

The Communist

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LOUIS C. FRAINA, Editor
I. E. FERGUSON, Associate Editor

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C. E. RUTHENBERG,
Executive Secretary

LOUIS FRAINA,
International Secretary

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Address all communications
1219 Blue Island Ave.
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Crush Russia!

AN unconfirmed report comes from Paris that the Peace Conference has decided to evacuate Russia, withdrawing all troops. Immediately General March, of the American General Staff, declares that if this is so, it refers to Siberia but not to Siberia.

Why not Siberia? The masses of Siberia have given proof of their opposition to the alien invaders. Kolchak's Government has no popular support, and is maintained by Japanese bayonets.

The answer is this:

Siberia is to be divided among the Allies, Japan particularly. The Japanese have secured supremacy in Siberia, their troops being used not only to crush the revolutionary masses, but to secure economic and financial control for Japanese capital to exploit the immense natural resources of Siberia.

British troops are still in possession of the Baku oil regions, perhaps the richest in the world. Oil today is a necessary factor in industry, particularly in transportation and naval power: that is why international Imperialism is preparing to crush Mexican independence in order to control Mexico's oil wells.

The decision of the Allies Peace Conference, if it is a decision, comes of the complete collapse of the military campaign against Soviet Russia. On practically all fronts the Bolshevik armies are scoring victory after victory. The Baltic nations are considering peace with Soviet Russia. The allies do not dare send their own troops against the Red Army, and their hopes of the counter-revolutionary troops crushing the Soviet Republic have broken down miserably.

But this decision must be considered together with another fact: Reports are that the Peace Conference has come to an agreement with the imperialistic "Socialist" Government of Germany providing that a German army of 200,000 troops shall assume the offensive against Petrograd and Moscow, in an effort to crush the Soviet power. It is doubtful whether Germany will do this, since the Ebert Government requires the troops to crush a potential German revolution.

Moreover nothing is said or done about ending the infamous blockade against Russia.

The Allies have not given up their schemes to crush Soviet Russia; these schemes will assume a new form. Only the mass pressure of the proletariat will compel the end of the campaign to crush the Communist Republic of Russia.

Russia has repeatedly exposed the hypocrisy of the Allies. Under Czarism, Russia mocked the Allies' claim of waging war to liberate the small peoples—imagine Czarism liberating oppressed peoples! Revolutionary Russia is still more of a mockery of the Allies claim to be making the world safe

for democracy—the chief concern of the Peace Conference has been to crush revolutionary Russia, in order to assure the permanence of the peace of violence imposed upon the world. The Allies have divided the world economically, financially and territorially; but Soviet Russia, with its inspiration to the international proletariat, is a menace to these plans for world domination; hence Soviet Russia must be crushed.

The Old Unionism

THE A. F. of L. has for some months in the steel mills. Its organizers have been actively organizing the workers had a difficult task. The steel barons have used the law and the courts, police and gangsters, against these organizers, nine of whom have been killed. But the workers responded, and a strike is scheduled for September 22.

This movement among the steel workers has all the characteristics of the old unionism. Parleys are held concerning the strike, the employers are implored to meet with the union officials for "negotiations." Instead of action, they are talking, giving the steel barons ample opportunity to prepare for a strike.

Among the demands of the new union is one for the "check-off" system. In this system is compressed all the corruption and betrayal of the old unionism.

The check-off system means, in effect, that the union officials and the employer unite to herd the workers into the unions. It means that instead of the workers paying their union dues directly to the union, the employers collect these dues each week out of the pay of the workers and turn them over to the union officials. The employers and their hirelings accordingly, become agents of the union officials.

But there is a more serious phase. The "check-off" system of paying dues assures the control of the unions by a small clique of officials; it is the best scheme yet invented of making the workers the helpless victims of their officials, of breaking any revolt in the unions. The final result of the system is that the officials and the employers become allies against the workers.

This system existed for years in the United Mine Workers. This union was a typical expression of the old unionism, which, particularly in the days of John Mitchell, betrayed the workers again and again. But the revolts of the workers were crushed by the united force of the employers and the officials, a force maintained largely by the "check-off" system.

The unionism of the A. F. of L. is a shackle upon the militant movement of the workers. Its form of organization splits the workers in fragments; and, moreover, A. F. of L. unionism assures control of the union by the clique of bureaucrats. The most vital fact in the labor movement at this moment is the tendency of the organized workers to break the domination of the officials, to develop a unionism that will respond to the mass impulse of the workers. The old unionism is in decay, has proven itself utterly incompetent on the problems of the proletariat. But here, in the steel industry, the A. F. of L. is imposing this reactionary system upon the workers, — assisted by the Syndicalist E. Z. Foster!

Unions are not necessarily simple job trusts. They are not necessarily simply organs of the struggle to increase the price of the commodity labor-power. They are not simply means of resistance against Capitalism. The unions may become organs of militant action, of the aggressive proletarian struggle against Capitalism. Industrial unionism is this sort of unionism, breaking with the methods and policy of the old craft unionism; and, if inspired with the revolutionary purpose, becomes a vital factor in the proletarian revolution.

Chaos?

COMMENT has been made concerning the "chaos" that prevailed in Chicago during Convention week. But only the weakling will consider as chaos the events producing three parties claiming to represent the revolutionary proletariat. In fact, instead of chaos there was a clear, uncomprising division of forces, necessary in the construction of a real revolutionary movement.

The "chaos" is characterized by a number of pertinent facts. The three conventions each produced its own party. Of these, the Communist Party represents the largest membership of the three. The remnants of the corrupt Socialist Party has at the most 25,000 (Germer claims 39,000); the Communist Labor Party, if it actually represents a substantial membership, represents not more than 10,000 members, mostly in the west, where the Communist Party has not yet carried its agitation and organization work, while the Communist Party has a membership of more than 60,000.

Membership is not necessarily a measure of strength. But in the collapse of the old party, with agitation and organization active as never before, it is significant that more than half the membership of the old party should unite in the Communist Party. It is equally significant that, of this membership, the various Federations include not more than 30,000. These facts dispose equally of the charge of clique control and of "Federation Party."

Not only is the Communist Party organized on a solid membership, but on a solid foundation of principles and tactics. The Socialist Party is still what it was, with a treacherous minority trying to camouflage the party in the colors of the Communist International. The Communist Labor Party was a house divided against itself. Its platform and program are a hash of the Left Wing program; its work not at all clear and inspiring. The Manifesto and Program of the Communist Party are clear, uncompromising, consistent. The Manifesto is a theoretical formulation of Communist principles. The Program is realistic, a program of action applying our general principles to the actual problems of the proletariat and of the prevailing struggle. Is this chaos?

There was at Chicago a historical division of forces, — the Socialist Party at the extreme Right, the Communist Labor Party at the extreme Left. Is this chaos? in the Centre-Left, and the Communist Party

This development is vital. It provides the opportunity of measuring the movement, of testing its values, of developing that revolutionary consciousness and consistent action necessary to rally the proletariat for Labor Party of real Communist understand the Communist cause.

That there are elements in the Communist ing, is a fact, and particularly the comrades of the Pacific Coast. But it is equally a fact that these comrades have the opportunity of affiliating with the Communist Party. They are now being misled by the Lore-Katterfeld-Wagenknecht Centrists, and by the Reed-Carney emotionalists. But not for long: the clear Communist Party call to action will rally them to our Party, while the real centrists will rejoin the Socialist Party.

The Left Wing, in the course of its development, acquired elements not at all Communist. These revealed themselves at Chicago as Centrists, the real Independents. But they do not represent much except themselves. The movement is larger than any individual; individuals who cannot merge themselves in the movement must be brushed aside brutally and contemptuously.

The situation is clear. The Communist Party represents the organized Communist sentiment of our country. Every real Communist will rally to its support.