

Combined with "The Revolutionary Age"

# The Communist

All Power To The Workers!

Vol. I No. 6

CHICAGO, ILL., NOVEMBER 8, 1919

Five Cents

## The State—Strike-Breaker

**WORKERS**, you have been told that the government of the United States is a government "of the people, by the people and for the people".

The Communists have told you that it is a government "of the capitalists, by the capitalists and for the capitalists".

The proof is before you.

The representatives of more than a half million coal miners met in convention in September. They discussed the wages and working conditions in the coal mining industry. They found that the capitalists who owned the coal mines were making greater profits than ever, but that the increased cost of living had so reduced the buying power of the wages of the workers that they were barely getting enough for an existence.

The work of the miners is of a most dangerous character. How often have you not read of mine disasters which snuff out the lives of hundreds of miners, disasters which are due to the fact that the capitalists in their greed for profits refused to spend the money necessary to safeguard the lives of the workers! The work of the miners is health-destroying. They work down in the dark places under the earth, among dangerous gasses, where there is no life-giving air and sunshine.

The miners said that there were enough miners to produce enough coal to supply all the needs of the country, if they were employed regularly, working thirty hours per week, in place of being kept idle part of the time. They said thirty hours a week in the dangerous, health-destroying places under the earth is enough. They demanded a thirty hour week.

The miners are strongly organized. All the workers in and about the mines are in the miners union. The workers are not divided into crafts, but united in one industrial organization. They have power to enforce their demands upon the capitalists.

They made their demands upon the coal mine owners. These capitalists standing alone had no power to resist the demands of the workers. The workers could close the mines and prevent the capitalists from making profits. If they were sufficiently conscious of the way to free themselves from exploitation they could even take over the mines and operate them, without paying profits to the capitalists.

But the capitalists have forged a weapon to keep the workers in submission.

The capitalists called in the government, the State.

All the power of the government was mobilized to prevent the miners from securing wages that will enable them to live and the working hours which should prevail in the mining industry.

### Proclamation by the Communist Party of America

The President of the United States denounced the strike as "illegal". He threatened the miners with the power of the

#### Two Messages from Lenin

##### 1.—To the World.

International Imperialism is making, there is no doubt, a last and very powerful effort to crush the Soviet Republic. We are convinced that the counter-revolutionary offensives from West and East, the various White Guard disturbances, and the attempts to destroy the railways which have occurred in various places, all result from a carefully arranged plan devised in Paris by the Entente Imperialists. After ending four years of capitalist warfare it was very hard for Russia to be forced to take up arms again in defense of the Soviet Republic.

We have all borne the heavy burden of war; we are all exhausted by it. If this was carried on with redoubled energy and courage it is only because, for the first time in the history of the world, an army has been raised that knows why it is fighting—fighting the cause of the international proletarian Socialist Revolution.

In spite of our difficulties we have succeeded in carrying out a great work in a short space of time.

The question of organization has also readily been solved. The problem of work on the land, and the relations between the proletariat, when it overthrew the bourgeoisie, and the millions of the middle grade of peasants, have been fully debated and a line of action drawn up.

We are passing through hard times, and the Imperialists are making a mighty effort to overthrow the Soviet by force. But we are convinced that this half-year will see the end of our troubles.

The seed sown by the Russian revolution is bearing fruit in all Europe. It is this knowledge that convinces us that great though our trials may be, international Imperialism (now in its death-throes) will be overcome, and Communism will be victorious throughout the whole world.

##### 2.—To the Socialist Party of Italy.

"Avanti" prints a greeting from Lenin and the Roumanian fugitive Rakovsky to the Italian comrades, to their Party, and to their newspapers. In Lenin's letter, dated August 18th, to comrades Serratti and Lazzari, appears the following:

"The little we know of your movement shows us that you are opposed to the yellow International of Berne, which has betrayed the cause of the workers, and that you are in solidarity with the Communist International.

"The negotiations between the leaders of the yellow International and your Party prove to us that they are merely a general staff without an army. The dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet system have already carried off a moral victory all over the world. The material and decisive physical victory must come in spite of all the difficulties and all the blood-shed and in spite of the White Terror of the bourgeoisie.

"Down with capitalism! Down with the living bourgeois democracy! Long Live the World Soviet Republic!"

Government of the United States if they insisted upon compelling the capitalists to grant their demands by going on strike. The

Government has already secured an injunction to prevent the miners from using their own funds and the power of their organization to support their strike.

The Government of the United States through its injunction is seeking to starve the wives and children of the miners by preventing their organization from paying strike benefits. All the legal machinery of the Government is being used against the miners, and the army, the soldiers, with their death-dealing instruments, are ready to prevent the miners from securing a living wage and the hours that should prevail in the mining industry.

#### THE STATE HAS STEPPED IN!

This it did in the Steel Strike. This it threatens to do if there is a railroad strike.

The State does not coerce the capitalists; it does not tell the capitalists they must yield to the demands of the miners in order to prevent the stoppage of the mining of coal. The State never coerces the capitalists; its legal machinery is never directed against the capitalists, except occasionally against minor groups in the interest of the whole capitalist class. Its army is never used to destroy the lives of the capitalists. The State coerces the workers. Its legal machinery is used to enforce demands upon the workers. Its army is used to destroy the lives of workers who dare demand a living wage and a little more sunshine and fresh air.

Workers, rally to the support of the miners!

The capitalists are playing to establish an industrial slavery in which their rule will be even greater than in the past. To make strikes "illegal" and crush them with the power of the state is the first move.

The Government of the United States, which some workers have been fooled into believing is a government "of the people, by the people and for the people" is in reality the government "of the capitalists, by the capitalists and for the capitalists". It is the instrument through which industrial slavery is maintained.

The workers cannot win their freedom, they cannot win even a living wage and a little more sunshine and fresh air, while the capitalists control the power of the state.

The workers must conquer that power. They must make themselves the ruling class. They must establish in the place of the dictatorship of the capitalists the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Workers, rally to the support of the miners. Make their strike general. Unite for the struggle against industrial slavery. Take from the capitalists the power through which they seek to increase your slavery!

NOVEMBER 7, 1917 — NOVEMBER 7, 1919

Long live Soviet Russia! Long live the world proletarian revolution!

## THE COMMUNIST

National Organ, Communist Party.

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### The Labor Parley

**T**HE Industrial Conference has met disaster. It has met disaster not because of the uncompromising attitude of the "labor" representatives, but because capital would not make any concessions at all.

That "labor" representatives should participate in such a Conference was in itself an indication of conservative and non-class purposes. The A. F. of L. representatives' first move was to introduce a resolution urging the Steel interests to arbitrate the strike. The resolution was decisively beaten. After intervening days of futile talk and solemnly hysterical protestations from Samuel Gompers of organized labor's loyalty and patriotism, another test developed on the resolution to approve "collective bargaining." This resolution indicates equally the criminally limited purposes of the A. F. of L. and the determination of capital to make absolutely no concessions. This is the resolution:

"The right of wage earners to organize without discrimination, to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor, and relations and conditions of employment, is recognized."

This resolution is exceedingly mild. Its acceptance by capital would mean little to the working class; its spirit and purpose condemns the workers to an eternal struggle for more wages, emphasizing the commodity struggle as against the class struggle. The resolution, typical of the miserable policy of the A. F. of L., means an acceptance of Capitalism and its wage-slavery.

But the representatives of capital rejected the resolution!

The astute representatives of capital realize that the prevailing situation is dangerous. They realize that conditions are accumulating a mass of social dynamite that circumstances may ignite in a revolutionary upflare. It is necessary, in order to maintain the supremacy of Capitalism, that protective means be adopted. Repression is being used, but it is not enough. The radical spirit of the masses develops in spite of repression. The astute representatives of Capitalism, accordingly, consider it necessary to supplement repression with conciliation. Conciliation with whom? With the conservative elements of labor, which means the dominant representatives of the A. F. of L.

The representatives of the A. F. of L. fear a revolutionary upflare as much as capital; at the industrial conference they held up the spectre of the "Bolshevik" spirit in the unions, insisting that it was becoming difficult to "keep the lid down." Former President Taft stated the problem from the standpoint of Capitalism:

"The employers' group in the Conference

can greatly help the conservative labor leaders in their struggle to regain and retain control of the unions if they will recognize the vital importance of doing so and make reasonable concessions. Collective bargaining... should be granted freely... Recognition of the leaders to this extent strengthens them with their followers, instills in them a worthy pride to fulfill their contracts and strengthens their conservative influence with the members of the union."

The rejection of collective bargaining by the representatives of capital may appear strange. The co-operation of employers and union officials, while not avowed, has been a fact. The whole tendency of trades unionism makes for just this co-operation. Moreover, the tendency of modern Capitalism itself, of Imperialism, drives Laborism and Capitalism to closer co-operation against the oncoming proletarian revolution.

Then why the break at the Industrial Conference between capital and "labor"?

It may appear as an accidental circumstance determined by the particular individuals chosen to represent capital, and not at all representative. But the reasons are much more fundamental.

Capitalism, the dominant interests of Capitalism, is apparently determined to act uncompromisingly. "It has come to a test," they feel, "and we must meet the test." Capitalism is provoking labor to a clash believing that the clash will find capital stronger than labor. If Capitalism can provoke this clash and conquer the workers in blood, then Capitalism can maintain its supremacy without making any concessions; if the situation becomes too critical, there is always time for concessions and compromise—particularly as the trades union officials will eagerly accept compromise.

The uncompromising attitude of capital at the Industrial Conference is not a challenge to the labor leaders: these would sneak back willingly and continue their miserable bargain-counter negotiations. The issue is much more vital: Capitalism has issued a challenge to the proletariat, the challenge of words at the Industrial Conference and the challenge of blood in Gary. Let the proletariat answer the challenge!

The proletariat has unsuspected resources of strength and initiative which the revolutionary crisis will develop. Capital does not sense these resources. Let the proletariat assume the offensive: let it repudiate its traitorous leaders and rally to the Communist struggle against Capitalism.

### Blockade Resolution

**T**HE First Russian Branch of the Communist Party of New York City, in declining to participate with "The United Conference of Russian Organizations" for action against the blockade of Soviet Russia, expresses its attitude in a resolution the gist of which is:

"The blockade of Soviet Russia by the world imperialists is an expression of Capitalism, and the question of lifting this blockade accordingly is part of our revolutionary struggle against world Imperialism, thus becoming a political question. Our branch, as a unit of the Communist Party of America, must follow the program and constitution of the party, which prohibits members or branches taking part in any political action in conjunction with organizations not accepting the principles of Communism; moreover, the Conference of Russian Organizations is composed of non-partisan, Anarchist and even religious groups which only yesterday were counter-revolutionary. The branch therefore will take part only in the campaign against the blockade directed by the Communist Party."

### The Public

**T**HE most amusing feature of the Industrial Conference was the representation accorded "the public," equal to that of "labor" and capital. "The public" in any event is bound to the interests of capital; but the particular representatives designated by President Wilson are directly capitalist.

Among the representatives of "the public" were: John D. Rockefeller, Jr., representing super-trust capital; Elbert H. Gary of the Steel Trust; Fuller E. Callaway, cotton manufacturer and bank president; Bernard M. Baruch, stock speculator; H. B. Endicott, director in one bank, a Trust Company, and four industrial concerns. All but 1 of the 24 representatives of "the public" are directly capitalist in affiliations.

But even if the representatives of "the public" were not directly capitalist in affiliation, they would still on fundamental issues unite with the capitalist representatives.

What is "the public"? The capitalist press and bourgeois liberals designate "the public" as being the great mass of the people. This is sheer fiction. There are in modern Capitalism two great social groups—the capitalist class and the proletariat. The capitalist class comprises the owners of industry, dominantly the masters of concentrated industry; the proletariat comprises the wage workers, dominantly the unskilled labor in the basic industry. In between you have what might be designated "the public"—the small employers and investors, the professionals and intellectuals, clerks, technicians and certain categories of skilled labor. The public, accordingly, is the small bourgeoisie either in actual social status or in ideology.

Contrary to a general superstition, "the public" has no independent life of its own. Power is concentrated at the two extremes,—the larger capitalists and the proletariat. "The public" must vacillate between the two; it may "favor" labor but in crucial issues it accepts Capitalism. The psychology of the public was aptly expressed in a declaration of one of "the public" representatives at the Industrial Conference: "The United States Steel Corporation is a public nuisance and should be suppressed. And I want to go further and say the labor leaders who are conducting the steel strike are a public nuisance." There you are—the typical in-between policy of a class without social solidarity.

On every vital issue "the public" is reactionary. It may have an electoral importance, but in the test of power between the capitalist class and the proletariat, this importance dwindles. "The public" provides the deceptive measures that are used to lead the workers astray; and in the final test of power "the public" will provide the forces of counter-revolutionary soldiery—precisely as this "public" has organized "guard formations" in the steel strike zones. But it plays a sickly role, since it has no independence of its own, being the vassal of big capital.

"The public" is hammered equally by the capitalist class and the proletariat; it vacillates between the two; it provides the impetus for reformism, pacifism and other utopias, without power to realize any. The proletariat, in its struggle for power, must concern itself neither with capital nor "the public," but crush them equally as a necessary means for realizing Communism. The militant proletariat, moreover, must particularly guard itself against the "radical" representatives of "the public," since they express that treacherous petty bourgeois ideology directly promoting disaster for the proletariat and the proletarian revolution.

## Words and Facts

ONE of the evils of the old Socialist Party was its trimming of sails to catch every breeze of opinion that might bring votes and members. While pursuing a fundamental reformist and petty bourgeois policy, the Socialist Party was not unwilling to make concessions in words to revolutionary opinion. The old Socialist Party resembled nothing so much as a mass of dough, assuming a different shape at each slight pressure.

You would imagine that this policy would have ended with the revolution in the Socialist Party, resulting in a clear division of the movement—the old party at the right, the Communist Party at the left, and the Communist Labor Party in the centre. But there is still a group in the Socialist Party pursuing a policy of camouflage; this group preens itself upon being revolutionary, shouts ecstatically about the Communist International and imagines it can deceive the International into admitting a reformist party such as the S. P.

This "Left Wing" group is apparently organized around the "Chicago Socialist", organ of Local Cook County Socialist Party. In issue after issue this paper urges affiliation of the Socialist Party with the Communist International. But "The Chicago Socialist" shows absolutely no understanding of Communist principles and tactics.

Affiliation with the Communist International does not simply imply affiliation: it implies an acceptance and understanding of the fundamental principles and tactics of the International. The "Chicago Socialist" however pursues a consistent policy of reformism and petty bourgeois opportunism; it has no conception of the mass character of the proletarian struggle; it emphasizes votes and parliamentarism precisely as did the old Socialist Party. There can be no affiliation with the Communist International without realization of the stern requirements of revolutionary Socialist reconstruction.

In its issue of October 18 the "Chicago Socialist" in an editorial on "The Constitutional Convention" says:

"The most logical place to express Class Solidarity is at the Polls.... The class conscious vote is a real protest. When it is small the Capitalists smile, when it grows the Capitalists ponder; when the workers give a united expression and prove that the Capitalists have not the consent of majority of the people, then the workers will take their seats at the table."

This is clearly an acceptance of reformism and the parliamentary conquest of power. The gentlemen responsible for this formulation have not only learned nothing during the past five years; they have apparently not read (at least not understood) the Manifesto of the Communist International, since this Manifesto uncompromisingly maintains that the conquest of political power by the proletariat is an extra-parliamentary process proceeding by means of mass action; in this process electoral campaigns and parliamentarism are neither decisive nor of major importance, although necessary.

The "Left Wing" of the Socialist Party repudiates the fundamental tactic of the Communist International, while urging affiliation with the International!

The emphasis on parliamentarism means using the bourgeois parliamentary state to introduce Socialism. That this is the reformist position of "The Chicago Socialist" is manifest in its urging an amendment to the State Constitution of Illinois (the Gate-

way Amendment) "that would give the people a chance to alter or amend the constitution at any time when a reasonable number of voters demanded." This is the old moderate Socialist conception of "democratizing" the capitalist state, making its machinery "responsive to the will of the people," and then using this "democratized" parliamentary state to "introduce Socialism".

The democratizing of the capitalist parliamentary state is a sheer impossibility. The capitalist state must necessarily under the conditions of Imperialism become more and more despotic, more and more responsive, not to "the will of the people," but to the orders of finance-capital. The central defect of the old moderate Socialism, out of the miserable collapse of which has come the impetus for the Communist International, was precisely this reformist conception of democratizing the state, of gradually centralizing the means of production in this state, of basing the coming of Socialism upon the "majority of the people," which means class reconciliation and class co-operation. This conception evades completely the problems of the proletarian mass struggle for the conquest of power.

The Communist International makes it clear that the capitalist state never can be used for the introduction of Socialism; that the task of the revolutionary proletariat is not to capture the capitalist state but to conquer and destroy it, the proletariat developing its own organs of state power (Soviets). This new proletarian state, developing directly out of the industrial producers and functioning temporarily as a dictatorship of the proletariat, breaks the capitalist power of resistance and introduces the industrial administration of the Communist Republic with its abolition of the state.

This Socialist Party camouflage spreads beyond the Communist International and includes industrial unionism. The Socialist Party Convention recently "endorsed" industrial unionism; but this was merely in words. The Socialist Party is castrating industrial unionism by using it to designate such organizations as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers—which conforms to industrial unionism neither in structure nor in revolutionary purpose.

This castration is perpetrated by the "Chicago Socialist." In its issue of October 18 "The Socialist" reprints (approvingly) an article by the editor of the "Fur Worker," which says: "Our's is not that industrial unionism run mad, which a section of the I. W. W. let loose a few years ago." This article approves an "industrial unionism" which in fundamentals is craft unionism, still retaining a large measure of craft autonomy, and concludes: "This, we take it, is the principle of industrial unionism which the Socialist Party at its special convention in Chicago endorsed." The "Fur Worker" speaks for the conservative administration of the Fur Worker's Union, against which there is now developing a membership revolt insisting upon real industrial unionism and more radical tactics. As always, the Socialist Party is united with the conservative elements in the unions.

The use of revolutionary words will not help the Socialist Party; it will be strangled by its own policy of evasion and camouflage. The Socialist Party may use the words of revolution; but the facts condemn it as counter-revolutionary. A revolutionary movement is built upon integrity, upon understanding of tactical fundamentals, and the action corresponding thereto; not upon words that never become life.

## The New Life In Russia

By Angelica Balabanoff from "L'Avanti" of Italy.

YOU cannot form any idea of what is taking place here. One witnesses daily the miracle of re-organization of an old, decrepit and rotten system which only the new regenerative forces can put life into; one looks on at this work of constant renewal going on amidst attempts to boycott it, to sabotage and blockade it in all directions. The spectacle is infinitely inspiring; it fills you with pride; it revivifies your faith in human power and in the divine potency of the ideal. With all kinds of material deficiencies and with a continuous struggle going on against the enemy without, a great creative work is nevertheless being undertaken in the domains of Science, art and the education of the masses and the new generations.

When the history of the times comes to be written, people will marvel how with such small numerical strength, we were able to resist, to rule and to regenerate an organism, so vast, complex, undermined and threatened with utter ruin. As regards the mere negative sides of the question which are being described to you with such abundance of lying and invented particulars, believe about a thousandth of what you hear. Then compare it with what is happening in other countries, and you will see that the consequences of the war are felt much less here than elsewhere: that, whilst under any other régime they would soon have led to the complete decimation of those classes least capable of resistance to them, they are here supported and shared justly all around. Therefore, when they tell you that we are living in the midst of terror and assassinations, keep ever present before your minds the fact that never before have there been so few of the latter, as at present; as to the 'terror', it suffices to compare it with the few days of struggle in Germany and elsewhere to understand that here it has been a question of a very mild sort of struggle indeed, and of methods of work which are truly patriarchal. And knowing as you do how much my temperament rebels against violence, you may believe me when I tell you that the White terror is a thousand times more cruel, deliberate and treacherous, and that all the tales that you hear about the Red terror are just so many inventions. They have had the effrontery, intentional of course, to pass off as terrorism what was merely legitimate self defense. The Lockhart trial suffices to show up the attempts that were made to damage not only us; but whole populations. I acted as translator in this trial, so I know what I am talking about—the devilish plans to blow up bridges, to reduce tens of thousands of people to hunger. It was not only a question of mere political sabotage, but also of attempts on the lives of people, as witness, for example, the plot hatched against the people's commissaires. In the light of these facts look at the mildness of the sentence passed. Those most directly concerned in the plot escaped and the foreigner who had been proved guilty of espionage was allowed to remain here. The carrying out of the sentence was put off, with a view to an eventual exchange of prisoners. And this is the "Red terror"!

With regard to the defects in the State machinery, due to the lack of capable and conscientious co-workers, a severe and remorseless criticism is kept up in the Party's newspapers, constituting an aspiration towards self-betterment only possible to a re-

(Continued on page 8).

# Bread and Roses

"WEAR a red flower, tonight." This was his invitation to the thousands of conscious workers who flocked to hear Gershuni a few years ago, Gershuni, the Russian Revolutionist, who escaped from Siberia, arrived in New York and was to speak in Carnegie Hall that night—but a short while before he returned to the land of the Tzar, to die

"Wear a red flower, tonight."

And when Gershuni stood before his vast audience in the evening, and saw Nature flaunting her scarlet beneath the multitude of pale faces raised eagerly for his message, he said:

"I wanted you to wear this symbol of the joy and the beauty of life because we demand not only bread, but roses."

Yes, Bread and Roses! When the Revolution was successful, did our fellow workers think only of bread? No. Great and terrible as the need was, they lost no time securing to themselves in the fullest measure possible—Roses! Roses! The flowers of Song, the Dance, the Opera, Drama. The flowers of Science—of Knowledge.

The Orchid of Culture, a hot-house plant nurtured exclusively for the Few, has been transplanted in Russia to the fields and the meadows, where it blooms freely as the common daisy for all the common folk to pluck at will.

The king and queen of Belgium visited the United States. There is a great stir of interest in the ranks of the exploiters. The Opera House here makes a gala night of their visit to that temple of music.

The Workers take control of Russia. Their Opera becomes the Soviet Opera. There is a great stir among the common folk. The workers fill the Opera House. It is a gala night.

Just as it is natural for Capitalist America to give a special performance at the Metropolitan Opera House in honor of the king and queen—charging incredible prices for seats; so it is natural for Soviet Russia to give Opera daily for the Russian worker—where he is entitled to a seat by virtue of his useful labor.

The masses, lovers of song, inspirers of all the great music that has ever been written—it is for them that the great artists of the Moscow Opera vie with one another to give their best. For are they not themselves sprung from the people? And are not the people at last masters of all life? Tzars and Empresses, drainers of the people's life-blood, are no more! and no more do they "grace" the "royal" box. All space is the people's. They grace the house from pit to gallery. The sparkle of diamonds and precious stones, symbol of tears and slavery, have given place to sparkle of happy eyes, new-lit with the fires of liberty.

Not alone in music may the Russian worker now satisfy his hunger. Imagine yourself quitting after a half of a short day's work to hear a great singer of the people's songs—in your own factory, now become a fit place to learn and enjoy, as well as to work in! Or to get the instruction and entertainment of an illustrated lecture; or perchance it is a fete where you recreate body and spirit in the joy of the dance. Or maybe a troupe of Soviet players whose itinerary includes your factory, arrive to entertain or instruct you through the drama.

This is but a hint of what the workers are doing for themselves in Soviet Russia. All who have anything of art or science or general knowledge or literature to give, are giv-

By Rose Pastor Stokes

ing freely to the people and the people in turn support them in security. The doors are opened wide to the vast treasure-house—the doors that once were slammed in the workers' face! The priceless gifts that the workers in bent backs have painfully piled up, that the parasites have abused for the creation of a false and narrow culture, are now the heritage of all, to be used in the creation of a true and general culture.

Libraries, traveling on swift wheels to every village and hamlet in Soviet Russia. Books, books, books! brought to the doors of all! Traveling instructors, lecturers, professors and teachers giving courses in even the remotest parts, bringing knowledge to the workers far from the permanent centers of learning. Traveling picture galleries, theatres, concerts, touching the humblest in the land with the fairy-wand of Art. True Art, not that tawdry, cheap thing that parades in her name to corrupt the common taste in every commercial country in the world. Thus the masses, through their own government, are developing in themselves the highest possible conception of art, the keenest possible appreciation of true culture.

Art institutes endowed as never before by any government, in which the talented spirits among the masses receive the training they craved vainly for in the past; research laboratories open to all who show any real interest in using them; Universities no longer exclusively the province of the exploiter's son. The common school becoming the universal school, the college and university becoming the common school, the higher culture the general culture. Is it any wonder that Soviet Russia is spending more on education than any country in the world?

Industry, agriculture, yes. Bread, security, yes. But Roses, Roses, yes, a thousand times yes! Are we workers hungry for joy and beauty, for art and culture? Today, Russia answers for us until the day when we shall answer for ourselves. The worker, starved through the centuries amidst the very plenty he created, is satisfying his hunger at last—in Russia. Having taken

control of his own industrial and social destiny, he has in that same moment grasped with all of a creator's enthusiasm the tools of the old bourgeois culture with which he is already modelling for himself the art forms that will express the new culture—that of the Communist society, the Workers' Commonwealth.

Surrounded as she is by world-capital's armies, fighting for her very life on every front of her vast territory, Russia is still able, by virtue of working class rule to give to Art, Truth, Beauty a freedom they have not known and do not know in any other land on the face of the earth. And we workers are invited, by every subtle blandishment, to join with our capitalist Governments in a war of extermination against our fellow workers of Russia.

We may not do the shooting ourselves, but we are no less guilty if their freedom is lost through the guns we make. Longshoremen load the guns on ships, railroad men bring them to the piers, sailors, workers too, carry them over seas, and soldiers, (also workers) receive them and use them to shoot down Bolshevist workers, (but what workers!) fighting in the front trenches of the world in the cause of the Social Revolution that will set the world's workers free! Yet despite this tragedy, than which there can be no greater in all history, the Russian worker, wounded, bleeding, half blinded with blood and tears, still marches erect, bearing aloft the standard upon one side of which is inscribed the appeal "Workers of the world, unite!" (This side faces outward to the fighting front). An on the other (facing in toward Soviet-Russia) the inscription "Art, Truth, Beauty!"

They are dying for us, and we are killing them for Capitalism! If the Russian workers and their culture are destroyed by us, we shall not only have played the Judas to our own Comrades, but we shall also by that same act bare our backs to the lash of exploitation for a period that Hope dare not contemplate! A lash that will be laid on with a more cruel hand than Master has ever laid on Slave before. And who shall then say that we are not receiving justice!

But this surely will not be! Everywhere the workers are awaking to consciousness. In Italy the workers forced their Capitalist Government to recall their troops from Russia. The transport workers refused to load the ships with goods or guns for use against Soviet Russia. In France and in England there is an awakening; here too, though less thorough, the protest is being made effective. There are workers everywhere who are refusing to destroy their own Hope of emancipation by destroying the freedom of the Russian Working Class. We are learning that if we rise to power, we rise by Russia, even as Capitalism has learned that it falls if Soviet Russia stands! The Associated Press and the Associated Powers may combine to lie about the Soviet-Government until they make old Annanias sound as truthful by comparison as a wireless message from Moscow. It will help them not one iota. If the Allies' workers stand by Russia, Russia stands—lied about or not. If Russia stands, Capitalism falls and the workers everywhere rise to power.

Stand by Russia, Workers of America! Stand by your own cause. The issue is joined; the fight is on. Unite; use your power. For Russia—for ourselves—For Bread and Roses!

WITHDRAW FROM RUSSIA!

## INTERNATIONAL MASS MEETING

SUNDAY, NOV. 9th, at 1:00 P. M.

Celebrating Second Anniversary of the  
Bolshevik Revolution in Russia

### CAR MEN'S HALL

Ashland Blvd. and Van Buren

SPEAKERS  
IN ALL LANGUAGES

Auspices: Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party—and City Central Committee of Local Chicago

TICKETS 30c.

MUSIC

# The Red Army's Deeds

## Problems of The Red Army

By Leon Trotsky.

RED divisions are over a front of vast length. Draw a line from Moscow in any direction, prolong it, and you will reach some part of the Red Army which is fighting for Soviet Russia so heroically. The organization of this army is a very good example of the efficiency of the revolution.

No wonder the war was called an examination to the people. Of course, war itself is a great barbarity, and all Socialists are bent upon its extermination. But it must be overcome; that is, circumstances must be changed so that war will become not only needless but impossible. The people cannot leap over war instantly, surrounded by the jackals of imperialism, until the mad teeth are jerked out of the mouths of these jackals. And if the people are forced to wage war, then in its capability of defense, battle and attack all the resources of the people are shown: its economic power, its strength of organization, the spiritual average of its masses, the amount of material for leadership, etc., etc.

And so, taking the question from this angle, we may say with assurance that in a land such as ours, worn out, despoiled and ruined to the last degree, no other regime could organize an army. We may now say with certainty that an army will not be successfully organized in Germany, neither by Ebert or Scheidemann. Only Communists, who have taken the power into their own hands and shown in a practical way that this power knows no interests, worries or problems other than those of the working class, will find it possible to organize an army which will become the dependable hedge of the Socialist Republic.

We commenced with the divisions of the Red Guards. Into these we accepted workers, not seldom those who took a gun into their hands for the first time. While the task was to overcome the fighting bourgeoisie, junkers, white guards, groups of students, etc., the Red Guards showed an incomparable excellence in their revolutionary spirit and determination. In a very short period Red Guard divisions spread the Soviet power to all parts of the country. But with the offensive of the Germans in February of last year the condition changed immediately. The enthusiasm of the untrained, badly armed people proved weak before the well-organized Hohenzollern divisions under junker leadership. The first battle showed this, and brought about a fall of spirits in our divisions and armies. This fall of spirits resulted in decomposition within the ranks.

Think of that period. The old army turned into an armed beggary all of Russia, filled all stations, cars, made direct attacks upon the workers on the railroads, ruined railroad property, forcefully robbed the food supplies, etc. The enemy attacked us from the west, taking the Ukraine. The Cossacks rebelled on the Don; in the East, the Czechoslovaks, and in the north Archangel was taken from us. The ring was growing tighter and tighter. Then the Mensheviks wrote about the "dying corpse" of the Soviet power. Not only the direct enemies of the working class, but some of the friends of the workers thought that there is no way out, salvation is impossible.

It was this moment of deadly danger for the revolution which gave birth to the crisis of salvation. The watchword: "The Soci-

## Three Articles Celebrating the first Anniversary of the Revolutionary Army of Russia

alist Fatherland is in danger" awakened the best that is in the laboring masses. This was the test of our revolution. Now we may say with quiet assurance that the workers' revolution has passed the test.

Where are we to get soldiers? How are we to get the peasants into the army of workers who have not yet had a breathing spell since the imperialistic war? Will the people accept universal mobilization? Where are we to get the commanding staff? Will the old officers serve the new workers' Russia? Each of these questions presented its vexations and it seemed like the crush-

has long ceased to be any question of trust on the part of the army. If there is still agitation and argument going on to create mistrust it has no practical effect. The approaching conference of our party, I do not doubt, will strengthen with its authority that system which with the aid of the best workers of the party was put into practice in the fiery experience of the war and has given until this time the very best of results.

With each new trip to the front I saw new commanders who worked hand in hand with the Communist commissaires, with complete mutual trust and respect they fulfilled their responsible work. At that time in all our numerous officer courses and academies groups of officers were organized out of the worker-peasant families and those akin to them.

The question of organized equipment of the army was also difficult, but the hardships are being overcome. They are overcome often at the cost of the portion allotted to the working masses of the land, this is undebatable. This is clear to every conscious worker. He knows that war is a terrible poverty. He feels this in his stomach, sees it in the life of his children, but he knows that war is forced upon us by the enemies of the working class and that we cannot defend ourselves with speeches and articles against the cannons and shells of imperialism.

That is why every worker appreciates the dishonest treacherous call to us on the part of the Mensheviks: "Stop the civil war." The Soviet government openly declared to the governments of all countries: "We want peace; we are prepared to buy this peace at the price of great concessions and heavy losses." To this, our direct and official proposition, we received no answer. At the time when the enemy continues its attacks and the bands of the imperialists threaten Petrograd, the Jesuit traitors tell us: "Unarm, stop the civil war." These are the same ones who in the moment of deadly danger to the proletarian revolution spoke and wrote of the "dying corpse" of the Soviet government.

The anniversary of the Red Army comes at a period of international and political circumstances which may be called promising. And the most important factor in the international situation is our Red Army. It exists, fights, chases back its enemies, grows, unites, with the determined and heroic support of tens of millions of workers and peasants.

The working class which organized such an army cannot be defeated

## The Red Army and Foreign Policy.

By G. Chicherin

OUR brave revolutionary Red Army is such a mighty factor in the foreign policy of Soviet Russia that the most resounding epithets for its praise cannot be considered exaggerations. It is needless to prove the simple truth that no matter what is the foreign policy, it cannot be successful unless it can depend upon real might. Those of us who watch our foreign policy closely, may each day notice the degree of real influence which the strength of our Red Army has upon our international relations. Every military success immediately influences our foreign standing, just as the defeats, for instance the loss of Perm and Esthonia, im-

### The Red Army Celebration

In February 1918 the Red Army was created by decree of the Soviet Government; in February 1919 all Russia celebrated the first anniversary of the first army of the proletarian revolution. In an editorial, "A Year of Struggle and Achievement," the Moscow "Pravda" official organ of the Communist Party, said:

"In the work of building our army we were faced with innumerable obstacles.

"There was the terrible weariness of the masses tired out by the war of plunder; an economic break-down and a decline of labor discipline; the decay of the old army, poisoning the air and hampering the construction of a new army; civil war in the whole country, and war from without....

"We were compelled with weapons in our hands to repel the treacherous blow of the enemy and at the same time to lay the foundations of a new army of the Red Republic. Truly, that was building under a rain of bullets....

"Today, as we look back, we may daringly say: The chief task has been performed. The efforts of the enemy are in vain: the army has been created.... We may be defeated, we may be shattered, but nothing can succeed in killing the Communist Revolution....

"There is still a great deal of work ahead. Forward comrades—to the work, to the struggle and victory!

"Long live the Red Army of the Revolution!

"Long live World Communism!"

The articles here printed were published in celebration of the first anniversary of the Red Army.

ing of all at the very beginning. But the revolution laughed at the pessimists and sceptics; the youth of the proletariat of Petrograd and Moscow and other cities showed truly a wonderful transformation in the temper of the working masses, and above all in the red divisions, when they understood that the fight is for the life or death of the Soviet Republic.

I watched this change at first hand, under the walls of Kazan in August of last year, later on at the southern front near Voronezh and Balashov, and in other places. This wonder can be accomplished only by the revolution.

You know that in our army a strict disciplinary regime was established. War is war, an army is an army. And if we are forced to fight then we must be victorious, and victory is impossible without iron discipline. But such discipline after world imperialistic war is possible only because it finds a deep moral response in the conscience of every conscious worker, peasant and Red soldier. The conflict goes on in the name of the existence of the Worker and Peasant Republic. Every conscious soldier feels and understands that this is his fight, that deserters and grafters are traitors to the general welfare of the laboring masses, that the strictest punishment for these traitors is just and is dictated by the revolutionary honor of the laboring people. And there

mediately are harmful to our diplomatic relations. We may say with certainty that the intervention of the Allied powers would not have taken place if in the Spring of last year we had such a strong and well-organized Red Army as we have now; if the Allied powers had not considered Russia easy bait, which would not cost them much effort to conquer.

As is known, the Czecho-Slovak revolt acted as the indirect excuse for the intervention of the Allied powers. It gave a ready dependent wall in one of the most tender parts of the Russian territory, on the railroad artery which connects European Russia with Siberia. The uprising of the Czecho-Slovaks was itself possible only because at that time Soviet Russia was absolutely disarmed and the Czecho-Slovaks had the opportunity to take all those important strategic points and railroad intersections. These were taken without much trouble and thus they stationed themselves near the border of European Russia and Siberia.

All of us who have taken account of our foreign policy after the Brest period remember the hardships we were forced to undergo, when month after month the life of the Soviet Russia hung on a hair, when our safety and independence hinged upon the good will or caprice of the German victor, upon the calculations of German capitalists who would rather cheat us in a peaceful manner than at the cost of a war of ruin, upon the desire of the German militarists not to divide their forces and not to take upon themselves the responsibility for all the complexities to which the occupation of vast foreign lands would lead. We all felt every moment that the wall which separated us from foreign occupation and incalculable misery for the people, with crushing blows to the Russian revolution, was very thin and weak. We recall those dangers as they were called forth by all sorts of new moves of the German armies within the bounds allowed, by literal understanding of the Brest treaty, to the German occupation.

We experienced and felt then what the sword hanging over the head of Damocles really means. But out of these hardships Soviet Russia came forth with the mighty arms of youthful strength and hope—and with the ventures of the Red Army. The organization of the Red Army had a great indirect influence upon the minds of Western Europe, making them respect not only the strength of Soviet Russia but the Soviet power itself, which was capable so quickly notwithstanding all sorts of hardships, to organize a strong and well-disciplined new army. The representatives of the German official circles admitted to us that the organization of our army was to them an amazing surprise, revealing to them the moral strength of the Bolsheviks. It had a great propaganda significance; it proved to the entire world the seriousness, depth and internal might of the people's revolutionary Russia and the outlook for the future development of the worker-peasant Soviet regime. Facts are more salient than words and the existence and heroic deeds of the Red Army were mightier propagandist factors than the countless leaflets and brochures. The pathos of its organization in the midst of untold hardships, of the new-born regime fighting against countless foes supplied with the latest instruments of military technic and with full equipment of first class armed power, deeply impressed millions of the onlookers of the entire world as something coming out of the Russian revolutionary hearth.

Our good Red Army, heroically battling against pillagers making an effort to crush the liberty of the working masses deeply stirred the imagination of the laboring masses of all lands. They began to take joy in it and to learn to love it as the vanguard leading them in their fight for power, fighting for them. The fight which we have to wage against the entire ideology of the old bourgeois militarism and patriotism, which mark the strengthening of the power of the ruling classes over the peoples, is made most effectively through the pathos of the workers revolution fighting for its own salvation. It is made in the psychology of the Red Revolutionary Army, the power upon which the worker-peasant revolution in Russia depends to ward off the attacks of world counter-revolution from all sides.

Being the uncompromising foe of militarism to the end, we distinguish ourselves from the bourgeois pacifists, such as the English Quakers, in that we wish to put the bourgeois army out of existence, as the enemy to the working class, and to put in its place a workers' revolutionary army.

Looking over foreign newspapers we see that Soviet Russia is a great power in the world arena, occupying the minds and awakening the wonder and hopes of one side and the unbounded hatred of the other. And in the first place, in the centre of the historic process which Soviet Russia chose, are to be found those who lead the struggle for the historic fortunes of Russia with their heroic deeds and death on the field of battle, those whose courage and revolutionary ardor lights up one country after another with the fire of revolutionary enthusiasm. In our foreign policy, i. e., in the historic effort of Soviet Russia in world events, one of the most powerful elements of her historic activity is the glory and pride of Soviet Russia, our young, heroic Red Army.

## The Red Army and The Counter-Revolution.

By N. Bucharin.

THE war correspondent of a large English newspaper, "The Time", wrote: "At the time when all the armies of the world are decomposing and falling apart, only one army exists which continues to grow and develop. This is—the Red Army of the Soviet Government."

The bourgeois press is diligently threatening the civilians of the world with the danger of the Red Army. In order to antagonize the mass of property holders against the revolutionary proletariat, they continually exaggerate the strength and size of our army. But, nevertheless, the war correspondent of "The Times" was quite near the truth. Where is the wonderful army of Wilhelm? It has disintegrated, disappeared. Where are the Czarists "good" regiments? Already forgotten. Where is the famous Hungarian cavalry? It has perished. Where are the first class artillery divisions of Austria? They also have disappeared.

And this is not all. Even the victorious Allies feel that the revolutionary germ has infected imperialist discipline, crushing the spirit of obedience and slavery. Already the French and English armies are beginning to pass through an experience similar to that of the armies of the Czar, of Kerensky, Wilhelm and Karl. And just at the time when the armies of the world pillagers are falling to pieces, the Red Army springs into being, first as volunteers, growing little by little, and then expanding by way of

compulsory training of workmen and peasants.

And now it is clear to everyone that international imperialism did not crush us, just because with their first blows our army began to grow—our army of workers and peasants. The world counter-revolution tried to choke the Russian workers with the hands of that Czecho-Slovaks; in this they did not succeed. The counter-revolution organized excellently in the Don—but now that grey murderer, the hangman Krasnow, is already shedding tears on the grave dug for him. The fugitive bourgeois, generals, archdukes, ministers, landowners, with the aid of German and Allied imperialists, will build a strong fortress of reaction in the Ukraine.

But the Red Army did its work here too, unsaddling the enemies of the working class. The international reaction could not draw us into its greedy jaws neither from the Don, nor from the Ukraine, nor from the Baltic Sea, nor from the Urals.

We owe this victory to the Red Army which grew by the strength of tens of thousands of the best comrades—workers, who gave and are giving their revolutionary spirit, their energy and their lives for the organization of the Red Army.

World imperialism did not expect such a reception. The Bolsheviks were famed all over as destroyers who could burn, ruin, overthrow, but who could build or organize nothing. And the capitalist pillagers thought their attack upon us would be but an easy and jolly excursion; they thought they could take the Russian proletariat with their bare hands, but they only succeeded in burning their fingers. Their policy shifted: on the one hand they sought to defend themselves against the Red Army,—on the other hand even the maddest imperialists changed the subject from cannon to a consideration of diplomatic notes.

Of course, we are not so naive as to believe in the kindness of the world gendarmes. We know they will do all in their power to find the opportune moment to crush the revolution.

The Russian revolution has long since become an international revolution. And the Red Army is a division—the largest, the best organized and the strongest, of the world revolution. So the German, the Austrian, the Hungarian and the English Communists consider it.

But there is a closer tie between the movement abroad and our Red Army.

When the Soviet Power organized workers' regiments, not only Russians, but Lettish, German, Hungarian and even Chinese workers joined. The Chauvinists and the bourgeois patriots, beginning with the radicals and ending with the "left" social-revolutionaries, condemned us at every point. But just that fact, that many foreign comrades passed the military-revolutionary school in our country, gave to the world a new type of supervisor-fighter. And if we look at the movement in the West we shall see that its leaders are our comrades, our former "war-prisoners", who became Red Guards, and thereby received military revolutionary experience and a revolutionary ardor in the ranks of our Red Army.

The war correspondent of "The Times" was right. The capitalist army is decomposing and perishing. From its mass of ruins the power of the workers is growing the world over. And the stronger, the better organized the working class, the more powerful will its class army be, the sooner will it crush capitalism, and drive into its grave the present pillaging regime.

# Collapse of Hungarian Soviet Republic

**A**FTER the downfall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy the Hungarian democrats, with Count Karolyi and Oscar Jaszy at their head, came into power in Hungary. The new government tried to consolidate the remnants of the rotten feudal state of Hungary. But it was too late. Hungary is a country where a handful of feudal landlords own three-fourths of the land. The different Tiszas undermined the corrupt governmental machinery completely.

The bourgeoisie of Budapest, the most vicious in the world, was not able to consolidate anything. And as always when the structure of a state is crumbling, and as Karolyi realized, there was only one solution of the problem and that was to transfer the power of the state to the Social Democrats, who at that time were the only organized body in industrial Hungary.

With the aggressive onrush of the masses of workingmen for better working conditions, more pay and more bread, Karolyi slowly lost the power of government.

Meanwhile—right after the downfall of the dual Empire—Hungarian comrades returned from Russia, where, as prisoners of war, they participated in the revolutionary struggle of the Russian working class. Among them was Bela Kun, the president of the International Federation in Moscow.

The Communists at once began to clear the way among the workers of Hungary. The Social Democrats, who during the war discredited themselves, were unable to check the wave of Communism. In order to save themselves, they expelled the Communists from the party. And when the Communists established a party of their own and carried on an extensive propaganda of uncompromising Communism, the social-patriots started a merciless persecution of the Communists, who were arrested and prosecuted in masses.

But the results of that method brought entirely different results than was expected. In the economic breakdown, in the complete inability of the corrupt bourgeoisie and the oligarchy, as well as in the treachery of the social-patriots—the workers in industry after industry abandoned the social-patriots and went over to the Communists. This movement was led by the metal trade workers, the iron workers, the printing and publishing workers, and then the railroad and transportation workers followed. Soon all the groups of workers were on the side of the Communists, with whom already the majority of the army stood as the armed background of the revolution. Then instantly and unexpectedly came the "coup" of the "Nepszava" (the official social-patriotic paper in Budapest). Though innocent, Bela Kun and a number of other Communists were placed under arrest. This act of the social-patriots aroused the workers, who heard the rumor that Bela Kun was badly beaten by government agents in prison. Furthermore, there was a rumor, that the government planned to deport Bela Kun to some secret place.

In the night of March 20—21 the Communist forces under the leadership of Tibor Samuelyi (who escaped from prison) equipped with two batteries of artillery made an attack on Budapest and demanded the immediate release of Bela Kun and all the other Communists.

Count Karolyi, confused by the imperialistic intentions of the Entente and the lust for conquest of the Czechs and the Roumanians, condemned and discredited personally, found it advisable to deliver the power

From "Nova Istina", (The New Truth) Official Organ of the Communist Party of Jugoslavia, Aug. 29, 1919.

of the state entirely into the hands of the Social Democrats.

## THE "UNITY" OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WITH THE COMMUNISTS.

The Social Democrats now had to choose from three alternatives: 1) Resignation; 2) merciless war with the Communists; and 3) unity with the Communists.

Not willing to resign, and equally not very anxious to play the role of Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske, because they were the weaker and therefore unable to play that role, the Socialists chose the third alternative: Unity with the Communists. Kunfy, who was minister in the government of Karolyi, held conferences with Bela Kun, who was still in prison. On the basis of a platform Bela Kun had drawn in prison, unity of the two parties was realized. The platform called for the arming of the people, disarming of the bourgeoisie, expropriation and confiscation of large estates, and the socialisation of the banks, the wholesale houses, the stores and the industries. On March 27, the wire carried the famous message that the Soviet Republic of Hungary had been proclaimed. All power was taken over by the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Councils, who at their first convention constituted themselves as the "Hungarian Party of Socialist-Communist Workers".

Thus the revolution was achieved without disorder and bloodshed.

The news of the revolution in Hungary was received with a certain reservation in revolutionary circles abroad, because of the experience that without a revolutionary tradition the social revolution can not be accomplished. The bourgeoisie and the social-patriots saw in it only a game of the Hungarian imperialists to save their integrity. In the meantime Bela Kun issued a proclamation in which he renounced the territorial integrity of Hungary and affirmed the ethnographic principle of self determination.

Such a transformation without bloodshed can only be explained by the weakness of the Hungarian bourgeoisie, which could not resist the aggression of the proletariat; and by the apathy and the nationalism of the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals. This example certainly will not repeat itself in the world revolution. The Hungarian intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie, who are entirely conservative and uncultured, during the first day looked with favor on the dictatorship of the proletariat, because they expected from it the salvation of their nationalism and the satisfaction of their own personal interests. Meanwhile, the Soviet Government carried on the socialisation of the banks, the industries and the commercial enterprises. All deposits in the banks over the amount of 20,000 crowns were expropriated and all large land holdings of over 100 acres were declared the property of the Commune. Because of the lack of progressive intelligence the reform of public education proceeded very slowly. With the energetic measures of the revolutionary judiciary, crime decreased to a minimum. The manufacturing and selling of alcoholic beverages were prohibited, personal safety was assured much more than under the government of the bourgeoisie; but the bourgeoisie prepared the counter-revolution within the

ranks of the slum-proletariat and the hoodlums.

After the first decrees of the Soviet Government were introduced the bourgeoisie and the conservative intellectuals felt themselves oppressed, and the petty bourgeoisie and the slum-proletariat became discouraged because the iron discipline prevented them from looting and exploiting the gains of the revolution for their own personal advantages. Their movement accordingly turned into counter-revolutionary channels.

Society dames, discharged detectives, counter-revolutionary officers, and nuns driven from the convents, mingled in disguise with the unconscious masses and plotted against the Soviet Republic. The Christian Socialists took advantage of the efforts of Bela Kun to accomplish the revolution in a humane way and preached sedition openly in processions, in the churches, etc.

This tactic of Bela Kun, of accomplishing the revolution a humane way, led to division on the left and on the right.

The left wing, under the leadership of Tibor Samuelyi, demanded radical measures and formed under the name "Lenin's Boys" a terroristic group. When Bela Kun under the pressure of the Entente tried to disperse that group and send its members to the front they defended themselves with machine guns in the military camps and demanded the repeal of the order. Through the mediation of individuals serious conflicts were prevented.

The right wing, under Kunfi, the former right wing of the Socialists, sabotaged in the government and in all the Soviets as well. With the co-operation of the bourgeoisie they weakened the moral strength of the proletariat to a great extent. And so far as there was honest effort among them, they were already too corrupt through their social-chauvinism to be able to fill the important revolutionary positions that they were holding. So the unity of the Hungarian proletariat, that on March 21 was accomplished by the leaders of the Communists and the Socialists was only an illusion, because it contained the germ of disintegration.

The organization of the Red Army was at first a hard task, because of lack of real proletarian discipline. The Roumanians and the Czecho-Slovaks with the help of the French troops were advancing toward Budapest. At first the Red Army was defeated at every point. On May 2 not only the bourgeoisie but the Communists anticipated the collapse of the Soviet Republic. Nevertheless, the Government did not lose hope and courage. The Central Workers' Council ordered the mobilization of half of the industrial proletariat. One half of the members of the government in a noble proclamation called upon the workers of Hungary to defend the Socialist Republic. In the short time of a few weeks the Red Army increased from 27,000 to 240,000 men. The Roumanians were thrown back behind the River Theiss; the Czechs suffered remarkable losses, being compelled to give up two-thirds of the Slovak territory, in which a Slovak Soviet Republic was immediately proclaimed. The formation of workers' battalions raised the morale of the other formations; but when, under the pressure of the entente, the Red Army had to withdraw without a battle from the Czech front, the spirit waned. While counter-revolutionary activity became more intense, proletarian class consciousness began to disappear; the working women publicly demanded that

their husbands and sons be given back to them. A further factor was the fact that although the distinctions of the officers were abolished, the officers kept all the habits of capitalistic militarism and relations with the ranks were all but comradely.

The peasantry of Hungary, entirely reactionary, could not possibly be satisfied in the short time, because the agrarian question could not be solved with the necessary speed.

Finally the main reason for the collapse of the Soviet Republic was the blockade of the new capitalistic Holy Alliance of the League of Nations.

The aristocratic oligarchy, the magnates of the Austro-Hungarian regime, who oppressed the Hungarian proletariat, who were for half a century the solid pillars of German and Central European Imperialism, the gang of the kind Tisza rallied around the Government of Szegedin, were the supporters of the Entente in the battle against the World Revolution, against Socialism. Together with the Entente they waged a dirty campaign against the Soviet Government. The chief of the Entente mission, Lieutenant General Romanelli, used his couriers, protected by immunity, to keep up connections between the counter-revolutionaries of Hungary with the counter-revolutionaries of the world.

#### BEFORE THE COLLAPSE.

At the moment when the Czechs were beaten, Clemenceau demanded from the Soviet Government the withdrawal of the Red Army from all occupied territory, at the same time notifying the Soviet Government, that its representatives would be summoned to Paris for the purpose of concluding peace and promising that the Roumanians would withdraw from all occupied territory. Bela Kun did not suspect this promise—and submitted. At the very moment when Czechoslovakia stood on the verge of the revolution, Kun ordered the Red Army to stop and to evacuate the occupied territory, consenting to an armistice. This was the most futile error. In Bohemia, where under the pressure of the "bolshvist danger" the government of Kramarz, the direct counter-revolutionary cabinet, had to resign, the reaction was strengthened. In Austria the very same thing happened. And the voluntary withdrawal, with the negative political results, necessarily had a demoralizing effect on Hungary itself.

The Entente used the armistice to deliver the Roumanians tanks, machine guns and other war material through Jugoslavia in order to strengthen the Roumanian army, and to start an instant-unexpected offensive on the front of the River Theiss.

There was only one more hope left to the revolution in Hungary. An alliance with Russia could not be accomplished. The Russians concentrated all their strength to break the opposition of Kolchak in the Urals, and were not able to extend any help to Hungary. The hopes of Bela Kun in the movement toward the left in France and England were not in vain as to the fact, but they were in vain as to the tempo. The movement toward the left was alive but proceeded much more slowly than Bela Kun hoped. Only the international demonstration on July 21st could still assist the revolution in Hungary. Doubtless, the postponement of the demonstration by the French Confederation of Labor meant the final blow to the Hungarian proletarian republic. Hungary was isolated, without the hope of speedy and effective assistance by Russia, betrayed by the international and Hungarian social-patriots.

And thus Soviet Hungary's offensive against the Roumanians on July 21st, at first successful, instantly came to a standstill. The Roumanian officers gave the order on July 28 to cross the Theiss and on August 1 the social-patriots reported to the People's Commissaires the demand of the Entente, that Kun's government must resign, in which case the blockade would be lifted and the Roumanian offensive discontinued. The Social Democrat Haubrich, the commander of Budapest, described in the blackest colors the dissolution of the Red Army. Bela Kun without opposition consented to the resignation, but Tibor Samuelyi, the Robespierre of the Hungarian revolution, energetically opposed resignation and demanded a fight to the end—"The duty of the Hungarian Communists"—he said, "is to fight on the barricades for the liberation of the proletariat of the whole world" But his voice was not heard. It was decided to summon the general assembly of the 500 representatives of the proletariat of Budapest and vicinity, which should receive the resignation and name the new government.

#### LAST ADDRESS BY BELA KUN AND COLLAPSE.

With full consciousness of the gravity of the hour, the representatives of the Hungarian working class assembled in the afternoon. When Bela Kun appeared he was greeted by a frantic ovation. The courageous fighter, the soul and the brain of the Hungarian revolution, was very depressed. On his tired face, with eyes red from lack of sleep, one could feel the whole tragedy of this episode of the World Revolution.

The hearty ovation made Bela Kun only more nervous. While leaning on the back of a chair, he started to weep like a little child. Then he became more calm and began to speak. Among other things he said:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat rested on three fundamental factors: on the spirit of the Hungarian proletariat; on the possibility of establishing contact with Communist Russia, and on the progress of the World Revolution. Those three factors partly or entirely failed to realize themselves and therefore the Hungarian Soviet Republic is given up to an early death." He would like to fight on the barricades rather than resign without a struggle. But he knows that the majority is opposed to such a proposition. And then the Soviet Government resigned.

Then came the short-lived government of Peidl, composed entirely of social-patriots, who during the whole period of the war stirred the chauvinistic instincts of the proletariat and were supporting Austro-Hungarian Imperialism; and of the bureaucracy of the trade unions. Peidl's government returned the means of production, which were expropriated by the Communists to the former owners and established again private ownership of the means of production; in short, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie again come into existence. During that time the paid hordes of the Roumanian Boyars (feudal landlords) approached Budapest, looting and destroying everything they got hold of.

The Government of Peidl did not exist three days. In the shadows of the Roumanian bayonets and in the person of Grand Duke Joseph, the Hapsburg dynasty came like a vampire to life again. The monarchists carried out a Coup-d'etat.

The very same rulers, the same oligarchy, speculators, officers, Christian Socialists and their appendages, and the whole corrupt of-

ficial bureaucracy of which Budapest has more than enough who for four years poisoned the Hungarian proletariat and drove it with the proletariat of other countries into that terrible human butchery, the very same cruel element sat again on the back of the Hungarian proletariat. Immediately armed formations were established, composed of former officers, non-commissioned officers and non-conscious soldiers, who fought for the defense of the old monarchy. A terrible roundup of the Communists began in the streets and the houses. Whoever was caught, was shot on the spot and his body thrown in the muddy water of the Danube. On the first day hundreds of our comrades were killed. The prisons were transformed into human slaughter-houses.

The Hungarian proletariat now feels what it has lost. The Hungarian people never was subdued. Even the history of Hungarian Socialism does not show any serious persecution, because it always was social-patriotic. This is the great difference between the Hungarian revolution and the Russian revolution. In Russia since the uprising in 1830 the sparks of the revolution always were glowing. In the cells of the prisons, in the icy fields of Siberia, in the blood of the crushed strikes, and in the numberless insurrections—the Russian workers developed class consciousness, revolutionary intelligence and a revolutionary tradition. All this Hungary lacked. For the first time the Hungarian proletariat has to go through all the terrible consequences of making an error in measuring the tempo of the World Revolution. The World Revolution is developing, but much slower than Bela Kun supposed. Still Hungary has not lost its revolution, but only postponed it. The struggle Hungary was engaged in and will have to go through again, will create the necessary class conscious, revolutionary intelligence and revolutionary tradition for final victory.

#### The New Life In Russia.

(Continued from Page 3.)

volutionary Government. The crux of the whole matter, in so far as internal politics are concerned, is that the Government and the Communists in general have to suffer the consequences and take the responsibility for the acts of enemies, of traitors, of impostors, who find their way into our ranks, of employees and officials who act contrary to the good faith, carry out acts of sabotage and strive by every means in their power to put obstacles in the way of normal life.

In spite of all this the country lives and is reconstructing itself; new organisations spring up, although the flower of the working-class must needs leave the work of public administration and go to the front. If you but knew with what joyful spirit of sacrifice the work of recruiting goes on here. I have been present at meetings of "Red" officers which, in the spirit of enthusiasm and courage shown, were truly religious in the best sense of that word. One always feels the difference between the war for the masters and this war, which is our war.

The people and their leaders are firmly convinced that the workers of other countries will not allow the Russian Revolution to be drowned in blood, nor the German Revolution either, which, through untold difficulties, is slowly steering towards victory. At the present time the fate of the peoples depends on the proletariat of the Entente. Encouraging news continues to reach us.



# "All Is Quiet In Berlin!"

By Rosa Luxemburg

Her last Article

"All is quiet in Warsaw", declared minister Sabastiany in the Paris Chamber of Deputies in 1831, when the hordes of Suvorov, after the capture of Prague, a suburb of Warsaw, entered the Polish capital and began their murderous suppression of the people in revolt.

"All is quiet in Berlin" declares the triumphant bourgeoisie press, declare Ebert and Noske, declare the officers of the "victorious army" whom the bourgeoisie mobs joyfully greet on the streets with floating placards and outbursts of "Hurrah". The glory of German arms is saved before the world's history. Defeated on the fields of Flanders and the Argonne, they restored their reputation by winning a victory over 3000 Spartacans in the building of the "Vorwärts". The times of the first glorious entrance of the German army into Belgium, the times of General von Emmich, the conqueror of Liege, pale before the heroic deeds of Reinhard & Co. on the streets of Berlin. The killed emissaries who intended to negotiate the surrender of the "Vorwärts", mutilated beyond recognition by the butts of guns, mutilated to such an extent that it is impossible to identify the corpses; the prisoners shot in such manner that the walls are sprinkled with their brains:—looking on these valiant deeds, who will remember the shameful defeats sustained in the war with the Frenchmen, Englishmen and Americans? Spartacans—that is the enemy; and Berlin—that is the place where our officers are victorious; the "workingman" Noske—that is the general who is able to achieve victories where General Ludendorff was unsuccessful.

Who does not recollect the drunken victories of those that restored order in Paris; who does not recollect the bacchanalia of the bourgeoisie upon the corpses of the fallen defenders of the Commune, that same bourgeoisie which had just capitulated ignominiously before Prussia and handed over the capital to the foreign foe. What a flaming courage inspired the bourgeois youngsters, the gilded youth, the titled officers against the badly armed and starved Paris proletarians, against their unprotected wives and children. With what an ardour these sons of Mars, who humbly prostrated themselves before the foreign foe, now displayed their martial courage by hurling upon the helpless prisoners and the vanquished their brutally cruel vengeance.

"All is quiet in Warsaw"—"All is quiet in Paris."—"All is quiet in Berlin."—Such are the announcements of the upholders of law and order, re-echoing every half century from one world center of the struggle to the other. And the triumphant "victors" do not notice that the order which is maintained by periodic bloody massacres is impelled to move uninterruptedly toward its historic doom, its total destruction. What does the last "Spartacan week" in Berlin signify, what has it given, what does it teach? Even amid the struggle, amid the shrieks of the counter-revolution, the revolutionary proletariat must take an account of what happened, must measure the past and all its consequences with an historic compass. The revolution cannot lose time; through the open graves, through "victories" and "defeats" it sweeps onward to its great goal. To follow its movements consciously is the first task of the fighters of international Socialism. Was it possible in this clash to attain a final victory for the revolutionary proletariat, was the overthrow of Ebert and

Scheidemann and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship possible? Of course not, if we soberly consider the various moments which have a decisive effect upon this question. The weak spot of the revolution at present—the inadequate political maturity of the soldier masses which still permit themselves to be used by the officers for anti-working class and counter-revolutionary purposes—is already sufficient proof that in this clash there was no chance of a lasting victory for the revolution. On the other hand, the insufficient maturity of the soldier masses is a symptom of the general immaturity of the German revolution. The village whence comes a considerable part of the soldier masses remains as yet little touched by the revolution. Berlin is still quite isolated from the rest of Germany. True, the revolutionary provincial centers—in the Rhineland and the adjacent province, in Brunswick, in Saxony, in Wurtemberg—they are heart and soul with the Berlin proletariat. But there is still lacking the co-ordination of action which would considerably increase the blow and the offensive might of the Berlin working classes. Besides, the economic struggle—this chief volcanic source from which the class struggle derives its energy—is as yet in the primary stage of development.

Hence follows the conclusion that at this moment it was impossible to expect a lasting victory. Does it mean that last week's struggle was a "mistake"? Yes, if we admit the assumption of a premeditated plan of action, of a so-called "rebellion". What was the starting point of last week's fighting? In all former cases, as the 6th of December, as the 24th of December—a dastardly government provocation. Just like the bloody bath perpetrated upon the unarmed demonstrators on Schosasstrasse, like the massacre of the sailors, just so now an attempt upon the life of the chief of police was the cause of all subsequent events. The revolution does not operate according to a thought-out plan, in the open field of battle, according to a technical plan of "strategists". Its enemies also display initiative, they generally display even more initiative than the revolution.

Facing the fact of the Ebert-Scheidemann provocation, the revolutionary workers were compelled to take up arms. Yes, the honor of the revolution demanded an immediate energetic repulse of this attack, otherwise the counter-revolution would find courage for a further offensive, while the revolutionary lines of the proletariat and the moral prestige of the German revolution in the "International" would have been shaken.

An immediate resistance developed among the Berlin working masses with such conscious energy that the moral victory was at once on the side of the "street". But such is the internal vital law of the revolution that it must not stop at the point of an initial success, remaining inert and passive. The best means of parrying is a powerful counter blow. This fundamental law of fighting is especially applicable to the revolution. It is self-evident and furnishes an irrefutable proof of the healthy instinct, the internal vital force of the Berlin proletariat, and therefore the workers were not satisfied with the re-instatement of Eichorn, but instinctively proceeded to occupy the other strongholds of the counter-revolution: the bourgeois

press, the official Wolff bureau, the "Vorwärts". These steps taken by the masses were the result of their instinctive consciousness that the counter-revolution, too, would not submit to the defeat which it had sustained, but would bring about a final test of strength between the contending forces.

Here, too, we discover one of the great laws of the revolution by which is shattered into dust the clever trickery and patented knowledge of the Independents, who in every clash endeavor to find an excuse for retreating. It is sufficient to formulate the fundamental problem of the revolution—and in this revolution it is the overthrow of the Ebert-Scheidemann regime, the first obstacle to the triumph of Socialism,—and this problem will again and again reappear in all its acuteness. Each separate episode of the struggle, as if with the fatality of a law of nature, places at the fore this problem in its entirety, though the revolution might be entirely unprepared and the existing conditions utterly inappropriate. "Down with Ebert-Scheidemann!"—this slogan invariably reappears in each revolutionary crisis as the one unifying formula for all the separate conflicts, and, due to its intrinsic objective logic, this slogan, whether you like it or not, tends of itself to sharpen each separate episode of the struggle.

From this contradiction between the intensity of the problem and the inadequacy of the conditions required for its solution at the initial phase of revolutionary development, arises the cause wherefore the separate episodes of the revolutionary struggle end in formal defeats. But a revolution is the only form of war where the final victory culminates from a whole series of "defeats".

What is shown by the history of modern revolutions and Socialism? The first flame of the class struggle in Europe: the uprising of the Lyons weavers in 1831 ended in bitter defeat. The Chartist movement in England—in defeat. The rising of the Paris proletariat in June 1848 ended in a terrible defeat. The Paris Commune was brought to an end by a crushing defeat. The entire road to Socialism—as far as the revolutionary struggle is concerned—is paved with defeats.

And nevertheless, this same history leads uninterruptedly, step by step, to the final victory. Where would we be without those defeats, from which we derive our historic experience, learning, fighting power and idealism? Now, on the eve of the last defeat, in the proletarian class struggle, we actually base ourselves on those defeats which are all supremely important for us, each one of them forming a part of our strength and our consciousness.

In this respect the revolutionary struggle is the exact opposite of the parliamentary struggle. We in Germany have had for forty years steady parliamentary "victories", we marched from victory to victory. But as a result in the great historic test of the 4th of August 1914—an annihilating political and moral defeat, an unparalleled smash, an unprecedented bankruptcy. All revolutions have thus far given us only defeats, but these inevitable defeats are the surest guarantee of the future final victory.

True, on one condition. The question is under what circumstances occurred each defeat: was it on account of the fact that the

(Continued on page 10)

# The Soviet Republic in Action

By W. T. Goode.

A bourgeois impression—From the "Manchester Guardian" (England).

MOSCOW was gray and dull. There was a quality of tension in the atmosphere which may have been due, I felt, to the presence of a strong government joined to an ignorance of the relation in which at any moment one might stand towards it.

For that it is a strong government is beyond dispute. The idea that it is composed of men who forced themselves into offices for which they were entirely unfit seems to me, after months of experience among them, quite outside the truth. The eighteen commissaires, or ministers, are men of unusual intelligence—in some cases of high technical qualifications. And however they have been chosen they were well chosen.

Lenine himself, whatever opinion may be held on his ideas, is by way of being a political genius. Krassin, commissaire for transports, is a highly qualified technician and was formerly manager for all the Russias of the Siemens-Schuckert Company. His organizing powers are undoubted.

Lunacharsky, commissaire of education, is a man in love with his work and one who has that rare quality in an educational reformer—vision—and he labors to materialize his vision.

Milutin, commissaire of industries, is professor of economics at Moscow university. Kurski, commissaire of justice, is a local lawyer. In Tomski and Melnichansky of the professional unions; Dr. Semasko, state hygiene; Mrs. Lebedev, doctor of medicine of the maternity branch of the commissariat on social maintenance, and Siderski of food control, not to mention others, the government has people of solid ability, great experience and considerable powers for work.

## Marvelous Power for Work.

The commissaires of the people form real executives and they are men of grip. They recoil from no act which they consider justifiable in the interests of the government. And here is, I think, one of the secrets of their power. Another is their capacity for work. The stories of orgies and of self-seeking are quite false. A London clerk lives better than they do. Their lives are simple, their habits and dress equally so (I saw only one of them who was at all well dressed), and the reality is a life of work to which a convict's task is child's play.

They bear marks of the strain under which they live. I do not know what is the average number of hours worked daily by the commissaires, but one of them worked regularly from lunch time to 3 or 4 o'clock a. m. and has never been known to go out to breathe the fresh air; another takes only five hours sleep; still another less.

I mention this only to show the character of the men who are in the forefront of Bolshevism, and to put down coldly my own experience with them. But even these men could not hold their own without a good organization to back them. This they have. And the western world should realize that politically and administratively the organization is strong and complete.

The commissariats or ministries are well housed, elaborately organized and highly staffed.

Numbers of the bourgeois and former functionaries are employed, and at first one of the greatest dangers and difficulties was the amount of sabotage experienced. But this was dealt with ruthlessly and sabotage

was made one of the crimes answerable to a revolutionary tribunal—the extraordinary commission.

The head and front of the whole organization is supplied by pure Socialists—Communists—who have a party organization of their own to which the leaders belong. Its discipline, self imposed, is complete and unique and is rigidly observed. When called upon for some duty, however distasteful, the professed Communist must obey without hesitation. At times even the leaders are ordered off into the country to some part where propaganda, explanation or justification is needed, and they go.

## Punishment to Fit Responsibility.

In cases where some lapse occurs—bribery or lawbreaking—if the offender be a non-ocmmunist, he is punished with prison; if a Communist, he is shot as a traitor to his principles. It will be seen, then, that the Communists form the spearhead of Bolshevism and are a formidable weapon.

But for supervision of the whole organization of government there has been set up a department of state control, which deserves a brief description. It is subdivided and covers the whole administration, concerning itself only with officials, not with private persons, and its powers extend to all departments, to the chief executive committee, even to the commissaires of the people. It controls the finances and budget. It is capable of compelling departments to improve their work, and has authority to stop overlapping of departments and duplication of work. It has suppressed departments as unnecessary. If an official does work that is unsatisfactory, it can recommend his removal, and it can and does prosecute incompetent or sinning officials.

## Instructs While It Governs.

And not only does it control; it also in-

structs, and sends down officials to teach those in provincial town or local soviets.

One of the greatest difficulties experienced by the Bolsheviki has been in finding competent officials for Soviets in the country. They found themselves up against the besetting sin of old bureaucracy, and they themselves trace many of their errors to the character of the men they employed at first. But they have set out to supply themselves with more reliable elements.

In the palatial club of Moscow merchants they have established a school of soviet workers, with 700 students drawn from all parts of Russia by the local soviets, whose expenses are paid, and a course of four months provided in matters relating to local government.

A test has to be passed at the close of the course, and when it is remembered that these 700 can be turned out three times a year, the influence of such a move can be understood. In addition, in the same school the Communist Party maintains a special course for 600 students, drawn from the provinces, mostly peasants, in the methods of propaganda applied to the middle class peasants.

I stayed long in the great hall where lectures and discussions went on, and I can testify to the deadly earnestness of the crowd of students. They were mostly young and of both sexes, and the lecturer to whom I listened held them easily and initiated and conducted the discussion with admirable sureness.

The idea of this school is an extension of the idea of propaganda, which is one of the great weapons of the Bolsheviki. It is all-embracing and constant. I have spoken of monuments, but that is only an infinitesimal portion of the program. A constant stream of pamphlets pours out, the people are spoken to in their own language, often with great skill.

Posters are found everywhere, and there are special shops for their display. Many are crude in conception and execution, but others are striking and effective, and all appeal strongly to the eye.

## "All is Quiet in Berlin!"

(Continued from page 9.)

forward surging militant energy of the masses encountered an insufficient maturity of historic pre-requisites or was it the result of the revolutionary action being paralyzed by halfheartedness, indecision and internal weakness?

Classic examples of both cases are, on the one hand, the French February revolution, and, on the other, the German March revolution (1848). The heroic deeds of the Paris proletariat in 1848 became a living fountain of class energy for the entire world proletariat. The lifelessness of the German March revolution is in accord with the whole direction of modern German development. Its stagnant influence was apparent during the entire history of the official German Social-Democracy till the last events of the German revolution, the most recent tragic crisis.

What does the defeat of the so-called "Spartacan week" signify from the standpoint of the above-mentioned historic law? Was it a defeat born from the violent revolutionary energy encountering an insufficient maturity of existing conditions, or was

it the result of feebleness and half-heartedness?

Both. The double character of this crisis, the contradiction between the powerful, determined militant aggressiveness of the Berlin mass and the hesitation, tardiness and halfheartedness of the Berlin leaders, represents a distinct characteristic feature of the last episode.

The leaders failed to rise to the occasion. But leaders can and must be created by the masses themselves and from the ranks of the masses. For the masses are the determining element, they are the rock upon which will rest the final victory of the revolution. The masses were at their best, they have transformed their "defeat" into a link of those historic defeats which form the pride and strength of world Socialism. And therefore from the defeat will blossom forth the future victory. "All is quiet in Berlin." You stupid lackeys! Your tranquility is based on quicksand. To-morrow again the Revolution will rise to the heights, and, in trumpet tones horrifying you, it will declare:

I was. I am, I shall be.

# The Party Organization

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

## Answers to the Call of the Workers of Russia

When Trotzky negotiated with the agents of German Imperialism at Brest Litovsk he appealed, over their heads, to the workers of Germany to overthrow the government of their Imperialist masters. He called upon them to come to the aid of the hard pressed workers of Russia and preserve the Russian Revolution.

Again the workers of Russia are hard pressed. This time it is International Imperialism that seeks to strike down the Soviet Republic of the Workers and Peasants. Though the voices of our comrades of Russia may not reach us, we may be sure that they are again calling upon the workers of the world to come their aid, to stand by their side in the struggle against the International Capitalists who seek their destruction.

We have a way of answering this call. The workers of this country are not yet sufficiently enlightened to use their mass power in support of the Russian comrades. It is our work, however, to carry on the campaign of agitation and education that will enlighten them and make them conscious of the unity of their interests.

That is the aim of the "Break the Blockade of Russia" campaign the National Organization of the Communist Party has launched in connection with the celebration of the beginning of the third year of the Soviet Republic. We must bring home to the American workers the fact that when the International Capitalists strike at Soviet Russia they are striking at them, for in the triumph of the workers of Russia lies the hope of freedom for the workers of the world.

Comrades of the Communist Party you must help make this campaign assume formidable proportions. You must help distribute leaflets. It is through the distribution of literature that we will reach the workers. We can deliver our message to millions of workers by distributing the "Break the Blockade of Russia" leaflet by the millions.

The National Organization has done its part. The leaflets are ready. Every branch must order as many as it can distribute. Call together your organization. Send in your order quickly. The leaflets sell at \$1.50 per thousand.

There are more than a thousand branches of the Communist Party at the present time. On the average they can distribute Five Thousand leaflets each. That means we can speak to Five Million workers.

Let us deliver our message to them on November 7th. Let us use our present power to answer the call of the comrades of Russia and develop that power so that we can give them effective aid in the future.

## The Organization Funds Grows

The Organization Fund, which is to furnish the means of building the fighting machine for the battle against Capitalism in this country is increasing in fine shape. The goal has been set at \$25,000. Already one-tenth of that amount has been turned in.

The Fund received several big boosts last week. Bigger boosts are to come: Every branch of the party must respond to the call and support the building of this fund.

During the week \$100.00 was received which was collected at the meeting of Jewish Branches of Detroit celebrating the foundation of the Communist Party.

Through the translator-secretary of the Polish Federation, the following contributions were turned in:

Elizabeth, N. J. \$4.50; Detroit no. 8, \$8.70; Windsor Locks, Conn. \$2.25; Akron, O. \$5.00; Detroit no. 8, \$29.25; Terryville, Conn. \$2.85; Youngstown, O. \$5.75; Thomastown, Conn. \$6.75; Salem, Mass. \$7.50; Kenosha Wis. \$20.00; Troy, Kenosha, Wis. \$15. Total \$107.55.

From the Ukrainian Branches through their translator-secretary the following contributions were made:

Aultmann, Pa. no. 66, \$10.00; Ludlow, Mass. \$5.20; McIntyre, Pa. \$4.50; Denbo, Pa. \$8.00; Waterman, Pa. \$7.50; Farrel, Pa. \$4.50; Alex Odaysky \$2.00; Warren, O. \$6.50; Burnham, Ill. \$5.00; Scranton, Pa. \$5.00; Carnegie, Pa. \$6.70; Passaic, N. J. \$10.00; Syracuse, N. Y. \$5.85; Cleveland, O. \$5.50; Lawrence, Mass. \$3.40; Endicott, N. Y. \$50.00; Racine, Wis. \$4.00; Akron, O. \$5.53; Scranton, Pa. \$8.75; Fulton Run, Pa. \$8.00; North Tonawanda, N. Y. \$5.55; Taylor, Pa. \$5.00; Cool Run, Pa. \$6.00; Auburn, N. Y. \$5.00; Chicago, Ill. \$15.50; South Bend, Ind. \$2.00; Binghamton, N. Y. \$10.00; total \$219.98.

On Sept. 3. the Elizabeth, N. J. Ukrainian, Bayonne Ukrainian, Bayonne Russian, Stapleton Ukrainian and Staten Island Russian branches held a picnic and of the proceeds \$17.98 were donated to the Organization Fund of the Party.

Other contributions received are the following: Yorkville German Br. \$10.00; 1st Russian Br., Pittsburg \$7.25; Chas. Giezko \$8.25; James Bertulis \$3.75; Plainfield, N. Y. Russian \$7.40; Steubenville, O. Russian \$7.25; Evanston, Ill. \$15.00; Kansas City Russian \$24.80; Lithuanian no. 89 \$4.53; Jewish West End Br., Boston 6.25; Russian Br. Hamtramack \$33.50; Atlanta Russian \$9; Workmen Sick & Death Benefit Fund no. 25, \$10.00.

Proceeds of a picnic held by the Lettish and Esthonian Branches of New York netted \$73.88, which was donated to the Organization Fund.

The total receipts for the Organization Fund thus far are \$2,418.36.

We have made a fine beginning. Now we must keep the fund going.

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

### These Are Ready "THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA."

By N. LENIN and L. TROTZKY.  
Edited by L. C. Fraina.  
Paper, 450 Pages.

Single copies.....\$1.00  
5 copies or more, each......65  
Cloth:

Single copies.....\$1.50  
5 or more, each..... 1.00

This book contains the story of the Russian revolution as told by Lenin and Trotzky in their articles written as the events took place.

### "THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN GERMANY."

By LOUIS C. FRAINA.

Single copies.....\$0.15  
10 copies..... 1.25  
25 or more, each..... .10

### "REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM"

By LOUIS C. FRAINA.

Single copies.....\$0.50  
10 copies..... 4.00  
25 copies..... 9.00  
Fifty or more, each..... .30

### "Manifesto, Program, Constitution of the Communist Party and Report to the International."

Single copies.....\$0.10  
25 copies..... 2.00  
50 copies..... 3.50  
100 or more, each..... .06

Ten thousand copies of this pamphlet have already been sold. The title speaks for itself.

Send order and remittance to  
1219 Blue Island Ave. Chicago, Ill.

## Organization Progress

Ridgewood, N. J. and Mt. Morris, N. Y. German Branches have joined the Communist Party.

More than thirty branches of the Jewish Communist Federation were chartered last week.

The Ft. Wayne German Branch decided with only one dissenting vote out of 92 to join the Communist Party.

Local Los Angeles, Cal. was chartered as a Communist Party local last week. The local thus repudiated the action of their delegates to the Chicago convention.

The Cleveland local is showing other party units how to handle leaflets. The local has a standing order for Forty Thousand copies of each leaflet published.

Local Greater New York of the Communist Party has been officially organized. The local has more than five thousand members and will soon begin publication of its weekly paper.

Two shipping clerks at the Communist Party headquarters are unable to keep up with the orders for books, pamphlets, leaflets and copies of "The Communist" which are pouring into headquarters every day.

The German Branches of Chicago have organized a City Central Committee. The 24th Ward Branch, the most active German Branch of Chicago decided for the Communist Party without a dissenting vote.

Plans are being developed for a school for Communist agitators and organizers in connection with the National Headquarters. Definite announcements of a fine opportunity for young men and women to qualify themselves for service to the movement will soon be made.

Charters were granted to Communist Party branches in San Francisco, Seattle and Portland during the week gone by. When the records are complete it will be found that the majority of the former Socialist Party membership in the three Western Coast states will be found in the Communist Party.

### PAMPHLET NO. 2 NOW READY.

By KARL RADEK  
"The Development of Socialism from Science to Action."

The development of Socialism from utopianism to science has been presented in the writings of the men who formulated the principles of Scientific Socialism. The Russian Revolution developed these theories on the field of action. Karl Radek is one of the foremost men in the Communist Movement of Russia. It was he who represented the Bolsheviki in Germany during the uprising of the Spartacans. This pamphlet by Radek will hold a place equal to Engels "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific."

Prices:  
Single copies.....\$ .10  
25 copies..... 2.00  
50 copies..... 3.50  
100 copies..... 6.00

### "Y O U R . . S H O P"

Leaflet No. 3 deals with the organization of the workers to use their power in the shops. It is a simple, direct appeal that will strike home. It will help build Communist Party Shop Branches and shop organizations of all the workers. Order at \$1.50 per thousand.

### Leaflet No. 4.

"THE STATE—STRIKE-BREAKER" appears on page 1 of this issue of The Communist. First run, 250,000. Should go over the Million mark. Order at once, \$1.50 per thousand.

The Celebration of the Second Anniversary of the Russian Communist Republic imposes the task of unrelenting revolutionary agitation. Break the blockade! Long live Soviet Russia! Long live the world Revolution!

# The Communist International

## The Communist Party of Mexico

THE Left Wing of the Mexican Socialist Party is now provisionally organized as the Communist Party of Mexico, with its first convention scheduled for some time in November. The break occurred at the Socialist Party Convention (almost simultaneously with the formal split of the Socialist Party in this country), upon the issue of the seating of Luis N. Morones, "the Mexican agent of Samuel Gompers", as a delegate in the Socialist Congress. It was this same Morones who sat in the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor as a fraternal delegate while a resolution was adopted favoring the exclusion of immigrants (from Mexico also) for a period of two years at least. The issue was Gompersism versus radical unionism.

The main feature of the Communist program of action in Mexico is, of course, the fight against intervention, and insistent appeal is made to the American workers to oppose the plans of our imperialists by revolutionary mass action. The Communist

Party of Mexico may soon become the majority party

So far the Communist Party of America has had no opportunity for such contact with the new Mexican party as to formulate a basis for common action.

The emergence, in Mexico, of an organization which seeks identify with the Communist International is an event of great importance—an event which may develop crucial significance in the Communist conflict with American Imperialism.

## The Communist Situation in Germany

PAPERS from Germany, Communist, Independent Socialist and social-patriotic, are all in accord about one feature of the revolutionary movement there. While Independent and Majority papers state with a certain amount of fear, the Communist papers state with satisfaction, the growth of the Communist Party of Germany. It is admitted that the Communist Party is gaining ground so rapidly that a new uprising

of the Spartacans is certain during the coming winter months, or soon after.

The Spartacans issued recently a Manifesto to the peasants of Germany calling upon them to unite with the Communist Party on the basis of its Agrarian Program. This Program proved to be what the peasants of Germany were looking for, because neither the majority Socialists nor the Independents were able to offer anything for the benefit of the rural proletariat and the small landowners of Germany, upon which the success of Communism is dependent to a large extent. After issuing this program, the Communists began to gain ground, mostly in the village Workers' Councils. While the Majority Socialists are trying to prevent the spread of Communism by suppressing the Communist papers, the Independent Socialists are looking with envy upon the rapid growth of their rival on the political field.

Both the Independent and the Majority Socialist parties are facing the danger of factional splits, by which the Communists alone will profit.

# Declaration on Communist Unity

To the Executive Committee and the Members of the Communist Labor Party Comrades:—

This statement by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party is in reply to your proposal of a conference between the two Executive Committees to see if there is some basis for uniting the two parties.

The Communist Party earnestly desires Communist unity in the United States. While there are some elements represented in the organization of the Communist Labor Party which have not irrevocably severed themselves from the Socialist Party in principle, it is our belief that there are several thousands Communists who are now identified with this party because of the circumstance that their delegates at Chicago attended the Convention which created the Communist Labor Party. These comrades, perhaps five thousand in number, are particularly from the Western States, where there was not close contact with the Left Wing developments.

In the Eastern States there are perhaps another five thousand of former members of the Socialist Party who have been left in a state of confusion because their delegates at Chicago took part in the formation of a third party. In this group, however, it is not so clear that the members thus represented are ready for the decisive step from Socialism to Communism. In this respect the membership situation corresponds fairly accurately with the convention situation out of which the third party arose, since in the Communist Labor Party Convention were many delegates who had not before committed themselves to the formation of a new party.

It is important that in so far as there are Communist elements in the Communist Labor Party that there be unity of these elements with the Communist Party.

The question is as to the practical means to bring about unity. Will a conference between the two executive committees be of any use for this purpose?

We think not; and we believe that it is more to the point for our committee at once to lay down the basis for unity which would necessarily be our governing instructions in such conference.

The Communist Convention acted clearly and decisively at Chicago, with the sincere purpose of attaining fundamental Communist unity. We could not deal with the Communist Labor Party as a "party", though were most eager to have with us the delegates in that convention who were representatives of Communist membership. It is unnecessary to review our proposals made at that time. Wherever presented fairly to the Communist membership, the action of our Convention has been approved.

At all stages preliminary to the creation of a third party, the official representatives of the

Adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party.

Left Wing made every possible effort to head off the conscious scheme to create a third party. The National Left Wing Council made its appeals to the Left Wing delegates at the Socialist Party convention individually and collectively. In the caucus meetings of these delegates, before and after bolting the Socialist Party convention, Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg made repeated efforts, in behalf of Left Wing unity, to get effective action for united building of the one Communist Party. When these efforts were defeated, by a combination of those who were not yet fully decided upon a decisive break with the Socialist Party and those who had come to Chicago purposely to start a third party, and when a committee of the Communist Labor Party Convention came over to offer merger to the Organization Committee of the Communist Party, the appeal was again made that the Communist Convention be given a chance to deal with these delegates as delegates, not as a "party", otherwise there could be no merger.

We have charged and we now insist that the organization of the Communist Labor Party was a deliberate act against Communist unity, so far as the conscious manipulators of the situation were concerned. But we repeat that this charge only touches a minority of the delegates of the Communist Labor Convention. We repeat that the membership is in no way to blame for this outcome of events at Chicago.

The membership of the Communist Labor Party is no more to blame for the eagerness of the National Secretary of the Communist Labor Party to run Socialist candidates and garner Socialist votes. The membership is taking much more seriously the issues which divide Socialists and Communists at this crucial time of class warfare. Nor is the membership to blame for any want of clarity and precision of Communist understanding in the program and constitution of the party. Their response is to the idea of a fundamental break with the old Socialist conceptions and the beginning of a militant Communist organization.

Unity is now a membership proposition, not an affair of dickering between executive officers. The old issues which divided Left Wing delegates at Chicago mean nothing now to the membership. What interests them now is the actual creation and work of a real Communist organization. We are doing the best service for Communist unity by our work for Communist principles, thus proving our organization in action.

It would be folly to distract from our party work for aimless negotiations which could only encourage a state of indecision. We can make as

clear a statement now to the Communist Labor membership as we made to the Communist Labor delegates at Chicago. A conference could add nothing to this statement.

We will accept Communist Labor Party branches as branches of the Communist Party, if these branches or locals accept our program and constitution. This will at once give this membership a "basis of equality" with the existing Communist units; and it will give this membership full opportunity to choose their preferred delegates for the June convention of the Communist Party. No elections or appointments in the Communist Party go beyond this June convention, so the membership will have every opportunity for sharing in the control of the party at this early date. There is also immediate recourse to referendum on any matter, or recall of any party official, with every opportunity for discussion of party problems in the party press and its forums.

In order to avoid any embarrassment on account of work undertaken or expenses incurred, we offer to liquidate the national organization of the Communist Labor Party, to take over its work, liabilities and assets. This would absolve the Communist Labor Party membership from any responsibility incurred by having joined the third party.

For such purpose, we will be glad to appoint a special committee to meet with a similar committee of the Communist Labor Party, this joint committee to arrange for the liquidation of the national organization of the Communist Labor Party.

No other plan or proposal could be made in conformity with the decisions of the convention which are binding at all times upon this committee. We can only interpret the decisions embodied in the resolutions and in the constitution formulated by the controlling organ of our party—the Convention.

We appeal to the Communist Labor Party membership which is truly Communist to take this situation in their own hands and to compel unity on a fundamental basis. The actions of the Communist convention which bind us as a committee are the very best proofs that the Communist Party is founded firmly upon understanding and adherence to Communist principles. There never was any reason for the organization of a third party, except as such a party embodies the elements of indecision, except as it is in truth a party of Centrism. There is no valid reason for the continuation of the Communist Labor Party except as a party of Centrism. We appeal to the Communists in the ranks of the Communist Labor Party to align themselves at once where they really belong—in the Communist Party, for the better building of a party in America with that staunch adherence to principle which alone can make a real Communist Movement.