

republican regime are most highly developed, as, for example, in America. In order to win a real equality and a real democracy for the working masses, for the workers and peasants, it will be necessary first to deprive the capitalists of the possibility of hiring writers, of buying publishing plants, of bribing newspapers. And to accomplish this it will be necessary to shake off the yoke of capitalism, to dethrone the exploiters, and to break their resistance. Capitalists have always meant by "freedom" the freedom of profits for the rich and the freedom of the poor to perish of starvation. Capitalists mean by freedom of the press the freedom of the rich to bribe the press, the freedom to employ wealth in the manufacture and the falsification of so-called public opinion. Once again, the defenders of "pure democracy" reveal themselves as in reality the defenders of this most vile and purchaseable system of control by the rich over the means of enlightening the poor, as betrayers of the people seeking with fair but lying phrases to divert them from their concrete historical task of freeing the press from the control of capital. Real freedom and real equality will exist in the order which the Communists are creating, an order which will provide no possibility, direct or indirect, for subjecting the press to the might of money; an order in which nothing will prevent the worker (or group of workers of any size) from possessing and exercising an equal right to the presses and the paper supplies belonging to society.

X.

Even before the war, the history of the 19th and 20th century showed us what becomes of the boasted "pure democracy" under Capitalism. The Marxists have always maintained that the more highly developed, the more "pure" a democracy is the more open, keen, and merciless will be the pressure of the class-struggle, the more obvious will be the pressure of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Dreyfus affair in republican France, the bloody conflicts between mercenaries armed by capital and striking laborers in the free and democratic republic of America, these and a thousand other facts reveal the truth which the bour-

geoisie has sought in vain to conceal, namely, that in the most democratic countries the Terror and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie are really in control and come out openly into the light of day whenever it seems to the exploiters that the power of capital is tottering.

X.

The imperialistic war, 1914-1918, has once and for all time proven even to the most backward workers, that the true nature of bourgeois democracy even in the most free republics is dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. For the sake of enriching German and English groups of millionaires, millions of human beings were murdered, and in the most free republics the military dictatorship of the bourgeoisie was established. This military dictatorship continues in the Entente nations even after the defeat of Germany. The war, more than anything else, has served to open the eyes of the workers, to tear the false veil from bourgeois democracy, and to reveal to the people the whole abyss of war-time speculation and profiteering. In the name of freedom and equality the bourgeoisie has conducted this war; in the name of freedom and equality the purveyors of war-munitions have become incredibly rich. All the efforts of the Yellow International at Berne to conceal from the masses the now completely unmasked exploiting character of bourgeois freedom, of bourgeois equality, and of bourgeois democracy, are doomed to futility.

XI.

In the most highly developed capitalist country on the European continent, in Germany, the first months of complete republican freedom, brought by the overturn of imperialistic Germany, have shown German workers and the whole world the real class-content of the bourgeois-democratic republic. The murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg are events of world-historical significance not only because the best leaders of the true proletariat Communist International came to tragic deaths, but also because the class-character of the first State in Europe—without exaggeration, the

first State in the world—has definitely revealed itself. If those under arrest, i. e., individually taken under the protection of the power of the State, can safely be murdered by officers and capitalists under a social-patriotic regime, it follows that the democratic republic in which such things can transpire is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Individuals who express their indignation at the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg but who cannot perceive this truth demonstrate nothing but their stupidity or their hypocrisy. In one of the most free and advanced republics of the world, in the German Republic, "freedom" consists in the freedom to kill, unpunished, the arrested leaders of the proletariat. Nor can things be otherwise so long as capitalism maintains itself, for the development of democracy does not diminish but heightens the war of the classes, which as a result and under the influence of the world war has now reached the boiling point.

Throughout the whole civilized world the deportation, persecution, and imprisonment of the Bolsheviki is the order of the day, as, e. g., in one of the most free bourgeois republics, Switzerland. Note also the Bolsheviki-programs in America, and the like. From the standpoint of "essential democracy," it is simply ridiculous that progressive, civilized, democratic countries, armed to the teeth, should be afraid of a few dozen individuals coming from backward, hungry, ruined Russia which is denounced as savage and criminal in millions of copies of bourgeois newspapers. It is clear that the social condition which can produce so clamorous a contradiction is in reality a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

XII.

Under circumstances such as these the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is not only fully justified as a means toward dispossessing the exploiters and toward suppressing their resistance, but it is also absolutely necessary for the whole mass of workers as their only protection against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which has led to the war and is preparing for new wars.

To be continued in next issue).

New Jersey State Secretary Report on Organization

Newark, N. J. Nov. 11th.

Dear Comrade Editor:—

The New Jersey State Organization of the Communist Party of America held its first Convention on November 1st and 2nd, 1919 in Newark, with 62 delegates present, representing 41 branches with a total membership of 1,678 in the state. (Approximately 400 members in 12 branches affiliated with the Communist Party were unrepresented at the Convention, due to various technical reasons).

The report of the Organization, Press and Literature Committee was adopted with few changes. The report consisted in part of:—(1) an organization plan to form 9 locals of the party in the state (this was referred to the Central Executive Committee of the party for sanction); (2) the State Office to be located in Newark; (3) New Jersey to have a paid Secretary, who shall devote much time to organization work; (4) In the State Office shall be desk-space for the State Secretaries of the Language Federations; (5) To place a Special Organizer in the field as soon as possible; (6) To arrange for lecture tours through the state; (7) The State Committee was given the authority to levy Special Assessments, not to exceed 25 cents per member; (8) The salary of the paid officials not to exceed that of the national scale, which is \$35 per week; (9) The State Office to be the Central Bureau for the party literature; (10) The State Committee to issue leaflets, in any language, on the questions of the day; (11) The Branches were urged to stress literature distribution at the present time; (12) That the

Language Federations be requested to pay into the State Treasury the per capita which accumulated in these Federations during the period of their suspension from the Socialist Party, up until the organization of the Communist Party (Sept. 1st).

The State Constitution adopted concurred with the National Constitution of the party and embodied provisions for a centralized State Organization; annual State Conventions, a State Committee of 15 to meet once a month; and an Executive of 5 to meet once a week.

Comrade Walter Gabriel, of Newark, was elected as State Secretary and Comrade Louis Brandt, also of Newark, was elected as Organizer. The State Committee was elected by the Convention; it was representative of eight out of the ten language groups in New Jersey.

Resolutions were adopted as follows:—(1 and 2) Greetings to the Third International and to the supporters of the Soviet Government in Russia; (3) Acceptance of the Manifesto, Program and Constitution of the Communist Party as a whole; (4) A "call" to the American working-class to effect the release of the political prisoners and to break the blockade of Soviet Russia; (5) Pledging the State Organization to initiate the work of forming "factory-shop committees", these to function under the control of the City Central Committees and to be composed of Communist Party members only; (6) Calling upon the Communist Party to use the industrial struggles, which are now tearing at the vitals of the capitalist order, for purely Communist purposes; (7) a

resolution endorsing the industrial union as the only organization that will effect the emancipation of the working-class, was rejected, with only the maker of the resolution voting for it; (8) that Communist Party members shall agitate in their industrial organization, with the sole aim of gathering the entire working-class around the impending struggle for the Proletarian Dictatorship.

Fraternally submitted,

W. Gabriel.

Secretary, New Jersey State Organization,
Communist Party of America.

Central Executive Meets

A meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party has been held and stands adjourned as we go to press; but due to the circumstances of the meeting and the absence of the Executive Secretary the minutes are not ready for this issue, in spite of delay of the paper for this purpose. Many important questions of party policy were considered, and in so far as consistent with the present persecutions against the party, a full report will be issued by the Executive Secretary.

Comrades Ballant and Lovestone, as well as Comrade Ruthenberg, were kept away from the meeting by arrest. Eleven members were present at most of the sessions.