

ALL
POWER
TO THE
WORKERS

The Communist World



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

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Prevent War With Mexico

THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE CALLS YOU, COMRADES!

PROCLAMATION TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP BY THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The capitalist class of the United States is beginning to feel the surge of working class revolt against the continuance of the present system of exploitation and oppression. The first intimations that its power is threatened have aroused it to action and it is striking out, blindly, brutally, to defend its position of privilege, its profits and its autocracy in industry.

This is the meaning of the attacks, raids and arrests for deportation and imprisonment which marked the celebration of the second anniversary of the Soviet Republic, and which still continue. Fear has at least come into the minds of the rulers of society, fear that they may no longer be able to ride in easy luxury on the backs of the workers who toil and struggle and suffer under their oppression. So they are striking out ruthlessly. They hope to intimidate the workers. They hope by brutally attacking those who attend meetings, through arrests and deportations, to hold back the rushing tide of working class revolt.

The attack of the past few weeks has been particularly levelled at the Communist Party. Scores of Communist Party meeting places were raided. Large numbers of the party members were arrested. Various local functionaries have declared the party an "illegal" organization—as if anything that seriously threatens the capitalist class is not always "illegal"!

This is a tribute to our organization. It indicates that even this early in the history of our party the capitalist class senses the fact that this is the enemy which threatens. It is added proof that our principles and program are those which will bring victory to the working class.

Although our organization is less than three months old and the work of fully mobilizing its strength is not yet over, it has not gone down under this attack. Everywhere the comrades have rallied to their organization, determined to continue the struggle at whatever cost. Not only have we not been beaten by the ruthless campaign against us, but the membership is showing by its action that its answer is greater effort and sacrifice in the work of propaganda and organization to build a powerful Communist Party.

The Central Executive Committee of the party gave careful consideration to the existing situation at its recent meeting. The recommendations to the membership which follow are the result of its deliberations, its efforts to contribute to the successful building up the party under the new conditions which face the organization.

Strengthen the Organization.

The first task before us is to so strengthen our organization that it will be able to function in spite of all the repressive measures that may be carried against us. We will maintain our position in the open and carry on our work where all may see as long as that is possible. We will not give up our opportunity to publicly advocate our principles at the first onslaught of the ruling class. We must, however, prepare for the time when that will be no longer possible. If the present repressive measures are continued there is nothing left for us but to adjust ourselves to the new conditions. We will not give up the fight; there is no power which the ruling class possesses that can permanently suppress our movement; we will merely adopt new methods of organization and propaganda which will place our organization beyond the reach of the ruling class and its instruments of oppression. The plan of work approved by the Central Executive Committee can be adapted to both the conditions of open propaganda and the reverse, if that becomes necessary. It has already been successfully used in those places where the action of the ruling class has made it necessary. The details will be placed before every branch within the next few weeks.

The period of adjustment to new conditions will be a difficult one. It will be hard to at once adapt ourselves to the situation we face. In order that we may master our new problems as quickly as possible, we ask every party member that he co-operate to the fullest extent with the party officials and take up the task allotted to him in that earnest and serious spirit that will bring success.

Communist Party Shop Branches.

The shops are the centres of activity of the Communist Party. The workers in the shops are most easily reached with our message and convinced of the soundness of our principles. Our program of action has its basis in the shops. It is there that we can lay the foundation upon which we can erect the structure of a powerful organization.

The workers in the shops come together daily. They are in constant contact and communication with each other. It is in the shops, therefore, that they can be most easily bound together for united action.

The shops do not only unite the workers physically, but it is

there that their interests are one and they will most readily act together.

The party program is definite in the statement that the great industrial struggles are the most important factors in the party campaigns. The party has also declared its purpose to propagandize for the establishment of the One Big Union in industry. To carry on this work it must be deeply rooted in the shops. It must have the means for continuous and aggressive propaganda there.

Because of these considerations the Central Executive Committee urges immediate action by all party units to establish Communist Party Shop Branches. The present members of the party branches should become the nucleus for the organization of shop branches. The place of employment of each member should be ascertained. Where several members are employed in the same shop they should be constituted a committee to build up a Shop Branch. If sufficient members are employed in one place they should immediately constitute themselves a Shop Branch.

The advantage of Shop Branches is readily apparent. The members of such branches are in daily contact with each other. They can discuss the problems of organization, pay dues, raise funds, make plans for agitation work and register their decisions on party problems without exposing themselves to danger. The Shop Branch is proof against the ruling class measures of suppression.

Each Shop Branch should be a centre of agitation. Leaflets dealing with the struggles of the workers, which are being issued by the National Organization, should be distributed regularly. Books and pamphlets and the party papers and magazines should be sold. The work of the Shop Branch is to carry on a campaign of agitation to acquaint the other workers in the shops with the fundamental Communist principles and for the organization of the industrial union, and to furnish the leadership in the time of action.

The work of creating Shop Branches is a fundamental tactical problem. We must take action at once to bring these organizations into existence.

Leaflet Distribution.

Events are developing quickly in the present world of capitalism. New crises appear with startling rapidity. The Steel Strike, the Miners' Strike, and the coercion of the Government, followed each other in quick succession. Another crisis in the threatened strike of the Railroad Workers is looming.

Each of these situations present the opportunity for Communist agitation. It is precisely in these situations that the party must intervene. It must be in a position to present the Communist interpretation of events to the workers throughout the country on a few days' notice.

To accomplish this the party administration has issued a series of leaflets. While these were successfully distributed, the old method of sending out circulars asking for orders and then printing and shipping the leaflets makes the party action drag. It causes delay and the crisis may pass before our message is in the hands of the workers.

The Central Executive Committee considers the distribution of leaflets the most effective form of agitation. It urges that those branches which thus far have not participated in the work immediately organize themselves for this form of propaganda. Our present organization is capable of distributing several million copies of each leaflet issued when properly organized for this work. We must mobilize our full power of action in this respect.

To avoid delay and to drag on our action which results from old methods the Central Executive Committee urges that each party branch place a standing order for the quantity of leaflets it can distribute, just as orders are placed for bundles of papers and other periodicals. This plan will enable the National Organization to print the number of leaflets of each issue which the whole organization can handle and to slip them out as soon as they are ready, thus avoiding the delay which militates against the effectiveness of our propaganda. Leaflets will be issued at intervals of about two weeks.

The leaflets issued thus far speak for themselves. They are evidence that the party administration can be depended upon to

MONSTER MASS MEETING

COMMUNIST PARTY LOCAL NEW YORK

at

MANHATTAN LYCEUM, 66 East 4th Street

THURSDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 11, 1919

8 P. M. Sharp

Prominent speakers in all languages.
To protest against the brutal assaults and arrests by the Lusk comm.

\$50,000,000.

IN PROFITS!!!

The Aguila Oil Company made \$50,000,000 in net profits in Mexico in the last 8 years — over \$6,000,000 a year!

Did you get any of these profits, Mr. American Workman? No.

Did you get any of the profits of any other oil companies that are sucking the blood of the Mexican people? No. Do you own any oil stock? No.

Have the workers of Mexico ever harmed you? No.

Then, don't let Wall Street's government in Washington bamboozle or bully you into a War with Mexico!

Don't Fight Your Mexican Comrades!

INSTEAD --

STRIKE!!!

COMMUNIST PARTY OF MEXICO

P. O. Box 945

Mexico City, D. F., Mexico

furnish leaflets that meet the test of correctness of principle, simplicity of language and yet militant calls to action.

Blank's for standing orders for leaflets have been furnished by mail. Make this question a standing order of business at your next meeting and help to mobilize our entire organization strength for this work of propaganda.

The Party Growth.

The party progress during the months that the National Organization has been in existence has been indeed gratifying. The membership figures of approximately 50,000 shown by the convention credentials that are being realized in dues payments. In addition to the Hungarian, Lettish, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, South Slavic and Ukrainian Federations, a strong Jewish and German Federation has been created. A nucleus of Italian and Scandinavian branches are already in the party. The work of organizing the Finnish Communist elements is just beginning. The American branches in all the large industrial centres of the country have joined our organization, and as the test of action is disclosing the character of our organization, smaller branches throughout the country are gradually coming into the organization.

The organization has proven by its action that it not only has power, but that it is ready to use its power by intervening in the struggles of the workers and giving them Communist meaning and purpose. Our organization is not a mutual admiration society of hair-splitting theoreticians, but a militant fighting organization that finds its place and work in the heart of the everyday struggles of the workers. We have laid a sound theoretical basis for our party. Now we carry out theories into action.

Let us fulfill the promise of this beginning.

Let us each one give the best we have to give to the building of our unit of the Communist International.

On with the struggle. ON TO VICTORY!

Fraternally yours,

C. E. RUTHENBERG, Executive Secretary.

TO BREAK UNION OF JERSEY COPS

Active Unionists Discharged In Jersey City

The president, two of the organizers and eight active members of the Policemen's Union of Jersey City, were discharged this week by Commissioner of Public Safety Chas. F. X. O'Brien, this week as part of his campaign to break all unions of public service men in Jersey City. His attack on the Policemen's Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, comes two weeks after a similar move against the unionized firemen, marked by a dismissal of Peter J. Mahoney, president; James Caswell, treasurer; and Martin Duffy, of Unaffiliated Firemen's Association No. 72. Many other firemen were discharged or deported.

The A. F. of L. has been active for some time in the unionization of public service officials, such as police, firemen, and teachers in the big cities all over the United States.

The first real "show-down" came in Boston recently, where Compton broke the back of the police strike by ordering the successful strikers back to work. The success of the reactionary administration officials in Massachusetts was a signal for a drive on these unions all over the U. S., of which the Jersey City attacks is but a part.

LENIN'S VIEWS ON THE REVOLUTION

Lenin's Speech to the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party

Comrades:

We meet at a time which is exceedingly difficult for us, not only because we have lost our great organizer and leader, Jacob Michailovich Sverdlov, but especially because international imperialism is making... there is no doubt—a last and very powerful effort to crush the Soviet Republic.

In spite of our difficulties, we have succeeded in carrying out a great work in a short space of time. We have succeeded in settling our programme with unanimity, and in spite of editorial and other shortcomings we are convinced that it has already found a place in the history of the Third International as setting for the main points of the newest lines of communication for the International proletarian bid for liberty.

Comrades, at this Congress we have succeeded in carrying the most important motions. We have given full recognition to the formation of the Third Communist Internationale, which was founded here in Moscow.

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

The resolution which we have adopted under these trying conditions should help us safely through the coming half-year. We are passing through hard times, and the Imperialists are making a mighty effort to overthrow the Soviet by force.

Comrades, we are informed that the arbitrary ultimatum which the Allies sent to Hungary, on the question of sending troops through that country, decided the bourgeois Government there to abdicate in favour of the Communists.

Comrades, the story of the Hungarian revolution shows the world that the Bolshevik Government has not usurped power, neither is it supported by violence, as some of our calumniators allege.

The daily routine of government, and the unavoidable duties of reconstruction are apt to absorb our attention and to force us to forget the world-revolution, which is the principal matter in hand.

DOWN WITH ANARCHY AND REACTION

MANIFESTO OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (Bolsheviks)

To the workers and poor peasants: The all-Ukrainian Congress of the Bolsheviks convened at Kiev during January 5-6 resolved as follows:

To regard the party's central committee of the old convocation as dissolved and to elect in its stead a new personnel of the central committee constructing to the same all party matters and the safeguarding of the interests of workers and the peasant poor. While realizing the tasks of the congress of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks proclaims the revolution in the Ukraine to be in danger.

In order to counteract the criminal plots of the capitalists and the bourgeoisie, the central committee deems it necessary to create a united socialist front. Condemning the separatist actions of Piatakov, the central committee demands the closing of anarchistic acts against the peaceable and quiet citizens of the Ukraine Republic.

The German bayonets, the Hetman adventures, have left a painful impression on the lives of the workers and peasants. The Allied imperialists prepare to make use of the anarchy and instead of the German bayonets to send us Turkish janisaries, the Senegalese and the wild Roumanians.

The central committee, in the name of the all-Ukrainian congress of the Bolsheviks, demands for the sake of tranquility for the proletariat the stopping of military operations on the territory of the Ukrainian Republic and shall call rascals and traitors all those who would not obey the authoritative appeal of their supreme organ—the central committee of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks.

Appealing to Soviet Russia, the central committee demands action in regard to anarchist bands which have gathered at the

ber 25th, and realized that the country was being ruined; that the people were being asked to bear still heavier burdens, hence the workers and peasants of Hungary were given a chance to become the saviours of their country.

The difficulties of the Hungarian revolution are indeed very great, the smallness of the country makes it easier for the imperialists to overcome it. Yet whatever may happen, we see in the introduction of Soviet rule into Hungary a great victory for our system.

Comrades, many revolutionaries have given their lives to free Russia. Fate has been unkind to them; they suffered persecution under the Czar, but, alas! have not survived to rejoice with us in our victory.

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

The resolutions of this Conference will assuredly establish our power.

boundaries. The Ukrainian Bolsheviks have their new center in Kiev and this centre knows better than the plotters what the situation of the Ukrainian worker who needs quiet, revolutionary order and a further socialist struggle based upon democratic principles. Long live the proletariat! Long live the Third International! Down with anarchy, reaction!

We, Ukrainian Bolsheviks, wish to live in peace and harmony with those Ukrainian socialists who sincerely wish to aid the workers and the peasants. The Soviet government of Russia has concluded already a peace with the Mensheviks-Internationalists and the toiling intelligentsia; the central committee of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks sees in that the salvation of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks as well as of all Ukraine democracy against the approaching danger of foreign intervention.

L. Stolitsky, Chairman of the Central Committee. C. Chudnovsky, Secretary.

SWAN SONG

"Cling to Parliamentary institutions because the only substitute is Soviet institutions." Words spoken by the Lord Chancellor at the dinner of the Worshipful Company of Weavers.

templating the work and mission of the Soviets on a world basis can we find our way amid the details of their internal workings and be able to adjust them at the right moment.

Reconstruction in Russia is absolutely dependent on the progress of the revolution in the powerful nations of Europe. Only as these revolutions succeed shall we be able to concentrate on internal reconstruction. The "Socialist Revisionists" in Berne described us as "terrorists." But they absolutely shut their eyes to what is going on in their own bourgeois countries.

The mood of the Parisian masses is that of a crowd having an extremely keen sense of hearing and prompted by instinct. Today it will not permit a word to be uttered against the Bolsheviks, whereas six months ago it listened quietly to those who malign ed us.

In spite of the unfavorable conditions under which we in Russia are at present forced to exist, we possess one advantage, which has been pointed out in the London "Times." Its military correspondent admits that, whilst rapid disintegration is manifest in all other armies, the army of Soviet Russia, on the contrary, is improving.

We have been the world's pioneers in seizing power for the workers, and today the classes which formerly were oppressed are ruling Russia by their Soviets.

Shall we retain this power? Even if it is snatched from us, its acquisition was an historic deed which has no rival!

Even now we are justified in pride that we stood the test, that we defended the rights of the oppressed masses in spite of every hardship.

THE WARS IN RUSSIA

By Col. ROUSTAM BEK.

Two years ago, after the Russian army was disbanded and gradually melting away, the situation of the new born Soviet Government was critical. A state of anarchy reigned throughout the vast country, and there was little hope that any power in the world would succeed in bringing Russia in order for many, many years.

In the high military spheres of Europe and America existed a firm opinion that never would Soviet Russia be able to raise a considerable army which would be able to resist the Allies in case of armed intervention. The existing Red forces were called bands of cut-throats, murderers, robbers, looters, and traitors.

Two years ago passed since the Soviet Government came into power over all Russia and from the very first day of its existence, it has been challenged by the whole world in the political, economic and military fields. During these two long years the so-called "Trotsky bands" have been ceaselessly engaged on a gigantic front, attacked from land and sea, by about sixteen nations together with the Roumanian traitors—and not only have they shown an obstinate resistance, but in most instances have even taken the initiative and solved strategic problems of great difficulty.

Trotsky as War Minister. Now let us see how the genius of Trotsky succeeded in organizing the glorious army of Soviet Russia. It is obviously comprehensible that we are limited by space in our description which practically would require a volume, but as much as it is possible we shall give a general idea of the most wonderful work of creation.

As a War Minister of the Proletarian Republic, Trotsky had to create an army suitable to the new regime. Such an army could be created gradually according to a plan pre-arranged by trained specialists and developed by means of general education of the coming generation. The greatest difficulty arose before Trotsky in the fact that the Soviet Republic needed this army at once and that within a period of several months it had to reach the million mark.

A Risky Undertaking. It was a risky undertaking of the new War Minister. There was great suspicion expressed by the members of the Soviet Government, especially by the extremists, who maintained that the officers of the old regime when in the Red Army could easily take the first opportunity to seize the power and establish a military dictatorship in Russia.

It is well known that a hard time awaited those of the old Russian army who did not volunteer to serve in the Soviet Militia (and they were in the great majority). They were compelled to struggle for their own existence and in many cases for the existence of their families.

Even now we are justified in pride that we stood the test, that we defended the rights of the oppressed masses in spite of every hardship.

is one of the basic props of any phase of Bonapartism, then the social composition of our army is the very best guarantee against Bonapartist tendencies, for the simple reason that the exploiting part of the peasantry is excluded from it." With regard to the possibility of reaction raising its head in Russia, Trotsky said the following significant words: "Counter-revolution will never arise out of the rule of the proletarian dictatorship; it can only come as a result of a direct bloody victory over this rule. But it is precisely the purpose of the Red Army, of its development and its internal unity, to make such a victory impossible."

War on Thirteen Fronts. In 1918, being heavily pressed by the Allies from practically all sides, the Soviet army, in the period of its formation was compelled to fight the Allies and Russian reactionaries on thirteen fronts, ceding ground on the Murmansk-Archangel front, in Siberia, and on the Western-European frontier, where there was still the danger that the Germans would renew their invasion.

Revolutionary Discipline. The strong conscientious discipline introduced by Trotsky, which was enforced even by capital punishment, since the method of administration has been rendered efficient by the communistic principles which exist in the Red Army, is fully recognized by these officers as a very important element of morale of any military organization, though lacking in the army of the fallen empire.

Thanks to the great progress which the Soviet Government made with regard to general education in Russia, Trotsky succeeded in full. The instruction, which replaced the old cadet corps, and in the number of students attending them, proved clearly that the military authorities of Soviet Russia were alive to their duty.

Millions in Soviet Army. Men of great military authority, like General Brussiloff, Parensoff, Klembovsky, Plutchil - Plushchewsky, and many other world-wide reputation, who have others who distinguished themselves during the great war, were appointed to responsible posts; and thanks to their concerted work in harmony with other ministers of the Soviet Government, in January, 1919, the first Red Army, according to official statements, numbered 750,000 and was already in the ready to meet the invaders.

Trotsky on Bonapartism. This was achieved under Trotsky in the face of a strong opposition of the moderate Socialist parties. Trotsky was accused of introducing "militarism" in the Soviet Republic. To prove that the army would be a menace to the Republic, the critics brought forth the shade of Napoleon. Trotsky protested: "Bonapartism," he said, "can only appear as the expression of certain quite definite social conditions. It was the political rule of the petty bourgeoisie which created the rise of Napoleon. But if that part of the peasantry which belongs to the exploiting class

On several occasions it was also mentioned that Kronstadt, perhaps the strongest fortress in the world, had capitulated to the British navy. A series of Denikin and Kolchak "victories" were also reported, and we read also detailed reports of a revolution in Moscow. We read all these reports patiently, and were greatly amused, knowing well the value of our two years old army, the ability of our general staff and of our commanders, and the valor of our troops.

As a result of the strike the labor situation is more serious in this district (Pittsburgh) than it was during the war. Workmen going back to Europe or leaving this region to find employment elsewhere have created a shortage of almost 30,000 common laborers. The longshoremen's strike in New York has served to prevent many mill workers from returning to Europe and as soon as that difficulty is settled a rush to Europe is expected. Steel officials say the problem of insufficient laborers is being met in various ways. Many negroes, Greeks and Mexicans have been brought into the district since the strike. N. Y. Sun, November 24.

From Soviet Russia.

IS THE STEEL STRIKE OVER?

Here's What the Capitalist Press Has to Say On Its Financial Page—On the First Page It Is Over.

The iron and steel strike, now ending its ninth week, has reached a stage at which the producers are desirous that full details of the extent of their operations be published, particularly in mediums that reach their customers. (N. Y. Evening Post, November 22.)

The strike situation is working into a new place now, as the producers are not announcing their progress as enthusiastically as formerly. This is easily explained, for all the producers are far behind on deliveries, and if statements of progress get too optimistic, it is likely that consumers will come on them for deliveries. (N. Y. Commercial, November 24.)

Steel Is Scarce and Scarcer. The prospect is that steel, moderately scarce now on the whole, will be scarcer next March and plentiful at any time next year. (New York Evening Post, November 22.)

No Steel for Sale.

While many furnaces that have been closed by the strike are resuming and the output is correspondingly increasing, it is not coming fast enough to satisfy the consumers who have been clamoring for iron. The producers have been hard pressed to meet this demand and have spread their output among customers in comparatively small lots as far as it would go. They are, however, cautious about committing themselves for next year. (New York Journal of Commerce, November 24.)

Because of allotments falling short of estimated demand there is not the usual opening of books, as sales can be made only to regular customers, and then only in restricted fashion. (New York Sun, November 23.)

The strike affected the production of tubular goods more than it did the production of steel in general, and production since the beginning of the trouble has averaged less than 50 per cent. of the rate just before the calling out of the men. (New York Times, November 24.)

It was reported from Washington yesterday that further steel purchases will be made by the Railroad Administration when the mills are able to deliver in quantities sufficient to meet existing needs. Thus far it has purchased only 40,000 tons of steel rails and at least an additional 150,000 tons are required in order that steel rail stock of the railroads may be turned over to private management in the same quantity placed under government control. (New York Journal of Commerce, November 24.)

Scabs Are Ornaments.

By December 1 there will probably be few strikers left, but the mills will not be sufficiently manned, and those in employment will in large measure fall far short in efficiency. Employment, in point of numbers, may be 85 or 93 per cent. of the number required, while production may only be 75 or 80 per cent. of actual capacity based on past performance, particularly in 1916 and earlier years. (N. Y. Evening Post, November 22.)

The United States Steel Corporation withdrew two weeks ago from the export market all of its products, including tin plate, but the withdrawal is not permanent and it is assumed that the corporation will be selling export tonnages again not many months hence and doubtless will then be selling tin plate, although probably in restricted fashion. (N. Y. Sun, November 23.)

Scabs Are Ornaments Collected by Edwin Newdick, of the National Committee Organizing Steel Workers.

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LEGAL DON'TS TO MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

1. If you are rounded up in any raids or arrested for Communist Party activities, you will probably be questioned by some of the raiding officers, members of the Lusk Committee, Federal agents or other officers of "Law and Order." Do not talk to them at all. Give them no information about the Communist Party, its principles, tactics, interpretation of the manifesto and program, officers, members, activities and plans. If they ask you whether you are a member, refuse to answer. First telephone your friends. Instruct them to notify the attorneys representing the Communist Party. This right the law gives you. Insist on it. Remember! Give these people no information, as it will be used against you and our organization. Pay no attention to their threats or promises. Their only desire is to crush you and the Party.

2. If served with a subpoena to appear before the Grand Jury, you will probably be accosted by Assistant District Attorney Rorke and Archibald Stevenson. They may take you to Rorke's office or a side room and question you. Refuse to talk to them. They cannot compel you to submit to such an examination. You were subpoenaed to appear before the Grand Jury and not before them. Give them no information as they will try to get damaging testimony out of you to be used against you and the Party.

If taken before the Grand Jury, do not under any circumstances sign a waiver of immunity. Remember this! DO NOT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES SIGN A WAIVER OF IMMUNITY! If you do, you waive the right to be immune from a criminal prosecution for the offense concerning which you are being examined. They will then also use the testimony gotten from you, against you. If you have refused to sign this waiver of immunity and are sworn and put on the stand, be careful of your answers. If you do not know about some matter concerning which you are being examined, then answer, "I don't know." If you are asked any question which may tend to incriminate you of a crime, refuse to answer on the ground "that the question may tend to convict you of a crime." It is not necessary that the question should convict you of a crime. The fact that it may tend to do so, even if remote, is enough of a legal excuse for refusal to answer. The judge then decides whether you are or are not to answer the question. However, do not answer unless told to do so by your attorney.

3. If you are arrested and are not bailed out as soon as you hoped to be, do not lose your courage. The Communist Party is on the job nevertheless. It has other cases like yours and there are other important matters to be attended to. If there is delay, rest assured that your case is being given attention. Do not speak to anybody in jail about your case, as there are numerous spies and stool-pigeons in the jails.

FINLAND AND THE WHITE TERROR

By A. WALLENIUS, Swedish Left

After the suppression of the revolution in Finland more than 80,000 workers were interred in prison camps (Finland has a population of three millions).

Of these eighty thousand, 17,000 were shot like dogs and nearly 10,000 starved to death in these death camps. The rest were sentenced to between three and fifteen years; some of these prisoners, between 45,000 and 50,000, were freed under some conditions and were deprived of the right to vote and other rights of citizenship. Mannerheim was at this time the leader and governor of Finland.

But in spite of the thorough-going suppressions, in spite of the slaughter of 30,000, in spite of the 50,000 that were deprived of all political rights, in spite of the ten thousand that fled to Russia, and in spite of the 10,000 killed in the revolution—the socialists got in the year 1919 eighty-three representatives out of a total of 200 representatives that sit in the parliament. Thus they are the leading party in parliament, but they are slow in exercising the full political power they possess, because of the white terror that is now ruling Finland. The results of the election made clear, however, that all the dreams of the monarchists were at an end, and that Mannerheim was shorn of all power. The man who had tried to put Finland in war against Russia was defeated by Starberg, a reactionary, to be sure, but a very energetic student of political economy. During his leadership the interior and international policies were forever vacillating. In many matters the socialists have compelled the gov-

ernment to give in. But in spite of all this, Mannerheim dominates the country through his white guard army which he has built up from among the bourgeoisie. The white guards now comprise an army of 100,000 men, well armed, well drilled, well disciplined. The leaders of the white guard army are the initiators of all actions against Soviet Russia, and direct most of the policies of interior Finland. The interior and international policies are managed by the Entente, and, as an example of this, the attempt of the government to gain as much economic advantage as possible, based on the orders from Paris and London. The great sympathy of the radical workers for Soviet Russia is the only deterring force which operates against these policies.

The situation just now is made characteristic by the reactionary appeals to invade Soviet Russia and aid Yudenitch. But in spite of the secret and open constraint of the white guards of Mannerheim, the desire of the workers for peace and their solidarity for the Bolsheviks weigh so heavily in the balance that an attack upon Soviet Russia would result in a catastrophe for Finland. —Translated by U. Chabrow.

ONE WEEK OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND

Sixty-nine raids, 62 arrests, 16 court-martials, 40 sentences, 96 armed assaults, 43 proclamations and suppressions, 2 suppressions of newspapers. Total 328.

From the Moscow Manifesto.

We give below an extract from the Manifesto of the First Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow, March, 1919:

To the Proletariat of all Countries! Seventy-two years have gone by since the Communist Party of the World proclaimed its programme in the form of the Manifesto written by the greatest teachers of the proletarian revolution, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Even at that early time, when Communism had scarcely come into the arena of conflict it was hounded by the lies, hatred and calumny of the possessing classes, who rightly suspected in it their mortal enemy. During these seven decades Communism has travelled a hard road; of ascent followed by periods of sharp decline; successes, but also severe defeats. In spite of all, the development at bottom went the way forecast by the Manifesto of the Communist Party. The epoch of the last decisive battle came later than the apostles of the social revolution expected and wished. But it has come.

We Communists, representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the different countries of Europe, America and Asia, assembled in Soviet Moscow, feel and consider ourselves followers and fulfillers of the programme proclaimed seventy-two years ago. It is our task now to sum up the practical revolutionary experience of the working class, to cleanse the movement of its admixtures of opportunism and social patriotism, and to gather together the forces of all the true revolutionary proletarian parties in order to further and hasten the complete victory of the Communist revolution.

The Conquest of Political Power.

Seizure of political power by the proletariat means destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The organized power of the bourgeoisie is in the civil State, with its capitalist army under control of bourgeois-junker officers, its police and gendarmes, jailers and judges, its priests, Government officials, etc. Conquest of the political power means not merely a change in the personnel of ministries, but annihilation of the enemy's apparatus of government: disarmament of the bourgeoisie; the counter-revolutionary officers of the White Guard; arming of the proletariat, the revolutionary soldiers, the Red Guard workingmen; displacement of all the bourgeois judges and organization of proletarian courts; elimination of control by reactionary Government officials and substitution of new organs of management of the proletariat. Victory of the proletariat. Victory of the proletariat consists in shattering the enemy's organization and organizing the proletarian power; in the destruction of the bourgeoisie and rebuilding of the proletarian apparatus.

Democracy and Dictatorship.

The proletarian State, like every State, is an organ of suppression, but it arrays itself against the opposition of the exploiters of labor, who are using every means in a desperate effort to stifle the revolution in blood, and to make impossible further opposition. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which gives it the favored position in the community, is only a provisional institution. As the opposition of the bourgeoisie is broken, and it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, until finally the State dies and there are no more class distinctions.

Democracy, so-called, that is, bourgeois democracy, is nothing more nor less than veiled dictatorship by the bourgeoisie. The much vaunted "popular will" exists as little as a unified people. In reality, there are the classes, with antagonistic, irreconcilable purposes. However, since the bourgeoisie is only a small minority, it needs this fiction of the "popular will" as a flourish of fine-sounding words to reinforce its rule over the working classes and to impose its own class will upon the people. The proletariat, on the contrary, as the overwhelming majority of the people, openly exercises its class power by means of its mass organization and through its Soviets, in order to wipe out the privileges of the bourgeoisie and to secure the transition, rather the transformation, into a classless Communist Commonwealth.

Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary system, uses words to induce belief in popular participation in government. Actually the masses and their organizations are held far out of reach of the real power and the real State administration. In the Soviet system the mass organizations

rule, and through them the mass itself, inasmuch as the Soviets draw constantly increasing numbers of workers into the State administration; and only by this process will the entire working population gradually become part of the government. The Soviet system also builds itself directly on the mass organizations of the proletariat, on the Soviets themselves, the revolutionary trade unions, the co-operatives, etc. Bourgeois democracy and its parliamentary system sharpen the separation of the masses from the State by division of the government into legislative and executive powers, and through parliamentary mandates beyond popular recall. The Soviet system, by contrast, unites the masses with the organs of government by right of recall, amalgamation of legislative and executive powers, and by use of working boards. Above all his union is fostered by the fact that in the Soviet system elections are based not on arbitrary territorial districts, but on units of production.

In this way the Soviet system brings true proletarian democracy, democracy by and for the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. The industrial proletariat is favored in this system, because it is the most aggressive, best organized, and politically ripest class, under whose leadership the semi-proletarians and small farmers will be gradually elevated. These temporary privileges of the industrial proletariat must be utilized to draw the small farmers away from the control of the big landowners and bourgeoisie and to organize and train them as helpers in the building of the communistic structure.

Expropriation of the Bourgeoisie and

The breakdown of the capitalistic order and the disruption of capitalistic industrial discipline makes impossible the reorganization of production on a capitalistic basis. Wage wars of the workmen—even when successful—do not bring the anticipated betterment of conditions of living; the workers can only become emancipated when production is no longer controlled by the bourgeoisie but by the proletariat. In order to raise the standards of productivity, in order to crush the opposition on the part of the bourgeoisie (which only prolongs the death struggle of the old regime and thereby invites danger of total ruin), the Proletarian Dictatorship must carry out the expropriation of the greater bourgeoisie and junkerdom and convert the means of production and distribution into the common property of the proletarian State.

Communism is now being born out of the ruins of Capitalism—there is no other salvation for humanity. The opportunists who are making utopian demands for the reconstruction of the economic system of Capitalism, so as to postpone socialization, only delay the process of disintegration and increase the danger of total demolition. The Communist revolution, on the other hand, is the best, only means, by which the most important social power of production—the proletariat—can be saved, and with it society itself.

The dictatorship of the Proletariat does not in any way call for partition of the means of production and exchange; rather, on the contrary, its aim is further to centralize the forces of production and to subject all production to a systematic plan. As the first steps—socialization of the great banks which now control production; the taking over by the power of the proletariat of all Government-controlled economic utilities; the transferring of all communal enterprises; the socializing of the syndicated and trustified units of production, as well as all other branches of production in which the degree of concentration and centralization of capital makes this technically practicable; the socializing of agricultural estates and their conversion into co-operative establishments.

As far as the smaller enterprises are concerned, the proletariat must gradually unite them, according to the degree of their importance. It must be particularly emphasized that small properties will in no way be expropriated and that property owners who are not exploiters of labor will not be forcibly dispossessed. This element will gradually be drawn into the socialistic organization through the force of example, through practical demonstrations of the superiority of the new order of things, and the regulation by which the small farmers and the petty bourgeoisie of the cities will be freed from economic bondage to usurious capital and landlordism, and

GREAT BETRAYAL

By PIERRE BRIZON, French Socialist Deputy French Socialist Deputy.

"We have won the war!" You have lost the peace! For in the long run, peace is disarmament and where is disarmament? Everywhere you have promised to the martyred peoples to go through with it: to wipe out Prussian militarism after which we will disarm the world. Forward! It is the last war.

On January 18, 1918, in his talk to the trade unions, Lloyd George said: "This is exactly why we are fighting. It is in order to establish conditions which will make universal military service useless not only in this country but in every country."

The Premier of England insisted, "We wish to render compulsory military service definitely impossible." And the poor people have had confidence enough in your words, despite your past lies. And the martyrs have gone to their death—in order that never again should men die on the field of battle.

Then, after four years and three months of massacre, revolution has broken out. War has stopped. The armistice has come. Now nobody has been disarmed! Not even Germany! They say, M. Clemenceau, that you have permitted "the enemy" to retain an army of a million men.

On the 11th of November, 1918, you might have disarmed everybody.

If you have not accomplished general disarmament, if you have not disarmed even "the enemy," if you have sabotaged your "victory," if Marsall Foch has not been able to secure the demobilization of the German army—it is because you have not wished it, neither you nor your generals, nor your conference.

And if you have not wished it, you the Grand Master of Revenge, you the Patriot, you, who, since 1871, have passed all of your life in order to show, as you said, "The German danger, running through Europe," in order to inform statesmen, to make efforts and to say to them, "the danger lies there"—it is because you, the Minister of the Bourgeoisie and your friends and allies of Jewish finance and steel supremacy and of Dynamite and Reaction, you have had a terror of the Social Revolution.

You have not disarmed the sinister spirits of the Conference and of the Government, neither the army nor the navy; nor France, nor England, nor America, nor Italy, nor Roumania, nor even Germany. Quite the contrary. To those who have never had them, you have given armies, to the Poles, to the Jugoslavs, to the Czechoslavs, to the Baltic Provinces. And these newborn are in battle array! Blood flows!

With your generals, your "diplomats," your reactionaries, and your beasts of prey, you have left a world poisoned with militarism, with violence and with greed. You have preciously conserved for us your civilization of the trench, of the machine gun, of the bomb, the asphyxiating gas, of liquid fire, of boiling oil, of profiteers in blood.

You have made us understand that you still need billions and that your masters of the steel industry still require regiments. You have not kept your promises. You have not killed war. You have not even made peace. You have deceived the martyrs. The miserable dead have died for nothing.

And there, look you, is the great betrayal. —From "La Vague," Paris.

IDIOTORIALS

Louis Waldman is giving a series of three lectures entitled, "The Great Collapse." The first is called "The Industrial Revolution"; the second, "Stealing Public Wealth"; and the third, "Confiscation or Indemnity." The second and third lectures in the course on the great collapse present a "remarkable study of the traction situation in New York."

Do you mean the Socialist aldermen, Louis?

Everybody—At Least—Everybody That Counts.

The Times announces in its headlines that everybody is leaving Omsk in terror at the prospect of falling into the hands of the Bolsheviks. But the news item reads as follows:

"The government departments, the families of officers, and the wealthy residents of the city are hurrying their departure, and procession of carriages, carts, and automobiles is streaming over the road."

The workers and peasants seem to be awfully sad that Kolchak is leaving them and taking "everybody" away with him.

WHY THE STOCK MARKET BROKE

(Extract from Article in "Trader and Investor")

Wages began to soar. Men who have been glad to get two, three, five and seven dollars a day at manual or skilled work began to receive many times that much. They spent much of this, but of course patriotically saved some, as the Government urged.

The signing of the armistice found thousands of these men with more money than they had time to spend. The natural result was that they took time away from their work to buy automobiles, real estate, jewelry—whatever they wished. Production rapidly decreased. Commodity and, of course, security prices rose rapidly.

Famous Saying No. 4.

"The Socialist Party almost slavishly and often foolishly obeys every law after it has been passed—even when the law is not to their liking." —Berger, in his address to Congress.

Two Fashion Notes.

King Alfonso of Spain has registered distinct disappointment upon learning that his mauve evening dress at dinners has not caused the adoption of that costume by Lord Sudeley and Lord Howard de Walden, London's leading fashion exponents. Neither have the two tois adopted Alfonso's style of violet hat bands.

Michael Casey, who has taken up a vast amount of land in America, one shovelful after another, was recently seen in a pair of high priced overalls, studded with expensive brass buttons. He predicts that these will become the fashion with many royal families, and their general introduction in high society will relieve many a lord of the brain fog incident to picking out the proper clothing in which to appear at social affairs.

—"The Forge."

How It Looks to Some.

New York is a city with a population of 6,000,000, mostly "Dicks."

"Haase always belonged to the left wing of the party. Not to the extreme left, but to the Marxist center." —Karl Kautsky in "Freiheit."

ATTENTION! ATTENTION!

CONCERT & VETCHERINKA

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1919

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Auspices:

3rd Russian Br. Communist Party Local Greater New York

GERMANS JOIN THE RED ARMY

It is reported from a very reliable source that about 30,000 men of the Courland troops have gone over to the Red Army, and that the detachments of troops ready to retreat are, therefore, but small.—Berlin, November 1st (Frankfort News).

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