

# The Communist

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Five Cents

## Wage Slave Riots

By H. M. WICKS

The recent race riots in Chicago revealed at one stroke a new tactic of the capitalist class of this country and also vividly impressed upon the mind of the revolutionary worker the necessity for understanding and explaining why such exhibitions of butchery occur in a so-called civilized society.

The average person—that is the apathetic creature who never uses his cranial apparatus for thinking—deplores such outbreaks and naively wonders why people riot against each other because of a variation of a few shades in the color of skin. This same element in Russia used to attribute the pogroms to the fact that some people were Jews and others Gentiles, but the Russian revolutionist knew that race hatred against the Jewish population was deliberately fostered by the ruling class in order to conceal from the exploited workers and impoverished peasants the real cause of their misery. Because a number of the Jews were tradesmen, and thus economically separate from the workers and peasants, it was easy for the nobility of Russia to propagate the idea that all Jews were the enemies of all other people and that the elimination of the Jews would mean the end of suffering for the Christians who remained. Despite the fact that a larger proportion of the Jews were workers this erroneous conception prevailed to a sufficient extent to serve the purpose of the ruling clique. The government of the Czar was sufficiently powerful to have prevented the pogroms had it so desired, but instead of preventing the massacres it deliberately fostered them at Kischneff, Belostok, Homel and a number of other places. A noteworthy feature of these pogroms was the fact that they always occurred at a time of unrest amongst the workers.

Put the negro population of this country in place of the Jewish population of the Russia of the Czars and you have a very good analogy. Ever since the Civil war certain communities of the South have been afflicted with race riots. The excuse for riots in the South is nearly always an alleged attack by a negro upon some white person. The origin of the riots and lynchings can be traced to the creation, through slave labor, of a snobbish Southern aristocracy which monopolized all the productive land of the country. After the civil war thousands of the negroes remained as wage slaves upon the estates of their former masters. A number of them tried to eke out an existence upon small tracts of unproductive land. There was also an element in the South living upon unproductive land known as "the poor white trash." The aristocracy of the South found its political expression through the Democratic party, and as the manufacturers of the North, represented by the republican party had "freed" the negroes from chattel slavery the colored population of the South was potential voting cattle for the republican party. The enfranchisement of the negroes by the republican party heralded the downfall of the political supremacy of the aristocracy even in the South, so the spokesmen of this aristocracy declared the granting of the ballot to the negroes was an attempt to turn the South over to the black race. The impoverished white population, absorbing the ideas of its ruling class, organized for the purpose of exterminating the negro or at least establishing such a reign of terror that no negro would dare assert his alleged "constitutional rights." The "poor white trash," like the Russian workers and peasants who blamed the Jew for their misery, were led to attribute their miserable condition to the negro, thus obscuring the responsibility of the large land holders.

Race rioting in the United States, formerly confined to the South, has, during the past fifteen years, spread to the North and devastated whole sections of cities. The latest excesses of

that brand of mass murder have been the Washington, D. C., and the Chicago riots.

The United States government and the government of the State of Illinois were powerful enough to have crushed these disorders by using a very insignificant part of their coercive force, but in both cases the riots lasted for days and many lives were criminally sacrificed. It is easy to understand the attitude of the police force, as the police are nearly always connected with the underworld and many of the participants in the Chicago riots were denizens of the underworld, who have been thrown out of their former habitues and upon the streets because of the enforcement of national prohibition. No longer able to ply its old occupations so effectively this element, comprising a part of the slum proletariat, is ready to hand to serve capitalism in every conceivable contemptible manner.

The government, with its police, which appears so impotent against race riots, always regains its virility when any portion of the working class rises against the capitalist class. Who ever heard of strike riots continuing unabated for a week? Let workmen striking for better conditions even demand their alleged constitutional rights and both police and militia will wade knee deep in blood in order to teach the rebellious slaves a proper respect for "law and order."

The riots in Chicago started over a fight among colored and white bathers at a Lake Michigan beach, which resulted in the death of an unidentified negro boy and the fight rapidly spread to all parts of the "black belt" of Chicago. Many people were killed and hundreds sent to the hospitals for treatment. The principal fighting was in and around the stock yards district. In the large stock yards and packing plants of Chicago thousands of whites and negroes are employed side by side. For a long time it has been persistently rumored that the negroes worked for lower wages than the white men, which engendered a hatred among the white wage slaves against the black wage slaves. The beach episode offered an excellent opportunity for violent expression of this hatred and in a few hours the smouldering flame burst into a white heat. The white members of the army of the unemployed had stood at the gates of the employment offices shoulder to shoulder with negroes who were also there to bargain with the agent of the boss regarding the possibilities of disposing of their labor power. In some instances the negroes were employed in preference to the white men and vice-versa. The race riots offered the opportunity long awaited for each to eliminate the other from the slave market, foolishly hoping thereby to better their respective conditions.

The capitalist class can now sit back and laugh at this exhibition of assinity on the part of the wage slaves. The capitalist knows that as long as the white workingmen imagine the negro workingmen are responsible for their slavery and degradation they will not turn their attention to him.

Many of the irresponsible and to a large extent vicious incompetents who were employed by the United States government during the war to deliver "four minute speeches" deliberately propagated mob action, without a reprimand from the government. This same aggregation of degenerates is to a considerable degree responsible for the excesses practiced during the race riots. In the last analysis the government is responsible for these outbreaks because it encouraged such tactics during the war, despite all the high sounding bunk of Professor Wilson to the contrary.

The workers, both negro and Caucassian, must realize the fact that their misery is not due to race antagonisms, but to

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## Imprisoned by the Allies

Our readers are already acquainted with the horrors which the Russian war prisoners have to live through in France. We are printing parts of a letter written by a Russian soldier who is at Algeria at present. Comment is absolutely unnecessary here as the letter speaks for itself.

The author of the other letter which we reprint, is a Russian soldier who is an Italian war prisoner at present. As far as we know this letter is the first ray of light thrown upon the conditions of Russian war prisoners in Italy. The Italian monarchy, as may be expected, does not treat its Russian war prisoners any better than France does hers.

### I.

We, All-Russians who are in Africa always ask ourselves the question: What are we suffering for? This question we ask of every one whom we meet. It is already five years that we have been wandering away from our native land.

There are still naive persons who say that we are not sent to Russia because France is short of means of transportation. But this a lie. They find ships to send whole regiments to Russia.

We are fed in an indescribably bad manner. Each laborer is paid one franc and 50 centimes a day and we work like oxen.

Now I will tell you the story of a Russian war prisoner who escaped from Germany during the old regime. He went to Italy and from there he succeeded in getting to France. Seeing how badly the French treated the Russian soldiers he refused to work. For this he was deported to Algeria, to us. Falling into the Algerian pit he decided to escape. This time he decided to get to Spain but was caught and put into Sakarask fortress. Here he died from starvation.

Please publish this letter in French and Russian.

### II.

I want to write to you about the destiny of 6,000 Russian war prisoners working in Austria on the Italian front. In October, 1918, during the Austrian defensive, we were taken as war prisoners by the Italians. The Italian bourgeois press told the world at the time that the Italians freed 6,000 Russians and saved them from death by starvation. Then followed the news that Russians were begging to be sent to the Kolchak army

### Two Letters

and to Denikine. This of course was a contemptible lie.

In the Italian barracks we were forced to undergo horrible tortures. At the beginning, we Russians were sent to a small town in Lagarona and were forced to clean the streets. We were compelled to work hungry. Two days at a time we were not given anything to eat. Officers passing by, members of the Italian army, swore at us and called us traitors. Altogether differently were we treated by the Italian soldiers. They became interested to find out as much as they could about the Russian Bolsheviks. Among them were many good comrades. They assured us that in time in Italy there will be a repetition of Russian events. In a few days we, together with a party of Austrian war prisoners under a heavy guard were sent to the city of Victoria. As long as I live, comrades, I will never forget the tortures of this journey. In every village through which we passed the dark masses vented their anger on the Austrian war prisoners. They were tormented, lynched spat at. We, Russians were not touched but were only sworn at as traitors. At one of the villages the priest led the attack on the prisoners. The father personally took part in the physical attack on the Austrians. Several prisoners were killed.

We arrived at Victoria at 12 o'clock at night. We Russians were led into a police station and were carefully searched. Everything was taken from us except our prayer books.

From Victoria we were sent to Treviso and from there to Bologne. Here the Russian party comprised of 50 persons was locked in some ancient castle. We were fed very badly and only on dry food, but were watched very closely. We petitioned the colonel to allow us to settle a little more freely. This request was granted. During a period of three weeks we lived very well. Met with the Italian farmers and soldiers, told the mass well as we could about the Bolsheviks and Russian affairs. Here we Russians were betrayed. We were suspected of distributing Bolshevik propaganda and were

sent to the prison for war prisoners at Casino. Here about 7,000 Russians were gathered. We had to live in tents in the open, where filth was knee-deep. We refused to work, notwithstanding the fact that we were threatened with being shot. After this came worse torment. We were fed worse than the Austrians, the food was given to us without salt. Especially did we suffer during the rain. There was no shelter and we had to stay in the rain for days and nights at a time. Besides we were forced to suffer from chronic starvation. Often you could see Russians search the garbage dump for bones or remains of food.

Then our war prisoners began to escape. Each night from ten to twenty ran away. Many were shot down, but this did not alter the situation. Escapes increased daily.

Then the Italian Government decided to send us to the wild Island of Anzaria, near Sardinia. Here we are living at the present time. (This letter was written on March 28.) We are forced to work very hard. Are fed very badly. But the worst is the epidemic of malaria, from which very many of the prisoners die.

Russian officers began to visit us. At the beginning we did not guess the reason for this. They promised to have us returned to our native land in the near future. At last came Metropole Makary and the former war attache with the Russian Embassy at Rome, Count Bolkonsky. The Metropole said a prayer and then began to preach his sermon. He spoke of the Bolsheviks as anti-Christians and of the necessity of saving Russia from the hands of the Bolsheviks. Then the Count Bolkonsky made a speech. He openly said the following: Your destiny is such, if you wish to get away from here take the sword in hand and fight against the Bolsheviks. By the way he brought as a present three cigarettes per soldier. We began to decide what to do. The majority decided to go and to try to escape on the way, or to arrive in Russia and to go over to the side of the Bolsheviks. Forty persons decided to remain on this wild and isolated island. Many comrades were arrested under suspicion that they are Bolsheviks.

## WAGE SLAVE RIOTS

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CLASS ANTAGONISMS; and the reason conditions of employment are becoming worse is because the capitalist class owns the means of production. The capitalist class—not the workers who belong to another race—is the only enemy of all the workers and the workers' problems can only be solved through elimination of the capitalist.

We also desire a word with organized labor. We want to carry this to its logical conclusion, which is this: Today the deluded mob acts against negroes; tomorrow it will act against "foreigners" of the white race; and day after tomorrow at the behest of the spokesmen of capital it will act against the "radical element" in the labor movement, and, mark you, that element, in the eyes of capital, includes all elements not the paid servants of the ruling class.

In the Chicago riots thirty-five lives must be answered for; how many more the yellow press has concealed will never be known. But more than the actual loss of life is the vicious hatred that has been engendered and that will require years to overcome. This outburst has benefited the ruling class by

dividing the workers into warring racial camps and obscuring the real issue.

The cry of the white worker should not be "Down with the negroes!"

The cry of the negro worker should not be "Down with the whites!"

But all the workers, black or white, yellow or red, must realize that they have no quarrel with each other and that the only struggle worth the shedding of a single drop of working class blood is the struggle of the workers of the world against the capitalists of the world. Eliminate from the earth all races except one and permit capitalism to continue and the lot of the workers will still be the unspeakable misery, slavery, poverty and degradation which we now endure.

Let the workers of all colors and all nationalities rally under the crimson emblem of International Socialism, the Socialism of the Communist International, and with one voice thunder:

"DOWN WITH CAPITALISM!"

"Down with national and racial hatred."

"Long live the Internationale of the Workers."

# An Open Letter to Workingmen

Comrades:

The evidence that comes to us from Russia cannot be disregarded. Reports of all unbiased witnesses agree. Arthur Ransom and Phillips Rice, who went to Russia as liberal correspondents for capitalist newspapers, Albert Rhys Williams, the American war correspondent, Col. Raymond Robbins and other representatives of the American Red Cross, Jacques Ladoul of the Society of Friends: these men all tell us that Russia is now the paradise of the workers, that the land and the industries and the houses are socialized; that prostitution and poverty are abolished; that titles and class distinctions are no more; that education is free to all, right up to the universities; that peoples schools of science, drawing, painting, sculpture and so on are springing up everywhere. Russians who come to this country regard with pity the children of our slums, comparing them with the children of Soviet Russia.

What is actually being accomplished in Russia is what the workers and idealists have dreamed of for generations. The Golden Age of the workers is established, and the rule of the master class is abolished. From Russia, socialism has spread to Hungary, and now to the new socialist republic of Slovakia. The capitalist attack has been extended to Hungary and soon it will be directed against Slovakia.

The employing classes publish lies about the Workers Republics in order that they may crush them unhindered. But remember that the Workers Republics can never be crushed by the capitalist class without the help of the workers in this and other countries! An appeal has come from our French and Italian comrades to join with them in striking against capitalist intervention.

The sailors, seamen and dockers of Italy refuse to allow troops, munitions or any supplies whatever to be carried from Italian ports or in Italian ships to Kolchak, Denikine or other counter-revolutionists who are fighting the Soviets.

The French soldiers are refusing en masse to go to Russia. French soldiers in the Ukraine fraternized with the Red Army, and French sailors mutinied in the Crimea and compelled to return to the French battleships to France. As a result of their action the revolution triumphed in South Russia and the rich food reserves of the Ukraine were restored to the Workers Republic, and the people of Russia rescued from starvation.

But aided by troops of all nations, and by British ammunition, guns, aeroplanes, tanks and all the most terrible implements of warfare, the counter-revolutionary General Denikine is again advancing in the Ukraine and striking northward towards Moscow, whilst British, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand soldiers are menacing the Soviets in the North; and, under the orders of the Big Four, and compelled by the dread of the British Naval Blockade, Finns, Estonians, Germans and Poles are also attacking Russia.

The French and Italian workers rightly tell us that Britain holds, that we

By Sylvia Pankhurst

British workers hold, the key to the situation. They already have made it impossible for their Governments to do anything effective to aid the counter-revolutionaries, but munitions of war are pouring out of this country to the counter-revolutionaries; and our Naval Blockade has its strangle-hold on Russia.

The French and Italian comrades have arranged demonstrations to take place on Sunday, July 20th and Monday, July 21st, the first day to be a day of meetings; the second a day of strike. Our Norwegian comrades have formed a blockade committee of their own, which they hope to make more thorough and efficient than the capitalist blockade, and Norwegian seamen are refusing to sail on ships bound for the counter-revolutionaries of Russia. They appeal to British seamen and dockers and all other workers to join them in this blockade.

The Labour Party Congress, by a two-to-one majority, declared for the principle of direct action to stop the intervention against the Workers' Republics of Russia and Hungary.

The first exhibition of direct action should be given on July 20th and 21st. To do that successfully means hard and determined work NOW, in the workshop, in the trade union branch and on the Trades Council. There is not a moment to be lost; the time to work is now.

If the Demonstration Strike should fail to warn our Government to withdraw from Russia, then steps must be taken for a stronger and longer protest.

The Labour Party Congress, by a two-to-one majority instructed its Executive to arrange with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress to call a special Conference to decide on the unrestricted use of Labour's industrial power to stop the intervention.

The capitalist press is already saying that nothing will come of that resolution; that it was merely a pious expression of opinion and that the Executives will let the matter drop now the Conference is over.

If that should happen, and should our

Government succeed in crushing the Workers' Republics, and if we fail to take the direct action which could save them, we shall share the responsibility for the murder of Lenin and Trotzky, Kameneff, Lunacharsky, Alexandra Kollontay, Bela Kun and hundreds of thousands—nay, millions of comrades who are unknown to us; for the massacre will be very great; the streets of Russian towns and villages ran red with the blood of popular martyrs when the 1905 Revolution was destroyed; but the vengeance of the reactionaries will be infinitely greater and more terrible should the Workers' Republics be overthrown.

Should our Government succeed in crushing the Workers' Republics, and should we take no action to stop them, we shall share their guilt, and our own hope of Socialism will be wrecked for many a long year to come.

But this must not and will not happen, and already the London District Committee of the Docker's Union has advised its members to abstain from working on any ships bound for Russia, or assisting in any way the overthrow of the Russian Proletariat. Moreover, it demands that the money invested by the Union in War Loan be immediately withdrawn and that its members shall join the General Strike on July 20th and 21st.

This is but one of the many indications that the workers are awaking; that the tide of reaction has turned and that the workers of the world are about to act together.

Comrades, let us realize the importance of the struggle. Let us spend ourselves in our efforts to rouse the workers of this country in this tremendous fight.

1. Remember the strike of July 21st.
2. The Conference to decide on further industrial action which must be held as soon as possible.
3. The blockade of the Counter-Revolutionaries who are fighting against the Soviets.

**Let us act together for the international solidarity of the workers, remembering that we have nothing to lose but our chains!**

## The "Arrogance" of Michigan

OAKLEY CALVIN JOHNSON,  
State Sec'y, S. P. of Michigan.

When the delegates from Michigan at the Left Wing Conference presented the Manifesto of their Emergency State Convention, calling for the organization of a real Socialist Party, they were met by a peculiar situation. The demand of the Russian delegates for the immediate formation of a Communist Party had been turned down, the argument of the Majority being that there still remained a possibility, at least, of capturing the National Convention of the Socialist Party of America. Moreover, signs had already appeared of irreconcilable differences between factions whose existence in the Left Wing had scarcely been suspected by the membership at large. But the delegates from Michigan, still hoping that a working basis might be agreed upon, and acting under instructions from the

Emergency Convention of the expelled State, asked the Left Wing Conference to endorse the Michigan Call for a convention in Chicago on Sept. 1, as a tentative basis for the formation of a Communist Party, PROVIDED the Left Wing failed in its capture the old party convention on August 30. The reply to this by the leaders of the Majority was, the Michigan delegates are "arrogant." And so again the Majority, flippantly shouting "menshevik," turned down a second proposal for constructive party organization.

Now this charge of "arrogance" made against the Michigan delegates is entirely baseless. The facts prove just the reverse. Considering seriatim the alleged evidences of this "arrogance," the

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# THE COMMUNIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

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## THE AMERICAN SENSE OF HONOR

The race riots that for several days have convulsed a large section of the city of Chicago again displayed the American sense of fair play, honor and justice, so frequently referred to in the panegyrics written by the kept editors. Hundreds of helpless negroes were set upon by mobs of white hooligans and beaten into insensibility. In a number of cases after the body of one of the victims had been pierced with bullets the mob kicked the lifeless body. The same tactics were resorted to by the negroes in the "black belt" when they had overpowered a white. Contrast this to the European custom of always permitting an opponent to arise to his feet after he has been knocked down. In every other country in the world a man who is down is permitted to get up, and if he shows no further desire to continue the conflict is permitted to go his way. It is only the justice-loving American who kicks an adversary after he is down.

## THE TIDE RISES

The victory of the Hungarian army over the Roumanian imperialists proves that the Hungarian Soviet is growing stronger. The fact that the defeat of the Roumanian reactionaries and the triumphant advance of the Soviet armies was proclaimed to the world by Bela Kun, minister of Foreign Affairs, shows how little we may rely upon the reactionary press for news.

It is indeed daring for Bela Kun to deal such heavy blows upon the head of Entente imperialism. He should know that the capitalists have overthrown him, made him a refugee, driven him from the country, and killed him times without number. And despite all this he announces the defeat of the Roumanians at the hands of the very same Red Guard that just a few days before was dispersed and routed—by the capitalist press.

Reading between the lines of the dispatches it is apparent that the offensive of the Allies against Hungary is not breaking any speed records, while the affairs of the Roumanians appear to be in bad shape. According to reliable information, the Slovaks in the upper part of Hungary have formed a Soviet republic and are in brotherly federation with the Hungarian communists. These are encouraging signs, and indicate that the Hungarian Soviet will survive, despite the ravings of the counter-revolutionists of the world.

We learn that the Russian communists have been completely annihilated by the intervention of the Allies. In fact they are so weak and helpless that whole regiments from Kolchak's army have joined with them. If this "weakness" of the Soviet governments continues, the League of Proletarian Nations will soon be an accomplished fact.

Nothing can stop this onward march of the revolutionary proletariat. The inability of the capitalists to solve the problems contained within the present order is forcing revolution upon the whole continent of Europe. The workers will continue to struggle for their emancipation, which in the last analysis means the emancipation of the human race from all forms of slavery.

The press, endeavoring to perform its function of hand-maiden to the capitalist class, is anxious to convince the proletariat of other countries that the workers governments in Russia and Hungary have failed. In their perversions of truth they become ridiculous. The workers will not fail. History is working for them.

## THE LION AND THE LAMB

"Might shall make right the law of the world"—this was one of the beautiful phrases President Wilson concocted for the benefit of the unthinking. It is indeed a mouth-filling resonant sentence but it is nevertheless untrue.

"Might shall make right the law of the world" is untrue—for might IS the law of the world. None but a fool or knave would contend otherwise. That Might is Right holds true in every walk of life, and no evidence can be brought to prove the contrary.

It has been true from the very beginning of time, and it requires but a scratch to disclose that beneath the thin veneer of civilization the brute still rules modern society. It is the universal law of life that the strong shall destroy the weak, that the fittest shall survive. One has to dabble but little in the realms of biology to discover that this law applies to all forms of life.

Man conquered other forms of animal life and crowned himself King of Beasts by his might. Although not endowed with natural offensive and defensive weapons, he has by cunning and mental ability succeeded in adding to his strength by the development of artificial weapons. As yet man has not succeeded in controlling the society in which he lives and has his being; its great contradictions are an unprobed mystery to the great mass of humanity.

Nor did this struggle cease with the subjection of the lower forms of life. As individuals men struggled with one another, and as society developed and groups formed, the groups struggled—and always it was the strongest that survived. If a group be weak it was conquered and destroyed or enslaved by the victors. All down through the ages the sword has been the arbitrator and the cry has been: Woe to the vanquished!

Nor has that law been altered in our time. Never in its struggle with the master class in this or any other country has the working class gained any advantage which was not due to their might. In the various labor battles throughout the country the barking voice of machine guns as they spit death and destruction gives the lie to the statement that ought but might makes right.

When out of their misery the workers arise and cast off the hateful yoke of the master class in their own country they find the ruling classes of the world, but lately at each other's throats, allied against them. The question of Right does not enter into the decisions of the master class as to whom they shall support and whom they shall oppose. It is a question of which will best serve their economic interests and perpetuate their power. Veiling their deeds behind a screen of words, they strive with every means at their command to gain their ends. They prate of rights only to those whom they wish to use to further their aims. Mortal codes are bended and twisted to serve their needs. Mercy, pity, humanity—these mean nothing and are not considered in the hour of triumph.

True, it is not nice—but it is a fact. It is one of the bitter realities of life, and a lesson we must learn. Power is all that counts. If the workers are ever to emancipate themselves they must secure the power that comes only as the result of education and organization. The sword is still the arbiter.

When the lion and the lamb lie down together the lamb will be inside.

## MUST WE "HATE" THE JAPS

Press despatches from Washington announce a large fleet of naval vessels moving to the Pacific Coast, but no explanation of the alleged necessity for the presence of such a fleet is to be found in the columns of Morgan's mouthpieces. When naval vessels move to a certain locality people who are accustomed to even a slight degree of thinking immediately conclude there must be some incentive other than a peaceful mission to require their presence there.

The pacific coast papers and also a number of other jingo sheets have of late been discussing the barbarities practiced by the Japanese upon the missionaries and their native converts in Korea. When we take into consideration the fact that Japan at the peace conference fought strenuously for a Monroe doctrine in the far east, we can easily understand that there might soon be a very material incentive for the American capitalists to desire to free "poor suffering Korea, in the name

of civilization." (As we freed Cuba in the name of that same civilization and in the interests of the Havemeyer sugar trust.)

If the ruling clique of the nation does plunge us into a war with Japan, Korea will not be the objective, but merely the screen behind which the capitalists of the nation will hide in order to grab a portion of China. China is one of the very few places on earth that offers a fruitful field for capitalist exploitation at this time. It has a large population capable of being converted to the blessings of wage-slavery, also it can absorb a great deal of investment capital, besides having a marvelous supply of raw material. If the God of all the imperialist capitalists had specially prepared a Garden of Eden for the faithful it would not have been changed one iota. For Japan to be permitted a Monroe Doctrine in the far east would be suicidal for the ambitions of the rest of the capitalist groups of the entire world, and the danger that Japan will try to enforce its demand for exclusive domination in the east is the only plausible reason for the presence of the gun boats in the Pacific Ocean.

A conflict with Japan can only be prevented by the revolutionary proletariat of this nation immediately becoming actively affiliated with such elements in Japan and serve simultaneous notice on the ruling class of the two countries that a declaration of war, based upon any excuse whatsoever, will be the signal for a revolutionary counter-movement.

The future peace of the two countries is in the hands of the class conscious workers of America and Japan.

### LIFE AND PROPERTY

Almost every paper that one picks up these days contains an appeal to the government to invade Mexico for the purpose of "protecting American lives and property." The editors have become much concerned of late over the deaths which have occurred in the country to the south in the last few years. The lives of American citizens have become sacred and must be protected at any cost.

These are pretty sentiments, but are they the real motive for the advocacy of intervention in Mexico? If we are to judge by past experience we must brand as hypocritical this hue and cry about the sacredness of human life, and American lives in particular. If human life is a sacred thing to these editors, why is it that they do not defend it at all times and under all circumstances? If human life is sacred in the eyes of the American government why has it not always been protected in the past?

As we glance back upon the outrages committed upon the workers here at home the question arises: Why is human life sacred beyond the Rio Grande and so cheap within the borders of the United States? Why are workmen in uniform to be sent into a foreign land to wage war in defense of American lives, while armed guards are being used to destroy American lives at home? These are pertinent questions and must be answered by the hirelings of the press before we can have any faith in their propaganda for the invasion of Mexico.

The workers memories are not short; we have not forgotten the atrocities committed upon our fellow workers in the past. As we read these fervid appeals in the capitalist press a vision of our comrades as they fell bleeding and burning in the Ludlow massacre arises. Like pictures upon a screen it is followed by visions of Calumet, Homestead, Bayonne, Lawrence, Trinidad, Everett, the Mesaba Range and many other scenes of violence and bloodshed. Only too well do we know that the same soldiers who are sent "to protect life" in Mexico will be used, when the need arises, to destroy the lives of the workers at home.

It is because we know these things that we brand as a campaign of lies the propaganda for the invasion of Mexico. It is not for the purpose of protecting lives but for fulfilling the needs of American imperialism that this propaganda is carried on. The greedy eyes of the capitalist class are fastened upon the rich mineral lands of Mexico, and American soldiers will be sent there not to rescue or avenge American citizens but to feed the hungry maw of American capitalism.

We, the working class, have no quarrel with the workers of Mexico. It is not our fight to protect and make safe the investments of the master class.

## BULLETINS

After hearing the request of a representative of the National Left Wing Council that they withdraw from the Communist Party and support the so-called Left Wing, the Central Executive Committees of the Lettish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Ethonian, Polish and Russian Federations, assembled in conference New York on Sunday, July 27th, reaffirmed their support of the Organization Committee of the Communist Party.

After considerable discussion a resolution was passed appealing to the majority group of the Left Wing Conference to clarify their desire for the formation of a communist party by participating in the convention called by the minority group to meet in Chicago on September 1st.

By this action the Central Executive Committees of these Federations have demonstrated that they do not propose to be led off the trail and befuddle the issue by participating in the convention of the American Scheidemanns. To take part in the convention of the Socialist Party would push into the background the question of revolutionary socialism, and this the Federations do not propose to do.

The loyal support that has been given to the National Organization Committee by the Federations will continue, and those who favor the formation of a communist party, not only in name but in fact, will concur in the action of the Central Executive Committees of these Federations.

As we go to press a telegram comes from I. E. Ferguson, secretary of the National Left Wing Council, announcing that the Council has now decided to forego its former attitude of "capturing the Socialist Party," and that it will participate in the August 30th convention called by the "new N. E. C." only as a preliminary to co-operating with the National Organization Committee in forming the Communist Party on September 1st. This action places the Left Wing Council in line with the revolutionary socialists who see the necessity for the formation of the Communist Party.

The National Executive Committee of the Jewish Left Wing held a special meeting in New York, July 30th, all members being present. After hearing the report of the secretary, Comrade Loonin, of the result of the conference between the Left Wing Council and the Federation Executive Committees, it was unanimously decided to concur in the call of the Minority delegates at the Left Wing Conference for a convention to organize the Communist Party in Chicago on September 1st, and to support the work of the National Organization Committee.

The Left Wing branches of Newark, N. J., have formed a Communist Local, and assure the National Organization Committee their full support. Comrades Batt and Stoklitsky will address a mass meeting in Newark on Wednesday, August 6th.

Resolution adopted by the Communist League of Newark, N. J., representing 781 members in good standing, at a meeting held July 28th, 1919:

Whereas, the split in the Socialist Party is an established fact, and therefore no unity can be re-established between the revolutionary workers and the opportunists, and

Whereas, the capturing of the Socialist Party, which has lost the respect and faith of the revolutionary workers of the United States, and which is controlled by reactionary leaders, is not essential and will lead to but a "Phyrric victory," and

Whereas, in this most momentous period of the world's history, we, as revolutionary followers of Karl Marx, must organize a Communist Party—a party of the revolutionary workers, and

Whereas, any time lost by non-essential argumentation within the Socialist Party, delaying thereby the organization of the Communist Party, will bring but evil results in the movement of the revolutionary proletariat in this country, be it therefore

Resolved, That we, the Communist League of Newark, N. J., and vicinity agree with the stand of the minority delegates at the National Left Wing Conference, held in New York

City in June, in condemning the old Socialist Party; and be it further

Resolved, That we greet the organization of the Communist Party of America, and pledge our moral and financial support to the National Organization Committee of the Communist Party.

The Communist League of Newark, N. J.  
Walter Gabriel, Secretary.

Communist Locals have been formed in other New Jersey cities. Patterson has a Local of 200 members; Passaic, 200 members; Elizabeth, 432 members. Other Locals are being formed and New Jersey will be represented at the Communist Convention on September 1st, by delegates from not less than six cities.

The work of organizing a Communist Local in Erie, Pa., has been completed. The new Local has 300 members and five branches. One of their first acts was to send in an order for 100 copies of *The Communist*.

The District Executive Committee of the Chicago District, Russian Socialist Federation, at its meeting on August 31st, donated one hundred dollars to the Organization Fund of the Communist Party.

The following Branches of the Russian Federation have endorsed the action of the Minority delegates at the Left Wing Conference: Lincoln, N. H.; Lowell, Mass.; Ansonia, Conn.; South River, N. J.; Endicott, N. J.

The conference of the Polish branches of New Jersey, at which eight branches were represented, adopted a resolution endorsing the action of the Minority Delegates at the Left Wing Conference. The resolution says in part: "The split in the Socialist Party has shown that we cannot longer belong to that party, for this reason we endorse the action of our delegate at the Left Wing Conference, and favor the organizing of a communist party."

## The German Socialist Federation and the Communist Party

By Fred M. Freedman

It is always a risky business to make predictions—for they may come true or they may not. Still, if we have a foundation solid enough to carry the burden, we may foresee or predict future developments of a pending question, within certain limits. The particular question now before me is: What attitude will the German Socialist Federation take in regard to the Communist Party which is now in the process of formation?

It is difficult to answer this question in a few words or with a few short sentences. It will be necessary to consider the situation existing in the Federation for a few weeks past, to examine the condition at the present moment, and then to draw our conclusions as to the probabilities in the future.

Unquestionably, ninety per cent of the German Federation is in favor of repudiating not merely the National Executive Committee, but the whole program and structure of the Socialist Party, which, in its present form is manifestly impotent and unfit to serve as a revolutionary instrument. In this sense all but a small part of the German Federation membership is in favor of a general housecleaning. This minority is of little importance, being composed of those who are inactive or who are too indifferent to give the matter any serious thought.

Of greater importance are the various factions who are constantly discussing these matters from different angles. The question of "reforming" the Party arose several months ago, shortly after the November Revolution in Germany, when "Comrade" Scheidemann inherited his high office from his former master. Since that time there have been constant discussions as to which side the Federation should support, the Scheidemann's of the extreme Right or the extreme Left, who oppose mere parliamentarism and insist that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only means for the transformation from capitalism to a socialistic or communistic regime.

A great many of the older comrades, who belong to the early school of the Second International, could not at first accept either of the two extremes. The first is not socialistic, that much was clear to them but the other extreme they were not prepared to accept. They objected to dictatorship in any form. The

will of the masses, as expressed on slips of paper called ballots, was to their minds all that was necessary. Anything else would be in defiance of the expressed will of the great mass which has just awakened from the lethargic sleep of war-time; anything else would be the autocracy of a mere handful of fanatics. So they aligned themselves with those intellectuals in Germany whose names sound so well to their opportunistic ears. They aligned themselves with Kautsky and his associates who have taken the golden middle road; they consciously became centrists. Here they remained until May, when the convention of the Federation was held. Then the situation changed. The drift toward the Left became ever stronger until it is safe to say that the German Federation is now overwhelmingly Left. This rapid change is significant. It did not come out of the discussions, neither was the Rochester convention responsible for it; on the contrary, this convention was the direct result of the rapid drift to the Left.

The change did not come from the few Right wingers, neither from the Centrists, who are but socialists of the old school. The change came from the so-called rank and file, from the comparatively young and inexperienced members of the Federation. They were not theorists, they could not, perhaps, discuss academic propositions; they possibly do not know how many "internationals" have broken down, and if they knew they might not be able to explain just why. But they are workers, they have preserved their proletarian class character and class consciousness; they judged with minds unpoisoned with the enervating reformism of the Second International. They naturally sympathized with the radicals of Europe who gave up their lives to save the revolution. They understood only the demands of the extreme Left, the communists, and did not greatly concern themselves with the possibility of realizing these demands, as did the Right wingers and Centrists. Therefore to the membership belongs the credit that the German federation need not be ashamed of revolutionary socialism. The delegates to the Rochester convention acted in conformity with the sentiment

of the federation membership when they adopted the resolution which calls for the separation from the Socialist Party, if after August 30th the Party remains as at present constituted.

Thus far all was satisfactory, but since the convention the party crisis has reached another stage. Forty thousand members have been excluded from the Party and remain out, the seven counter-revolutionists of the N. E. C. hold office in spite of the protest of many Locals and Branches. They seem to be stronger than was at first supposed. Moreover, they have succeeded in securing the support of influential members in our and other federations. Secretary Germer has been busy endeavoring to confuse the issue, influencing the wavering membership and seeking to control papers. And, it must be admitted, has had some success in the German federation. In Adolph Dreifuss, translator-secretary of the German federation, he found a willing tool. Dreifuss, who for years has been on the federation payroll, was all too ready to do the work ordered by Germer. Although he is mentally impotent, and incapable of adopting any decisive attitude, he is a clever speaker and capable of influencing the weaklings. He sent out the lying bulletins furnished by Germer, he preaches patience and tolerance toward the N. E. C. "who might have some good reasons for expelling the party members who used fraudulent methods to ruin the organization." He claims to have some inside information, and says that while he is not in accord with the action of the N. E. C., he still believes that the federation should not act without hearing the report of the "investigating committee" which will be given at the convention called for August 30th. With such confusing arguments he has succeeded in drawing the attention of the members to minor questions. But even this was not enough. Germer wanted more. He wanted control of at least one of the federation's daily papers, to be used as a medium through which to further confuse the membership. Again Dreifuss was his tool. He is president of the company which owns the Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung, the second largest German socialist daily paper in America. Two of the three editors of this paper were communists and in absolute

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first charge is that the Socialists of Michigan sought to get into the limelight by being the first to call for a Communist Party. Now the truth is that the members of the Emergency Convention in Detroit sought to avoid that very thing. Of course, being the first state to be expelled by the Socialist Party, Michigan logically had the right to issue such a call. And there was some sentiment in the aforesaid Emergency Convention in favor of the immediate organization of a Communist Party. But the consensus of opinion was that Michigan should not pose as the founder of the Communist Party, but should prepare a tentative call which should not be made public until after being submitted to the Left Wing Conference, the plan being that the the Call should not be by a mere state, but by a nationally representative Conference. So the delegates from Michigan, far from being "arrogant," actually preferred to remain somewhat in the background, and take the comparatively modest position of supporters of a National Call. Had they issued the call before referring it to the Left Wing Conference, and then baldly invited the Confer-

ence to "endorse" it, there would have been some reason for charging arrogance.

However, there was another point that worried certain leaders of the Majority still more. The Michigan call was worded in such a way that if the Left Wing Conference refused its endorsement, and slavishly insisted on remaining a mere "Left Wing" of the old Socialist Party, the call for a new party was nevertheless to be issued anyhow. To the self-appointed leaders of the "Left," such determination to pass upon their counsels, and disregard them should they prove reactionary, seemed the height of impudence. "Why!" they shrieked, "these arrogant members from Michigan are going to call for a new party whether we want them to or not!"

Well, why not? It was not inconceivable that the Left Wing should adopt a dilly dallying policy of much talk and little deed, a policy of attempting to remain within the old party at any cost and at the same time making the loudest protestations of "Bolshevism." And this is precisely what happened.

To such a policy the Socialist Party of Michigan was from the start firmly opposed. For them no compromise was pos-

sible. Even though the "Left Wing" were willing thus to "mark time in the wake of the Right," as one delegate expressed it, Michigan was determined not to sanction any such stand. Hence the announcement on the floor of the convention that, in the event the Conference refused, while working to capture the August 30 convention, to endorse provisionally the call for a September 1 convention, the call of Michigan for a new party convention would be sent out without such endorsement.

As it happened, a substantial minority of the convention, including those from Michigan, were so dissatisfied with the action of the Majority that they finally withdrew in a body, met separately, drew up a Call and Manifesto which, being tentatively concurred in by the Michigan delegates, thereby superseded the Michigan Call as a national organization manifesto, inasmuch as it is representative of the nation rather than a state, and is now before the Socialist rank and file as a tentative basis for Communist Party organization.

But what has happened to the charge of "arrogance?" Gone;—gone with the dying "Left Wing."

## THE LETTISH SOVIETS

Today the session of the Central Executive Committee of Latvia was held. The commissars present read the reports of their activity and the situation in each department. The Commissar of Interior Lenzman stated that the Soviet Government at the present moment has been put on a firm basis, and there are no counter-revolutionary attempts in the country. In the Courland part of Latvia sporadic struggle is still going on, but there is hope that normal order will soon be established. The representative of the Riga Soviet and the Commissar of Finances made a report on commercial exchange with Russia, which at the present moment is completely organized. It is expected that not later than next week the first shipment of bread from Russia will arrive in sixty trains, in exchange for which Latvia sends plows, shovels, scythes, iron pails and various agricultural implements to Russia.

The chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars — Stushka, made a report on the external situation of Latvia, which, in his opinion, has improved a great deal within the past week. "At the present time," said Comrade Stushka, "there has evidently occurred a sharp change in the disposition of Sweden for intervening in the Baltic affairs. In connection with this, the attempts of the bourgeois government in involve Sweden in a war with us have failed. At any event,

there is information at hand to the effect that the agreement with Sweden and Finland regarding joint action against the Bolsheviki, proposed by the Lithuanian-Esthonian bourgeois, has not been realized. True, negotiations in this respect are still on between Sweden and Finland, but there is hope that the Russian position will triumph in Finland." As regards the situation in Germany, Com. Stushka said that in accordance with data on hand, the German revolution is going forward in great strides. The situation there is better than the rumors spread here through the German newspapers would indicate. "The Scheidemann Government," said Com. Stushka, "lives under the constant threat of invasion of our troops into German territory. The extent of this fear can be judged from the fact that we recently received a request from Germany, that in case of our movement westward, we should not cross the frontier, but take a neutral zone." Com. Stushka thinks that there is no force in the world which might arrest the spread of communist ideas.

### The Soviet Government's Note To The Government of Latvia.

By a series of uprisings of the people in Vaalk, Volmar, Venden, Riga, Mitau, Basuk, Tukum, Windau—in all these cities of Latvia, the laboring people of the villages and cities came into power. Only in Libau the uprising of the work-

ing class has not triumphed, owing to the support offered by the German and Allied forces to the provisional government of the agriculturist Ulman and speculator M. Walter, who find no support in the masses of the people; for already during the elections to the Constituent Assembly, as well as to the local county Soviets and city dumas with the universal, suffrage of the Kerensky regime—they received 10 per cent of all the votes, whereas our candidates, i. e., the candidates of the communist party of Latvia, received two thirds of all the votes, despite the fact that from the centers, as early as in 1915, for military considerations, the most conscious section of the workers had been drawn away. Indeed, out of the eleven members of the Soviet Government of Latvia, six are members of the Russian Constituent Assembly, the others members of the Riga city council,

In Libau we are opposed mainly by the German steel divisions, having for their object to carry away all stolen goods at the first opportune moment, contending that they are unlawful, under the Brest-Litovsk treaty, which has been annulled, requisition of food and other property; and in Windau, where this plunder on the part of the Germans evidently has been finished, some sort of a landing party of unknown origin appeared, which began to bombard the city after it had been forced to retreat.

While the Allies send invita-

tions to us to participate in peace negotiations at some unknown island in the Sea of Marmora, to which we cannot even find our way except in cages or closed trains of the Allies, we get the news about the agreements among Sweden, Finland and England to land a Swedish dessant on the coast of Latvia, with the understanding that in return they are, during the division of the world, to get a protectorate over the Baltic provinces.

At the same time, the "socialist" German government brandishes its weapons before us, under the laughable pretext that the Lettish troops threaten to attack the remnants of Prussian militarism.

The new Soviet Government of independent Latvia, formed through the will of the working people of Latvia, and re-elected at the congress of the Soviets of the united Latvia, assembled in the number of 705 delegates, Jan. 13-15. For the short period of its existence it proved that in reality it is not only supported by the majority of the population, but that it begins successfully the reconstruction on socialistic principles on the ruins received as an inheritance from the imperialist war. The higher level of culture of the working population of Latvia, in city and village, opens a way for a successful and more speedy realization of the economic measures which the neighboring Russian Republic is laboring hard to put thru.

And here, evidently, lies the

cause of the hatred for our country on the part of the imperialistic governments, for outside of a highly developed working force, Latvia has no other wealth. But in this case, let the powers that attack us state frankly that their object is to crush Socialism with shells. Let the toiling masses of those powers know that their governments send warships and dessants to a neutral

country, such as Latvia, in order to restore the feudal-baron regime here, through the bodies of the working population there; for they know too well that in Latvia there can be either the government of baronets or the government of the workers, and any other government is merely a passing event. Our Soviet Government, supported by the workers of the population who comprise over

four fifths of not only the city, but also the rural population, in order to heal the wounds of the war, which so greatly affected Latvia, through incessant labor desires to work out its internal reconstruction peacefully. Therefore it is willing to negotiate with any of the powers, and to come to some sort of an understanding.

But it will offer the most desperate resistance to any at-

tempt at forceful invasion, and in this it counts not so much on its own forces as on the support of the toiling masses of all countries which follow the same path toward the new world.

The Soviet Government  
of Latvia.

Chairman of the Soviet Government of Latvia,

P. STUSHKA.

## Lithuania and White Russia

On February 27th in Vilna an event took place that is destined to play an enormous part in political life: the two Soviet republics formed on the territory of the former Northern-Western region of the Russian Empire—Lithuania and White Russia—fused into one Lithuanian-White Russian Republic. In the process of organization and strengthening of the proletarian power in the region, only recently freed from German occupation, this fusion should play a great role. This union is also extremely important from the viewpoint of military situation, considering the coming clashes with bellicose bourgeois Poland. For the purpose of learning the objects and significance of the fusion which had already taken place, the success, and the outlook for the near future, the correspondent of the Ivestia interviewed A. F. Miasnikov, from whom he obtained valuable information and statements.

### The Microbe of Chauvinism.

"One of the saddest characteristics of our region," he said, "is the nationalism which is greatly developed among the population, assuming the form of Chauvinism. The variegated composition of the population of the region has been brought up in an atmosphere of national enmity, the oppression of one nationality by another. This nationalistic element is not easy to get rid of. Indeed, even the socialistic movement in this region is confined to nationalistic organization: Jewish, Lithuanian, White Russian, etc. And unfortunately, we are forced to admit that even in circles which regard themselves as Soviet organizations, nationalism is still strong. We were faced with this circumstance even during the Vilna conferences.

Our party will have to battle these tendencies; our party cannot allow the class consciousness of the toiling masses to be clogged with nationalistic ideas. In the union of White Russia with Lithuania, and in the fusion of the White Russian Communist Party with the Lithuanian Party, we see the beginnings of the victory of class consciousness over nationalism. No doubt a united proletarian organization will smooth out the nationalistic contradictions and chauvinistic instincts sowed among the masses of the people by bourgeois ideologists. In White Russia the nationalist prejudices are not manifesting themselves so glaringly as in Lithuania. White Russia passed through the school of revolution; before the German invasion the region had lived for a year in an atmosphere of revolution, and for three months under the Soviet power. On the other hand, Lithuania, almost entirely, from the Czarist regime of forcible Russification and artificially fanned hatred between the various nationalities, went over under the rule of Wilhelm's generals, who yet more skillfully poisoned the minds of the people with the poison of nationalism. This complicates the task of our party in Lithuania, but we believe that in this great and important work the party will succeed in killing the microbe of Chauvinism, which is one of the most serious dangers to the proletarian cause."

### Economic Peculiarities.

Being an enthusiastic adherent of a united and common economic policy, Miasnikov points out the economic and social peculiarities of the region, which force us to make a few digressions from the general program.

"We had to reject the nationalization of commerce, and perhaps for a long time. In the cities and towns of White Russia and Lithuania, a considerable part of the population is occupied in trading, and this trading is very petty here; the struggle with it would be very complicated and troublesome. Then we have to consider the fact that the city poor are the traders, and once out of the trade this element will find itself at sea, since the poorly developed industries are not capable of absorbing this mass of unemployed. We do not introduce nationalization of trade also because we are still lacking the state apparatus of normal interchange of commodities, and of distribution. In the cities of White Russia, only the drug stores, dry goods stores, and book stores have been nationalized. In Lithuania trade is free in all spheres without restrictions.

As regards the general economic situation of the region, it is, of course, far from being brilliant. Industry is poorly developed. The region, having been an arena of military operations for five long years, is disrupted. Germans have ruined large landed estates; the

peasantry, though well-to-do in the majority of cases, cannot produce a sufficient quantity of bread even for domestic consumption, saying nothing of exportation. The only region in White Russia which is rich in bread is Slutzky County, and our food supply organizations have centered their attention on that country. However, without help from Ukraine, the food crisis in White Russia cannot be solved, and we are working now to effect an exchange of commodities with Soviet Ukraine.

### Military Situation.

If, comparatively speaking, there is a lull on the Polish front, we may expect serious complications. No doubt the Allies will conduct their main attack through Poland. Poland itself, with its claims for territories of White Russia and Lithuania, is a danger. The petty bourgeois and even bourgeois elements, having suffered under the heel of the German occupation for a year, value so much the liberation brought about by the Soviet power, that it is ready to offer active help in the struggle with the bellicose Polish-German imperialism. Volunteers came in great masses to our war commissariats, and we could have formed an army of these volunteers.

In any event, with such an attitude of the local population towards us, and with the strengthening of the front, we fear not the future.

(Moscow "Izvestia.")

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opposition to the N. E. C. For weeks the struggle went on for control of the paper, until, finally, Dreifuss and his associates found some minor reasons, or rather misrepresented facts to use as camouflage, and discharged these two editors. Germer seems to have won the battle. But it is not over. With the discharge of the editors the struggle for the control of the paper has only begun. The German comrades, those "unintelligent" but true and class conscious proletarians, are de-

termined to succeed at any cost. It is their intention either to have complete control of the paper or see to it that no one else is able to use it. The N. E. C., which is the hope of Dreifuss, is "broke" and will not be able to cover the financial losses of the paper, if it succeeds in resisting the demands of the membership.

Already many readers have discontinued their subscriptions, and the followers of Dreifuss, or rather of Germer, are becoming constantly fewer.

Now, if we take into consideration that the 30th of August will hardly see a convention of the dying Socialist Party, as the treasury at 220 S. Ashland Blvd. is more than depleted, I may safely say that the greater part of the German comrades will take the only road left to them and come straight into the ranks of the Communist Party, where they rightly belong. They will see that the greatest service they can render to the movement is to let the dying party of the Scheidemann's die in peace.