

THE COMMUNIST

Official Organ of the Communist Party of America.

SECTION OF THE THIRD COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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Coal Miners of America!

At your convention in Cleveland last year, your delegates drew up a program for wages and conditions which were to prevail throughout the coal industry. At that convention you demanded a six-hour day and a sixty per cent increase in wages. Your leaders were instructed to call a strike if these and other demands were not granted. After much bickering between the Government, the mine owners and your own leaders, the strike was called in the bituminous fields. That was in mid-winter, under conditions in which you were bound to win. The Government stepped in; invoked the Lever Act; issued an injunction tying up your funds and crippling your organization. You were ready to fight to a finish, in spite of injunctions, soldiers, jails. Your cowardly, spineless, leaders abjectly obeyed the Capitalist Government of the U. S., intimidated by threats of jail; with tears in their eyes they said that they could not fight the government. Betrayed by your faithless leaders, you were forced back into the mines, in some places at the points of bayonets; you were forced to accept the award of a commission appointed by the arch-hypocrite, Wilson, which ignored every demand made by your convention.

In the anthracite region, you miners, after waiting months for an adjustment of wages to meet the increasing cost of living, received a 17% increase by a commission appointed by the representative of capitalism in America, Woodrow Wilson. Again your union leaders, Lewis and the Executive Board of the U. M. W. made common cause with the mine owners and the Capitalist Government, against you, in spite of the protest and walk-out of a hundred thousand miners.

In West Virginia you have been compelled to arm and fight for the elementary right to organize in order to gain a bare subsistence. Actual civil war is in progress between the mine owners and the miners. Again the Capitalist Government at Washington has sent Federal Troops against you, in the interests of the Coal Barons. In Alabama the same conditions prevail.

You have lost strike after strike. In spite of your determination, your sacrifices, your courage, you are always defeated.

You miners have been in the forefront of the class struggle in America. You have, with painful effort, built up a vast organization, the United Mine Workers, which is potentially powerful.

Yet every struggle you entered was either lost or betrayed. Why?

Is it not time that you miners began to find out what is wrong with your fighting tactics and organization? Is not time that you, in common with all other workers, should stop and think and find the way out of wage slavery?

THE CAPITALIST STATE.

The whole capitalist state machinery: the courts, jails, police, gun-men, sheriffs, mayors, governors, legislatures, militia, the army, Congress, the President, the press, the church, AND YOUR OWN UNION OFFICIALS, are lined up solidly AGAINST YOU in every fight you make.

The courts enjoin and jail you; the police club and arrest you, gun-men and secret service men intimidate you; the militia and soldiers shoot you; sheriffs break up your meetings; mayors and governor execute the laws which legislatures make against you; The President of the United States brings the terror of the

Federal Government against you; the capitalist press lies about you; the church damns you; and the OFFICERS OF YOUR UNION BETRAY YOU.

ALL IN THE NAME OF "DEMOCRACY" and of LAW AND ORDER.

In every strike, and all the time, you are up against these combined forces—the machinery of the Capitalist State—the GOVERNMENT of the U. S. A. THIS CAPITALIST STATE MUST BE OVERTHROWN AND DESTROYED, ROOT AND BRANCH, AND IN ITS PLACE THE WORKERS MUST ESTABLISH THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT—THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT—FUNCTIONING THROUGH WORKERS' COUNCILS OR SOVIETS.

In other words, you miners in common with all other workers, must learn to understand the forces that are opposed to you, and how to intelligently fight and defeat them.

THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE.

Repudiate and get rid of your reactionary and traitorous leaders in the U. M. W. and the A. F. of L. Kick your Lewises out and take

One Day's Pay

The Second Convention of the Communist Party unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon the membership to contribute ONE DAY'S PAY to a national organization fund.

In accordance with the decision of the Convention, the C. E. C. issues this call to all members of the Communist Party to contribute one day's pay for the national organization.

Comrades, the need is great. You know it. We need not waste time and space telling you about it.

The Communist Party is unified and solidified on the basis of principles and tactics as never before in its history.

There are difficult tasks ahead of us—education, organization, propaganda and agitation.

The spirit, the will, the determination, the energy exist to carry on this mighty important work.

BUT WITHOUT FUNDS WE CANNOT CARRY ON!

Comrades! Rally to the support of the Communist Party!

GIVE ONE DAY'S PAY TO MAKE THE PARTY A PARTY OF ACTION.

possession of your own organization. This is your first duty to yourselves and to your class. Make the United Mine Workers a REVOLUTIONARY organization, YOU have the POWER, USE IT.

Organize mine committees in every mine and in every district, to take care of YOUR interests. Organize district committees in every district and connect these committees up throughout the entire mining industry. Keep control in your own hands, and thus build up the organs of workers' power and control. **THE NEXT TIME YOU STRIKE YOU WILL HAVE THE MACHINERY IN YOUR OWN HANDS.**

You must learn to broaden and deepen your strikes. REFUSE to mine coal for export to the enemies of Soviet Russia, or to supply factories engaged in the manufacture of munitions of

war for use against your brothers in Russia who are fighting against the Capitalist-Imperialist Governments of France, England, and the U. S. Demonstrate your solidarity with all the workers of the world in their struggles against their capitalist oppressors. Join the Red Trade Union International—the international organization of the revolutionary labor—unions of the world.

You miners are in a strategic position in the class struggle. You are engaged in a basic industry. Without coal not a wheel can turn. The United Mine Workers can become a powerful factor in the revolutionary struggle for the conquest of political power by the working class.

THE COMMUNIST PROGRAM.

The present government of the United States, in spite of its pretense of representing all the people, is, in reality, the dictatorship of the Capitalist class. It can only be overthrown by MASS ACTION, culminating in armed insurrection and civil war.

MASS ACTION, led by a consciously revolutionary vanguard of workers organized in a highly centralized political party, is the ONLY way to conquer political power for the workers; to destroy the Capitalist Government and establish the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, in the transition period from Capitalism to Communism, is the ONLY means to destroy the institutions of capitalism based on private property and the exploitation of the workers; making all wealth the property of all the workers in common; abolishing all classes; and inaugurating the Communist Society.

WORKERS' COUNCILS (Soviet Power) which are organized during the revolution, are the organs of working class power, by means of which the workers become the ruling class in society; suppress and expropriate the capitalist class; crush their counter-revolution; and safeguard the fruits of the proletarian revolution for the workers.

This is the program of the THIRD INTERNATIONAL and of THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Communist Party of America is a section of the working class; its most advanced, its most class conscious, and therefore its most revolutionary section. The Communist Party has no interests distinct from those of the working class. It is distinguished from the general mass of the workers by the fact that it reviews and analyzes the whole historical development of the working class in its entirety, and strives, at every turning point in that path, to defend the interests, not of separate groups, not of separate professions, but of the working class as a whole. The Communist Party is that lever of political organization which, with the help of the foremost sections of the working class, guides along the right road, the whole mass of the proletariat and semi-proletariat.

The Communist Party of America calls upon the coal miners of America to recognize their class interests and class solidarity with all the workers of America, of Soviet Russia, and of the world.

DOWN WITH CAPITALISM!

DOWN WITH THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES!

HAIL TO THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

LONG LIVE COMMUNISM!

THE COMMUNIST

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A Counter-Revolutionist in the Making.

American workers who have often wondered how a certain class of so-called "revolutionist" in Russia became counter-revolutionists at the time of the establishment of the Soviet Government, may find an illuminating analogy in this country by observing the editorial antics of John Sandgren, editor of the *One Big Union Monthly*, official organ of the I. W. W. His writings, ever since the Bolshevik ascendancy to power in Russia may properly be called "A STUDY IN COUNTER-REVOLUTION".

His reaction to the Bolshevik November Revolution has been noted in these columns more than once and is quite familiar to our readers. From a bovine stubbornness to see facts and appraise them in the light of Marxian economics and historical development he quickly descended to the most vituperative abuse and ignorant calumnies that reached its climax with the growth of the Left Wing movement in the Socialist Party and the creation of the Communist movement in this country.

Some months ago his venom reached such a stage as to shock even members of his own organization, who, though they perhaps agreed with him in principle, still had sufficient self-respect to call a halt to such outrageous slander. For several months Sandgren contented himself with mild innuendo and insinuation against the Communist movement here and abroad, while openly disavowing the slightest agreement with any of the principles or tactics laid down by the Third International. In fact it was humorous to watch his contrivances express itself in a "SPECIAL BOLSHEVIK NUMBER" immediately after the Philadelphia "incident". That this was but an attempt to draw a red herring across his trail, in order to divert attention from his official organ as one of the factors in the Philadelphia "incident", is the only conclusion we can come to after noting the contents of the October number of his magazine.

In this issue Sandgren comes back to wallow in his own filth in the approved style of the Mensheviks attacking the Bolsheviks and Lenin in Russia during the Kerensky regime. A signed article, bearing his name, carries the caption "THE INSIDE STORY OF AMERICAN BOLSHEVISM". It would be impossible to recount here the charges and lies and foul insinuations contained in his article. No capitalist prostitute sheet has ever gone to such lengths—no "yellow" Socialist has descended to such depths—as Sandgren does in his article. And to cap this filthy diatribe, he publishes a cartoon lampooning the Communist Party of America as the made-to-order product of Attorney General Palmer and his Department of Justice.

The reasons for Sandgren's reversal of policy at this time can be found in the publication of the referendums for affiliation to the Third International, which he seeks to defeat by these foul means. For Sandgren and his colleagues have been compelled to issue such a referendum in bitter enough in itself. The fear of its passing rouses them to a fury of invective, vituperation and slander unsurpassed in all the annals of controversy between working class organizations anywhere in the world.

The material for this article are two quotations—one a translation from the French paper "La Vie Ouvrière", purporting to carry charges against Comrade Louis C. Fraina, accredited delegate to the Congress of the Third International from the Communist Party of America—and the other, an excerpt from the preface to the pamphlet issued by the Third International to the I. W. W., and published by the Communist Party of America.

Sandgren has reached the stage where every stupid repetition of suspicion against Comrade Fraina is proof positive of his guilt. He no longer takes the trouble even hide his conviction. It must be so because John Sandgren in the innermost recesses of his corrupt nature wants it so. It furnishes a convenient cue with which to slander the whole Communist movement in

America and saves him from the necessity of discussing principles and tactics.

Sandgren who is so avidous in seeking out every bit of scandal-mongering repeated in organs of opponents of the Communist Party is evidently loath to discover official party documents dealing with Fraina's case. We have no doubt that members of the Communist Party who are also members of the I. W. W., have apprised him of such documents, but there has never been an attempt to print or quote from such documents, which would have had the effect of showing the obverse side of the case against Fraina. SANDGREN DOES NOT DARE PRINT THEM, NOT BECAUSE OF HIS PERSONAL ANIMOSITY TOWARDS COMRADE FRAINA, BUT BECAUSE IT WOULD HAVE PLACED THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA IN A DIFFERENT LIGHT TOWARDS THE GROPING MEMBERSHIP OF THE I. W. W.

The charges contained in the quotation from the French paper are the basest and most palpable sort of lies. They are for the most part a relish of the charges contained in Nuorteva's charges as printed in the N. Y. Call. The Call has never seen fit to print the official answer of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party to these charges although it has since reprinted the quotation which Sandgren uses.

The insinuations that Comrade Fraina was responsible for the prosecution of Comrade Lortot and the French General Confederation of Labor by the French authorities are so flimsy, so far-fetched as to merit only contempt. Anyone familiar with those incidents knows how ridiculous such a charge is. As a matter of fact, Comrade Fraina has been also exonerated of all these charges by the Third International itself, where French delegates were present. Comrade Fraina is at present one of the most active and trusted delegates of the Third International in Moscow. His character and ability can best be attested by the fact that Comrade Fraina was a member of two of the most important committees at the Second Congress of the Third International recently held at Moscow. He was a member of the Committee on "Problems of the Third International", and a member of the Committee on "Admission to the Third International". Comrade Fraina was one of the members of the delegation of Communists who attended the Baku Congress along with Radek, Zinoviev and others. IT IS NOT LIKELY THAT THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL WOULD HAVE CHOSEN A COMRADE FOR SUCH IMPORTANT WORK AGAINST WHOM RESTED THE SLIGHTEST TAIN OF SUSPICION.

The last charge contained in that quotation deserves reprinting for its barefaced, brazen character:

"The suspicions were later verified when a letter delivered to Fraina from the Dutch Communist leader, Rutgers, landed in the hands of the federal police in America".

The French paper is so convinced that it leaves the implication that Comrade Rutgers himself has verified this statement. Certainly it takes less time to communicate with Comrade Rutgers in Holland from France than from America. Yet this French paper did not even take the trouble and has the effrontery to publish the charge as a matter of unquestionable fact.

FORTUNATELY WE ARE JUST IN RECEIPT OF A LETTER FROM COMRADE RUTGERS IN WHICH, IN ANSWER TO OUR QUESTION, HE STATES THAT FRAINA DID NOT RECEIVE A COPY OF THE LETTER IN QUESTION.

From our own knowledge we also know that not Comrade Fraina had this letter but Santeri Nuorteva had this letter in his possession. And it reached the hands of Palmer's agents AFTER IT PASSED INTO THE LATTERS HANDS. Comrade Rutgers' statement completely exonerates Comrade Fraina. As for Nuorteva, we believe that since his arrival in Russia, he has found cause to regret his entrance into the counter-revolutionary plot against the Communist Party of America through an attempt to besmirch the character of Comrade Fraina.

As for John Sandgren, his days as editor for the I. W. W. are numbered. He sees the handwriting on the wall and is fighting like a rat to hide and delay the inevitable. Whether or not the present referendum turns out in favor of affiliation of the Third International, we are quite certain that the next convention will see him effaced as a moulder of counter-

revolutionary tendencies as evidenced in the "Philadelphia betrayal". He has fast writing himself down as a worthy successor to Harold Lord Varney of evil memory.

As for the second quotation as extract from our preface to the pamphlet aforementioned, there is little to say. Sandgren makes no attempt to take up the challenge except to hurl more of his infamous invective against the Communist Party.

The statement that the Communist Party cannot co-operate with the I. W. W. as at present constituted, holding and preaching the reactionary theories they do, is as true to day as the day it was written. As well expect the Communist Party to co-operate with the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party with the principles and policies they advocate and the reactionary leaders they harbor!

The Executive Committee of the Third International, at the time it wrote the appeal, did not know of the decisions of its last convention. It assumed that the I. W. W. was at least revolutionary in spirit even if they did not understand or accept the Communist position. Had they known of it, they would surely have changed their tone, as we have no doubt they will, when they get at the facts.

A thorough housecleaning is necessary in the I. W. W. The decision to affiliate with the Third International, if carried, does not admit of mere lip-service affiliation. Its policy must become a Communist policy in keeping with the principles and tactics enunciated by the Third International. Its syndicalist leaders will have to be replaced by convinced Communists.

This is bound to happen in the near future, referendum or no referendum. The rank and file of the I. W. W. cannot be fooled much longer. It remains to be seen whether the I. W. W. reactionary leaders will yet resort to the tactics of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party last year when it expelled the revolutionary proletarian membership who showed themselves strong enough to take over the reins of the party from their trembling hands. If they do, as seems likely, this act will spell the doom of the I. W. W. as an organization pretending to revolutionary aspirations. If they do not the I. W. W. will inevitably come into the fold of the Third International.

Footnote: The pamphlet containing the evidence against Fraina, at the "secret" trial, where he was charged with being a police agent, and an introduction analyzing the evidence, was unavoidably delayed due to the technical difficulties in printing same. Comrades realize what handicaps we are under as an outlawed party, and will make due allowance. This Pamphlet is now ready and can be obtained through the regular channels. Price 25 cents.

ANOTHER U. C. P. LIE SCOTCHED.

As we go to press the information comes to us from a very reliable source to the following effect: That the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. has notified its branches that they had elected a committee of two to enter into unity negotiations with the C. E. C. of the Communist Party but that the latter refused to have anything to do with this committee.

Our Central Executive Committee has not received any communication from such a committee or any other committee of the U. C. P. The Central Executive Committee never had any such offer under consideration for the very good reason that no such offer was received. Why they are spreading this brazen lie we do not know. We only know they LIE.

The C. E. C. has already stated that it will await the return of our delegate before taking any steps in the matter. Judging from the conditions for affiliation to the Third International, and the recent printed utterances of Sylvia Pankhurst and McLaine, English delegates who have just returned from the Congress, every delegate will return with certain specific instructions relative to the Communist movement in each country, based upon the general conditions already referred to.

Necessarily then we must await the return of our delegates. If the U. C. P. had elected such a committee to get in touch with ours on this question our answer would have been along the aforementioned lines.

WE CHALLENGE THE U. C. P. TO PRODUCE ANY DOCUMENTARY OR OTHER EVIDENCE TO SUBSTANTIATE THE BRAZEN LIE IT IS SPREADING AMONG ITS MEMBERSHIP.

The Failure of Syndicalism in Italy.

ITS LESSONS FOR AMERICAN WORKERS

For weeks past the capitalist press has been filled with big headlines about the "revolution" in Italy—how the workers in the metal factories had seized those factories and had attempted to operate them without the bosses. From the metal factories the movement had spread to other industries until some 1000 or 2000 thousand factories in Italy were in possession of the workers. This, according to the capitalist papers was the predicted "Soviet revolution" in Italy which was long overdue.

Then something happened which the papers were not very anxious to explain. A convention of the Italian Confederation of Labor held in . . . met and by a vote of 1,200,000 to some 600,000 refused to endorse the spontaneous action of the workers in seizing the factories. This convention also refused to take the next logical step—which was to overthrow the Italian Government and set up a Soviet Government as in Russia, as the only way in which to insure that Italian industry would in the future be run for the benefit of the working class without private profit to the capitalist class.

Instead this convention called upon the "moderate" Socialist parliamentary group to issue a call for the convening of the Italian parliament to pass laws which would create some form of co-operative functioning of industry, in which the workers and the capitalist would be represented.

Even this step was hailed by the capitalist press in this country as an extremist attempt to revolutionize industry.

In the meantime, the Italian workers refused to abide by the decision of the convention. They barricaded the factories and refused to give them up to the bosses. But the Italian Government, backed by the decision of the highest labor body in Italy, sent armed squads to dispossess the workers. In some cases the workers resisted and bloodshed resulted. In many cases, the workers, dazed by the action of the Italian Confederation of Labor, left the factories peaceably. They trusted their leaders and believed that from now on a new era in Italian industry had set in—the era of industrial democracy. Capitalist and worker would co-operate henceforth in production. Capitalist and worker would henceforth share the profits of industry.

Subsequently, the Metal Workers' Confederation met in Milan, and at this convention it was also decided to return the metallurgical factories to their owners and wait for remedial legislation from the Italian Parliament which the "moderate" parliamentary Socialists had promised them.

These are the bare facts in the recent Italian revolutionary crisis.

It is necessary for the American workers to understand this Italian situation in order that they may learn some valuable lessons from it for their own guidance in their struggle with their own capitalist class.

What really happened in Italy?

Italy as you know was neutral during the first year of the world war. Its people refused to shed their blood for the bloody imperialism of either Germany or the Allies. But its capitalist class was bribed with an offer of territorial and commercial loot, and like the capitalist class of America, threw the nation into war. Of course, the prostitute press shrieked about "democracy" and all the other nauseating slogans popularized by Wilson, the Liberals, and the "moderate" Socialists, now so familiar to the American workers. The Italian Government, instrument of the Italian capitalist class, passed Espionage laws and conscription laws, and browbeat the workers into the trenches. For four years the Italian workers shed their blood on the battlefields and supplied the army on the front with means for carrying on the gigantic war. The women folk and children starved and suffered indescribably. But the Italian capitalist, merchants, manufacturers, bankers and landlords reaped fabulous profits out of the suffering and sacrifices of the Italian masses. The cost of living had doubled and tripled and quadrupled. Bread was so scarce that thousands perished from hunger. Children died from malnutrition. Then came the armistice. The Allies had won the war.

The simple Italian peasants and workers thought that the period of their suffering and want was over. Autocracy was overthrown. Democracy had conquered. The last great war of humanity had been fought. Peace and plenty would now flow like wine for the poor and downtrodden workers and peasants.

But somehow none of these things happened. The army was not demobilized immediately for the simple reason that there was no work for them. The Italian industries had broken down. Bread was scarcer than ever. The cost of living instead of going down began to mount higher and higher. Unemployment and starvation stared the victorious Italian masses in the face. But a strange phenomenon was going on. Whereas the workers and peasants were starving there arose a whole class of newly rich, speculators and profiteers who had made fabulous fortunes out of the war and who even now were reaping enormous profits out of the misery of the masses. They controlled all the necessities of life. Merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and landlords rolled in amazing wealth. But the workers starved.

The wrath of the Italian workers and peasants which had been smouldering all through the war began to flame up. The spectre of Bolshevism began to haunt Italy, as it began to haunt all the nations of Europe and America.

The Italian labor unions grew in strength and numbers. The movement spread to the farm-laborers and the peasants. The Italian Socialist Party, which all during the war had openly opposed the Government and the war, also gained numerically.

The Italian Government met and dickered and compromised and made laws for the relief of the masses which did not relieve. Matters went from bad to worse. The reformist Socialists kept on promising reforms. The anarchists led by Malatesta, inflamed the masses but had no program to offer them. The syndicalists who controlled the Italian Confederation of Labor, propagated the "direct seizure of industries and their operation by the workers themselves". Only the thin voice of a growing section of the Italian Socialist Party, the Communists, preached social revolution—the destruction of the capitalist-government and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship through a Soviet Government, as in Russia.

Led by anarchists and syndicalists a movement began to spread among the workers for seizing the factories and operating them for themselves. This movement is similar to the policy of the I. W. W. in America, with which the workers here are familiar. As the struggle between the workers and the bosses became more acute—the workers demanding living wages which the bosses would not grant and threatened a general lock-out—the workers entered the factories and attempted to operate them.

The Government watched these steps with consternation but did not dare to intervene. The soldiers had more than once manifested a lively sympathy for the workers and could not be trusted to shoot them down in cold blood simply for taking and operating factories in order to feed their women and children.

The seizure of factories reached such a stage that all government and industry was paralyzed. The Government and the capitalist class knew this would fail so they left their heads off and waited. So did the Communists. The Communists preached that such a movement was bound to fail as the workers could not operate the factories themselves under a capitalist system and government. The Communists preached that state-power was necessary to centralize production, distribution and exchange. State-power was necessary to abolish private property rights. State-power was necessary to compel the clerks, the industrial experts, the engineers, the accountants, the managers and superintendents, etc. to stop sabotaging and continue functioning in industry. State-power was necessary to issue the decrees and enforce them to nationalize the banks, the mines, the railroads, the warehouses and the land. State-power was necessary to crush the counter-revolution of the capitalist class and their henchman the bureaucracy, the loyal parts of the army, the police, the mayors, the governors, etc. In short state-power was the first step necessary to insure the victory of the workers.

But the syndicalists had no such programme. Faced with this spontaneous action on the part of the rank and file of the working class of Italy they called a convention to decide the question of retaining the factories or returning them on the promise of the capitalist government to make new laws that would establish some form of co-operative production in industry between the workers and the owners.

Here is where the syndicalists of Italy fell down with their policy of "seizure of the industries" and ignoring the existence of the capitalist government with its army, police and law-making and law-enforcing powers.

Syndicalists, like the Communists, are opposed to all forms of government. But whereas the Communists recognize the necessity of a workers' government in the transition period from Capitalism to Communism, in order to suppress the capitalist class and their counter-revolutionary plots to overthrow the workers' rule to expropriate the capitalist class, and build up the machinery of government and industry that will insure the supremacy of the workers and their ability to feed and clothe themselves—the syndicalist are even opposed to that.

Their plan is to "seize the industries" and then the capitalist government will collapse of itself. After that there is no necessity to establish a workers' government—they only need to control and run the industries.

The convention of the Italian Confederation of Labor was faced with this problem. If it officially endorsed the action of the workers in seizing the factories, and called upon them to hold and operate them by this act the Confederation of Labor would have challenged the capitalist government and set itself up as a provisional workers' government in its stead. It would have had to issue the order to the workers to destroy the old government by force of arms and to defend the new government.

But as we have explained, the syndicalists are opposed to all Governments. They are just as much averse to the workers' government as to the capitalist government. Being in a majority at the convention they defeated this plan which was brought in by the Executive Com-

mittee of the Italian Socialist Party (soon the Communist Party). There was only one thing left to do. To issue the order to return the factories to their owners and accept the promise of the reformist socialists (who are also opposed to the proletarian revolution) to write new laws upon the statute books that would give the workers some form of co-operation in the control and management of industry.

When these laws are passed by the Italian Parliament they will be in effect something which many of the American workers are already familiar with—profit-sharing and Rockefeller shop-committees schemes.

Even the American Federation of Labor, reactionary as it is, knows what this means and is opposed to it. It means the elimination of unionism in the industries and its place is taken by representation of the workers and the bosses on one committee to arbitrate wages, hours, conditions and disputes in each factory.

Those of you workers who are unfortunate enough to belong to such unions, such as the Amalgamated Garment Workers Union, The International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and others, know what this means. The workers are tricked and a board of arbitration compels the workers to accept whatever awards are made. Strikes as retaliatory weapons are frowned upon and the treacherous contracts between the unions and the bosses make it illegal.

As for profit-sharing schemes, these are old American capitalist tricks to intensify exploitation—to increase production at the expense of the workers. Profit-sharing breaks down all the safeguards that the workers have won by tens of years of struggle as to hours and working conditions. Profit-sharing means increasing the employers' profits by increased production due to intensified exploitation of the workers, and a return to the old heart-breaking competition between workers and workers for jobs. It means that the bonuses are held up by the bosses so that the workers can't strike under pain of losing the fruits of their year's exploitation.

This is the result which the Italian workers have gained by following the leadership of the syndicalists of Italy. Of course, it is not the last act in the drama. The next act will open with the Italian workers turning to the Italian Communist Party for the overthrow of the Italian capitalist government and the establishment of a Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of a Soviet Government, as in Russia. The Italian workers, after this betrayal by their syndicalist and reformist Socialist leaders, will turn more and more to Soviet Russia for guidance.

They will learn, as the workers of all other countries, including America, will learn, that there is no peaceful road to their emancipation. They will learn to turn their backs on those leaders who counsel "seizure of industry" ignoring the capitalist government—and the reformist Socialists (like the Socialist Party in America) who preach to them that they can accomplish the social revolution by the ballot box. They will learn that the present capitalist government, whether it be a constitutional monarchy like Italy or England, or a parliamentary democracy like France or the United States, is the concealed dictatorship of the capitalist class—the instrument of the capitalist class to suppress and oppress the working class. They will learn that this so-called democracy, has been so constructed and so developed by the capitalists, that it is impossible for the workers to use it for their own purposes. They will learn that they must destroy this form of government, which functions only in the interest of the capitalist class, and establish a government that functions only in the interests of the working class—a Soviet Government, based upon Workers' Councils in the shops and factories, from which those who do no useful work in society will be excluded. They will learn that such a revolution cannot be accomplished peacefully either through the ballot-box, or by the peaceful seizure of industry. They will learn that no ruling class ever gave up its power without a violent struggle with the class that sought to displace them as the ruling class. They will learn that the capitalist class that now rules throughout the world, are prepared to use all the power of their governments, the army, the navy, the police, the gunmen, White Guards, the spies, the detectives, the office-holders, the courts, the hangmen, etc. to crush any attempt on the part of the workers to overthrow their governments. In Italy to-day, the capitalist class is feverishly organizing a White Guard to crush the coming proletarian revolution for state-power. They will learn to throw off the bourgeois ideology, the bourgeois lies, the bourgeois prejudices with which the capitalist class through the press, pulpit, schools, etc. fetter their minds and make them incapable of acting in their own interests.

The Italian workers are learning fast. The syndicalist fiasco which held them back for a time—even though it was a costly lesson,—will in the end only hasten the coming of the social revolution.

(Continued on page 6)

Centrists in Words Opportunist in Deeds.

The term "Centrist," so often applied to the former U. C. P. and the former "minority" in our own ranks who finally passed into the present U. C. P., always elicited a certain amount of incredulity from some of the clearer elements who were inclined to tolerate these Centrist leaders in our party. The recent split, however, convinced these Doubting Thomases that our criticism was more than justified by the self-revelations of our opponents. The advent of the U. C. P., with its confused convention and still more confused program has not changed the character of these Centrist leaders in the least. A mere lip-service recognition of the necessity of "systematically and persistently FAMILIARIZING" the workers with the inevitability of the use of force and armed insurrection against the capitalist state, grafted mechanically into an otherwise non-Communist program (an insertion bitterly fought by these Centrist leaders and carried over their violent opposition under threat of a split at the "unity convention"), cannot make Communists out of these Centrists, all their ranting and protestation to the contrary notwithstanding.

The No. 7 issue of the U. C. P. "Communist" contains an article entitled "The United Communist Party and the I. W. W.," which should thoroughly disillusion every class-conscious worker in America, and the Communist International abroad, to the hollow pretensions of this group of leaders who dominate the U. C. P. In this article, they have succeeded in unconsciously betraying, even to the most short-sighted or prejudiced, their complete lack of Communist understanding, and proving out of their own mouths, their Centrist and opportunist qualities and tactics.

This article attempts to answer the hypocritical cry for help issued by the General Executive Board of the I. W. W., on the occasion of its expulsion of the Philadelphia Local of the I. W. W., for refusing to stop loading ammunition for General Wrangel destined for use against Soviet Russia.

The I. W. W. appeal for help winds up as follows: "We appeal to the working class in general and the United Communist Party in particular to take a stand in industry and help build up a revolutionary organization that will make forever impossible repetition of the dastardly action of the Philadelphia longshoremen."

This bombastic appeal, couched in the most approved syndicalist style, containing the gross fallacy that by "taking a stand in industry and building up a revolutionary organization" (meaning the I. W. W.), such dastardly action will never recur, requires hardly any comment. Its syndicalist character is patent to any Communist worthy of the name. The only answer of a real Communist Party to such an equivocal and hypocritical appeal would be to call upon the I. W. W. to take such a stand on Communist principles and tactics, by renouncing their syndicalism and endorsing the Third International without reservations, as would not only make forever impossible a return to the syndicalist fallacies which at present dominate the I. W. W. (which, in the last analysis, is to a great extent responsible for the Philadelphia "incident"), but also to the policy of opportunism and obscurantism which may lead to similar "incidents" in the future.

This, the only answer possible, the U. C. P. did not make. Instead, it attempts to show that there has been a "change of front" by the I. W. W. on the question of armed insurrection with which it acknowledges to be in full agreement. We quote:

"THE EDITOR OF THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY ADMITS IN AN EDITORIAL IN THE 'SPECIAL BOLSHEVIK NUMBER', THAT ARMED INSURRECTION IS A LIKELIHOOD, AND GOES ON, 'BUT WE DO NOT WISH TO BRING ABOUT THAT CALAMITY AND TRY TO CAUSE A PREMATURE COLLISION BY 'ARTIFICIAL STIMULATION'. NEITHER DO THE COMMUNISTS TRY TO BRING ABOUT ARMED INSURRECTION BY 'ARTIFICIAL STIMULATION', EXCEPT POS- SIBLY THOSE COMMUNISTS WHO SUFFER FROM WHAT LENIN HAS APTLY TERMED 'THE INFANTILE SICKNESS OF LEFT COMMUNISM', SUCH AS THE FEDERATION GROUP IN THIS COUNTRY ARMED IN-

SURRECTION GROWS OUT OF THE SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS HAVE RIPENED SUFFICIENT TO MAKE THE WORKERS READY FOR IT, IS TO LEAD THE WORKING CLASS INTO THE SHAMBLES, THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY, WHICH ENDORSES THE TACTICS OF COMMUNISM, ALTHOUGH IT DECLARES OPENLY FOR ARMED INSURRECTION IN ITS PROGRAM HAS NOT PROVOKED ARMED INSURRECTION THROUGH 'ARTIFICIAL STIMULATION' EVEN THOUGH IT VERY LIKELY HAS THE POWER TO DO SO, BUT IS WAITING FOR THE MOMENT WHEN THE MASSES WILL BE READY TO MOVE' (italics ours, editor).

If the above paragraph means anything it means that JOHN SANDGREN AND DAMON, CANTON & CO. AGREE IN THEIR POSITION ON THE WHOLE QUESTION OF MASS ACTION AND ARMED INSURRECTION. The recently muzzled anti-Bolshevik editor of the I. W. W., who has outdone even the Right Wingers in his assaults on the Communists and their tactics—and who even now, as we shall prove later on, is syndicalist and violently anti-Communist in his position—and the theoreticians and leaders of the U. C. P., who have branded the Communist Party as "anarchists" and "agent-provocateurs" for advocating the necessity of the use of force and the inevitability of a violent revolution to overthrow the capitalist state, are thus shown to be birds of a feather.

Damon, Canton & Co. accept a statement of Sandgren's to the effect that armed insurrection is a "likelihood" and a "calamity" as a change of front towards the Communist position, and quote it approvingly. They repeat Sandgren's bourgeois phrase "artificial stimulation" as being a disease which Lenin calls "The Infantile Sickness of Left Communism". And to clinch their argument, they even go so far as to cite the present revolutionary crisis in Italy, in which the Italian Socialist Party has failed to act as a Communist Party should act, by calling upon the workers of Italy for an armed uprising against the capitalist state, as a case in point.

Every reactionary, even liberal, every social-patriot, with an ounce of foresight in his make-up, recognizes that armed insurrection is a "likelihood", and considers it a "calamity".

They condemn every attempt of the parties of the Third International to rouse the workers in countries such as Italy, where the conditions both objective and subjective are rotten ripe for a violent revolution, in the same language that Sandgren, Damon, Canton & Co. use—"a premature collision by artificial stimulation".

But these opportunists and traitors go even further. They presume to endorse and condone the inexplicable inactivity (at this writing), of the Italian Socialist Party in this revolutionary crisis as the correct Communist tactics! Were the Italian Socialist Party to issue the call for armed uprising of the Italian workers, who have shown by their intrepid defiance of the Italian Government and their syndicalist and social-opportunist leaders, that they are ready for a real political revolution, SUCH REAL COMMUNIST TACTICS ARE CONDEMNED A PRIORI BY THE U. C. P. LEADERS AS "A PREMATURE COLLISION BY ARTIFICIAL STIMULATION".

On the contrary, the Communist Party holds that just at this moment the Italian Socialist Party should act. The syndicalist farcical attempt at peaceful revolution "by seizing the industries" and ignoring the capitalist state, has been exposed as the most dangerous utopia and doomed to complete and humiliating failure; even where the capitalist government makes no armed reprisals, as in Italy. The syndicalists of Italy (blood-brothers to the Sandgrens in the I. W. W.), have led the workers not only into a shambles but into a blind alley. They have betrayed the Italian workers even as Kerenky betrayed the Russian workers, as Ebert and Scheidemann betrayed the German workers. The Italian workers stand dazed and beaten and know not where to turn. The factories are in their hands. They have arms in their possession. They have Workers' Councils in the industries. They are starving and disillusioned. The Government is incapable of ruling. The army is widely infected with Bolshevism. The economic structure

is hopelessly broken down, never to be rehabilitated under the old order. Instead of procrastinating and waiting to be pushed on by the masses the Italian Socialist Party should take the lead and guide the masses into the proletarian revolution. IT IS THE HIGHEST DUTY OF THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY AT THIS MOMENT—AND COMPLETELY IN ACCORD WITH THE POLICY OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CALL FOR ARMED INSURRECTION AGAINST THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL WAR!

The Third International has already issued an appeal to the Italian proletariat and to the Italian Socialist Party calling upon the party to act:

"The warnings of some Italian leaders, which point to the reactionary danger from the side of the Entente, have no ground. For the Entente never will be able to send an army against the rebellious Italian workingmen. The victory of the working class is impossible without suffering and want of the proletariat. It is possible that the Italian workers will have to go through the same hard road that the Russian proletariat has been traveling for the last three years. The Italian workers are a unit in their desire for revolution—as are the farm laborers and the overwhelming majority of the peasants. NOW THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY MUST SAY ITS LAST WORD. The Italian bourgeoisie sees the danger and is feverishly preparing the White Guard. The civil war is spreading like wildfire. The next problem of the Italian Socialist Party consists in insuring the victory of the proletariat.

"Looking at the situation from this standpoint we must admit that the Italian Socialist Party acted with indecision. Instead of giving the movement a definite character, the masses are pushing the party to the side of the anarchists, minimizing the authority of the party. Not the party leads the struggle but the masses are pushing the party.."

Is the Third International also suffering from what the U. C. P. so fatuously quote from Lenin as "The Infantile Sickness of Left Communism"? Or rather, does it not look as if the U. C. P. leaders have exposed themselves as a cowardly bunch of charlatans and compromisers who condone the treachery and betrayal of the Turatis, Modiglianis and Darragonas and endorse the inactivity and indecision of the Italian Socialist Party in a revolutionary crisis? Does it not prove moreover, THAT THE U. C. P. LEADERS WOULD DO THE SAME THING IN THIS COUNTRY WHEN THE TIME COMES?

"Artificial stimulation" is the term with which the social-opportunists and social traitors of the whole world have STIGMATIZED the Bolshevik November Revolution in Russia! "Artificial stimulation" is the way the Kautskys, the Eberts, the Scheidemanns, the Bernsteins have STIGMATIZED the Liebknecht-Luxemburg Spartacan revolt in Germany! We does not remember how the Hendersons, the MacDonalds, the Snowdens, the Thomases, the Hillquits, the Bergers and the Gomperses thundered against the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans?

DAMON, CANTON & CO. HAVE SHOWN THEMSELVES TO BE PART AND PARCEL OF THE SAME PETTY-BOURGEOIS INTELLECTUAL SCUM AS THESE OTHERS WHO ARE RIDING THE BACKS OF THE WORKING CLASS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD!

Severe as this indictment of the Centrist leaders of the U. C. P. is—as proven out of their own mouth—the same article contains another betrayal of Communist principles even worse. It will possibly have the immediate effect of keeping the I. W. W. in the hands of the syndicalist faction for some time. We refer to the offer of "undersanding and co-operation" made by the U. C. P. to the I. W. W. We quote:

"OFFICIAL ENDORSEMENT OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL IS NOT, HOWEVER, THE CONDITION WITHOUT WHICH THERE CAN BE NO CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE I. W. W. AND THE U. C. P." (italics ours, editor).

At a time when resolutions for and against endorsement to the Third International are being sent out to the I. W. W. membership to be voted upon—in order to determine the future policy of the I. W. W.—such a statement coming from a so-called Communist Party can mean nothing less than that the U. C. P. is not anxious that THE I. W. W.

SHOULD ENDORSE THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL. It means also strengthening the syndicalist sentiment and weakening the Communist sentiment in the I. W. W. It means that the U. C. P. demands at the most merely lip service to Communism such as they themselves pay to the Third International in order to come to an understanding with the I. W. W. It means that the U. C. P. is ready to throw its whole strength to building up the I. W. W. on the basis of syndicalist or semi-syndicalist tactics.

It is quite certain that those of the rank and file members of the I. W. W. who are also Communists, who have been carrying on a determined and ceaseless agitation for affiliation of the I. W. W. to the Third International without reservations, will realize that they have been betrayed by these Centrist leaders who practically advise the I. W. W. membership not to vote for such affiliation. It is also certain that this cowardly offer of compromise will be rejected by the I. W. W. membership, who whatever their shortcomings may be—are not cowards. They have been tried and tested in the long fight for their ideas—ideas which though they are now obsolete and even potentially counter-revolutionary, as now exemplified by the syndicalist fiasco in Italy—were once the height of revolutionary daring in this country. Either they will accept the program of the Third International in toto and affiliate without reservations, in which case they will not be afraid to take the full consequences of their act, even if it means being driven underground—or they will reject it because they do not as yet understand the Communist position, BUT THEY SURELY WILL NOT TAKE A HALFWAY POSITION THROUGH COWARDICE, AS RECOMMENDED BY THE U. C. P..

By this cowardly offer of compromise the U. C. P. leaders have shown beyond the shadow of a doubt that they are absolutely incapable and unfit to remain at the head of any revolutionary organization of the working class in this country.

We do not know whether there has been any collusion in this "deal" with any members of the G. E. B. or other leaders of the I. W. W. If there has been the facts will come out sooner or later. In the meantime we would advise the Communist members of the I. W. W. to demand an investigation and if such collusion is found to start a move for the expulsion of the guilty one or ones.

As for the treacherous leaders of the U. C. P. responsible for this act of betrayal—not only of the Third International but also of the rank and file of the C. P. and U. C. P. who have been waging a bitter struggle within the I. W. W. which finally culminated in the issuance of the referendums—THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE U. C. P. TO RID THEMSELVES OF THESE LEECHES AND POLITICAL ADVENTURERS, WHO, ON EVERY QUESTION, HAVE PROVED THEMSELVES TO BE CENTRISTS IN WORDS AND OPPORTUNISTS IN DEEDS.

In the same article these Centrists say: AN UNDERGROUND INDUSTRIAL UNION WOULD BE AN ANOMALY. THE EXISTENCE OF SUCH AN ORGANIZATION IS NOT CONCEIVABLE.

An anomaly to whom? Inconceivable to whom?

Certainly not to real Communists! Certainly not to the Russian Communist Party who know that the industrial organizations of Russia as well as the political were under the gun by the Czar! Certainly not to the German Communist Party where even now some industrial organizations are flourishing underground! The Knights of Labor, The Industrial Brotherhood and other organizations in America were secret underground organizations from 1873 to 1879.

Even if the argument that the I. W. W. is a purely industrial organization were true—which is not, for the I. W. W. is also a political party advocating syndicalist theories and principles there is no legitimate reason for asking the I. W. W. not to officially endorse the Third International under pain of being driven underground.

Should the I. W. W. accept affiliation to the Third International and consequently be driven underground—this would be a distinct advantage to the revolutionary movement in

this country in more ways than one. Aside from the accelerated impulse this would give to the workers in this country the I. W. W. could then co-operate with the Communist Party of America, through the Communist nuclei, for propagating Communism to the workers and winning the trade union rank and file away from Gompers and the social-patriots.

Only then can real co-operation and understanding be achieved between the Communists and the I. W. W. Co-operation between the Communists and the I. W. W. must be based upon spreading Communism, building up Communist nuclei in the shops and factories—not on building up the I. W. W.

Besides, only by a referendum vote in favor of affiliating with the Third International, can the I. W. W. purge itself of its syndicalist theories and prove that it has accepted the Communist position. There is no other way at present. Anything less than that, as for instance, affiliation with reservations, or affiliation to the Red Trade Union International would be no criteria that the I. W. W. has renounced its syndicalism. Sandgren, editor of the One Big Union Monthly, anti-Communist and syndicalist is in favor of affiliating with the Red Trade Union International; nor does he consider that he will in any sense renounce his syndicalist theories in doing so. Here is his position in his own words to prove it:

"...but we are sure that not a voice will be raised against affiliating with such an industrial international.

"We always have been and are now a purely industrial organization and expect to solve the whole social problem on an industrial union basis. We want to build industrial unions as organs of production and distribution and central councils emanating from the industrial unions as organs of local and regional administration. That is how we propose to solve the social problem. We cannot introduce a political party, communist or otherwise, into this scheme, without surrendering our fundamental principles and abolishing our independence....

They (The I. W. W.) are out to establish the rule of the workers, they (the I. W. W.) have been at it now for fifteen years and grown into a world movement on the strength of it. They (the I. W. W.) are not likely to adopt a program which saddles a political party on their back as their taskmasters" One Big Union Monthly (October 1920)

Or take the following brazen comment of Sandgren on Zinoviev's statement as printed in the same issue, "The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism":

"At a time when the best elements in French syndicalism are abandoning their former errors, and moving towards Communism in laying down the principles: 'All power to the Workers' Councils', there are working class groups and circles in Russia which are TRYING TO REVIVE THE WORST FEATURES OF SYNDICALISM. The famous Left Wing Social Revolutionary Party recently adopted a resolution demanding the transfer of the whole administration of industry and transport to the Central Committee of the industrial unions. It further proposed that COMMON ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN BY THAT COMMITTEE AND THE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WHOLE WORLD FOR THE ENTIRE MANAGEMENT OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND THE WORLD CONTROL OF INDUSTRY AND TRANSPORT BY A COMBINE OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONS".

The comment of the I. W. W. editor who wishes to affiliate with the Red Trade Union International on this is as follows:

"THIS IS PRACTICALLY THE POSITION OF THE I. W. W."

In other words, he endorses the position which Zinoviev condemns as trying to "revive the worst features of syndicalism".

If this vicious syndicalist can wish to affiliate to the Red Trade Union International holding such opinions, it follows that all the syndicalists will also vote for it. Therefore if this referendum wins it will not mean that the I. W. W. has changed its policy.

If the resolution for affiliation to the Third International with reservations should win that would be prima facie evidence that the I. W. W. proposes to retain its own course of action and rejects the Communist position again.

THEREFORE, AND UNLESS THE I. W. W. VOTES FOR AFFILIATION TO THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL WITHOUT RESERVATIONS, THERE CAN BE NO POSSIBILITY OF "UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION" BETWEEN THE I. W. W. WITH ITS PRESENT CONSERVATIVE CHARACTER AND A REAL COMMUNIST PARTY.

The terms which the U. C. P. submits are camouflage intended to save their faces. They are seeking some rapprochement with the I. W. W. on the basis of a compromise with Communist principles. They probably see that they are doomed to extinction between the syndicalist forces on the one hand and the Communist Party on the other. They are making an eleventh hour attempt to catch at a drowning straw in order to save themselves.

As for the I. W. W. leaders they can deceive no one by wanting to affiliate with the Red Trade Union International. So long as they do not accept Communist principles and tactics, as laid down by the Third International, they will never be admitted to the Red Trade Union International, which will be composed of Communist trade unions, party organizations and Workers' Councils as well as industrial unions all of whom must accept Communism. The I. W. W. will be compelled to change their position or will not be permitted to enter.

The Communist Party of America calls upon the rank and file of the I. W. W. not to heed the treacherous proposal of the U. C. P.. It calls upon them to vote for direct affiliation to the Third International. It calls upon them to expel the syndicalists like Sandgren from their organization and to entrust the leadership and editorial positions only to convinced Communists. Do not be afraid of being driven underground as a calamity. It would be a calamity only if the I. W. W. should be afraid to accept Communist principles and tactics because of the fear of being driven underground, and becoming outlawed.

By voting for direct affiliation to the Third International the rank and file will rebuke the cowardly tactics of the leaders of the I. W. W. and the U. C. P. and prove to the whole world that the I. W. W. is on the right road—THE ROAD THAT LEADS TO COMMUNISM THROUGH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE FORM OF A SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD FROM CAPITALISM TO COMMUNISM.

The Failure of Syndicalism in Italy.

(Continued from page 3)

The American workers should take the Italian lesson deeply to heart. By doing so they may lessen the period of their political immaturity and hasten the day of their complete emancipation from the domination of the capitalist class. Compare the proletarian revolution in Russia, with its programme of MASS ACTION CULMINATING IN ARMED INSURRECTION AND CIVIL WAR AGAINST THE CAPITALIST STATE—THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE FORM OF A SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN TRANSITION PERIOD FROM CAPITALISM TO COMMUNISM—WITH THE SYNDICALIST PEACEFUL ATTEMPT AT REVOLUTION BY SEIZING THE INDUSTRIES, WHICH BROKE DOWN BEFORE IT HAD BEGUN.

The workers and peasants of Russia are now in power for three years, resisting the aggressions of the capitalist governments of the entire world and in spite of it, making such progress in governing themselves and building up and administering industry solely in the interests of the working class, and poor peasantry, that it stands for three years as a beacon light for the workers of all other countries as the most inspiring example that the world has ever seen.

The programme of the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia, by which they accomplished and maintained their revolution, the programme of the Communist Party of America, it is the programme of the Third (Communist) International, the revolutionary vanguard of the workers of the world!

The syndicalist programme, which led the workers of Italy into a shambles and a blind alley from which they find it hard to extricate themselves, is the programme of the I. W. W. and similar syndicalist organizations in America. Workers of America! Which will you choose?

Should Communists Participate in Reactionary Trade Unions?

By N. Lenin.

The German "Lefts" (Communistische Arbeiter Partei) after having considered this question, have definitely rejected the proposition of participation in reactionary trade union activities. They consider that mere denunciation and declamation against the reactionary, counter-revolutionary unions is sufficient. The barrenness and futility of such participation by "revolutionary" communists in yellow social patriotic, reactionary, counter-revolutionary trade unions of Legien and Co., is emphasized by the "Left" Communist leader Horner more than by others.

Notwithstanding the certainty of the German "Lefts" that such tactics are revolutionary, they are, in reality, fundamentally erroneous and consist of but hollow phrases. In order to clarify this issue, I will take examples from our own experiences.

The general plan of this article aims to adapt that part of our Russian experience which can be profitably applied to Western Europe and which is unavoidably in keeping with the history and contemporary tactics of Bolshevism.

The inter-relationships of leaders, parties, class, and mass, and the relations of the Dictatorship of the proletariat and the Communist Party to the trade unions is represented in Russia, at the present time, concretely in the following form. The Proletarian Dictatorship is realized through the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) which counts in its ranks, 611,000 members according to the latest reports of the ninth convention of the Party, held in April 1920. Before and after the November Revolution the membership fluctuated, and was much smaller even during 1918 and 1919. We fear the abnormal increase of the Party, for political and intellectual adventurers—who usually deserve to be shot—naturally attempt to inlimate themselves into the Party by cajolery and chicanery. The last time that we threw the doors of the Party wide open to the workingmen and peasants was in the winter of 1918 when Yudenitch was a few miles from Petrograd and Denikine reached Orel—250 versts from Moscow—that is when the Soviet Republic was menaced on all sides and in deadly danger. In these dark days, the careerists and other unreliable elements, did not join the Party because, instead of receiving responsible and remunerative positions, they would expect to be sent to the gallows and tortured by the counter-revolutionists.

The Communist Party meets annually in convention and is represented by one delegate for each 1000 members. It is headed by a Central Committee elected at the Convention and consisting of 19 members, while the current work is conducted by a still smaller group at Moscow—the Collegium—called the Organization and Political Bureau consisting of five members each, who are in turn elected by the plenary session of the C. E. C. No important political or organization question is decided by any State Institution of the Soviet Republic without the sanction of the C. E. C. of the Communist Party.

The Party in its work is directly supported by the trade unions which now count in their ranks, according to reports from their convention in April 1920 over four million members, and which are nominally independent of the Party. (Ed. note. The Russian trade-unions, according to latest reports in Ivestia, now number over five million members.) As a matter of fact, all the executive bodies of the vast majority of the trade-unions, and of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, are composed of Communist Party members who carry out all the instructions of the Party.

By this means, the Party maintains close contact with the working-class and the masses and out of nominally non-communist and flexible machinery is developed a broad and mighty proletarian apparatus through which, under the leadership and direction of the Communist Party, is realized the Dictatorship of the working class.

Without maintaining this close contact with the trade unions, without their active support, without their self-sacrifice and work, not only in the industries and economic reconstruction, but upon the military field it would be impossible to realize the Proletarian Dictatorship or to govern the country, not only for two and one half years, but for two and one half months.

It is obvious that in order to bring about this close contact with the trade unions and the masses, very arduous and intricate work of propaganda and agitation is necessary. Frequent and timely conferences with leading officials, are necessary, not only in connection with directing the masses but also to keep in touch with every influential and active man in all the trade unions. It also means a decisive conflict with the Mensheviks, who even now, though small in number, exercise a certain influence. Their adherents are taught to use various methods of counter-revolutionary trickery, beginning with the ideological defense of bourgeois

democracy; the preaching of "independence" of the trade-unions, i. e. making the unions independent of proletarian state power; culminating in sabotage and the destruction of proletarian discipline, etc., etc.

We do not consider that juncture with the masses through trade unions in itself sufficient. Conferences of workmen and peasants who have no political affiliation were created during the progress of the Revolution which the Communists seek to support, broaden, and develop into institutions through which we can keep in touch and understand the masses, answer their inquiries and develop from out of their ranks men fitted for government posts, etc.

The Peoples Commissariat of State Control was recently reorganized by decree into the Workers' and Peasants Bureau of Inspection to which the conferences of non-partisan workers and peasants were invited to send delegates to participate in the elections of members to the state control commission created for the purpose of controlling the different departments.

It must be understood that the work of the Party is carried on through the Soviets, which unite all working masses, regardless of distinctions in trades or industries. The county conventions of Soviets are democratic institutions such as, even the best bourgeois parliamentary democracies have never conceived,—and through these Soviets, which are kept under the vigilance of the Party, and by assigning class conscious workers to all village posts, achieves for the proletariat the leading role in their relation to the peasantry and realizes the Dictatorship of the city Proletariat, through the constant conflict for the suppression of the rich, exploiting, speculating bourgeois peasantry.

All this is the general mechanism of the Proletarian State Power as examined by the leaders from the point of view of the practical realization of the Dictatorship. We trust that the reader will understand that the Russian Bolsheviks were familiar with this mechanism and watched it develop, during a period of twenty-five years, from illegal, underground, small circles to its present proportions. All the talk as to whether control should be exercised from above or from below, or as to whether there should be a dictatorship of the leaders or of the masses, etc. is as ridiculous as to ask whether a man's left foot is more essential to his body than his right arm.

It seems to us that the German Lefts are also involved in ridiculous childish absurdities in their grave and very learned and terrifically revolutionary chatter, as to the advisability of Communists carrying on their work within the reactionary trade unions, or of their refusal to so participate and to withdraw from them entirely and form obligatory, brand new, simple pure industrial unions. These workingmen's unions are very youthful and are the inventions of the "left" Communists.

While Capitalism transmits a heritage to Socialism of century old craft and trade distinctions among the workers, it, at the same time brings out the trade unions which in time can and will develop broader industrial forms embracing whole industries and which will abolish all trade and craft distinctions and eventually bridging the gulf between intellectual and manual labor. The workers then become universally educated, trained and equipped to accomplish all their necessary tasks. Communism tends toward and must accomplish this, but through a long process of development. To go into raptures over this inevitable growth and to expect these industrial unions of themselves to grow into a full fledged and perfect Communist society is as criminally foolish as to expect a four year old girl to become a mother. At the best, this is ridiculous and puerile and at worst, a nasty crime.

We should and must begin to construct Communist society, not out of fantastic notions nor from artificially and man-created materials, but from such materials as are at hand and inherited from Capitalist society. It is self-evident that this a difficult task to accomplish, but any other means to achieve this end is pure circumvention and unworthy of serious consideration.

The trade unions in the early period of Capitalism represented a great advance by the working class, during the transition from their helpless and unorganized condition to the beginning of class unity. When a higher former of class unity of the proletariat begins to develop the revolutionary political party of the Proletariat would be unworthy of its name if it failed to understand how to connect their leaders with the working class and the masses in one integral whole.

It is inevitable that the trade unions will show reactionary craft narrowness and conservative pure and simple characteristics. But there could be no other process of development of the proletariat than through the trade unions and the reciprocal influence of the working class party.

The conquest of political power by the proletariat is a tremendous step forward. The mission of the Party is to educate the trade unions to use new tactics instead of old ones to lead them, and at the same time to remember that the unions are and will be for a long time "schools of Communism" and preparatory schools for the realization of the Proletarian Dictatorship. These unions are necessary to achieve the solidarity of the workers in order to take over the administration of all the industries of the entire country by the working class as a whole and not by the individual trade or industrial unions.

Even under the Proletarian Dictatorship some forms of reaction are unavoidable within the trade unions. Not to understand this means not to have the slightest conception of the fundamental conditions obtaining in the transition period from Capitalism to Communism. To fear this backwardness of the trade unions, to attempt to circumvent it, to try to escape it is nonsensical and indicates a lack of faith in the role which the proletarian vanguard must assume as the instructor, the leader, and the beacon which attracts to the new life the lowest strata and the backward elements of the masses, the working class and peasantry. To postpone, however, the realization of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, until the last reactionary trade unionist or workman relinquishes his craft or trade union bias, would be a profound mistake.

The art of politics, the proper understanding by Communists of their problems, consist in correctly considering and discounting the conditions and the moment when the proletarian vanguard may successfully conquer political power; to be able to immediately obtain sufficient support from all strata of the working class and from the non-proletarian elements of the laboring masses; and afterward to be able to safeguard and maintain their power and to extend it, educating, leading and attracting the whole laboring masses.

Furthermore, in countries more advanced than in Russia, the reactionary tendencies in the trade unions are naturally more pronounced more conspicuous than in our country. In Russia, the Mensheviks had (and to some extent still have in a very few trade unions) the support of the trade unions due to trade narrowness and opportunism and craft exclusiveness. The Mensheviks of the western countries have a greater influence in the ranks of the trade unions because these unions are dominated by a more powerful element of labor aristocracy, who uphold trade union narrowness and the self-interest and sordidness of these petty bourgeois inspired imperialistic trade unions whose leaders are corrupted and bribed by the capitalist imperialists. These statements cannot be successfully contradicted. The struggle with the Comperes, Jouhaux's, Hendersons, Merrheims, Legiens et al., in western Europe and America, is much severer than the conflict with our own Mensheviks who represent a more homogeneous social and political type.

This struggle must be carried on without compromise and these reactionary and incorrigible social patriotic, opportunist leaders must be exposed, discredited and expelled in disgrace from the trade unions. It is impossible to conquer political power, nor should we attempt to take over political power until this light has been waged up to a certain degree. In different countries and in different circumstances, the degree to which the light should be carried is not always identical. These conditions can be carefully appraised only by trained, thoughtful and experienced political leaders of the proletariat of each country.

In Russia, for example, the criterion of success in this conflict was determined by the elections to the Constituent Assembly in November 1917—a few days after the proletarian uprising of October 25, 1917. In these elections, the Mensheviks were overwhelmingly defeated, receiving 700,000 votes (including Trans-Caucasia—1,400,000 votes) as against 9,600,000 votes received by the Bolsheviks. (See my article on the Elections to the Constituent Assembly and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.)

(to be continued)

Resolution by the Polish Branch of U. C. P. Camden, N. J.

Received October 10th, 1920

Resolution

We, members of the Polish Branch of the U. C. P. of Camden, N. J., after the report given to us by the delegate to the Polish Federation convention, and explanations of the district organizer of C. P. of A., declare:

That after our acquaintance with the C. P. program and the reasons of the split, we came to the conclusion that we were misled, therefore we unanimously decide to join the Polish Federation and the C. P. of A. as the only revolutionary party in this country.

Organizer: John Grossy.

Why The Swedish Party Takes Part in Elections.

A CRITICISM OF THE ANTI-PARLIAMENTARIANS.

BY Z. HOGLUND.

(We reprint this article from the British "Communist" by Comrade Z. Hoglund of Sweden, as another contribution to the question of parliamentarism from one who is himself a Communist member of the Swedish Parliament. The whole question of parliamentarism, though a subordinate question in general in the tactics of the Third International, and more or less academic at present insofar as Communist participation in parliamentarism in this country is concerned, due to the outlawing of our party—has still a more important side to it, namely: the effect of understanding this question in its relation to a dialectical understanding of the whole field of Communist tactics. The revolutionist who understands the question of parliamentarism, and its revolutionary use by the Communists will be better able to grasp the position of the Third International in its relation to unionism. (Read Comrade Lenin's thesis "Shall Revolutionists participate in Reactionary Trade Unions elsewhere in this issue).")

Particularly is it important to understand these two questions as the I. W. W. have to a great extent corrupted the minds of the class-conscious workers by their dogmatic attitude on both of these questions.)

The Social-Democratic Left Party is a revolutionary Party declaring for Proletarian Dictatorship and the Soviet system.

Why does it participate in the elections to Parliament? Is asked by many who consider this standpoint illogical. Taking a bare surface point of view, it may seem illogical.

But it all depends on what is meant by taking part in elections for Parliament and also by what ways and means we "participate" in the work of Parliament. The difference between us and the Right Socialists is this. We do not, as do the Right Socialists, believe in the possibility of Socialism being established by Parliamentary methods, that is, at your leisure, by elections to gain a majority in Parliament and thereafter when we have gained the half plus the deciding vote, expropriate the expropriators. We know that victory is not a mathematical problem. Not so many votes in Parliament for and so many against, but a hard class struggle in which the ruling class the very day it no longer commands a Parliamentary majority, will put in motion all means to preserve its power and privileges.

The worn weapons of the bourgeois democracy will not avail, will be useless in the last great struggle between capitalism and the proletariat. The decision must be through the clean-cutting sword of the proletarian dictatorship, and in the Soviet system—the new form of State constitution—will the working-class find its democratic expression?

When we, nevertheless, in spite of this take part in elections it is not because we wish to raise among the masses false hopes of grand reforms carried by parliamentary means or the "peaceful introduction of Socialism" of which the Right Socialists speak.

On the contrary, we will do all we can to root such illusions in the working class. But only in a revolutionary situation, when the working classes have taken the power of the State into their own hands, is it time to discard Parliament in favor of the new representative

body in which the proletarian dictatorship finds its expression. This is the viewpoint of the Third International.

It criticizes Parliamentarism, but is not anti-Parliamentarian.

The Bolsheviks, whom nobody can accuse of Liberalism, had representatives in the Duma before the Revolution and took part in the elections of State authorities after the Revolution till the moment was ripe for another tactic.

The same position was taken up by the Spartacists in Germany. At their first congress, under the intoxication of the Revolution, an anti-Parliamentarian section gained a victory over Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg (it has been proved that among those extra-radical anti-Parliamentarians were several hired agents-provocateurs). The Italian Socialists, who, as is well known, are among the most trusted elements in the Third International, take part in parliamentary activities, as do the Bulgarian Communists, the Norwegian Socialists, etc.

Nothing is more convenient than to abstain from elections, nothing is cheaper than, as our Socialist League of the Young is now doing, to declare an election boycott. To abstain from taking part in elections does not mean the clarifying of the class struggle but the evasion of the issues. The working class is not strengthened but rather weakened by abstaining. The Revolution is not furthered but hindered.

"But Parliament will corrupt the representatives sent there by the workers. They enter as Radical Socialists but leave as respectable moderate reformers". So say the syndicalists and anarchists.

A truth with modifications. That many labor leaders have been corrupted nobody will deny. But it is not necessarily a logical consequence of parliamentary work. Were those Bolshevik members of the Duma the Tsar sent to Siberia corrupted? Was Karl Liebknecht corrupted? Does anyone believe Clara Zetkin and Paul Levy are likely to be corrupted in the German Reichstag. Or Serrati in Italy? Did Fredrick Stroni get corrupted in the first Chamber?

Those representatives of the workers who have a mental or economic tendency to be corrupted, whether by reason of character or circumstances, or both, will do so whether sitting in Parliament or not. And is not corruption, seeking of personal interests and general slackening more common among Trade Union and Syndicalist leaders than among political leaders?

The reason for this sad state of affairs is not to be found in political activity, but in personal character. Let the Revolutionary workers not be misled or sidetracked by the Anarchist phrasemongers. The only people who stand to gain by following such advice are the Social patriots, who certainly will not neglect to point the moral if the Left Socialists (Communists) should show a diminished strength by reason of such a boycott of election propaganda. The number of votes cast for us will be a measure of our strength and our enemies will look at it in the same light. Let us therefore strike a blow that will prove to them that the ideas of Revolutionary Socialism have taken root and are spreading among Sweden's Proletariat.

Resolution Adopted by the Jewish Branches of the United Communist Party.

To the Membership of the U. C. P.,

Dear Comrades:

The disorganizing policies and actions of the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. toward the foreign-language groups have created a condition of affairs which leaves us but two courses open to pursue: one is to completely liquidate all our activities among the Jewish workers of America, the other is to leave the ranks of the U. C. P. and join the C. P. We have chosen the second course, that is, to join the Communist Party of America.

Here are but a few facts from our experiences with the stupid and arrogant leadership of the U. C. P.

(1) We brought into the party a legal weekly magazine which had already exercised a notice-

able influence upon the class-conscious Jewish workers of America, but the C. E. C., under various excuses, stopped the publication of this magazine, and gave us instead a foolish and ridiculous bi-weekly sheet, which our comrades were ashamed to sell and distribute among the Jewish workers. The C. E. C., presumably for financial considerations, has also ceased to publish our Jewish underground paper.

(2) After we have succeeded at the cost of much time and energy, to build up a number of Jewish Communist groups in the trade-unions of New York, the sub-district committee of the City, with the consent of the C. E. C., stopped all our further activities on the industrial field, cutting us off from all possible communication with the Jewish workers in the trade-union movement.

(3) The sub-district Committee of New York has strictly forbidden the Jewish propaganda committee of the same district to directly communicate and deal with the Jewish branches under its jurisdiction.

(4) All our communications to the C. E. C. demanding publication of propaganda and agitation literature in the Jewish language were left unanswered.

(5) Since the inception of the U. C. P. the C. E. C. has been resisting and putting down every effort of the foreign-language groups to form National Committees for propaganda in their respective languages. To prevent the formation of National propaganda committees the C. E. C. has been threatening expulsion to every member daring to raise his voice in favor of such committees. The C. E. C. has prevented any and all discussions in the party press bearing on the subject. And when the National Conference of the Russian Groups elected a National Propaganda Committee, the C. E. C. ordered the committee to immediately disband under threat of expulsion.

Furthermore, the C. E. C. and its organizers went as far as to ARTIFICIALLY CREATE AND ENCOURAGE ALL KINDS OF DISCORD AMONG THE DISTRICT COMMITTEES OF THE LANGUAGE GROUPS. In the Russian group they pitted one against the other—the district committees of Chicago, Philadelphia and New York. In the Jewish group they played the same game with the District committees of New York and Philadelphia, this all having been done for the single purpose of preventing the establishment of unity and harmonious relations between the Jewish comrades of the U. C. P.

(6) When the Jewish comrades of New York and Philadelphia have finally succeeded in coming to an agreement with regard to the Jewish press and propaganda, THE C. E. C. REFUSED TO RATIFY THIS AGREEMENT, ordering a "clean-up" instead of the Jewish language groups of all elements who dared to demand a National Propaganda Committee. No charges were preferred. No trials held. They simply decided to expel the whole Jewish organization of New York, and to begin the organization anew. The very same operation, somewhat modified in form, has been started in Philadelphia.

Comrades of the U. C. P.!

We split away from the C. P. and joined the U. C. P. with the best intentions. We were willing to co-operate in the building up of a party, combining the revolutionary elements of both the foreign-language speaking workers and the American workers. We accepted the position of the Third International which expressly demands autonomy for the language federations in the conduct of their propaganda and organization. This means nothing else but National Propaganda Committees of the sort that exist in the Communist Party of Russia for the Jewish sections. For this reason we disagree from the start with the constitution of the U. C. P. which did not provide for committees of this kind. But we believed that the C. E. C., upon coming actually in touch with the living needs of the organization would convince itself that without national propaganda committees for the language groups no Communist Party in America will be possible. As a matter of fact, even previous to our joining to the U. C. P., a representative of the C. E. C. assured us at the convention of the Jewish Federation of the U. C. P. that the matter of National Committees was then not yet definitely settled, and that the C. E. C. stood ready to make all necessary changes in the organization to insure the smooth course of the Communist work among the foreign-language speaking workers.

But it turned out quite differently. The C. E. C. of the U. C. P. has learnt nothing. It neglected entirely the most important field of its activities—the Americanized and English-speaking workers. It created not a single English paper worth the name. It has not succeeded in building up a single Communist group worth mentioning in the large English trade-unions. But it succeeded in sabotaging and paralyzing the useful work of the foreign-language groups. The C. E. C. has destroyed the Russian organization, it ruined the Jewish organization and completely paralyzed the activities of other language groups that joined the U. C. P. In other words, its duties towards the English-speaking movement the C. E. C. has been completely neglected, and its foreign-language movement it has ruined. Instead of a Communist Party the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. has created an apparatus for collecting contributions and selling dues-stamps.

We have committed a serious error by joining the U. C. P., and to rectify it we decided to go back to the Communist Party of America.

