

# The Communist

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## The New Freedom at Work

### FROM THE ALL RUSSIAN EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION

The October revolution did away with the tyranny of capital. The Workmen and Peasants' Government of Russia, after four years of bloody war, builds on the ruins of the decomposed absolutist state a new socialistic state.

The propertied classes of Russia which the revolution deprived of their capitals, land, factories and shops, declared war on all toilers of Russia. In this hard and unequal struggle the working class forged a new weapon, and organized our fine Red Army. At the cost of terrible sacrifices and horrible suffering on the battlefields and in the rear of our revolutionary centers, come the conquests of our socialistic revolution.

The German workers and peasants rise to help the Red Army. The Hungarian Soviet Government already is celebrating its triumph, and throughout all Europe the voice of the protesting proletariat of Western Europe is heard. But the nearer the help, and the nearer the victory of the workers of the whole world, the more stubborn is the opposition of the enemies of the working class, and the harder it is for the working class to bear the burden of the struggle against the propertied classes, together with their aids, both open and secret. In the struggle with the working class, the agents of imperialistic countries sow and spread panic among the population of Russia, and throughout all of Western Europe. Rumors are spread that the Soviet government seizes ikons in churches, forbids services, and insults the sentiments of religious people. By provoking the masses of the people, the enemies of the Workmen Peasants' Government appeal to the masses to start pogroms and plunder. The agents of the bourgeoisie and their hirelings, Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, appeal to our Red Army to lay down their arms and cease defending the Socialistic father-

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The social structure of Europe is on the verge of total collapse. Four long years of war has left the peoples of the Old World bleeding and suffering. Bearing up and struggling on through the greatest orgy of blood the world has ever witnessed, the nations cherished the hope that soon it would all end and they could rebuild and reconstruct the world upon a basis satisfactory to all.

And with what are they faced? The war to end all wars has been followed by what? With wars on the Adriatic and in the Carpathians, in the valleys of Lithuania and Finland, on Chzeko-Slovak and Ukrainian plains and on the Siberian wastes. Torn for more than four years with the bloodiest war in all history, Europe must be again torn and rendered in the vain effort to solve the contradictions arising out of war itself.

The beautiful ideals that were mouthed to entice the masses now come echoing back to mock them in their misery. The west bank of the Rhine and Dalmatia cry out against Self-Determination; the walls of the Paris peace chamber whisper against Open Covenants Openly Arrived At; phrases fit to thrill a poet's soul turn to ashes in the mouth. Nothing has been changed; capitalism in all its hideousness still prevails.

Through the delirium and hysteria of the war, the peoples of the world visioned the golden age that was coming with Peace. That vision has become but a mirage upon the capitalist desert. Social Justice! Machine guns met the workers demonstrating in the streets of Paris on the first of May. Thousands are forced to strike in England; whole provinces are under martial law in Spain; the oppression of the workers grows heavier in Germany; the Italian proletariat is preparing for the final conflict with its master class; America is in the throes of strikes without number, while new legal chains are being forged to bind us.

All remains as before. England still holds Ireland, Egypt, India, beneath her paw; Japan tortures Korea into submission to her exploitation and dominates the hundreds of millions of China; France will revive herself with blood sucked from the natural resources of Morocco. The great powers covertly snarl and claw over the spoils—Turkey, the Pacific Islands, Dalmatia, Syria, Palestine, Siberia, Africa. Nations still in swaddling clothes ape the great nations by plundering their neighbors in response to imperialistic ambitions. Nations but lately under the iron heel of Tsar and Kaiser stand, hat in hand, offering their services as executioners of Soviet Russia, in order that they may maintain their capitalistic existence or strengthen their position.

In the name of World Freedom the supporters of the Tsar are succored by the nations of the Free Peoples of the world. In the name of human happiness millions are suffering the pangs of starvation, due to the blockades established by the Great Democracies. In the name of Independence the Free Nations of the globe, including Japan, have ignored the will of millions that imperial necessity might be met. Nothing is changed. The contradictions of capitalism have not been solved. Capitalists cannot solve them. These riddles are a Gordian knot that must be cut. The hour has struck! Capitalism has completed its work. The League of Nations is but a defensive alliance; they gird themselves to crush the workers' governments of Europe. The capitalists of the world have spoken their last word. What will be the answer of the proletariat?

### THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

(We print below an item from the Petrograd "Pravda," being the main part of the report read by G. Zinoviev on the formation of the Communist International. This report was read at the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party.—Ed.)

When we gathered in Moscow about the middle of March, and had heard the main substance of the Berne conference, we said: "Not only do we have a right, seeing the complete bankruptcy and decay of what remained of the Second International, to form the Third International from those parties in all countries, but we must do so. It is our duty, and we must not lose a single minute." And we have formed it. At the conference in Moscow there were comparatively few people. Our enemies will use this argument: "What kind of a Congress did you have when there were only forty people present?" We have a right to answer this: "When the First International was called, headed by Marx and Engels, it was created at a meeting in which four or five sections participated. Nevertheless, everybody knows the great historical role played by the First International during the decade 1863 to 1873. We must say that the Third International was born at the time when the working class in Russia triumphed brilliantly under the banner of Internationalism. This was the cornerstone of the Third International. Of course, one party cannot alone create an International. A few links are necessary for this purpose. But at the time when the German party, which had leaders such as Liebknecht and Luxemburg, and having to its credit several uprisings of Soviets, called itself Communist—at that time the Third International had already been born.

Even if, at our conference, there had been only representatives of the Russian Communist Party and the German Communists, we would have a right

to say that the Third International was created. But things were better at our conference. There were not only Russian and German communists, but also official representatives of Austria. Some were arrested on the way, others traveled on the bumpers of the trains for eighteen days, and arrived in a desperate condition. Comrades told us that the Austrian Communist Party had formed only four months previous. Isolation was the cause of our ignorance of what was taking place there, and the Austrian comrades did not know that in Germany (even between Austria and Germany communication was poor) our comrades had decided to call themselves the Communist Party. During that period they created a communist party which is growing daily. From the report it can be seen that they already have a majority in a number of industrial centers, and are even beginning to be successful among the soldiers. Further, we had an official representation from Hungary. We know that the Hungarian Communist Party is growing stronger every day. We had representatives from the Balkan and French communists. We had representatives from a number of other groups, about which you may have read in the papers. And we can truthfully say that whatever there was in Europe that was communistic was represented at our congress. Especially characteristic was the news from the small country of Switzerland. You know that this country is a semi-agricultural and petty bourgeois republic. There the working class represents only one third of the population. What has been happening there for the last year? You have heard of the great strikes which took place there. A communist group was formed and many circles were organized. At one congress there were twenty-three representatives of communist organizations. The workers of Switzerland elected one of their own numbers to draft a communistic program. To a simple worker on metal was instructed the task of drafting a communist program, a task given by a group of his comrades. The significant thing is that he did draft it. It is also significant that in the main features this program is the same as ours.

Comrades, when events such as these take place, what do they indicate? It means one of the greatest events in the history of the working class. It shows that the idea of communism has become the pro-

perty of the man in the street, that no one needs a special appointed theoretician for the purpose of drafting this program, that every worker of the rank and file believes it to be close at hand, that communism is present everywhere. Every working circle thinks about it, makes it a question of the day, and considers it the main task. These cases are not exceptions. They show that communistic organizations will keep on growing more and more every day. This is why we took upon ourselves the boldness to proclaim the International. At the beginning things took this course. The representative of the German Communists almost ultimately insisted that we remain solely a conference, not proclaiming a congress. The Austrian comrades at that time were not present, and the representative of the Balkans had failed to arrive. The Central Committee of our party, discussing the situation, insisted that we should form a Third International. But at the same time we said that since the German comrades were against it, we could not allow strained relations, in view of their ultimatum. This was after they had lost so heavily. And we said: "Even if they are wrong, we should give in on this point." This statement was made in the name of the Central Committee of our party. But as the delegates arrived and reports were read, the German Communists became more lenient on that question. It became more and more clear to us that if we should fail to proclaim the International immediately, it would mean a grave mistake, and a crime against the working class. This question was brought up at the congress. The German comrade refrained from discussion, but when it was unanimously decided that the Third International should be proclaimed, he rose, and amidst great applause, said: "Since the conference has decided, the German Communists will be the first to join this Third International."

I think, comrades, that as soon as the Central Committee of the German Communist party is informed about the situation, it will decide in the same spirit.

How the conference worked you know from the newspapers. As a whole, the conference made up the balance of that which is contained in the resolutions of our congress. We can say that the spiritual hegemony during the formation of the Third International absolutely belonged to the Russian Communist Party. This is the

proudest fact I ever knew. Indeed, only two years ago we were suffering under the oppression of base Czarism. Our comrades from abroad very often used to smile at us at the congresses. Very often they used to ask Plechanov: "Tell us the truth, please. Do bears walk in the streets under the open sky in your country?" Even during the Zimmerwald Congress, the situation was approximately such that all these people doubted that Lenin and the rest of the comrades around him were representatives of the Socialist working class in Russia. We were "delicately" hinted about it; Alexroad and Martov subserviently connived at it: "Of course, they represent no one." Such was the condition before. Now we have something of which to be proud. When the best elements of the workers' world came to us, people who recently lost such great leaders as Karl Liebknecht and Roza Luxemburg, people who are considered the leaders of the most intelligent and enlightened, organized, most self-sacrificing part of the working class of the whole world, they with an open heart confessed that the spiritual leadership in the present developing world revolution must belong to the Russian Communist Party. You know that the congress decided on the platform of the International. It was very easy to write out that platform. The only thing to be done was to summarize what had been written before. Further theses were read about the bourgeois democracy and dictatorship, theses which were, in my opinion, the most significant documents in the history of international socialism. We often used to say that a communist manifesto should be written. If there is any other document which could be more or less compared with the Communist Manifesto, it was the thesis which Lenin made public and which the congress accepted.

The congress further discussed the attitude toward the Berne conference, and characterized it as I did. Finally, the conference discussed the question of organization, and decided to form immediately an Executive Committee of the Third International, which includes one representative from each nation who must act, for the time being, in Russia. We said it was temporary, and added that we would be glad if we should succeed in transferring the headquarters of the Third International and the Executive Committee as soon as possible to another capitol, say Paris. We should be glad if

conditions could be created which would make possible the sittings of the conference of the Third International. We have not lost our hopes for it, and facts indicate that this will come about in the very near future. But in the meantime, the honor of our party consists in that here in Moscow, capitol of the Soviet Republic, will be held the sessions of the Third International and its Executive Committee. Thus a great task is still ahead for our party, a greater one than before. Beside spiritual hegemony we must help our comrades in the work of reconstruction under very trying circumstances. They cannot work underground because they are made of different stuff, due to the fact that they had a different party. I think that our party, no matter how uneconomical in disposing of its forces, must assist materially the workers of other countries, and give help in organization.

We see clearly the circumstances under which the Third International is being born. The First International, in fact, was formed in 1847, when Marx and Engels predicted that the Socialist revolution was at hand. Many said that Marx and Engels erred, and that their predictions came to grief, and Engels replied: "It is not astonishing that some of our predictions did not come true, but it is astonishing that so many of Marx's predictions were realized." The First International fell in '71, together with the Paris Commune. From 1889 up to 1902 the Second International acted. It had strong and weak points. It gathered millions of workers who formed strong organizations, which afterwards partly decayed, as the trade unions in Germany, but which gave an impetus for union to the oppressed classes. The organizational forms were forged by the workers in the struggle.

Under entirely different surroundings, the Third International is being born. It is born while humanity suffers from the horrors of war. The working class is being bled to death. Behind it are mountains of corpses; in front, a burden of heavy taxes, a number of bourgeois governments which try to provoke new wars. It is said that things are cemented by blood. There is enough blood flowing under our Third International. There is no stronger foundation than that which we created three weeks ago in Kremlin. It is an organization which guarantees complete victory; which in the near future will bring us to an International Soviet Socialist Republic.

## Action and Reaction in Ireland

Eamon De Valera is here and the Irish Nationalists are drunk with enthusiasm. They have answered the siren song of nationalism and their antics are disgusting to one who has emancipated himself from the spook of patriotism.

De Valera's purpose in this country is to arouse sympathy for the Irish Republic so that he may secure the aid of the United States in gaining independence for Ireland. Independence means that the Irish workers will no longer be robbed in the terrible English way but in the future will be robbed in the good old Irish fashion.

De Valera is very much interested in floating \$5,000,000 worth of Irish bonds and probably hopes to have as much success as did his grandfather. The contributions made to Irish freedom, of course, will total no small amount and 'twould be just as well if the contributors do not demand too strict an accounting of their funds.

It is very discouraging to see the Irish workers in America "fall" for this propaganda of Irish freedom and we have sometimes dispaired of their developing beyond that point. However, the development of the capitalist system is having its effects upon them and they are gradually learning that Sinn Fein (Ourselves) or Ulster Unionist movements can mean nothing to the working class of Ireland.

Amidst all this stench of nationalism the following manifesto comes like a breath of fresh air from Ireland. We do not know the calibre of the organization that produced it, but regardless of its size or character the manifesto is evidence that there are some revolutionary workers in Ireland.

### MANIFESTO OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND.

#### To The Irish Working Class.

#### Fellow Workers:

There has not been a cause in Ireland for which Irish workers have not fought on the side of the oppressed against the oppressors. The time has at last come when they must fight for their own—for the emancipation of their class. The time has come when we must organize towards the establishment of our liberation from the wages-system which exploits our human power to labour and produce wealth.

If Ulster Unionist prevails there will still remain an Irish working class. If Sinn Fein prevails there will still be an Irish working class. There will still remain an Irish master class, content to be masters of Irish human beings.

Let us determine that we who produce all that is produced in Ireland—that we who make Ireland habitable and fertile shall not longer yield the produce of our labour to the masters who whip us with the tyranny of wages. Let us resolve that we shall no longer "build and another inhabit—sow and another reap," but that we shall make Ireland a Socialist Republic, wherein shall dwell no parasite nor profit-taker and all will contribute to the needs of all and the harmony of the commonwealth.

Irish Labour has been organized to a high percentage during the last two years particularly. All over Ireland are Trade Union branches. On the basis of "increased wages," workers have organized. The working-class represents the vast majority of the people, and yet, even with "increased wages," its standard of living never exceeds the bare subsistence level and never will as long as the wages system endures, because wages, or the purchasing prices of human labour are always measured by the employing class according to the minimum level of qualifying and sustaining the wage labourer.

James Connolly pointed out that "Capitalism is the most foreign thing in Ireland." It has now become the most obsolete because the national, or mass-mind of the rank and file see far beyond it in their conception of

industrial democracy. They respond with an irrepressible fellowship to the new economic order with which Russia has begun to deluge the vile tyrannies of the capitalist system of the world.

Capitalism, which originated in aggrandisement and wholesale expropriation, has endured into the warfare of exhaustion.

We can dispense with the capitalists. We cannot dispense with labour and the power to produce wealth.

Only the working class possesses this power. The working class of the world has begun to assert this power.

*The working class of Ireland is ripe for the same assertion.*

The leaders of official Labour have failed during the revolutionary years of 1917-1919 to formulate or direct an economic policy upon the basis of the emancipation of the exploited Irish people.

They have not admitted their failure and claim that, as leaders, it is their function to be led by the rank and file.

Let us lead them! Let us see to it that they become the obedient servants of the class whose interests they advocate. Let us point the way and see to it that they neither impede nor fail us, but that they march side by side with us in fidelity to the magnificent cause of our emancipation. Remember! There is but one thing to destroy—capitalism; one thing to construct—Socialism.

It is impossible for us to take immediate control of the land of Ireland—the industries of Ireland because the existing organization of the workers is based on surface Trade Union safeguards and reform of present conditions.

Reform is no use to us. We require a revolution of the existing economic order, so that the many who have not shall come into control and possession, and the few who have all shall become dispossessed of all but the right to co-operate with us on terms of mere human equality.

We must organize ourselves into workers'committees round the factories, farms and workshops where we are employed, and from these works' committees elect in all the existing Parliamentary Divisions of Ireland Workers' Councils, i. e., councils

## The Split in the Socialist Party

By JOSEPH V. STILSON  
Translator-Secretary,  
Lithuanian Federation.

The history of the split in the Socialist Party really begins in 1916, when Allan Benson was named as standard-bearer for the party. This man, as candidate for President of the United States, travelling through the country agitating for his election, never in his speeches mentioned by as much as half a word the class struggle. On the contrary, his advocacy had nothing in common with Socialism. I remember the newspaper report of his speech at Cleveland, Ohio, where to the question "why does he not speak about the class struggle instead of talking only about votes of the citizens and the whole lot of "good" he is going to do when he is elected President," he answered "The present is no time to talk of such things as the class struggle."

The elections, as we know, gave sad results, the number of Socialist votes declining to half the number cast for Comrade Debs in 1912. At the same time the party members whose brains were not filled with such "socialism" as that which was "established" by Berger and his friends in Milwaukee,

of working men and women, to whom we can depute the fulfillment of the social and industrial needs of the special areas which elect them.

By organizing on these lines we shall be liberating the local forces of the Irish working class. We shall create the incentive towards control and ownership of the means of production and social life, which at present, in the hands of the master class, are used as the means wherewith to exploit the mass of the Irish people. Fellow-workers, it is in the power of the rank and file to do this. It is in our power to transform existing organizations of our class out of their present appeals for "increased wages" and similar palliatives into forces which will function towards control of the means of life, and establish us once for all above our present slavery into a moral standard of human life. Let us be fearless. In liberating the Irish working class we are lifting Ireland into the lofty purpose of the Russian pioneers who have turned the base greed of the European war for possession of fresh markets of exploitation into the tremendous redemption of the world's working class.

Let us contribute our heroism to the class war which is spreading over the world, so that from "generation to generation" those who come after us will do homage to our courage in an era of human release and golden opportunity, an era wherein the common and equal peoples of the future will tread across the memories of our age of degradation into the happy triumphs of human attainment such as the world has never theretofore known.

Let us not dream now, but arise and act. Let us act quickly. Let us escape from a neutrality which supports the master class of the world and take our stand firmly with the working class of the world in the class war which is thundering over the earth. All power to the Workers' Councils of Ireland the speedy emancipation of the Irish working class!

On behalf of the National Executive of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Ireland.

THOMAS PENNYCOOK,  
(National Secretary.)

began to look for means whereby the party could be set on a better foundation, giving it class character cleared of the petty bourgeois hash which had flourished, not only in the party's platforms, but in all of its literature and at all its meetings. But now was it to be done?

Everyone interested in the earlier part of the American labor movement, remembers well the "order" that prevailed in the party: in every nook there was a "boss," every "boss" had his own organ, and every organ advocated new "socialism." The new "education" was spread both among the party members and the working masses in general. The party itself hardly printed any literature at all. It was satisfied with the distribution of "private" literature, which often elucidated questions in such manner that the European socialist (even the "centrist" German!) after coming to this country and learning its language would read a pamphlet on the possibilities of Ford "Socialism," or a pamphlet urging that the capitalist government must become the owner of the trusts (as if it were not already a tool of the trusts), or a pamphlet proving that the party candidates, when elected to the City Council will "ease the life of the working class" by decreasing the prices of food, milk depots, electric plants, street car systems, etc., the immigrant Socialist would cry out: "In the country of dollars the Socialists are of the dollar kind also! Their party will never rise if it continues to follow in these old tracks."

Of course, the capitalistic system itself was breeding the revolutionists. To fence in the Socialist Party so that the revolutionists could not enter was the task which the party officers could not quite accomplish. And on account of the party's dilapidated machinery and steadily declining influence among the working class, not only was dissatisfaction growing among the members, but the revolutionary elements, in the fall of 1916, became so bold that they openly dared to raise their voices against such persons as Benson, Berger, Goebel, and others, who spoke in the name of the Socialist Party to advocate the "socialism" of Bismarck. But these revolutionary elements in the party were confronted with quite a delicate question. Something had to be done immediately if the party was to be saved not only from the clutches of persons who have nothing in common with the political action (in the real sense of the word) of the working class, but from its complete dilapidation as well.

The entire political machinery of the party was in the hands of the opportunists; the entire press was also in their hands. They held not only the party reins, but the means of communication as well. Then what could be done by the members who saw in the activity of the leaders, in the party tactics and even in its principles only peril to the labor movement; only the useless waste of energy and money for the "agitation and propaganda" for offices in government institutions for the benefit of the individual persons? The hope still entertained by some that Socialist "representatives" in the government had some importance, disappeared like a dream during Meyer London's term in Congress, blowing the horn of "democracy." At that time somewhat sharper criticism had appeared also for the German "social-

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# THE COMMUNIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

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## THE SHANTUNG GRAB.

In acquiring Shantung Japan has evidently put one over on the Peace Conference. In order to hold Japan in line it was necessary to allow her mastery over China. During the war Japan has seized provinces in China, and with true brigand spirit, insists upon retaining possession of them.

China's wishes in the matter were ignored. And why not? China is powerless and has been a doormat for the Great Powers for many years. Those who are weak receive little consideration at the hands of the strong. Might is Right throughout the universe. Only the fit survive. In spite of the lofty ideals which are supposed to actuate the Great Democracies, China is turned over to satisfy the imperialistic ambitions of the Nipponese capitalists. As a protest against this rape, China has refused to sign the Peace Treaty—but that means nothing. Protests are worthless unless they are backed up by power, and China is powerless.

The Shantung steal is such a barefaced outrage that Wilson has been forced to excuse it on the grounds of "expediency."

## THEY WISH IT WERE TRUE.

The wish being father to the thought, hiring editors of the capitalist press are telling of the tottering condition of the Hungarian Soviet Government. There were many such tales in the early days of the Russian Soviet, and these reports bear a striking resemblance; not only in the tales that are told, but also in the fact that they are universally untrue.

Unquestionably, the Hungarian Soviets are having a hard struggle to maintain their power, but it is also true that each day they grow stronger. Just now they are having trouble with the Jugo-Slavs and Roumanians. If they succeed in disposing of these enemies before Fall the future of the Soviet in Hungary is assured.

The fact that very little is being said in the capitalist papers about the bolshevik offensive would indicate that all must be well with the Red Army.

The possibility of Allied intervention seems to be small. With the organized workers planning general strikes to prevent Allied invasion of Hungary and Russia, the capitalist class will think twice before starting a campaign of intervention. Such an invasion is liable to precipitate a revolution in their own countries and the capitalists hesitate to run such a risk. They are pinning their hopes on backing some counter-revolutionary leader in an effort to overthrow the Hungarian Soviet. So far no reactionary leader of any prominence has appeared, and the workers grow stronger day by day.

## BEWARE GREEKS BEARING GIFTS!

The country is experiencing an upheaval of reconstruction. There are numerous strikes in various sections of the country and the so-called labor leaders are at their wits end trying to serve their masters by keeping the workers on the job. The capitalists, as well as all other forces of reaction, are bewildered in their frantic efforts to cope with the situation.

Many causes contribute to this general unrest. The most important is the decrease of wages—real wages—that has been going on for some time past. The depreciating value of the dollar has shrunk the wages of the worker faster than he could boost them by strikes and other means. With the slackening of

industry, following the closing of the war markets, there has been an added effort on the part of employers of labor to reduce wages. In this they have had some measure of success and the workers are fighting back with every means in their power.

The restraint upon strikes imposed by the government during the war no longer binds the workers and they are availing themselves of the opportunity to regain lost ground. The examples set by their European comrades have made them more bold in their demands; these examples have also served as a warning to the capitalists.

Many concessions are being offered the worker if he will but consent to have his Samson locks shorn and not become too radical. The bosses have learned that it is expedient to give the workers some concessions to keep them off their trail.

The most common "concession" that is being offered to the slaves is the "democratizing of industry." The worker is to have a share in the responsibility and the profits. It will be noted that these bosses unions which are to be organized not touch upon the fundamental question of the abolition of the profit system. The profits of the capitalist are to be guaranteed. His right to them is not to be questioned. His sacred per cent is not to be abolished. Thus the cause of the troubles of the working class is to remain. It makes no difference whether the workers participate in the management of industry or not—the profit system of production will continue to breed wars and panics.

That the capitalists consider the present situation serious is evidenced by the fact that their intellectual hirelings of the press are counseling them to keep cool and not to antagonize the workers.

The interests of the workers are directly opposed to those of the capitalists, and when such great exploiters of labor as the International Harvester Corporation offer to "democratize" their factories it behooves the workers to be cautious. The "democratizing" of industry is nothing more or less than a palliative. It will, perhaps, stave off the day of the total collapse of the profit system and keep the capitalists in the saddle a while longer.

It is openly stated in many leading papers that the only way the "better classes" can hope to retain their present position is by making concessions to the workers.

We are reminded of the siege of Troy and the story of the wooden horse which gave rise to the axiom: **Beware Greeks bearing gifts!**

## THE BAND OF NATIONS.

Mankind has long dreamed of a league of nations; to link together into one vast confederation the peoples of the earth has been the vision of the philosopher and the idealist. Down through the ages poets sang and dreamers dreamed of the Parliament of Man. All efforts toward this end have failed—including the attempt made by the peace delegates at Paris. They failed, as did others before them, because of the conflict of interests inherent in class societies.

When Woodrow Wilson sailed for Europe he was looked upon by the unthinking as the saviour of suffering humanity. He bore upon his shoulders a great trust. His was the task of liberating the peoples from the yoke of Mars. The Fourteen Points, the formula by which freedom was to be forged, were to be beacon lights to a just and democratic peace. Fired with the ideals of a medieval crusader he set forth, only to find the wooden sword of democracy impotent against the armor of capitalistic imperialism.

The maze of conflicting interests presented at the peace table could not be solved by a mere democratic formula. Bourgeois brains and ingenuity were not equal to the task. The division of the spoils of war could not be accomplished in accord with the Fourteen Points. Too many appetites must be satisfied; too many ambitions conflicted with one another. France must be protected, Italy and Japan demanded their pound of flesh, England must have her lion's share, and the interests of the United States must be looked after.

Over all lay the shadow of Bolshevism—the menace of the awakening proletariat. The great problem was to divide the spoils to suit the taste of the conquerors and to protect them against the threatening storm of working class revolution. Something must be offered the people which would resemble the ideals for which they had fought. So the Robber Band serenely wrapped itself in the cloak of a League of Nations and dictated a brigands peace. Capitalists expect this alliance to

save them from destruction at the hands of the world's workers. Charles J. Vopicka, U. S. minister to the Balkan States, speaking of the League of Nations recently, said: "It, too, will bring an end to the bolshevist donger . . ." In the League of Nations the capitalists of the Allied Powers believe they have forged an instrument with which to perpetuate their power.

But, Band of Nations or no Band of Nations, capitalists cannot solve the contradictions in their own system. That is the task of the proletariat. History is working for their final triumph, victory is theirs and they will not be denied.

**SOCIALISM AND SUPERIOR BRAINS**

We have often been told of the superior mental equipment possessed by the "better classes" in society; when some individual succeeds in grabbing off a generous share of the wealth of the world, forsooth, it is because of his "Superior Brains." The possession of money is the badge of success in bourgeois society.

Occasionally, however, members of the upper class are placed in a position where the crudities of their mental construction cannot be concealed from the public gaze. Such was the case in the Ford-Tribune suit at Mt. Clemens, Mich. Of course, it is of no vital concern to the workers whether Henry Ford secures a million-dollar judgment against the Chicago Tribune or not. Ford is one of the most successful exploiters of labor in modern times; the other is but an institution serving the interests of the capitalist class. Nevertheless, the case is both instructive and amusing, for "when thieves fall out, honest men get their due." So, in the court room at Mt. Clemens, much is being revealed about the "great automobile inventor and manufacturer," that goes to prove what socialists have long contended: The mere acquisition or possession of money is no guarantee that an individual is the possessor of superior mental equipment.

Mr. Ford's conduct on the witness stand proved beyond a doubt that he is an idealist, and an ignorant one at that, as the Tribune attorney put it. Total ignorance of simple historical data with which any school-boy is familiar would not be surprising in an Arkansas "hill-billy," but it is inexcusable when displayed by one of "our best citizens." When a man doesn't know when the great revolution took place that gave us the vast liberties we haven't got, and at the same time holds in the hollow of his hand the destinies of thousands of workingmen and women, it is apparent that there is something radically wrong with the social system. We respectfully suggest that Henry Ford attend one of the citizenship classes conducted in his automobile plant, or that a social service worker be detailed to the million-dollar farmhouse at Dearborn.

Mr. Ford found himself beset with difficulties when he attempted to defend his pacificism; pure pacificism being an illogical and unnatural thing. Believing in and supporting a system that breeds wars, his attempt to explain his mental contradictions was a screaming farce. The Tribune attorney, always about two jumps ahead of Henry, mentally, led him a merry chase.

Acknowledging the probability of attack and the necessity, from a bourgeois point of view, of preparing for the enemy, he was in about the same pickle as our former "socialist" Congressman, Meyer London, when he put forth a pacifist rather than a socialist position in the House of Representatives.

Within the confines of the capitalist system the question of militarism cannot be solved. With predatory capitalists preying upon one another world wars are bound to come in the effort to settle their conflicting interests. Nothing short of the institution of communism by the proletariat of the world will once and for all time settle the problem of wars and the rest of the contradictions of the profit system.

Henry Ford, sneering at history and expressing a preference for the banjo, cannot grasp this, and so floundered about on the witness stand like a fish out of water. If "anarchist" can be twisted into meaning "ignoramus" by the wily lawyer representing the Tribune, then Ford stands to lose his suit, for he pleads guilty to ignorance on most things.

One need look no farther than the Ford-Tribune case to find all the argument necessary to answer the assertion that capitalists rule because of their "superior brains."

Eadmonn McAlpine's challenge to the National Executive Committee to expell the Socialist Party of Massachusetts reminded us of a spring chicken picking a fight with a hawk.

**Communiques**

By a most diligent search one might be able to locate one of those old-fashioned persons who believe in socialism by evolution.—Chicago Daily News.

\* \* \* \*

Washington, D. C., July 10.—The United States navy is to have the two biggest battleships in the world, it was revealed today when Secretary Daniels awarded a contract to the Newport News Shipbuilding company for battleship 53, displacement 43,000 tons, and to have 16 inch guns. A contract for another battleship of the same type will be awarded next week, it was stated. Battleship No. 53 will cost \$21,000,000.

What was that we heard, Woodrow, about the war to end all wars?

\* \* \* \*

From Adolph's report it appears that one of the "good" reasons why the language federations should be expelled was that they were showing marked activity and a notable increase in membership.

\* \* \* \*

Henry Ford didn't know the date of the American revolution; thought it might have been in 1812. No, Hank, it was in 1776, and Columbus discovered America in 1492.

\* \* \* \*

"Let the Party function now. Don't be fooled by the plea 'Wait until the Convention'" says L. E. Katterfeld. That is our idea of it, too, and we're putting it into action.

\* \* \* \*

"We have serene confidence in our victory at the coming party convention—IF that convention is held." In other words, Comrade Katterfeld is absolutely certain that possibly, maybe, perhaps.

\* \* \* \*

To send delegates to the Socialist Party convention would be to turn the other cheek.

\* \* \* \*

It appears that the Left Wingers in New York have two ideas. If. If. "If we capture the Convention, alright; if we don't, alright." But isn't it rather uncomfortable, sitting on two chairs? Kerensky tried it, and we all know what happened.

\* \* \* \*

**"Clear the Decks!"**

"The Left Wing has captured the Socialist Party. That is indisputable. . . ."

"Should the Left Wing capture the Party Convention. . . ."

"It is necessary to clear the decks. Conquer the Socialist Party. . . ."

Fraina gives us a lesson in grammar: The Socialist Party has been captured; it should be captured; it must be captured.

\* \* \* \*

When you capture the Party what will you do with the prisoners?

\* \* \* \*

The proletarian: Pardon me, Mr. Capitalist, but whom shall I hate next? The Japanese?

\* \* \* \*

Or the "greasy Mexicans"?

\* \* \* \*

Or John Chinaman?

\* \* \* \*

Or you?

\* \* \* \*

It may not properly be a communique, but it cannot be gainsaid that it is comic to see the name of Max Eastman appearing as one of the founders of a new scientific journal of Marxian socialism!

\* \* \* \*

Chicago placards shout: **Jobs for Soldiers free.** Really, it wouldn't be quite fair to ask the heroes who have made the world safe for Democracy to pay for the opportunity of remaining amongst the living.

\* \* \* \*

Oh yes, jobs are that scarce that citizens in the land of Equal Opportunity are paying a premium for them.

\* \* \* \*

Words and words. Nero fiddled while Rome burned; and there are those who are still arguing a communist party ought to be formed. They hesitate to cut the imbibical cord connecting them with the Seven Saviors of the revolution.

\* \* \* \*

"Holy Family versus St. John." Strife in heaven? No; base ball in Chi.

(Continued from Page 3)

ism"—that "socialism" which for years and years was an inspiration to all opportunists.

Knowing that the party would never renounce its opportunistic, petty-bourgeois position while the reins remained in the hands of the persons who advertised in their papers (for money) the candidates of the corrupt capitalist parties (Berger in Milwaukee Leader), or such who were showing their "loyalty" to the "working class" by having their photographs in soldier's uniform printed in the campaign leaflets (former Mayor Van Lear of Minneapolis)—the revolutionary elements realized that it was possible to fight against such reactionary rule in the party only by organizing the revolutionary forces for the benefit of Revolutionary Socialism.

In the meanwhile the war came. The masses became restless. Individual members of the party and entire branches began to demand from the party officers answers to the question raised by "democracy." Something had to be done, because silence on the part of the opportunists would take the party machinery out of their hands. In order to save their "authority" from going into bankruptcy the opportunists convoked the famous convention at St. Louis and there betrayed the members of the Socialist Party by feigning that they had become radical. Their fear was that the party might turn still more radical (read Berger's confession in Judge Landis' Court at Chicago), and they secretly hoped to turn the party back again into the old rut as soon as the "heat" of the "fanatics" was gone. They accomplished this splendidly during the time of greatest reaction by announcing that the party members should interpret the St. Louis platform "according to their views." But they made a mistake again. It is true, there were many members who indeed acted according to their own personal "views." However the "spirit" of the radicals not only did not evaporate, but on the contrary, it captured still greater numbers of the party members than before.

Then the Russian, German and Hungarian Revolutions placed squarely before the party the clear question: will it go with the reactionary elements, which during the entire period of the war have so earnestly worked for bourgeoisie; or will it go with that socialist movement, which the worst reaction of the four years has failed to bring down? To answer this question a party convention was necessary. But the National Executive Committee did not see any reason for calling the convention, explaining through the mouth of Germer, that . . . the "regular" convention is coming the next year (for the nomination of candidates to governmental offices) and it will be possible to solve there "all such" questions; and if the convention should be called now, it would be a hard thing even to cover the expenses. . . .

Where is the secret of this refusal to call the convention? It is here: The Left Wing in the party might send to the convention the majority of delegates, to put the party in a position as fearful to the opportunistic "modernists" as is hell to the true believer. The Left elements would unite the party with the European Communists, so hateful to Victor Berger & Co., and still worse, this convention might arrive at the conclusion that no place could be spared in the party to the brothers of Phillip Scheidemann. In order to fool the party members the National Executive Committee planned the "Amnesty" convention instead of the party convention, and

"found" money to pay Mahlon Barnes \$50.00 a week for the "preliminary arrangement" of the convention. They thought everything would be smoothed out this way. In their scheme to call the "amnesty" convention the party officers renounced even its class character, they decided to call the convention not in the name of the party but in the name of some colorless league and they invited for its organizers even such elements as officers of the American Federation of Labor (who gave no answer at all) and of the People's Council (which but recently refused to allow Comrade Debs to make a speech; which adopted the Wilsonian "fourteen points") etc.—yet the party members, earnestly desiring to free the prisoners, in the absence of the opportunity to discuss the question of "Amnesty" Convention more fully, at first did not oppose such decision of the N. E. C., at least to no extent.

Entirely different, however, was the sending of delegates to the conference of social-traitors at Berne. The National Executive Committee was vigorously denounced in this instance even while in session in Jan-

send from everywhere the strongest protests against such decision of the committee—not only against wasting of money on the pleasure ride of a couple of opportunists but also because of bringing the greatest shame upon the Socialist movement in this country; they demanded not only the recall of this decision of the committee, but at the same time to help the real Socialists of Europe to establish the Third International. But the N. E. C., the majority of whom understand Socialism not a bit better than does William Jennings Bryan, having in its hands the party machinery and understanding well its power, again decided to ignore the demands of the membership, still hoping that the revolutionary spirit would disappear and all will be "well" again.

It is true it took some time for that spirit to assert itself. But it did assert itself. The returns of the elections of the officers of the party have shown that the opportunists were beaten to the dust, that party management was taken away from them. And, mark you, they are "grown men," as Goebel says, and know that they can dictate the party's position

## Comrades!

**The Call of the Third International has been answered by the formation of the Communist Party of America. The expense of the propaganda necessary to make that party a success must be met. The expenses of the convention that will finally draw up the manifesto, program and constitution of the Communist Party of America must be defrayed.**

**In the state of Michigan an assessment of one dollar per member has been levied to meet the expense of organization. That is not excessive and should be easily met.**

**We have not the space to make a full page appeal to you in this matter, even if it were necessary. The space in this paper is too valuable and must be used for other purposes.**

**We know that you are behind us and will see the need of funds and answer the call. ACT NOW! Make your contribution as large as possible. With your loyal support the future of the Communist Party of America is assured.**

**Make all checks and money orders payable to J. V. STILSON, Treasurer, 1221 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.**

**NATIONAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE  
DENNIS E. BATT, Secretary**

uary, at which time this decision was made. I myself participated in this session and strongly protested against such conduct of the N. E. C., pointing that our party, if not in fact then at least in theory held a somewhat clearer position than the traitors of working-class interests—Scheidemann, Ebert, Kautsky, Plechanoff, Henderson, Thomas, Guesde and other "socialists" of this kind. I stated that the Russian and German Communist parties were calling their conference at Moscow for the purpose of creating the Third International. Then National Secretary Germer pompously stated that no one knew about such a conference being called at Moscow and that Stilson was taking his news from the capitalist papers (as if he was "taking" his news about the conference of social-traitors at Berne from any source other than the capitalist papers!).

As soon as the party members learned that the National Executive Committee decided to join the American Socialist Party to the yellow socialists in Europe—they began to

just as long as the party management is in their hands. Therefore they decided to oppose the will of the membership at any cost. And for that purpose there is but one means—force. And here immediately after known incidents in New York where the opportunists have asked the police to throw the Left Socialists out of a meeting—a Socialist meeting. Secretary Germer went to New York on a "visit". . . . The results of this "visit" was that immediately after his return to Chicago reports came that both English and foreign language branches which had joined the Left Wing were thrown out of the New York state organization. . . .

On May 24 of this year there was a session of the N. E. C. in Chicago, Julius Gerber secretary of local New York and member of the state executive committee, came to it "without invitation" as he said himself and as Germer confirmed. Now, what did he come for? He came to vindicate the conduct of New York local and state executive committee in eliminating from the party several thousand mem-

bers. Everybody knows that only the State itself has a constitutional right to expel members, no one has given such right to the N. E. C., and therefore the purpose of Gerber's coming was something else.

For one thing he said that one member of the executive committee of local New York always attended the meetings of various branches where the elections of any party officers were in progress and saw to it that the branches were voting . . . "properly"! In other words he put on the branches the usual reactionary paw of the corrupt politicians of Tammany Hall. But, notwithstanding the fact, that the "election boss" at the meeting was watching that the branch voted "properly," many of the branches unanimously voted for the candidates of the Left Wing and the opportunists were defeated even in such center of social-patriots as New York! Then what could be expected from places where the votes were not "sure"? All this was explained by Gerber in his hour and a half speech . . . He called attention of the N. E. C. especially to the fact that the most ballots for the Left Wing candidates were cast by foreign speaking branches; that they had "steering committees" to indicate how to vote (he almost forgot his "report" of just a few minutes ago that he was sending his "representatives" to the branches to "watch" that they should vote "properly". . .).

Then followed the report of National Secretary Germer. He remarked at the outset that the Russian, Lithuanian and some other foreign language Federations during the last few months were growing so rapidly, that it was simply an "unnatural" growth, etc. . . . And this shows nothing else but the desire and effort on the part of the leaders of these numbers of "heads" by the help of whom "they could seize the Socialist Party of America". . . Therefore he asked the committee to do something . . . to prevent the Left wingers from taking possession of the party". . . .

After some time he presented to the N. E. C. the charge against the Socialist Party of Michigan because it allowed the membership to have a referendum vote on the question of the advocacy of legislative reform. In that charge and in supplement to it (everything in the official report!) Germer chided the Leftwingers so much that even Shiplacoff, that King of the Adventurists, advised omission of some parts as "not pertaining to the report." But the main point was this: the members in Michigan had voted for the Left Wing candidates—several thousand votes! Therefore without any ceremony, without paying any attention to the fact that the motion to forbid the advocacy of legislative reforms was only in the process of referendum vote and might yet be rejected (which was plainly noted also by the members of the N. E. C., Comrades Kagenknecht and Katterfeld)—this did not stop the reactionaries bent on holding the reins of the party's management in their hands at any price. They refused even to give a chance to the Comrades of Michigan to explain or vindicate themselves—they eliminated the entire organization by a single stroke of the pen. And only a fool can fail to understand that this elimination was directed not for the protection of the party constitution but for purpose of throwing out the votes undesirable to the opportunists, because the members of the N. E. C. had admitted themselves that they had no knowledge whether the Michi-

gan state organization would accept this amendment or not.

But this is not all.

Seven members of the N. E. C., having disposed of the Michigan organization, learned in some mysterious way that the elimination of Michigan state alone was not sufficient to change the results of the voting. They decided to suspend all elections on the supposed ground that some frauds had been practiced in the balloting. Where was the evidence of these "frauds"? Do you suppose they were in local New York where Gerber, the "election boss," or his "representative" attended the branch meetings and watched to see that they were not voting for the candidates opposed to the reactionary machine? Not at all! The "frauds" appeared in the fact that the Left Wing branches paid no attention to the "election bosses" and voted as a unit for the Left candidates and the master-opportunists were left without a single vote in some places right under their own noses!

And this is the whole secret of the "frauds." In reality these "frauds" were the cloak of the hideous purpose of the officials: To remain in power beyond the time allowed by the constitution (July 1st). And for the solution of the "great crisis in the party" they decided to call the National convention which will "decide the truthfulness" of the charges. This "truthfulness" will be reported to the convention by Opportunists appointed by Opportunists—"the investigation committee," as they call it. But even this is not the end of the dirty work of the seven reactionists.

When they suspended the party election they noticed, that plenty of Left elements were in the party who might seriously examine the truthfulness of the elections even at the party convention. This was evident to them from the election returns, which were nearly complete. Now, what do you think? Suppose the branches send to the convention a majority of delegates who do not belong to the machine of the master-officials? Would it not be necessary for the seven reactionary members of the N. E. C. to suspend themselves?

Just think of it! Have these men no brains? Do they not reason coolly? All this was said most plainly by George Goebel—the Thirty-Year-Socialist—when the time came for so-called discussion of the protest of seven language Federations against the elimination from the party of the branches belonging to those Federations by the New York local and state executive committees because of adopting of the program of the Left Wing. Instead of discussing what was to be done to the New York reactionaries, committeeman Krafft—that man "who has done nothing and was imprisoned" as was very truly stated by his friend James Oneal, made a motion to suspend the seven Federations "until further notice." And when Comrades Wagenknecht and Katterfeld pointed out the silliness of such "procedure," Goebel said: "I would feel far better if at present moment . . . I were not a member of the N. E. C. But if we do not suspend them (the Federations) they will crowd the convention with their delegates and seize the Socialist Party of America" . . .

And therefore in order that their "glorious work" . . . of "protecting the party from ruin and disintegration" should not be in vain; that the coming convention may surely adopt their resolution by which they eliminated the Michigan State organization and suspended the entire election

of the party; in order to arrange matters before hand so that the convention may be attended by majority of the kind of delegates desired by the reactionaries,—they suspended seven federations with over thirty thousand membership because they favored the left wing.

That these politicians knew that the Left Wing was in existence for over two years is frankly admitted by Goebel, who said that he kept on his files a copy of each manifesto, program and paper of the Leftwingers. It is evident therefore that the Left Wing was tolerated as long as it did not threaten the control of the reactionary machine, as long as their programs were not considered as "offenses" against the party law. Only when the left wing touched the nest of the opportunists did it become a "violation of the party constitution."

In connection with the suspension of the language Federations there was something ridiculous too. The National Constitution says that the language branches under no circumstances should act contrary to the platforms and constitutions of local and state organizations. I asked this reactionary committee: how do you know that the branches of language Federations concur with the resolution of the Michigan state convention forbidding the advocacy of legislative reforms? They may be obeying it under compulsion, because the National Constitution compels them to

## LEON TROTSKY ON THE MILITARY SITUATION

At The Session of The Plenum of The Moscow Soviet.

On April first a preliminary meeting of the Moscow Soviet was held at the Blue Hall of the Soviet House.

### Trotsky's Report

Comrades, you all know that on the eastern front we have had some reverses, which resulted especially in the loss of Ufa. Now we again enter the stage of anxious weeks and perhaps months, and in this tense anxious atmosphere there are born all sorts of anxious rumors. Here in Moscow, people said that the Kolchakists were nearing Kazan, and that Volga would be cut off, and at the beginning of navigation we should be cut off and could not utilize the river for purposes of transportation, etc. I do not wish to minimize the importance of our reverses and defeats. However, I can say with much assurance that on the eastern front there were no catastrophes, and that at the pre-

sent moment much active work is being done toward restoring the crippled front line.

On the southern front and among the French troops in Odessa, and on the Black Sea Front in general, we observe a complete disruption and decomposition, and absolute unwillingness of the French commanders to interfere with our operations. This is explained by the fact that our Red Army has shown its power near the Black Sea and Don fronts. The army is the central point, the focus at which all our weak and strong points intersect. Our strong part is our unexampled working class, the advance guards of which bears things which no other class ever bore, and the support from the best elements of the peasantry. But as regards the conditions of transportation and food service, we have faults everywhere, and our work is met with numerous obstructions. Our enemies throw against us all their reserves. Kolchak threw all his officers schools; Denikin also threw everything he had; Esthonians also received help. If we should also consider the intervention of French and English, which at the present moment is mythical; then we must say that our open and rabid enemies have mobilized everything they have had.

And if we lost Ufa, if we suffered reverses, this must not lower our spirit. We must consider that our front is so big that at some points it may be bent, but there is nothing startling in it. But we must say that between the Kolchak offensive and the attempts at uprisings in Simbirsk and Kazan provinces there is a definite connection. Together with internal and external uprisings, there began to spread monstrous rumors in Moscow and in the provinces. This is one of the mightiest weapons in the hands of our enemies to demoralize our struggle, to weaken our determination and energy.

Now, allow me to give you a brief summary. On the eastern front, after the taking of Orenburg, Ufa, and Uralsk, we lost Ufa, the situation is not bad, nevertheless. On the southern front the situation is fine. In the near future we will be able to develop a complete offensive on that front. On the Ukrainian front we have taken Ochakov and Mariupol; and the fall of Odessa is but a matter of a few days. In the west we are on the defensive, but no great dangers threaten us from that side. On the north front we will send them further to the front.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

The National Organization Committee of the Communist Party of America is now prepared to supply temporary charters, application for membership cards, due stamps, membership cards, to organizations endorsing the call for the organization convention on September 1st.

These supplies will be valid until others are furnished following the action of the convention.

Due stamps will be sold to Local at five cents each.

Orders for the above supplies should be addressed to Dennis E. Batt, 1221 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill. Make checks payable to J. V. Stilson, treasurer.

National Organization Committee.  
Dennis E. Batt, Sec'y.

obey. Are these branches to be eliminated because they obey the National Constitution?

Thus the "protectors of the unity of the party" have split the party. But are they sure that they will be able to dominate in the coming convention? No. After the session was over, I chanced to speak with Goebel, Holt and Germer. To my question: what are they going to do with those locals of the Left Wing which they "forgot" to eliminate, they replied that they will see about it; they intend to eliminate the Boston and Cleveland locals, "if it is necessary" all Left wingers. Therefore one thing is sure: they will keep on eliminating until there will be no one in the party to oppose them.

Shiplacoff, who "believed in left wing socialism" (so he said), was continually repeating the question: "If there is any other way out . . . if there is any . . . show it to us!" I did show it to him: "keep your noses out of the party's affairs which can be solved only by a convention and a referendum vote, and that will be the best way out. But if that is unpleasant to you, there is another way: go to the Labor Party, which Stedman said he was not afraid to join, and leave the Socialist Party in peace. It will take care of its own interests and find the way out."

These gentlemen no doubt intend to do something of this character. They have proceeded to tie up the property of the party in such a manner that it will pass out of the control of the party membership for a number of years. In the event that the reactionary N. E. C. should lose control of the organization then the property "should not come into the control of the party or one of its factions, but should be a socialist institution for the benefit of American socialism." This statement was made by Goebel.

From the above it is evident that the party "bosses" will hesitate at nothing to retain their control. We may be indeed thankful that they have not machine guns at their disposal as did Herr Noske. The only thing that prevents them from shooting down the opposition is that they have not the executioners at their command. It is quite certain that they are morally capable of it.

No longer must we delude ourselves with the hope that there is any possibility of working harmoniously with them. We have reached the parting of the ways and must sever all connection with them.

Down with the traitors to the working class! Down with the pseudo-socialist misleaders! Long live the Communist Party of America.

(Continued from Page 1)  
land. Playing into the hands of the enemies of the toilers, they ask the railroad workers to strike and stop the transportation of food and provisions to the starving centers. The bribed agents of the bourgeoisie attempt to blow up bridges, set fire to stores, damage the railroads, in order to thus increase the disorganization and hunger and in this manner to rouse the half-conscious masses against the Soviet power. They try to penetrate into the ranks of the Red Army, in order to obstruct the sending of units to the front, thus weakening the front lines of the revolution. But the working class of Russia, exerting its efforts for the last terrible struggle, will be able to distinguish slander from truth, and all defenders of the Soviet power should be on watch, and careful to preserve an unbroken spirit. Let the enemies of the Soviet Government remember that the magnanimity of the revolutionary working class can be exhausted, and the avenging sword of the revolution may descend on the heads of traitors and all who aid the counter-revolution. All those who desire to go with the working class, who join with it in its struggle with capital; to these is open the way for the building of a new state. All who desire to join the ranks of the workers in the lines of transportation and food service will find a great field for activity, and will aid the Soviet Government. The hour of victory is near, and in this last clash the Social-Revolutionists, the Mensheviks, and all their aids, showed their complicity in the counter-revolution, not in words, but in deeds. Calling for strikes and participating in all the uprisings of the White Guards, they put themselves outside the ranks of the toilers, and thus join again the Kolchaks, Denikin, and Allied imperialists.

The All Russian Executive Commission, appointed by the Soviet Government to defend the revolution, warns all the enemies of the working class, that for the sake of saving hundreds and thousands of innocent victims from explosions and pogroms, for the sake of the preservation of conquests of the October revolution, it will mercilessly suppress every attempt at uprisings and appeals to depose the Soviet Government.

The All Russian Executive Commission.

## Revolutionary Creativity in Hungary

The heroic proletariat of Hungary, surrounded on all sides by a dead wall of hostile forces, struggling for its very existence against foreign enemies, at the same time creates a gigantic work in reconstructing the whole structure of economic and social life. Isolated from the outside world, thanks to the Allied blockade, the Hungarian proletariat draws its forces in the mobilization of the entire national wealth for the needs of the large masses of toilers.

"Everything for the toilers"—such is the slogan of the Hungarian proletariat following the steps of the Great Russian Revolution.

The attempts of the Hungarian counter-revolutionists to restore the good old times of the domination of magnates and the landed aristocracy have failed miserably. These attempts gave such disappointing results that even the international reactionary press refused to make capital out of these pitiful attempts to crush the Hungarian Soviet government.

Less and less we hear now about the exploits of the Roumanian, Serbian and Czechoslovak troops, while in the past the international reaction proclaimed loudly about these offensives at all corners. It would be safe to assume that the power of military resistance of the Hungarian Red Army is so tenacious and successful because in the ranks of its enemies there must be an open or secret sympathy for the ideals of the Hungarian revolution.

The Hungarian revolution annihilates its opponents not only by the sword, but also by the fine glitter of its social ideal. Resorting to all means of revolutionary agitation, i. e., following the steps of the Russian Bolsheviks, the Hungarian revolution sows the seed of revolutionary discontent, which cannot but bring the needed results, into the midst of the Roumanian, Serbian and Czechoslovak poor.

During the last few months in the internal life of Hungary,

such great reforms have been realized that the news about them must fill with pride the heart of every conscious proletarian in the world. The social revolution in reality, the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a revolutionary reality, has proven in a brilliant and striking manner how much creative energy and power is hidden in the proletariat.

The immense estates of the Hungarian aristocracy have been confiscated, and have become public property. The economic management of those estates is being conducted by specialists in agricultural husbandry. The industrial trade institutions, which were before the private property of a few rich men, have now become national property. . . . The productivity of labor, as admitted even by some of the bourgeois correspondents, has increased considerably. The tremendous money resources of the bank institutions are under direct control of the communist state. All palaces, all noblemen's "nests," all city rich men's houses have become national property, and thus one of the most acute problems of current life—the housing problem has been solved. The distribution of products of prime necessity has been organized on the basis of social justice. The Communist Hungary does not flirt with the speculators. The revolutionary law deals harshly with them. The class bourgeois justice has been deposed from its pedestal. People's tribunals have been established throughout the whole country. The theatres are thrown open for the working masses. The doors of the new schools have been thrown open for the children of the proletariat and the village poor.

The proletariat, becoming the ruling class during a few months, has made more for the economic and cultural development of the large masses of the toiling people, than the Hungarian nobility and the bourgeoisie have done in the whole centuries of their rule.

Therein lies the force of the Hungarian revolution.—ex.

## THE SPLIT OF THE LEFT SOCIALISTS IN SWEDEN.

The split of the Left Social Democratic Party of Sweden took place during the thickest of the world war, when Branting, the leader of the Party violated the covenant of the class struggle and declared himself a supporter of the citizens peace policy.

With the active assistance of the socialistic youth, always in the foreground of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, the Left wing of the party grew rapidly into a mighty political organization, embracing all the actually revolutionary elements in the socialist movement in Sweden. With this aim in view, the new party entered into alliance only with those workers' organizations that had preserved their fidelity to internationalism, and joined the Left wing of the Zimmerwald Congress.

In its propaganda activity the party carried on a constant struggle against the social patriots of Sweden, and gradually unveiled Branting's policy to the working masses of the country. Their chief weapon in this work was the party paper "Politiken," which at first appeared three times a week but later became a daily. The circulation of this paper grew rapidly so that it now stands as one of the most powerful and widely-read newspapers in Sweden. The "Politiken" is issued in Stockholm, and besides this the party issues three dailies in the provinces, and nine papers which appear three times a week.

Having declared its solidarity with the Russian revolution, the party, through its papers, carried on a brilliant and aggressive opposition to Branting and bourgeois enemies of the Soviet government. Approving all of the actions of the Bolshevik government, the left socialists illustrated their theoretical conclusions and doctrines by program and accomplishments of Soviet Russia. On the other hand they compared the activities of Branting and Scheidemann with those of the mensheviks, and revealed the political meanness of these leaders and their followers, branding them as traitors and betrayers of the working class. The tragic defeat of the Finnish proletariat increased the vigor of their agitation against submission to the bourgeoisie.

The committee of the party was one of the first to answer the call for the founding of a Third International.

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