

The Communist

All Power To The Workers!

Vol. I. No. 12.

DECEMBER 20th, 1919

Five Cents



The Modern King Canute

Civilization and Revolution.

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

It is past belief that there is still so profound and universal a fearfulness over the cost of revolution. All the revolutions of all of history have not cost more than the losses of a few days of the warfare which is the life principle of bourgeois civilization, the technically advanced warfare of the machine age. After the war—then the peace of starvation and cannibalism!

Yet so many can yield their minds and souls to small purposes, lest their pittance of miserable possession be ever so remotely endangered.

The calculation was made of only those

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

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

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

At one period and another, out of the

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

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

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

Only the Communist revolution can save us from capitalistic destructiveness.

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THE COMMUNIST

National Organ, Communist Party.

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Legal Defense

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

We also pointed out that we yield nothing to the courts and compromise nothing. There is no bargain upon which the Communist Party could accept deportation, as was implied in the Soviet Bureau offer (by letter of Martens)—unless that offer means simply a guarantee of safe transportation after every recourse of fight against deportation has been exhausted. To accept an advance bargain of this nature would be to yield at least a skirmish in the class war to a flourish of Russian nationalism. We yield nothing.

The Communist Party is contesting the proposition that membership in this organization is at all a legal basis for deportation; and this contest will be carried to the ultimate limit, regardless of whether those against whom charges have been brought prefer to live here or to go back to Europe. The Communist Party means to live here—and that is the decisive issue involved. The Communist Party means to live here and to meet the class challenge all along the line, surrendering nothing, compromising nothing.

That the courts represent the highest in-trenchment of bourgeois class rule means, beyond a doubt, that our opposition here is at its weakest. We have nothing to work with except the very technicalities upon which the prosecutors themselves depend; except that in a vague, remote and guarded way the jury is yet a link between the official process and the outside mass life. The jury, too, is of the bourgeoisie, but generally of the smaller bourgeoisie out of which some are apt to waver in bourgeois loyalty as the social crisis advances and becomes more general.

There is principle involved in Communist Party legal defense, most certainly. That is, in so far as the defense involves a statement of the program and purposes of Communism it must be a statement free from confusion and contradiction. Communism cannot be one thing in the courtroom and another thing outside. If the unequivocal statement of the program of Communism itself becomes "criminal"—it must still be the unequivocal statement.

No one can say at this time that the promulgation of Communism is of itself criminal. The fact that laws may be found to exist or may yet be created for the express purpose of making the promulgation of Communist principles punishable as a felony—the probability of such laws—does not alter the fact that no decision states this now to be the law.

Even so, assuming that there are laws in some States which make our program inherently illegal, there are many possibilities

within the process of legal defense outside the substance of the case. There are many formalities to be complied with by the prosecution, and it is the play and counter-play of these formalities which give the jury a chance to acquit in spite of inherent illegality in our program. Those who are so positive that the class war is already so far advanced in the United States that such juries are inconceivable overlook the considerations that a revolutionary crisis is accompanied by an increasing fear of using extreme measures against the proletariat and by a rather general slackening of loyalty toward the decadent order. We can make our estimates of large social groups and their action, but these general estimates cannot be taken as absolutes against every unit in the groups.

The theory of voluntary martyrdom is one that belongs to revolutionary romance, not to Communism. Because imprisonment and exile are used for lower class repression does not mean that we must at once proceed to seek imprisonment and exile. This is of the same rationality as wanting extremes of poverty and suffering because it is the background of economic oppression which allows revolution to stand forth. Communism is the expression of the advanced proletariat, not of the degraded proletariat. Communism is the proud voice of the proletariat confident of new social destiny, assured of leadership in bringing forth the new civilization. The Communist seeks not misery and martyrdom, like the ascetics, but struggle and triumph. If that struggle, at some stage, involves imprisonment and exile, Communists will not shirk it. That is not to say that the Communist will not try to make every possible adaptation of strategy to avoid casualties, short of the compromise of Communism itself.

That is, indeed, precisely what is meant by the party "going underground". The Communist Party seeks effective action, not glorious sacrifice. In the interim, while there is open propaganda, it is precisely on the theory that such propaganda can be carried on without too much cost of personal penalties. In other words, the very existence of open propaganda is of itself an acceptance of legal defense—for all it is worth in avoidance of personal penalties.

Nor is it a foregone conclusion that even an illegal propaganda will not yet be an open propaganda in the United States; that there will not be frank acceptance of the penalties as worth the results. This is all a problem of strategy, of generalship, of the morale and temper of the organization and the judgment of highest effectiveness. There is no doctrinal solution of such a problem.

It cannot yet be claimed that we have demonstrated to the American working class the class character of the courts. The war cases were, to the overwhelming multitude, war cases, not class cases. It will be some time before there is general realization of the class nature of the I. W. W. and Communist prosecutions as they occur now without the camouflage of war emergency. That realization is possible only when the results are obtained against us in the courts in spite of every recourse of defense, and when they are obtained consistently and repeatedly in spite of such recourse.

Legal defense, therefore, still has measurable propaganda value for our party. It has not such value as to be pushed to an extreme of expenditure of funds and of personal sacrifice. But the time has not come for abandonment of our comrades to silent acceptance of all penalties that may be inflicted upon them through the courts.

The Split in the Communist Party of Germany

ACCORDING to authentic information from Germany, a split within the ranks of the Communist Party (the Spartacides) occurred at the national convention of the party held recently. At the convention the differences on parliamentary action and industrial organization were brought to the foreground and caused the withdrawal of about one third of the delegates. How far the split will affect the general membership can hardly be foretold, but all signs indicate that it will be in about the same proportion.

The differences that brought about the split existed for a long time and became more determined after the death of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. They revolved around the question of the Communist Party's attitude towards parliamentary action or rather the participation of the party in election campaigns. Liebknecht and Luxemburg and the elements identified with them were of the opinion that the party is primarily a political party, therefore the party should use the forum of the parliament for propaganda whenever possible. On the other side there is an element that rallies around Fritz Wolffheim, editor of the Communistische Arbeiter-Zeitung in Hamburg, who is opposed to any kind of parliamentary action and even repudiates the opportunity of propaganda during election campaigns. This element asserts that the chief task of the party is the organization of the workers for economic action instead of political action. They want the whole activity of the party to be directed toward capturing the means of production through the shop councils, organized into the "Allgemeine Arbeiter-Union", an organization very similar to the Industrial Workers of the World, at least as far as the political indifference of that organization is concerned. They want a mass organization, capable of taking over the means of production, while they ignore the fact that the political power of those who own and control these means must first be crushed before the workers can really take over the management of the industries.

For months these two questions: the participation of the Communist Party on the parliamentary battlefield, and industrial organization, were discussed in all the locals and branches of the party. The discussion became more intense after the death of the two most influential individuals of the Spartacans, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, and this may be the reason why the differences of opinions could not be harmonized. When the convention opened a resolution was introduced which declared the participation of the party in parliamentary elections as part of the program of the party. After this resolution was adopted by a two thirds majority, the minority of 18 delegates withdrew and issued a proclamation to the membership calling upon it to align itself with the minority. This minority group stood under the absolute control of Fritz Wolffheim of Hamburg and to him was consigned the draft of a party program and constitution.



His Man Friday

The French General Elections

By Robert Dell

(From The London Daily Herald)

MOST of the British Press has described the result of the French General Election as a victory for "Moderate Republicanism." The Republicanism of the motley crew of Nationalists, Clericals, and other reactionaries, who have enlisted under the banner of M. Clemenceau, is, indeed, Moderate, both in quantity and quality, but this is not a victory for moderation. It is the victory of extreme reaction. The election has placed the destinies of France in the hands of Chauvinists and militarists of the type which made France a menace to Europe during a great part of the nineteenth century. It means social and political reaction at home and an aggressive policy abroad.

M. Clemenceau has been a wrecker throughout his political career. When he was Prime Minister for the first time he broke up the "Bloc"—the Coalition of the Left—and disintegrated the Radical Party, which has since declined steadily in power and influence, and is now reduced to nullity. Now that he is Prime Minister for the second time, he has completed the discredit of French parliamentary institutions and disintegrated the bourgeois Republic. For this general election will be the death-blow to the present regime. It has created a situation from which there is no issue other than those of open reaction—a coup d'état leading to a military despotism or revolution.

Inevitably, the result of the election will strengthen the revolutionary and anti-parliamentarist elements in the French proletariat. I should not be surprised at a demand from a large section of the Socialist Party for the entire withdrawal of the Socialist Deputies from the Chamber as a protest against an electoral system which is a caricature of representation. M. Millerand is mentioned as the probable successor of M. Clemenceau in the Premiership. Formerly a Socialist, he has been for years the hope of the Reaction. He is a hardworking man of despotic temperament, lacking vision and any real qualities of statesmanship, and destitute of tact. Just the man, in fact, to precipitate the inevitable crisis.

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

	Gain	Losses
Republicans of the Left.....	123	36
Radicals.....	57	7
Socialist-Radicals.....	78	85
Socialist-Republicans.....	26	7
Socialist.....	65	37
Dissident Socialists.....	6	—
Progressists.....	125	—
"Liberal Action" (Catholics)....	73	42
Conservatives.....	32	—
	586	

Most of these labels mean nothing. The "Progressists," the Clerical "Liberal Action" and the "Conservatives" are all supporters of M. Clemenceau, and would all be considered reactionary by the most extreme British Tory. There is no parallel to them in English politics. The "Conservatives" are the rump of the old Royalists. The success of these parties is the most significant thing about the election. The Government majority includes more than 200 avowed reactionaries, who will almost certainly demand concessions to the Church as the price of their support. This is the most reactionary Parliament elected in France since the National Assembly of 1871.

The "Socialist-Republicans" are a little group to which M. Failllevé and M. Briand belong, whose opinions do not differ from those of the Radicals and Socialist-Radicals.

All these groups, like the "Republicans of the Left," are divided into supporters and opponents of M. Clemenceau, so that it is impossible to say the exact number of the Clemencist Coalition, but it is probably about 450. The "dissident Socialists" are the Social-Patriot deputies recently expelled from the Socialist party.

This result has been obtained by an electoral system deliberately designed to deprive the proletariat of its due share of representation. Its author was one of the most sinister figures in French politics, the tailor's son Jeroboam Roths-

child, alias Georges Mandel, who has been M. Clemenceau's evil genius for many years. M. Jeroboam Rothschild has for the moment succeeded in his design. The peasants have combined with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, as on more than one occasion in the 19th century, notably in 1848 and 1871. On the one hand they were frightened by the bogey of "Bolshevism"; on the other hand they were bribed by exemption from the income-tax and from the laws against profiteering. But M. Jeroboam Rothschild's success will be his ruin and that of the French bourgeoisie. The proletariat will not sit down under the injustice inflicted on it, and the first concession to Clericalism will enrage the peasants. The heterogeneous majority, agreed in nothing except hatred of the proletariat, must either go definitely to the Right or fall to pieces.

An example of the way in which the system has worked may be found in Paris and its suburbs, where the Socialists polled one-third of the votes and have less than one-fifth of the deputies. The following table will make the situation clear:—

	Votes	Deputies elected.	Just proportion.
Clemencist Coalition.....	5,715,508	36	29
Socialists.....	3,578,585	10	19
Bourgeois Opposition.....	797,544	7	4
Royalists (Action Française).....	324,127	1	2
Various other lists....	179,749	0	0
	10,595,513	54	54

It is difficult to discover the exact number of voters for each list, but, taking the averages, about 380,000 electors voted for the Coalitionist lists and about 250,000 for the Socialists. The total number of effective voters in Paris and the suburbs was 813,216; there were more than 20,000 spoiled papers.

In Paris itself no candidate obtained a clear majority of the voters, so that P. R. was applied in each of the three divisions. But the P. R. system adopted is so extraordinary that its results are far from proportional. Thus the six

dissentient Social-Patriots standing in Paris obtained only 191,481 votes altogether, and four of them were elected, whereas the Socialist party elected only 10 deputies for two million votes. The Social-Patriots are included in the table above in the bourgeois Opposition.

Where the system of block voting (scrutin de liste) operated alone, the results were still more extraordinary. In the suburbs of Paris the Clemencist Coalition polled 2,102,411 votes, and the Socialists 1,576,602, and the Coalition returned all the 14 deputies, because all its candidates were supported by more than half the voters. Some 110,000 electors are thus entirely disfranchised. In the Gironde the Clemencist Coalition also returned all the 12 deputies, although it was supported by about 81,100 voters out of a total of 159,014, so that its majority was about 3,000. In Seine-et-Oise all the 12 Coalitionists were returned, although only seven of them had a clear majority of the voters. The reason was that the five seats left over were not enough to go round on the system of P. R., so, under a clause of the law, they were all attributed to the list with the largest average. Very nearly half the voters were thus disfranchised.

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

It has to be remembered that the proletariat in France is in a minority. The rural population is about 48 per cent of the whole, and there is a larger proportion of persons living on unearned income (rentiers) than in any other country. Further, about a million and a half young men were killed in the war, of whom the great majority were workmen or peasants. The proportion of old men among the voters is therefore larger than it has ever been before. It seems probable that the Socialists polled the immense majority of the workmen that voted, and that a large section of the proletariat abstained from voting on anti-parliamentarist grounds.

What's in a Lie?

By Fritz Friedmann

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

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

We thank you also—for that brazen lie! There has never existed in Russia a party which called itself "The Communist Labor Party of Russia". In its issue of October 25, No. 21, the official organ of the Russian Soviet Bureau, "Soviet Russia", published two documents in which the Bolshevik Party is repeatedly designated as "The Communist Labor Party." We knew most certainly that such is not the true name of the Bolshevik Party and therefore decided to send a letter of inquiry to the Soviet Bureau in order to clarify the question. In reply we received the following letter:

G-99. "Referring to your inquiry of recent date we wish to say that the official name of Bolshevik Party Of Russia is "The Party of the Communists (Bolsheviks)."

Yours faithfully,

(signed) G. Weinstein,

GWT Secretary of the Representative.

This letter shows at once that the Communist Labor Party News states a lie, when it declares that the Russian Party's name is "The Communist Labor Party". Moreover, the name of the Bolshevik Party is still different from the name even as given in the reply above. In his pamphlet "Who

are the Communists? (ON THE QUESTION AS TO THE NAME OF OUR PARTY)", on page 4, Comrade Steklov writes:

"Guided by the above mentioned considerations, the Seventh Congress of our Party held in January 1918 decreed to change the name of the Party to "The Russian Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks)".

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

The falsification of documents, pamphlets and the distortion of the name of The Russian Communist Party is a new "tactic" of party propaganda. If that be the only means to get a foothold in the working-class movement of America, then we may assure the C. L. P. that they will have hard luck and remain what they actually are: a mere pretense.... We have no doubt that the really Communist elements attached to the C. L. P. at present will discover that they are in the wrong place and will soon find their way to the only real Communist organization in this country: The Communist Party of America!

The Menace of American Capitalism

By J. D. Newbold, M. A.

(British Socialist Party publication).

THE world has, for several years past, been looking towards the President of the United States of America as one ordained to lead its people out from the bondage of fear and suffering beneath which they have come. From all nations and all lands men and women have called upon Woodrow Wilson to save them and to set their feet in the path of peace. Probably, never has any statesman had such hopes built upon his sincerity, his capacity, his courage and his resolve. It was not that he was greater than many a leader who has been before him, but that the world has been bound together in common sympathy by common intercourse to a degree utterly inconceivable at any earlier epoch. He is the one ruler who, throughout the war, was able to bring to international affairs an attention little affected by the traditions of European statecraft, and who has, at the same time, had at his disposal vast reserves of political power. His moral authority seemed to depend upon his purity of motive and his nobility of utterance and not upon the peculiar circumstances of his country's situation and social evolution. True, he is a fine character and a great figure in the history of political society, one of those men who stand forth like Cromwell and Charlemagne, like Abraham Lincoln and Gladstone to be numbered amongst the mighty statesmen of the earth. He is worthy to stand silhouetted against the skyline in the tremendous setting of a revolutionary drama. He fired the imagination of the Democracies of the world and in him they reposed a trust terrible in its responsibility.

The World's Quest of Peace

The war has been a strange episode. It has awakened an idealism amongst the Allied Nations which had evidently been put to sleep, but had not been killed by the sordid everyday practice of commercialism, hawking its saleable commodities from market to market. The peoples have often in the past risen in revolt or wrestled in agitation and in elections against many a real and imaginary tyranny, always striving to recover their lost liberty, that wraith of goodwill which for ages has flitted mocking before their puzzled gaze, that back-of-the-brain mental image transmitted to them in legend and in story, through conscience and through instinct from their communal past. This yearning for they know not what has called them on this occasion to do battle for their country and its professed ideal, bringing to the conflict the passions and the prejudices of the long dead centuries of kith and kin. It is no mere unworthy reversion to a brutish origin which has swept the nations on to a carnival of slaughter and destruction, but a bursting through the bonds of a property civilization in pursuit of the ultimate Brotherhood of Man. The solidarity inherent in the herding instinct has escaped from the toils of buying and selling, of making money and dissipating its equivalents. The peoples have no desire to go back, yet they hesitate to pioneer into the great unknown. They have flung themselves in masses against barbed entanglements under a rain of machine gun bullets and through clouds of poison-gas, yet they look at the intermittent street battles of Soviet Russia and shudder at the dangers which may await them on the road to a reasoned and sane social system.

Woodrow Wilson had a plausible solution of their troubles to lay before the peoples. He spoke in generalities. He

coined and trundled his vague and indefinable phrases about Liberty and Democracy, about Self Determination and Public Right, backwards and forwards before them. They knew the present and had forgotten the past before they had time to learn its story. Hence they did not pause to ask him to explain what precisely he meant by these amiable abstractions which, throughout its history, have been the one great contribution of American Democracy to the leaden-footed progress of human emancipation. They recognised a difference, a most pleasing but, not necessarily, a fundamental difference between his speeches and those of Wilhelm II. and Georges Clemenceau. They looked upon the surface and looked no deeper. They missed the sabre-rattling of the old diplomacy and in contradiction to the Anglo-French model read what they deemed to be a plain statement of facts in a series of elegant notes and declarations duly laid upon their breakfast tables.

Wilson is, essentially, an American in his methods. Not the American of the middle of the nineteenth century with his crude lithographs and his shady prospectuses, but the American businessman, college-trained and admirably tailored, ready with a *saute* tongue to take you for a pleasant afternoon's enlightenment and entertainment around his elegant departmental store. Wilson is admirable as the stately commissioner deputed to attract the world's custom to the monster emporium, known as the United States.

Prior to this, no President had gone abroad during his term of office. On this occasion, Wilson did not shatter the tradition without causing considerable and not too favorable comment, but never before had the United States ventured its dominant interests in the cross-currents of world-politics. Since 1915, the U. S. A. had extended its economic power into Europe and had since that time, offered seven and a half billion dollars of its official credits to the States associated with it in the Crusade for Democracy. Close on the heels of this economic force came its political custodian, escorted by lines of material warships and aeroplanes, to give his idealism shape and sanction at the Congress of Paris. He crossed the Atlantic and came supported by a terrific weight of material power greater than any conqueror of the past. He was in Europe as commander-in-chief of his armies and navies, "utterly autocrat in Government," independent of Senate and Congress, executive head of the mightiest capitalist state in the world.

Léon Trotzki came to Brest-Litovsk with no armies and no armaments, delegate of the first Soviet Republic, trusting only to the millions of mankind. He has been scorned as a materialist. It is Wilson who is the great idealist.

Let us enquire further into the circumstances attendant upon America's appearance at the Peace Congress in the persons of her President and his suite, including, amongst others, McCormick, Charles M. Schwab and Mr. Leslie Urquhar's bosom crony, Mr. Hoover. Let us look around and about and behind the presidential seat and make ourselves somewhat more familiar with the forces which have determined the course of United States policy and the interests

which have set the stage whereon Woodrow Wilson must play his part.

The American Democracy

The United States of America is a federation of states, thirteen of which existed when she broke away from British sovereignty and thirty-five more which at divers times have been carved out of the territories west of the Alleghany Mountains which have been purchased or seized from Spain, France and Mexico and whose lands have been obtained from the aboriginal inhabitants by every exercise of bargain and chicanery. The War of Independence was no popular uprising but a sordid quarrel between the landed, mercantile and manufacturing classes of the thirteen colonies and the government of the mother country. The American Constitution was the handiwork of a family circle of land speculators and bankers who carried its adoption in face of intense opposition by the threat of withdrawing credit from those who failed to support its ratification. According to Adams it was "the work of the commercial people in the sea-port towns, of the planters of the slave-holding states, of the officers of the Revolutionary army, and the property-holders everywhere." It was drafted in secret session in such a way as to protect the rule of the dominant class of the period and there was slipped into it a clause "forbidding any State to pass legislation impairing the obligation of a contract." This unprecedented safeguard, the work of two bank attorneys, has made legislative reform the plaything of the Courts from that day to this.

The Supreme Court of the United States early arrogated to itself the right of deciding what laws were or were not constitutional, and only last year, under this usurped power, this body declared void the new Child Labor Law restricting the employment of children in the Democratic South. The Constitution has been balanced up to now so as to equate State Rights and Federal Authority, the workers generally being let down between the two by skilful jugglery with inter-state and intra-state laws and regulations. The President is the head of the Federal State, elected by the vote of the people. The states have each their Governor similarly elected by the people therein. There are Assemblies and Senates in each State and from each State representatives are sent to sit in the Federal Congress and the Federal Senate in Washington. The State Governors appoint the State Judges to their several Courts (though in some cases elective for long terms). The President nominates the Judges on the Federal Circuit and Supreme Courts subject to ratification by the Federal Senate. These judges of the Supreme Court of the U. S. A. sit for life and whilst, in theory, they can be impeached there is no case of this course being proceeded with. Their number can be increased by legislative action but, otherwise—and the former course is most exceptional—the composition of this final Court of Appeal can only be altered by appointments on resignation or death. It is the Courts which really matter in the internal governance of the United States and it is their tradition which makes so grave the prospect of an International Court for a League of Nations established on the model of America's supposedly popular Democracy.

(Continued on page 8)

Despite of All!

A general attack on the "Spartac"! "Down with the Spartacans!"—such are the exclamations ringing down the streets. "Catch them, whip them, stab them, shoot them down, string them up the lamp-post, grab them, trample them down with your feet!" Brutalities are committed before which the crimes perpetrated by the German armies in Belgium pale into insignificance.

"The Spartacans are smashed!"—is triumphantly announced in all the newspaper offices, beginning with the "Post" and ending with the "Vorwärts".

"The Spartacans are smashed!" And their defeat will be consummated with the saber, the revolver and the rifle of the restored old Prussian police and with the disarming of the revolutionary workers.

"The Spartacans are smashed!" Under guard of the bayonets of Col. Reinhard; under the cover of the machine guns and cannons of General Lutvitz will be carried out the election for the Constituent Assembly,—the plebiscite for the Napoleon-Ebert.

"The Spartacans are smashed!"

Oh yes, undoubtedly! The revolutionary workers of Berlin sustained a defeat. Undoubtedly! Hundreds of the best of them were killed! Undoubtedly! Hundreds of the most loyal of them have been thrown into prison!

Undoubtedly! They have sustained a defeat,—because they were abandoned by the sailors, the soldiers, the Guard, the people's militia,—by those on whose support they counted. And because their power was paralyzed by the indecision and feebleness of their leaders. And because of the unprecedented outflow of the counter-revolutionary swamp of the inert populace which swallowed them up.

Yes, undoubtedly,—they are smashed. History foreordained their defeat, for the time of their rising was not yet ripe. But nevertheless,—the struggle was inevitable and it would have resulted in a shameful defeat for the enemy, if Eugene Ernst and Hirsch had not surrendered without a battle the police headquarters—this revolutionary palladium. This struggle was forced upon the proletariat by the Ebert gang, and with sheer elemental power the Berlin masses rose, throwing aside all doubts and calculations.

Yes, undoubtedly! The revolutionary workers of Berlin sustained a defeat.

And Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske triumphed. They triumphed, because the generals, the bureaucracy, the Junkers of the highest and lowest rank, the church and the money-bags and all those who were frightened and reactionary, who were threatened with hardships and restrictions, were on their side. And they triumphed by using shells, bombs with poisoned gas, and hand-grenades.

Yet there are defeats equivalent to victory and victories more fatal than defeats.

Besieged during the period of the January Bloody Week, they valiantly carried on the struggle; they aspired to realize the grand and noble aim of suffering humanity—the spiritual and material emancipation of the exploited masses; they shed their precious blood in the name of a sacred ideal. And from every drop of this blood,—of this dragon's seed for the victory of to-day,—in the place of the fallen will rise new avengers; from every mutilated body will emerge new fighters in the name of the great cause which is as eternal and unfading as the horizon.

The vanquished to-day will be the victors

Karl Liebknecht's Last Writing.

to-morrow, for their defeat will teach them a lesson. The German proletariat does not possess a revolutionary tradition and experience. And this practical experience which will make possible his future successes he will be able to acquire not otherwise than by actual attempts, through mistakes, through youthful and painful defeats and failures. For the vital and moving forces of the Social Revolution, the irresistible growth of which is the natural law of social development, every defeat gives rise to a new source of new impulsive power. And through defeats and after the defeats the Social revolution marches forward to victory.

But what is to be said of to-day's victors?

In the name of their base aims they commit their base and bloody deeds. For the retention of the power of the outlived generation, in the interests of the mortal enemies of the proletariat.

And at this very moment they are already themselves vanquished, because they are already to-day held in prison by those whom they wanted to utilize as a tool for their purposes, but whose tool they have themselves become long ago.

The firm still exhibits their name. But the term of their further existence is cut short.

They are already nailed to the Pillar of Shame in history. Never before did the world witness such wonder-traitors like these who betrayed their own sacred cause, but who also crucified themselves on the cross. Just like in August 1914 the German Social-Democracy fell lower than any other,—so now at the dawn of the Social-Revolution it presents a hideous sight.

The French bourgeoisie was compelled to furnish from its own ranks hangmen in June 1848 and in March 1871. The German bourgeoisie does not have to burden itself with such a task,—the "Social-Democrats" are performing for it the dirty, bloody and cowardly work; the name of its Cavegniac and its Galife is Noske, "the German workman".

The peal of bells announced this slaughter; music, the waving of handkerchiefs and the triumphal celebrations of the capitalists "saved from the Bolshevik menace," greeted the victors. The smoke of the powder has not yet vanished; the flame of the slaughter of workers has not yet been extinguished; the corpses of the killed have not yet been removed; the wounded proletarians are still moaning;—but Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske, anxious to show off their victory, are already arranging parades for the troops which participated in the slaughter.

The dragon sowing!

Already they are cast aside by the workers towards whose International they dare extend their hands red with the blood of the German workers. With hatred and contempt they are avoided even by those who sacrificed their Socialism on the altar of the world-war. Discredited, excluded from the ranks of honest humanity, expelled from the International, persecuted by the hatred and curses of the entire revolutionary proletariat,—they stand before the eyes of the world.

And thanks to them, Germany is covered with shame. Fratricides, traitors govern the German people. "A parchment paper for me,—I must write that down."

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

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

The Proletarian Revolution which they plotted to drown in blood, despite of them, will rise in gigantic stature. Its first word will be: Down with the murderers of the workers, Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske!

The vanquished to-day learned their lesson. They cured themselves from the false hope of finding salvation in the support of the soldier masses which were previously led astray. They cured themselves from the illusions that they can rely upon the leaders who now proved themselves impotent and without ability. They cured themselves from their trust in the Independent Social-Democracy that disgracefully left them to their fate. In the future they will themselves direct the battles and win victories, relying solely upon themselves. The slogan proclaiming that "The emancipation of the workers must be accomplished by the workers themselves" has now acquired, due to the bitter lesson of this week, a more profound meaning.

And soon experiencing the whip of militarism restored anew, even the irregular soldiers will with sufficient clearness understand what a dastardly role was assigned to them; and they, too, will awaken from the intoxication which seized upon them at the present time.

"The Spartacan Group is smashed!"

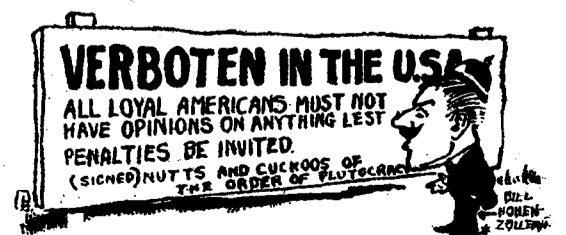
Oh, wait! We have not run and we are not smashed. And though you may rivet chains on us, we shall still be and remain here! And the victory will be ours!

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

And then will come Spartacus who signifies the soul and heart, the will and action of the Proletarian Revolution. Spartacus who signifies the destitution and aspiration to happiness and the true militant steadfastness of the class-conscious proletariat. Spartacus—the spirit of Socialism and of the World Revolution.

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

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



Prussian Kultur Wins Out

Communist Party and I. W. W.

MANY inquiries have been received by the editor about the relation between the Communist Party and I. W. W. The questions submitted may be summarized as follows:

- 1) "What is the difference between the Communist Party and the I. W. W.?"
- 2) "Is the I. W. W. the ideal organization on the economic field, or should the Communist Party strive to create another economic industrial union?"
- 3) "Is the Communist Party in favor of sabotage?"
- 4) "Is the Communist Party in favor of direct action?"
- 5) "How do you define direct action?"
- 6) "What is the relation between the I. W. W. and anarchism?"
- 7) "Is mass action a direct action?"

Question No. 1.

The accurate scientific way to answer this question is to consider what historical circumstances account for the existence of each of these organizations and what life purposes they have to fulfill. Some phrases or sentences appearing in the literature of either organization cannot answer the question.

The I. W. W. is a labor union. It is a special kind of labor union. It came into existence in 1905 in opposition to the dominant trade unionism represented by the A. F. of L. It sought an industrial and class basis for unionism, as opposed to the narrow craft basis. It accepted the class struggle as its guiding principle of action, not the capitalist contract system which was fundamental in the action of the A. F. of L.—the trade unionists regarding their craftsmanship as a species of capitalistic property. Above all, the I. W. W. meant the bringing into the unions of the unskilled, of groups of workers heretofore ignored in the domain of union organization. It is this latter item which has made the I. W. W. so unique in character and of revolutionary spirit.

Industrial unionism, simply as a distinct form of unionism, using the United Mine Workers as an example, is not necessarily either revolutionary nor in opposition to the A. F. of L. It is a challenge to craft unionism as to greater effectiveness, and certainly there is no question about the effectiveness of an industrial strike such as we have just witnessed on the part of the United Mine Workers.

The I. W. W. is of revolutionary significance because it identifies industrial unionism with the class struggle. This is not settled by quoting the world-famous preamble of the I. W. W., but by recognizing that the unionism of the unskilled and semi-skilled necessarily brings to the front the class issue. We have seen how the unionism the class issue to the front, when they strike as of the steel workers and miners inevitably brings an industrial mass, instead of as craft groups. At the present stage of economic concentration, any stirring of the underlying mass of workers is bound to take on momentum toward the proletarian revolution. There is no possible basis for compromise between capitalism and the mass of unskilled labor. Capitalism depends upon having at its absolute mercy a large body of unskilled, unorganized laborers. It will accept the unionism of one-tenth of the workers, welding this group into an anti-revolutionary "labor aristocracy" and using this group against the general mass of the unorganized workers. But when A. F. of L. is itself invaded by the unskilled and semi-skilled, as in the basic steel industry, then Judge Gary takes a stand even against collective bargaining, i. e., against making contracts with his workers enforceable by a strike of the whole steel industry. From this viewpoint it is apparent why the coal strike was of such fundamental importance to the capitalist system that the government intervened to break the strike, and to take care that whatever gains came to the miners would appear to be voluntary grants, by aid of the government, rather than concessions won directly on the strike field, thereby impressing upon the miners their class power.

Unionism is bound to adapt itself to the conditions of struggle under highly concentrated capitalism. It was the I. W. W. which first gave conscious expression to this new form and temper of unionism in the United States. Not strictly first, because the I. W. W. itself was an amalgamation of several existing organizations which had already anticipated its principles; but the first to make a general propaganda of revolutionary industrial unionism and to lay down a basis for the entire re-organization of the labor union movement along new lines.

* * *

On the other hand, the Communist Party is the immediate organized expression in the United States of the propaganda of the proletarian revolution going back to the Communist Manifesto of 1847. The Communist Party represents no interests of labor except the totality of interests embraced in the proletarian revolution itself.

All of unionism is of interest to the Communist Party as it develops the forces which lead to the proletarian overthrow of capitalism and to the establishment of Communist industrialism.

It is from this viewpoint that we value industrial unionism as against craft unionism, though it is undoubtedly true that craft unionism has had its advantages for particular groups of workers, advantages now decidedly on the decline because of capitalist concentration. But the objective of Communism is the proletarian revolution, and its concern with all immediate actions of the working class, in the economic as in the political field, is their tendency and potency with regard to the ultimate revolutionary aspects of the class struggle.

The Communist Party is an organization for revolutionary propaganda. Its immediate business and its ultimate business are one and the same thing—always the propaganda of the proletarian revolution and of the Communist reconstruction. The special mission of the Communist Party is to analyze the class struggle as it develops from day to day, and to put this analysis at the service of the working class for whatever guidance it may give in the immediate struggles. The Communist Party, by its work of education and agitation, trains and inspires for revolutionary leadership and for critical understanding on the part of a considerable group of workers, so that the immediate actions are, perhaps imperceptibly, made to acquire a conscious revolutionary Communist character. What the Communist Party organizes, within itself, is proletarian revolutionary consciousness and understanding. Outside itself, the Communist Party aims to give emphasis to those tendencies in the labor movement which appear to lead most directly and surely to the proletarian conquest of the political power, this being the necessary first achievement for the Communist social reconstruction.

There could be no possible confusion between any kind of a labor union and an organization purely for revolutionary propaganda, except that the I. W. W., by reason of many circumstances which cannot here be reviewed, has been hitherto thwarted in becoming an actual union except in a very limited way in certain particular fields; especially among timbermen, longshoremen, metal miners, and other groups of semi-skilled heavy laborers. The I. W. W. has itself become primarily a propaganda organization, and has undoubtedly had a profound influence upon the labor movement in this country and elsewhere through its propaganda and through the character of its fighting in the important strikes in which it has played a part. Indeed, the I. W. W. propaganda has gone outside the union field, in a sense, into the political field, by its "free speech" fights in the West and by its class challenge as made through the courts.

The propaganda of the I. W. W., outside the advocacy of industrial unionism itself, has been of variegated pattern, and the only reason for any friction between the I. W. W. and the Communist Party is the fact that some of the I. W. W. propaganda has been anti-Communist.

There is nothing about the I. W. W. which should make its general propaganda anything other than the program of the Communist Party; but even with absolute agreement on propaganda principles the two organizations would go on side by side. The I. W. W. is still a union, in form of organization and in practical purposes. Its propaganda, after all, is meant to attract workers to the I. W. W. as a union. Indeed there are men in the I. W. W. who do not take the propaganda any more seriously than for its advertising value in getting members into the union. But most of the members of the I. W. W. are imbued with the spirit of the class struggle as a revolutionary struggle for working class domination of the social system. We might say that these members are Communists who are in a favorable position for carrying on revolutionary propaganda within the union field, and this is of the highest value.

But there is always the need for an organization which concentrates entirely on the revolutionary propaganda, untrammelled by any purposes of immediate gains, economic or legislative. Such an organization alone can maintain the perspective of the labor movement in its entirety. Such an organization alone is safe from being diverted to its own immediate organization advantages, which is not the case with unions, co-operatives, or political organizations built on participation in capitalist democracy for the winning of legislative reforms.

Question No. 2.

It is not the work of the Communist Party to build a new industrial union. Our work is to promote the revolutionary tendencies throughout the labor movement. Our fundamental understanding is that the forces of life, the pressure of imperialistic capitalism, compels the workers to accept new tactics. In a primitive stage of the class struggle one might talk about creating a new kind of union as an example; but in the present advanced stage this would be about the same as the proposition of trying out Communism on a South Sea Island. We must deal with the actual complications of the industrial world and of the labor movement as it lives and struggles today. We cannot declare by fiat that it shall all begin over again—on correct logical principles. It must go on and on, and it is our task to bring to the front the tendencies in the actual living struggle which appear to us most directly in line with the goal of the social revolution.

The minute the Communist Party begins to build a union of its own it ceases to be a Communist

Party, but becomes a union; that is, its chief business becomes the demonstration of actual better union results with its own specially created union.

As to picking out the I. W. W. as "the ideal organization on the economic field," that is of the same logic. No matter how highly the Communist Party may value the I. W. W. and its work, no matter how closely we may come to co-operate in this work, it would still be a fatal error for the Communist Party to prefer the I. W. W., as an actual union, to other unions which exist or which may come into existence in the same field.

Certainly there is no objection to every member of the Communist Party joining the I. W. W. But that does not mean that Communists should not also belong to other unions. Indeed many members of the I. W. W., either from necessity or by choice, are also members of other unions. So of the Communists. The question of joining a union is to be answered individually according to locality and possibilities of choice. Nor is it a question of "ideal organizations," but a question of the highest individual effectiveness in promoting the Communist propaganda. It might be argued that anything which promotes the I. W. W. as an organization is of itself effective aid toward the social revolution, but this argument would have to be limited by time and circumstance. The Communist Party cannot create within itself an "organization loyalty" as against the labor movement in its totality. It must be ready at every moment to adapt itself to changing circumstances and to work with all organizations, whether "ideally" started or not, which at a given crisis take up the revolutionary challenge of the class struggle. It must strive, above all, to attain a central unity of revolutionary proletarian action surmounting all the organization boundaries which exist in advance of the revolutionary crisis. The program of the Communist International points to the council, arising out of the revolutionary struggle itself, as the centralizing organization unit.

The loyalty of a Communist cannot be to any form of organization but always to the social revolution. Membership in a union, as a Communist, must constantly meet the test of the development of the class struggle. There is no question but that a strong case can be made for Communist membership in the I. W. W. at the present time, and the case would be far stronger if the I. W. W. made its general propaganda that of Communism.

Question No. 3.

Sabotage is a very loose term, but without entering into any extensive definitions and analysis it is enough to say that the Communist Party believes in the highest practical adaption of tactics to the conditions of struggle. Comrade Katayama favored us quite recently with a description of the use of sabotage by the Japanese workers under conditions where the strike is of itself illegal, and where there is no chance for union organization with strike funds. But we would not consider that sabotage, in the broadest understanding of the term, as representing a general mass action, would ever present a question of what is "legitimate" and what is not "legitimate". The question is entirely one of the most effective generalship under a given set of circumstances.

The working class cannot, in the final analysis, choose its methods of combating the capitalist oppression. The Communists refuse, therefore, to lay down any "principles" by which any forms of action shall be held taboo, under any and all circumstances. It is up to the ruling class to get off the worker's back if they want universal amiability.

The Socialist Party clause against sabotage, adopted by referendum in 1912, was a disgrace to the labor movement in the United States, in that it accepted the capitalist moral valuation of a form of working class action. The Communists have no such moral valuations. The question is one of effectiveness under actual circumstances; of what is actually proposed to be done and of its apparent suitability to get results.

Question No. 4.

Yes.

Question No. 5.

By direct action we understand the opposite to representative, indirect legislative action. The term direct action arose as a demand for union action for political aims, contrary to dependence on parliamentarism.

Question No. 6.

The I. W. W. has suffered from a degree of infusion of anarchist doctrines in its general propaganda. This is the derivation of the anti-political or non-political theorizing of some of the I. W. W. writers. The demand for immediate, direct abolition of the State, in favor of independent, autonomous local associations of workers, industry by industry, is the modern theme of anarchism. Communism demands the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—the special State of the proletariat—as the central and all-important means for the social reconstruction. The abolition of the State as an organ of class oppression is considered the inevitable result of the Communist suppression of bourgeois exploitation.

Question No. 7.

Mass action has the same derivation as direct action, only the term mass action is broader, being all-inclusive of working class action, whereas the term direct action is particularly a descriptive of union action.

The Party Organization

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

THE COMMUNIST PARTY is an organization of Fifty Thousand Workers.

Can these Fifty Thousand Workers raise a fund of Fifty Thousand Dollars during the next few weeks? That is the question that is now before the organization.

Within three months from the time of organization of the party we are subject to the ruthless attack of the ruling class. Many of our comrades are under arrest. Scores are being held for deportation.

The persecution of the ruling class has been particularly directed against the officials of the National Organization. Practically every one of the comrades in charge of the work of the national office is under some sort of charge. Most of them are waiting for bail to be arranged.

This attack is evidently intended to destroy the organization at its very inception. The party propaganda during the last few months has shown the powers that be that they have to deal with a body of men and women who understand the existing industrial situation and who were developing a propaganda against capitalism that was bound to bear fruit in a strong working class movement for the abolition of the existing industrial system.

The party propaganda did not deal with theories and vague generalities. It dealt with concrete situations, with the problems which the workers were facing in their struggle for more life. In place of the vague generalities of former Socialist propaganda the party dealt with the realities of life itself and out of these sought to develop an understanding of Communist fundamentals.

SHALL THIS WORK GO ON? SHALL IT BE INTENSIFIED AND BECOME MORE AGGRESSIVE?

The effort to deport and imprison the active party workers is an effort to stop it. By striking at the party officials at the very beginning of their work the ruling class believes it can destroy the effectiveness of our propaganda. It hopes to remove those

are in charge of the propaganda and organization work and thus disrupt our forces.

Comrades, it is a real danger that threatens us. We have not had time to develop our full strength. In an older organization a dozen workers would be ready and prepared to step in the places of those who become the victims of the ruling class. Even now we will not go down if the attack is successful in removing those in positions of responsibility. Others will take their places; but for a time we will suffer.

It is our duty to put off the removal of those comrades who are responsible for the party work as long as possible. The longer we retain their services the stronger we will be.

That is the importance of responding to the appeal for the Defense Fund—of raising Fifty Thousand Dollars for the fight against the imprisonment and deportation of our party workers.

Comrades! We have said a Communist Party is not a party of half-hearted, halting, impotent membership. In the past Defense Funds have been raised by long campaigns of appeals and wheedling.

Must we do that? Or will you respond quickly and decisively? FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS FROM FIFTY THOUSAND MEMBERS! CAN WE RAISE THAT IN TEN DAYS?—TWO WEEKS—A MONTH, AND THEN GO ON WITH OUR WORK OF PROPAGANDA AND ORGANIZATION?

When the time comes for the party workers to go to prison without burdening the organization with costly defense, they will be ready to accept their lot and go smilingly. The present situation calls for a fight, for DEFENSE TO THE LIMIT OF OUR ABILITY.

We call upon you comrades, to show your Communist understanding, the determination and the spirit that quickly accomplishes what needs to be done, by making a prompt response to this call.

Organization News

The notification in last week's "Communist" after January 1, all organizations joining the party would have to come in as new branches and each members pay the initiation fee of 50c, has resulted in a new influx of charter applications. If all the branches now using Communist Party dues stamps make their applications by January 1, the number of units of the organization will be well over the thousand mark.

* * *

An English Branch of the party has been organized at Reading, Pa.

* * *

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

* * *

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

* * *

"The Communist International"

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

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

The price of the magazine, 96 pages, will be 25c for single copies or \$3.00 for twelve months subscription. In bundles of ten or more the price is 15c per copy. Send in orders at once in order to secure the first number, as the edition will be limited.

* * *

THE ORGANIZATION FUND

Acknowledgement through the "Communist" of contributions to the Organization Fund were discontinued for obvious reasons. The fact that these acknowledgements have not appeared in the "Communist" does not mean, however, that contributions have ceased to come in. Many branches have recently sent in their donations to the fund,

which is now nearing the \$5,000 mark.

In an earlier issue of the "Communist" receipt of \$17.98 from the Elizabeth, N. J. Ukrainian, Bayonne Ukrainian, Bayonne Russian, Stapleton Ukrainian and Staten Island Russian Branches was acknowledged as the proceeds of a picnic held for the benefit of the Organization Fund. This should have read \$171.98. In the same issue \$50.00 was acknowledged from the Endicott, N. Y. Ukrainian Branch. This should have read Endicott, N. Y. Ukrainian \$5.00 and Detroit Ukrainian No. 1 \$50.00.

"YOUR SHOP"

Leaflet No. 3, "Your Shop", has met with such universal approval as a Communist propaganda leaflet that a new edition has been printed and the leaflet will be kept in stock permanently. Branches which have not distributed it should send in their orders at \$1.50 per thousand.

Leaflet No. 5, "Your Must Unite—Workingmen!" is now being sent out. It deals with the unification of the strikes and should be distributed in the shops and factories everywhere. Order at the same price.

Pamphlet No. 3.

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

This pamphlet is one of vital importance to our movement and should help materially to develop mutual understanding between the I. W. W. and the Communist Party. It brings out clearly the respective part which the C. P. and the I. W. W. have to play in the emancipation of the workers. The pamphlet contains 48 pages and sells at 15c per copy; 10 copies for \$1.00; 25 for \$2.50; 50 for \$4.50 and \$8.00 per hundred. Send orders to the above address.

Pamphlet No. 2, "The Development of Socialism from Science to Action" is now being shipped. This pamphlet, presenting the development of Socialism from theory to the actual struggle is one of the most valuable of recent contributions to Socialist literature and should have a wide circulation inside and outside of the party.

FIRST ISSUE

"The Communist International"

Critical and Scientific Magazine of the Communist Party of America. Ninety-six pages of special articles and editorials.

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The Menace of American Capitalism

(Continued from page 4)

It is from the United States that the ideas emanate most forcibly which will secure incorporation in any project of international regulation erected upon a property basis. George Washington, at commencement of the new republic, described the Supreme Court as "that department which must be considered as the key stone of our political fabric." The Fathers of the American Constitution erected a government "intended to last for ages" and laid down the principle enunciated by Madison that landholders ought to have a share in the government to support those invaluable interests, and to balance and check the other. They ought to be so constituted as to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority. "The Senate, therefore, ought to be this body, and answer these purposes." The men who are promoting the League of Nations have their eyes on the past as well as the future, and, with a "fake" interpretation and presentation of the foundation of the U. S. A., are now beginning to build the structure of permanent peace. The pioneers of this project are such men as ex-President Taft, who is now most enthusiastically supporting Wilson.

Taft can bring Republican backing to Wilson, or he can withhold it, and the Republicans control the Senate which must ratify the Peace Treaty. Taft it was who said, in his acceptance speech at the commencement of the presidential campaign of 1912, "the Republican party is the nucleus of that public opinion which favours constant progress and development along safe and sane lines and under the Constitution as we have had it for more than 100 years, and which believes in the maintenance of our independent judiciary as the keystone of our liberties and the balance wheel by which the whole governmental machinery is kept within the original plan" (American Socialist Campaign Book, 1912, p. 51). Taft was and is utterly the tool of the "Interests." Bluntly and frankly he has denied his belief "that all people are fit for self-government."

The men who meet at Paris to formulate the League of Nations have a kindred aim to those who gathered at Annapolis. They are intent upon safeguarding the financial oligarchy whose capital is New York. They are patently and openly anti-Bolshevist. They may offer to discuss with it when the seas are ice-bound and they cannot land men or munitions to help the propertied elements to overthrow its power. Then they parley and, parleying, make a virtue of their open-mindedness.

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

The world must, if capitalism is to prevail, be Americanized as to its political institutions. Economic forces, when sufficiently powerful, stamp their impress upon political society. What has been and is the drift of the world's economic forces, in so far as they are capitalistic, we will now discover.

The Migration of Money

The North American Continent has provided for several centuries an almost illimit-

able outlet for the surplus populations of Western Europe. That part of it lying to the north of the Gulf of Mexico and south of the Great Lakes and the 42nd parallel has been most suitable for settlement and for the development of industry and commerce, of farm culture and of stock-raising by the more energetic whites of Central and Northern Europe. Vast stretches of this tract are irrigated and traversed under conditions favorable for navigation by the waters draining to the Gulfs of St. Lawrence and Mexico, and whilst neither flat nor low lying, are yet within agreeable elevation for colonisation by Britishers and others of like habits and acclimatisation. The great Mississippi-Missouri-Laurentian basin, as well as the Atlantic sea-board, has afforded a new home for the multitudinous families expelled from their homelands by "the so-called primitive accumulation" of capitalist landowning, as well as for the superfluous and independent workers whom machine-production drove out of handicrafts. Plantations originally taken up in Crown grants, perhaps, like Pennsylvania, in settlement of a debt, or obtained by lobbying and intrigue about Parliament and Court in London, or, at other times, settled by the emigrés of faith, or the pioneers of traffic and of trapping, the original United States drew unto themselves tens of thousands of persons elbowed out by the selective process of capitalist competition or radical-minded shop-keepers, farmers and workmen who sought freedom in vain during the generation or so following upon the close of the Napoleonic War. They took passage in the early steamships, and whilst many stayed to prosper in New England and New York, others pushed on across the mountains down the Ohio river on to the prairies. The railways brought more and ever more to fill up an empty continent. In the north the immigrants settled to escape from the Old World and to be self-supporting in so far as they might. In the south, not settlers, but the servants and slaves of planters and companies struck along the seaboard towards Mexico to grow cotton, to cultivate sugar-cane and to rear cattle. Merchants and landowners in the east used their political power to appropriate the domain on to which the European dispossessed were deploying, and to destroy their economic independence before they won it. These magnates prospered by controlling the exchange of finished products and raw materials between the settlers and the land whence they came, in exporting cotton and importing the fabrics of textile Britain.

Many of the nobles of this country acquired stretches of land in the United States, notably the Dukes of Devonshire, Sutherland, Rutland, Portland, Northumberland, and Bedford, and the Earls of Derby, Powis, and Yarborough. The mercantile and banking firms of London and Amsterdam helped to finance American business with sterling exchange. The dry goods agents of Manchester and of London houses transacted their affairs with the dry goods importers down Wall Street. Certain of these opened up branches in London, notably George Peabody and Co., which became Peabody, Morgan and Co., and ultimately J. P. Morgan and Co. Then there were the great cotton-brokers, who handled the essential staple of Lancashire, the classic home of capitalism. Messrs. Stillman and Woodward were such a firm, and Mr. Stillman went from cotton-broking to contribute his

wealth and his connections to those of Rockefeller, in the re-organizing the National City Bank of New York. Another cotton-goods agency, that of Jay, Cook and Co., was re-modelled and became the basis of the First National Bank of New York. These three firms, together with Messrs. Kuhn, Loeb and Co., a bank whose partners were of Germanic origin, and whose relations with Rockefeller have been considerable, constitute the central structure of United States banking.

When America came to be railroaded, and this began on a grand scale after the completion of our most important lines left our contractors and iron-masters seeking for new lands to conquer, there developed a veritable mania of speculation, and European money rushed in frantic floods into the pockets of Goulds, Vanderbilts, Sages and other worthies. Between 1850 and 1872, Congress gave 155,000,000 acres of public lands to the railway corporations, advanced them enormous loans and allowed them to help themselves to as much stone and timber as they wanted. All too many of these railroad corporations were mere legalised frauds, enabling politically accomplished promoters to acquire public domain and European cash on the plea of "building" a track it was too dangerous to explore and, oft-times, difficult to locate. By the middle of the "seventies," the British capitalists, who had bought hundreds of millions of dollars of United States scrip from Peabody and Morgan during the Civil War, entrusted Morgan Junior with the re-organisation of their properties, and for the next thirty years, J. P. Morgan, "received," "wound up," re-organized, consolidated and re-floated railroads, industrial establishments, steamships and land companies for his British clients. He charged a fairly stiff and somewhat elastic commission, shook in a lot of water and shook out into his own coffers plenty of cash, he saved the "guinea-pig" investors in European parasitism hundreds, if not thousands, of millions. Morgan exchanged legal claims on other people's toil for a ruling class in the main too incapable or too indolent even to look after the proceeds of its own extortions.

From selling United States public and private bond and stock issue to British investors, Morgan came during the South African War to selling British Treasury issues to American purchasers. He became persona grata with King Edward VII., and was one of his honored guests at the Coronation. The great London-New York partnership of J. P. Morgan and Co. came largely to dominate American railroads, American iron and steel, American insurance corporations, American mortgage trusts and American agriculture. It swayed the Administrations of McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. It dictated to Grover Cleveland, its Steel Trust lawyer, Senator Knox, became Secretary of State, and was virtual premier from 1904 to 1912. It directed the policy of the Republican Party. "Morgan the Magnificent" helped to establish the U. S. Navy League, and was one of its most lavish patrons.

(To be continued)



Spots That Won't Come Out