

The Communist

Official Paper of the Communist Party of America

Vol. I. No. 5

Chicago, Ill., Saturday, August 16, 1919

Five Cents

A Lesson from Russia

By H. M. WICKS

Since November 7, 1917, innumerable journalists, prostituted to capitalism, have devoted their entire time to denunciation and misrepresentation of the Russian revolution. The columns of the Morganized press fairly reeked with word pictures of the horrors alleged to have been perpetrated upon the Russian masses by the inhuman and blood-thirsty revolutionists.

Time and again the stories of Bolshevik atrocities have been exposed as infamous lies, yet that fact is not of the slightest concern to the yellow press, which brazenly and persistently repeats in both news and editorial columns the exploded lies. Even this anvil chorus is evidently not producing the desired results as the capitalist class has now resorted to whole page advertisements alleged to be comparisons of the conditions of the Russian people with the condition of the American workman.

The Chicago Daily Journal carries a full page advertisement containing a cartoon under the caption, "Russia Offers a Great Industrial Lesson," wherein is portrayed an American worker, his wife and child, sitting at ease in front of their home; the vines are twining around the door and flowers are nodding upon the curb beyond the sidewalk—a picture of happiness and contentment. In the distance can be seen innumerable industrial establishments with smoke pouring from the stacks, denoting peaceful production.

Then we are revolted at the alleged Russian conditions portrayed below. Instead of peace and contentment there is murder, pillaging, rapine. Hundreds of infuriated beasts are seen plying the torch to industrial establishments; others are assassinating women and children; women are weeping over the bodies of their dead husbands; children are torn from their terrified mothers' breasts and hurled upon the earth run red with human blood. Beneath this picture is the sinister warning: "Let Russia's Plight be a Warning to You." Then follows this screed:

"Torn apart by internal dissention and strife, Russia stands conspicuously before the world, helpless as an orphaned child.

"Deficient in education, lacking leadership in whom her suspecting millions can trust, Russia is a pitiable example of the vicissitudes of war.

"Contrast America's busy factories with the idle workshops of Russia. From the smokestacks of American factories curls the smoke of peace and enterprise, while inside contented laborers are bending happily to their daily task, working shoulder to shoulder with capital.

"The chimneys of Russian workshops are smokeless. Their interiors are desolate. Their walls are crumbling and forbidding, while frenzied mobs burn with torch and wantonly kill.

"Contrast again the lack of government and governmental restraint and encouragement with Bolshevism.

"Contrast the housed American workmen with the homeless hordes of starving Russians.

"The great fundamental principle of American government, which inspires initiative in the individual, has proved to be the sound basis for social, industrial and political freedom and progress.

"It has made the United States the strongest monetary and industrial force in the world.

"On the eve of reconstruction and readjustment we all must do our part in co-operation and conservation, in order to increase production.

"Then the wheels of industry will move faster than ever, without jolt or the slipping of a cog, and Labor and Capital will be content."

The creature who drew that cartoon is so debased he would ravish the body of his own mother at the behest of his masters. Just as there are distances in space which the most powerful telescope cannot penetrate, so are there depths of human depravity which the mind cannot measure.

But as an analysis of the psychology of the creature responsible for that cartoon is impossible, we shall endeavor to analyze the motive that prompted the lie.

The fact that there is a great deal of unrest in the ranks of the workers in America is so well known it needs no com-

ment. Most American workers know only too well from sad experience that the picture of contentment and happiness is a deliberate exaggeration, to say the least.

Let us briefly review the high lights of the industrial conditions in the United States for the past five and a half years. In the winter of 1913-1914 hundreds of thousands of workers were upon the streets idle. Industry was disorganized; the summer of 1914 saw ever larger numbers thrown into the ranks of the unemployed. The conflagration in old Europe came as the savior of capitalist industry in the United States. The sudden demands of the governments of Europe for material—ammunition, food, clothing, etc.—with which to carry on the mass slaughter stimulated American industry to an extent never before known and completely absorbed the army of unemployed.

Establishments that had been used for normal capitalist production were converted into war industries between 1914 and 1917. In fact, the industries of the United States during 1915 and 1916 were just as much a part of the Allied military machine as was the British army. It was clearly apparent that the United States government would be compelled to enter the war on the part of the Allies in order to protect the interests of the ruling class. With the entrance of this country into the war as a military factor industries were stimulated to an extent hardly conceivable a few years before. The selective draft withdrew hundreds of thousands of men from the industries and the demand for labor power was so great that countless thousands of women donned overalls and engaged in branches of industry formerly considered the exclusive sphere of men.

The unemployment problem of 1913-1914 caused numerous reformers, including persons prominent in the so-called Socialist party, to advocate legislative reforms guaranteeing every adult male "the right to work." This utopian idea was not realized at that time as the army of unemployed is inseparable from normal capitalist production; but in 1918 the United States government placed the famous "work or fight" law upon the statute books, granting the utopians their "right to work" with a vengeance. Numerous state legislatures and city councils, with an industrial constituency, went a step further and prescribed long terms of imprisonment for those unable to enter the army and who refused to engage in "essential work." Men were recruited by the tens of thousands from the farms of the Middle West and the rural districts of the East for the war industries. Every arms and ammunition factory, every shipyard operated both day and night; still the demand for materials was not met.

Then on November 11, 1918, came the signing of the armistice and the speedy demobilization of the industrial army. Men were discharged from industries even faster than they were recruited. They are returning to their former pursuits only to find no demand for their labor power.

With the collapse of the war we are again confronted with unemployment. Already the slave market is overcrowded. Thousands upon thousands of idle men crowd the lodging house sections of the cities. The war industries such as the ammunition factories and the gigantic shipyards are working only part time and many of them are standing idle. There is no longer a demand for instruments of death. The workers need food and clothing, but the capitalist owners of industry cannot realize a profit from their toil, so the factories, mills and mines stand idle and the citizens of this glorious nation, which recently made the world safe for democracy, infest the soup houses or stand in bread lines, as they did of yore.

Compare this condition with revolutionary Russia where,

(Continued on page 8)

From War Plays to Jazz

It was Karl Marx who declared that the prevailing ideas of any given epoch are the ideas of the ruling class of that period. The moment the ideas of the ruling class ceases to hold sway in the minds of a larger portion of people constituting a given society a period of revolution ensues in which that society is annihilated.

In reviewing the history of capitalistic society and its apparent contradictions in the process of its development one cannot help but note the manner in which all institutions change to conform to the new demands of the ruling class. This adaptability is particularly obvious in the capitalist press and in the church. But equally as efficient as a reflex of the ideas of a ruling class is the theatre.

Before the war the public was surfeited with hundreds of superficial plays based upon the sloppy sentimentality of the "eternal triangle." In a thousand variations the matrimonial shipwrecks caused by two women in love with a man or two men in love with a woman were depicted, invariably closing with the vindication of bourgeois morality. Which of the three should be shot, or hanged, or exiled depended entirely upon the viewpoint of the playwright and the ingenuity with which he manipulated his characters.

After the declaration of war the theatre, like the press and pulpit, schools and colleges, became an instrument of propaganda and we were assaulted with a deluge of war plays that for shallowness and artificiality eclipsed in stupidity anything ever previously attempted. Any hack writer could write a war play provided his intellect was of that undeveloped type compatible with capitalist jingoism. No matter how senseless the play or how atrocious the barnstorming of the actors, a liberal flag waving, interspersed with a generous damning of the Kaiser as the incarnation of evil, was sufficient to ensure its success. War plays were written, not because the playwrights had anything important to say about the war, but because of a commercial calculation that they afforded the most easily interesting topic for exploitation.

In the vaudeville theatres acts that under other conditions would have been hissed from the stage were inflicted upon the public under the guise of flag-waving patriotism. Thousands of ribbon clerks and hash slingers became actors overnight, covering their defects as singers and actors with a generous supply of red, white and blue bunting.

The signing of the armistice was also the signing of the death warrant for the war play. In a few short weeks the war play fell into such disrepute that the managers of theatres had to solemnly assure the public through the advertising columns of the press and the billboards that their attraction was NOT A WAR PLAY!

The ruling class is now confronted with the problem of reconstruction, but the theatre and other institutions, which serve the interests of capitalism, seem unable to originate anything that will serve to enthuse the masses. The only

positive factor thus far in capitalism's reconstruction program is the desire to destroy the proletarian revolution in Russia. To accomplish this end there are no depths of human depravity to which the lickspittle playwrights and scenario writers will not sink in order to misrepresent the proletarian revolution—the mortal enemy of capitalism. So far there has been one redeeming feature about these anti-Bolshevik plays, they have all been such atrocious and palpable lies that even the gullible American theatregoer resents them as an insult to his alleged intelligence.

The confusion, hesitancy and anarchy of this society as it approaches destruction is visibly reflected in the amusement world. Unable to cope with the vital problems that confront the world today, this institution with the class it serves, sinks into idiocy. As a substitute for jingoism in the amusement world we now have "jazz music" and "shimmy dances." These barbarisms could only originate in a degenerate society. From the vile dens of the degenerate Turks adventurous showmen used to secure "hootchie-kootchie" dancers for the purpose of cajoling the dimes out of the pockets of the rural population of the country. These exhibitions were usually concealed in alleys behind circus tents and were considered indecent. Today, however, the musical comedy or vaudeville performance without its shimmy-

ing-jazz number appeals only to old women. And the hootchie-kootchie dance formerly exhibited only in questionable side-shows is now wriggled in the leading ball rooms of the nation. In a degenerate society degenerates hold sway and the slogan of capitalism should now be "All power to the degenerates."

No possible stimulus will ever revive capitalism and its crumbling institutions. This society with all its institutions is rapidly sinking to the lowest depths possible. Neither science, literature, music or art can advance until capitalism has been destroyed.

It is only in a new society, freed from the fetters of class rule, that intellectual advancement can take place. Playwrights of the future will not exist by prostitution to a ruling class, but will truthfully depict life as it really is.

Sometime within the next decade some playwright, as yet unknown, will write a war play and use for his topic the saturnalia of agony and ashes and bloodshed from which we have just emerged, wherein will be depicted the real incentives and issues involved. Then will be laid bare the sordid motives of capitalist imperialism which plunged the workers of the world at each others throats and the words "making the world safe for democracy" will be the signal for contemptuous and derisive laughter.

The proletarian revolution comes, not only as the emancipator of the worker, but as the saviour of human society.—H. M. W.

Czarizm in America

Alexander Stocklitsky, translator-secretary of the Russian Federation, was arrested at Detroit, Michigan, on Friday, August 1st, as he was entering the House of the Masses to deliver a lecture. He was surrounded by a dozen police and detectives and without any explanation hurried into a waiting automobile and taken to a police station. The privilege of consulting a lawyer was denied him. The arresting party had no warrant, but after a few hours Stocklitsky was informed there was a presidential warrant "somewhere" for him and that he was charged with violation of the immigration act, or in other words considered an "undesirable alien."

He was searched at the first police station and then during the night was transferred a number of times from one station to another. The authorities were evidently afraid some effort would be made to secure his release and were determined to hold him as long as possible. None of his associates could learn of his whereabouts or the nature of the charges. He was finally taken to the department of "justice," where he was held for five hours and later to the "rogues' gallery" and questioned by detectives, who hurled the vilest conceivable epithets at him, alternating their personal insults by indulging in obscene tirades against the Bolsheviks.

Monday morning, after being held three days incommunicado, bail was secured and at six o'clock in the evening he was released from custody. His hearing before the immigration authorities is set for August 20th.

When it was apparent that he could furnish bail the Detroit officials evidently wired Chicago officials, as both Stocklitsky's home and office in Chicago were raided Monday afternoon and all his personal papers and correspondence, even pictures, were taken.

The principal charge against him seems to be that he is active in the organization work of the Communist Party of America, and those familiar with the tactics of the immigration authorities realize that a strenuous effort will be made to deport him to the land of Kolchak. The United States government is using this tactic to rid itself of some of its political enemies, and every official connected with the government knows that deportation of a man like Stocklitsky to the territory controlled by the Czarist, Kolchak, means the firing squad.

It is the same tactic used by this government in the deportation of the hindoos to India. The British war lords have executed every Hindoo who has been deported from this country that we have any record of. The same tactic is now to be used, with Kolchak as the executioner.

COMRADES! This deportation must stop. These soldiers in the ranks of the army of the revolution must not be sacrificed to these international executioners. Arrange protest meetings and let your voices be raised against these crimes.

Also get busy immediately and raise defense funds for the purpose of defending this and other cases. Send all contributions to J. V. Stilson, Treasurer, Defense Fund, Communist Party of America, 1221 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Official Organization Bulletin

To all Locals, Branches and State Organizations:

Dear Comrades:

Many locals and groups have already answered the call of the National Organization Committee of the Communist Party. Many new Communist Locals have been organized, and many are in the process of formation. Some are discussing the advisability of aligning themselves with the new party, and to these we would say: "Do not hesitate; let there be no unnecessary delay. Begin at once upon practical constructive organization work."

The first convention of the Communist Party of America will convene in Chicago, Ill., on Monday, September 1, at 9 a. m. Branches, Locals and State organizations concurring in the call for the organization of the Communist Party are entitled to representation at this convention. The basis of representation shall be one delegate for each organization and one additional delegate for each additional 500 members or major portion thereof. Each Language Federation shall be entitled to one fraternal delegate at the convention. In instances where states concur in the call, they shall send delegates as states. In other states, Locals and branches may send delegates as such. In cases where a portion of a Local concurs in the call, such portion of a Local shall be entitled to a delegate.

In order that all delegates may have uniform credentials, we are printing the following credential form, which should be used by secretaries in making out credentials for delegates. The secretary will also please furnish the information indicated.

DELEGATE'S CREDENTIAL COMMUNIST PARTY CONVENTION Chicago, Ill., Sept. 1, 1919

Date.....

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that Comrade (name).....

has been elected to represent (name and address of the organization)

at the Convention called by the National Organization Committee of the Communist Party.

(Name of Organization)

Number of Members

(Secretary)

(Seal)

City.....

State.....

The Secretary is requested to furnish the following information:

Name of Local or Branch.....

Time and place of meeting.....

Names and address of officers.....

Number of members in good standing at present time.....

When and how was Branch or Local formed?.....

What are the instructions of the delegates from your organization in regard to the Communist Party?.....

Where there are two or more branches in a given locality, these branches shall call a joint meeting and elect their delegates. For further information, write Dennis E. Batt, Secretary National Organization Committee. Do not delay. It is better to ask questions now and save confusion later. Secretaries are requested to immediately communicate with the National Secretary, informing him of the number of delegates elected, so that arrangements may be made to secure accommodations for them while in Chicago.

Financing the Convention

Organizations sending delegates will be assessed \$50 for each delegate. This fund will be applied to equalize the railroad fare of all delegates to the convention. Organizations having less than 250 members, and which are unable to pay this amount, are urged to send delegates. A special fund will be created to defray their traveling expenses. Expenses other than railroad fares will be paid by the organization sending delegates. In the event that delegates are not provided with funds, the National Organization will provide rooms and meals.

Do not fail to be represented at this historical convention. All delegates, either directly or through Local Secretaries, are requested to communicate with the National Organization Committee immediately following their election. Uniform credential blanks will be furnished by the Committee.

Special Convention Fund

To assist those organizations which are unable to meet the expense of sending delegates to the Communist Convention a special convention fund has been created. Individuals and organizations are urged to contribute to this fund to the end that the convention shall be thoroughly representative, and that no group shall fail to be heard because of its lack of finances.

How to Organize a Communist Local

Take the initiative in your locality, call a meeting and form your branch organization; proceed immediately to elect delegates to a preliminary conference composed of delegates representing each fifty members or fraction thereof. This city conference shall elect a local executive committee of not less than seven members. From the members of this executive committee elect a secretary, organizer, literature agent and financial secretary. As soon as the organization is completed, communicate immediately with the secretary of the National Organization Committee.

Application for Membership COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

I, the undersigned, recognizing the necessity for the organization of a Communist Party in conformity with the call issued for a convention to be held in the city of Chicago, Monday, September 1st, 1919, hereby make application for membership in said party.

Name

Address

Age..... Occupation.....

Previous affiliation.....

(Give name of organization and period of membership)

Admitted.....1919, Local or Branch.....

Secretary.....

Organization Fund

The National Organization Committee has inaugurated a country-wide campaign of agitation, education and organization. Funds are needed to place speakers and organizers in the field. Several comrades are ready to start out on this necessary work, and the scope of their activities depends entirely upon your liberality.

In sending contributions, make checks and money orders payable to J. V. Stilson, Treasurer, and designate the use you wish the Committee to make of the money.

Supplies

Temporary charters, application cards, membership cards, dues stamps and other supplies may be secured from the National Organization Committee. Branches of Language Federations suspended from the Socialist Party will secure supplies and dues stamps through their Federation Executive Committees or Translator Secretaries. Branches endorsing the call for the formation of the Communist Party and who are now affiliated with Federations not yet suspended from the Socialist Party may secure charters and supplies in the same manner as the English branches.

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THE COMMUNIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

 DENNIS E. BATT..... Editor
 H. M. WICKS..... Associate Editor

Organization Committee, Communist Party of America

 JOHN KERACHER DENNIS E. BATT
 S. KOPNAGEL D. ELBAUM
 J. V. STILSON O. C. JOHNSON
 ALEXANDER STOKLITSKY

 DENNIS E. BATT, Secretary
 ALEXANDER STOKLITSKY, Organizer
 J. V. STILSON, Treasurer

SUBSCRIPTION:

 \$2.00 per year Single Copies 5 cents
 \$1.00 six months Bundle Rates on Application

 Published Weekly By THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE
 1221 BLUE ISLAND AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILL.
 A. J. MCGREGOR, Bus. Manager


IMPERIALIST HOPES VANISH

Allied imperialism, after combining diplomatic deceit with a half-hearted and underhanded attempt to crush the Russian revolution, finally threw all its resources behind the Russian monarchist, Kolchak. The recognition of this former czarist prompted the remark from Leon Trotsky that Kalchak would have to put the crown on his head in a Siberian forest, instead of at Omsk, recognized by the Allies as the "seat of the Russian government." History will vindicate Trotsky's prophecy.

Omsk is becoming a dangerous place for the Czarist admiral of the "land forces" to inhabit and his greatest concern at the present moment seems his personal safety. As the New York Russian paper, Novy Mir, has observed, "The museum of Russian counter revolution will soon be enriched by one more political mummy." After Korlinoff, Krasnoff—after Krasnoff, Skoropadsky—after Skoropadsky, Kolchak.

The final blow to Kolchak is at the same time the final blow to the intrigues of the allied imperialists. Until recently the Allies have had hopes of keeping the fires of reaction burning in the Omsk region, but the reptile press of the imperialists is compelled to record the barely controlled outbursts of discontent that constantly threaten the collapse of the Kolchak venture. Combined with the distressing news of the military defeat of Kolchak and the spread of revolutionary sentiments among the men composing his army the financial capitalists are confronted with the demands on the part of all sections of the English liberals for withdrawal of troops from Russia. Only a few days ago the British ex-premier, Asquith, recognized as the spokesman of the right wing of the British liberals, delivered a speech against intervention in Russia. The liberals of the left, whose most efficient journalistic spokesman is the Manchester Guardian, have long since spoken in no uncertain terms against intervention. The position of British labor in opposition to intervention in Russia is well known. This development leaves the British conservatives alone in Britain upholding the policy of intervention. It should by no means be implied that the liberals are in favor of the Soviet government. It simply means the more far-sighted elements have realized the futility of armed intervention. Simultaneous with the changed attitude of Asquith comes the report of the correspondent of the conservative London Times from the Archangle front that the entire European Russia is in the hands of the Bolsheviks and that no defeat of them is possible. The Parliament's correspondent of the Chronicle, always acquainted with the trend of thought in the House of Commons, reports that the anti-interventionist movement is steadily gaining in strength.

An analysis of the situation in Britain makes it apparent that the spokesmen of the British government are endeavoring to find some way to gracefully retreat from a very untenable position. It is quite evident that Allied imperialists will soon make a peace offer to Soviet Russia. The offer will be carefully considered from every viewpoint by the Soviet government and it will give its answer. The character of that answer is apt to be very different from what the Allies are expecting. The Russian revolution is not now in the position it was when the offer for a conference at Prince's Island was made. Undoubtedly valuable concessions would then have been surrendered by the Soviet government, as time was needed for reorganization of many basic industries. That condition no longer exists. Not only have the red armies been victorious

on all fronts, but within Russia the transportation system has been wonderfully improved, living conditions have been greatly bettered and are constantly improving. Revolutionary Russia is stronger today than ever. When Soviet Russia comes to discuss terms of peace this time it will not be in the position of a new revolutionary government waging a doubtful struggle for existence, but in the position of a victor. And to the victor should go the spoils.

The time has now definitely and forever passed when an Allied victory is possible in Soviet Russia. All hopes of victory were based upon the success of Kolchak's spring drive. The long struggle through the summer, the final defeat of Kolchak, and now the approach of another winter, making operations against the revolution from the Siberian front impossible, thus affording an opportunity for even more intensive organization within Russia form a combination of circumstances that dooms the last hopes of the Allied Imperialists.

Soviet Russia, under other conditions, when fighting for life was compelled to yield to the "Brigand's peace" of Brest-Litovsk. But over the heads of the German imperialists the revolutionary challenge was sent to the working class of Germany. From the diplomatic conference with the spokesmen of the Allies the shallowness of imperialist statemanship will be exposed to the view of the workers of the Allied countries.

From that conference will again emanate the old call for workers of all countries to unite against their oppressors, but not in the nature of a challenge to capitalism so much as a call to the final conflict.

To the victor shall go the spoils; and the victor in this conflict will be the revolutionary proletariat of the entire world under the invincible banner of the Third Internationale.

THROTTLING AN INTERNATIONAL STRIKE

The failure of the international strike scheduled to take place in England, France and Italy on July 21st as a protest against Allied intervention in Russia is one more damning count in the indictment of the proletariat against the right and centrist leaders. The strike did not give the desired results because it was not a general, but a partial strike.

The heads of the French Confederation of Labor, although instructed by the membership to call a general strike, tabled the orders because, forsooth, the bourgeois parliament had expressed its distrust of one of the minor members of the Clemenceau Cabinet. In their explanation of this act to the proletariat of the world they professed to believe that after the repudiation of this member by parliament would come the fall of Clemenceau and then "the day of the proletariat would be at hand." If the heads of the French Confederation of Labor believed in the sincerity of the capitalistic parliament they were sadly fooled and thereby prove their incompetence as labor officials. The majority of the French Confederation of Labor is composed of anarcho-syndicalists (enemies of parliamentarism), but they did precisely what every revolutionary socialist expects them to do in a crisis; align themselves with the reformers in the ranks of the socialist parties, whose tactics they profess to despise. These alleged opponents of parliamentarism, rather than face the stern reality of participation in a test of proletarian strength resorted to the cowardly tactic of the pure and simple reformer by professing confidence in the capitalist state. By refusing to participate in the proletarian test of strength they played the role of traitors, not only to the proletariat of Russia and Hungary, but to the proletariat of their own country.

The same contemptible role was played by the labor leaders of great Britain. In the issue of July 10th the Manchester Guardian, organ of the Liberals, prints a letter from one Benshtock, leader of the Russian Mensheviks, addressed to the Central Committee of the British Labor Party. This man writes:

"Of course, we ought only to be glad at the decision of the British workers to organize a demonstration against the intervention of the Allies into Russian affairs."

This in the nature of a complaint; then follows a casual observation from this Russian menshevik to the British mensheviks, which lays bare an international conspiracy against the proletarian revolution:

"Kolchak and Lenin in an even measure support reaction. Bolshevik Terror and the general policy of the soviets are the best mediums of reaction. Therefore all support of the soviet government will give aid to reactionists."

Arthur Henderson and J. Ramsey McDonald and their lieutenants are still the leading spirits in the British Labor Party and the majority of the prominent figures in this organ-

ization are of the menshevik point of view and do not wish to enter into the decisive battle with the capitalistic class of their own country.

The actions of the anarcho-syndicalists of France and the parliamentary socialists and labor fakirs of Great Britain brand them as the most dangerous foes of the revolutionary proletariat. Instead of using the crisis which was called forth by the war and revolution to the advantage of the proletarian movement, instead of joining the ranks of the workers' army, the centrists and their followers betray the working class movement, using the ignorance, or insufficient political enlightenment, of the proletariat of their own country to serve the interests of the capitalist class against the workers.

These elements are to blame for the failure of the general proletarian demonstration on July 21st.

CIVIL WAR IN POLAND

From Poland, the land that Allied Imperialists so graciously appointed themselves mandatory for—with the gymnastic piano virtuoso, Paderewski, as the emissary who is to carry out their criminal designs—comes ever louder rumblings of revolt. From the heavily censored bourgeois press comes the information that the Polish parliament issued warrants for the entire Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party and that the committee, along with members of the Russian, Hungarian, Austrian and German Communist parties have been arrested and imprisoned. The government has also seized documents and money belonging to the imprisoned Communists. In all there have been 148 representatives of the working class arrested in Warsaw.

The morning of the day the arrests were made four distinct demonstrations started in as many different parts of the city. As the news of the demonstrations spread they merged into one huge demonstration on Marshalkovska, the main thoroughfare of the city. Over forty thousand workmen participated in this mass demonstration. The white guards were hurled against them and in a bloody battle, during which a number were killed and many wounded, that demonstration was suppressed. Undaunted by the defeat, the masses again came together in other streets, again merging into one huge demonstration, this time in front of the Theatre Place.

In the afternoon of the same day the workmen's demonstration assumed uncontrollable proportions and the House of Parliament was entirely surrounded and the army of the white guards rendered powerless. The workers entered the House of Parliament. The secretary of state and the president of the House of Parliament (sejm) appeared before the workmen and asked them to elect a committee to present their demands. The committee was elected and demanded the release of all prisoners in ten days, according to bourgeois press reports. It is more than probable that the time specified was much shorter than ten days.

It is plain that a revolutionary crisis is rapidly developing in Poland that may at any moment usher in the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

WILSON AND RUSSIA

Occasionally men are thrown against an historical background that magnifies their personality; because of their position they play a leading part in world history. These are the "great men of history," and because the same set of circumstances do not arise a second time it is difficult to demonstrate that other men would under similar conditions have done precisely the same thing. Because of this, the thoughtless are apt to hold certain individuals responsible for the events of history. Such is not the case. Forces more powerful than "great men" move them like manikins at the end of a string. So we commend Wilson's treatment of the Soviet Government of Russia to the merciful judgment of history.

We have long maintained that the driving forces in history are to be sought not in the ideas expressed by men but in the economic structure of society. Thus we were not surprised by the events which have transpired in the last two years.

When Woodrow Wilson sprang into prominence as the savior of humanity and the determining factor in the councils that were to liberate the world, many people of the so-called liberal type were taken into camp. Here was the Moses who would lead suffering humanity out of the wilderness. Here was the modern Christ who was to save us. His eloquent demands for justice for all peoples were accepted at their face value by the unwary. But what has happened? Like most promises these were made only to be broken. Wilson has been

a disappointment to all but the socialists. And in no other place has he given to the world a better picture of himself than in his attitude toward Soviet Russia.

We have been told that the Soviet Government cannot be recognized because it does not come up to the standard set by the great democracies of the world. It is a dictatorship that is based upon force and therefore cannot be admitted to the council of nations. The Bolsheviks are accused of atrocities against innocent and defenseless people. We are told that the Soviets do not represent the will of the majority of the Russian people.

These excuses, however, are nothing more or less than plain "bunk." The real reason why the Soviet government has not been recognized is because it is a government of the working class as against the governments of the capitalist class. This is the determining factor and all other considerations are subordinate. While the hue and cry of "a dictatorship by force" is raised against the Bolsheviks, these very people know that the Soviet government is no more based upon force than is any other government.

If this is not the case, then will Mr. Wilson or Mr. Lansing explain the recognition of the Finnish White Government, which is one of the most brutal military dictatorships the world has ever seen? The Finnish Workers Government was the lawful government of Finland but was overthrown by the reactionary, pro-German White Government, and thousands of workers were massacred. This government was recognized by Wilson, although it is openly pro-German, an objection that was raised against the Bolsheviks. The present government of Finland has been brutal beyond description, and yet it is deemed worthy of a welcome into the family of nations. We cannot, then, arrive at any conclusion other than that the avowed objections to the Soviet government are but a screen of words behind which is concealed the real objection.

If one desires further proof he has but to consider the co-operation between the government of the United States and the monarchist, Admiral Kolchak. Here we have another demonstration of the fact that a government does not have to be of the so-called democratic variety in order to secure recognition. But it must be avowedly capitalistic and guarantee to preserve the status quo of the robber class.

THE KETTLE CALLS THE POT BLACK

The last session of the international trade union congress held recently at Amsterdam, Holland, was marked by a spirited clash between Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and Karl Legien, president of the German Federation of Trade Unions. After Gompers had tried to put over one of his pet reactionary schemes and had been defeated by the European reactionaries Legien accused him of "voting for the employers."

The press despatches declare that Mr. Gompers was on his feet and in a voice trembling with emotion and suppressed indignation said:

"I throw that remark back into your teeth and say that a man who would vote to support Kaiserism in this war is the spokesman of kaiserism, autocracy and militarism."

Sammy and his "voice trembling with emotion" is quite a familiar spectacle at the A. F. of L. and other labor gatherings held in this country when someone tells the truth about his activities as a servant of the employing class. All his crocodile tears will never wash away his record of infamy in the labor movement.

We readily agree that Karl Legien acted as the servant of the Kaiser and the imperialistic ambitions of the German ruling class, but Samuel should not belittle him because of that. Gompers in this country and Legien in Germany occupy the same position as betrayers of the workers. Gompers in supporting the American imperialists is equally as contemptible as Legien in supporting the German imperialists. Imperialism, whether German or American, is always the enemy of the working class and one who professes to speak for the workers and supports an imperialist war is a traitor and a disgrace to the working class.

While Legien was faithfully serving the imperialists of Germany, Gompers was just as faithfully serving the imperialists of England and America. If Legien supported kaiserism in Germany, Sam Gompers and his ignoble crew in control of the A. F. of L. machine supported the same tendency in this country.

The quarrel between Legien and Gompers is merely a case of the kettle calling the pot black.

THE COMMUNIST

(Continued from page 3)

The Communist will be the official paper of the new party, and all locals should actively assist in increasing its circulation. Individual members should send in their subscriptions, so that they may at all times be informed on the developments going on in the ranks of the revolutionary movement. Secretaries of Locals and individuals may secure subscription blanks by writing for them.

SPECIAL PROPAGANDA WEEKLY

The National Organization is now prepared to issue a special four-page propaganda paper, which may be distributed by Locals and individuals. This paper will contain propaganda matter which appears in the regular edition of The Communist, but will contain no official party news or discussions of party matters. It will be the same size as the regular edition, and can be furnished at the following prices: In lots of 5,000 or more, \$4.00 per thousand, express collect; in lots of 1,000, \$4.25 per thousand, express collect; 500, \$2.25, express collect; less than 500, at the rate of 75 cents per hundred, postage paid. Locals desiring to have one page of this paper devoted to local news can secure information by writing the National Office.

THE GENERAL SITUATION

At the present moment all is chaos in the ranks of the old Socialist Party and the Left Wing. Only one thing is definitely assured, and that is that the Communist Party Convention will be held September 1. Delegates at this convention will represent more than fifty thousand organized Socialists who have definitely and for all time severed their connection with the Socialist Party and the Left Wing.

SPECIAL PROPAGANDA EDITION

A four-page paper containing only propaganda articles and editorials appearing in the regular edition of The Communist will be furnished to Locals for free distribution at the following prices:

In lots of 5,000 or more	\$4.00 per 1,000
In lots of 1,000	4.25 per 1,000
In lots of 500	2.25 per 500

The above prices do not include express charges. Quantities less than 500 will be furnished at the rate of 75 cents per 100, postage prepaid.

Send orders to
LITERATURE DEPARTMENT, COMMUNIST PARTY,
1219 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

NOTE—The first issue of this propaganda paper will contain the matter which appears on pages 1, 4, 5 and 8 of this issue of The Communist, and is ready for shipment immediately upon receipt of your order. In sending order please state if you desire the same quantity each week, or if the order is for one issue only.

Wage Slave Riots

Four-page leaflet reprinted from August 9th issue of The Communist. Help dispel the race hatred between the workers by giving this leaflet wide circulation.

Per thousand, prepaid.....\$2.50

Send orders to
LITERATURE DEPARTMENT, COMMUNIST PARTY,
1219 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

FOR IMMEDIATE DELIVERY

SOCIALISM DEBATED

Dennis E. Batt vs. H. H. Nimmo.

A sixty-four-page pamphlet containing a debate which appeared in the Detroit Saturday Night, Feb. 15 to May 3, 1919. All phases of socialism are discussed. We have only a few hundred of these on hand. While they last the prices are:

Single copy, 10 cents
In lots of ten or more, per copy, 7 cents

Send orders to
LITERATURE DEPARTMENT, COMMUNIST PARTY,
1219 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

BULLETINS

LEFT WING SECTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CONNECTICUT

August 5th, 1919.

Alexander Stoklitsky,
1221 Blue Island Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Comrade Stoklitsky:

Our "left wing" state convention of Connecticut at its session was under the assumption that unity between the National Organization and National Council would be restored at your conference in New York. Our resolution in regard to dealing with the National Council, however, was headlined with "If unity is restored."

In view of the fact that no unity has as yet been restored, our State Executive Committee at its last session decided that we answer the call of the National Organization for a Communist Convention in Chicago on September 1, and that our delegates be instructed to act accordingly.

We have about 2,000 left wing members in the State of Connecticut and we have decided that we send four delegates to the Communist Convention. The referendum for the same is now going on. Please notify me of all your plans with respect to financing the convention and organization work. If you have issued a convention stamp send me a thousand (1,000) of them.

Yours for Communism,
(Signed) H. I. COSTRELL,
State Secretary, Left Wing Section
of the Socialist Party of Connecticut.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
August 5th, 1919.

D. E. Batt, Secretary,
National Organization Committee.
Dear Comrade:

At a regular meeting of delegates from eight Foreign Language Languages Branches of Milwaukee (two Russian Branches, two Slavonian Branches, No. 3 and No. 13, Hungarian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Polish), a resolution was adopted to affiliate with the Communist Party and pledge our utmost support. We send greetings to the National Organization Committee. Down with the reactionary Socialist Party of America! Long live the Communist Party! Long live the Third International!

Comradely yours,
(Signed) A. SCHKURSKI, Secretary.

Binghamton, New York.
August 6th, 1919.

Dennis E. Batt, Sec.,
National Organization Committee,
Dear Comrade:

On August 5th a meeting of the following branches was held: Lithuanian and Ukrainian, of Binghamton, New York, and Russian and Ukrainian, of Endicott, New York. From these, the Communist Central Committee of Binghamton has been organized. The new local sends its greetings and pledges its support to the Communist Party. Delegates were elected to attend the National Convention to be held in Chicago September 1st.

Yours for Communism,
(Signed) K. B. DEAPS, Secretary Central Committee.

At a meeting of the Left Wing Section of the Jewish Federation held July 30th, the following resolution was adopted:

(1) In the matter of organizing a new Communist Party we have endorsed from the first the position taken by the minority delegates at the Left Wing Conference.

(2) Our previous decision to remain with the majority was based exclusively upon the belief that in this way we would be able to work for the purpose of unifying both groups.

(3) The recent action of the National Council of the Left Wing makes it impossible for us to longer continue our work toward the unity of the minority and the majority. Therefore we have reached the following conclusion:

(a) To recall our previous decision to take part in the

August 30th convention called by the National Council of the Left Wing.

(b) We concur in the call issued by the National Organization Committee of the Communist Party for a convention in Chicago September 1st.

(Signed) M. LOONIN, Secretary.

Los Angeles, California.
August 5th, 1919.

National Organization Committee.
Comrades:

We wish to notify you that we have severed all connections with the Socialist Party of California, and have voted to affiliate with the Communist Party of America, and will send delegates to the Convention September 1st.

Very truly yours,

South Slavic Branch, Los Angeles.

(Signed) JOHN VINKOVICH, Secretary

Note Local Los Angeles of the Communist Party includes many branches, and will send several delegates to the September 1st Convention. One of the delegates already elected is the former Secretary of Local Los Angeles, Socialist Party of California.

At their convention held in New Haven, thirteen Polish Branches of Connecticut adopted a resolution stating that they would send delegates only to the convention called by the National Organization Committee for the purpose of organizing the Communist Party.

The Lettonian Workmen's Association of Boston (the Lettish Branch of the Socialist Party) in its monthly meeting held July 20, endorsed the position of the minority of the Left Wing Conference and decided to ignore all other calls emanating from any faction of the old Socialist Party and to take part only in the Convention of the Communist Party called for September 1, in Chicago. Accompanying the decision to definitely repudiate all elements of the Socialist Party is a request to all other Lettish branches in the United States to take the same action. At the same meeting it was decided not to participate in the Special "Left Wing" Convention of the State of Massachusetts, to be held August 10.

COMMUNIST PICNIC

The Jewish Communist Branches of Chicago will hold a picnic Sunday, August 24th, at Milwaukee Woods. In order to get there take any car to Milwaukee Ave., thence Milwaukee Ave., car as far as it goes. Thence another Milwaukee Ave. car to end of the car-line where a committee will meet you.

Comrades!

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

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

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

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

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

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE
DENNIS E. BATT, Secretary

COMMUNIQUE

The Finnish Federation has "endorsed" the "Left Wing." Germer, you're next!

The new National Executive Committee, having "admitted" the expelled groups, is now busy getting itself admitted.

The "new" N. E. C. had eight members in it, a majority of the total fifteen. What happens when one of this majority joins the staff of THE COMMUNIST?

A girl worker in a cap factory, in answer to a question, "Oh, no; the work isn't tiresome; when you have to work, you know, you don't get tired."

The race riot question is solved. The mayor, governor and packers have agreed that all negroes be fired from the stockyards.

Our friend Adolph has fired the manager of the literature department. Now, Adolph, why not complete the job by sending for the junk man?

A worker at Ford's auto plant was discharged last week for his activity in study classes, with the suggestion that he "leave the education of Ford employees to Ford himself." Query: Will Ford teach them U. S. History?

"What puzzles many of us is how any man can be an ignorant idealist and yet make \$20,000,000 a year."—Chicago Daily News.

Whadaya mean, make it? Henry don't make it; he gets it. The slaves make it.

This "new" National Executive Committee, having "re-instated" the expelled and suspended organizations, is surprised to find the old committee still on the job. Those "despotic seven" are real men, aren't they?

Kraft of New Jersey makes a motion in the N. E. C. to revoke the charter of the Socialist Party of Ohio. The principal charge is that the Ohio State Convention instructed its delegates to withdraw from the August 30 convention and attend the convention of the Communist Party on September 1, in the event that they failed in their efforts to capture the old party. Ohio might have saved itself considerable worry, expense and confusion by getting out while the getting was good.

It is reported that the Socialist Party Convention on August 30 will be held in the Machinists' headquarters. As we understand it, the old N. E. C. will call its convention on the second floor, while the new N. E. C. will hold forth on the first floor. Both sessions are scheduled to come to order at the same hour. Now, we would suggest that each provided itself with a reception committee armed with megaphones. The committee making the most noise would most likely win out.

PROSTRATE RUSSIA

God the all-merciful, Russia lies bleeding,
Stabbed by her traitors and mangled by foes;
Hear as we bend before thee interceding,
Look on her agonies, pity her woes.

Send forth Thy Word, that shall bring to the nations
Healing for misery, hope for despair.
Humbly we utter our heart's supplications,
Trembling we offer our penitent prayer.

Give them defense who were Europe's defenders;
Beating the Tartar aback from thy fold,
Battling for faith and for freedom contenders—
Recompense now for their heroes of old.

Thou wilt not answer our plea with rejection.
"Ask what ye will, what ye ask shall be done."
Give to her, chastened and saved, resurrection.
Father, grant this in the name of thy Son.
—Ernest A. Bell (Chicago Hell-Peddler)

The High Cost of Living

Capitalists About to Solve the Whole Problem

At last we may begin to breathe easy. No need now to worry unduly about where the next meal is to come from. The mighty arm of the government has been stretched forth, and is already busy "jamming down the high cost of living." An Associated Press dispatch says that President Wilson himself, on August 4, "had no engagements for the forenoon and was understood to be devoting his attention to the high cost of living problem." Isn't that lovely?

"Governors, mayors, and grand juries," we are told, "are ordering searching probes." Attorney General Palmer's Committee is going to hear the report of a sub-committee, and "The President will await the report of Palmer's committee. His recommendation, which will follow this report, will probably take the form of a message to Congress." In fact, Uncle Sam is heading a regular "drive for cheaper food," which will end once and for all the grim spectre that confronts everybody.

Why This Sudden Concern About the Cost of Living?

There are some questions that come to us, as we ponder on this campaign. Hitherto government "investigation" has been directed toward Bolshevik agitators, advocates of free speech, and similar undesirables. Now there is sudden regard among our capitalists for the poor wage-slave, and an overpowering desire on their part to lessen his cost of living. Our familiarity with capitalist ethics leads us to suspect that some ulterior motive is back of all this loving care that is so unexpectedly being bestowed upon us.

As a matter of fact, this subject of the high cost of living

has already come to a head in several European countries, with serious results to the governments concerned. In Italy it seemed for a time as though Soviet rule might be established, and the government fell all over itself in the effort to supply and the government fell all over itself in the effort to supply cheaper food and punish the "profiteers." In Liverpool two days of rioting and looting, with strikes throughout the rest of England, call emphatic attention to danger from this problem—danger to Capitalism. Now this discontent might spread to America. Is that the reason Yankee Capitalism bestirs itself?

A Comparison and a Prophecy

The government of England, too, has been "investigating" the H. C. of L., and "campaigning" against it, yet prices there continue soaring skyward. "Life is becoming almost too costly to live," says a great London newspaper. Prices have "officially" increased 113 %, but in reality about 250 %. And all this in spite of the fact that the British government is paying "subsidies" of \$900,000,000 yearly to bribe food dealers to sell their goods to the cheaper markets at home. Millers and bakers alone receive \$250,000,000 from the public treasury in this way.

Will the American government have any better success? We doubt it. Furthermore, we predict continued and increased profiteering, and a continued and increased cost of living. There is no solution to this problem within the confines of the capitalist system.

To capitalists we have, therefore, no suggestion to make. The dilemma is up to them. But to the workers we say, Why not try the plan used in Soviet Russia?

A Lesson from Russia

(Continued from page 1)

besides waging a defensive warfare against the armies of German and Allied Imperialists, the industries left in chaos by the Czar's government are being rapidly reorganized upon an efficient basis, despite the deliberate attempts at disorganization on the part of the remnants of the capitalist class within Russia.

Nicolai Lenine in an article appearing in the Russian paper "Pravda," in May, 1918, and later translated into English under the title "Soviets at Work," emphasizes the necessity for efficient organization of industry.

Lenine, in a brief summary of the movement that culminated in victory for the Bolsheviks, declares the first problem consisted in convincing the majority of the population that its program and policies were correct. The second problem of the Bolsheviks was the conquest of political power and the suppression of the resistance of the exploiters. After commenting on the various elements endeavoring to destroy soviet power, he expresses confidence that the problem of the resistance of the exploiters is solved.

On the problem of organization we will quote the words of Lenine:

"We are now confronted by the third problem, which is the most urgent and which characterizes the present period: To organize the management of Russia. Of course, we had to deal with this problem and have been at it ever since November 7, 1917. But, heretofore, as long as the resistance of the exploiters manifested itself in open civil warfare, the problem of management could not become the principal, the central problem.

"At present it has become the central problem. We, the Bolshevik party, have convinced Russia. We have won Russia from the rich for the poor, from the exploiters for the toilers. And now it is up to us to manage Russia. The special difficulty of the present period consists in comprehending the peculiarities of the transition from the principal problem of convincing the people and suppressing the exploiters by force to the new principal problem of management."

Instead of urging anarchy and bloodshed, as charged by the American capitalist press, Lenin admonishes the Russian workers thusly:

"Keep accurate and conscientious accounts, conduct business economically, do not loaf, do not steal, maintain strict discipline at work—these slogans, which were justly ridiculed by revolutionary proletarians when they were used by the bourgeois to assure their domination as a class of exploiters have now, after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, become urgent and fundamental slogans. And the practical realization of these slogans by the toiling masses, is, on the one hand, the sole condition for the salvation of the country, which has been shattered by the imperialistic war and by the imperialists (headed by Kerensky); and, on the other, the practical realization of these slogans by the Soviet power, with its own methods, and on the basis of its own laws, is necessary and sufficient for the final victory of Socialism."

The reason the ruling class of the world is infuriated at the success of the Russian Bolsheviks is because in that country the workers are organizing a new society based upon the prin-

ciples enunciated in the Communist Manifesto, written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in 1848. In that manifesto the founders of modern socialism declared: "THE FIRST STEP IN THE REVOLUTION BY THE WORKING CLASS IS TO RAISE THE PROLETARIAT TO THE POSITION OF RULING CLASS." The working class will then use its political supremacy to wrest all control of industry from the hands of the capitalist class.

In its struggle to prejudice the minds of the workers of America against revolutionary Russia the capitalist class knows it is fighting a losing battle. With the desperation which comes with that realization this ruling class sinks into idiocy and instead of intelligently defending itself places more weapons in the hands of its mortal enemy.

If the cartoon were reversed it would be nearer the actual facts, for the same ruling class that vilifies the Bolsheviks clasps in brotherly embrace the gory hands of Mannerheim, the butcher of Finland, and gives aid to the Czarist admiral, Kolchak, of Siberia. The newspapers that ask the American worker to believe their lies about Russian brutality eulogized the industrial tyrants of America when workers were slaughtered in West Virginia and Calumet, Mich., in 1913; and when the hirelings of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. burned alive women and children at Ludlow, Colo., April 20, 1914. Nowhere in revolutionary Russia or any other part of the civilized world have thugs and gun-men burned helpless women and children; that is the distinct contribution of American capitalism to industrial history. This ruling class is merely resorting to the Jesuit tactic of accusing its enemies of the crimes it has been guilty of.

The intelligent worker will investigate the history of the Russian revolution, the theory and tactics which made possible its triumph, and with an understanding of the mission to which history has called him will join "the regular march of the iron battalions of the proletariat" for the purpose of destroying capitalism.

A Chicago preacher favors segregation of the blacks "for their own good as well as for the good of the whites." What text did you quote, Parson?

"The Bolshevik demands the privilege of ranting seditiously, traitorously, of urging pillage, murder, rape, abolition of marriage ties, the commonization of women, anything everything that happens for the moment to excite his unrestrained brain."—This gem is from *The Forelock*, a "patriot" weekly, published in Detroit.