

ALL
POWER
TO THE
WORKERS

The Communist World

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA, LOCAL GREATER NEW YORK



VOL. I No. 8.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1919.

PRICE 5 CENTS

DOWN WITH GOMPERSISM

COAL MINERS HOLD OUT BETRAYED BY LEADERS

GARFIELD OUT—HINES NEW FUEL DIRECTOR— RESTRICTIONS OFF, BUT CONFUSION REIGNS

The coal strikers, out since November 1st, betrayed by their leaders, are making a brave fight against terrific odds. The Government, coal operators and their leaders all unite to drive them back to work. Most of the men are balking and are holding out. Only solution is to throw their leaders and their A. F. of L. union overboard and to organize Strike Councils to carry on their fight.

Last week we recorded to news that the miners' leaders had accepted the President's award of 14 per cent and the appointment of a commission to study the coal industry and if feasible to suggest increases in wages. Since then the meeting of the Executive Board of the United Mine Workers held a closed meeting after which they came forth to announce that they had accepted the President's award.

Secret Conference With President.

Probably the secret conference between John L. Lewis and Secretary-Treasurer Green, had something to do with it. We can imagine Wilson's plea to these two men about the necessity of maintaining fuel production in order to stave off a general European uprising with its consequent demoralization to America itself. And he must have pleaded with them that if they loved America, if they were loyal patriots they would not

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1.)

HURRAH! FOR DEMOCRACY

Prisoners of the Alcatraz military prison, where conscientious objectors, espionage victims, and soldiers who refused to fight the Soviets are confined, refused to scab upon the striking Frisco longshoremen, according to a letter smuggled out of the prison, forty-two were sent to the docks. Learning of the strike, forty refused to work. One of those who did work was a half-wit. The men were all military prisoners and could have been immediately court-martialed and punished by death for mutiny, but they remained firm. One paragraph of the letter reads:

"The men, who came here from Siberia, are all rebellious. They say that it is plain hell over there. Some of them took a bobtail, or dishonorable discharge just to get out of Russia, and every one of them is a Bolshevik."

14 Hungarian Communists

Sentenced to Death

Fourteen Communists have been convicted and sentenced to die in Budapest this week for participation in the Bela Kun Government. A meager press dispatch to this effect reached this country on December 13th, without giving the names of the convicted ones. The "White Terror" in Hungary is taking a terrible revenge on all workers who are accused of the slightest complicity in the Communist Government which was overthrown with the aid of the Peace Council at Paris.

FRENCH MINERS' STRIKE THREAT

The French miners threaten to strike on February 16th, 1920, if the individual pension rate is not raised, the demand being that men shall receive 1,500 francs, and widows 50 francs. The government, in its plan for miners' pensions, has proposed that the individual pension shall be 1,080 francs. The miners are hopeful of winning their point before the for the strike.

Labor Uprising Crushed In British West Indies

Marines and sailors from the British warship Calcutta were landed in the British islands of Trinidad and Tobago, in the West Indies, to quell labor disturbances there last week. Dispatches tell of the rising of the negroes in Trinidad, in which the government buildings at Port of Spain, the principal town of the island, were stormed and held for three days. The official advices given out, however, do not tell of such disturbances.

From the official messages it appears that the trouble started in Tobago, twenty-two miles northeast of Trinidad. Seamen from the Calcutta were landed there. The police fired upon the strikers, killing the ring-leader.

At the same time a strike of stevedores in Trinidad occurred and rioting ensued in which one man was killed. It is reported since that the strike has been settled. At the point of the machine-gun, no doubt. We may expect to hear similar news from the West Indies in the near future.

Perkins Recommends S. P. Paradise. Compulsory Voting in N. Y. State

Compulsory voting, with fines and penalties for failure to vote, was urged by George W. Perkins before the Institute of Arts and Sciences of Columbia University. He said this would make for more intelligent voting by leading to greater interest in public questions. Mr. Perkins recommended that all aliens be compelled to learn to read and write English, to pass an examination showing proper understanding of the United States form of government, and to subscribe to and loyally support the government. He also urged greater care in the selection of public servants, in order to eliminate waste in the expenses of the country.

Twenty-one Communists Arrested In Baltimore

Immigration Commissioner Stamp has sent to Washington for warrants charging sedition and anarchy against 21 alleged communists rounded up here last week. The men are being held pending instructions from the capital.

KEEP YOUR EYES OPEN

In these days of strikes and general industrial unrest, the following letter sent out by a detective agency is more than interesting to the workers in the shops—it is positively a warning to keep their eyes open. The capitalist class is now engaged in crushing the workers' organizations both on the industrial and the political field. Aside from the direct and open methods of suppression with which the workers are able to cope, there goes on the more insidious "spy system" against which the workers are helpless. This letter shows how the bosses go about planting their dirty tools in the shops.

It behooves the workers to beware of the man who claims to be their friend and goes around counseling irresponsible acts of violence or destruction of property. More than likely such an individual is a spy in the pay of the bosses whose business it is to foment just such ideas and thus discredit the workers.

Such a man may even creep into your political organization and play his dirty game there with even more disastrous results.

Workers! Comrades! Beware of these types:

At this time when the capitalist state is seeking to destroy the Communist Party by every means at its command, we must be doubly careful to watch for provocateurs.

The Program and the Manifesto of the Communist Party based upon the principles of Communism as formulated and developed by the Third International is our only basis of organization and propaganda. BEWARE OF THOSE WHO PREACH IDEAS INCONSISTENT WITH COMMUNISM!

John L. Strong
Detective Agency
271 Broadway
New York, Dec. 2nd, 1919.

Dear Sir:
We are in a position to detail one of our operatives, an experienced press hand, to your plant, to work in with your other employees, and in this manner furnish you with daily detailed reports on union activities, attitude of your employees, theft, and general conditions.

During the unsettled times that we are now undergoing, when labor in all industries is either striking or contemplating strikes, it would be to your advantage to have someone in the plant to keep you in close touch with all that is going on. This service will enable you to anticipate any and all difficulties that may arise.

The cost of this service is trivial in comparison to the benefits that you will derive from it. Should you be interested in this matter, we would be pleased to have our representative call at your convenience, and carefully go over the subject with you.

Very truly yours,
J. L. STRONG Detective Agency.

Socialist Minister Refuses Release of Two Left Editors

The infamous Right Wing Socialist, Emile Vandervelde, Minister of Justice for Belgium, refused today to grant the demands of a delegation from the Antwerp Trade Federation for the release of two Left Socialist editors of "Socialism Belge," Jamar and Longuille, who were recently arrested.

To the workers' delegation demand for the immediate release of the two political prisoners, Emile Vandervelde replied that justice was following its course. Thereupon the dockers and metallurgists decided upon a 24-hour strike as a protest.

LIBERAL BOURGEOISIE MEET IN ST. LOUIS

PROFESSORS, WRITERS, EDITORS, FARMERS, SINGLE TAXERS, LABORITES AND SOCIALISTS HAVE INTELLECTUAL JAMBOREE AT ST. LOUIS

Effort To Be Made to Affiliate With Farm Organizations and Labor Bodies

Pay the Poor Socialist Party When It Loses All Those Votes.

A recommendation for a national convention of all liberals to be held not later than July, 1920, at which a new political party would be launched, was presented in St. Louis to the Committee of Forty-Eighths national conference of liberals. It is proposed that the executive committee confer with other similar conventions between now and next July, so that they may arrange to work together in case the recommendation is adopted. It is planned to make the national organization of the Committee of Forty-Eight permanent.

The platform committee has offered a 150-word "post-card" platform which, it is expected, will be adopted. It follows:

Public ownership of material resources, such as coal, oil, natural gas, metal deposits, water power and large commercial timber tracts; no land including natural resources and no patent to be held out of use for speculation or to aid monopoly; equal economic, political, and legal rights for all, irrespective of sex or color; immediate and absolute restoration of the constitutional right of free speech, free press and peaceful assembly; abolition of injunctions in labor cases; Labor's effort to share management of industry and Labor's right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing are upheld; increased progressive income and inheritance taxes demanded to bring about gradual disappearance of vast fortunes; taxation to force idle land into productive use.

In the interval before the proposed convention, a special effort is to be made to affiliate with various farm organizations, and Labor bodies. A

national organization is to be created and the nation is to be divided into five organization zones.

Labor Driven Into Politics.

Duncan MacDonald, of the Illinois United Mine Workers, in an address said Illinois miners would not accept the mine settlement and announced that Labor was going into politics in America because it had been driven into it.

The principal fight made against the proposed 150-word platform is being made by the single taxers, as they have a large proportion of delegates. This has brought them into collision with the farmer delegates.

Among the better known delegates present at the convention were: George L. Record, State Tax Commissioner of New Jersey; J. A. H. Hopkins of New York, former treasurer of the Progressive Party; Lincoln Colcord, writer of sea tales, Washington, District of Columbia; Gilson Gardner, of the Scripps Editorial Board; Western Starr, of South Dakota, former ranch neighbor of Theodore Roosevelt; Frank Stephens, Ardmore, Delaware, sculptor and head of a single tax colony; Charles Zuehlke, Boston, Massachusetts; Willis Mason West, professor of history, University of Minnesota; Lynn Haines, Washington, District of Columbia, editor of the Searchlight; Tyrrell Williams, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

Frederick William Pethick Lawrence, of London, England, is a visitor and addressed the convention on Wednesday night.

The Socialist Party will be forced into the new Triple Alliance of American politics should the plans at St. Louis mature. Which will be to the extreme liking of all concerned since their platforms are practically similar and they're all out for votes.

MONSTER MASS MEETING

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

LOCAL GREATER NEW YORK

to be held at the FORWARD HALL, 175 E. Broadway, on

Monday Evening, December 22, 1919, at 8 P. M. sharp

Among the Speakers will be:

C. E. RUTENBERG, Nat'l Sec'y, Communist Party.
HARRY M. WINITSKY, Ex. Sec'y, Local Gr. New York.
SEN KATAYAMA, Japanese Communist.
ROSE PASTOR STOKES.

There will also be speakers in Russian and Jewish.

Come In Masses

Admission Free.

NOTICE

The Party Headquarters will remain at 207 E. 10th Street until further notice. We'll expect you up there today.

ALL POWER TO THE

WORKERS!

INDICTED FOR CRIMINAL ANARCHY

The seventeen comrades who were arrested during the recent raids by the state and local authorities in an attempt to smash the Communist Party, appeared before Judge Weeks last week and were indicted for "criminal anarchy."

The only charge against our comrades is that they are alleged members of the Communist Party. This is a direct challenge which the comrades will take up in no uncertain manner and fight it through to a finish.

While the trial was in progress in the Magistrates Court, Comrade Winitsky, executive secretary of the local entered the room as a spectator vitally interested in the proceedings. He was immediately arrested on a magistrates warrant and taken before Magistrate Brough, who referred him to the Grand Jury.

The eighteen were all piled into two patrol wagons and taken to the basement of Police Headquarters. There they were weighed, measured, fingerprinted and had their photos taken for the Rogues Gallery.

Following this procedure they were placed back on the patrol wagons and taken to the court-room where Judge Weeks was sitting. As they lined up before the judge they were informed that they had been indicted for "criminal anarchy," and would be held in \$1,000 bail each.

District Attorney Rorke, however, rose up and protested that the bail fixed in the case of Winitsky was entirely too small and pleaded that he was the executive secretary of the Communist Party of America, that he was responsible for the organization

in New York State, that he was the leading figure and brains of the criminal outfit, and therefore he demanded that bail be fixed at \$5,000 which was promptly done. All were then remanded till bail was procured.

Winitsky's indictment is based on the evidence submitted by the following: Archibald E. Stevenson, Counsel to the Lusk Committee, Samuel Berger, Deputy State Attorney General, Ole Hanson, former Mayor of Seattle, C. F. Wallace, Sergeant of the Bomb Squad, and the following detectives and state constabulary officers: Jerome Murphy, T. I. Fitzpatrick, Alex. Goldberg, W. J. Haskins, and Moses Zimmerman, a member of the 2nd A. D., also under indictment.

All these names appear on the official indictment, according to Comrade Winitsky, who has seen it.

All this, coupled with the arrest of our National Secretary and Acting National Editor in Chicago, makes the situation a critical one for the Communist Party. From all sections of the country comes the news that our locals have been raided and our members arrested.

If our organization is to survive, our propaganda is to continue—and it must and will continue despite all the attacks upon us by the capitalist class—we must rally to the defense of our comrades. FUNDS ARE NEEDED AND NEEDED BADLY. FUNDS FOR PROPAGANDA — AND FUNDS FOR DEFENSE.

Your motto must be from now on — ONE DAY'S PAY FOR THE DEFENSE FUND.

Strikeless Professors' Union Joins A. F. of L.

Charter Excludes Compulsion to Go On Strike

The union of college professors that has been formed in New York City was admitted to the American Federation of Labor last week at the Labor Temple, 43 East Eighty-fourth Street.

Many Rand School teachers and lecturers are members of this strikeless union, as well as a sprinkling of Columbia and City College teachers.

Objection to the union has been made by Prof. Franklin H. Giddings of Columbia, because the members might be called on strike. Professor Starr of the strikeless union, however, said that there was no danger of a strike, as this was found inexpedient for teachers, and as such was excluded from the union charter.

German Communists Plan Strike After Christmas

According to one of the German bourgeois papers the Communists of Germany are planning an uprising after the holidays. It claims to have definite information that the Communists are assembling large supplies of arms and ammunition.

The Red Flag, organ of the Communists, has reappeared after a long rest with the advice not to use violence now, but to get down to organization and propaganda and wait for a favorable moment. When that moment comes, it declares that it will issue a nation-wide call for revolution.

ONE DAY'S WAGE TO THE

DEFENSE FUND

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

Detective Witness for Workers in Winnipeg

The introduction of the state trial of Robert B. Russell, one of the Winnipeg strikers, by the Crown of a witness by the name of Corporal Detective F. W. Zaneth, was somewhat of a surprise. This witness gave evidence to the effect that he had joined the Socialist Party of Canada in Calgary and Drumheller and was very active in the movement during the time of the general strike.

He began work during the first part of December, and became well known as a member of the Socialist Party of Canada. He had attended various meetings and conventions, and had sold literature, some of it prohibited, for his party.

At the Calgary convention he had received a copy of a resolution that he was to take back to his own local. It included the following demands:

A five-hour day for all workers; the abolition of the ban on certain literature; the formation of one industrial organization; an equal share of the profits for all workers; the suppression of the exploitation of Labor; the single shift system in mining camps; and the appointing of a central revolutionary council.

Measure Aimed At Seditious Papers

More than two hundred seditious newspapers are published in the United States, and 124 others published in foreign countries are being circulated here, according to figures of the Department of Justice submitted to the House Judiciary Committee yesterday by J. F. Byrnes, Democratic Representative from South Carolina, at a hearing on a bill to prohibit and punish seditious acts and to close the mail to those promoting such acts. The bill provides penalties of \$5,000 and imprisonment for five years.

HEARST WANTS SIBERIAN TROOPS IN MEXICO

(We do not know what private motive the Hearst papers may have for wanting the troops recalled from Russia. Perhaps Hearst desires their use in Mexico. At any rate the following from the New York American purports to tell and does tell 'the plain truth' about Russia's enemies.)

"The United States Army Transport Great Northern on November 1 landed in San Francisco 2,000 American soldiers homeward bound from Siberia. They brought with them a picture of Cossack officers working their Mongolian will upon helpless American soldiers, even to the degree of murder; of the shooting of Americans from ambush, not only Bolsheviks, but, in the belief of the lough-boys, also by Cossacks and Japanese, of a general humiliation of the American Expeditionary forces through the role they are forced to play in the game of watchful waiting. Says the San Francisco Examiner of November 2:

"The general background of the picture painted by the returned soldiers is striking in its simplicity. According to them, Japan is closely cementing an alliance with the worst elements of the Russian reactionaries and they state bluntly that Kolchak, Semenov and Kalmakoff are nothing but tools of Japan."

"We wonder if the administration really does believe that the American people are such sillies as it pretends to believe they are. The plain truth about Soviet Russia is this:

"The Soviet Republic has been attacked by British fleets in the Baltic and by French fleets in the Black Sea. It has been attacked on the Arctic coast by a French, British and American expeditionary army. It has been attacked in the southeast by a conglomerate army of Cossacks, Poles, conscripted Ruthenians and adventurers and vagabonds of all nations and equipped by the British government; it has been attacked in Siberia by American, Japanese, Czech-Slovak, Buriat, Cossack and forcibly conscripted Serbian forces; it has been attacked on the Baltic coast by Lithuanian and Estonian forces, by left-over German forces and by a conglomerate army of conscripts and adventurers under Yudenitch; it has been attacked by Polish armies.

"And it has beaten off all these attacks; defeated and driven off the Allied forces in the Murmansk region; defeated Kolchak and driven him from Omsk to Irkutsk, a distance of a thousand miles; defeated Yudenitch and annihilated his army; defeated Esthonia and made peace with her; brought Lettonia and Lithuania and Poland to negotiations for peace; defeated Denikin and driven him steadily backward; and by its victories in Turkestan and the presence of its troops upon the frontiers of Persia and Afghanistan and its approach to India, put such fear into the British government that a British envoy is at this very moment in negotiation with the Soviet envoy, Litvinoff, in neutral Copenhagen, arranging the terms of armistice, exchange of prisoners and not distant recognition of the Soviet Republic and a full treaty to peace and comity.

"It seems to us childish to think that anything is gained by concealing or denying the facts, which must be acknowledged sooner or later.

"The Soviet Republic has baffled and defeated the hostility and armed attacks of France, England, Japan, America and Russian Czarist reactionaries, and is today both victorious and stable.

"Now, since these are facts, and since Mr. Wilson knows they are actual facts, what possible lawful or constitutional excuse is there for keeping our soldiers in Russia on the territory of the Russian Soviet Republic, on territory which our own government will soon have to join England and France in recognizing as Russian Soviet republican territory?"

"What an absurd and ridiculous figure we will cut when the eventual inevitable recognition of the Russian Republic comes, and the world inquires why we have waged war upon that government, without any affront or injury from it, and without any declaration of war, or assigning any cause of war.

"The Congress ought to see to it that American money and men are

no longer made the tools of Czarist reactionaries, planning to restore the abhorrent tyranny in Russia, and the tools of Japanese autocracy and militarism, planning to annex Siberia and set up in that vast country the abominable despotism that has made Korea a shambles and China the victim of brutalities and cruelties that would shame an Apache.

"There never has been, in all our history, any situation so humiliating to our national good name, so defiant of our constitutional system of government, so false to our professions and pledges, so shameful and so mean and so incredibly stupid and injurious as the situation existing in Russian Siberia through the unlawful prosecution of this private war."

INDEPENDENT CARPENTERS BEATEN BY THUGS

The conflict between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Independent Carpenters' Union has broken out into open violence as a result of thugs sent to beat members of the Independent Carpenters' Union while they were at work on a job out at Hollis, Long Island.

The "crime" of the independents that provoked the attack was that of getting larger wages than the brotherhood men are getting. The break follows the declaration of class peace made by the officials of the various various building trades and the employers' association. The first breach of the "peace" was promptly made by the National Erectors' Association which announced that it intended to maintain an open shop.

On the other hand, painters, plumbers, bricklayers, electricians and carpenters are dissatisfied with the peace terms, for their officials have accepted a lower salary than they are getting at present in many instances, and agreed that the new schedule was to run for a whole year. As a result there is developing a split in each of these unions led by militant Brooklyn elements which seems to promise that the officials will become generals without an army. The secessionists are demanding more than the agreed scale and getting it. The employers' association with which the contract was made employs less than one-sixth of the men in the building trades. The employers and the official unions are combining to crush the militants.

In Hollis, fifteen members of the independent unions were working for \$9 a day. The thugs, led by business agents of the union, drove up in automobiles and used lead pipes and blackjacks. The workers showed fight, but were outnumbered and stiff with cold. Two of the attackers were caught and arrested while trying to escape in an automobile. They are John Savage and James Cunningham, both business agents of the brotherhood. They were held under \$2,500 bail by Magistrate Kochendorfer in the Jamaica Police Court.

Jacob Carlick, 693 Stone Avenue, Brooklyn, had his right hand broken and will probably be permanently crippled. John Gould of 482 Powell Street, was taken to the hospital suffering from scalp wounds.

Last Sunday, Local 37 of the Brotherhood seceded and joined the independents. It is located in Brownsville. The independents now control the new building operations in Brooklyn and Long Island.

SOVIET MANIFESTO TO CHINESE PEOPLE

"The Peoples' Commissaries of the Russian Socialist Federation of the Soviet Republic address the following fraternal words to all the peoples of China, on the day when the Soviet troops have crushed the counter-revolutionary despot Kolchak, and victoriously entered Siberia.

"Soviet Russia and the Soviet Red Army, after a two-years' struggle and after an incredible strain, are marching onward to the East across the Urals. Not in order to enforce their will on other nations; not to enslave them; not to conquer them. Every Siberian peasant and worker knows this already. We are bringing freedom to the people and their liberation from foreign bayonets; from the yoke of foreign gold, which is throttling the enslaved peoples of the East, especially the great Chinese Nation. We are bringing help not only to our own working masses, but to the Chinese people."

COAL MINERS HOLD OUT BETRAYED BY LEADERS

(Continued from Page 1.)

want to bring disaster upon present-day civilization. And John L. Lewis, throwing his chest out, must have replied as he replied on a former occasion, when he lay down abjectly before the Government's Court proceedings. "We are Americans first. We cannot fight our Government." And then Lewis and Green hurried back to convey the glad tidings to the Executive Board.

The Strikers' Plight.
But what of the striking miners? Their leaders have deserted them. They stand with their backs to the wall. Those who will remain out, and there will be many of them who will not accept the fraudulent compromise, will have the combined forces of capitalism to buck. They will be expelled from their unions in addition, for disobeying their leaders. The same spectacle which we witnessed during the Longshoremen's strike, when local charters were revoked and the use of the military and open connivance with the bosses finally drove the men back, will be repeated in the coal strike.

Organize Strike Councils.
The lesson the coal miners must learn will be a hard and bitter one, but it must be learned. The A. F. of L. is a bulwark against the interests of the workers. This, each group of strikers finding out for themselves—the printers, the longshoremen, the steel workers, and now the coal miners.

The enlightened workers in the A. F. of L. must begin an intensive campaign to smash the A. F. of L. and its craft form of organization. The coal miners are ripe for this campaign. Strike Councils must be organized among the coal miners and the steel strikers in every industrial center, which will enable the men to carry on their strike without the old-line leaders. These local Strike Councils must be co-ordinated into a National Strike Council which will function for the strikers directly and be subject to the will of the rank and file.

Coal Mines?
The capitalist press maintained a sinister silence the last few days on the results of the leaders' compromise with the Government. This, together with the order removing all fuel restrictions is intended to convey the impression that the men have all gone back to work. But such is not the case. The coal miners' locals in Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas and Oklahoma are holding out due to the pressure exerted by the strikers.

There is no increased production in those fields and the men are not going back all reports or lack of reports to the contrary notwithstanding. In Iowa and Illinois probably not more than ten per cent. of the men have returned according to the operators' reports. This is gratifying news indeed coming after a whole week of newspaper gloating that the strike is over and definitely settled.

Judge Anderson One of Those Considered on Commission.
Among those the President is considering to appoint on the Coal Commission to represent the public is mentioned among others like Judge Taft, Judge Brandeis, Oscar Strauss, Hoover, and the unspeakable Judge Anderson who prostituted his office to play the lackey for the Administration. It would be a fitting punishment for those leaders who listened to the blandishments of Wilson to have this man appointed on the Commission.

Garfield Out.
Fuel Administrator Garfield resigned his post and his resignation was promptly accepted, and Hines, formerly of the Rail Board, has taken his place. Probably another fake concession to the coal miners' leaders.

All Restrictions On Bituminous Off.
After a few days of more or less rigid restrictive enforcement of coal consumption the rescinding order was sent out and business in general breathed a sign of relief. The workers though are still being fleeced at the pail and shovel rate with promise of increased toll as the weather gets colder. Capitalism is a wonderful institution—for capitalists.

MONDAY AT FORWARD HALL MASS MEETING.

Don't Forget Tuesday's Mass Meeting in Brownsville Labor Lyceum!

LOCAL NEW YORK HOLDS BIG MASS MEETING

On Thursday, December 11th, at Manhattan Lyceum, the Communist Party, Local Greater New York, held an enthusiastic mass meeting to raise funds for defence and propaganda and show to the authorities that it to be a Communist meant a crime in the eyes of the law then there were thousands more who held those views and most of them claimed membership in the organization, too.

Comrades Winitzky, Lovestone and Rose Stokes spoke in English, Comrade Lunin in Jewish, and Comrade Galle in Russian. The tone of the speeches were indicative of the attitude of the Communist Party toward the persecution by the authorities; a calm determination to continue with the work of Communist organization and propaganda in spite of all obstacles in its path.

The audience also attested its determination and loyalty to Communism and the Communist Party by responding not only with applause which was plentiful enough, but with the more substantial, self-sacrificing dollars earned with the sweat of their brow.

After the appeal by the speaker for funds for defence and propaganda more than five hundred dollars lay scattered on the speaker's table, and close to three hundred dollars more had been pledged.

Of course, the usual number of dicks, Department of Justice agents and spies were in the hall taking notes of the proceedings.

LENINE DISCUSSES SOME PROBLEMS OF SOVIET SYSTEM

Nicholai Lenine, the Premier of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, in an address before the first All-Russian Congress at Moscow, as quoted in a wireless dispatch from Moscow, declared the fundamental problems facing the Soviet Government were organization in the villages and the gaining of adherence of the "middle peasant." He also reported progress in utilizing the Soviet system.

Criticizing the middle peasants, designated as "well to do," for "exploiting the hungry worker," Lenine is quoted as saying: "A peasant owner who has a margin of grain is accustomed to regard it as his own property, which he can sell freely. To sell the margin of grain in a hungry country is to convert oneself into a speculator and an exploiter. The peasant who exploits is our enemy. Not all the peasants by far, understand that free trade in grain is a crime against the State."

Farmer Class Against Workers.
A peculiar problem is presented by the "Kulacks" or well-to-do peasants, according to Lenine. "In the mass," he declared, "they are on the side of the capitalists, and are not content with the revolution which has taken place. It will be necessary to wage a long struggle yet against this group. The masses of the middle peasantry stand among those who exploit others. Here is our most difficult task."

For the present there is "no choice," Lenine said. "We must assist the workers, or the least hesitation will give victory into the hands of the landowners and capitalists. To spread this idea is our first and fundamental problem."

Progress in the movement for the organizing of land communes and guilds was claimed by Lenine. "I must say, however," he added, "there have been many defects, where old exploiters have crept into agriculture, and they must be driven out or placed under the control of the proletariat."

Assistance of persons possessing technical knowledge was admitted necessary to the Soviet system. "It is impossible to construct Communism without a supply of technical skill and culture, which, however, is concentrated in the hands of the bourgeois specialists," said Lenine.

1st Aldermen Stage Their Weekly Show

The N. Y. Board of Aldermen hold weekly meetings every Tuesday at City Hall, and every Wednesday morning The Call devotes several columns to the seven brave and noble defenders of the working class who participate in the vaudeville performance, known to fame and history as the Socialist Minority.

Last week the performance began with a letter from the Drug Clerk's Union to the Board of Aldermen which was about to be dumped into the waste basket but was saved from that horrifying fate by the vigilant Socialists.

After a few monologues by Beckerman and Vladek, Alderman Falconer (who must have heard of the difference between the Rights and Lefts) interrupted Vladek with a question. But let the Call's correspondent speak for herself:

"Certainly." This is invariably Vladek's smiling answer to his frequent interrupters.

"Are you in favor of our form of Government?"

"No."

"Would you like to introduce the Soviet form of government in this country?"

"Beginning with the Supreme Court and the United States Senate, there are various parts of this Government I should like to see abolished. Whether I should like to see a Soviet Government established would depend entirely upon the conditions of the country and the temperament of the people at the time."

"You mean you don't know; you can't answer," interrupted Falconer. (Note the typical evasive answer to this challenge.)

"I mean this," answered Vladek. "When the American Government was first established there were a thousand drafts of the possible form the new government would take before one was settled upon. Nobody could say just what it would be and so I say it is impossible to lay down a hard and fast rule and say it will be thus and so."

Shades of Marx and Engels, Liebknecht and Luxemburg!

Between the Soviet form of government (which is nothing else than a working class government) and the capitalist form of government our doubtful defender of the working class refuses to say which he will choose, in fact he doesn't know!

But deep down in his heart he knew but he wouldn't tell, because it might wreck the Socialist Party's chances with some deluded workers who still think the Socialist Party is revolutionary. If he were honest he would admit that the Noske-Ebert-Scheidemann Coalition Government is his ideal and the ideal of the "moderate" Socialist parties everywhere.

After a few more pyrotechnical outbursts from Calman and Braunstein even Alderman Collins, a Democrat, became infected with the "itch" and made a real revolutionary Socialist speech, which the Call's correspondent saw fit to praise highly but dared not reprint, because it sounded exactly like the Socialists. The weekly entertainment ended with everybody happy and contented, except, possibly, the Drug Clerks' Union.

SOVIET PEACE NOTES REPORTED TURNED DOWN

American, British, French and Italian Ministers Act Together at Copenhagen

The American, British, French and Italian ministers in Copenhagen were reported to have returned the peace notes of Maxim Litvinoff, Bolshevik nevy, without reply.

The ministers announced that Litvinoff had broken the conditions of the conference, which was called exclusively to deal with the exchange of prisoners.

From London comes the report at the same time that the Allied representatives, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Scialoja and Davis have decided definitely not to deal with the Bolsheviks, and at the same time to refuse further aid to General Denikin and Admiral Kolchak. They are to let Russia settle its own difficulties from now on. Something tells us that the Allied ministers are lying as usual.

BOLSHEVIKI LAY DOWN PEACE TERMS

The Bolshevik delegation, which is now in Dorpat to discuss the possibilities of peace with representatives of the Baltic States, published its peace terms. Thirteen points are laid down as a basis for peace. The terms proposed are:

First.—Mutual recognition of independence.

Second.—Suspension of the state of war.

Third.—Suspension of hostilities and determination of the time for withdrawal of troops.

Fourth.—Declaration by the Esthonian Government of the non-existence of alliances between the states warring with the Soviets.

Fifth.—Similar declarations with references to other forces opposed to the Soviet Government.

Sixth.—The internment and disarmament of General Yudenitch (commander of the Russian northwest army) and the impounding of his war stores under seal.

Seventh.—Amnesty for all citizens condemned for support of the Soviet Government or taking part in the Third International.

Eighth.—Provisions for a commercial treaty.

Tenth.—Resumption of diplomatic relations.

Eleventh.—Joining up railways.

Twelfth.—Transit over the Esthonian railways of goods from Esthonian ports bound for Russia.

Thirteenth.—The establishment of dockage facilities for Soviet Russian-bound goods.

The Soviet Government has sent some of its best representatives to Dorpat, where the peace negotiations with the Baltic States are being held. Prisoner negotiations with the Baltic States are being held. Prisoner negotiations with England are also going on. Litvinoff, Tchicherin, Radek and Joffe are in the delegation and from the character of these delegates it seems evident that the Soviet Government attaches great importance to the conference and intends to make a general peace offer as it did at Brest-Litovsk. The Soviet Congress has authorized a general peace offer.

The Red Army has made vast gains on all fronts. Denikin, who continues to be the most serious menace, has been driven back, and Tchernobov, Poltava, and Kursk have been practically cleared of his forces.

On the Kolchak front the Bolsheviks have seized a long section of the Siberian railway beyond Omsk, and are repairing it preparatory to tapping the newly-captured Siberian resources. Japan has decided to increase its forces in Siberia, and Kolchak is becoming more than ever a mere figure-head, this time not for Czarism, but for Mikadoism.

Proletarian Action In Lisbon and Seattle

Because it dared to print a series of articles criticising the Peace Treaty, "A Batalha," a Lisbon labor paper, was suspended by the prefect of police. The Federation of Book and Paper Printers retaliated by a general strike and refused to allow any books, papers or notices to be printed. For three days Lisbon was without any papers except the one that had been suspended, "A Batalha," which appeared regularly.

The Seattle Post-Intelligencer carried a bitter attack upon organized labor in its issue of November 17 in the form of a full page advertisement signed by Edwin Selvin, editor of the labor-hating Business Chronicle. The printing trades' employees of the Intelligencer promptly held a shop meeting and protested. The advertisement was removed from later editions, and those which had been sent out were recalled as far as it was possible to do so.

The slandering of the workers stops when the workers refuse to print it. The sending of scabs stops when railway workers refuse to transport them. The breaking of strikes stop when soldiers refuse to shoot down their brothers and workers refuse to break workers' strikes. The slavery of workers stops when workers refuse to be slaves. All power to the workers!

MONDAY AT FORWARD HALL MASS MEETING.

FREE FARE TO RUSSIA

United States Votes Funds to Bar and Deport Reds

The United States Senate passed the resolution appropriating \$200,000 to enable the Department of State to widen the scope of the existing facilities in connection with the regulation and administration of the issuance of passports. This appropriation was requested by the State Department in connection with the continuation of the War-Time Passport Regulations Act, which the officials of the department deemed necessary because of the inadequacy of existing safeguards against the entry of undesirable into the United States.

Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, explained to the House Immigration Committee some time ago that the present facilities for handling American passports in European countries were inadequate, and particularly so in view of the prospective flood of immigration.

The immediate passage of the resolution was recommended by the Foreign Relations Committee at its morning meeting and the Senate adopted it without a dissenting vote.

In course of the debate on the resolution the Department of Labor and other bureaus of the government came in for strong criticism for their alleged lethargy in regard to the deportation of dangerous aliens.

Wesley Jones, Republican Senator from Washington, charged the Department of Labor with "inactivity" in this connection. Congress, he said, had provided the department with plenty of funds to prosecute deportation cases, but it had failed to use them effectively.

"I would like to ask if the \$2,450,000 that was appropriated by the sundry civil bill for this purpose is exhausted?" demanded Senator Jones.

"This had nothing to do with that appropriation," explained Senator Lodge. "That item was for the immigration service; this has to do with enforcement of the strikes concerning passports which the jobs only means of keeping out undesirable persons."

"We have provided money to enforce all the laws we have made," declared Senator Jones, "but the difficulty is that the Administration will not enforce them. I hope the Department of State will proceed to enforce them with more vigor than the Department of Labor has shown."

"Then I trust that the Senator will support a bill I have introduced, to take from the Department of Labor the entire enforcement of the law for deportation of aliens," interrupted W. H. King, Democratic Senator from Utah. "The Department of Labor has been derelict in that duty."

"I will be in favor of giving the power to any department that will exercise it," replied Senator Jones.

FARMERS FIGHT RED MENACE

SPOKANE, Washington.—A convention of the state federation of farm organizations has just closed a several days' session here. Among the topics were the advisability of affiliation with organized Labor and the importance of upholding the government in its efforts to crush the I. W. W. menace and any other organized attempt to destroy existing governmental institutions. The plans of the recent Salt Lake convention to obtain \$250,000,000 for reclamation service in thirteen western states were endorsed, and it was agreed that the governors of these states should constitute a delegation to visit Washington to urge the expenditure of this sum for the purpose specified.

The convention went on record as being opposed to affiliation with Labor unions because there are influential elements in organized Labor that are, from the farmer's viewpoint, entirely too radical, while, to quote the words of the president of the state union, "The farmers are, first, last, and all the time American citizens." Resolutions were adopted condemning the Plumb plan of operating the railroads and favoring the return of the roads to private ownership. Sabotage and lawless propaganda, whether by organized Capital, Labor, or agriculture were vigorously condemned, while the stand taken by the American Legion at the time of the Centralia outrage was

PARTY NEWS

BAKHMETIEFF TO BE INVESTIGATED

VULGAR SOCIALISM BY CORRESPONDENCE

COMMUNIST LITERATURE

NOTICE Party headquarters will remain at 207 East 10th Street until further notice. Come up!

BRANCH MEETINGS

- 1st A. D. Manhattan, 180 Henry St., every Friday. 2nd A. D. Manhattan, 255 Grand Street, every Friday. 6th A. D. Manhattan, 604 E. 9th Street, 2-4 Fridays. 8th A. D. Manhattan, 207 E. 10th Street, every Thursday. 17-18-20th A. D. Manhattan, 80 East 110th St., every Tuesday. 32-33 A. D. Manhattan, 2018 Amsterdam Ave., 34 Wednesday. Jewish 8th A. D. 207 E. 10th St., every Wednesday. Jewish Harlem, 104th St. and Madison Ave., every Thursday. Russian Communist, 357 E. 10th St., every Wednesday. 5th Ukrainian, 274 Grand St., every Friday. Ukrainian No. 20, 233 E. 5th St., every Friday. Estonian, 325 E. 79th St., 1st and 3d Wednesday. German Yorkville, 250 E. 84th St., 1st and 3d Thursday. German Night Workers, 343 East 84th St., 1st and 3d Saturday.

Communist Cloak and Suits Makers, Attention!

A meeting of Cloaks and Suits Makers, Ladies Tailors, members of the Communist Party, will be held Sunday, December 20th, at the headquarters of the Jewish Branch, 2nd A. D., 202 East roadway at 2 P. M., sharp. Important matters concerning the industry to be acted upon. All members of Local New York are again reminded that they are to pay one dollar to the secretary of their branch as a tax for the defense of our comrades. Branch members are requested to turn in the money immediately to the office at 207 East 10th Street.

The local is arranging for a number of monster mass meetings throughout the entire city to protest against the brutal assaults of the police and to expose the Lusk Committee. Watch Communist World for further announcements regarding date and place.

All branches are requested to send in their party news and branch notices not later than Tuesday for publication weekly in this column.

All branches are requested to send in the names and addresses of all officers, of their respective branches, and also the names and addresses of the city central Committee delegates.

Don't mail your letters but deliver them personally to the office at 207 East 10th Street.

The 6th A. D. Manhattan branch is again becoming very active, and is now looking for new headquarters in the district. Members are requested to attend meetings regularly and on time.

The 2nd A. D. will hold a bazaar at its headquarters, 255 Grand Street, which will last a whole week. Watch for further notices in this column for announcements regarding this bazaar.

PROPAGANDA FUND

The conference of all Russian branches of the Communist Party of America, Local Greater New York, and vicinity, will arrange a three-days Bazaar on January 14-15-16, 1920, in Manhattan Lyceum, 66 E. 4th Street. The performance and ball on January 14th, concert and ball on January 15th, mass meeting and International Chorus on January 16th. The net income will be used for the Communist World and distribution of literature. All Communist Party organizations are urged not to hold any entertainment on those days. For further details watch Communist press.

ONE DAY'S WAGE TO THE DEFENSE FUND LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

CONCERT AND BALL

WITH RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN Branch (Communist Party) TO BE HELD ON December 25th, Christmas Evening, CLAYTON HALL, 452 Canal Street. Admission 50 CENTS.

MONSTER MASS MEETING

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

LOCAL GREATER NEW YORK

to be held at THE BROWNSVILLE LABOR LYCEUM, 226 Sadman Street, Brooklyn, on Tuesday Evening, December 23, 1919, at 8 P. M. sharp

- Among the Speakers will be: HENRY M. WINSTON, Ex. Sec'y, Local Gr. New York. JAY LOVESTONE. — ROSE TUSTON STOKES. HENRY FELTZER, in Jewish. ISRAEL GRILICHES, in Russian.

Come in Masses — Admission Free.

Bakhmetieff is reported to be under "investigation" in Wash. His "embassy," appointed by K. sky, and now representing Kolchak and that section of Asiatic Russia which is submerged under the Pacific Ocean within the three-mile zone has been living on money belonging to the Russian people and money belonging to the United States. This country has "sold" endless quantities of ammunition to the counter-revolutionaries and received in return nothing but the worthless note of a long dead and rotting "government" signed by Serge Ughet, the financial attaché of the ambassador without a government.

The House Committee on State Department Expenditures is reported to have asked Lansing for an accounting of these funds, which total, according to Secretary Baker, well into the millions with several odd figures strung on. Baker declared that he could look only indirectly to the Kolchak Government for payment, because "the War Department could have no official relation to an unrecognized government." But the State Department was "carefully consulted." And Bakhmetieff is a recognized "representative of the Kerensky Government, which, ostrich-like, the U. S. still recognizes.

Buy Up Mortgage on Bakhmetieff. Several members of an organization called "The Friends of Russia," are planning to buy up bonds of the repudiated Russian "government," and then sue Bakhmetieff to redeem them and pay the interest on them. In this way they hope to attach the embassy building and drive him out of it.

KOLCHAK ARRESTS DOCTOR FOR TREATING BOLSHEVISTS

The Society for the Rights of Human Beings, at Paris, has received a letter from the prison in Irkutsk, Siberia, addressed to the French Consul. The letter was signed by a French woman physician who was confined in the jail at Irkutsk on the charge of having treated Bolsheviks. As town doctor of the village of Svoboda she had only done her duty during the typhus epidemic. When the officers of Kolchak arrived at the town they ordered that all who had any connection with Bolsheviks should be arrested, even Madame Guchin, who had performed a necessary human duty. The Society had made an inquiry of the Foreign Minister, L'Honnorable has presented an indignant protest and demands an explanation from the Foreign Minister.

ATTENTION OF BRANCH LITERATURE AGENTS

A meeting of the literature agents of all the Communist Party branches will take place next Monday, December 22, 2 P. M., sharp, at 255 Grand Street, out till to attend! — Executive Secretary.

CHAPTER IV. COLLECTIVISM

A Study in Bourgeois Tolerance

The Berenbergian class struggle, as we saw in our last, was merely an unfortunate squabble over the size of the pieces that go to capitalist and laborer of that mysterious product surplus value. We saw that in the Rand School brand of Socialism the class struggle found a place only because "the masters" of Socialism have spent a lot of time upon it. Viewing it as a mere bargaining process attended with considerable and unfortunate disorder, the Rand School proposes to abolish it as soon as possible and on the strength of that "class" support of all liberty-loving citizens" (Hillquit).

Berenberg's correspondence course knows no inkling of the fact that the class struggle is the tremendous weapon that will emancipate society from its own evils. This conception of the class struggle renders utterly unintelligible the famous dictum, "Past history is the history of class struggles," for bargaining over wages pre-supposes the bourgeois epoch.

Having mentioned the class struggle, having given it the perfectly adequate space of thirty-five lines, Berenberg feels that he has disposed of it, and he promptly proceeds to forget it. Consequently it had no place in the rest of his course, and totally unnecessary and out of place when one "revolutionist" comes to his perfectly respectable "three methods of attaining it." It is this respectable discovery of aim and methods that we are now to discuss.

Collectivism—What Is It?

"Collectivism" is a very unfamiliar term in the writings of Marxists. Terms are the crystallizations of ideas, and when Berenberg finds the familiar terms, "administration of a man's nest," "who could he had read, not passed," "collected" to his purpose, he assumes that it is because he needs a new term to express a new discovery. We found it so in the case of "material determinism," we find it so here.

His very approach to the definition of the term, "collectivism" is full of interest. It must not be confused, he assures us, "with such fantastic communistic schemes as those of Robert Owen (was he mean Owen?) and Louis Le Blanc" (Is it Louis Blanc he's thinking of?)

He assures us that collectivism is not to be confused with the region of co-operative communities that were founded during the last century. But why he makes an imaginary opponent argue before he has heard what collectivism is, that it will not work, Berenberg gives the crushing rejoinder, "CO-OPERATIVE UNDERTAKINGS HAVE WORKED IN THE PAST." We were moved to wonder how he expects the reinstated student to keep from confusing collectivism with (past) Utopian schemes when he cannot keep from confusing them himself.

But at length, having passed genesis, we come to revelations, and now, hold your breath while you read with me.

The Best Thing In the Course.

"There are today two definite lines of collective development. One is the form of collectivism known as State Capitalism or State Socialism. Its distinctive feature is the extension of the functions of the EXISTING STATE... We shall not be to substitute... the State as sole Capitalist."

"The second suggestion is that form of collectivism which we might call 'industrial democracy,' in which the STATE would be reconstituted (what ever that means) on a basis of industrial representation. The STATE would then become a federation of industries. (Who tell Engels it would die out?) This plan aims, like the OTHER, at the elimination of surplus value.

BOTH THESE PLANS ARE OPEN TO CRITICISM. FIRST OF ALL THE PLACE TO ADVOCATE EITHER ONE OR THE OTHER, THE STUDENT MUST, OF COURSE, CHOOSE FOR HIMSELF, WHICH ONE OF THESE TWO PLANS HE PREFERENCES! So this is collectivism. And this is the Rand School brand of Socialism. And Berenberg is a Marxist. No, friend Berenberg, your course

is not the place to "advocate either plan." Both aim at the same thing, don't they? The first is the highest form of capitalism, with the state as capitalist, more powerful than ever in history and more oppressive—with the worker as a slave—the true servile state. How painstaking he is to make himself clear! "An extension of the functions of THE EXISTING STATE." The "existing state" has the post-office, it has the railroads, it threatens to take over the coal mines. How surplus value is vanishing! How free the workers are! See the class struggle ceasing now that the State threatens to take over the coal mines to stop the class struggle, which means that the government will try to stop the working class from struggling; but the net result is that it changes the struggle from one against the employer to a struggle against the employer's most powerful bulwark, the embodiment of his class power, the State.

If Berenberg knew that the capitalist system was doomed to destruction because of the contradictions within it which manifest themselves in two opposing classes and a class struggle, if he understood the class nature of the state (of which more anon), he would realize, perhaps, that "State Capitalism or State Socialism," a la Bismarck, even though our author should decide to lend it his powerful advocacy, cannot solve these contradictions, cannot eliminate the classes that embody them, cannot eliminate the class struggle. Indeed, State Capitalism will merely intensify the contradictions, make more open the class nature of the state, and make more bitter the class struggle.

But what is the use of going on with our analysis of the "two lines of collective development"? It is a mere nest. Who could he had read, not passed, "collected" to his purpose, he assumes that it is because he needs a new term to express a new discovery. We found it so in the case of "material determinism," we find it so here. His very approach to the definition of the term, "collectivism" is full of interest. It must not be confused, he assures us, "with such fantastic communistic schemes as those of Robert Owen (was he mean Owen?) and Louis Le Blanc" (Is it Louis Blanc he's thinking of?)

He assures us that collectivism is not to be confused with the region of co-operative communities that were founded during the last century. But why he makes an imaginary opponent argue before he has heard what collectivism is, that it will not work, Berenberg gives the crushing rejoinder, "CO-OPERATIVE UNDERTAKINGS HAVE WORKED IN THE PAST."

Bourgeois Eclecticism.

The essence of bourgeois thought is the adherence of dogma, its insistence upon the reconcilability of contradictions, its tolerance, its eclecticism. Bourgeois thought denies that there is a science of society, because to admit it is to admit the grim validity of Marxism. Scientific observation of economic and resulting social tendencies leads inevitably to the conclusion that capitalism is doomed to destruction. Hence bourgeois eclecticism deny that society is capable of scientific observation. In the realm of sociology, in the realm of economics, they are nihilists—because their choice is between annihilation of science and the annihilation of self.

It follows that in the realm of philosophy they are confirmed eclectics, that is—they refuse to admit the validity of any system of thought and boast that they pick the "best" from each system, wherever they find it (and, we might add, wherever his conclusions do not threaten the supremacy of the capitalist class and the eternity of their system).

They oppose dogma, because dogma implies a definite system of thought accepted in its entirety. They urge tolerance of all opinions and raise tolerance to a virtue, because only through the toleration of contradictory opinions can one blind oneself and others to the intolerable nature of the contradictions in the social structure. To study those contradictions is to see that they are so violent and so irreconcilable that they will in the end work the destruction of capitalist society. Hence the vulgar philosopher deprecates dogma, deprecates positiveness and certainty, softens contradictions by accepting a little of each (the "best")

parts, i. e., the parts least congenial) and reconciles the irreconcilable by saying, "Don't be so dogmatic, don't be so sure that you are right and the other fellow wrong; don't be so intolerant!"

Right Wing Eclecticism.

Thus Berenberg (and he is typical of Right Wing Socialism) seeks to soften the contradiction between State Capitalism and Communist Socialism. Thus he produces a statement that Bismarck and Wilson can swear by. Thus he cannot "advocate either of the two plans" which are as wide apart as the two poles. Thus he inculcates tolerance and avoids dogma by permitting "the student to choose for himself." Thus he can be eclectic by taking "the best out of each plan," and looking for something common to both of his "plans" he fancies that both aim at the elimination of surplus value! Thus he has reconciled the irreconcilable. And thus, finally, he has done his little best (and a very little best it is) to soften the edge of class contradictions and dilute the capitalist system. It is this type of ideology that in a period of mere theoretical activity manifests itself in Berenberg's course, and in a period of action manifests itself in the course taken by Vanderelde, by Thomas, by Vlenderon, by Kerensky, by Scheideman, by Ebert and Noske—who see no contradiction between proletarian and bourgeois so irreconcilable that it prevents their participating in the "existing state." But, of course, the Rand School socialists, while they would not be insulted if we called them prospective Vandereldes, was very indignant when we call them prospective Scheidemanns and Noskes. Perhaps they are right, for it takes a man of heroic proportions to be a Noske...

Some Questions and Answers.

Space will not permit an examination of Berenberg's three methods of attaining collectivism in this issue, and, anyhow, Berenberg saves it for Lesson IX, so let us examine the question at the end of Lesson VIII

The following literature can now be gotten at the local office:

The Communist, National organ of the Communist Party.

The Communist World, Organ of local New York, Communist Party.

Pamphlet No. 1, "Containing the Manifesto, Program and Constitution together with the report to the Third International."

Pamphlet No. 2, "The Development of Socialism from Science to Action," by Karl Radek. A pamphlet that will take its place alongside of Engels' "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific."

Pamphlet No. 3, "The Communist Party and the I. W. W." A debate between I. E. Ferguson, representing the Communist Party, and Harold Lord Varney representing the Industrial Workers of the World. The argument from the Communist side is conducted in a friendly spirit in an effort to develop a mutual understanding and to show that the Communist Party and the I. W. W. are not rival organizations, but that each has its place in the struggle of the workers for emancipation.

"The Proletarian Revolution in Russia," by Nicolai Lenin, and Leon Trotsky. This book contains the story of the Russian Revolution as told by Lenin and Trotsky, in their articles written as the events took place.

"The Social Revolution in Germany," by Louis C. Fraina. This is a critical analysis of the struggle which took place in Germany after the signing of the armistice, which culminated in the revolt of the Spartacists.

"Revolutionary Socialism," by L. C. Fraina. An essay on the principles of Communism based on the experience of the workers of this country.

that are supposed to be answered before the student gets to the next lesson. (To Be Continued)

Manhattan Opera House, 34th St. and Eighth Ave. EDDY BROWN—Brilliant Violinist. SERGEY PROKOFIEFF—Modern Genius of the piano. VLADIMIR RESNIKOFF—Well-Known Baritone. JANUARY 18TH, 1920, at 2.30 P. M. TICKETS 50 Cents to \$2.00 at Costume and Dressmakers' Union, 407 Ward Hall. Katz's Music Store, 155 East Broadway. Assembles Workers' Music League.

First Grand CONCERT and BALL of the SOUTH SLAVE BRANCH (Communist Party) SATURDAY EVENING, December 20th, at BROWN'S BARBERS HOME, 354 E. 81st St. Tickets 25 Cents. Soloists Accompanied by Capotina's Trio.

KAMP BALL arranged by the Jewish Communist Federation for benefit of JEWISH COMMUNIST DAILY SATURDAY EVENING, JANUARY 3, 1920 at McKinley Sq. Casino, 160th St. & Boston Road, Bronx. Admission 10 Cents. NEAT CHECK 25 CENTS. G. H. A. D. KINGS (Combined Branches) will hold an ENTERTAINMENT and CONCERT at EDUCATIONAL ALLIANCE, 76 Throop Street, B'klyn. SATURDAY NIGHT, DECEMBER 20TH, 1919. Admission 25 Cents.

TO ORGANIZE N. Y. STATE

The "Kamp-Ball," arranged by the Jewish Communist Federation for the benefit of a Jewish Communist Daily, will be held at Saturday evening, Jan. 3rd, 1920, at Mc-Kinley Square Casino, 160th Street and Boston Road, Bronx. There will be great surprise attractions. Admission 40 cents. Hat check 25 cents.

In conformity with the decision of the C. E. C. to organize New York State, the members of the C. E. C. in the East have instructed Local Greater New York to take the initiative in the formation of a state-wide organization.

The Communist World will be the official organ of the New York State Organization and will bear party news for the entire State. Locals and the branches are urged to send in all party news before Monday of each week.

The New Jersey State Organization has decided to issue no paper of its own for the present, and has requested the Communist World to become its party news organ. New Jersey locals are invited to send in their news.

Don't forget Tuesday's Mass Meeting in Brownsville Labor Lyceum!

THE COMMUNIST WORLD

Official Organ of
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA
Local Greater New York

Editor—Maximilian Cohen
Bus. Manager—George Ashkenouzi
Ex. Secretary—Harry Wintzky

Published Weekly 5 cents per copy
Half year \$1.50
One year 3.00

Office Address: 207 E. 10th Street, New York City

FOOLS AND THEIR THEORIES

That fate is unkind to fools is an old saying which we disagree with for reasons to be explained, but it certainly does knock their theories into a cocked hat. It makes no difference whether the fools masquerade as "radical" college professors, or are just the ordinary, common garden variety that read the Nation, The Call, New Republic, and the Dial. The result is invariably the same.

One explanation is necessary before we proceed. We class The Call with the other reform papers because, like the whole brood of "moderate" Socialiststheworldover, it has proven itself to be reformistic in character, reflecting the policy of the Socialist Party whose official organ it is. Both the Socialist Party and its organs are camouflaging under the name "Socialist" as their actions and policies attest, all their seemingly revolutionary phraseology and protestations to the contrary notwithstanding. In any crisis, large or small, they negate the very principles from which they derive their name.

To continue. Take the period before the world war. Reams upon reams were written to prove that a world war could not occur, because—well, because—the enlightened thinkers of the world wouldn't stand for it; we had emerged from the stage of barbarism. War is a vestige of barbarism and no ruling class would be so unthinkably stupid as to precipitate such a holocaust again. Besides, the workers would refuse to fight, and since they are the only cannon-fodder available, how then could there be war?

Then came August, 1914, and knocked their theories into a cocked hat.

It even came to pass that the very ones who preached the loudest and threatened the most, before the event, became the strongest supporters of their various governments. But fools

... some fetich... ship, so they evolved a "German Kultur," depending upon their particular place of abode. And these learned fools permitted themselves to be harnessed to the war chariots, dinning this fool-theory into the ears of the masses. Well, the war ended, as wars usually do, and the very fools who had built up the theory of the menace of "German Kultur" found, with Allied victory, that "Allied Culture" now menaced the world. Another theory knocked into a cocked hat.

In America, during the war, the American fools hitched their theoretical wagon to the star of Wilson. "Wilsonism" during the war was synonymous with righteousness. The Fourteen Points became the Bible of Liberalism. Thus spake the fools. Slowly, inexorably, the idyll of "Wilsonism" went up against the harsh, cruel facts of international capitalism, and the Villards, Malones, Deweys, Veblens, Colcords, Lees, etc., could be heard howling their mortification like a lot of fetish-worshippers from the South Sea Islands disturbed at their worship by a lightning storm. Another theory knocked into a cocked hat.

Now that the war is over, these fools have evolved another theory or fetich. Like fools they are long on theory and short on intelligence. We must return to the Constitution and the traditions of American Democracy, Washingtonian, Jeffersonian and Lincolnian. Conscription must be abolished. The Espionage Law must be repealed. Labor must be given back its traditional rights. Capital must not be so grasping. In other words, they call upon the democratic American Government to restore Democracy to America!

Laugh, you unregenerate, unwashed Bolsheviks! Laugh and be damned to you! What do you know of American institutions, anyway? You're only foreigners, even if some of you are citizens, and you still have the old-world stink about you. American Democracy is something fine and noble, something you cannot understand. Permit us to solve our own problems in our own way. Revolution may be well enough in Russia, in Europe, but over here—we can restore everything with the sacred ballot!

Well! How about this new theory of fetich of the fools? The American Government has made some kind of an answer indicative of its general policies in the future. Let's examine them.

The Peace Treaty. And our fools become involved in the tweedledum and tweedledee of modifications or no modifications. As if the Peace Treaty can be made anything else than what it is—the fruits of victorious Allied Imperialism!

But why look abroad when you can see American democracy working so much better at home?

There is the little matter of Mexican intervention rising to the surface. Isn't that a return to traditional American democracy? For when, since the Mexican War of 1842, did not Mexican intervention loom up on the horizon as capitalist necessity within Mexico or U. S., demand it?

The longshoremen strike of recent date. Did not the Government send troops to see that every scab was given his inalienable right to scab on his fellow-worker? As for the Government itself becoming a vast strike-breaking agency and using its troops as strike-breakers themselves, that was a new wrinkle in the old game first hinted at by that noble

REPLY TO PETERSON

Editor of the Communist World—
In the Weekly People of December 6th appears an article from the malicious pen of Arnold Peterson, national secretary of the S. L. P., entitled, "Whippersnapper Or Agent-Provocateur?" For vituperation, billingsgate, innuendo, misrepresentation, ignorance and sheer stupidity this article would be hard to match in all annals of Socialist polemics.

The brutal attack is called forth by an article on the S. L. P. in a previous issue of the "Communist," national organ of the Communist Party of America. But Peterson makes it the basis of a particularly vicious attack upon Comrade Louis C. Fraina personally and the Communist Party of America in general.

Insofar as the aspersions and slanders upon our comrade go, we shall pass that by as Comrade Fraina can

ably defend himself without outside assistance. In passing, we merely wish to point out that it is part of a general campaign on the part of the S. L. P. officialdom against Communists and I. W. W.s in an insidious attempt to discredit those organizations. We can only say that it is indeed a sorry task the leaders of the S. L. P. have taken unto themselves that of acting as stool-pigeons for the capitalist class.

Having long ago passed their period of usefulness and now sinking into well-deserved oblivion, the S. L. P. like an aging courtesan, bereft of beauty and deserted by her former admirers, becomes vindictive and snaps her yellow teeth at every young girl that passes her by.

As an object-lesson in impotency and senile degeneracy we commend the readers of the Communist World to old five-foot-shelf professor of Harvard who said, "A is the great American hero," or words to that effect.

The steel strike. There you have a natural return to the good old American days of Homestead. In this case democracy comes wrapped in small pellets of lead, propelled by machine-guns instead of the old cumbersome rifles of the olden days. Otherwise the return to Democracy runs true to form.

And now the coal strike. Gee! If this keeps up we'll think we're back to the golden days of "Divine Right" Saer and Teddy of sainted memory. See all the old familiar tricks! Martial law, court injunctions, impounding of funds, arrest of leaders, 14 per cent. awards. Only in the old days they simply called it "compulsory arbitration." Of course there are a lot of new-fangled tricks in the old box, but they must expect that. "The world do move" even in the return to the good old days of traditional American Democracy.

See the Lusk Committees, American Defense Societies, American Legions, what did we have to compare with them in the old days? Innocent Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution, that's all!

As for lynchings, race riots, suppression of speech press and assemblage, there is nothing strikingly new there, except that they are no longer sporadic. They are now a regular feature of the New Democracy in the Making.

Personally, we prefer the New Democracy to the old, but of course, some peoples' tastes are queer. There's something refreshingly frank and brutal and efficient about it that wins our admiration.

But I don't see the golden legends oblivious alike to historical days and the realities and significance of the... We have three distinct brands of fools and each has his own particular theoretical nostrum, each differing with the others not in kind but in degree. The Socialist says: "Vote for me. That way lies salvation." The Labor element says: "The Socialists are a bit too radical. Let's form our own Labor Party; we can then force the Government to do our bidding." Say the professors and writers: "Out upon you both. You are both seeking class privileges, we fear. Let's form a Liberal Party that will act in the interest of all the people."

And the three brands of fools are uniting to bring back "Democracy" to democratic America.

Barnum and Bailey's have nothing on this three-ringed circus!

See the agile gentleman performing on the trapeze? That is Morris Hillquit trying to balance himself as he skims the bars marked Liberalism, Laborism and Socialism. Isn't he graceful! He alone is worth the price of admission. And who is that howling dervish over there? Gompers, as we live! What can he be doing here? Well, we suppose the A. F. of L. went with the Labor Party and Sammy will play the clown for anybody if he gets enough taffy. Over yonder is Garrison Villard tearing a well-known effigy to pieces to the delight of an enthusiastic little audience of highbrows. Some there are who are still trying to mount a very obstreperous donkey who lets fly with his hind feet every now and then to the uncontrolled amusement of little boys and girls. Others are playing with an elephant's trunk, who lets out a horrible snort and dashes the foolhardy back into the crowd. Up yonder are the freaks—long-nosed professors, balancing pincenez perilously on the tips of their proboscis as they intone mysterious gibberish about "The Hire Learning," "New Psychology," and "New Democracy" to a little group of serious thinkers.

And so it goes. Its a continuous performance and the only price of admission is your vote and your dollar.

But we predict a very short and unprofitable season for this three-ringed circus. In the first place their acts are old and punk. The people are sick of the trick of balancing on tight ropes; the clowns caper in the same old way, and the freaks are stupidly irritating. Besides too many hoodlums will force their way in and destroy the painted scenery and turn everything topsy-turvy. Finally, the audiences are beginning to feel a tug in their innards to play at something themselves. And it will not be anything resembling a circus, rest assured of that. It will be the fools who will hastily dismantle their tents and silently steal away. The masses are sick of being merely spectators and having to foot the bill.

And when the workers begin playing the game themselves, the old democracy and the new democracy will be roughly handled before being thrown upon the funeral pyre.

In short, the day of the political circus in America is nearly over. The fools naturally cannot see that, or they would not be building a new one. But it is the fate of fools always to be doing the wrong thing at the right time. That is the mark of the fool. But fate you see is not unkind to them, for it gave them mental blinkers which prevents them from seeing what the rest of the world can plainly see—that all their pretty little theories are being knocked into a cocked hat.

the article in question. And now he article itself. After more than a column of billingsgate, in which Fraina is successfully portrayed as an infant prodigy, wonder, ignoramus and plagiarist, Peterson quotes the last part of a sentence which is wholly uninteresting apart from its context, and proceeds to build up an argument in the "Petersonian fashion."

According to the S. L. P., the Communist International must, therefore, be an aggregation of anarchists. And the S. L. P. denies that it repudiates the Communist International!

Why didn't you reprint the whole sentence or paragraph, Peterson? Were you afraid to let your readers draw their own conclusions?

However, even with the portion quoted, we can glean that the Petersons of the S. L. P. have been brought to task for calling "mass actionists" anarchists, and by implication the Third International is also an aggregation of anarchists. How does Peterson answer?

First, by a mere assertion that the S. L. P. is in entire accord with Marxism (why not adduce some proof of this assertion, Peterson?), and, secondly, that Fraina's charge is in harmony with his conception of historical materialism as evidenced in some early characterization of Charles Dickens as a cheap sentimentalist. Isn't that a brilliant piece of Petersonian logic? Such minor things as exposition of fact, theory or principle are to Peterson, matters of no moment. Fraina is either a "whippersnapper or agent-provocateur," so why bother with argument!

Peterson's next quotation is fuller—perhaps he forgot himself, or something.

The S. L. P. officials are a pretty bourgeois aggregation of mongers of phrases. During the war the S. L. P. played a cowardly role; we remember the editorial plea of the "Weekly People," at the time the second Espionage Act was passed, concerning the S. L. P. being lawful and believing in lawful agitation.

Now listen to Peterson's reply: "Here the agent-provocateur, not merely the whippersnapper speak, the S. L. P. is called cowardly, be-

laid down years ago by DeLeon, a course that has been more than justified by events. (Save the mark!) And this course we pursue, not because we dare not do otherwise, but because to do otherwise would be to commit an act of treason to the working class of the world. The Constitution of the United States, defective as it is in other respects, POSSESSES THIS REDEMING FEATURE, A FAULTURE THAT DISTINGUISHES IT FROM OTHER DOCUMENTS OF CLASS SOCIETY: IT PROVIDES FOR ITS OWN AMENDMENT, EVEN TO THE POINT OF COMPLETE REJECTION. (Capitalization ours.) Lincoln has called attention forcibly to this feature when he said:

"This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it." (First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861.)

Accordingly, seeing that lawful procedure is entirely compatible with "revolutionary rights" and Socialist tactics in this country, who but an ass or an agent-provocateur would urge or suggest any other course?

Note the form of argument. Whippersnapper charge the S. L. P. officialdom with cowardice is no longer a whippersnapper but an agent-provocateur. Then he attempts to hide behind a dead man's point of view made obsolete by the greatest event in all human history. True enough DeLeon laid down a certain tactic to fit certain conditions years ago; but Peterson is too busy labelling his opponents "spies" and "agent-provocateurs" to observe the fundamental changes which American conditions have undergone in the last few years. Like the stand-patter who says: "What was good enough for my grandfather and my father is good enough for me," Peterson shouts only less convincingly, because he knows better: "What was good enough for DeLeon is good enough for me."

And to prove that he is right in following the "course laid down by DeLeon," he proves (sic) that the United States Constitution has one unique quality differing from all other documents of class society, namely: "It provides for its own amendment, even to the point of complete rejection."

Now, really, isn't that a brilliant discovery? Capitalism is capitalism everywhere but in the United States. Here it provides for its own amendment or rejection. The Constitution of the United States is not a class document, according to Peterson. Nor does the capitalist class in the United States possess the same characteristics as in other countries. They are good fellows and amenable to reason; show them a clear "voting majority" for the rejection of the Constitution and they will "ipso facto" vacate their entrenched position as the ruling class and give way to the dictatorship of the working class. What could be more simple than that? And, as a further proof, he adduces the statement of Lincoln to bear him out.

The only trouble with all this beautiful slush is that Peterson is lying and he knows it. He lies as Scheidemann lied; as Kautsky lied; as Thomas, Henderson, Vandervelde, Hillquit, and the whole brood of social-patriots lied. "Lawful procedure" has ever been the refuge of these renegade scoundrels, when taxed with their betrayal of Socialism and the workers. Peterson runs true to form. Peterson forgets that any tactic is only a realistic application of theory or principle to given conditions. Any change in conditions implies a concomitant change in the application of principle, which means a change in tactics. As Lenin points out in his brilliant exhortation of social-patriotism (Socialism and the War), "It is not only in war times, but whenever the political situation takes a critical turn that governments will threaten to crush out organized bodies, to seize their cash and jail their leaders, and to let them bear other practical consequences for their actions." What of it? Is this a valid ground for excusing the opportunists as Kautsky does? And we can add, is this a valid ground for hiding behind "lawful procedure," as Peterson does?

But Peterson is content to use a lance against his opponent's machine-gun, or he is willing to paw the air while his enemy makes mince-meat of him. But revolutionists know that tactics are conditioned by circumstances and what may have been good enough yesterday, maybe totally inadequate today. Just as patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel, so is "legalism" the last refuge of the social-patriot. "Pure legalism," says Lenin, "the legalism of the European parties (which the S. L. P. is consistently aping) has outlived its usefulness, and owing to the entrance of Capitalism into its imperialistic stage of development, has become simply a bourgeois labor policy." But moss-back Peterson sees no change and wishes to see none. And, if anyone dares point it out to him, he is a "whippersnapper or agent-provocateur."

But Peterson piles stupidity upon cowardice when he says that these rights are inherent, and if the capitalist government refuses to grant them, the fault is not ours (meaning himself and his colleagues of the S. L. P.), but—Oh! Daniel, come to judgment!—guess?—why that is "as much due to working class inertia as to capitalist aggression." Peterson would have the working class rise itself from its beauty-sleep and demand the restoration of its inherent right to "amend or reject the Constitution!" Isn't that rich? And Peterson is right—why, should the working class rouse itself too violently and—and—perhaps, pull the capitalist class down from its privileged place, there might be disorder and strikes and perhaps civil war!—perish the thought!—but a not too violent upsurge of the workers, just enough to give them back their ancient right—that's all that Peterson wants.

But Peterson is right from another point of view that he wots not of; too violent an upheaval would mean his political oblivion, and the scrapheap for his party as so much debris in the path of the triumphant march of the workers—and Peterson would not have happen for the world! All that the S. L. P. is capable of today is "Open Letters to Senator Overman," in which is emphasized the "legal" form of organization and propaganda, contrasted with the "illegal," "physical-force" of organization and propaganda of the Communists and I. W. W.s, winding up in true lickspittle fashion, that they may resent in typical American style any attempt at an investigation by the authorities. That is the level to which they have sunk!

And while the capitalist order begins to creak here and crumple there, portent of complete collapse in the near future, the Petersons are fulfilling their revolutionary mission!

EDITORIALS

Would suggest that the S. P. during its Amnesty Campaign call upon its European idol, Vandervelde, to "let our political prisoners go."

Perhaps Mr. Lusk went to see "Comrade" Vandervelde when he took that European trip, to learn some new tricks in suppressing Communists.

Vandervelde and Noske are to the Rights what Lenin and Trotsky are to the Lefts. Take your choice.

Line forms on the Left.

Now that the "strikeless union" of teachers has been admitted to the A. F. of L., why not revoke the existing charters of all A. F. of L. unions and issue the strikeless kind?

What a boon this would be to poor Sammy! No more "court injunctions" against the leaders, no more "contempt" proceedings, no more \$10,000 fines!

If the workers in a certain industry want a raise in wages all they would have to do would be to sit down and send letters petitioning the bosses for an increase.

This is not such a futile weapon as some misguided ones think. For instance, industry can be effectively crippled and the workers still draw their pay every week.

First week of the "strikeless" strike send one petition. Half a million "strikeless" strikers would mean half a million letters. Second week, two petitions per week, and so on.

By the time the bosses' mail reaches the staggering proportions of ten million petitions they would have to employ their entire office forces to open and read the mail. Business would be at a standstill. Salesmen would be recalled from the road to open the mail.

Next week the bosses, swamped by mail, would advertise for help at fabulous wages. The "strikeless" strikers could apply for help and open their eyes. So much per slit.

Think of the possibilities of a "strikeless general strike under such conditions!"

Write your petition in the evening, and open it at the bosses' expense in the morning.

Factories would close down. Transportation would cease. The entire industry of the nation would be paralyzed.

The capitalist class would capitulate to the "strikeless" strikers in about a month.

Great scheme, eh! The possibilities are unlimited.

Think of a revolution by a petition!

Choose a month, say, to write petitions to the city, state and national legislatures. Write a petition every day. Then twice a day, three times a day, and so on.

Inside of a month you would have the Government at your knees.

Perfectly "legal," perfectly sane and perfectly simple.

That's what we call "legal" mass action!

And the Lusk Committees and Immigration Department couldn't get at you, either. They would be too busy opening petitions.

Mass strikes, general strikes, political strikes, mass action and the dictatorship of the proletariat would be just so many crude, clumsy weapons in comparison.

Would recommend this method to the U. Y. Call for retaining its second class mailing privileges.

Swamp Burleson with petitions.

After that swamp the President with petitions to remove Burleson

by acting as stool-pigeons for the master-class.

Come again, Peterson, some of us are still out of jail!
Yours for Communism,
John Miller.