

# The Communist

## All Power To The Workers!

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Five Cents



The Iron Fingers

## You Must Unite—Workingmen!

**WORKINGMEN!** Are all your strikes to be defeated and you forced back to work on the terms of your employers?

That is what is happening.

The Steel Workers had been bullied, oppressed and robbed for decades. They had to deal with the greatest industrial organization in this country—an organization that stood in the front ranks of capitalism and consistently held to a policy of treating the workers as slaves.

When the Steel Workers went on strike to force recognition of their claims to decent working conditions and a voice in determining these, they struck a blow at the very heart of capitalism in this country.

The Steel Workers are fighting the battles of all the workers. Their victory would mean a tremendous gain of strength for all the workers. But they are left to make the fight alone and the capitalists are already gleefully shouting that they have been beaten.

Now the Coal Miners are on strike. After using the injunction to try to break their strike the government offered them a pitiable increase in wages, which even their conservative and

courageless officials were compelled to refuse.

Miners are being forced to call off their strike and accept defeat by government dictation. The government, acting as the representative of the mine owners, is using all its power against the mine workers.

The miners have shown a splendid courage and solidarity in staying out in spite of the coercion of the government and the betrayal by their officials, who called off the strike because of the government injunction. But again they are fighting alone. They are not united with the Steel Workers. The Railroad Workers, who threaten to strike later if their demands are not granted, do not come to the aid of the Steel Workers and Mine Workers now.

What is true of the strikes of the Steel Workers and the Miners is true of many other strikes. Hundreds of workers in all parts of the country are on strike. The workers are being driven into industrial struggles in greater and greater numbers. The hardships which the capitalists and their profit system inflict upon them are stirring them to action. But the strikes are not united. Each group of workers strikes separately and are separately

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# THE COMMUNIST

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## War with Mexico?

THE drive for an invasion and conquest of Mexico, in behalf of American and English finance-capital, now proceeds at a feverish pace. In fact, the pace is too fast to be kept up. The Junkin incident is altogether too flimsy to serve as the pretext for the war, but it is sufficient for an intensification of the war propaganda, a propaganda which becomes more and more insistent, which uses its paltry materials to the utmost. A complication in the further development of this incident, or some new allegation of affront to American national honor—and there will be realized the Hearst dream of a three-years adventure of an army of 500,000, with the finish of a Mexico annexed to the United States, to be civilized by a protected exploitation of Mexican resources and Mexican labor by American and English capital.

The feature item of the propaganda is the loss of eight American lives in Mexico during the past six months, though there is no showing of responsibility for these deaths on the part of the Mexican government or of official condonement. Certainly Mexican law and order during the past six months could not have been so frightful a thing as the law and order which has prevailed in the United States, with its constant lynchings, raids, massacres, and daily toll of banditries and murders. Quite a few nationalities might make a reckoning of eight lives and more lost in the United States during the past six months because this government is incapable of maintaining order.

How convenient it would be to precipitate another war at this time as the solution of the vexatious domestic problems! Think of the "patriotic" shield for the instant military suppression of all "unrest", backed up by a new series of war laws to jail or deport all who do not shout in tune with this "patriotism", yet refuse to keep their silence!

The precedents established by the German war would be a starting point for the amplification of the strong-arm policy. Threat of conscription and use of conscription would take care of the aggressive youngsters in the labor movement. The universal compulsory military training project would come in under easily acceptable auspices, without fear of political retaliation by a middle class expressing in time of peace its aversion to militarism. Radicalism would be ruthlessly hounded under the Espionage Law and its elaborations. Liberalism, now crawling out of its cowardly hole to lead the middle classes in protest against the more extreme policies of finance-capital, would quickly return to acquiescent silence or even active promotion of the militaristic expansion of the investment field. The howling about high cost of living and profiteering would be put to rest for a while, and there would be more wallowing in the trough of the public treasury. Government by administrative chiefs and boards would make further inroads upon the too-

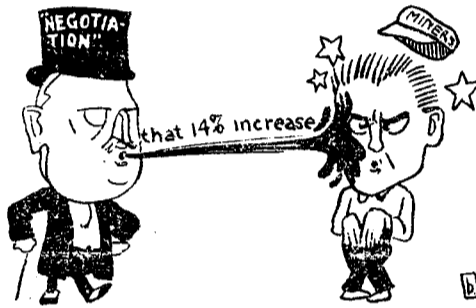
slow, too cumbersome and too conspicuous methods of Congressional action (and even these are not so open but that there are dozens of ways of putting things over without anyone knowing how it happened and who did it).

The work of American militarization in the interests of foreign investment begun in 1917 would be nicely rounded out by a prolonged intervention in Mexico; and in the meantime the direct investment gains for American capital would be enormous. It is an inviting prospect, indeed, from the viewpoint of finance-statesmanship.

## Fourteen Points

FOURTEEN points—this time fourteen percentages points aimed at the heart of the miners' strike. This is the new edition of Wilsonian camouflage covering 100% service to the finance oligarchy.

The operators themselves offered 20%; the highly conservative Secretary of Labor proposed 31%. Now it is 14%—insisted upon by the Department of Justice and the Department of War, with Garfield as the Wilsonian mouthpiece.



The trump card of the Administration-operator combine is that the price of coal is not to be raised. This is counted upon to warrant anything done by the government against the strike. It is the public that is being protected—as usual.

Senator McAdoo, with shocking disregard of the etiquette which should govern gentlemen on such occasions, has seen fit to give sharp reminder of what he learned about the profits of the coal operators while he was Secretary of the Treasury. The figures were public records all the while, and there is much more, ever so much more of this nature concerning which McAdoo has heretofore retained his gentlemanly poise. But it is now open season for presidential aspirations; the operators will understand.

Garfield suddenly emerges as the masterful exponent of the strong arm—as suddenly as Professor Wilson and little Mr. Baker underwent the metamorphosis into mighty warriors some month ago. These men of liberal words! Garfield easily sweeps aside the item which had been given unfortunate publicity for several days, that it would take about three times fourteen percent just to equalize the miners' wages with the advance in cost of living.

It is the public that is to be saved. This happy idea of not allowing the coal to go any higher—why was this not heralded forth just a bit sooner, let us say just before the last 100% or perhaps 200% jump in return on capital invested in the mines? Strange that the beneficent regard for the public should coincide exactly with the moment when the miners make their unabashed demand for a living wage! But, of course, the public will be highly elated that it is remembered now—even on the government's own showing that it means to compel a cut in what was already the miserable "American standard of living" among some three million men, women and children whose living depends on mine wages.

This fourteen-point assault against the

miners—and against the whole working class of America—is to be carried into the mines with bristling bayonets. With the steel workers the military intervention was not even given a fourteen-point camouflage. The steel union is not considered so strong. Besides, who cares about "the American standard of living" of hunkies?"

\* \* \*

The Great Fourtcenter is doing remarkable service in tearing away the veils of bourgeois democracy. The fourteen peace points in contrast with the brigand performance at Versailles have effectually disposed of the democratic buncombe going with the world war. The fourteen percentage points veil ever so transparently the government onslaught against the coal strike. This new fourteen-point camouflage ought to bring quick and sure enlightenment to the working class of the United States about the "neutrality" of the government in the labor-capital life and death struggle.

The question now is as to the intelligence and courage of the workers of the United States. There are methods of working-class action equal to the occasion. There is the possibility of organization more powerful than all the forces, direct and indirect, of capital. But that organization must take account of the entire mass of the workers; it must lose its craft and caste lines of separation; it must hew to the line of the class struggle, and it must take on the aggressiveness of a program for complete social control by the working class.

The issue is rapidly becoming clear-drawn between industrial absolutism and Communism—between imperial capitalism enforcing a standard of slave subsistence and a working class array which opposes itself to the entire institutionalized power of capital. The issue is a more abject slavery versus revolution.

On the capitalist side it is the Laborists who call for a stop who appeal feigningly for a postponement, a side-tracking of the irrepressible conflict. On the labor side it is the archaic Trade Unionists and the Socialists who beg delay, pointing to past gains and insisting upon the stupor and weakness of the general mass of the workers. They refuse to admit the virtual emptiness of their claims to gains; they refuse to accede to the clear record of paltry concessions as the price of eternal servility. They refuse to see that imperial capitalism is now determined against the least enforced concessions through unionism or parliamentarism, because it is evident that the time has come for the "showdown".

Imperial capitalism senses that it is no time for compromise. It goes the inevitable way of military mastership; it demands the martial regime in industry, it demands a government with a powerful trip-hammer executive and entirely acquiescent legislative accompaniment—and it is getting just exactly what it wants in the United States.

On the labor side it is the Communists who meet this challenge. It is the Communists who realize that the everyday struggle of labor against capital must take on the organization power and the conscious purpose of the proletarian revolution. There must be a new mobilization of labor, meeting the challenge of unified capitalism operating through the servile government. Labor must pit its overwhelming mass power against the whole social architecture of capitalism. It must clear the ground for the new social structure of Communism, to be given an assured start under the protection of Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

## Birth of Labor Party.

ACCORDING to all that has appeared in our Left Wing and Communist literature about the counter-revolutionary role of Laborism it would appear that we ought to greet the birth of a National Labor Party as a grimly evil portent. But no. We are calm. We do not see, as in a nightmare, the advent of the power which is to be our undoing.

It was not a birth, but a still-birth.

Theory must not lose its touch with reality, else it becomes empty dogma. We have seen the role of Laborism in Europe under one test and another. We have seen Laborism (often under the name of Socialism) come into partial or complete power only to betray the hopes and aspirations of the working class, in the cabinets of France, Australia, England, Belgium and in other countries. We have seen the whole movement of labor reformism turned directly against the proletarian revolution—when there was no other effective power to stem the tide of working class revolt and triumph.

Why not the same role for Social Reformism, for Social Patriotism—for Socialist-Laborism—in the United States? The theory is compelling; inherent in labor reformism, with its acceptance of the capitalist state as the avenue for working class emancipation, is all of the betrayal and the tragic reactionism which has occurred in other countries. Laborism presents the perfect program for the State Capitalism which is now needed as the political basis for finance-imperialism. There is complacent capitalistic acquiescence in the starting of such a party in the United States, and we may rest assured that there will be no more strenuous opposition than is needed for the purposes of sham battles of a political game where nothing more is at stake than the spoils of office for the professionals who keep up the show. So far as theory goes we might already draw the picture of a Sheidemann-Bauer-Noske-Kautsky-Hindenburg "democracy" in the United States.

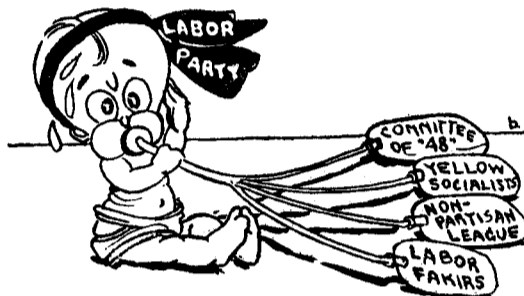
But the realities to which our theorizing is now to be applied are vastly changed. The world of the generation preceding 1914 has given way to the new historical era ushered in on November 7th, 1917. The emergence of Socialist-Laborism in the United States in 1919 cannot mechanically be given the perspective of the pre-revolutionary period. Two years after the proletarian victory in Russia, and one year after the abysmal betrayal of the revolutionary working class by the Social Democracy of Germany, the coming of a Labor Party into the field in the United States need excite little uneasiness of a backward swing of the pendulum of our labor movement.

Most pointedly, the fact that the Labor Party arrives after the breakup of the Socialist Party in this country, after the issues have already been projected of the inherent reactionism of Socialist-Laborism, signifies a tremendously reduced possibility of fooling the workers. Communist propaganda is already firmly entrenched in a strong separate organization. There is no longer the pre-war condition of revolutionary Socialism silenced by the official party expression of parliamentary reformism as the sum total of Socialism. Laborism and Socialism together, having arrived at a singleness of program and practice, must now make headway against the assertive challenge of Communism—when Communism, in its first great Russian triumph, has already gripped the hearts of the toilers everywhere!

The workers of the United States begin to

understand that the experiences of labor in Europe mean something to us here. The inspiration for the Labor Party here is the Labor Party of England, and the most superficial reading of the English press shows that Laborism has now become the real party of Liberalism. The merger between Laborites and Liberals has already made great headway. Arthur Henderson is the personification of this new Socialist-Labor-Liberalism: the creed of class peace, labor reformism, kindly imperialism and rigorous anti-Bolshevism. Arthur Henderson is as safe for British finance-imperialism and British landlordism as was Kerensky for the same interests in Russia, as is Wilson in the United States, or as would be any of our Progressives, Laborites or Socialists.

American labor is bound to be more impressed by the Triple Alliance, with its strong trend toward "direct action", temporarily held in check by Trade Union leaders of the Gompers-Lewis variety. Nothing will come out of Parliament to make the Labor Party noticeable, except as it adds to the proofs that it is "safe for democracy."



Even where there are well-established Labor-Parties, or strong Socialist parties of identical character, the workers are no longer looking to the legislative assemblies for the realization of their demands. Mass action is their real dependence.

But the assertion that the new Labor Party is still-born and impotent is not based so much on the surmise that our workers will take to heart the European lessons as upon certain outstanding circumstances which surround the launching of the new political venture.

Political Laborism is the counterpart of Trade Unionism, and it is strikingly apparent that official Trade Unionism is rapidly losing its hold on its own membership and is frantically engaged in trying to prevent and stop the membership action. It is not unlikely that wholesale expulsions may even be attempted, as in the case of the Socialist Party with its rebels, with the Railroad Brotherhoods as the initiators of such a policy. It is hardly likely that this is a time when Trade Unionists, somewhat more aggressive than the central A. F. of L. bureaucracy but of the same fundamental viewpoint, can make themselves the mild political leaders of a membership goaded to a new militancy.

Think of an appeal for democratism presented to American labor at the moment when the whole governmental power which is to be constitutionally reformed, item by item, one step at a time, is turned directly against the pitiable demands for living wages and human hours of toil—courts, executive departments, Congress, army, all in perfect teamwork. And "the public" voices almost uniform approval in the tens of thousands of newspapers and magazines reaching every nook of the country. It is precisely this organized opinion which is to be reckoned with in the voting game. It is this "public opinion" which is the entire basis of Labor-Democratism, a belief that somehow all the intermediary elements can be politically joined against the big financiers—and at the same time that all the demands of each sec-

tion of the conglomerate group can be fulfilled by common action. But now the truth is being driven in upon the working class that it must rely upon itself alone, and upon its own direct modes of action; and that there is nothing for it along the "public opinion" route, with "changed faces" in Congress, and countless intricacies of statutory amendments, which amount to nothing when the score is counted.

In the face of the existing situation in the coal strike, think how exhilarating to the miners, how wonderfully convincing, will be the wordy resolution of the Labor Party Convention "demanding" the impeachment of Judge Anderson! Everybody knows that this is the sheerest nothingness of empty words. Can there be patience with such word-bubbles when labor faces a life and death combat? The only politics the working class will now take seriously is the politics of working class action through its own organs of power, the politics of sovietism and proletarian dictatorship.

In a word, the class lines are already too firmly drawn for relaxation through Laborism. A crisis has been reached when the masses are no longer to be deceived by the wordy nothingness of democracy within capitalism. The class struggle drives relentlessly on to the test of mass power against entrenched class power.

Consider the Labor Convention itself. Every brand of reformism was represented, from that of the genteel and scholarly Forty-Eight to that of the ex-Socialists, duly accredited by their treason to their own advocacies of so many years. The Non-Partisan Leaguers joined hands with the Laborites just at the time when the former organizations generally are missing no opportunity to voice their bitter jealousy of aggressive labor, even in its regulation ~~and~~ demands.

The official organ of the new party ~~personally~~ quotes the comment of one reporter that this was the first convention he ever attended where there was not some kind of dispute about the seating of delegates. There was neither test of principle nor of distinct representation of some social group or interest. The trick is to hold together as many conflicting political philosophies as possible, representing as many conflicting social interests; to merge as great a hodge-podge as possible into acceptance of as vaguely comprehensive a program as possible. The vague phrases cover up the real selfish interests of the various groups, each of which is confident that it can use the others to its special advantage. All of this is not necessarily conscious; it is the inevitable character of small-middle-class politics, jealous alike of dominant capital and of its own inter-group advantages, united only loosely and purely defensively,—equally against the finance oligarchy and against the revolutionary proletariat,—inherently incapable of any program except that of the status quo, except that of trying to hold things in balance, ignoring the inevitable forces compelling progress through revolution.

The Liberal forty-eight, seeking a new weapon with which to lull militant labor into democratic repose, and the traitor-Socialists, instinctively coming into the alignment which might have stood as the greatest barrier against the proletarian revolution in the United States, will do their utmost to prepare this organized reactionism of the lower strata of the bourgeoisie. But, fortunately, their undertaking comes too late in history to have any chance for success.

# On Which Side of the Barricade are You?

By George Andreytchine.

(Reprinted from *The Industrial Worker*).

SINCE the advent of the Bolshevik party as the controlling power of the Soviets in Russia some two years ago, much ink has flown and much foam has been spouted against it by all the combined forces of the exploiters of the working masses, as well as by their dupes, the yellow socialists, yellow anarchists and yellow syndicalists.

The Industrial Workers of the World knows too well the effects of the calumnies, insinuations and perfidious lies sent broadcast against its organization, tactics and principles. In spite of all these bitter lessons we have learned in our turbulent existence, we are resorting to the methods of our sworn enemies in dealing with the new scape-goat of the plutocrats—the Bolsheviki of Russia, Hungary and Germany. A perusal of the pages of the **One Big Union Monthly** will convince the curious reader that we are not very good friends of the Bolsheviki.

Here is the latest panegyric of its editor. This is from the October number, headed "Communism in Hungary":

"The Bela Kun government was Communist only in name. Not as if the members of this government and the party standing behind it could rightly be accused of sailing under a false flag. Unquestionably their intention was, if they had been left in peace, to gradually substitute for private ownership and control of property, ownership and control by the people. And there is no reason to believe that they would have succeeded worse or better than the Bolsheviks of Russia. If the Allied powers had not attacked them and laid obstacles in their way they would in all probability have established a firm dictatorship and gradually educated and organized the people to the level of industrial organization by means of which they would have taken over and carried on production. In a few years Communism might have been a reality in Hungary.

"As it was, Communism in Hungary limited itself to a few proclamations on paper and a few experimental compulsory measures, more or less at random, measures which under the circumstances worked for dissolution and weakness, rather than for order and strength. They no doubt did the best they could, but what was to be done? Only that government can survive which has it in its power to satisfy the people's needs of food, clothing and shelter and the other necessities of life. During the prevailing state of war the so-called Communist government could not do this. For this reason they lost the support of the starving masses. It was found more practical to go back to old methods, at least in part." (Boldface mine G. A.)

This in regard to Hungary and the Bela Kun administration. In other numbers we have read similar remarks slung at the Bolsheviki of Russia. They have provoked much comment in the ranks of our own membership, particularly the boys in the Leavenworth Prison, who indignantly greeted the much more sympathetic words of Robert Minor. I have questioned carefully more than 100 members of the I. W. W. and recorded them all as opposed to the attitude of Fellow Worker Sandgren. As for our adversaries, of the Communist Party, Communist Labor Party, etc., we cannot answer them when they ask "On which side of the barricade are you!"

Yes, on which side of the barricade are we! The statement in blackface above puts

much doubt in the mind of the revolutionary worker who has learned to turn every day towards the great East and inspiringly say: "Hold fast, toiling masses of Red Russia, we are coming to your rescue! Your struggle is our struggle, your victory our victory and your noble ideal our ideal!"

In reprinting the article of Fellow-Worker Andreytchine, also that of Fellow-Worker Davidson which appeared in *The Communist* last week, the editor takes sharp issue with the characterization of the Communist Party as among the "adversaries" of the I. W. W.

The opposition voiced in this paper and on the public platform has been to the official propaganda which Fellow-Worker Andreytchine himself attacks, citing the support of 100 other members of the I. W. W. whom he has personally interviewed.

In so far as there are differences in theoretical understanding between the I. W. W. and Communist Party, these do not represent an opposition of the Communist Party against the I. W. W. The members of the Communist Party are among the most ardent supporters of revolutionary industrial unionism of the I. W. W. character. Indeed, the two articles respectively reprinted show every prospect of approach to a single, unified propaganda by these two organizations.

We have championed the cause of all oppressed, persecuted and bleeding workers under the lashes of Moloch Capital. And now when all the revolutionary proletariat is bent on averting bloody invasion of the territory of the Russia of the Soviets, we are occupied in seconding the long heralded lie . . . . . that Bolshevism is a failure.

Far from being a new convert to Bolshevism, which could be said of many of the present leaders of the hysterical political chapels, who alone represent the only teachings of Communism, who are aping Lenin to absurdity, I still remain a partisan of industrial unionism and syndicalism, as opposed to political "Communism" of the brand represented by the Michigan Messiahs. What I urge Fellow Worker Sandgren and his partisans to do is to abandon the mud-slinging tactics which some day will bring us before the revolutionary tribunal of the proletariat of the world, in case the Russian Revolution is drowned in the martyr's blood of peasants and toiling masses and capitalism triumphs a-new, under an indictment reading: "What have you done to avert the downfall of the glorious achievement of the Russian proletariat?"

We must beware of the tactics that Jouhaux, Legien, Branting, Henderson and their cohorts have pursued, veiling them with a red scarf. European Syndicalism completely capitulated before the imperialists and served them dog-like while the war lasted and now they use it as smoke-screen, as barage fire, in attacking Soviet Russia.

The old idols of the French working class, Jouhaux, Dumoulin, Bourderon and Merheim, the last two delegates to the famous Zimmerwald Conference, ex-enemies of the capitalist system, during the last congress of the General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.) were leagued with the bandits who are seeking the overthrow of the Bolshevik government, which inevitably will lead to the Czar, with his Siberia, gibbet rope, prisons, pogroms, and which Sandgren calls

"more practical, at least in part" than Bolshevik State Communism.

We must remember the shrewd defense that the yellow syndicalists used against revolution, which I regret to say resembles very much the wise sayings of Fellow Worker Sandgren. Here is what the ex-anarchist Jouhaux said, apologizing for the treacherous abandonment of the general strike, set by himself and his colleagues for July 21st, to save the Russian and Hungarian Revolutions:

"In our opinion the C. G. T. should aim at practical results beyond those commonly conveyed by the word Revolution with a big, well-rolled R! It is justly said that **revolution is a mere word since for the majority of us there is nothing behind it.** But what should it stand for? Is it the catastrophic act which determines the collapse of a system? Or is it the long evolutionary process which little by little penetrates the system, the action which has sapped a regime and developed within the regime itself the organism which is to succeed it? That is revolution, and has always been revolution as the C. G. T. understands it. I have remained faithful to the old idea of Proudhon: **'The workshop will displace government.'** We will replace the direction of persons by the administration of things. But this is not to be done by mere street lighting, by barricades, even by the general strike! One must have a clear conception, ready to apply and well understood by those who are to apply it, of the new organization which is to be erected, of the possibility of development into an increase of well-being and not into a famine. For we shall do well to realize very clearly that revolution which ends in famine is not revolution but the destruction of revolution."

Two days after this pompous pronouncement of the pontiff Jouhaux, the Bela Kun government was overthrown with the shameless co-operation of the labor unions, headed by men of Hillquit's and Berger's type—Garami and Weltner. Does Sandgren mean endorsement of the ignoble coup d'etat?

Much has been said against the Bolshevik policy towards labor unions and much of this criticism may be legitimate. They were not organizing industrial unions, not because they were opposed to them, which is denied by Lenin's statement to Minor, "The Industrial Union is the basic unit of the future order of society," but because it was a physical impossibility to do so. Also it is true that most of the unions in Russia today have been organized by members of the I. W. W., who returned to their native land after the March Revolution. Robert Minor and John Reed say that the coal miners' industrial union of the Donetz region had 60,000 members, all carrying I. W. W. cards and endorsing our preamble. Then, Minor says, the Germans came and with the aid of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie shot most of the militant members of the union, closed the halls, suppressed their papers, bulletins, in one word, smashed the whole magnificent achievement of the valiant members of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Under the Bolsheviki they were left unmolested, nay, received the co-operation of the people's commissaries.

Bill Shatov, once a member of the I. W. W. in America, and now an ardent worker ustry has been taken up by amazingly many.

(Continued on Page 8.)

# Recent Development of Japanese Labor Revolt

By Sen Katayama.

**A**NGER goes before destruction. An angry capitalistic government is suicidally tearing down what it built in the past. Capitalists of Japan are losing their temper and are abusing the very social institutions which they have preached must be respected and obeyed by the people. These self-destructive measures have made a steady progress as the ideas of the social revolution have advanced.

A most desperate battle is being fought against indestructible ideas and principles which have been making progress all over Japan. The Japanese government has been suppressing the socialist movement. It has excluded the books of Lenin and Trotsky and has expelled Bolshevik propagandists from Japan. But the ideas of Bolshevism have been permeating among the Japanese mass.

You may suppress every known propagandist and put them into prison, and you may terrorize the Bolshevik propaganda, but you cannot arrest the thoughts in the minds of the people on the onswEEPing Bolshevik revolution, which acts and reacts in spite of all gag laws and gendarmes.

Our capitalists and capitalistic government are trying to mislead the awakened masses by camouflaged social reforms and liberal promises for the betterment of labor conditions. These apparent relaxations on the part of the ruling classes have given great impetus to the workers and they have been demanding more and more as the ruling classes have been yielding to them. The power and influence of the workers grows stronger than ever.

A few months ago appeared among the ranks of one of the regiments a most radical piece of literature on the Imperial Rescript. This was specially addressed to the army and was, of course, handled underground. It tore the principle contained in the Rescript to pieces, from the standpoint of Bolshevik ideas. It was skilfully distributed among the soldiers through the mails by unknown hands. This successful underground work so shocked the government that it drove the authorities to an extreme of terror. The entire forces of the government and the army went heart and soul into the work of hunting out the criminals who had committed the greatest criminal act in Japan. The culprit, if captured, would be tried in the highest and final court of Japan, a closed tribunal, and would be sentenced to death, just like Comrade Kotoku. But they could not find any one even to frame up!

It is not reported in the press at all—the very report would cause punishment by the death-penalty—but the fact is now well known to the people.

The authorities have admitted, again and again, that Bolshevik propaganda was the cause of the Korean uprisings, and that this propaganda has been carried on within the army and outside by soldiers who have been converted to Bolshevik ideas in Siberia. Every suspect is blacklisted. But it is known to the public as a fact that the Japanese soldiers in Siberia have been influenced by the revolutionary ideas spread by Bolshevik propaganda in the army, some of the soldiers having already joined the Bolshevik forces in Siberia.

Since the rice riots of August 1918 the masses have awakened and asserted their power and have threatened the ruling classes. The ruling classes of Japan have been decaying at the core for some time. The powerful bureaucracy of Japan has also

been losing its influence over the people on account of economic conditions in Japan. Prices of necessities, including house rentals, have been rising without limit. A koku of rice which used to cost \$6—\$7 now costs \$25—\$27 (5 bushels). The average of food prices over those of the pre-war period is 130%, while the average rise in wages has been only 70%.

Men with fixed salaries, such as the government employes and army officers of lower rank, have suffered the most, and have lately organized into a Salaried Men's Union. At this time the entire staff of the Treasury Department is out on strike for higher salary, which fact is as yet held back by the government, though cabled to a certain firm in New York. There have been many strikes of government employees from time to time for better pay, but this is the first time a government department such as the Treasury has faced a strike of the entire force, and this is to be interpreted as evidence of the loss of prestige of the ruling power and of its discipline.

The Japanese working classes have been testing the power of mass action since the rice riots of August 1918. They have been increasing their awakened activity in the industrial world. Strikes and riots in the factories and mines have been increasing all over the country.

The recent development of the labor movement is something unique and very interesting. It shows a native adaptability of the Japanese workers to their situation. The Japanese have really a natural trait of adjusting themselves to their environment—the trait that accounts for the unique civilization in the feudal regime.

Now the Japanese workers have no right to organize unions. A labor strike is a crime and strikers are subject to arrest and imprisonment for six months at hard labor. There is therefore no organized labor union to aid the strike. Nevertheless during the last two months strikes have been increasing in number and strength, many big strikes involving thousands of workers in some of the larger factories. The Tokyo Government Arsenal met with a strike call of all its 26,000 men and women employees. This strike was lost by the workers on account of the extraordinary activity of the gendarmes and through treachery of the officers. The leaders were arrested and put into prison long after the strike was settled. Then there was the printer's strike which stopped all the Tokyo dailies (16) for four days. As the strikes increase the oppressive measures of the government become much more drastic. At one time last Spring the government pledged itself publicly to the effect that it would not enforce the particular clause of the police law which practically condemns the strike. But the government used this law to the limit against the strike leaders. This treacherous performance caused deep indignation of the working classes, supported by the public at large.

This feeling against the oppressive measures of the government was still more heightened by the dishonest method of electing the labor delegate to the International Labor Conference at Washington, D. C., now in session. This Conference is not of interest to the western proletariat but it is to the Japanese, and especially to the Japanese employers who have been enjoying the

full power of exploiting labor with unlimited hours and wages under the level of sustenance. The Japanese government has undertaken the task of deceiving the Conference at Washington with the aid and support of Great Britain, which wants India excluded from the provisions of the Conference such as the 8-hour day, child labor and night work.

This Conference gave the workers of Japan a supreme chance to agitate for a labor representative of their own. Within a few months there sprang up many labor associations, some of them under the direct or indirect solicitation of the government, to be used to camouflage the bourgeois delegate of labor as selected by real labor bodies. This trickery of the government so provoked the workers that even the yellow labor organizations bolted from the meeting at which the labor delegate was to be elected. The Japanese government was rightly condemned for its dishonest action by the International Labor Conference.

These and many other happenings have caused the Japanese masses more boldly than ever to demand their social and economic betterment. Lately they have found a better method of making their demands, through sabotage rather than the strike. I know from my own personal contact that the Japanese workers are accustomed to the use of sabotage, mostly destructive, in furtherance of their strikes, just as historically the Japanese have had the experiences of violent mass assertions to demand the righting of their grievance during the feudal regime. The rice riots of last August show the destructive workings of the masses.

But the recent use of sabotage is something new. It is open and in the form of mass action, or rather a mass idleness. To give a concrete instance. At the Kawasaki Shipbuilding yards, at Kobe, 15,000 employees demanded a 50% wage increase and the 8-hour day. Upon the refusal of their demands they all decided to carry out a program of sabotage. They reported at the factory every morning at the usual hour, with every one of the 15,000 at his place of work. Machines are in motion, but with horse power cut in two, and nothing is produced. Besides the 15,000 workers there are 500 engineers and 800 foremen and supervisors. The foreman dared not fire any of the workers because all the 15,000 are acting like a single man! This passive form of sabotage continued for 10 days, beginning on September 18th. On the 29th it was decided by unanimous referendum vote to continue the sabotage. A committee was sent to negotiate with the President of the Company, but without result. The workers of two other branches of the company declared a sympathetic sabotage, but still the demands were stubbornly ignored. Finally the engineers acted in a body to express their sympathy toward the saboteurs and asked the President to grant their demands. Then the 800 bosses followed the example of the engineers. This concerted stand of all the employees of the company made the stiff-necked President yield to the workers. Thus by a very quiet and peaceful method—the passive sabotage—15,000 workers obtained the 8-hour day with 10-hour pay and 50% increase in wages, together with wages for the days of sabotage!

This conspicuously successful and clear cut example of passive sabotage by the workers of the Kawasaki shipbuilding industry

(Continued on page 8)

# The Drift of Things

J. OGDEN ARMOUR expressed himself on Mexico without the intervention of his more democratically, astute political sycophants, with this highly candid result:

It's high time the United States used the strong hand in Mexico. The only way to handle those fellows is at the end of a gun. The trouble never will be settled by talking, although it may be easier to talk than to act. The easy way is usually the wrong way, and the hard way is usually the right way and the easiest in the end. Americans have invested in Mexico and should be protected. The situation reminds one of Cuba. It was a land of unrest and trouble until America took a hand and established a stable government, put Cuba on its feet and made investment of capital possible by assuring protection of that capital. Today Cuba is one of the most prosperous countries in the world. But the United States didn't make it prosperous by writing notes. The sooner we use the strong hand in Mexico the easier it will be to make it a decent, prosperous country.

Cuba and the United States are "decent, prosperous" countries, but it appears that the decency and the prosperity are shared by very few.

J. Ogden was thinking in such straight lines about the meat and cold storage and rolled oats business in Mexico that he forgot even to mention our "national honor" and the lost lives, the propaganda specials.

What a stirring war slogan: "To make Mexico safe for American capital!"

IS REVOLUTION POSSIBLE, asks and answers Alyn Johnson in the "New Republic" of November 26th. After eight pages comes the reassuring conclusion: "The general economic system founded upon private property is in no present danger in America. Any future danger to that system is remote"—which is the result of a dispassionate examination of the facts in the case.

Of course we are not dispassionate, which makes our opinion worthless. Nevertheless we have a suspicion that, in spite of our revolutionary exuberances, we are quite as dispassionate in meeting Professor Johnson's query as he is himself. Could anyone imagine any treatment of the facts in the case, and any selection out of all the facts,

by the professorial editor of the *New Republic* which might produce some other conclusion? Whom is the Professor kidding? Doesn't he know that we all know that he only wrote the eight pages as a sedative for the nerves of revolution-scared gentlemen—and that he dispassionately framed an article for that express purpose? Indeed, the only thing convincing about the entire eight pages is the title. Why the need to allay are themselves the first stages of the revolution.

The dispassionate argument? There are many farmers in the United States and these are the anchors of capitalism. The industrial workers to be reckoned as the revolutionary force constitute only one-third of the population, contained largely within a small section of the country. As yet tenantry prevails on but 40 per cent of American farms. But we can depend on the farm owners to hold the tenants and farm laborers in line. Therefore, no revolution, not for a generation at any rate, during which the proportion of industrial workers and tenant farmers will go up.

Just like an equation in algebra. Of course all history is just like mathematics. With the special proviso that the dispassionate Professor might command the social digits to move according to his will, his nice equation might prove out. However, we have some misgivings about this two thirds force being thrown against the one-third quantity. The fact is that more than two-thirds of the two-thirds have no private property interests; and it is not so clear but that even the farm owners might, under a new social opinion, prefer to make terms with a dominant proletariat rather than do the fighting for the ousted finance oligarchy, which after all has not their profound devotion.

But if we go on we might appear to be making a case for the acquiescence of ninety per cent of the population in the proletarian revolution, though it be consciously determined upon by much less than one-third of the population. But why go on? Our examination of the facts would not be dispassionate, by our own admission. We have a pre-conviction that revolution is possible. We see it happening all about us, and always there are figures and arguments

to prove that the United States is different, though American capitalism is today compelling the cataclysmic mass protests which are the first stages of the revolution.

## A Free Speech Victory.

JUSTICES HOLMES and Brandeis dissented from the Supreme Court decision sustaining the convictions in the case of the United States vs. Jacob Abrams and four others, the notorious prosecution under the Espionage Act for protesting against the intervention in Russia. It was a scathing dissent, as this sentence indicates: "In this case sentences of twenty years imprisonment have been imposed for the publishing of two leaflets that I believe the defendants had as much right to publish as the Government has to publish the Constitution of the United States now vainly invoked by them."

The author of this sentence and many other strong sentences in this dissenting opinion happens to be also the author of the opinion in the Debs case, when the court was unanimous. It is absolutely incontestable that the logic of the dissenting opinion in the Abrams case should have led Holmes and Brandeis to dissent in the Debs case. There never was a more palpable adjustment of legal reasoning to time and circumstance. The class issue could not be ignored in the challenge which Debs made at Cleveland; it could very well be ignored, and the occasion could be used for an attempt to resurrect the fiction of "free speech" under the capitalist democracy, when five negligible aliens and two inconsequential leaflets against the unpopular Russian intervention were all that was before these Liberal jurists. Nor was there ever a more cynical example of the treacherous vice of Liberalism.

Quite consistently, the Liberal journals are making a great ado about the dissent. Quite as consistently, the government prosecutors—backed up by the decision of seven judges, not merely by the dissent of two, whose dissent is hopelessly compromised by their class stand in the Debs case,—are preparing to avail themselves of the full force of the drastic prevailing opinion.

The working class will win free speech by its own dissenting opinion, expressed in revolutionary mass action, and not any other way.

## You Must Unite—Workingmen!

(Continued from Page 1.)

defeated by the united capitalist class, of whose rule and power the government—the State—is the visible expression.

**WORKINGMEN, YOU MUST UNITE!**

**YOU MUST STRIKE TOGETHER!**

The capitalist system is breaking down. Its contradictions are of such a character that it becomes increasingly difficult to make it work. In place of supplying food, clothing and homes to live in to the workers, it is producing misery and hardships. It is the capitalist system which is responsible for the high cost of living. It is the greed of the capitalists that threatens us with the suffering from cold because no coal is being mined. It is capitalism that is responsible for the threatened railroad strike, which may bring hunger and even starvation to the whole country.

The capitalist control of industry will result in more and more strikes, more and more struggles of the workers to force from the capitalists the means and opportunity to live happy, healthy lives.

These strikes can only succeed if the power of the workers is united. The workers must strike together. The capitalists can beat the strikes of sections of the working class. They are powerless against the united working class.

The conservative and reactionary union officials who stand in

the way and betray the workers, who block united action, must be swept aside. Strike councils with delegates from every industry, whether the workers are organized or unorganized, must be united in a district council and the district councils in a national council.

Create your own organs for the struggle against capitalism, workingmen!

Send men who work with you and strike with you to the strike councils. They will represent you. They will not betray you. They will unite all the workers locally, in the district, and nationally. Then you can act together. Then you are invincible.

**ORGANIZE THE STRIKE COUNCIL!**

**STRIKE TOGETHER!**

Your power will be greater than that which the capitalists have through their control of the government. You will have your own organs of working class government.

Then you will beat the capitalists; and victory, and good food, good clothes, good homes, a voice in the management of the shop, and the opportunity for happy, healthy lives will be yours.

**UNITE THE STRIKES!**

# The Party Organization

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

## To the Comrades of the Finnish and Scandinavian Federations

**Y**OUR organizations are now discussing the question of their future affiliations. The purpose of this statement is to present to you the viewpoint of the Communist Party, with which we hope you will find yourself in agreement.

You are familiar with the general development in the working class movement resulting from the crisis of action precipitated by the world war. In every country fundamental differences developed between groups which previously had worked together within one organization. These differences varied in sharpness from the situation in Germany, where the dominant Socialist Party used machine guns against those who had previously been part of their organization, to such a factional struggle as is going on in France between the same elements still included within the one party.

The issue involved in this struggle is the method through which the emancipation of the workers is to be brought about. In every Socialist Party there are those, who in spite of the experience in Russia, Hungary and Germany, still hope to establish Socialism through the use of the machinery of the bourgeois parliaments. The fact that in the hour of crisis those who hold this view have become the open enemies of the revolution has not changed the position of these elements in those countries where the crisis has not developed. On the other hand, there has developed in every party a militant group which accepts the test of action which the world war has brought and bases its principles and tactics upon the lessons which we have gained from revolutionary proletarian experience.

This fundamental difference of principle was bound to make itself felt in the Socialist Movement in this country. The development of the Left Wing, which culminated in the organization of the Communist Party, was not the work of individuals and "leaders" but the natural response of the membership of the Socialist Party to the world-wide movement to harmonize the party program with the new knowledge that experience had brought us.

That the Communist Party correctly expresses the new principles in its program and constitution even its worst enemy has not dared to challenge. The Communist Party accepts the principles laid down in the program of the Communist International and its program of action is a re-statement of these principles to meet the peculiar problems which it has to face in this country.

Within the ranks of the party are to be found today the great majority of those elements which were foremost in developing the Left Wing in this country. The credentials of the delegates to the convention which organized the party showed that 58,000 members were represented, and this membership figure is being realized in charter applications and the dues payments.

The party constitution is based on the principle of centralization, without which effective action is impossible in the conditions which the party has to meet. The party faced problems that are peculiar to this country in a realistic spirit. Figures are at hand to prove that nearly 70% of the workers in the basic industries of this country are foreign born. These workers control the economic life of the country. They can best be reached and organized through their language groups. Within the Communist Party there are already Federations of the Estonian, German, Hungarian, Jewish, Lettish, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, South Slavic and Ukrainian language groups. These organizations make it possible for the Communist Party to carry on its work with more efficiency and effectiveness than would otherwise be possible.

In addition to these groups there are today in our organization the bulk of the English membership in all the large industrial centres of the country. Practically the entire Left Wing Organizations in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, St. Louis, Cleveland, Buffalo, Baltimore, Detroit, Los Angeles and many other places have affiliated with the party.

In judging our organization you need not depend alone upon the organizations affiliated and the membership figures, but although the party has been in existence only a short time, there is the party record of action to judge it by. The Steel Strike offered the first opportunity for participation in the industrial struggles of the workers and the party responded with its leaflet on the military invasion of Gary, driving home the lesson to the working class in a fashion that resulted in country-wide attention on the part of the press of the ruling class. The party has since developed a campaign against the blockade of Soviet Russia and made the same use of the coal strike crisis that it did of the Steel Strike. The general attack made upon the Communist Party by the government in its recent raids is evidence that in the eyes of the ruling class our is the organization that is to be reckoned with if it cannot be crushed in its infancy. This persecution will produce that discipline and organization strength that will carry us on to victory.

We have reached the period in which the contradictions of capitalist production are developing the crisis that will precipitate the world revolutions of the workers. The advanced sections of our movement are already in the midst of the revolutionary struggle. Even in this country the signs are not wanting that we are moving to an early decision. Our party is the party of action, of aggressive and militant action against the capitalist class and the capitalist system, with a program adapted to the present epoch.

A Communist party must necessarily be made up of those who are in agreement on fundamental principles. Unless thus united it will develop weaknesses in action. Therefore the Communist Party has not and does not now make a general appeal to the former Socialist Party branches to join it, but it does appeal to all those organizations which can endorse its program and constitution to join.

We ask your careful consideration of the present situation and if you are in agreement with Communist principles, we will be glad to have you affiliate with us.

Fraternally yours,

Central Executive Committee Communist Party of America.

C. E. RUTHENBERG.  
Executive Secretary.

By motion at C. E. C. meeting of Nov. 16th.

AGAIN COMRADE RUTHENBERG IS HELD AWAY FROM OFFICE BY THE COURTS, THIS TIME ON A CRIMINAL ANARCHY EXTRADITION WARRANT FROM NEW YORK! THINK OF THE OUTRAGEOUS HOUNDING—THE NEW YORK PROSECUTORS TRYING TO IMPROVE ON THE WORK OF THOSE OF OHIO, ALSO THOSE OF ILLINOIS WHERE COMRADE RUTHENBERG HAS BEEN OPENLY ENGAGED IN COMMUNIST WORK, IN HIS OFFICE AND ON THE PLATFORM, FOR SEVERAL MONTHS.

COMRADE RUTHENBERG WAS IN NEW YORK BUT ONCE IN HIS LIFE, AT THE TIME OF THE LEFT WING CONFERENCE, WHEN HE MADE A SPEECH IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN—THE SAME SPEECH, IN SUBSTANCE, WHICH FIGURED IN THE RECENT TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL IN CLEVELAND.

THIS OUTRAGEOUS PERSECUTION OF OUR EXECUTIVE SECRETARY MUST BE MET BY A VIGOROUS RESPONSE IN ORGANIZATION ACTIVITY, AS WELL AS IMMEDIATE BOOSTING OF THE DEFENSE FUND. NO INDIVIDUAL IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN MORE SHAMELESSLY HOUNDED THAN COMRADE RUTHENBERG.

COMRADES, SHOW YOUR RESPONSE IN HIS DEFENSE, NOT ONLY BY DONATION OF FUNDS, BUT EVEN MORE BY EFFECTIVE EFFORT IN THE BUILDING OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATION AND IN EXTENDING ITS INFLUENCE.  
LONG LIVE COMMUNISM!

## Mexican Communists Make Progress

**T**HE Mexican Communist Party is now definitely organized in five states and provisionally organized in ten others of the Mexican republic. The provisional officers of the party are: International Secretary, Geo. Barreda; National Secretary, Enrique H. Arce; Treasurer, C. F. Tabler; Executive Committee, Geo. Barreda, Enrique H. Arce, C. F. Tabler, Linn A. E. Gale, F. C. Luna, Adolfo Santibanez, Dmitri Nikitin, J. C. Parker and A. P. Araujo. The states which are permanently organized are those of Mexico, Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Jalisco and Coahuila.

Comrade Araujo, member of the Executive Committee and State Secretary for Coahuila, is one of the Mexican revolutionists who fled to the United States during the Diaz regime. He spent 11 years in

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## Recent Development of Japanese Labor Revolt.

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workers in one factory after another throughout the country. On the fifth of October 7,000 workers in the Osaka Iron Mill started a passive sabotage, and 3500 of the Kobe Steel Works entered upon a sabotage of more violent character.

This is the best method for winning labor demands, because a strike without strike funds and without support of well organized unions is a dangerous fight against the capitalists who command legal as well as financial aid. The strikers may defy the law which condemns them. The company cannot fire the men without declaring a lockout in which case there is the obligation to make a certain dismissal payment to the employees. Thus under the present conditions in Japan sabotage is adopted by the workers as the best way to attain their objects.

At this stage of development we cannot predict what counter-move will be adopted against sabotage by the employers and authorities. But this much is certain, that the government publicly announced that it will introduce a trades-union bill to the coming parliament. By this declaration the government practically recognizes the labor union.

The labor movement of Japan has been assuming more and more radical character and class-consciousness. Even that yellowest of labor organizations, Au-Ai-Kai, has changed from the autocratic rule of its president, Banji Suzuki, to a democratic administration under the new name of "The General Federation of Labor". The executive work of the Federation is entrusted to 25 directors including two women. There are still a few advisers, mostly bourgeois economists or professors from the universities, but the big capitalists and members of the House of Peers and many others have been dropped or have stepped out of their own choice since the organization assumed a class-conscious character. The Federation is growing steadily into the ONE BIG UNION of Japan. Already the Printers Union has joined and the Authors Union of Comrade Sakai and others. It is a great change for the Federation to invite the Bolshevik Socialist Sakai to address the annual meeting, to the applause of the members present.

The Federation has adopted a rather radical platform and manifesto in which it declared labor and political agitation its work hereafter. In fact there are quite strong radical and Socialist elements in the directing personnel. Indeed its official organ "Labor and Industry" has been publishing in its pages the life of Karl Marx. This is an encouraging omen for the future of the Japanese labor movement.

This hopeful change of the labor movement, however, does not by any means open the way for its peaceful progress. On the contrary it will be prosecuted and obstructed by the reactionary government which has an increased Prussianized gendarmerie to put down any labor or Socialist movement that tends toward the Bolshevik ideas.

While the peaceful attempts of the Moderates are making some progress, the vast masses are profoundly interested in the revolutionary aspirations of the Russian soviet system. Like the Russian peasants they are slowly but surely making a mighty stride from feudalism to Communism. One sign of this transition in Japan is the utter loss of faith in the hitherto most supreme and divine ruler of Japan. Take away idols or fetish from heathen and the old order of society will and must inevitably crumble to

pieces. That is now happening in Japan in response to the world wide revolutionary movement of all mankind.

It is appropriate to conclude this review with the manifesto of the new monthly "Emancipation":

"The world is about to be re-constructed. The dawn of the new civilization begins to glimmer. The bell of Emancipation rings to tell us that the dawn breaks our long dream. At this time the magazine—"Emancipation"—is born!

We proclaim: Emancipate humanity from the pressure of militarism and autocracy! Emancipate the nationalities of the world from aggressive Czarism! Emancipate the life of civilized peoples from chains of gold, iron and fire! Emancipate the workers from poverty and overwork! Emancipate women from the iron heel of men! Emancipate young people from obstinate and superstitious old men! Emancipate all classes of people from misrule! These are the principles of EMANCIPATION that we will

## On Which Side of the Barricade are You?

(Continued from page 4)

for the Soviets, said to Arthur Ransome, the correspondent of the London Daily News: "We are willing to starve another year for the revolution" and as soon as the Bolsheviki are left alone by the Allied bandits "I will be the first to pull them down!"

We are not blind to the fact that Russia is ruled by a political party rather than industrial unions and this is, to my humble opinion, the cause of all opposition at home and abroad. But the labor unions are co-operating with the Bolsheviki and the only phase of the revolution so far has been the marvelous re-organization of the system of production. The mechanism of Russian industry was dislocated and sabotaged long before the Bolsheviki assumed the helm of state power. Nay, since then the reactionaries and wild visionaries from the left have contributed much to its demoralization. Under such conditions it is doubtful whether any single political or industrial group could make a dazzling success.

For two whole years the revolution has survived the vicious attacks of the imperialist mercenaries from outside and counter-revolutionary obstruction from inside. To a remarkable degree the new regime has overcome the handicaps of the abnormal state of affairs and now can safely boast of its singular victory over capitalism.

And if the Bolshevik government is willing to make concessions to the Allied plunderers, it is the fault of the revolutionary workers of the strongholds of capitalism, America, England, Japan and France. We have failed to live through the struggle of the toiling masses of Russia; we have even gone so far as to sneer at their mistakes in the gigantic task—the overthrow of capitalist exploitation which they assumed upon themselves. Their idealism and devotion to the common cause of the working class has failed to inspire us with the lofty vision capable of obliterating the petty frontiers of dogmatic differences.

Those of us who remember the heroic struggles of the militants of the General Confederation of Labor in France about 1906, the most revolutionary epoch of its picturesque history, will recall the fateful words of the arch-demagogue Clemenceau,

hold forth as our aim and ideal.

We believe that spiritual submission follows material submission. If we desire to obtain complete spiritual emancipation we must seek to obtain fully material emancipation. Desire for material freedom first reveals in the minds of people the earnest desire for spiritual freedom. Only where there is fervent desire for spiritual freedom there grows firm resolve for material freedom. Therefore, we, the new men of the new age, must seek after emancipation from traditional, age-long customary and reactionary old ideas. This is the real duty, mission and raison d'etre of "Emancipation". The EMANCIPATION, indeed, is born with such high spirits and ambition.

This represents fairly the spirit of the Japanese ideas, and there are against us new progressive ideas and movement forces well organized and powerful which are becoming more conservative, oppressive and utterly inimical toward the new enlightenment. When will the crash come between these two forces? We do not know just when, but we know it will surely come—and that time will be the dawn of the social revolution!

then prime minister, who was trying to crush the C. G. T. Being reminded of his revolutionary past, (having taken part in the Paris Commune), by a delegation from the labor unions, he arrogantly replied: "Gentlemen, do not forget that I am on the other side of the barricade!"

The Russian Revolution has crystalized a new alignment in the revolutionary labor movement. There is no middle ground, there is only one alternative—either with the Bolshevik against capitalism and yellow Socialism, or with Imperialism with its masked defenders, hiding behind red screens, Syndicalists, Socialists and Anarchists.

It will be a painful blow to our Communist friends the world over to hear that the Industrial Workers of the World is not with them in the most critical and trying moments in the history of the class struggle.

The revolution is our only creed, our only principle. Let us extend our hand of solidarity and fellowship to our Russian fellow workers and join them in the heroic struggle against the exploiters of mankind.

## Mexican Communists Make Progress

(Continued from page 7)

the United States and Canada, and also visited England and other countries. For 3 years he was imprisoned in Leavenworth for revolutionary activities against Diaz.

The national convention of the party, at which a permanent organization will be effected, will probably take place in February. It was originally called for November but the date will be postponed so that organizations may be effected in all the states before the gathering.

Locals in Mexico City, Tampico, Monterrey, Guadalajara and other cities are very active, and study classes in the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky are conducted regularly each week.

Local Mexico City adopted resolutions demanding that the Mexican government refuse to accept the "invitation" of the Allied powers to join in the blockade of Russia. So far, President Carranza has not replied to the note.