

Combined with "The Revolutionary Age"

# The Communist

All Power To The Workers!

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## Reaping the Whirlwind

**S**AVAGERY is becoming the normal of civilized life; legal savagery, the mob violence of the "respectables".

A guerilla civil war is being precipitated by those who with nervous eagerness have unsheathed the sword of might against shadow hordes.

Capitalism has reached a dizzy apex of power. It can no longer play hide and seek, pretending that its colossal tolls of interest and profit are part of a competitive system wherein the best men win. The whole social system shows every day more clearly the sharp line between the two classes.

Most of the great American fortunes are now inherited fortunes, and the mere passing of time, so far as the owners are concerned, brings the multiplication of riches. But there is great labor during this time, the heavy toil of the masses, living in stupidity.

The miners of today are the sons of miners. The workers in steel are the sons of workmen. Out of the hundreds and thousands and the millions of wage-workers only a few hundred obtain competence for old age, a sustenance sufficient for the education of their children to the higher forms of wage-slavery, the technical and professional servitude to ownership.

The class lines are drawn, and there can be no more concealment. And terror has seized upon the class of privilege that the light is about to dawn upon the working masses—the light of their deprivations for profits, the light of the power of the working masses to end this inhuman system.

The vision of an angry, rebellious, overwhelming array of working class power disturbs and maddens the exploiters and their vassals, the flunkey judges, prosecutors, professional militarists and politicians. The vision has tangible reality in the example of Russia; in the temporary success of the Hungarian workers; in the recent railroad strike in England; in the potential general strike in the United States.

What is to be done by the vassals of the barons of coal and of steel and of land rentals? Suppression is the answer. Suppress the truth. Suppress the avenues of enlightenment. Suppress the individual who may awaken understanding and the determination to conquer freedom among his fellow-workers.

What is all the nervousness about? Why is that our newspapers carry daily column upon column, page upon page, of silly rot and vile perversion in order to discredit the agitators? And especially the alien agitators? Why do they deliberately incite and encourage acts of violence on the part of the hoodlums of respectability against the radicals? Why is this guerilla civil war brought upon us in the name of law and order?

**BECAUSE OF THE WORKING CLASS ARRAY WHICH IS TO COME!**

It is the uprising of the millions and tens of millions which the exploiters dread. It is the imminence of this overwhelming power which drives them to mad destructiveness.

Not the Communist Party. Not the I. W. W. These are organizations which publish openly and constantly all the facts about their membership, about their small revenues, about their struggling papers and magazines. They are not large organizations, considering the enormous numbers of the workers. They have no plans and purposes which are not dependent upon the will and action of the millions and tens of millions of workers.

The fear is that the many millions are about to make their demands in the language of the program of the Communist Party! The fear is that millions of workers are about to adopt the industrial unionism which is imbued with the understanding that the real struggle is the class struggle, the struggle by which the workers must establish a new society rid of capitalistic exploitation!

The agitators, native and alien, the suppressed papers, the programs branded as illegal, the red flag, the exhibition of which is made a most serious felony, the quiet parades and meetings of the workers—these are hated as the living symbols of—the working class array which is to come!

Especially the alien agitators—and why? Because far more than half of the workers in the basic industries are of foreign birth. Because, as the government statisticians have recently announced, 8,500,000 workers in this country understand only a foreign language.

And there is special concern that there shall be no agitation among the negroes. Prejudice is quick to respond, and prejudice has its lodgment as well within the ranks of the laboring masses.

A Hearst editorial openly brags that there is nothing to fear because there are so many inter-racial hatreds to keep the workers of America apart.

The Steel Strike—in a dozen different languages—is the answer. And the Communist Party, with ten language federations, is another answer.

Workers, do you not realize that all this suppression of agitation is the proof of its danger to the exploiting system? If the Communist program was something fanciful, something that wouldn't work, once the workers accept it, why would there be such desperate measures to suppress its teaching—and its living demonstration in Russia?

Do you not realize that a government which turns its powers to such end—to the suppression of the enlightenment of the working masses—is a government which is nothing more than a tool of the ruling class?

Do you not realize that the newspapers

which are stirring up mob violence against agitators, against meetings, parades and even the property found in the meeting places—do you not realize that these newspapers are the dirty, lying, bestial agencies of capitalism?

There will be more of the violence of cold-blooded starvation of women and children, such as the pious hypocrite at Washington sanctions as against the tens of millions of Russia.

But behind and underneath this provocative brutality, the working class array goes on, gaining not only in strength of organization, but in the realization of new and decisive purposes—the purposes of a working class domination of society to bring in the Communist order, the order of socialized industry and of its administration by the workers.

No fakeries of Plumb plans, with eternal perpetuation of the profit system, with special privileges to special labor groups; no taxeries of government. No support, with the government in the plant service of Wall Street; but the real article of a workers industrialism which has no place for any profit tributes, and no place for any politician agents of capitalism, but which is an affair of the workers from bottom to top.

That is the program of Communism—and that is what all the nervousness is about. It can be done. The working class can achieve this economic system of their own within a short time if they organize for this purpose. They are coming to see this, under the stress of their miserable wage slavery.

The wind is being sown—the wind of persecution, petty violence, mob frenzy against the meetings of the workers, jailing and lynching and massacre—of brazen use of the military against strikes heretofore given legal sanction, when they did not appear so threatening,—and the whirlwind is to be reaped.

The oppressions of capitalistic exploitation are completing the cycle of the former systems of exploitation. The last act is the use of institutionalized violence against—the new ideal!

There is no way out of it, no way to end the guerilla civil war, no way to end many years of the savagery which is now all that capitalism has to offer to civilization—no way except by the quick and decisive victory of the working class.

The wind has been sown, and the whirlwind is upon us; and after the storm, the organized and victorious working class will produce the dream of the centuries, a social system without classes, a system wherein all shall be owners and workers alike, a system wherein the benefits of science, of culture, of art, shall be the common heritage of all mankind.

## THE COMMUNIST

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### The Terror

**C**APITALISM is openly revealing the fact that it represents, or is, the dictatorship of a class determined upon class supremacy.

While the spokesmen and the press of the Allies brand the Soviet Government as a dictatorship, the Peace Conference is itself the most powerful and brutal dictatorship in the world. This Conference, through the Council of Four—the Premiers of England, France, Italy and the President of the United States, arbitrarily determined decisions and problems of the utmost importance. This Council of Four waged war against Soviet Russia, it conspired to overthrow the Soviet Republic of Hungary, it determined what people of Europe should or should not secure food, it re-made the map of the world. The Peace Conference was not in any sense an expression of democracy; it was and is in fact a supreme manifestation of the dictatorship of Capitalism.

This dictatorship of Capitalism finds its most typical expression in its struggle against the proletarian revolution and against the developing movement of the revolutionary proletariat. This struggle, in one form or another, is the determining factor in contemporary European development.

The typical form of capitalist dictatorship reveals itself under the violent impact of the class struggle. In normal times, that is to say when the workers are quiescent and the class struggle moderate in means and purposes, the dictatorship of Capitalism is not quite apparent to the average person; but in times of militant action, when the class struggle flares up implacably, the dictatorship of Capitalism and the capitalist state appears in all its brutal reality and the pretense of democracy breaks down.

Dictatorship is based upon force and adopts terror as a means of carrying out its purposes. When the dictatorship of Capitalism reveals itself openly, it is by means of the force and terror it uses against the militant working class movement.

At this moment, the dictatorship of American capital, expressed in the government, is developing a ruthless campaign of force and terror against the workers and particularly against the revolutionary organizations. The use of the injunction to break the strike of the coal miners was apparently a judicial process; in fact, however, it was an invocation of force and terror, since behind the injunction was the armed force of the American government prepared to impose its will ruthlessly upon the strikers. In city after city, terrorism of the most flagrant character is being used against the workers' organizations. The government is apparently concentrating its force against the Communist Party, in an effort to break this militant expression of the conscious Proletariat.

In Cleveland, under the Criminal Syndicalism Law; in New York, under the Anti-Anarchy Law; in Chicago and elsewhere in the deportation cases under the Immigration Law; in one way and another

the attempt is made to brand membership in the Communist Party as a crime in itself. In many instances the unofficial organs of repression are urged to assume a state of outlawry in relation to Communist agitation.

This onslaught upon the Communist Party is deliberate. It is not an onslaught determined by fear of the present or actual strength of the Communist Party, but because of the tendency the Party represents, by the fear that the Party may be able to rally the workers for the conscious struggle against Capitalism. In this sense the onslaught upon the Communist Party (and upon the I. W. W.) indicates the stern purpose of Capitalism to destroy the American revolutionary movement.

But even this factor is, at the moment, incidental. American Capitalism and its government have let loose terror against the Communist Party in order to find a convenient pretext to break the great strikes now convulsing the country. Capitalism is deliberately working up a revolutionary scare in order to frighten the unconscious workers and the more easily crush those radical manifestations of the proletarian struggle which, while not yet consciously Communist, are a source of immediate and ultimate danger to the supremacy of Capitalism.

Imagine 50,000 members of the Communist Party making a revolution, fighting the American army and police, seizing cities, and destroying the power of the government! Yet that is precisely what the government and the press assert are the immediate aims of the Communist Party. Of course, this is absurd; but it serves the purposes of provocation and providing the opportunity for a policy of ruthless repression.

There is apparently no limit to what the dictatorship of Capitalism will use in order to maintain its power.

It is a real campaign of terrorism. Every means, legal and illegal, is used in the campaign to break the Communist Party.

But what can this terror accomplish?

It cannot permanently crush that vast strike movement which the American workers are initiating and in which is latent the revolutionary threat. But these strikes are not a product of Communist Party agitation; they are the product of powerful forces working in the proletariat and produced by the development of Capitalism itself. The state may temporarily break these strikes, temporarily force the workers to end their struggle; but this is necessarily only temporary. Terror cannot break a movement that grows out of the life forces of Capitalism.

Nor can the terror break the Communist Party. How could it be possible? The Communist Party has developed in accord with certain conditions and revolutionary requirements. These conditions and requirements will not cease to exist simply because terror is used against the Communist Party.

The terror of the dictatorship of Capitalism cannot accomplish its purposes. The Communist Party will answer by a more intense campaign to arouse and organize the masses for the conscious struggle against Capitalism.

### Gomperism

**T**HE power of the state has been used to break the coal miner's strike.

This is a challenge to the whole labor movement, to the whole working class. A challenge of this sort should call forth the instant and aggressive answer of the orga-

nized labor movement. It is a challenge that, together with the proposed measures in Congress to prohibit strikes, is a threat to the working class movement, and particularly to the unions.

But the American Federation of Labor does not answer the challenge.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor met just before the miners' officials decided to obey the injunction, and issued a protest against the government using the injunction in the strike. The protest was solemn, vigorous, almost radical. But there it ended. It was simply a pious protest. It was simply an effort to "save the face" of the A. F. of L. The protest was made—but the Government pursued its policy of ruthless suppression.

In the face of all this suppression, the answer of the A. F. of L. is to hold another conference and pass some more resolutions, instead of using the strike power of the workers to end the suppression.

Gompers, the evil flower of craft unionism, protests against the use of injunctions against the miners. But his protests are urbanely answered by the government officials, and the work of breaking the strike goes on. Gompers speaks feelingly of labor's loyalty during the war—but now the government wants loyalty during peace and will get loyalty through bayonets if necessary.

Never was the weakness of the A. F. of L. evident as it is now. Never was Gomperism more blisteringly exposed as an enemy of the working class. Never was craft unionism more adequately characterized as a fetter upon the action of the workers.

A challenge is issued to unionism—and Gompers issues words of protest. A challenge is issued to labor—and Gompers' conference, with the enemy mobilizes its forces to crush the workers—and Gompers speaks of loyalty.

Gomperism, accustomed to the small time stuff of craft strikes, of petty struggles with the employers, breaks down and reveals its utterly reactionary and impotent character when it meets the test of a crisis.

Gomperism, craft unionism, is caught in the vicious circle of its own policy. It believes in co-operation between labor and capital, and thereby breaks the class conscious spirit of the workers. It harps upon loyalty to the state, and thereby prepares the workers to accept the brutal repression of the state. It represents the petty interests of the aristocracy of labor, and thereby betrays the militant workers of unskilled labor, such as the steel workers and the miners.

There is a strike crisis. Never was there a finer opportunity to mobilize the workers against Capitalism, to initiate an aggressive labor movement. But the A. F. of L. has neither the courage nor the initiative, the intelligence nor the organization. So the strikes are beaten, the workers discouraged.

Gomperism, the A. F. of L., is a bulwark of Capitalism. It is an enemy of the workers. It must be destroyed—that is, split, the militant workers of unskilled labor being separated from the aristocracy of labor.

The struggle for industrial unionism is a vital phase of revolutionary development—not only because industrial unionism is more effective than craft unionism in the immediate struggle, not only because industrial unionism becomes a starting point of Communist reconstruction after the conquest of political power—but more, because by means of the campaign for industrial unionism we may break the power of the A. F. of L.

The workers are awakening under the impulse of bitter experience. It is our task to use this awakening for our revolutionary purposes.

## Jack The Liar

IN the October 4 issue of the "Workers' Dreadnought" (official organ, Workers' Socialist Federation of England) Jack Reed has a statement on the situation in America teeming with lies.

Lie 1.—The Communist Party is "the result of an artificial grouping of foreign-born workers which formerly constituted the foreign language Federations of the Socialist Party." The Communist Party is the logical development of the Left Wing; 90% of the organizations and delegates represented at the National Left Wing Conference are now in the Communist Party; approximately 50% of the Communist Party membership is non-Federation. Considering that 60% of our industrial proletariat is foreign, the number of foreign comrades in our party is in accord with the character of the American proletariat.

Lie 2.—The Communist Party "seeks to create a foreign working class movement in the United States expressed in terms of the European movement along the lines of the Bolshevik Party of Russia (without any attempt to adapt it to the psychology of the American working class.)" This is a very stupid lie, since the agitation of the Communist Party is conforming to every requirement of peculiar American conditions, without becoming nativistic and ceasing to be international.

Lie 3.—The Communist Party "was due to the ambitions of certain people who wish above everything else to go down in history as having founded a Communist Party." Now frankly, Jack, were you not then unconsciously stigmatizing yourself and Wagenknecht, Gitlow & Co.?

Lie 4.—The Federation comrades of the Communist Party are "segregated from the Americans." Jack apparently doesn't understand the first elements of Communism, since the class struggle itself compels the foreign comrades to associate with the Americans.

Lie 5.—The Communist Party consists, according to Jack, of the Federations and "of English-speaking elements who hold to the theories of Plekhanov and oppose Mass Action." This is the worst lie of all. It is worse than a lie, it is criminal to characterize the Communist Party as favoring Plekhanov and opposing Mass Action.

Lie 6.—"The Large majority of the foreign speaking branches of the Communist Party," says Jack, "have begun to repudiate their leadership and come to us." This is the most brazen of all. Not even the official organ of the Communist Labor Party makes this wild claim: why does John Reed make claims in Europe that his party does not make in this country? Is filling the European comrades with outrageous lies promoting that Communist "unity" which the C. L. P. talks so much about?

In America, trying to break the Communist Party, Reed was amusing as Jack the Giant Killer; in Europe he is contemptible as Jack the Liar.

The "Workers' Dreadnought" does not accept Jack Reed's declaration at its face value, saying: "What puzzles one however as to the advisability of the formation of this new party (C. L. P.) is the fact that a 'Communist Party' was also formed at the same time in Chicago. . . . Not having both sides of the question at hand comment may now mean rash judgment." Precisely. We are confident that when our British comrades get the facts (not lies) they will understand the situation and realize that the formation of the C. L. P. expressed Centrism.

## The Communist Party and Communist Unity

### Resolution adopted by the Central Executive Committee

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party is still carrying on its unity agitation among the locals and membership of the Communist Party. This campaign was deliberately started and is being carried on in order to create discord and disintegration in our party.

The most characteristic feature of the C. L. P. agitation for unity is that it shoves aside the fundamental question of principles and tactics. In any discussion of the relation of one organization to another, the issue of principles and tactics is the most important—particularly at this stage of the development of an American Communist movement.

The Communist Labor Party represents a mixture of different elements which do not agree on fundamentals. It was organized by delegates most of whom wavered concerning the necessity of completely repudiating the Socialist Party. These delegates were interested chiefly in securing administrative control of the Socialist Party, and not in organizing a Communist Party; the C. L. P. was the accidental result of a convention of delegates who, for a large variety of reasons, were thrown out of the Socialist Party convention or couldn't agree with the Socialist Party. This circumstance is expressed in the program of the Communist Labor Party, which is a mixture of Syndicalism, Menshevism, Communism and ordinary parliamentary Socialism. Communism in the C. L. P. Program is "modified." Communist language is used without any understanding of its real meaning. The general haziness and unclear character of C. L. P. Program is an expression of the Centrism of its leaders and the mixed character of its membership.

The "unity" term is meaningless. Communist unity is achieved by bringing together all class conscious revolutionary workers into one organization, based on a definite Communist program and constitution. This unity, however, cannot be achieved by taking two separate organizations and compromising on a merger of their programs and constitutions. If the Manifesto, Program and Constitution of the Communist Party are in accord with Communist fundamentals (and the C. L. P. does not deny that they are) then there is already in existence a party with which every conscious Communist can unite.

We feel that there are Communist elements in the C. L. P. To these comrades we repeat our invitation to join the Communist Party—they are more than welcome; and we feel that they will realize their place is in the Communist Party and not in the C. L. P.

This is the time for action. The would-be dissenters must be forgotten. The Communist Party must carry on its work on the basis of its own principles.

While the Communist Labor Party speaks in misleading, about "unity," first on a "basis of equality," now on "a proper basis" the Communist Party has made the only concrete proposal that could realize the unity of all conscious Communist forces—the only unity that is acceptable: that branches of the C. L. P. accepting the Program and Constitution of the Communist Party will be admitted to our Party. Unity, in general, is not a factor necessarily making for strength; on the contrary, it often makes for weakness and disaster. Unity must be on fundamentals, not on bargaining and compromise of principles.

## Revolutionary Outlook in Germany

WHAT is the revolutionary outlook in Germany? This question is repeated in a thousand ways not only in Soviet Russia but also in this country. Every class-conscious worker is following with anxiety and alarm the development of the counter-revolution in Germany, searchingly trying to analyze the complex social struggle going on there.

Will the German revolution, pressed under the iron heel of that volunteer army of Noske and Reinhard, perish? Or will the passionate gust of regenerated proletarian energy sweep the shameful inheritance of Hohenzollern and junkers off the face of the earth? Sooner or later German history will have to give a definite answer to this stern question.

The form which the struggle in Germany will finally take is not at all a matter of indifference to the Russian proletarian revolution. It is also of paramount importance to the development of the world revolution. If there is any one in the world whom the Russian worker hates with all the might of his titanic soul, it is Noske—the henchman Noske, writes Don Levine in one

of his dispatches from Petrograd. The same is true of the worker in Germany. Noske is the incarnation of the counter-revolution in Germany, and in proportion as he is hated by the workers he is being worshipped by the German bourgeoisie. The military-political machine in the form of the volunteer army created by Noske and Reinhard is the last bulwark of dying reaction. Led by officers of the old regime, composed mainly of middle class representatives, and therefore of consciously counter-revolutionary elements, this army is the class army of the bourgeoisie. This the German reactionaries understand only too well. The extension of the date for the demobilizing of the volunteer army to next spring, granted by the peace conference, was prompted by a similar understanding. They know perfectly well that without Reinhard's cut throats the Ebert Government would be swept aside by the German proletariat within twenty-four hours. The volunteer army is evidently the tool of the international reaction, and naturally no idea of its demobilization can be entertained.

(Continued on page 6)

# News from Soviet Russia

A SERIES of recent radio messages tell of progress in Russia along many lines. Most striking is the information that already more than ten thousand of the most important economic enterprises have been nationalized—86% of Russian industry.

Most of these have never been interrupted in their work, although a great many of the Petrograd factories had to be moved to Penza, Simbirsk, etc. In most of the big enterprises the corps of workers has increased. A number of large new factories are under construction. This year, at Poldsk, a large locomotive plant was completed and handed over for operation. Two important electric stations will be finished before the Winter and will furnish power enough to electrify the whole Moscow region. At Saratov, has been undertaken the construction of a large plant for manufacturing agricultural machinery. Fuel production, in spite of the loss of the Baku and Donetz basins, is still sufficient for a high degree of industrial activity.

The 1919 crops are far ahead of those of last year. Raw materials, flax, wool, cotton, metals,—still impeded by the breakdown in transportation—are available in very large quantities. In fact there are not only large reserves for the domestic industry but also large quantities available for export.

The new organization of industry promotes large scale production. There is also great economy of fuel, labor and of raw materials in the unified administration through the government, which brings into co-operation all the workers in the same field.

## Foreign Commerce

With the re-opening of communications with foreign countries, the Commissariat for Commerce is conducting preliminary studies of materials for export and of the organization and methods required for such transactions. A discussion is being carried on in the journal "Economic Life". An Institute was opened in the Spring, in Petrograd, for the study of International Commerce.

## Internal Commerce.

A recent decree provides for the obligatory exchange of manufactured for agricultural products. This decree now becomes possible because there is at hand sufficient machinery of administration to determine with reasonable approximation how much is manufactured in each line of industry and what stocks of agricultural products are available.

This problem of exchange between city and country has been of a most serious character. Indeed, in Hungary, competent observers have declared that it was the failure of this exchange which caused the breakdown of the Soviet rule, which might otherwise have made a far greater resistance to the Rumanian intervention. In Russia, too, there has been some measure of friction between town and country. But the fact that central exchange is now possible shows that the problem is solved.

Only the co-operative organizations are allowed to distribute goods in the country, thus barring the speculators and avoiding hoarding by the rich. The Commissariat of Provisions exercises supervising functions.

## Paper Industry.

The Central Paper Bureau now has at its disposal 63 nationalized paper mills and 39

that have not yet been nationalized. The most energetic measures are being taken to increase the efficiency of the work and excellent results have already been obtained with new processes for the manufacture of various kinds of paper.

It will be particularly interesting to watch the development of this industry in Russia alongside that of the United States, which is in the midst of a newsprint famine. It has been pointed out that our American shortage is by no means due to want of raw materials, but to the fact that the capital invested in this industry holds back the use of the Western timber supplies.

## Artificial Tea

Since the loss of Siberia, Soviet Russia has been deprived of tea, a product of prime necessity. The Supreme Council of National Economy went to work in November 1918 to organize the manufacture of artificial teas. In less than a year the production has been multiplied by fifteen, and it is still on the increase.

With such evidence of adaptability and enterprise, one can imagine what wonders of economic production will yet be performed in free Russia, once the intervention allows all of the workers' energy to go into productive channels.

## Gathering the Harvests

The Supreme Council of National Defense decided to send about 50,000 workers to the districts of Saratov, Samara, Ufa and Orenburg to help gather the exceptionally abundant harvest of this year. In about two weeks (during August), 20,000 workers were sent, under care of the various Commissariats concerned and of the Departments for Distribution of Labor of the various industrial centres.

This example of mobilization of labor is suggestive of the great possibilities in the organized economic life of the new Russia.

## Fine Arts and Recreation

On August 15th was opened at Moscow the first Museum for Western painting, in the old Schukin gallery. This gallery is now open without charge, under the Soviet power, to all visitors. All the canvasses have been systematically grouped by schools and epochs, and among the collection are numerous specimens of Matisse, Monet, Nan Jogh, Cezanne, Picasso, etc.

The Workers Cooperative of Moscow, under the auspices of the Commissariat of Public Instruction and of the Moscow Institute for Proletarian Culture, has established club houses in the different quarters of the city, attended each week by more than 20,000 persons. A Theatrical Section conducts fourteen dramatic circles, and each week gives eight performances. The instruction in dramatic art includes lectures on literature and the social sciences. The Music and Fine Arts Section conducts about fifteen musical circles and in six months has given eighty concerts attended by 50,000 persons. The programs are planned to make known the national productions and to bring out the characteristics of the various composers.

Many courses and conferences are conducted with the object of developing the taste and desire of the workers for knowledge. There are special courses for women, special clubs, homes and colonies for child-

ren. The Library Section has nineteen establishments, each of which circulates an average of one hundred volumes daily. There are also children's libraries; and in each library a circle for readings and recitations. In the Summer there were several popular concerts in the Moscow parks.

## Social Welfare

The Moscow Soviet has done a great deal of work to protect children and old people. Boarding schools, day nurseries, farm colonies, etc., have been developed to care for many thousands of children. Children from three to seven are placed in kindergartens in groups of thirty at most, in order that the establishment may have more of the character of family life than of an official institution. The feeding and physical and pedagogic care are of the highest order. Fifteen thousand Moscow children are enjoying these advantages, and as many more children, from thirteen to seventeen years of age, are on the Soviet estates near Moscow.

The Social-Welfare Section has also in its charge about 9000 invalids. Recently a systematic struggle has been undertaken to get rid of professional mendicants. They are taken, according to physical condition, either to the workhouse or to the rest houses.

The Pensions Section has under its charge 50,000 Pensioners, not counting the soldiers of the old army. It was decided to arrange at once for the care of the families of the men who have been mobilized by direct delivery to them of the national products.

In this connection, it is interesting to read the recent accounts of the Manchester Guardian correspondent, W. T. Goode, of conditions of life in Moscow. He had been told, for instance, that he would find no children left in Moscow, at least none under ten years of age. He writes: "The actuality was ludicrously opposite. Nowhere have I seen such families, so many very young children, as in Moscow and the surrounding country. What is more, to my thinking, there is no country in the world where more care, money and thought are bestowed on the children by the Government than in Russia today. To the age of 17 their wants in the way of food are supplied gratis on the level of the highest category of rations. Their schools, theatres, and amusements are a special care, and colonies have been formed in the country to which great numbers were drafted in the Summer for reasons at once educational and physiological. And the care begins before they are born."

Mr. Goode, by the way, informs us that the food supply is attaining normal again, and much of the rationing has been desisted with. Also this correspondent again brings testimony of the fact that prostitution has disappeared from Moscow life, due to the improved economic and social position of woman under Bolshevism.

## BOLSHEVISM IN NORWAY.

The Left Party in Norway polled 250,000 votes, winning 52 seats in the Parliament.

The program is revolutionary and the party policies are of the most aggressive character, including soviets among those liable to military service. Support of the Soviet rule in Russia is without reservation.

# Where Do You Stand?

By Paul Taylor

(Extracts from a Sermon, upon leaving the Church—reprinted from "Unity").

Go back just a little ways in the history of our own nation to the days immediately before the Civil War. All of the churches south of the Mason-Dixon line were opposed to the abolition of slavery—because the church members owned the slaves. Their economic interest decided their religion and then they hunted up verses in the Old Testament to prove their point. The churches of New England were likewise united, because their cotton mills depended upon the product of slave labor. Therefore they persecuted Wendell Phillips and Lloyd Garrison. On the other hand, the churches in those northern states which did not depend so directly upon the cotton fields were the first to join in the abolition movement. You could preach yourself black in the face, but those southerners could not and would not see the ideals of freedom for the black man when it meant financial upset for them.

The case is identical today. The church derives its income as a result of the present system of industrial autocracy and she is not going to commit suicide unless she can help it. She has never considered that Jesus' sayings: "He that loseth his life shall save it," and "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friend," had anything to do with the church as an institution. I think that I am within the bounds of truth when I say that the average minister would think it a sacrilege to sacrifice the church for the cause of humanity. The ministry, and I might say the average church member also, has become so accustomed to think of the welfare of the church that they very seldom stop and ask themselves: "Suppose we had every child an attendant in the Sunday School, how would conditions be changed?" If the church members in that day were to pay the same wages as some of our prominent ones are paying in Detroit today, if those who were employers had as little dealing with the laboring class as the proverbial Jew had with the Samaritan, we must admit that the only appreciable difference would be that the ministers and priests would probably receive a living wage and an old age pension.

Let me draw a comparison: The old Jewish synagogue appealed to the people's loyalty to their organization. The height of piety was to give one-tenth of your income to the temple, be regular at the services and punctilious in the observance of their "law." Jesus came as one of the old prophets with a real message of brotherhood. They hounded him from the beginning and sought how they might accuse him and put him to death. Why? Because the Romans will come and take away both our place and our nation." They did not care for the welfare of the common people; they were thinking of the prosperity of their institution and their own positions. And I do not hold that they were necessarily so evil. They were probably sincere in the belief that these were of primary importance. "Self-preservation is the first law of life" they tell us. It may be true to a limited extent, but it is not the last law or the highest one.

And what has that to do with the church today? Simply this: The attitude of the church leaders is identical. They are talking of church unity with no other motive than to keep themselves intact against the enormous inertia of the great mass of people. They are raising funds against that day when there will be less and less coming in.

There has not been one item of benefit to the people included in their program. Those who are in control of the church machinery in this country stand absolutely in harmony with those who put Jesus to death. Yes, they would even imprison, deport or kill all those who are opposed to the system—as Jesus opposed that in his day. They will not argue with you, they will not meet you on a fair platform, they simply want to get you out of the way in the quickest possible manner because you are a stumbling block. I wish that I could get one of these gentlemen who is so collicitous about the divine mission of the church on a platform to debate the subject. I do not deny that she has a divine mission, but I do hold that she does not and cannot fulfill it as long as she exists for herself with absolutely no program for the relief of the world. If she does not want Socialism or Bolshevism it is her duty to offer something better. And it must be something more than the promise that the capitalist will from now on be considerate and generous. The working man does not want kindness and charity, but justice! We did not ask the southern slave owner to be kind to his slaves but compelled him to set them free. Nor is this the time to ask the employing class to show consideration. The time has come to do away with classes and establish the world-wide brotherhood!

There is not the remotest chance for the church of today to take this stand. It would mean the crippling of their organization. That is why some have opposed me here—not because I was wrong, but because it was against the church. Those who co-operated with Billy Sunday know now that I was right, but they were willing to put up with his crude theology and burlesque manners because they hoped to secure some members thereby. If they have followed the so-called peace conference at Versailles which has had "open covenants, openly arrived at," and have compared their decision with the Secret Treaties, they know that I was right when I insisted that this war held no promise for the rank and file of the people. My position has always been this: it is of no vital concern to the people of any nation as to whether German, English, French or American capitalists control the Bagdad railroad and the mines of Alsace-Lorraine. The condition of the people will be the same. That is why I could not forsake the gospel of the Brotherhood of Man during these past two years and exalt Uncle Sam as the only God with President Wilson as the Messiah. I was looking after the effects upon the people—during the war and after it—and not the effects upon the church and my career in it.

But I do see a struggle which is worth the entire energy of any man. I have come to the conclusion that this struggle is outside of the church and that those who are in it are rightly prejudiced against the church. We cannot help them if we will. They do not want the people to work for them but with them.

The trouble with the four autocrats sitting at the peace table is that they cannot realize that we are on the edge of a new day; they think that political reorganization will rescue the world. The trouble with our church dignitaries is that they are likewise

blind and think that sermons which will entertain and not instruct, frosted with socials during the week, will build up a Kingdom of Heaven on earth, because it builds up their church and solves their salary problem. On the other hand the great mass of people, yes, "even the least of these, my brethren," are coming to the conclusion that they can trust only themselves in the future. They are rising like a mighty flood the world around. To be in the floodtide, to be one of them in their struggle, their disappointments, their mistakes, their hardships, their final triumphs—"is no job for a priest, it calls for a man!" My heart is with them. I love their spontaneity, their sincerity, their needs. I can feel no common tie with those who live on their backs as employers or so-called labor leaders, but most of all I have a profound distaste for the man who repeats the prayer "thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven" and thinks he shall be heard for his much speaking, when he will not so much as lift the load with his little finger.

I was brought up to be tactful. I was told in the seminary to follow the admonition of Paul and feed the people with milk when they could not stand meat—for the sake of the organization. I have done it, but never again! I am through with that method. From now on it is going to be meat, and those who have not good teeth will either have to go to the dentist or have a case of indigestion! There are two sides to this fundamental economic question, which is just another name for the labor question: the side of the capitalist and that of the worker. Some day I am going to give a talk on "The General Public, a Myth." The churches rather boast that they represent the middle class. In one sense they are right: they are on neither one side of the fence or the other, they are "middle class." For me the time has come to get off the fence. The apple is in two and I must decide which side is to be mine. I certainly refuse to chew on the core, because, as the little boy said, there soon "ain't goin' to be no core."

May I sum up what I have tried to say? The big, vital problem of the day is an economic one, a labor one. The contest is between those who live by owning and those who live by working. We must solve it before we can go on. Politics will not solve it. Preaching ideals will not solve it unless that preaching lead to some very definite concrete action. The church today is in favor of the present system of industrial organization because she is prosperous under it—just as she was under chattel slavery and feudalism. Where she is not actually upholding the system, she is doing it indirectly by taking a middle ground and assuring her people that the interests of the employer and employe, capital and labor, are identical. She will do anything from condemning violence on the part of labor to extolling the virtues of a capitalistic war—according to the suggestion of a prostitute press. They have sense enough not to dictate, that would be crude and too obvious.

Where do you think Jesus would stand in this struggle? I know! He was a working man and lived for outcasts and oppressed. He would disdain to make his preaching a means of a successful career. He would not today be above having no place to lay his head. He would con-

(Continued on page 6)

## Revolutionary Outlook in Germany

(Continued from page 3)

The social scoundrels, the Eberts, Scheidemanns and Bauers nominally in power, are in reality miserable pawns in the hands of reactionary militarism.

The reader certainly remembers the incident concerning Captain Reinhard, commander of the Berlin detachments of the volunteer army. This fellow is an avowed monarchist and openly says so to everyone. To the respectful question put to him by "Vorwärts", relative to his demonstrative manifestation of monarchist sympathies, Reinhard declared squarely: "That the time for restoration of the Hohenzollern has not come; the Allies at this juncture will not praise us for that, but"—it is this but which is significant—"when the time does come, the Reinhardts will know what to do."

We will now touch upon the strike of farm hands in Pomerania which took place last July. The Pomeranian farm hands decided to form a Union and declare war upon the junkers. This movement was not of a revolutionary character, but it was nevertheless dangerous by reason that it might become revolutionary. The Berlin and Pomeranian junkers sensed that should the agricultural workers unite with the city workers their power would be at an end. That is why, by the order of the "Socialist" government in Berlin, martial law was declared in Pomerania and the Reinhard detachments ordered there. The strike was broken by the united efforts of the volunteer army, Pomeranian junkers and the government "Socialists". Is there need of a better illustration to reveal the real character of the pack of hounds ruling Germany at present?

"How is demobilization progressing?" asks "Freedom", the daily of the Independents, pointing out further, that millions upon millions of the people's money is being spent for the support of the army and in order to keep it on a war footing. Demobilization has been completely forgotten. On the contrary more and more new recruits are being taken into the army.

The politically blind from the Menshevik camp, who always whimpered about Bolshevism "creating reaction", would benefit greatly by looking facts squarely in the face. They would see the truth, evident to all politically literate people; that social-patriotism is the midwife of the boldest and blackest reaction.

The Baltic adventure is being talked about everywhere. There is no doubt that the German counter-revolution has built a strong nest there and is putting its shoulders to the wheel of the Russian and German reaction. The daily of the Berlin Independents, "Freedom", is hardly mistaken when it asserts confidently that the day is near when the "iron divisions" of Von der Goltz, united with Reinhard volunteers, will put an end to the republican form of government and reestablish the monarchy. The Berlin correspondent of the British "Daily Herald" is of the same opinion. He claims that such is the conviction of the general public and that the social-patriots are absolutely powerless in the face of the reactionary generals. Von der Goltz is attracting into the Baltic province a great number of reactionary charlatans and adventurers, promising them land—the land of the Lettish peasants.

Up to a very short time ago all over Germany, and particularly in the southern

provinces recruiting for the "iron division" continued. And the social-patriotic government did not even lift a finger to stop it, though it understood perfectly well the purpose of the mobilization of the reactionaries. It knew that the reactionaries were gathering their forces for use against revolutionary Russia.

About the present attitude of the Berlin government towards the adventure in the Baltic, Price writes the following: "The events in the Baltic provinces throw light on the situation in Germany. The government of Ebert and Bauer has ordered the military commanders to evacuate Courland. The latter not only do not pay any attention to these orders but act contrary to them."

We are inclined to think that the orders are written for appearance only.

So the government of Ebert and Scheidemann is playing the role of traitor not only to its own people. It is selling out the Russian revolution by actively opposing it on the Baltic front.

The strike wave in Germany has not subsided. Without the aid of martial law and other extraordinary measures the government cannot take a step. Not only the volunteer army but the police also are on a real war footing. White Terror is raging all over the country.

What is the attitude of the great masses that actively participate in political life? We shall not talk about the Spartacans who have not laid down their arms even in the darkest hour of counter-revolutionary madness. We do not doubt for a moment that this influence is growing in depth and width. A sudden turn towards the left is manifest among those workers who belonged to the Independent Socialists. This was evidenced at their conference last September. The party membership is openly leaning towards Bolshevism. The leaders take the position of the centre. The renegade Kautsky, formerly considered the leader of the Independents, does in reality represent no one but himself. He is sinking deeper and deeper into the quagmire of Scheidemannism and in his dastardly attack on Soviet Russia he goes beyond even Bernstein. But Kautsky is harmless at present. The masses have come to understand his "Marxism." After the September conference great numbers of large and small branches of the Independent Socialist party voted in favor of joining the Third International. This move towards the Third International is still continuing. Sooner or later it will result in a split in the Independent Party. The masses and some leaders will join the Communists; the "Kautskianists" will go with the government party of the social skunks. That will be a great gain in the interests of the revolution.

There are certain workers in Germany who go hand in hand with the Scheidemann party. They are the so-called "labor aristocracy". But even these semi-bourgeois elements are manifesting their dissatisfaction with the present government policy. At the convention of the social-patriots at Weimar, many speeches of protest were made against Noske & Co. The convention passed a resolution against the volunteer army. And there were cases of whole branches leaving the party.

This growing dissatisfaction certainly does not strengthen the position of the Ebert government.

Taking all this into consideration we may draw the conclusion that the revolution of the German laboring classes has not yet

said its last word. The German proletariat will yet measure its strength against the bourgeoisie.

## Where Do You Stand?

(Continued from page 5)

sider it an insult if the world today should call him a "successful and influential minister": just because he had been wise and shrewd enough to keep things smooth while accomplishing nothing. He would scorn to ask men to lead a "devotional" life without having them devoted to his cause. He would have no hesitancy in condemning those who cry aloud the housing problem and then make their pile by holding land out of use for speculating purposes. He would not associate with a man who made his mark in the world by paying such wages in his store that only girls "who live at home" could work there. He would laugh at our "dynamic" Detroit and our inhuman civilization. And do you imagine that he would rise in the world, that he would be a successful minister or enterprising business man? No! While there was a lower class he would be one of them; while there was a struggling group who wanted not only a chance to exist, but an opportunity to live the "more abundant life" he would struggle with them. He would gather them together as a hen would gather her chickens; he might weep over Jerusalem, but he would then go down into the city, even if it meant the taking up of the cross and carrying it on lonely shoulders to Calvary.

Where do you stand? There is no middle ground—"he that is not for me is against me." I am sorry that it so, but today we must decide whether we are to be loyal to the church which bears the cross, or the people who are in need of deliverance from bondage. I am comparatively a young man, but I want the strength of my youth to go into the great struggle for the toiling masses whom I love, rather than the doubtful and very discouraging task of Christianizing the Church.

When the Church calls me to be loyal to the institution and He calls me to be true to the Kingdom, I must follow His train. I entered the ministry to promote the Brotherhood of Man and now I am leaving it for the same purpose.

## LETTRES DE CACHET

**M**EMBERS of Communist Party in Chicago—Comrades Kowalski, Preis, Faulkner, Krispens, and others—are being condemned to prison on warrant.

On formal deportation charges, based merely on membership in the party, bail is fixed at \$10,000, an absolutely prohibitive figure.

The American bureaucracy makes no pretense of observing the traditional principles of Anglo-Saxon criminal practice in its political inquisitions.

Imprisonment on a bare statutory charge; and, in fact, four or five days of jailing without even the warrant—these are American improvements over the Czar and Kaiser methods.

Hearing is completed in the Stoklitsky case at Detroit; also in the Shumovich and Bieznak cases at Chicago. In the latter two cases a brief is to be filed by the party counsel, I. E. Ferguson, which will involve only the single issue of whether or not membership in the Communist Party is of itself a basis for deportation.

# Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship

I.

THE development of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries has inspired the Bourgeois—and its agents in the labor-Organizations—to strenuous efforts in the discovery of idealistic political arguments in favor of the control now exercised by the exploiters. In these arguments special emphasis is laid upon the rejection of dictatorship and the safe-guarding of democracy. Yet the hypocritical and lying nature of such arguments, repeated in a thousand variations by the capitalist press, and by the Conference of the yellow International held in Berne during February 1919, must be obvious to anyone who does not contemplate betrayal of the basic principles of socialism.

II.

These arguments depend primarily upon the concepts of "essential democracy" and "essential dictatorship," never raising the question of the class implicated. Such a formulation of the problem from a point of view apart from and above the class viewpoint and ostensibly valid for the population as a whole, is a direct mockery of the basic principle of socialism, namely, the principle of the class-struggle, a principle which is acknowledged in words but forgotten in deeds by those Socialists who have gone over to the camp of the bourgeoisie. For in no civilized capitalist country does "essential democracy" exist, but only a bourgeois democracy, and the question does not turn on "essential dictatorship" but on dictatorship by the oppressed class, i. e., the proletariat, over the oppressors and exploiters, i. e., the bourgeoisie, for the purpose of overcoming the resistance of the exploiters in their struggle to remain in control.

III.

History teaches that an oppressed class never could acquire power without going through a period of dictatorship, i. e., a period of conquest of the political power and of forcible suppression of the desperate and frantic resistance, shrinking from no crime, that is always displayed by the exploiters. The bourgeoisie, whose control is now defended by Socialists who prate of "essential dictatorship" and who are body and soul for "essential democracy," won its domination in the civilized countries by means of a series of revolutions and civil wars, by means of the forcible suppression of royal power, of feudal power, of slaveholders, and of their attempts to re-establish themselves. In books, in pamphlets, in the resolutions of their congresses, in their speeches, Socialists in all countries have explained to the people a thousand, nay, a million times, the class-nature of this bourgeois revolution. That is why the presents defense of "bourgeois democracy" in speeches on "essential democracy," and the present denunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the outcry against "essential dictatorship," constitutes a direct betrayal of Socialism, an actual defection into the camp of the bourgeoisie, a denial of the right of the proletariat to its proletarian revolution, a defense of bourgeois reformism at an historical crisis when bourgeois reformism the world over has collapsed and the war has created a revolutionary situation.

By N. Lenin

(The following Theses by Comrade Lenin, which formulate the theory underlying the attitude of the Communist International with respect to the problem of Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship, were transmitted to the Bureau of the International with instructions to procure for them the widest possible publicity).

IV.

In explaining the class-nature of bourgeois civilization, of bourgeois parliamentarism, all Socialists have uttered the thought set forth with the utmost scientific exactness by Marx and Engels: that the most democratic bourgeois republic is nothing but a machine for the oppression of the laboring class by the bourgeoisie, of the mass of workers by a handful of capitalists. There is not a single former revolutionary, not a single erstwhile Marxist among those who now declaim against dictatorship and in favor of democracy who did not at one time swear, by all that he held most holy, that he acknowledged this basic truth of Socialism. Now, however, when there is a ferment among the proletariat and a movement aimed at the destruction of this machine of oppression and at the conquest of a dictatorship for the proletariat, these traitors to Socialism place the matter in such a light as to make it seem that the bourgeoisie has actually made a gift of "pure democracy" to the workers, that the bourgeoisie are disposed to forego all resistance and to yield to a majority of the workers, that a democratic republic is not a political instrument for the oppression of labor by capital.

V.

The Paris Commune, which is applauded by all who wish to be recognized as Socialists, since they know that the mass of the workers have a great and sincere sympathy with it,—the Paris Commune revealed most clearly the historical relativity and the limited value of bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy which, in comparison with the Middle Ages, constitute very progressive institutions, to be sure, but which in this Age of the Proletarian Revolution call inevitably for radical changes. Marx himself, who set the greatest store on the historical significance of the Commune, laid bare in his analysis of the movement the exploiting nature of bourgeois democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism, a system which gives the oppressed class the right to decide, once in so many years, which ambassador of the owning classes is to stand for and upon the people in parliament. And it is at this time, when the soviet-movement is taking hold all over the world, carrying on the cause of the Commune everywhere, that the betrayers of Socialism forget both practical experience and the concrete lessons of the Paris Commune and repeat the ancient bourgeois nonsense about "essential democracy." The Commune was a non-parliamentary institution.

VI.

The importance of the Commune lay in the further fact that it made an attempt to destroy and uproot the bourgeois state-machinery, the bureaucratic, judicial, military, and police-machinery, and to replace it by the self-governing mass-organization of workers, rid of the separation of legislative and administrative power. All the bourgeois-democratic republics of our time,

among them the German, which, by a mockery of the truth, is designated as a proletarian republic by the betrayers of Socialism, have retained this bourgeois state-machinery. All of which proves, again and again, most plainly and clearly, that the outcry raised in defense of "essential democracy" represents nothing but the defense of the bourgeoisie and its exploitation-privileges.

VII.

"Freedom of assembly" may be taken as an example of the requirements of "pure democracy." Every conscious worker who has not deserted his class sees without further ado that it would be nonsense to promise his exploiters freedom of assembly during the period and under the circumstances when the latter are resisting their downfall and defending their privileges. At a period when the bourgeoisie itself was still revolutionary, it did not allow freedom of assembly, either in England in 1649, or in France in 1793, to the royalists and nobility (when the latter brought foreign troops into the country and "assembled" in order to organize an attempt at restoration). Should the contemporary bourgeoisie, long since become reactionary, demand that the proletariat guarantee in advance "freedom of assembly" to their exploiters regardless of what opposition the capitalists may set up against their dispossession, then the proletariat will merely be moved to laughter at such a display of bourgeois hypocrisy.

On the other hand, workers know very well that "freedom of assembly," even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, is an empty phrase; for the wealthy classes have the disposal of the best public and private buildings, and have enough leisure for assemblage. They enjoy the protection of the bourgeois machinery of force. The city and the village proletariat, as well as the peasants, i. e., the overwhelming majority of the population, have neither the first, nor the second, nor the third. So long as this state of affairs continues, "equality", i. e., "pure democracy," will remain a fraud. In order to establish a real equality, in order actually to realize democracy for the workers, it would be necessary first to take all the magnificent private and public structures away from the exploiters, to provide leisure for the workers, and to see to it that the freedom of their assemblies is safeguarded by armed workers, not by scions of the nobility or by officers drawn from capitalistic circles and placed in command of intimidated troops.

Not until such a change has taken place will it be possible to speak of freedom of assembly, of equality, without making mock of the working people, of the poor. But this change can be brought about only by the vanguard of the working people, the proletariat, which dethrones the exploiters, the bourgeoisie.

VIII.

"Freedom of the press" is another of the chief watchwords of "pure democracy." But workers all know, and the Socialists of all countries have admitted millions of times, that this freedom must remain a fraud as long as the best presses and the most abundant supplies of paper remain in the hands of the capitalists, as long as capital retains its power over the press,—a control which manifests itself most clearly and sharply, most cynically, wherever democracy and a

republican regime are most highly developed, as, for example, in America. In order to win a real equality and a real democracy for the working masses, for the workers and peasants, it will be necessary first to deprive the capitalists of the possibility of hiring writers, of buying publishing plants, of bribing newspapers. And to accomplish this it will be necessary to shake off the yoke of capitalism, to dethrone the exploiters, and to break their resistance. Capitalists have always meant by "freedom" the freedom of profits for the rich and the freedom of the poor to perish of starvation. Capitalists mean by freedom of the press the freedom of the rich to bribe the press, the freedom to employ wealth in the manufacture and the falsification of so-called public opinion. Once again, the defenders of "pure democracy" reveal themselves as in reality the defenders of this most vile and purchasable system of control by the rich over the means of enlightening the poor, as betrayers of the people seeking with fair but lying phrases to divert them from their concrete historical task of freeing the press from the control of capital. Real freedom and real equality will exist in the order which the Communists are creating, an order which will provide no possibility, direct or indirect, for subjecting the press to the might of money; an order in which nothing will prevent the worker (or group of workers of any size) from possessing and exercising an equal right to the presses and the paper supplies belonging to society.

## X.

Even before the war, the history of the 19th and 20th century showed us what becomes of the boasted "pure democracy" under Capitalism. The Marxists have always maintained that the more highly developed, the more "pure" a democracy is the more open, keen, and merciless will be the nature of the class-struggle, the more will be the pressure of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Dreyfus affair in republican France, the bloody conflicts between mercenaries armed by capital and striking laborers in the free and democratic republic of America, these and a thousand other facts reveal the truth which the bour-

geoisie has sought in vain to conceal, namely, that in the most democratic countries the Terror and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie are really in control and come out openly into the light of day whenever it seems to the exploiters that the power of capital is tottering.

## X.

The imperialistic war, 1914-1918, has once and for all time proven even to the most backward workers, that the true nature of bourgeois democracy even in the most free republics is dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. For the sake of enriching German and English groups of millionaires, millions of human beings were murdered, and in the most free republics the military dictatorship of the bourgeoisie was established. This military dictatorship continues in the Entente nations even after the defeat of Germany. The war, more than anything else, has served to open the eyes of the workers, to tear the false veil from bourgeois democracy, and to reveal to the people the whole abyss of war-time speculation and profiteering. In the name of freedom and equality the bourgeoisie has conducted this war; in the name of freedom and equality the purveyors of war-munitions have become incredibly rich. All the efforts of the Yellow International at Berne to conceal from the masses the now completely unmasked exploiting character of bourgeois freedom, of bourgeois equality, and of bourgeois democracy, are doomed to futility.

## XI.

In the most highly developed capitalist country on the European continent, in Germany, the first months of complete republican freedom, brought by the overturn of imperialistic Germany, have shown German workers and the whole world the real class-content of the bourgeois-democratic republic. The murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg are events of world-historical significance not only because the best leaders of the true proletariat Communist International came to tragic deaths, but also because the class-character of the first State in Europe—without exaggeration, the

first State in the world—has definitely revealed itself. If those under arrest, i. e., individually taken under the protection of the power of the State, can safely be murdered by officers and capitalists under a social-patriotic regime, it follows that the democratic republic in which such things can transpire is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Individuals who express their indignation at the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg but who cannot perceive this truth demonstrate nothing but their stupidity or their hypocrisy. In one of the most free and advanced republics of the world, in the German Republic, "freedom" consists in the freedom to kill, unpunished, the arrested leaders of the proletariat. Nor can things be otherwise so long as capitalism maintains itself, for the development of democracy does not diminish but heightens the war of the classes, which as a result and under the influence of the world war has now reached the boiling point.

Throughout the whole civilized world the deportation, persecution, and imprisonment of the Bolsheviki is the order of the day, as, e. g., in one of the most free bourgeois republics, Switzerland. Note also the Bolsheviki-programs in America, and the like. From the standpoint of "essential democracy," it is simply ridiculous that progressive, civilized, democratic countries, armed to the teeth, should be afraid of a few dozen individuals coming from backward, hungry, ruined Russia which is denounced as savage and criminal in millions of copies of bourgeois newspapers. It is clear that the social condition which can produce so clamorous a contradiction is in reality a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

## XII.

Under circumstances such as these the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is not only fully justified as a means toward dispossessing the exploiters and toward suppressing their resistance, but it is also absolutely necessary for the whole mass of workers as their only protection against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which has led to the war and is preparing for new wars.

To be continued in next issue).

## New Jersey State Secretary Report on Organization

Newark, N. J. Nov. 11th.

Dear Comrade Editor:—

The New Jersey State Organization of the Communist Party of America held its first Convention on November 1st and 2nd, 1919 in Newark, with 62 delegates present, representing 41 branches with a total membership of 1,678 in the state. (Approximately 400 members in 12 branches affiliated with the Communist Party were unrepresented at the Convention, due to various technical reasons).

The report of the Organization, Press and Literature Committee was adopted with few changes. The report consisted in part of:—(1) an organization plan to form 9 locals of the party in the state (this was referred to the Central Executive Committee of the party for sanction); (2) the State Office to be located in Newark; (3) New Jersey to have a paid Secretary, who shall devote much time to organization work; (4) In the State Office shall be desk-space for the State-Secretaries of the Language Federations; (5) To place a Special Organizer in the field as soon as possible; (6) To arrange for lecture tours through the state; (7) The State Committee was given the authority to levy Special Assessments, not to exceed 25 cents per member; (8) The salary of the paid officials not to exceed that of the national scale, which is \$35 per week; (9) The State Office to be the Central Bureau for the party literature; (10) The State Committee to issue leaflets, in any language, on the questions of the day; (11) The Branches were urged to stress literature distribution at the present time; (12) That the

Language Federations be requested to pay into the State Treasury the per capita which accumulated in these Federations during the period of their suspension from the Socialist Party, up until the organization of the Communist Party (Sept. 1st).

The State Constitution adopted concurred with the National Constitution of the party and embodied provisions for a centralized State Organization; annual State Conventions, a State Committee of 15 to meet once a month; and an Executive of 5 to meet once a week.

Comrade Walter Gabriel, of Newark, was elected as State Secretary and Comrade Louis Brandt, also of Newark, was elected as Organizer. The State Committee was elected by the Convention; it was representative of eight out of the ten language groups in New Jersey.

Resolutions were adopted as follows:—(1 and 2) Greetings to the Third International and to the supporters of the Soviet Government in Russia; (3) Acceptance of the Manifesto, Program and Constitution of the Communist Party as a whole; (4) A "call" to the American working-class to effect the release of the political prisoners and to break the blockade of Soviet Russia; (5) Pledging the State Organization to initiate the work of forming "factory-shop committees", these to function under the control of the City Central Committees and to be composed of Communist Party members only; (6) Calling upon the Communist Party to use the industrial struggles, which are now tearing at the vitals of the capitalist order, for purely Communist purposes; (7) a

resolution endorsing the industrial union as the only organization that will effect the emancipation of the working-class, was rejected, with only the maker of the resolution voting for it; (8) that Communist Party members shall agitate in their industrial organization, with the sole aim of gathering the entire working-class around the impending struggle for the Proletarian Dictatorship.

Fraternally submitted,

W. Gabriel.

Secretary, New Jersey State Organization,  
Communist Party of America.

### Central Executive Meets

A meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party has been held and stands adjourned as we go to press; but due to the circumstances of the meeting and the absence of the Executive Secretary the minutes are not ready for this issue, in spite of delay of the paper for this purpose. Many important questions of party policy were considered, and in so far as consistent with the present persecutions against the party, a full report will be issued by the Executive Secretary.

Comrades Ballant and Lovestone, as well as Comrade Ruthenberg, were kept away from the meeting by arrest. Eleven members were present at most of the sessions.



# The Russian Press on Versailles Treaty

THE organ of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, *Pravda*, compared the peace at Brest with the peace at Versailles and makes the following comment: "For Germany the peace instigated at Versailles by the very courageous English-French-American "democracy" is a robbery through and through. The acceptance of the peace terms means, according to the present leaders of bourgeois Germany, "the destruction of Germany", "the grave of the German people." Despair is heard in every utterance of the leading German bourgeoisie.

"A very short time ago German imperialism dictated almost the same kind of terms to us, in the peace of Brest. The fulfillment of these terms meant Russia's economic ruin, and the enslavement of the entire Russian people. Even at that time despair came from the bourgeoisie and their "Socialist" followers but this despair could not be found in the real revolutionaries, the Soviet power representatives. Our Soviet representatives agreed to sign the peace of Brest because they knew that this peace would not last long, that it would be destroyed by the development of the world revolution.

"But the German bourgeoisie and its adherents find themselves in a different situation. They could not encourage the outbreak of the Communist revolution in the Entente countries because this Communist revolution would mean their own overthrow in Germany. They could only scare the Allies with this revolution. But the Allies understood very well that this was only a threat from the so-called "Socialist" government of Germany, from social-traitors, and that these fellow individuals would never lend themselves to any such enterprise as a real revolution. There is no way of rescue for capitalist Germany. It stands at the very brink of destruction. The German people realize now very clearly that the bourgeoisie, with the help of the social-traitors, has led them to destruction and now cannot save them.

"But these men who cannot save the people from destruction will no longer be retained in the government. There is no room nor demand for "fain[?] hearts and weak hands". They must be replaced by those who face the future with courage, who can lead the people onwards with strong brave leadership.

"Of all the political parties of Germany the Communist can fill these demands. That party fears the peace treaty at Versailles just as little as we feared the Brest peace, because it knows that like the Brest peace, the Versailles peace will also be swept away by the storm wave of the world revolution.

"The Versailles treaty is the suppression of Germany, the draining of all its economic forces,—open robbery. It imposes upon Germany eternal slavery. It places the rope around its neck."

"The signing of the peace treaty," writes Kerschenzev, in *Izvestia*, "which saved Germany from a new assault by the Allied powers, will not, however, be able to save the Berlin—Weimar government from the threatening danger within. On the contrary it has only aggravated this danger, for the reason that only now will the full weight of the war and the recent peace be really felt. Germany's leaders, who have proven themselves bankrupt in regard to their foreign

Translated from *Folkets Dagblad*, Politiken, Stockholm, Oct. 2, 1919.

policy, will show an even more deplorable bankruptcy in any schemes for the internal reconstruction of their land. With the signing of the peace treaty they have signed their own death warrant."

Regarding the economic significance of the Versailles peace treaty Meschtscheryakow writes, in *Pravda*:

"The victorious robbers demand that in less than two years, that is on May 1st, 1921, Germany shall pay them so many billions marks in money. But such a great quantity of gold does not exist in Germany. The Allies announce, therefore, that the debt shall be paid by the handing over of merchant ships already built, in the process of building, or planned to be built in the future; of cattle, machines, chemicals, pharmaceutical products, coal and all its by-products, ocean cables etc. etc.

"Germany has been fearfully ruined through the war. Of its former riches it has now only unimportant supplies. It will not be possible for the country to restore itself within two years. The carrying away of resources to the value of twenty billions of marks means, therefore, that Germany will be compelled to give up everything that she possesses at the present time and what she will absolutely need in the future to reconstruct her national economic situation, (merchant vessels, coal, cattle, machinery, etc.,) and in addition everything she can produce in two years.

"By grabbing for themselves these riches the Allies hope to re-establish their own industry. If their plans are realized, ruined Germany would at the end of two years compete in the markets of the world against these reestablished and rehabilitated competitors. Naturally she would not be able to endure this competition, and would thus become a victim of further draining by them.

"This draining has already been assumed as a matter of fact, by the peace treaty. Besides the twenty billions of marks which Germany has to pay by May 1st, 1921, she must also hand over 100 billions in notes. The payment of these notes will be not only in gold, but also with these same articles with which she is supposed to pay the first twenty billions.

"The payment of this tribute will be immensely difficult, further, because of the fact that Germany has lost all her colonies on which she was almost entirely dependent for her raw materials. The taking away of her merchant marine, not only her present one but all future and prospective ones, will make it impossible for her to import the necessary raw materials from other countries.

"In addition Germany loses large quantities of her own land, which considering her industry, is of tremendous importance to her. France gets, for instance, Alsace Lorraine, from which Germany received 40 per cent of all her iron. In addition France gets for 15 years the Saar valley, which is very rich in coal. Through this loss Germany is deprived of almost her entire coal and iron supplies, which is, of course, a most terrible blow to German industry.

"The Allies occupy altogether the whole left bank of the Rhine for 15 years. The treaty decides, further, that the Allies will

be able to continue the occupation if Germany has not fulfilled her obligations before the expiration of the option. It can be said now that Germany will not be able to fulfill any such obligations as these, and thus they will have an opportunity to continue their occupation of the Saar district and the further plundering of Germany. But the robbery is not ended even with these stipulations. Germany must in addition pay all losses which the war has caused to private individuals in France and Belgium. This bill will be presented to Germany before May 21st, 1921, and will undoubtedly amount to a few billions."

Kerschenzev elucidates in *Izvestia* the points in the peace treaty which concern the colonial policy dictated by the Allies.

"This fourth part of the peace treaty calls itself 'Germany's right and interests outside Europe': In reality it means the violation of Germany's interests in non-European states. It is the will of the peace congress that Germany shall be the only country in the world that may not possess any colonial territories on the other side of the ocean.

"This robbery of Germany has been accomplished so that the former German colonies and concessions will be given to the winners.

"In the projected 'League of Nations' special rules are set forth in regard to the administration of the colonies and territories no longer under the influence of those states which administered them before. A little further on the provisions of the League project speak plainly about the guardianship of these people, making a sharp distinction between those who are able to govern themselves and experienced in this regard, (England with her bloody experience in India and Egypt; France who learned to use the system of terror in her Moroccan and Madagascar expeditions), and the others. All colonial districts that cannot prove themselves possessed of these abilities and of such experiences, will be put under the guardianship of these countries.

"The plans of the Allies in regard to China is a clear illustration of how they intend to administer the colonies put under their guardianship. They have promised to hand the administration of the German colonies of China—naturally without asking the opinion of either the inhabitants of the colonies, or of China,—over to a consolidation of America's, England's, France's, and Japan's bankers, for China's economic development, which means quite simply the economic exploitation for the benefit of these bankers. This bank consolidation will be under the control of the respective governments, which means that it will be according to the will of their capitalists. The American edition of this new division of China contains this surprisingly hypocritical phrase that this plan is highly satisfactory to the Chinese. And why? Because it would make it possible for China to emancipate herself from foreign political influence. And still more: "It removes every attempt at plots upon China's independence."

"China is placed under foreign capital and they call it 'emancipation from foreign influence!'"

"The Versailles treaty introduces a regime of barbarous exploitation and oppression, not only for the conquered

(Continued on page 11)

# The Drift of Things

**W**ALTER N. POLAKOV, eminent consulting engineer, was retained by the Dial Publishing Company to report on the cause of the present situation in the coal industry. This report appears in the current issue of THE DIAL. It is not alone a revelation as to the conditions which compelled the strike, but it is at the same time a most illuminating cross-section of the whole capitalistic system of production.

The points of fact brought out, in a strikingly decisive way, are the following:

- 1—The coal operators do not control the selling, which is done largely through jobbers. There is no co-ordination, therefore, between the mining and selling.
- 2—The cost accounting is of such character that there is often ignorance of production costs.
- 3—The training of employees is not organized, causing great waste.
- 4—Machine operation constitutes little over 50%, showing backwardness of production methods.
- 5—Wastefulness of time, materials and possible output (coal left in mines), is notorious, 33 to 50% of coal resources being despoiled. Since 1844, this waste is figured at 7,541,550,000 tons. Same rate of use and wastage will exhaust the coal supply in 100 years.
- 6—Processing the coal at the mine, by conversion into coke, saving of ammonium sulphate, tar, benzol and other derivatives, would increase value of annual output to \$8,000,000,000 (as against present total of \$2,500,000,000).
- 7—Electric power could be generated at mouth of mine for radius of 300 miles, as method of using vast supply of coal left unmined. There is also wastage of 25% and more in coal after production by improper methods of firing.
- 8—There has been no attempt to solve the problem of storage, production being on basis of immediate needs and idleness the rule when there are not enough cars to load the day's output.
- 9—Out of possible working days in year, at maximum production, work is carried on only two-thirds of the time. The five-day week means 13% to 21% more days per annum than the miners were ever called upon to work.
- 10—The six-hour day is easily within the range of better managerial and production methods. (It is to be noted that the 6-hour day really means 8 hours underground, including the travelling "to face coal" and the return to mine opening).
- 11—After the declaration of war the margin of profit on coal went up 600% over 1916. Under the price regulation it never was lower than 180% over pre-war prices. The regulation stopped February, 1919, the war emergency having passed, so far as concerns profits, and the margin went to 400% over pre-war profits.
- 12—There have been no wage advances since November 1917. (And the President now again discovers a war emergency!)
- 13—The demand for 60% wage increase could be granted without change in the price of coal if the increase in profit margin over 1916 were given up.

What is needed above all, declares the expert, is regulated employment as against

"disorganized convulsions between 195 and 260 days per year."

Mr. Polakov asks what is the answer to the situation in this industry, and as a technical expert, not as a propagandist, he replies to his own question: "organization of production for consumption, not for sale and the subsequent division of revenues between those who HAD and those who DID."

THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD issued a report on "Wartime Changes in Wages." In view of the extensive and persistent propaganda about war wages, it is well to note the actual dollar and cents figures in the eight leading industries covered in the report. There is a big percentage increase, but it requires no commentary to impress the "standard of living" which lurks behind the figures.

	Male Workers Sept. 1914	March 1919	Female Workers Sept. 1914	March 1919
Metal.....	13.18	24.75	6.45	14.50
Cotton ....	10.00	17.10	7.70	12.75
Wool .....	11.52	18.61	8.70	13.46
Silk .....	11.77	22.69	7.49	15.10
Boot&Shoes	14.70	25.90	9.18	14.69
Paper.....	12.73	22.40	7.47	12.24
Rubber ....	14.00	29.35	9.25	14.90
Chemical ..	12.85	26.20		

AN ALLIED MISSION is here to establish a World Trade League "to overcome Prussianism in commerce."

The political weapon, the League of Nations, is the shadow; the real power is the direct economic organization—the world chamber of commerce.

The two fundamental problems: 1) "the suppression of labor unrest to bring about maximum productivity"—note the language, "suppression of labor unrest," not the solution of labor unrest; 2) Arrangement of system whereby Allied countries can get long-term credits in the U. S.—(a system whereby the U. S. signs all the notes of the bankrupt European governments—and backs up the signature by suppressing labor unrest).

THE NEW HAVEN "JOURNAL COURIER", in its enthusiasm about the World Trade League, says: "This compact means nothing more nor less than the removal of the causes which in nine hundred and ninety-nine times out of a thousand make for war."

Quick, Palmer, the Espionage Act! Or is the one-thousandths loophole big enough for escape?

THE TALL KING OF BELGIUM—and his Cardinal Mercier—and a queen in the bargain, come a-visiting: the loan is only \$50,000,000.

The little prince of Wales comes over, and makes little princely speeches,—and Morgan & Co. offers the public \$250,000,000 notes of Great Britain @ 5¼%.

How touching is this international amity!

THE EDGE BILL, which passed the House on November 7th, permits national banks and other financial institutions to create international banking corporations to the extent of 10% of their total capital stock and surplus.

This is one of the series of bills passed in recent months in recognition of the governmental alliance with American international finance.

In connection with Federal shipping legis-

lation, Senator Jones, Chairman of Senate Commerce Committee, predicted that ships flying the American flag will almost equal the tonnage of Great Britain by end of 1920.

AN ANGLO-AMERICAN COMPANY purchased all German private and state interests in the diamond field of what was formerly German Southwest Africa. The dispatch states: "Some protests are expressed over what is called 'secrecy of the deal' and allegations are made that the purchase was affected through undue influence in political quarters."

And, by the way, this new hyphenism is appearing quite frequently of late: **Anglo-American finance.**

With it, a vast and subtle propaganda and inter-society campaign for unity between the two ruling cliques—in the name of Anglo-Saxon propinquity.

ANGLO-AMERICAN-DANISH CORPORATION gets flaxseed concessions in Lithuania. Other negotiations look toward waterway and railroad rights—and there is even a film company with American capital.

Self-determination of small nations means finance-determination by the dominant imperialisms.

THE VERSAILLES PEACE TERMS are now found to coincide with the ideas of Czar Nicholas, expressed in November 1914, in conversation with the French ambassador in Petrograd, M. Palcologue—but the Czar didn't collect on his own bets.

One item is particularly illustrative of this diplomacy, that the Czar expected not only to hold on to Poland, but to extend its boundaries (very much as has been done, so far as Germany is concerned)—and this statement followed shortly upon the famous manifesto promising restoration of independence to Poland!

RESERVATIONS are the order of the day. The Senate is making peace treaty reservations, firstly, to make a campaign (which has elements of popularity in its appeals for a home policy—an appeal not substantiated by the extensive legislative and diplomatic preparations for foreign investment); secondly, to reassert the prerogatives of the Senate against the President; thirdly, to play up the special American imperialistic interests better than was done at Paris.

Even the most casual reading of the reservations shows the purpose of playing fast and loose with the Allies, using them without being too much used by them.

The Senate is playing the American hand in the international gamble for higher stakes than the acquiescent Professor dared venture at Versailles.

TWO BOYS were suspended from a Chicago high school because they exhibited "red" symptoms, and didn't like what one of them called the "Mohamedan" performance of "looking east" at a given signal. Why not take a chance that the further "education" will cure them? Oh, ye men of little faith—in your own mind-destruction!

SPOT THE HEADLINES: "Stories Exaggerated of War Cost of U. S."—"Pro-German Propaganda is Refuted by Figures." The war only cost us \$30,177,000,000!

At the time this issue is prepared for press Comrade Ruthenberg is still on trial at Cleveland, on the charge of assault with intent to kill, arising out of the great May Day demonstration in Cleveland. News from the trial is that the prosecution is having a hard time making even a pretence of showing for bringing this outrageous charge. (Later: Verdict of Not Guilty directed by Court).

Organization news will be brought up to date in next issue, and details will be given of the meeting of the Central Executive Committee. In the meantime charter applications, as well as organization and defense donations, are coming in unabated.

## The Russian Press on Versailles Treaty

Continued from page 9)

European countries, but it also elevates into law the bloody colonial system that has lain as a curse over the whole world for the past twenty years. The Versailles peace will become a symbol for slavery, not only for the German and Austrian proletariat, but for all the workers in the whole world--for all the people of the world who are oppressed by European capital. The whole proletariat of the world, and all the people of the world who have experienced the heavy hand and the galling chains of England's, America's, and France's colonial policy, will take up the struggle against this peace.....

Korschenzew call "the League of Nations" a "league of violation."

"This peace treaty," he adds, "with its violent character, is without comparison in history, yet it tries to proclaim co-operation among the peoples. The following paragraphs regarding the war tribute and the Saar district illustrate this cooperation. In the League of Nations only selected countries are included. All resolutions of the league must be unanimously accepted. That is, no decision can be made against the will of the great powers, and no pressure can be exercised on them. It is very plain that it will be easy for these powers to win such an unanimity in their ability to compel the smaller states to subordinate their own wills.

The League of Nations proclaims that it will limit the armies and make an end to war. But even this promise contains a few exceptions. The armies will be limited to 'the minimum, as the national safety demands.' Again we shall hear those same old phrases about self defense, and again, most naturally, the question of 'national safety' will be treated in the interest of the present victors, and the minimum army will be decided according to the discretion of the makers of cannon and munitions.....

"Having scarcely reached the point of talk of reconciliation, the authors of the peace treaty begin already to speak about more wars. Of course these wars cannot begin before certain preliminaries are complied with, nevertheless it is always a war, finally, that will decide the future destiny of the world, according to them.

"A court of arbitration has been appointed to decide the conflicts between the powers, but only unanimous decisions will oblige the members of the league to refrain from war. In other words the new treaty gives every great power the privilege of declaring war against an adjacent state and forcing it to submit itself to the will of the great power.

"Accordingly all the paragraphs of the treaty in reference to the League of Nations mention the establishment of an armed trust of the great powers which

may, by force and violence against the smaller nations, decide whatever is most profitable to Allied capital.

"This peace treaty is actually a league of violence which makes war and the exploitation of the smaller nations by the great ones, a law.

"Russia will not belong to the League of Nations. The peace conference has decided to put the "Russian question" aside for the present time. "The Russian question"--which long ago became a giant exclamation mark... 'will not be tried by the conference.' ... 'Its examination,' a radio from Paris says, 'will be handed over to the League of Nations when opportunity allows.' Of course they will not discuss the Russian question. That will be decided by Foch, and with his help, by Kolchak, Denikin, et al.

"If they succeed in crushing Soviet Russia that would be the 'opportunity' of which the radio speaks. After that they would begin to discuss the question. They are prepared to speak with the Russian bourgeoisie, but the Russian workers and peasants they intend only to shoot.

"The Imperialists assembled in Versailles have decided to sit in judgment upon the originators of the war. -- 'They all fall upon Wilhelm the Second. 'They will sentence Wilhelm the Second,' writes Bergman, in "Izvestia". 'England who has trodden upon the Hindus, Boers, and Australians; France, whose capital has advanced over the bones of the Algerians; Belgium, of whose humanity the people of the Congo can tell most unbelievable things!

"Wilhelm is guilty, and after Carl, Ludwig, and Nicholas he will suffer their fate. Krupp is guilty, but it is neither the duty nor the responsibility of Clemenceau and the Allies to sentence them. They themselves are guilty--and they too will be sentenced some time'."

## Leaflets

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

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

These Are Ready

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# The Communist International

## Revolutionary Youth of Scandinavia unite

THE FIRST CONVENTION of the revolutionary organizations of the Socialist youth of the three countries of Scandinavia was held at Hillerød, Denmark, a few weeks ago. There were 30 delegates from Denmark, 20 from Norway, 30 from Sweden, and a goodly number of fraternal delegates from Denmark.

A permanent organization was inaugurated for the three countries, with provision for regular conventions and for a Board of Scandinavia to act as a unifying organ for all of the local organizations. One provision typifies the spirit and aim of the organization, namely: "Large mass meetings are to be held each year at the boundary lines of the three countries."

After a full discussion of principles and tactics, the Convention held "that the Youth's International should stand on the same political platform as the Third International of the World, in order that the young workmen might employ the same means of combat and forms of organization." The resolution in favor of the Third International was adopted by vote of 68 to 5.

The details of the report give every evidence of a Convention of the highest intelligence and magnificent spirit, and of a substantial organization of the youth of the Scandinavian countries.

## Minority Resolution of C. G. T.

† N September of this year the 14th Conference of the French Confederation of Labor took place at Lyon. Below is the text of the resolution of the left minority of this conference made public by Comrade Koron in the name of this minority.

Due to the order of the day accepted by the conference this resolution could not be debated or put to a vote.

The 14th Conference, in looking over the position and actions of the General Confederation of Labor during the period commencing August 2, 1914, recalls that war as a whole, and especially the last war, which threw the people of all lands into battle, was the result of competition between the capitalists in their aim to win the world market.

The Conference declares that in this war the General Confederation of Labor, in its various steps in cooperation with the government, carried on a policy contrary to its principles, a policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie directing the war.

The General Confederation of Labor allowed itself to be associated in the war and in this manner took upon itself part of the responsibility.

Due to this it could not act independently and with enough energy against the world of injustice and force which, not having exterminated the causes of the old quarrels, created new ones. It demanded also from the leaders a full amnesty and the renewal of rights of citizenship.

Considering all this, the Conference censures the Committee of the Confederation for the position taken and for their actions during the war.

The Congress also condemns the policy of reconciliation of classes used by the Committee of the Confederation, the present actions of which are nothing more than the continuation of that policy of participation in the Capitalist government practiced during the war.

The conference believes that such policy is different in the case of the inevitable agreements made between the bosses and the workers, which are also acts of participation. But the policy condemned is the participation in the established institutions constructed for joint study by the representatives of the workers and of the bourgeoisie of economic questions, the solution of which will only prolong the existence of the present system. Upon the basis of the principles which still remain valid for French Syndicalism, worked out in the Atalens program, the Conference once more proclaims the inevit-

able necessity of class war and the carrying on of this war to a logical end: the extermination of wage slavery.

We once again affirm the following: In our daily activities we Syndicalists aim: to organize the manifestations of the workers towards the battle for the immediate betterment of the workers life, that is, for the diminishing of the working day, increase in the wages, and towards other similar problems.

But this sort of battle is only a part of the problem of Syndicalism. It prepares for the emancipation of the whole working class which can be only carried out by expropriating the capitalists. The weapon of this fight is the general strike.

The Conference considers that at the present time syndicates are fighting unites, but in the future will be the units of production and distribution, the basis for the reorganization of society.

The Revolutionary general strike may only be the result of many partial strikes, always increasing, uniting into one whole, or it may come out of other unexpected circumstances which one must know how to use cleverly. With the circulation of ideas of liberation and in view of the revolutionary situation caused by the war, no wobbling, no passive position, no opportunism should be allowed.

All the revolutionary energy which the proletariat has, all its life power, should be put into action.

The Congress, knowing the clear wish of the governments to crush the proletarian revolution, no matter where it occurs, censures the General Confederation of Labor because it did not keep its word given to the workers of England and Italy and halted before the step which could have saved the Hungarian Workers' Republic. The Conference declares that such weakness is only another result of the policy carried on by the Committee of the Confederation commencing with the year 1914.

Indignant at the cynicism of the self-elected knights of justice and right, who make of the French proletariat an international gendarme and crusher of liberty, the Conference in reply to the appeal of the Central Soviet of Professional Unions of Russia declares: only in the strengthening of the Russian revolution and its spreading all over the world is the hope of the proletariat, hurt and weakened by the five year unexampled ruinous war!

The conference appeals to the Russian workers:

More courage, comrades. The blows given to your liberty make us indignant just as well. We declare together with you comrades:

"Workers of the world, take the fight against the imperialist murderers into your hands, the fight for the workers' revolution of the entire world."

Long live the International Soviet Republic!

**\$50,000,000  
IN PROFITS!!!**

The Aguila Oil Company made \$50,000,000 in net profits in Mexico in the last 8 years-- over \$6,000,000 a year!

Did you get any of these profits, Mr. American Workingman? **No.**

Did you get any of the profits of any other oil companies that are sucking the blood of the Mexican people? **No.**

Do you own any oil stock? **No.**

Have the workers of Mexico ever harmed you? **No.**

Then, don't let Wall Street's government in Washington bamboozle or bully you into a War with Mexico!

**Don't Fight Your Mexican Comrades!  
INSTEAD--**

**STRIKE!!!**

**Communist Party Of Mexico**

P. O. Box 998 Mexico City, D. F., Mexico

## Noske Socialists to Communists

Our sister organ of Hamburg, Germany, publishes the following note: The municipal council of Brake (Oldenburg) was composed of six Noske Socialists and three Communists until recently, when the Communists withdrew from that body, leaving the gov-

ernment alone. Now the Noskes condemn the Communists as traitors, because they did not want to sit any longer with the opponents of progressive thought. Unable to carry out any real working class policy they want the Communists to bear a part of the responsibility for the incapacity of the administration. But this is not treachery on the part of the Communists. It would have been treason if they had remained in the council, which is regarded as of a reactionary character.

## The British Socialist Party

In a recent issue of "The Call", official organ of the British Socialist Party, John Maclean lays down this program:

"At this stage we of the B.S.P. can play a supremely important part. We can call into being workshop committees with a right class bias; we can provide them with a program identical with that of our South Wales comrades for the mining industry.

Let us urge full socialization of mines and other trustified industries, full industrial control by the workers involved, though modified to permit of the use of the co-operative movement, control of the education of the workers, a thirty hour week, fifty per cent. increase in wages, communally produced houses, withdrawal of British troops and aid from all parts of the world, the abolition of the army and the navy and the establishment of a workers' defense force, and the transfer of the functions of Parliament to Labor's Central Committee.

Let us now issue a manifesto declaring our policy for the guidance of our class, realizing that capitalism is in the last ditch and that we can rally our class to the delivering of the knock-out blow.

## Army find "Red" Primer of Crime

THE army sleuths in the strike zone at Gary were raiding a "Russian den." They found many reminders that the resident is an alien, but nothing incriminating for a long time. Then—

"Look! Look! Here it is. There ought to be enough in this to hang a dozen of 'em."

One zealous agent held up a well thumbed volume in Russian. Evidently it is popular. Probably it contained the ordained procedure in dynamitings.

To headquarters at full speed, and an interpreter summoned.

"Read it to us—what does it say?"

The interpreter opened it at random and began to run over the sentences, translating in fragments:

"Then you put the blood on—dig a grave and bury it near midnight—burn up the rest—"

"We've got em now!" exclaimed one. "That's the master book. Read some more."

**Horrors! More Blood.**

"That helps the blood," went on the interpreter, reading fragmentarily. "Pretty soon, off she comes?"

"That means an explosion!" the sleuths chorused.

"Begin at the beginning," demanded one. "What's the book called?"

The interpreter turned to the title page and read:

"The Adventures of Tom Sawyer," by Mark Twain."

He had been reading from Huckleberry Finn's recipe for warts.

--(Chicago Examiner)