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"S O S"

Comrades! There are tens of thousands of "people" in America who are appealed to as "Comrades" by the betrayers of Socialism—the vile officialdom of the S. P. These cowardly counter-revolutionists need but to cry aloud for help, when they are in need, and the response is made in a ready chorus. Having forsaken the struggle, they are permitted by the forces of Law and Order (who are not slow to recognize their aides!) to carry on in the open. Remaining a "legal" party, they meet in halls and in the streets; they print their "legal" papers, give their "benefits" with great popular success, correspond with their "comrades" without fear of post-office interference, and in every way are free to appeal for aid without governmental restrictions. They are safe, and it is possible for them to be so only because they have turned their backs upon every revolutionary principle and forsaken the class-struggle. The "stinking carcass" of the S. P. that we forsook for the living body of Communism can call for help when it is in need, and get it—get it promptly—in the thousands, yes, in the tens of thousands, of dollars.

The Communist Party, Comrades, has no such opportunity. Every channel is practically closed to us. The ordinary ways are shut, with a sign up: "NO THOROUGHFARE." Underground machinery, in the early stages of organization (facing, let us not forget, the rapidly ripening period of world conflict), is a slow and clumsy mechanism for meeting a financial crisis. Aside from our underground Party paper, the means for making an impassioned appeal to the membership are unimaginably meager. The task becomes incredibly difficult to bring home to the heart and mind of every member the realization of a crisis. We can only send an S O S over the wireless of our common revolutionary class-consciousness.

The time has come, Comrades, for such an appeal to be sent out broadcast for such "wireless" stations to pick up. Your Party wants you to pick up much that is not ordinarily heard—that cannot be set down. Your Communist understanding will help you to grasp the situation and the need. Respond as generously and as promptly as the need is great and immediate.

This must of necessity be no long-winded appeal. If we could hold mass meetings, you would be fired by the eloquence of your speakers. You would dig down into your jeans and throw your silver and your greenbacks into the contribution basket. There would be enough of you in the audience at one meeting to raise the money for the week's issue of the paper—or pay an old printers' bill so that the printer will continue printing our paper on faith (how few there are to print ours under present conditions you hardly realize!) or meet the cost of technical work essential to the conduct of your Party.

But there are no meetings now. Our mail is watched, our activities, even the most innocent or most guarded, noted with suspicion of its character. Our press necessarily concentrated can carry no long detailed explanations of situations, and daily appeals for funds. We must leave much to your understanding, Comrades. All we can say is: **GIVE AND GIVE QUICKLY! AND GIVE TO THE LIMIT OF YOUR POWER!** The need is great—greater than we can tell. We suggest that you do a few "Saturday-ings" for the Party. Follow the example of the Communists of Russia who are "Saturday-ing" for the up-building of the Soviet work in Russia, by doing likewise for the up-building of the Communist work in America. For the month of July give your Saturday morning's wage, and send it promptly through the regular Party channels, that the work of your Party may be pressed forward unhampered.

You know in what financial crisis the criminal action of our former National Secretary left the C. P. Your Executive Committee is making herculean efforts to produce bricks without straw. How long we shall be able to continue to perform this miracle we don't know. If we could go to you in packed meetings, we would sound the note of warning in plain terms. This being impossible, your C. E. C. sends out an S O S. Comrades, we urge you, don't delay. There is danger in delay. Prompt and generous action alone will avert it. **ACT AT ONCE!**

IN THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

The Vienna correspondent of the "Daily Herald" writes:
At the conference of the Third International, held in Moscow on May 2nd, Bukharin, Radek and Zinoviev were named as the Committee to decide the question of admittance to the Communist International.

The Panic Is Coming

With the defeat last winter of the great Longshoremen's, coal and steel strikes, a lull, like the calm before a storm, has come in the class struggle in this country. True, certain industries have struck intermittently—particularly in the garment and textile trades—and the "outlaw" rail strike continues in more or less intensity to cripple the rail carriers—but in general the situation is superficially less tense than it was last winter. The capitalist class breathes easier as far as the domestic situation is concerned, and is beginning to hope for a peaceful readjustment of the labor problems and a relatively peaceful reconstruction period in the future. Its main concern right now is with the international situation, which they fear may drag them into the whirlpool of new wars for which they are not prepared.

In this hope the capitalist class are doomed to deep disappointment and that before the year is over.

The black clouds of class war hang ominously over the horizon, awaiting only a psychologically favorable moment to break with the intensity of a deluge. The three great strikes of last year are bound to break out again, despite all the "Wilson Commissions" and the treachery of the labor leaders. The Cost of Living, which is pressing so hard upon all classes of labor, is increasing, according to the United States Labor statistics almost at the rate of three percent a month. Many factories are working part time or shutting down altogether. This is true of nearly all industries, aggravating the already intolerable conditions of the vast majority of the workers.

The export trade is decreasing every month, because of the inability of the foreign nations to pay cash, or because their credit is exhausted.

The banks are calling in their loans to manufacturers, and are holding on tight to their money, or investing it in U. S. guaranteed foreign securities at an exorbitant rate of interest. So much so, that the dumping of the Liberty Bonds on the stock market because of their relatively small interest rates has reached the stage of a national scandal in the capitalist world.

The wholesale price-cutting of large stores is another evidence of the instability and precariousness of industrial and commercial conditions. A financial panic, followed by a acute industrial panic is due in this country and will break ere long.

In addition to the above—a new wave of strikes is impending which may hasten the industrial chaos and put an end to the capitalist delusions of a "peaceful reconstruction period."

The anthracite coal miners, who have been negotiating these weary months without coming to a satisfactory arrangement, are champing at the bit. How much longer the leaders can hold them in check remains to be seen. Likewise, the railroad brotherhoods, whose leaders have performed yeoman service for the capitalist class in checking and "outlawing" the strikes of the most dissatisfied and underpaid workers, are beginning to gather their forces for a tussle with the owners. There is a strong likelihood that the steel, coal and railworkers may come to some working agreement in the near future, to bring pressure to bear upon the government to force wage-increases from the owners. This will naturally fall, as the capitalists will absolutely turn down any demand for more than ten or fifteen percent wage increase. A financial and industrial panic, complicated by a series of the most gigantic strikes in the history of strikes in this country—plus the new post-war psychology of the workers in general possesses potentialities and possibilities of tremendous significance from the Communist viewpoint. By this we do not mean that the social revolution is here—far from it. This situation will however hasten the capitalist disorganization of industry, demoralize the social and economic structure to an extent that will make recovery impossible. It will even hasten the necessary objective conditions for a "revolutionary situation." That is all.

For the rest—as far as the working class is concerned—it will get a taste of the full weight of the capitalist state upon their heads. Court injunctions, impounding of union funds, martial law, backed by the armed forces of the state, on a scale that will compel them to open their eyes and force them to adopt new methods of struggle—a new objective—a political objective—the overthrow of the capitalist state, the conquest of the state power and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

That is all we can hope for from the working class in the coming era of panics and strikes: 1) a growing class-consciousness which will lead to the ousting of their old leaders in the industrial world—and the adoption of more aggressive methods of waging their battles with the employing class. 2) A new orientation towards the problems of the state as taught by the bitter experience of their own struggle.

That is all, but it is a great deal from our point of view. It will make possible for the time the general spread of Communist propaganda among the masses who until now have been stoically unresponsive. It will develop (with the aid of Communist agitation in the shops and industries) a new type of leader in the trade and industrial unions, who, though they may not come into power will have a strong, influential, class-conscious minority behind them. It will lead to the making of the Communist movement a real "mass-movement" in that it will be possible for us to have—not a large membership, though the membership will naturally grow—but the possibility of getting the ear of the worker and building Communist nucleus in the shops and industries who will have the tacit or open sympathy of the workers in the shops; something out of the question at the present time.

With these new avenues open to the Communist Party, and with the class struggle gaining impetus and speed in the direction of an open conflict with the capitalist state (due to the development of powerful antagonistic social and economic forces inherent in capitalist society and not to any conscious effort of the working class, who are being driven unconsciously forward by these forces) we can look forward, while indefatigably carrying on our work, to another epoch in the class struggle, another milestone passed on the road to the proletarian revolution—the overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment in this country of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

A New Attack Upon The Communist Party

New York City, June 10, 1920.

Dear Comrades:

A few days ago the N. Y. Call carried a full-page headline: "FRAINA IMPLICATED AS U. S. AGENT"—"COMMUNIST LEADER IS CHARGED WITH INDORSING HIS PAY CHECKS FROM DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE"

I hasten to inform you that THESE CHARGES ARE FALSE. The Call quotes extensively from a

statement issued by S. Nuorteva of the Russian Soviet Bureau, but it also states that Nuorteva scrupulously refrains from making any direct charges against Fraina.

In fact, however, he most unscrupulously raises old charges that have been investigated and found untrue.

Peterson's story was given a thorough hearing by the Bureau and C. E. C. members of the Communist Party, and on the basis of that hearing the Executive Council passed the following resolution:

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 17, 1919.

"The members of the Executive Council of the C. P. of A. have carefully examined the stenographic report of the hearing of the charges against Louis Fraina, Internl Sec. of the Party, which report is attested by six New York members of the C. E. C. and declare that the charges have no basis in fact.

"As to the specific dates mentioned by the informer, the members of the Council can state from personal knowledge that Com. Fraina was in the City of Chicago until late at night on Sept. 7, and that on Nov. 14 and 15 he was in the City of Chicago on Party business.

The Council is unanimous that not the slightest taint of suspicion attaches itself to Com. Fraina as the result of this charge, and declares its faith in him as loyal and trusted comrade unshaken. All the circumstances in the case point to a plot against the Communist Party.

The Council is in full agreement with Com. Fraina's continuance of his work as Internl Sec. and requests officially, as the representative of the C. P. of A., that he be received as its official representative."

The January meeting of the C. E. C. took the same stand, and issued a statement, which was published in The Call, against continued rumors and innuendos especially circulated in and by the Socialist Party and its press.

The best answer would have been to publish the stenographic report of the hearing, but we could not do that because the hearing brought out facts and relations very damaging to the Soviet Bureau; because it would have been like giving material to the D. of J. with which to attack the Soviet Bureau.

However, since the D. of J. apparently has, in some unexplained way obtained information about the hearing; and since Nuorteva has seen fit to come out with his statement—omitting and misstating important facts and circumstances, thus attacking the integrity of the Party, we are free now to publish the proceedings in full, and we are going to do that just as soon as possible, thereby to disprove and destroy all charges, all rumors and suspicions.

Nuorteva is a clever and a very unscrupulous man; he writes a statement against Palmer and the D. of J.; he does not make any direct charges but repeats the accusations of a spy and relates and co-relates various "facts" which appear to support these accusations; "incidentally" he delivers a wicked blow to a representative of the Communist Party and through him to the Party itself. The Call taking up the cudgel cheerfully and quite "innocently" directing it also against the C. E. C.

In the order quoted by The Call the charges are as follows:

1) Peterson (a spy of the D. of J., and a "friend" of Nuorteva) "had seen Fraina in the New York office of the D. of J. under circumstances indicating that he must be one of the agents of the department."

2) "Certain information regarding communication with Moscow conveyed to Fraina which could not have been in the possession of anyone else outside of our office became known to agents of the D. of J."

3) Peterson reported "that he had seen in the files of the N. Y. office of Palmer's department a returned pay check indorsed by L. Fraina."

4) Peterson "asserting in the face of Fraina that he was the man whom he had learned to know as an agent of the D. of J."

5) "While other members of Fraina's group were being arrested at that time nothing happened to Fraina himself."

6) "Fraina left (for Europe) in company with one Nosovitzky, a Russian doctor in the employ of a British steamship line and obviously a police agent."

7) "The letter (from Rotgers to Martens) could only have gotten into Mr. Palmer's hands through Mr. Fraina or Dr. Nosovitzky."

8) "Palmer is in possession of all reports from that conference (Amsterdam Conf.), which was supposed to be a secret one, and where 'no one from America was present except Fraina and Nosovitzky.'"

The main charges, Nos. 1, 2, 4, are all based upon the words of a spy PROVEN ABSOLUTELY UNRELIABLE, CONTRADICTORY AND FALSE.

He was positive he had seen Fraina at the D. of J. in New York on the 7th of September, when Fraina was still in Chicago.

The second time he had seen him there between Oct. 1 and Oct. 15—he would not place the date at all.

The third time he was positive he had seen him there on Nov. 3, before noon,—then he changed to Nov. 15, then changed back again to Nov. 3, but that he had seen a report made by Fraina on Nov. 15. On Nov. 15 Fraina was again in Chicago, and Nov. 3 he had not left from home before noon.

Peterson's description of Fraina's clothes sandy-black hair, etc., was all wrong. It could not be better since he admitted himself that he had not seen Fraina before those alleged meetings in the D. of J. All he had was a rather vague description by one of his chiefs.

When Peterson was brought in at the hearing where Fraina was present and was asked—"Do you think that there is in this room anyone whom you can identify as Fraina?" he answered—"No, I would not say so." Later he pointed Fraina out, saying that he recognized him by the voice. But when did he learn to recognize Fraina's voice, time on his way out?

The checks indorsed by "Fraina" and the reports of "Fraina" nobody has seen "except" Peterson, and his imitation of the signature was no imitation of the real signature of Fraina. Peterson's story of trying to get the "documents" to show them to Nuorteva, and that he was arrested and the papers taken from him before he could show them to anybody, sounds absolutely "fishy,"—not only in general, but in several important details as told by him.

The fact is that "after the testimony had been taken, Com. Fraina asked everyone present to state whether he thought that the matter had been sufficiently cleared up so that he could leave for Moscow; all those present, with the exception of the chairman and Com. Weinstein, answered "yes." The chairman answered "no." Com. Weinstein reserved his opinion. Among those who said "yes" there was one member of the Bureau.

For Nos. 2 and 7 Nuorteva has nothing more than bare conjecture. It leaves out of the consideration, for example, the possibility that there may still be some spy in the Bureau—not a "friend" of Nuorteva.

Charge No. 3 is really ridiculous on the face of

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