

# THE COMMUNIST

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## The Terror

**C**APITALISM is openly revealing the fact that it represents, or is, the dictatorship of a class determined upon class supremacy.

While the spokesmen and the press of the Allies brand the Soviet Government as a dictatorship, the Peace Conference is itself the most powerful and brutal dictatorship in the world. This Conference, through the Council of Four—the Premiers of England, France, Italy and the President of the United States, arbitrarily determined decisions and problems of the utmost importance. This Council of Four waged war against Soviet Russia, it conspired to overthrow the Soviet Republic of Hungary, it determined what people of Europe should or should not secure food, it re-made the map of the world. The Peace Conference was not in any sense an expression of democracy; it was and is in fact a supreme manifestation of the dictatorship of Capitalism.

This dictatorship of Capitalism finds its most typical expression in its struggle against the proletarian revolution and against the developing movement of the revolutionary proletariat. This struggle, in one form or another, is the determining factor in contemporary European development.

The typical form of capitalist dictatorship reveals itself under the violent impact of the class struggle. In normal times, that is to say when the workers are quiescent and the class struggle moderate in means and purposes, the dictatorship of Capitalism is not quite apparent to the average person; but in times of militant action, when the class struggle flares up implacably, the dictatorship of Capitalism and the capitalist state appears in all its brutal reality and the pretense of democracy breaks down.

Dictatorship is based upon force and adopts terror as a means of carrying out its purposes. When the dictatorship of Capitalism reveals itself openly, it is by means of the force and terror it uses against the militant working class movement.

At this moment, the dictatorship of American capital, expressed in the government, is developing a ruthless campaign of force and terror against the workers and particularly against the revolutionary organizations. The use of the injunction to break the strike of the coal miners was apparently a judicial process; in fact, however, it was an invocation of force and terror, since behind the injunction was the armed force of the American government prepared to impose its will ruthlessly upon the strikers. In city after city, terrorism of the most flagrant character is being used against the workers' organizations. The government is apparently concentrating its force against the Communist Party, in an effort to break this militant expression of the conscious Proletariat.

In Cleveland, under the Criminal Syndicalism Law; in New York, under the Anti-Anarchy Law; in Chicago and elsewhere in the deportation cases under the Immigration Law; in one way and another

the attempt is made to brand membership in the Communist Party as a crime in itself. In many instances the unofficial organs of repression are urged to assume a state of outlawry in relation to Communist agitation.

This onslaught upon the Communist Party is deliberate. It is not an onslaught determined by fear of the present or actual strength of the Communist Party, but because of the tendency the Party represents, by the fear that the Party may be able to rally the workers for the conscious struggle against Capitalism. In this sense the onslaught upon the Communist Party (and upon the I. W. W.) indicates the stern purpose of Capitalism to destroy the American revolutionary movement.

But even this factor is, at the moment, incidental. American Capitalism and its government have let loose terror against the Communist Party in order to find a convenient pretext to break the great strikes now convulsing the country. Capitalism is deliberately working up a revolutionary scare in order to frighten the unconscious workers and the more easily crush those radical manifestations of the proletarian struggle which, while not yet consciously Communist, are a source of immediate and ultimate danger to the supremacy of Capitalism.

Imagine 50,000 members of the Communist Party making a revolution, fighting the American army and police, seizing cities, and destroying the power of the government! Yet that is precisely what the government and the press assert are the immediate aims of the Communist Party. Of course, this is absurd; but it serves the purposes of provocation and providing the opportunity for a policy of ruthless repression.

There is apparently no limit to what the dictatorship of Capitalism will use in order to maintain its power.

It is a real campaign of terrorism. Every means, legal and illegal, is used in the campaign to break the Communist Party.

But what can this terror accomplish?

It cannot permanently crush that vast strike movement which the American workers are initiating and in which is latent the revolutionary threat. But these strikes are not a product of Communist Party agitation; they are the product of powerful forces working in the proletariat and produced by the development of Capitalism itself. The state may temporarily break these strikes, temporarily force the workers to end their struggle; but this is necessarily only temporary. Terror cannot break a movement that grows out of the life forces of Capitalism.

Nor can the terror break the Communist Party. How could it be possible? The Communist Party has developed in accord with certain conditions and revolutionary requirements. These conditions and requirements will not cease to exist simply because terror is used against the Communist Party.

The terror of the dictatorship of Capitalism cannot accomplish its purposes. The Communist Party will answer by a more intense campaign to arouse and organize the masses for the conscious struggle against Capitalism.

## Gomperism

**T**HE power of the state has been used to break the coal miner's strike.

This is a challenge to the whole labor movement, to the whole working class. A challenge of this sort should call forth the instant and aggressive answer of the orga-

nized labor movement. It is a challenge that, together with the proposed measures in Congress to prohibit strikes, is a threat to the working class movement, and particularly to the unions.

But the American Federation of Labor does not answer the challenge.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor met just before the miners' officials decided to obey the injunction, and issued a protest against the government using the injunction in the strike. The protest was solemn, vigorous, almost radical. But there it ended. It was simply a pious protest. It was simply an effort to "save the face" of the A. F. of L. The protest was made—but the Government pursued its policy of ruthless suppression.

In the face of all this suppression, the answer of the A. F. of L. is to hold another conference and pass some more resolutions, instead of using the strike power of the workers to end the suppression.

Gompers, the evil flower of craft unionism, protests against the use of injunctions against the miners. But his protests are urbanely answered by the government officials, and the work of breaking the strike goes on. Gompers speaks feelingly of labor's loyalty during the war—but now the government wants loyalty during peace and will get loyalty through bayonets if necessary.

Never was the weakness of the A. F. of L. evident as it is now. Never was Gomperism more blisteringly exposed as an enemy of the working class. Never was craft unionism more adequately characterized as a fetter upon the action of the workers.

A challenge is issued to unionism—and Gompers issues words of protest. A challenge is issued to labor—and Gompers' conference "with the enemy" mobilizes its forces to crush the workers—and Gompers speaks of loyalty.

Gomperism, accustomed to the small time stuff of craft strikes, of petty struggles with the employers, breaks down and reveals its utterly reactionary and impotent character when it meets the test of a crisis.

Gomperism, craft unionism, is caught in the vicious circle of its own policy. It believes in co-operation between labor and capital, and thereby breaks the class conscious spirit of the workers. It harps upon loyalty to the state, and thereby prepares the workers to accept the brutal repression of the state. It represents the petty interests of the aristocracy of labor, and thereby betrays the militant workers of unskilled labor, such as the steel workers and the miners.

There is a strike crisis. Never was there a finer opportunity to mobilize the workers against Capitalism, to initiate an aggressive labor movement. But the A. F. of L. has neither the courage nor the initiative, the intelligence nor the organization. So the strikes are beaten, the workers discouraged.

Gomperism, the A. F. of L., is a bulwark of Capitalism. It is an enemy of the workers. It must be destroyed—that is, split, the militant workers of unskilled labor being separated from the aristocracy of labor.

The struggle for industrial unionism is a vital phase of revolutionary development—not only because industrial unionism is more effective than craft unionism in the immediate struggle, not only because industrial unionism becomes a starting point of Communist reconstruction after the conquest of political power—but more, because by means of the campaign for industrial unionism we may break the power of the A. F. of L.

The workers are awakening under the impulse of bitter experience. It is our task to use this awakening for our revolutionary purposes.