constitution was the handicraft of a family circle of land speculators and bankers who carried its adoption in face of intense opposition by the threat of withdrawing credit from those who would not support its ratification. According to Adams it was "the work of the commercial people and the people who carried it on." The rule of the dominant class of the period and there was slipped into it a clause forbidding any State to pass legislation impairing the obligation of contracts which is the unprecedented safeguard, the work of two bank attorneys, has made legislative reform the playing of the Courts from that day forward.

The Supreme Court of the United States early arrogated to itself the right of deciding what laws were or were not constitutional, and only last year, under this usurped power, this body declared void the new Child Labor Law restricting the employment of children in the Dynamite South. The Constitution has been balanced against its perversion by the power of the Federal Authority, the workers generally being let down between the two skilful jugglers with inter-state and intra-state jurisdiction. The President and the Court represented the head of the Federal State, elected by the vote of the people. The states have each their Governor similarly elected by the people therein. There are Administrations and Senators in each State and from each State representatives are sent to sit in the Federal Congress and the Federal Senate in Washington. The State Governors and State Senators are subject to ratification by the Federal Senate.

The President nominates the Judges on the Supreme Court and the Federal Judges subject to their several Courts (though in some cases elective for long terms). These judges of the Supreme Court of the United States sit for life and whilst in office, they can be impeached there is no control over the course being proceeded with. Their number can be increased by legislative action but, otherwise—and the former course is most exceptional—the composition of the Senate can only be altered by appointments on resignation or death. It is the Courts which really make the internal government of the United States and which control the external relations, the prospect of an International Court for a League of Nations established on the model of America's supposedly popular Democracy.

(Continued on page 8)
A general attack on the "Spartacs"—
"Down with the Spartacists!"—such are the exclamations ringing down the streets. "Catch them, whip them, stab them, shoot them down, string them up on the lamp-post; grab them, trample them down with your feet!" Brutalities are committed before which the cries perpetrated by the German armies in Belgium pale into insignifican-
cace. "The Spartacists are smashed!"—it is trium-
phanthumly announced in all the newspaper offices; "beginning with "Post" and end-
ing with the "Vorwärts."
"The Spartacists are smashed!" And their de-
fate will be consensuated with the saber, the
revolver and the rifle of the restored old
Prussian police and with the disarming of
the revolutionary workers.
"The Spartacists are smashed!" Under guard
of the bayonets of Col. Reinhard; under
the cover of the machine guns and
the cannons of General Latvitz will be carried
out the election for the Constituent Assem-
by,—the plebiscite for the Napoleon-Ebert.
"The Spartacists are smashed!" Under
judgment, disposed of! Hundreds of the best of
them were killed! Undoubtedly! Hundreds of the
most loyal of them have been thrown into
prison!
Undoubtedly! They have sustained a de-
fate,—because they were abandoned by the
troops and the Guard, the people's militia,—by those on whom support
they counted. And because their power was
paralyzed by the indecision and feebleness of
the police and material emanation of the
unprecedented-outflow of the counter-revolu-
tionary swamp of the inert populace which
swallowed them up.
"Yes, undoubtedly,—they are smashed. History foreordained their defeat, for the
time of their rising was not ripe. But
nevertheless,—the struggle was inevitable and
unavoidable. It was a struggle for the defeat
for the enemy, if Eugene Ernst and
Hirsch had not surrendered without a battle
the police headquarters,—the revolutionary
dullahism. This struggle was forced upon
the German people by the Sparta as is, and
with sheer elemental power the Berlin masses
rose, throwing aside all doubts and calcu-
lations.
Undoubtedly! The revolutionary
workers of Berlin sustained a defeat.
And Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske triumphed.
They triumphed, because the generals, the
bureaucrats, the Junkers of the highest and
lowest rank, the church and the money-bags and
all those who were frightened and re-
actionary, who were threatened with
hardships and restrictions, were on their side.
And they triumphed by using shells, bombs
with poisoned gas, and hand-grenades.
Yet there are defeats equivalent to victory
and victories more fatal than defeats.
In the middle of January the period of the
January Bloody Week, they valiantly carried on
the struggle; they aspired to realize the grand
and noble aim of suffering humanity—the
appearance and material emanation of the
exploited masses; they shed their precious
blood in the name of a sacred ideal. And
from every drop of this blood,—of this
debacle of the victory of the victim of today,—in
the place of the fallen will rise new
heroes; from every mutilated body will emerge new
fighters in the name of the great cause which
is eternal and unfolding as the horizon.
The vanquished to-day will be the victors
to-morrow, for their defeat will teach them
a lesson. The German proletarian does
not possess a revolutionary tradition and expe-
rience. And this practical experience which
make possible the new and future successes he
will be able to acquire not otherwise than
by actual attempts, through mistakes,
through youthful and painful defeats and
victories. For the vital and moving forces of
the Social Revolution, the irresistible growth
of which is the natural law of social develop-
ment, every defeat gives rise to a new
level of self-confidence.
And through defeats and after the defeats the
Social revolution marches forward to vic-
tory.
But what is to be said of to-day's victors?
In the name of their base aims they com-
mit their base and bloody deeds. For the
retention of the power of the outlawed
generation, in the interests of the mortal
enemies of the proletariat.
And at this very moment they are already
themselves vanquished, because they are
already to-day held in prison by those whom
they wanted to utilize as a tool for their
purposes, but whose tool they have them-
sehems become long ago.
The firm still exhibits their name. But
the term of their further existence is cut
short.
They are already nailed to the Pillar of
Shame in history. Never before did the
world witness such wonder-traitors like
those who betrayed and against whom
we shall curse, but who also crucified themselves
on the cross. Just like in August 1914 the German
Social-Democracy fell lower than any other,
—so now at the dawn of the Social-Revolution
it presents a hideous sight.
The French bourgeoisie was compelled to
furnish from its own ranks hangmen in June
1948 and in March 1917. The German bour-
geoisie does not have to burden itself
with such a task,—the "Social-Democrats" are
performing for it the dirty, bloody and
cowardly work; the name of its Cagney
who have long been on strike, is Galifee
Noske, "the German work-
man."
The peal of bells announced this slaughter—
music, the waving of handkerchiefs and
the triumphal celebrations of the capitalists
"saved from the Bolshevik menace," greeted
the victors. The smoke of the powder has
not yet vanished; the flame of the slaughter
of workers has not yet been extinguished;
The corpses of the killed have not yet been
removed; the wounded proletarians are still
moping;—but Ebert, Scheidemann and
Noske, anxious to show off their victory, are
already arranging parades for the troops
which participated in the slaughter.
The dragon sowing! 
Already they are cast aside by the work-
ners towards whose International they dare
extend their hands red with the blood of
of the German workers. With hatred and
contempt they are avoided even by those
who once sacrificed the proletariat on the
 Altar of the world-war. Discriminated, excluded
from the ranks of honest humanity, expelled
from the International, persecuted by the
armed and cursed of the entire revolutionary
proletariat, they today before the eyes of
the world.
And thanks to them, Germany is covered
with shame. Fratricides, traitors govern
the German people. "A parched paper
for me,—I must write that down."

Oh, their domination cannot last long
and they will be tried.

By their action anger is aroused in all
ions of hearts,—anger and resentment.

The German proletariat will until their
conclusion under which they plotted to
flow in blood, despite of them,
will rise in gigantic stature. Its first
word will be: Down with the murderers of
the workers, Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske!

The vanquished to-day learned their
lesson. They cured themselves from the false
hope of finding salvation in the sup-
port of the soldiers of the bourgeoisie which were pre-
viously led astray. They cured themselves
from the illusions that they can rely upon
the leaders who now proved themselves
false. They cured themselves from their trust in the Inde-
pendent Social-Democracy that disgrace-
fully left them to their fate. In the future
they will themselves direct the battles of
victory, relying solely upon them-
theselves. The slogan proclaiming that
"The emancipation of the workers must be ac-
complished by the workers themselves" has
now acquired a new, much more profound
meaning.

And soon experiencing the whip of mili-
tarian restored anew, even the irregular
soldiers will come to understand what
ean the state. They will learn to
understand what a hastily chosen role was assigned to
them; and they, too, will awaken from the
intoxication which seized upon them at the
present time.

The "Spartacan Group is smashed!"
Oh, wait! We have not run and we are not smashed.
And though you may rivet chains on them,
they will themselves direct the battles and
victories, relying solely upon them-
theselves.

Under the crack of the growing economic
break-down, as under the blasts of the trumpet
delaying the Judgment Day, the
proletarian masses which are still asleep
will awaken; the corpses of the fallen fighters
will rise and demand an answer from
their contemptible murderers. To-day we only
hear the subterranean rumbling of the vol-
cano, but to-morrow it will burst and burst
them in their fiery ashes and burning torrents of
lava.

And then will come Spartacus who signi-
ifies the soul and heart, the will and action
of the Proletarian Revolution. Spartacus
who signifies the desperation and absolute
in the sense of the class-conscious proletariat.
Spar-
tactus—the spirit of Socialism and of
the World Revolution.

The Golgath Road is not ended for the
German proletariat, but the day of its
emancipation is nearer. The Judgment Day for
Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske and for the
"loyal" rulers who are to-day hiding behind
their backs. High into the skies are bursting
the waves of the world ocean,—it is for us
a usual occurrence to be dashed from the
heights down into the depths. But our ship
firmly maintains its straight course and
proudly proceeds yonder to its final aim.

And whether we shall be alive or not
when it reaches its destiny, depending upon
the minds of emancipated humanity, will
live our program. It will live, despite of all!

VERBOTEN IN DEN USA
ALL STATE, COUNTY AND TOWN OF THE USA HAVE OPINIONS ON ANYTHING ELSE.

Prussian Kultur Wins Out
Communist Party and I. W. W.

Many inquiries have been received by the editor about the relation between the Communist Party and the I. W. W. These inquiries may be summarised as follows:

1. "What is the difference between the Communist Party and the I. W. W.?"
2. "Is the I. W. W. the ideal organisation on the American continent?"
3. "How does the Communist Party strive to create another economic industrial union?"
4. "Is the Communist Party in favor of sabotage?"
5. "Is the Communist Party in favor of direct action?"
6. "What is the relation between the I. W. W. and anarcho-capitalism?"
7. "Is mass action a direct action?"

Question No. 1.

The accurate scientific way to answer this question is to consider what workers' conditions bring about the need for an organization.

The I. W. W. is a labor union. It is a special kind of labor union. It came into existence in 1905, just at the time when the Socialist Labor Party was represented by the A. F. of L. It sought an immediate method of dealing with worker conditions, an appeal to the narrow craft basis. It accepted the class struggle as its ultimate objective, and the capitalist system as its ultimate instrument. From this viewpoint it was a protest against the unionism of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, in form of the organization of the steel workers and miners which actually was bringing about the conditions as it did. At the present stage of economic concentration, and the growth of the monopoly of industry, a simple challenge to craft unionism as an altogether inadequate means of bringing the unionizing into the hands of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, is still a unionism in the domain of union organization. It is this lack of aims which makes it easy to unite in so unique in character and of revolutionary spirit.

Industrial unionism, simply as a distinct form of trade unionism, as a distinct kind of workers' organizations, is, for example, not necessarily either revolutionary or conservative. It is in the very nature of things a challenge to craft unionism as an altogether inadequate means of bringing the unionizing into the hands of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, in the domain of union organization. It is this lack of aims which makes it easy to unite in so unique in character and of revolutionary spirit.

There could be no possible confusion between any kind of a labor union and an organization purely for revolutionary propaganda, except that the I. W. W. by its very existence and the very thing—always the propaganda—of the proletarian revolution and of the Communist re-construction. The direct mission of the Communist Party is to analyse the class struggle as it develops, in order to bring the worker conditions into the service of the working class for what was called in the South Sea Manifesto—"the solution of the world crisis."

The Communist Party, by its influence of education and agitation, trains and inspires for revolutionary and theoretical understanding on the part of a considerable group of workers, so that the immediate action, perhaps impertinent, may be made a part of the Communist program, without any further action to that end.

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Organization News

The notification in last week's "Communist" stated January 1, all organizations joining the party would have to come in as new branches and each members pay the initiation fee of $0.50, has resulted in a new influx of charter applications. If all the branches now using Communist Party order stamps make their applications by January 1, the number of units of the organization will be well over the thousand mark.

Announcement has been previously made of the drift from the S. L. P. to the Communist Party, as shown by the number of branches of that organization in joining the party. The Lettich S. E. L. Branch of Chicago is another illustration of the same drift. This branch recently combined with the Lettich Communist Branch of that city.

Steps to organize State and District Organizations are under way in Ohio and Pennsylvania.

"The Communist International"

The first number of the monthly theoretical and scientific magazine is about ready to go to press. It is dated January and will be delivered to those who send bundle orders and subscriptions, by January 1.

The first number will contain articles by Lenin, Trotsky, Kautsky, Koselleff, etc. This work of the Russian Soviet Republic as well as contributions on the theoretical problems of the party in this country by the party's ablest theoreticians and writers.

The price of the magazine, 96 pages, will be given for one single subscription or twelve monthly subscriptions. In bundles of ten or more the price is 15c per copy. Send in orders at once in order to secure the first number, as the edition will be limited.

THE ORGANIZATION FUND

Acknoweldgment through the "Communist" of contributions to the Organization Fund were discontinued for obvious reasons. The fact that these acknowledgments have not appeared in the "Communist" does not mean, however, that contributions have ceased to come in. Many branches have recently sent in their donations to the fund, which is now nearing the $5,000 mark.

In an earlier issue of the "Communist" receipt of $175.86 from the Elizabeth, N. J. Ukrainian, Bayonne Ukrainian, Bayonne Russian, Stapleton Ukrainian and Staten Island Russian branches was acknowledged as the proceeds of a picnic held for the benefit of the Organization Fund. This should have read $715.86. In the same issue $60.00 was acknowledged from the Elsmo, N. Y. Ukrainian Branch. This should have read Elsmoor, N. Y. Ukrainian, $60.00 and Detroit Ukrainian No. 1, $0.00.

"YOUR SHOP"

Leaflet No. 5, "Your Shop", has met with such universal approval as a Communist propaganda leaflet that a new edition has been printed and the leaflet will be kept in stock permanently. Branches which have not distributed it should send in their orders at $1.25 per thousand.

Leaflet No. 6, "Your Most Unite—Workingmen!" is now being sent out. It deals with the unification of the strikes and should be distributed in the shops and factories everywhere. Order at the same price.

Pamphlet No. 3.

Pamphlet No. 3, "The Communist Party and the I. W. W." a debate between L. E. Ferguson of the Communist Party and Harold Lord Varnay of the I. W. W. will be ready for shipment in another week.

This pamphlet is one of vital importance to our movement and should help materially to develop mutual understanding between the I. W. W. and the Communist Party. It brings out clearly the respective parts which the C. P. and the I. W. W. have to play in the emancipation of the workers. The pamphlet contains 48 pages and sells at 25c per copy; 10 copies for $1.00; 25 for $2.00; 50 for $4.00 and 500 per hundred. Send orders to the above address.

Pamphlet No. 2, "The Development of Socialism from Science to Action", is now being shipped. This pamphlet, presenting the development of Socialism from theory to the actual struggle is one of the most valuable of recent contributions to Socialist literature and should have a wide circulation inside and outside of the party.
It is from the United States that the ideas emanate most forcibly which will secure incorporation in any project of international regulation rooted upon a preceding stage. George Washington, in the commencement of the new republic, described the Supreme Court as "that department which must be considered as the key stone of our Federal Edifice." The Father of the American Constitution erected a government "intended to last for ages" and laid down the principle enunciated by Madison: "Every honest man ought, for the sake of a just and safe share in the government, to support those invaluable interests, and to balance and check the others. They ought to be so constituted as to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority. "The Senate, therefore, ought to be this body," and answer these purposes." The men who are promoting the League of Nations have their eyes on the past as well as the future; and, with a "false" interpretation and presentation of the foundation of the U. S. A., are now beginning to build the structure of permanent international peace. All those interested are such men as ex-President Taft, who is now most enthusiastically advocating Wilson.

Taft can bring Republican backing to Wilson, or he can withhold it, and the Republicans control the Senate, which must ratify the Peace Treaty. Taft was the President who witnessed the commencement of the presidential campaign of 1912, "the Republican party is the microcosm of that public opinion which favours centralizing the economic life of the country, safe and sane lives and under the Constitution as we have had it for more than 100 years, and which believes in the maintenance of our independent minority as the keystone of our liberties and the balance wheel by which the whole governmental machinery is kept within the original plan." (American Socialist Campaign Book, 1912, p. 11). Taft was and is utterly the tool of the "interests." Bluntly and frankly he has denied his belief "that all people are fit for self-government."

The men who met at Paris to formulate the League of Nations have a kindred aim to those who gathered at Annanopolis. They are intent upon safeguarding the financial oligarchy whose capital is New York. They are patent and openly anti-Bolshevist. They may offer to discuss with it when the seas are ice-bound and they cannot land men or munitions to help the property elements to overthrow its power. Then they parody and, prying, make a virtue of their own mindlessness.

Wilson has made no secret of his hostility to the Soviet principle and practice. He fights with other weapons than Clemenceau and George. He talks for months. He did with German militarism. He creates an atmosphere. He manufactures, as every negotiator should, and as every general ought, for position.

The world must, if capitalism is to prevail, be Americanized as to its politics, as to its institutions. Economic forces, when sufficiently powerful, stamp their impress upon political society. What has been and is the drift of all those who are called "statesmen, " to such an extent that they are actually "statesmen," is what we will now discover.

The Migration of Money

The North American Continent has provided for centuries an almost limitless utmost outlet for the surplus populations of Western Europe. That part of it lying to the north of the Gulf of Mexico and south of the Great Lakes and the 42nd parallel has been the mostsuitable for settlement and for the development of industry and commerce, of farm culture and of stock-raising by the more energetic whites of Central and North-western Europe. Vast stretches of alluvial land are irrigated and traversed under conditions favorable for navigation by the waters draining to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Mexico. They are rich whilst neither rich nor yet within agreeable elevation for colonisation by Britishers and others of like habits and acclimatization. The great Mississippi-Missouri-Lower Canadian, as well as the Atlantic sea-board, has afforded a new home for the multitudinous families expelled from their homelands by "the so-called primitive accumulation" of capitalist landowning, as well as for the superficial and independent workers whom machine-production drove out of handicrafts. Plantations originally taken up in Crown grants, perhaps, like Pennsylvania, in a debt, or obtained by lobbying and intrigue about Parliament and Court in London, or, at other times, settled by the emigrés of France, or the pioniers who, in migrating, enjoyed the original United States drew into themselves tens of thousands of persons enslaved by the selective process of capitalist competition, or racing the shop-keepers, farmers and workers who sought freedom in vain during the generations or so following upon the close of the Napoleonic War, when the first took passage in the early steamships, and whilst still only looking to prosper in New England and New York, others pushed on across the mountains down the Ohio river on to the prairies. The railways brought more and ever more to fill up an empty continent. In the north the immigrants settled to escape from the Old World and to be self-supporting in so far as they might. In the south, the slave-holders, but the servants and slaves of planters and companies struck along the seaboard towards Mexico to grow cotton, to cultivate cane- and rice-plantations, and to rear hogs and sheep. But the landowners in the east used their political power to appropriate the domain on to which the European dispossessed were deploying, and to thus deny them and to make them independent before they won it. These magnates prospered by controlling the exchange of finished products and raw materials between the Northern and Southern colonies. They were exporting cotton and importing the fabrics of textile Britain.

Many of the nobles of this country acquired estates on the American continent, notably the Dukes of Devonshire, Sunderland, Rutland, Portland, Northumberland, and Bedford, and the Earls of Derby, Powis, and Yarborough. The mercantile and banking firms of London and Amsterdam have endeavored to finance American business with sterling exchange. The dry goods agents of Manchester and London were transacted out their affairs with bills of exchange down Wall Street. Certain of these opened up branches in London, notably George Peabody and Co., which became Peabody, Morgan and Co., and ultimately Morgan and Co. and then there were the great cotton-brokers, who handled the essential staple of Staple of Lanarkshire, the classic home of capitalism. Messrs. Stillman and Company were such a firm, and Mr. Stillman went from cotton-broking to contribute his wealth and his connections to those of Rockefeller, in the re-organizing the National City Bank of New York. Another cotton-goods agent, that of Hay, Cook and Co., was re-modelled and became the basis of the First National Bank of New York. These three firms, together with Messrs. Kuhn, Loeb and Co., a bank whose partners were of German origin, of whose relations with Rockefeller have been considerable, constitute the central structure of United States banking.

When America came to be railroaded, and this began on a grand scale after the completion of our most important lines left our contractors and iron-masters seeking for new land-claims, they developed a veritable mania of speculation, and European money rushed in frantic floods into the pockets of Goulds, Vanderbilts, Sages and other worthies. Between 1880 and 1872, Congress gave 355,000,000 acres of public lands to the railway corporations, advanced them enormous loans and allowed them to help themselves to as much stone and timber as they required. Many of these railroad corporations were merely legal frauds, enabling politically accomplished promoters to acquire public lands quickly for the plea of "building" a track it was to be dangerous to explore and, oft-times, difficult to locate. By the middle of the "seventies," the British capitalists had bought hundreds of millions of dollars of United States scrap from Peabody and Morgan during the Civil War, entrusted Morgan Junior with the reorganization of their properties, and for the next thirty years Mr. J. P. Morgan "wound up," re-organized, consolidated, and re-floating railways, industrial establishments, steamships and land companies for his British clients. They received a fairly stiff and somewhat elastic commission, shock in a lot of water and shook out into his own coffers plenty of cash, he saved the "guinea-pig" investors in European parasites hundred thousands, if not millions of millions. Morgan exchanged legal claims on other people's toll for a ruling class in the main or a mere right to too indolent eyes to look after the proceeds of its own extortion.

From selling United States public and private bond and stock issue to British investors, Morgan came during the South African War to selling British Treasury issues to American purchasers. He became persona grata with King Edward VII, and was one of his honored guests at the Coronation.

The great London-New York partnership of J. P. Morgan and Co. came largely to dominate American railways, American iron and steel, American insurance corporations, American railroad trusts and American agriculture. It swayed the Administrations of McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. It dictated to Grover Cleveland, its Steel Trust boycott, Senator Knox, became Secretary of State, and was virtual premier from 1904 to 1912. It directed the policy of the Republican Party. "Morgan Golden Rule" was the term for the condition which helped to establish the U. S. Navy League, and was one of its most lavish patrons.

(To be continued)