

ALL
POWER
TO THE
WORKERS

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LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY!

COAL STRIKE OFFICIALS AGREE TO KILL STRIKE IF POSSIBLE

Because They Are "Good Americans," and "Cannot Fight the Government," the Officials of the U. M. W. Are Trying to Call the Men Back.

The coal strike officials have shown the yellow streak. At 4:10 Tuesday morning, after an all night session, the officialdom of the United Mine Workers announced that they would be "good" and do their best to kill the strike they were entrusted with managing.

"Gentlemen," said Acting President Lewis to the reporters, "we will comply with the mandate of the court. We do it under protest. We are Americans. We cannot fight our Government. That is all."

There is undisguised relief in Washington, not that the decision of the officials to sell out rather than risk a jail sentence, is really the end of the strike, but that once more the

A. F. of L. officialdom is playing true to form and co-operating with the machinery of the State against the workers.

The men, however, it is safe to assert, will stay out. Disorganized, betrayed, laid open to the united attacks of the press, courts, military and other repressive machinery of the capitalist State—they will nevertheless remain out.

The result of the Government's action is to split one more conservative union, force one more unauthorized strike, teach one more lesson on the nature of the State, its machinery of court, press, military and its allies, the officialdom of the reactionary unions.

FIFTY THOUSAND DAYS IN JAIL

By Leon Trotsky

The Stockholm Convention of the Russian Social-Democratic Party, some curious statistical data was circulated, showing the conditions under which the party of the proletariat was working:

The convention, as a whole, in the person of its 140 members, had spent in prison one hundred and thirty-eight years and three and one-half months.

The convention had been in exile one hundred and forty-eight years and six and one-half months.

Escaped from prison: Once, 18 members of the convention; twice, 4 members.

Escaped from exile: Once, 23 members; twice, 5 members; three times, 1 member.

The length of time the convention as a whole had been active in Socialist work was 942 years. It follows that the time spent in prison and exile is about one-third of the time that a Socialist is active. But these figures are too optimistic. "The convention has been active in Socialist work for 942 years"—this means that the activities of those persons had been spread over so many years. Their actual period of work must have been much shorter. Possibly all these persons had worked, actually and directly only one-sixth or one-tenth of the above time. Such are the conditions of underground activity. On the other hand, the time spent in prison and exile is real time; the convention had spent over fifty thousand days and nights behind iron bars, and more than that in barbarous corners of the country.

Perhaps I may give, in addition to these figures, some facts about myself. The author of these lines was arrested for the first time in January, 1918, after working for ten months in the workman's circles of Nikolaev. He spent two and a half years in prison, and escaped from Siberia after living there two years of his four years' exile. He was arrested the second time on December 3rd, 1905, as a member of the Petersburg Council of Workmen's Deputies. The Council had existed for fifty days. The arrested members of the Soviet each spent 400 days in prison, then they were sent to Obdorsk "forever." Each Russian Social-Democrat who has worked for his party for ten years could give similar statistics about himself...

The simpletons and hypocrites who urge us to "keep within legal limits" remind one of Marie Antoinette who

recommended to the starving peasants that they eat cake! One would think that we suffer from an organic aversion for cake, a kind of incurable disease! One would think our lungs infected with an irresistible desire to breathe the atmosphere of the solitary dungeons in the Fortress of Peter and Paul! One would think we have no other use for those endless hours pulled out of our lives by the jailers.

Underground.

We love our underground just as little as a drowning person loves the bottom of the sea. Yet, we have little choice, let us say, as the absolutist order. Being fully aware of this we can afford to be optimists even at a time when the underground tightens its grip around our necks with unrelenting grimness. It will not choke us, we know it! We shall survive! When the bones of all the great deeds which are being performed now by the princes of the earth, their servants and the servants of their servants will have turned to dust, when nobody will know the graves of many present parties with all their exploits—the Cause we are serving will rule the world, and our Party, now choking underground, will dissolve itself into humanity, for the first time its own master.

History is a tremendous mechanism serving our ideals. Its work is slow, barbarously slow, implacably cruel, yet the work goes on. We believe in it. Only at moments, when this voracious monster drinks the living blood of our hearts to serve it as food, we wish to shout with all our might:

"What thou dost, do quickly!"

—From the preface to "My Round Trip," written in Paris, April, 1907.

WORLD-REVOLUTION

Count Czernin, formerly Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, has written a book in which he declares that the world war just officially terminated is the beginning of the world revolution and has no meaning in itself. A significant quotation from his work reads:

"Versailles is not the end of the war, it is only a phase of it. The war will continue in an altered form. I believe the coming generations will not call the great drama that ruled the world for five years the world war, but the world revolution, and will know that the world revolution began with the war."

INFECTED WOUNDS KILL HUGO HAASE

Shot Entering Reichstag To Expose Ebert-Von der Goltz Alliance

Hugo Haase, leader of the Independent Socialists of Germany, died last Friday from wounds inflicted by an Austrian, Johann Voss, when Haase was entering the Reichstag on October 8.

Haase had announced that he intended that day to expose the Von der Goltz adventure and the relations of the Ebert Government with it. It is believed that Voss was a Government hireling.

Haase was shot three times, in the stomach, arm and thigh. Gangrene set in and after repeated operations and a month of resistance Haase succumbed.

Two days later Voss was declared insane without trial and rushed to an asylum.

The German Communists are determined to turn the funeral of Haase into a demonstration of political significance and Noske is attempting to postpone the funeral. The situation is very tense in Berlin and other industrial centers.

A Communist memorial meeting was raided by Noske's "Citizen Guards" on Saturday and 60 Communists arrested. The funeral was originally set for Sunday, but Noske has ordered its postponement. Meanwhile his troops have occupied every strategic center in the industrial cities.

The Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung publishes news of a planned Communist uprising which was to be aided by a faction of the Independents in Germany. It was to start in the Ruhr mining district, according to reports, and simultaneously with the first report of strikes there mass strikes were to be called in all industrial centers.

Whole sections of Noske's "Citizens' Army" are reported to be infected with Communist propaganda and ready to desert wholesale when the uprising begins and they are ordered to quell it.

Essen, Brunswick, Munich, Leipzig, Hamburg, and Berlin are the chief centers of Communist propaganda.

Noske is rushing fresh troops into all affected areas and has used his "Citizens' Army" to crush the metalworkers' and carmen's strikes in Berlin. New wholesale slaughters of Communists by the "Social-Democrat" Noske have begun.

SPAIN'S LOCKOUT BECOMES STRIKE

"Padrones" Find They Have Been Playing with Dangerous Weapon.

The general lockout in Spain, which was reported in these columns last week, is turning into a general strike that has spread to Catalonia and various other parts of Spain.

The newspaper proprietors offered to desert the general lockout if their editorial staff would withdraw from the Syndicates. The offer was rejected. The proprietors invited the Syndicalist leaders headed by Segun into a conference, but no agreement was reached.

The Syndicalists of Gibraltar have declared a general strike. The employers are learning that they played with a dangerous weapon when they invented the new form of attack, the general lockout.

ITALY SEETHES WITH UNREST

Italian campaign meetings are stormy affairs. The workers interrupt all attacks upon Bolshevism with cries of "Long live Lenin! Long live the Soviets!"

The red flag is freely displayed in the streets of Rome, Naples, Genoa, Milan, Turin, and other industrial centers. The Socialist Party of Italy, affiliated with the Third International, is using the campaign merely as a means of propaganda against the blockade, against intervention in Russia and in favor of a proletarian dictatorship in Italy.

The support that is accorded this propaganda in the workingmen's districts is so strong that the military dares not suppress the demonstrations. The Seamen's Federation has declared a tie-up of all shipping until after election day, so that the sailors may participate in the election.

Outbreaks occurred in all Italian industrial centers on November 8, the anniversary of the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia. The military was used in Milan, Genoa, Florence, Turin and Rome.

Processions were organized in many towns bearing red flags, pictures of Lenin and placards acclaiming the Soviets. The center of disaffection seems to be Turin, where a general strike is in progress. The workers of what happened on November 8 are as yet very meager. It is not known whether all demonstrations are suppressed or not and whether "order" has been established even yet.

ONE DAY'S WAGE TO THE DEFENSE FUND LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

ENGLAND WEARY OF RUSSIAN WAR

England is wearying of intervention in Russia, and, as a result, the Government is again trying to quiet criticism by half-veiled promises of withdrawal from Russia and "peace with all factions."

There was a heated debate in the House of Commons last week, in which Captain Malone, representative of the bourgeois liberal party demanded withdrawal from Russia and recognition of the Soviet Government, while Col. Ward, a laborite, led the attack upon the Bolshevik Government. Ward and Churchill were the only ones who championed intervention.

Malone outlined peace terms offered by Russia, which resembled in every detail the terms outlined by Bullitt in his communications to President Wilson.

On Saturday Lloyd George took up the Russian question at a Lord Mayor's banquet, and declared: "The outlook in Russia is unpleasant. A few weeks ago there was a promising prospect of an early issue, but today indications point to a more prolonged and sanguinary conflict. I do not believe that the Bolshevik armies will conquer the whole of Russia, but I dread an interminable campaign."

He stated that the English Government had given 100,000,000 pounds sterling (\$500,000,000) to the anti-Bolshevik factions in Russia, and that, while he did not regret the cost, England could not continue forever such costly intervention in "so dangerous" a civil war.

"I hope the time is not distant when the Allies will be able to renew their attempts (at peace) with better prospects of success," the premier concluded.

'BIG SIX' FIRM—WILL NOT YIELD

Rejects Arbitration Scheme By Vote of 2,500 to 17.

A permanent split in the International Typographical Union seems certain as a result of the "vacations" and the scabbery of the officialdom upon the striking pressmen. The web pressmen have balloted on the question of building a new international union with the result that every local but that of Chicago has voted to secede from the "Berry International."

There is no sign of the "vacations" or unauthorized strikes of the Big Six Typographical Union coming to an end, in spite of the fact that the press is again being used as in the Longshoremen's strike to weaken the morale of the strikers by ending the strike twice a day in the morning and evening newspaper headlines. But all these efforts to weaken the morale of the men have left them unperturbed.

At a meeting of Big Six in the Lexington Theatre on Sunday afternoon a resolution to arbitrate received only 17 votes out of the 2,500 members present. The workers are enjoying their "vacation," and in spite of the attacks of the press and the attempted treachery and scabbery of their own A. F. of L. International officials, the men are united, calm and confident of defeating the triple alliance of papers, officials and publishers' organization.

The strike is significant as having been decided by the masses of the union through an impromptu vacation organization which has its own officers. The strike is thus against "the sacredness of contract," and against the traitor official as well as against the employers' organization.

The Nation Press has settled with the strikers. Street and Smith settled and then the members of the highly trained and highly reactionary engravers' union walked out in sympathy with the efforts of the International officials to scab on the pressmen's strike. This is teaching the strikers a few lessons concerning the nature of Craft Unionism.

Various magazines are issuing through the painful device of mimeographing their pages. The Literary Digest is making electrotypes from typewritten pages which are photographed and then engraved. As is customary when capitalism is up against it, various inventions which were lying in abeyance for years, because it costs too much to scrap old machinery, are now being tried out.

OFFICIALS BLOCK WEEK-WORK PLEA

A request by the Toledo Cloakmakers that the International Ladies Garment Workers' officials authorize a campaign in Toledo for week-work with a guarantee of a certain number of weeks' work during the year was rejected by the Executive Board on the ground that it considers such guarantees "disadvantageous to the workers."

A further reason advanced was "that conditions in Toledo are quite unlike those in other cloak centers." The officials ignored the fact that it was the very conditions in Toledo that caused the workers there to present their demand. The Executive Board stated in its official organ, "Justice," that the I. L. G. W. U. is, "as a matter of principle, opposed to such guarantees."

The I. L. G. W. U. is an A. F. of L. union.

2,500 SEIZED IN RAIDS

"Long live the Communist Party!" That is the universal answer of the comrades to the Government's attempts to establish a reign of terror. If to be a Communist is a crime, then the whole membership of the Party pleads guilty.

The authorities raided almost every headquarters in the city, smashed up offices furnished, gave everybody they found a free ride, seized records and literature, but the organization remains intact, and the Party membership unafraid nor even astonished.

The City Police and Detective Bureau, Geegan and his bomb squad who are experts at "finding" explosives; Capt. J. A. Warner and Troop K of the State Constabulary; Major Frederick W. Rich, Archibald Stevenson and his colleagues on the Lusk Committee; Deputy Attorney General Samuel Berger, and hundreds of assistants, using every police patrol in the city, co-operated here with the Federal Secret Service and Federal operatives in a nation-wide panic raid which was the Government's way of celebrating the overthrow of Czarism and the second anniversary of the Soviet Republic. Two thousand five hundred persons were seized in New York alone, and two women and thirty-five men were actually held. And the end is not yet, for the ten days that shook the world are to be celebrated here by ten days that will shake the United States (with laughter), and according to schedule, 7,000 more people must be seized regardless of rhyme or reason, before the celebration is complete.

Of the thousands of Communists, C. L. P.-ites, anarchists, Socialists, and innocent bystanders (including two Italians who were in the Russian People's House trying to collect a bill and who were badly beaten up and arrested because of their inability to speak English); three, Gitlow, and Larkin of the C. L. P., and Pearl of the Communist Party, are held on definite charges; the other thirty-four held are charged with violating some Federal Statute, but the raiders have not been able to decide just which one as yet.

The police, according to some reports claim to have "found" two revolvers and six boxes of cartridges in the home of Henry C. Pearl of the Communist Party, but the Tribune reports the same magic number, two revolvers and six boxes of cartridges to have been "found" in the home of Benjamin Gitlow. The names of the other 34, who are being held, is being kept secret at present by the secret service, but it is reported that there are two women among them.

Foreign Birth Chief Crime.

The chief crimes charged were those of being of foreign, especially Russian birth and of being a member of either the Communist Party or the Industrial Workers of the World. Most of those who said they were of native birth were promptly released. Many of foreign birth who were roped in through a Federal raid on Friday night on the Union of Russian Workers were rushed to Ellis Island where, if the Government plays true to form, they will have to stay for the next few years. Archibald Stevenson declared that he considered the Communist Party (which he estimated as having 7,500 members in Greater New York) with being the most "dangerous" of the organizations, and that wherever a Communist Party card was found, the person having it was held.

MEN IN TOMBS

The following are reported to be in the tombs:
Irving Potash, 220 Roebling Str., B'klyn
Micheal Zwarzich, 66 South 6th St., Brooklyn.

Taft Novack, 104 No. Portland Avenue, Brooklyn.

Robt. Fried, 205 So. 6th St., B'k.
B. Goldberg, 107 Forsyth St.
Julius Janusky, 93 So. 2nd Street, Brooklyn.

Louis Shapiro, 367 So. 5th Street, Yonkers.

Nathan Schechter, 347 Monroe St.
Moses Zimmerman, 135 Forsyth St.
Elias Marks, 75 Orchard St.
Herman Pfeiffer, 51 Forsyth St.
Joseph Szweczal, 210 E. 13th St.
Nich. Turkowich, 13 St. Marks Pl.
Abr. Aronowitz, 176 Forsyth St.
Abr. Schaeffer, 70 Forsyth St.
John Jauschusky, 13 St. Marks Pl.
Mike Stiehma, 321 E. 16th St.
Harry Israel, 347 Monroe St.
Boris Dirik, 535 E. 11th St.
Jay Lovestone, 856 E. 172nd St.
Herman Bleiweiss, 1412 Charlotte Street.

Isidor Cohen, 225 Ellery St.
Abraham Weinberg, 674 Prospect Avenue.

John Holland, Steamship Buford. At the preliminary hearing Tuesday, Magistrate MacAdoo was furnished with a manifesto of the Communist International. He read it very studiously.

"It is quite evident," he said, "that the Communist Party is intended to destroy organized government. It appeals for class hatred. The Communist Party is an organized conspiracy against the United States Government and the Government of the State of New York, and each member of the party is guilty and responsible for the acts, writings or sayings of each and every member. This point of law was embodied in the decision handed down years ago in the famous Lord George Gordon case following the "No-Popery" riots in London, in which each member of the mob that followed him through the streets was held guilty."

"I hold that the Communist Party has declared a state of war against the United States and the Government of the State of New York, and that the establishment of the Communist Party in the State of New York is the highest crime known to our law, and I will not reduce the bail one dollar."

Attorney Recht who is handling the cases charged maltreating of the prisoners but this was denied by deputy Attorney general Berger.

Magistrate MacAdoo decried the belief of some persons that the men were held merely "because they hold membership cards in the Communist Party". He declared that "when these men joined that party they entered recruiting barracks being maintained in this city, pledging themselves to aid in the overthrow of this Government." The Magistrate, disclosing a copy of the Communist Party's constitution, pointed to a clause which read, "the objective is the conquest by the proletariat of the power of the State."

50,000 Pounds of Literature.

"The search warrants were not obtained for the purpose of taking prisoners," declared Senator Lusk in a statement to the press.

"It was the purpose of the committee to obtain literature (which they might have had free for the asking as it was being distributed as fast

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U. S. CELEBRATES FALL OF CZAR

(Continued from Page 1)

as we could get it out) and records of the Communist Party. In our raids on Saturday night we seized about twenty-five tons of literature (and they broke one of the typewriters used by the Communist World into smithereens) intended for use in a campaign now being waged in the United States for the overthrow of our Government.

Senator Lusk declared that any person joining the Communist Party violated the "criminal anarchy" law, passed after Colgoz shot President McKinley, and now revived and used against anybody and everybody. According to Lusk, whenever there was an industrial dispute, the district affected was flooded with Communist Party literature and that "highly paid agitators immediately were sent to the scene. Some of them receive \$100 a night," the senator claims.

Raiders Will Teach Communism

The one big union of Federal, State and municipal raiders declare that they are ready to go into the business of teaching Communism, for they intend to publish specimens of the literature seized as soon as they have sorted and classified it, and it will then be circulated all over the United States through the medium of the press.

A few of the places raided in the last three days were:

I. W. W. Headquarters, on 10th Street.

Novy Mir, 10th Street, where the raiders wanted to know, "Where's that gun you gonna use at Rutgers Square? Where's that \$50,000 (?) where's Gregory Weinstein? (?)"

Headquarters of the Communist Party, on 10th Street, where a dance was in progress and the "criminal terpsichoreans" were all taken to the gymnasium at police headquarters, and where one perfectly good typewriter was smashed.

5th A. D., Communist Party, Bronx.

17th A. D., Communist Party, 46 E. 10th Street.

Brownsville Russian C. L. P.

Ukrainian Branch, — Communist Party.

Hungarian Workers Home.

Kings County Right Wing Central Committee, which was left severely alone as soon as I. M. Chateauf produced the charter of the Socialist Party. ("Stumped by the request of Harry Kritzer that they produce the proper search and arrest warrants, the agents could make no arrests," is the way the New York Call reports it.)

Package Party of the Y. P. S. L., 17th A. D., Communist Party. The raiders took everybody's name, arrested two people, and pictures of Lenin, Trotsky, Marx and others, also every book in the branch library.

Branches of the Union of Russian Workers in New York and all over the United States. In New York the raid on the Russian People's House occurred on Friday night, and was more brutal than any other. Men and women, many of whom were in a class room where they were taking lessons in English, were clubbed and battered until the blood flowed freely, and then 200 of them were dumped into patrol wagons and taken over to "headquarters." The Federal drives were chiefly aimed at this organization of Russian anarchists, and their manifesto was published in full in all newspapers on Sunday and Monday.

Branches of the Communist Party and other organizations in Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Bristol, Ansoja, Bridgeport, Lawrence, Pittsburgh, Monessen, Hartford, Cleveland, and other industrial centers, where numbers ranging from mere handfuls to several hundred were held.

"Chemicals Found."

In several places it was announced that quantities of "chemicals" were found, but it is not clear whether vaseline or castor oil is meant. The warrants were issued by Magistrate McAdoo, and based upon affidavits of Luskeys who swore in part of the testimony they had gotten from their recent interrogation of those summoned from various organizations. According to the Morning World of Monday, there are 75,000 of the Communist Party in Greater New York alone. A large bag of "black powder" (pepper) was found in Cleveland.

No sugar boards were found anywhere. It is safe to predict that the next series of raids will be pulled off on May 7, 1922.

EXECUTE SADOUL VIA WIRELESS

But He'll Be Elected a Deputy Within Eight Days.

Capt. Jacques Sadoul was condemned to death by absent treatment or to wireless, long-distance execution, by a French military tribunal Saturday, while he was many miles away from the court room where he was being tried.

The crime with which he is charged is that of "intelligence with the enemy." Light days from the date of his legal execution he will probably be elected to the French Chamber of Deputies from a working man's district in Paris for which he is the Left Socialist candidate.

The workers in the industrial centers are disturbing all meetings of opposition parties with cries of "Vive Lenin! Vive Trotsky! Vive Sadoul!" Nevertheless, he is now legally dead, but continues to send out from Russia impassioned appeals for the breaking of the blockade, the cessation of intervention and the arming of the workers of the world to the support of the workers of Russia.

THREE PARTIES UNLIKELY—VLADEK

Socialist Party's Great Service Is Americanization.

"Americanization" of the foreigner, respect for the constitution and the ballot—these are the chief contributions of the American Socialist Party, according to the statements of Socialist Alderman Vladek in an interview given to the New York Globe. Right Wingers believe a revolution unnecessary, but the Communist Party does not, he explains. The interview follows:

"The Right Wingers are simply optimists. They believe in the possibility of changing society by evolution. They believe in the common sense of the American people. They believe that the people will not let America sink into a condition under which no radical reform can be accomplished in any other way than by a revolution.

"It is not only that there will be three Socialist parties. There will be two, the Socialist and the Communist, and these two parties will be to a certain extent justified. And I believe the Communist Party will be a very extreme group. The other Communist Party can only be temporary.

"The new comer who has become an American citizen, who has voted several times and who knows the taste of political action, will be disinclined to give it up or use it only as a means of propaganda, as the Left Wingers suggest.

"It was through the Socialist Party that the naturalized citizen saw himself, not as a possessor of a thing which might bring him a couple of dollars or might get a city job for his child, but as the possessor of a great privilege and a great duty, because he considered his vote a weapon for the advancement of the country and his fellow citizens.

"What political organization organized classes in civics and gave lectures on American Government? What political party put books on Americanism, American history and the American constitution into the hands of the voters and tried to make them understand American institutions? It was the Socialists who did this. And I believe that no matter what political realignment may come in the Socialist movement the gains and the spirit already won will never be lost."

FUND BEING RAISED TO ATTACK I. W. W.

The Chamber of Commerce of Spokane, Washington, after listening to a lecture on the Industrial Workers of the World and their methods, by Lieut. Laughlin, representing the War Department, decided to confer with the city and county officials, with a view to securing a fund for the purpose of prosecuting the members of the I. W. W.

"The free employment office of your city," explained Lieut. Laughlin, "is now being picketed by a representative of the hotel, restaurant, and domestic section of the Industrial Workers of the World, who stops every woman sent out for employment but who refuses to sign any of the I. W. W. if she does not sign up with them before going to work on her job."

COMMUNIST PARTIES IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES

From "The Workers' Dreadnought."

UNITED STATES

The majority has been expelled from the party's National Executive Committee on account of alleged Bolshevik tendencies. The excluded majority has now formed itself into a Communist Party based on Sovietism (see full account, "W. D.," October 4th), and finally broken with the Socialist Party of America.

More than 2,000 comrades are in prison for their anti-militarist or Communist propaganda.

BULGARIA

The Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party (strictly Marxist) at its last congress decided to affiliate to the Third International, and to take the name of the "Communist Party." The Congress adopted a manifesto, which supports the principles and the tactics of the Communist parties of the Communist International. Among the methods to be adopted are mass action, the political strike of the masses, even to the extent of armed insurrection.

The chief aims of the Party are:

The seizure of political power, the suppression of the existing state; the introduction of the Soviet system to aid the proletarian dictatorship; the establishment of a Soviet Republic, the expropriation and socialization of the means of production and exchange; the protection of labor and satisfactory housing conditions for the workers and their families. At the last election in Bulgaria the Communist Party gained 47 seats, as compared with 10 previously. Still the Party decided to withdraw their elected members from the bourgeois Parliament and to abandon parliamentary action.

FRANCE

The sympathy of the people with the Third International seems to grow. Its adherents are grouped into two organizations; the one is the Committee of the Third International, whose organ is La Vie Ouvrière, edited by Pierre Monatte, Loriot, etc.; the other, which has developed from the syndicalist circle, is the French Communist Party, organ, L'Internationale, edited by Péricat, Chausson, etc. Soviets have been formed in Paris, but the democratic police of Clemenceau have proscribed the meetings, and seized 28,000 copies of the manifesto of the Communist Party.

GREECE

The Socialist Party of Greece held its national congress in June. It had become frankly revolutionary. A resolution was passed protesting against the existing bourgeois dictatorship, and calling for working-class control of all industries and for the return of the land to the village communities, calling for the release of political offenders and declaring themselves as much against bourgeois democracy as against monarchy. It instructed its Executive Committee to join the Third International.

HOLLAND

The Dutch Socialist Party (to which Gorter, Roland, Holst, etc., belong) which had adhered to the Zimmerwaldian movement already in November, 1918, has decided to become the Communist Party. On the 29th June of this year, at its annual congress, it decided to join the Third International. But its internal policy has not been touched by this formal change and the revolutionary minority is still by the opportunist majority which refuses to let it write in the organ of the Party.

NORWAY

At their last conference for Norwegian Socialists decided, by an enormous majority, to work for the establishment of a government of Soviets and to employ the parliamentary strike as one of its weapons, that is, the Socialist members of Parliament will not attend Parliament, which, considering their number, will thereby impede its powers. Their minority, in disagreement with the Soviet system of government, have formed a separate group, without actually leaving the main Party.

POLAND

In Poland, as in every other country, there are two Socialist parties representing the revolutionary and the democratic tendencies. At the First of May demonstration the dem-

ocrats, according to the capitalist press, numbered 25,000, the revolutionaries 60,000. The mining district in Dombrowa is the centre of the Communist movement. The equilibrium is established by the Jewish parties, who, for opportunist reasons, vote with the social-democrats. Over 350,000 disabled soldiers have joined the Communists. The social-democrats sabotage the working-class movement by setting up workers' social-democratic councils.

SWEDEN

The Left Socialists held a special congress in Stockholm from June 12th to 15th, to try to obtain unity, as they were menaced by fundamental differences of opinion between the parliamentary faction represented by Lindhagen and Vernerstroem, and the Bolshevik faction, whose organ is Folkets Dagblad Politiken, and to which belong Höglund and Grimlund. The chief question they discussed was whether they should join the Third International. This congress was entirely devoted to the discussion of their relations with the Third International of Moscow. The following motion was adopted: "The Party considers the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the political and economic powers of the working-classes as a necessary means of attaining Socialism, which alone can realize a true democracy." The aim of the Party is to gather the whole of the Swedish working people around this programme.

If the Socialists of the Left continue, in spite of all, to take part in the parliamentary work, it is partly to protect the working-classes of today and to profit, in conformity with the essential doctrine of the social-democrats, by the possibilities which the parliamentary and municipal elections offer, and partly because our country has not yet reached the revolutionary stage when it can forgo the new machine of the proletarian democracy.

The Congress specially affirms that the parliamentary work ought to be subordinated to the methods of the struggle which the revolutionary age demands, that is, to mass action, which the Party should encourage to the utmost. It is the success of this action which will produce the democracy of the councils.

The Socialist constitution must be founded on the institution of councils, councils of the proletarian workers and peasants, which place all power in the hands of the workers and which base the electoral rights exclusively on the participation in productive labor.

The necessary councils of workers are not those which seek to realize benefits, but those which will suppress all waste and take command of productive activities. The institution of the revolution and of Socialism, with as few victims as possible, demands that the bourgeois class should be disarmed and they shall be deprived of their greatest and most dangerous weapon—militarism. Further, it advocates the setting up of Soldiers' Councils, and the carrying on of an active propaganda among the military to make the soldiers Socialists and to prevent them being used against the workers.

The Congress approves of co-operation with other groups if they are in favor of the revolutionary class-war and the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus accomplishing the overthrow of militarism.

Expressing its solidarity with the revolutionary parties in other countries the Congress hailed with joy the formation of the Third International and decided that the Party affiliate with it.

LETTLAND

In a letter to German Communists, dated July 27th, 1919, the Lettish Communist Party tells that it has only been four months in existence. Its activities have been hampered by the fighting and massacre which have helped to make the newly-formed party more determined to attain Communism.

JAIL TIME KAPLAN

Iue Kaplan, organizer of the Communist Party of Los Angeles, and recently prominent as a leader in the Lawrence textile strike, was arrested on November 7 on the charge that he was directing a squad of distributors of what the police called "illegal" literature.

A YEAR OF PROLETARIAN LEGISLATION

What a short time has passed and how much has been done! If one wanted to make a detailed study of all the laws passed during one year for the benefit of the toilers, several books would not suffice. Only a brief mention of all that was done can be made. And even such a brief account will require enough space.

The Land Problem.

On October 26th 1917, when the rising toiling masses were still battling in Petrograd, on the very day when the workers' and peasants' government, the Council of People's Commissaires, was established, the Government, which on that same day proposed to all nations and their governments to start immediate negotiations for a general, just, and democratic peace, on that day the Workers' and Peasants' Government had already issued a decree on land. This decree immediately, without any remuneration, did away with the property rights in land of the landed owning class, and gave over all landed estates, and the appanage, convent, and church land, along with livestock and equipment, homestead constructions and implements, to the disposal of the "volost" land committees and the "volost" (county) councils of peasants' deputies. These councils and committees had instructions to take as a guidance the "nakaz" (instructions) of the peasants, which opened with the following words: "The most just solution of the land problem should be such: the right of private property in land is abolished forever; the land cannot be sold, nor bought, nor leased nor mortgaged, nor alienated in any other way. All land, state, appanage, is made the property of the whole nation and is turned over to the use of all who are tilling it."

On the same day the death penalty—which had been re-established at the front by Kerensky—was abolished and full liberty of agitation at the front was proclaimed. It was proclaimed that the full power belongs to the Soviets and the commissaires of the Provisional Government (of Kerensky) were removed.

The Bourgeois Press Crushed.

On the next day regulations were published regarding the closing of newspapers which made appeals for an open opposition and disobedience to the Workers' and Peasants' Government, because newspapers in the hands of the bourgeoisie, in the hands of the enemies of the people, are a no less dangerous weapon than machine guns and bombs.

Solving the Rent Problem.

On October 28th the city admin-

OMSK GOVERNMENT ABANDONS OMSK

The Kozlak Government admits reverses which have compelled the civil evacuation of Omsk and of the entire region between Ishim and Irkutsk. Kozlak claims to have concluded an alliance with Japan, which will result in Japan assuming a direct (instead of a merely interventionist) share in the conflict.

The United States and Japan are exchanging notes in which the United States complains of the activity of the Japanese army in Siberia. The American Government has again issued a statement to the effect that the American "railway mission" will not be withdrawn, although it appears that the Bolsheviks have captured the major portion of the Siberian railway line.

In the Kiev region the Bolshevik Government announces daily successes which result in time to result in a capture of the unharvested wheat of the Ukrainian fields and insure an ample bread supply for the coming winter and spring. Yudenitch has been surrounded and whole sections of his troops cut off. The rest are in disorderly retreat into white Finland. The Baltic "powers" are rushing peace negotiations with the Bolshevik Government, and Finland refuses to take the risk of aiding Yudenitch.

Resolutions have been taken behind the rear lines of Kozlak and Benidzin and lines of communication and sources of supply are being seriously pinched, and in the case of Denikin probably entirely cut.

In the midst of all the warring the Soviet Government continues its constructive efforts for the building of a proletarian world.

istrations were instructed to requisition vacant lots adapted for housing purposes and so quarter in habitable apartments persons who are in need of rooming place or live in overcrowded rooms dangerous for the health. It was decided that the Soviets are to establish a workers' militia (Red Guards), which should be completely and exclusively in their charge.

On November 8th a decree was published proclaiming that no one, save the Workers' and Peasants' Government, may print paid advertisements. On November 10th pensions were raised 100 per cent. to workers who suffered from fatal accidents, beginning with January 1st, 1917. On the same day a decree was published abolishing all class distinctions (noblemen, merchant, burgher, peasant, etc.) and titles (prince, count, etc.) and civil ranks (privy, state, and other titles), and establishing one general appellation for all inhabitants of Russia—citizens of the Russian Republic. On November 12th there was created a state commission for public instruction. On November 15th a decree was published concerning the combating of speculation and threatening the speculators with immediate arrest and imprisonment in the Kronstadt cells preparatory to turning them over to the revolutionary military tribunals.

Workers' Council.

On November 16th a decree was published introducing the workers' control over all industrial, commercial, banking, agricultural, transport, and other undertakings, and also over productive co-operative societies employing labor by hire, or giving work to be done at home. All workers received the right to control, through the medium of their representatives, the control to be exercised over production, purchase, and sale of finished products and raw materials, their conservation, as well as the financial and pecuniary part of the undertaking. On the same day it was decided to stop the commissioning of officers.

On November 24th a decree was published concerning the right of the electors to recall their elected officers (delegates, representatives to the Constituent Assembly, etc.) at any time.

On November 28th a decree was published concerning the judiciary, which abolished all courts of the Czar.

On November 30th, in order to secure machinery and tools of production for agriculture and to protect the needs of the toilers, all agricultural machines and tools, whether produced in the process of production, within the country, or imported from abroad, were declared to belong to the state. On December 3rd the Supreme Council of National Economy was created.

2,000,000 Rubles for Propaganda.

On December 11th the compulsory military conscription of the Cossacks was abolished and full liberty of movement was granted to them. Two million rubles were assigned for the needs of the international revolutionary movement.

On December 15th the following decrees were published: Transferring the work of instruction and education in parochial schools, teachers' seminaries, ecclesiastic schools and seminaries, diocesan schools, mission schools, and religious academies from the ecclesiastic department into the care of the People's Commissariat for Public Instruction. On December 16th the sale of manufactures directly from the factories to private persons was prohibited. On December 17th decrees were issued regarding the election of the commanding officers of the army and the equalization of all military men ("all ranks

LABORITES SPLIT IN AUSTRALIA

A split in the Australian Labor Party has occurred, resulting in the formation of the Socialist Party of Australia by the seceding faction, consisting of those who were dissatisfied with the conservative laborite policy of the A. L. P.

The official policy of the A. L. P. was one of "growing into" Socialism. The seceding elements held a convention in Sydney where they adopted a program of "revolutionary political action" for the establishment of the Socialist order.

and appellations in the army beginning with the corporal and ending with the general are abolished; the army of the Russian Republic is declared to consist of free and equal citizens bearing the honorary name of Soldiers of the Revolutionary Army; a decree equalizing the pensions of officers and soldiers; a decree nationalizing all banks for the sake of eradicating completely the banking speculation and full liberation of the toiling population from exploitation.

The Freedom of Divorce.

On December 19th a decree was published regarding the freedom of divorce which might be obtained from the state power (and not in the religious courts) upon the request of both parties or one of them; a decree prohibiting all sale, purchase, or lease negotiations in all city real estate; a decree of the revolutionary press tribunal. On December 20th a decree was published introducing civil marriage contracted not in the church, but before a Soviet official; a decree granting equal rights to marital and extra-marital children, concerning the keeping of birth and death registry not by the church officers, but by the officials of the Soviet Government; a decree proclaiming the recognition of the Finnish Republic.

On December 21st decrees were published establishing revolutionary tribunals for special cases of crimes against the people and the Workers' and Peasants' Government. On December 23rd a decree was issued introducing simplified spelling.

Breaking the Stock Exchange.

On December 24th a decree was published stopping payment on share and bond coupons and prohibiting every kind of negotiation in valuable papers; a decree creating a Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Socialist army; a decree organizing a board for the protection of maternity and infants and for the erection of a "maternity palace."

On January 3rd, 1918, the amount of 12,500,000 rubles was assigned for the purpose of giving pensions to teachers; the creation of regional ("oblast") and local Councils of National Economy for the purpose of organizing and regulating the whole economic life in conformity with the general state and local interests. On January 4th a regulation was issued regarding the publication work of the state and furnishing the toiling people with books at cost price, at reduced prices or even free.

The Bill of Rights.

On January 9th was published the declaration of the rights of the toiling and exploited people (the January declaration) adopted at the Third Convention of the Soviets, which was later included in the (July) Soviet constitution. On the same day was published the decree adopted by the Central Executive Committee regarding the dissolving of the Constituent Assembly, the remaining part of which could play only the role of a camouflage for the bourgeois counter-revolution to overthrow the power of the Soviets.

On January 12th a decree was published regarding the democratization of the fleet, according to which the whole naval force of the Russian Republic shall consist of free citizens, enjoying the same civil rights and calling themselves without distinction the "sailors of the navy"; a decree forbidding the importation of articles of luxury. On January 14th a decree was published concerning juvenile courts (boards) in virtue of which decrees all criminal prosecution of minors under 17 is abolished. On January 20th a decree was published ordering the formation of a Red Army of Workers and Peasants recruited from the most conscious elements of the working classes, and 20 million rubles assigned for the equipping for this purpose.

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Concluded Next Week

ANTI-BOLSHEVICK ORGANIZATION

To combat radicalism and protect their pocketbooks, the New York Board of Trade and Transportation is organizing an O. B. U. of all big business organizations in Greater New York and they intend to hire such "experts" as Ole Hanson and Walter E. Moore.

The board has formulated a program which includes curbing opposition to the closed shop as a "foreign" idea, no governmental regulation of business, no free firing, a minimum 4% taxation, increases in fares, large canals, canal construction and the deportation of all ideas which limit production or the taking of profits.

PARTY NEWS

At the last membership meeting of Local Greater New York it was unanimously decided that every member of the local be taxed a full day's salary for the defense fund.

The organizers of all branches are instructed to appoint immediately a committee of their branch to visit all their members at their homes and collect this tax.

On Saturday evening while the Lusk Committee was raiding the branches of the Party, a special visit was made to the office of the local at 207 East 10th Street.

The Educational Committee has made all arrangements to start the classes in the branches throughout the city. All branches are urged to notify the executive secretary immediately on what nights their headquarters are available and what the seating capacity of the branch is.

The executive committee has decided that no branch can procure literature from the local unless it pays for what it has already purchased. The bills for literature were confiscated by the Lusk Committee, and all branches are requested to send in the money that they owe for literature purchased.

The raiders also got the record of how many membership cards were given to every branch and the secretary is therefore not in a position to know how much money is due to the National Office for the Organization Fund.

Those branches that have not yet purchased their dues stamps will do so immediately otherwise their delegates to the City Central Committee will not be seated.

Watch this column for the date of the next Central Committee meeting. The next regular meeting is postponed.

LISTEN!

Owing to a shortage of funds we were forced back to four pages, and "Cynicism" and several other good things were squeezed out.

Push your contributions if you want a paper!

BRANCH MEETINGS

1st A. D. Manhattan, 180 Henry St., every Friday.

2nd A. D. Manhattan, 455 Grand Street, every Friday.

6th A. D. Manhattan, 604 E. 9th Street, 2-4 Fridays.

8th A. D. Manhattan, 207 E. 10th Street, every Thursday.

17-18-20th A. D. Manhattan, 86 East 10th St., every Tuesday.

27-33 A. D. Manhattan, 208 Amsterdam Ave., 34 Wednesdays.

Jewish 8th A. D., 207 E. 10th St., every Wednesday.

Jewish Harlem, 159th St. and Madison Ave., every Thursday.

Russian Communist, 357 E. 10th St., every Wednesday.

5th Ukrainian, 274 Grand St., every Friday.

Ukrainian No. 20-33 E. 5th St., every Friday.

Esthonian, 251 E. 70th St., 1st and 3d Wednesdays.

German Workers, 250 E. 1st St., 1st and 3d Thursdays.

German High Workers, 331 East 84th St., 1st and 3d Saturdays.

5th A. D. Bronx, 1394 Southern Blvd., every Tuesday.

Bronx Branch No. 3, Bronx, 1394 Southern Boulevard, every Thursday.

CITIES:

Russian No. 4, 206 Sadman St., every Friday.

4th A. D., 208 Grand St., every Thursday.

24th A. D. Jewish, 208 Grand St., every Tuesday.

23rd A. D. Jewish, 206-2nd Street, every Thursday.

6th A. D. English, 230 Stockton St., every Monday.

6th A. D. Jewish, 230 Stockton St., every Saturday.

ONE DAY'S WAGE TO THE DEFENSE FUND LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF NATIONAL ECONOMY

All the existing institutions for the regulation of economy, are subject to the Highest Council of National Economy. All the bills and important measures, which are related to the regulation of national economy in its entirety, are now introduced into the Soviet of National Commissaries through the Highest Council of National Economy, which is the only organ regulating the economic life of the country.

The organ by means of which the proletariat realizes its economic dictatorship, is the Highest Council of National Economy, with its local, provincial, and state organs of the Soviet of national economy.

Life at once furnished the Highest Council of National Economy with a whole string of problems which demanded an immediate solution.

Everybody remembers the condition in which the young socialist Republic found itself a year ago.

Russia was on the threshold of economic ruin. There was not a healthy spot in the economic organism of the country; every tongue, beginning with the transportation and ending with the manufacturing industry, which has been dying from a lack either of raw material, fuel, or by the sabotage of the industrial circles who were managers up to that time, has come to a state from which it seemed there was no way out.

Great will power and faith were necessary at the time of the Social Revolution on the part of the workmen not to retreat before the bitter reality, not to confess the impossibility of getting out of a catastrophic plight.

It is also necessary to add that the complicated state of the Republic became worse from loss of Ukraine and Poland on account of which the industrial life of the country died out; the shops and factories were closed. Thousands of jobless and starving were increasing. Under these conditions the Highest Council of National Economy began its activity.

In the first months it was directed chiefly to the taking of tools and means of production from the hands of the private owners; therefore was the organization of the system of national economy on a socialist basis inevitably slackened.

Now, with the going over to the Republic of all the large industries, after the nationalization of the majority of industrial enterprises, the activity of the Highest Council of National Economy was pre-eminently directed to a centralized administration of separate branches of industry all over Soviet Russia from the only center of that industry—the main or central committee headquarters and centers of the Highest Council of National Economy.

Eighty such headquarters and centers exist, and in them is concentrated the regulation of the entire industrial life of the country.

Parallel to these are created local organs of national economy (provincial, state and district Soviets of national economy), which organize and regulate the economic life within the scope of their territory, being guided by indications and norms, dictated from the center by the way of the creation of industrial programs.

The New York Call prints the following estimate of the importance of Socialist municipal parliamentarism:

"Milwaukee Shoe Prices Keep Many Home From School."

"Milwaukee, Nov. 4.—Constantly soaring prices of shoes are increasing the number of children who must remain away from school, it is declared by Dr. George T. Barth, chief of the school medical inspection division in the Health Department.

Dr. Barth declares scores of children are being kept at home for no other reason than that their parents are too poor to buy them shoes to wear to school.

"He says in February 202 pupils absented themselves from school because they had no shoes, and that 839 one-half school days were missed. With still higher prices for footwear threatened, Dr. Barth asserts that the number of shoeless children unable to go to school will be greatly increased during the next month."

MOSCOW AND THE RED ARMY

An Interview With Comrade Yaroslavsky.

October 1917 gave over into the hands of the newly organized staff of the Moscow military region a difficult inheritance in the form of a great territory of fifteen states where, more than eighty divisions of infantry only were stationed, not including those on their way from the front and the special divisions. This whole army of several hundred thousand people was to be demobilized before a certain date. Demobilization went on in the most decisive and energetic manner, and in February, 1918, all parts of the old army of the Moscow region were sent home.

The military staff of the Moscow region worked, mostly in the direction of saving the military supplies which was taken apart by the demobilized army. Correct and good organization and energetic work of the staff allowed them to save and to concentrate in this region property worth millions belonging to the people.

As a military unit the Moscow region had only a little part of the Red Army at its disposal. The decree of the Soviet of Peoples Commissaries of January 15, 1918, provided for a beginning of the organization of the worker-peasant Red Army on the basis of volunteers and the Moscow District Soviet of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Deputies, instead of the staff of Moscow military region, organized the Moscow District Commissariat on Military Affairs, which sent around the district military instructors and agitators for the conscription and formation of a new army. On April 22, the first division of the Red Army was sent from Moscow to the front. But the work met with unforeseen hardships and went on very unsatisfactorily.

On April 8th, under the decree of the Soviet of Peoples Commissaries, the Moscow Commissariat was renamed The Moscow District Commissariat on Military Affairs. Under the same decree the organization and reforms of all military institutions, staffs and other military institutions was begun.

At that time, when the danger of an offensive by the German imperialists on Moscow and its suburbs was the threat before the Moscow proletariat, here, in Moscow, a special staff of expert generals was working. Justice demands that we note, they worked faithfully; they worked out a series of instructions on research, on explosions of railroad communications, the approach of the defensive, etc. At this time they succeeded in gathering about three people whom they could send to the front. This division was formed without any plan and without any status and, of course, does not resemble the present method of formation in the least.

At the present time all formation goes on according to a specified and decided plan. In every village, county or state there are special commissariats and a mobilizing apparatus, an apparatus of supply, etc., are also organized. Therefore, now, for instance, the formation of such a number of soldiers for which last year a period of one month was necessary may now be done in twenty-four hours.

By the way, it is interesting to note here the history of the origin of the mark of the Red Army, the red star. With the demobilization of the Czarist army all marks, which showed that the person wearing them was a member of this army, were removed, such as badges, orders, bows, etc., and among several million people dressed in grey soldiers' uniform it was difficult to distinguish according to the external appearance the newly organized Red Army. In connection with this the question arose of a new mark of distinction. In our committee composed of Comrades Paliashy, Maralev and myself, Comrade Paliashy was the first to propose the five pointed star with the hammer, scythe and sickle placed upon its face as symbols of labor, firm and intelligence. The committee adapted the five pointed star but only with the hammer and the scythe, and in this manner this mark received the consent of Comrade Trotsky.

General training against which very many were opposed on the side of the experts, was in reality a great success especially among the workers of Moscow and other state towns. The development of general training went on very slowly, but the necessary measures on January 1, 1919, the first period of general training was completed. General training gave good results, while at the present time whole divisions are formed from these trained citizens.

As far as the formation of the Red Commanding Staff is concerned here

THE PETROGRAD WORKER SPEAKS

To the Workers, Soldiers and Sailors in England, France, Italy, America, Sweden, Finland, Estonia, and Serbia!

A proclamation of the Newly Elected Soviet in Petrograd.

In troubled times, we, the workers of the City of Petrograd, have held the regular elections for our Soviet. The elections were held at a time when the armies of your governments were threatening our city and when we were suffering unheard-of hunger as a result of the blockade imposed upon us by your governments. Nevertheless, the workers of Petrograd have remained at their posts, hundreds of thousands of them taking part in the elections of our Soviet. Today this newly elected Soviet has convened for the first time. Thousands of representatives of the workers, the Red Army, the sailors, the day laborers, and the workers' organizations are participating in our assembly.

And with one accord, we direct this message to you: We shall continue to support the Soviet system, the domination of the workers and peasants. To the last breath we shall fight for the triumph of Socialism against the bourgeoisie.

Why Your Government Hates.

In this solemn hour we turn to you with this question: Why have the governments of your countries undertaken a campaign against our city, why are they bringing disorder into our city, why are they shooting down our fathers and brothers, why are they forcing us to starve? All the reports of a reign of terror in Petrograd sent out into the world by the bought press of the bourgeoisie are impudent lies. We are suffering from hunger, we are breaking down at our work in the shops, yet in our ranks proletarian discipline and perfect order reign. We are defending ourselves against our enemies, they are attacking us on all sides, and yet step by step, we are at fault because we were the first to raise the red flag, the first to do away with the Czar and the bourgeoisie, because for two years we have been holding the power in our hands and because we have given the fields to the peasants and the factories to the workers.

Your governments hate us because we have made public the secret treaties in Moscow fifteen months ago.

in Moscow fifteen months ago, we organized at the present time, (of comrades' consciences, which to a great extent filled the big shortage of Red commanders at the front. Notwithstanding the short period of training many students made progress as well as trained commanders.

The relations of the commanding staff to the Red Guards at the present time is quite on the basis of equality, all the more so as the commanding staff itself does its best to coincide with the new surroundings.

The relations between the commanding staff and the Red Guards will finally be formed when we will have commanders from the people, who will wholly be on their side in the solution of all problems. During the last period one demands made of officers in the service of the Red Army is knowledge of the Soviet Constitution and the program of the Communist Party.

With the end in view of final success in the mutual relations of political commissariats and the military leaders, decrees are issued in which the rights and duties of both sides concerned are definitely stated.

Due to the fact that the Moscow District Commissariat from the very beginning of the revolution occupied the central position in the Republic, its work was very difficult and important, and the political circumstances forced all questions of all Russian character upon them; to prepare reserves for all fronts and to supply it with all necessary material.

On the celebration of the Red Army anniversary we may make many parallels characterizing the great development of the military affairs. In February, 1918, the Red Army in the Moscow military district counted a little over ten thousand little-disciplined soldiers. Now there is a large army, still growing, very well disciplined and fully prepared for a stubborn and determined fight with imperialist pillagers.

In January of last year, the organized units of volunteers barely included themselves on the front, now the Red Army not only wages great battles but is successful on all fronts.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF LENIN

By SIEGFRIED BLOCH (of Zurich)

When the Central Office for Socialist Literature in Switzerland still had a modest home in Zurich, on Seilergraben, No. 31 (the library since April 1st of this year has been located at Predigerplatz, No. 35, Zurich), it was often visited during the years 1916-1917 by men who played an important role in the Socialist International. One of these was Lenin.

The leader of the Left Wing of the Russian Social Democracy, Comrade Lenin, who is now the talk of the world, spent a considerable time in Switzerland. He was one of the most distinguished and decorated of the emigrants. His personal manner was modest; he was impunctate with no one. His life belonged to the Party, and to it he sacrificed all his powers. When he approached any Socialist question, he attempted always to examine it from all sides before expressing himself on it. He does not like compromises. He demands the whole loaf for the working class. He maintained always that the greatest suspicion was in place with regard to the paid agents of financial and industrial capital. Lenin hates the bourgeoisie as much as he loves his Socialist ideal. He hated particularly the so-called social patriots who proclaimed a Burgfrieden when the war broke out. According to Lenin, the workers must not only organize and march to the left, but the armed power of the proletariat must always be ready to oppose the police and the military forces of the bourgeoisie. The growing power of the proletariat must be resolutely and unhesitatingly directed against the bourgeois policy of violence and exploitation which, according to Lenin, does not hesitate to shed proletarian blood for its own private interests as well as for the interests of the foreign bourgeoisie. It will not be possible to avoid actions on a large scale if the proletariat is finally to free itself from its tortures and is to postpone forever the realization of their aims. Purposeful, clearly judged mass actions will strengthen the power of the proletariat and will action and weaken the capitalist order of society.

ARE YOU A SCAB? JOIN S. P. T. P. PARTY OF THIRD PART

A society has been formed to protect non-union workers in their right to sell their labor to whom they choose. It calls itself "The Society of the Party of the Third Part," and intends to carry on its benevolent activities from the famous industrial center, Montclair, N. J.

The society is an outgrowth from the National Association of Independent Workers of America, founded by its organizer, Mr. Hejlinger, over seventeen years ago.

"I claim it is illegal," explained organizer Hejlinger, "for dissatisfied workers to picket the plant which they have abandoned as strikers; just as much as I would consider it a violation of the law for a suitor to guard the house of the young lady from whom he has detached his affections from the arrival of other suitors."

The Society of the Party of the Third Part has real letter heads with the address 32 Draper Street, Montclair, N. J., which is Mr. Hejlinger's home address as well as the national headquarters of the society. On this letterhead a letter was sent out, addressed to all unorganized workers, and reading in part as follows:

"This is the first step in a movement to form a society for the purpose of protecting your interests and reduce the number of strikes and industrial hold-ups with which the country has been afflicted in the past. You cannot prevent men from quitting work, but you can prevent these men from terrorizing others who want to work. You can insure adequate protection to non-union workmen."

"As a preliminary step, it is the intention to give all unorganized workers a chance to stand up and be counted and to register their approval in the proposed organization of the great party of the Third Part for the protection and welfare of those who are not affiliated with the unions."

If you desire to enlist in the movement to fight for your rights, please send your name, address, and occupation (or profession) to the undersigned at the address given above and forward this circular to others whom you may think may desire to assist. No money will be solicited, and a suitable custodian has been appointed, whose aptitude for the management of the funds.

J. W. BEJLINGER, Organizer.

g. Sudy Schopf. A comprehensive play for Sunday School work is being developed. Report on same will be given in the near future.

10. A Co-Working Forum. Plans are being made to establish a Communist Forum. Lectures on problems of the day will be arranged.

STOOL-PIGS' UNION The Evening Telegram of Sunday announces the organization of a stool-pigeons' union to be made up of volunteers from our "best" citizens who are endeavoring to get into all radical and revolutionary movements, as trusted informants so that they may learn the secrets of the various movements.

COMMUNIST PARTY CROWS IN MEXICO

By Geo. Carrada, International Sec'y.

The Communist Party of Mexico is gaining ground rapidly and radical groups in all parts of the country that are opposed to the leadership of Louis N. Morones, agent of Samuel Gompers, in the Mexican Socialist Party, are rallying to its support.

ONE DAY'S WAGE TO THE DEFENSE FUND LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

THE COMMUNIST WORLD

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CAPITALIST AMERICA CATCHES UP!

In Czarist Russia, as a regular annual event, the police rounded up all revolutionists in the country several days before May 1st, held them a week or so and then released them. It got to be such a regular thing that every revolutionist arranged his affairs so as to fit the annual ten-day spring vacation.

Now capitalist America has caught up with Czarist Russia. One thousand five hundred "radicals" were seized, without rhyme or reason, without discrimination between anarchist, Communist, and even innocent by-stander, a little clubbing was indulged in, some over-crowding in the new "hotels," and then all but 37 were released.

That they are at a loss to just what to do with the 37 is evidenced by the fact that 34 are still charged with violating "a Federal statute," but the authorities have as yet been unable to find out which one, while on one of them a gun was "found," and two of them, Larkin and Gitlow are charged with the publication of the "Revolutionary Age." It is laughable to think that Larkin, "who never touched the damn sheet," and that Gitlow, whose only connection with it was a short term as its business manager should be held on such a "crime." One test case will emerge from the raids, the charge being the "crime" of carrying a red card of the Communist Party!

Some twenty-five tons of literature and several photos of Lenin and Trotsky and one of Marx were "arrested," in order, so they say, that they might get samples of our literature, which they might have had for the asking.

As in the case of the stupid wholesale "slacker" raids of last year, the indiscriminate large scale production of "criminals" who were promptly released for lack of a crime, has already produced a reaction of disgust among the non class-conscious masses and the fringe of American liberals.

But they'll get used to it and so will we. The Communist ship is built to weather such little petulant squalls as that, and bigger ones if need be. We organized expecting hurricanes. At any rate we will stake our reputation as a prophet on the First of May being selected for the next general round-up.

Our answer to the raids and the raiders is the slogan found on the front page of our paper:

Long Live the Communist Party of America!

TO THE TASK, COMRADES!

In waging the class struggle the Communist Party differs from all other political parties in that it considers organization and organization methods an integral part of the principles of Communism. We do not attempt to hoodwink ourselves and the working class by pretending that the advocacy of principles in themselves can accomplish the emancipation of the working class. Shouting "I am for Socialism" and doing nothing to hasten the coming of Socialism is as futile as baying the moon.

In order to accomplish the historic mission of the working class it is necessary not only to believe in Socialism, it is necessary to BUILD an organization that will effectively carry on the class struggle.

Such an organization must be flexible and adapted to the swift-moving conditions of today. It must be ready to meet any emergency. Such an organization therefore must be built upon rigid discipline. It must be like an army. Says Lenin: "Consider the army of today. This is one of the most perfect examples of organization. And that organization is perfect for the simple reason that it is flexible and knows how to inspire one single desire to the millions of which it consists. Today those millions of people are sitting in their homes, in various parts of the country, tomorrow the mobilization orders are sent out and they all gather at the points designated to them. They stand in the trenches, perhaps months at a time. They charge the enemy. They do wonders under a hail of bullets and shrapnel. Their advanced troops may sink mines into the ground. They may rush ahead several miles under the direction of their flyers. This is real organization through which millions of men, lured to the same goal, moved by one single will, change their form of association and action, change the scene and the objects of their activity, change their tools and weapons as the changing necessities of warfare may require."

Now, an army does not permit within its body anything inimical to its smooth working efficiency. If it did it would no longer be an army, but a heterogeneous mob. The Communist Party, the advance guard of the militant working class cannot permit any elements within it which tend to hinder its effectiveness. There can be no pulling in different directions as in the old Socialist Party. There can be no fifty-seven varieties of Communism within the Communist Party.

We are not a debating society that is going to debate itself into the social revolution. Having once agreed upon the fundamentals as expressed in our Manifesto and Program and Constitution, we go down to the active work of propaganda and education. Those who disagree with us must get out. The workers must be told the truth about capitalism and the truth about the method of their emancipation. We must combat the lies of the capitalist press, their schools, their pulpits, their universities; and in addition to

VULGAR SOCIALISM BY CORRESPONDENCE

AN ANALYSIS OF BERENBERG'S RAND SCHOOL CORRESPONDENCE COURSE IN "THE FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIALISM"

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE.

A typical product of the American moderate movement is the Rand School and, a typical product of the Rand School is the mass of misinformation compiled by David P. Berenberg, director of the Correspondence Department, and sent out by correspondence as a course in "The Fundamentals of Socialism."

This course in "Vulgar Socialism by Correspondence" might not be worth stopping over were it not for the fact that it has circulated all over the country, and still circulates, to workers thirsting for information; and for the further fact that it is so typical of what passes for Marxian Socialism in America that to analyze it is to analyze the whole mass of vulgar Socialism that is Marxian only in "a frequent though unintelligent use of the terms which Marx employed." And there is perhaps the added reason that the Rand School remains the leading organ of "theoretical" expression, the last stronghold of moderate Socialism in America.

The course presents three types of ignorance: ignorance of economics, ignorance of history and the meaning of historical materialism; and ignorance of the nature of the class struggle and the nature and function of the revolutionary Socialist movement. It presents, further, three great discoveries: "Material Determinism"; "Collectivism" together with three methods of attaining it; and "A Bloodless Revolution a la Berenberg." We will begin on the economics.

Vulgar Economics.

Berenberg's Economics begins with Lesson III. of his 12-lesson course. It starts out bravely enough to be a straight exposition of bourgeois economics a la Prof. Seligman, but soon loses its way and lands one plump in the middle of the first half of the 19th century among the French Utopians.

The crux of Lesson III. is found in the statement:

"Socialists have very little quarrel with the methods employed in the production of wealth. . . . But they have a very serious quarrel with the methods by which the wealth produced by social effort is distributed. Each laborer receives only a small portion. This is manifestly unfair."

Immediately, the question arises, What is a "just" and a "fair" distribution? Who shall judge? Shall the capitalist? He maintains that the present system is the only "just" one. Henry Ford has his own theory of "just" distribution. So has each Utopian of the early 19th century a special theory of his own.

"The distribution of the means of consumption is but the result of the distribution of the factors of production" (Marx). Hence, the prevailing method of distribution is the only "just" one on the basis of the present mode of production. Given a system of production in which land and machinery are owned by non-workers, and workers own only their own labor, then there follows automatically the present mode of distribution of the products. Change the ownership of the factors of production to a common ownership, and in the same way there will be an automatic change in the distribution of products. Thus, Berenberg is aping the Utopians in substituting the "flummery of justice" for the scientific and realistic concepts of Marxian economics; and, at the same time, he is aping the Bourgeois economists in treating distribution as independent of production and Socialism as "quarreling" only, or chiefly, with distribution.

To make matters worse, when we examine the mechanism of Berenbergian production, we find that he believes with the whole tribe of bourgeois economists that the present "factors of production" are eternal. "Of all processes of production ranging from the simplest to the most complicated, we can discover three things that must always be present:

The three factors that are always present are land, labor, capital." And in the sentence preceding that Berenberg identifies "capital" with "machines and tools." Accepting this premise that these factors of production are always present, it follows that the distribution of products today is inevitable and the capitalist system eternal.

We are not surprised to find that in place of referring to Marx in the list of readings at the end of this lesson, the author refers to Seligman "Principles of Economics," pp. 280-282, 351-352. The author also refers to his own pamphlet, "Socialism."

Tilting With Windmills.

When we have gotten thus far in our analysis, we are little moved by the discovery: "That wealth is very unevenly distributed is admitted by all." Our interest is again awakened, however, by a ponderous tilting with windmills when our doughty economist refutes an imaginary opponent who contends that the shares of land, labor, and capital in distributed wealth are equal.

Aha! Says Berenberg, "Even if this is admitted, it must be remembered that there are 100 laborers to every landlord and capitalist (we wonder where the statistics come from), and the share given to labor must be divided into many parts, each laborer receiving only a small portion. This is manifestly (!) unfair." But our enthusiasm for this heroic shadow-boxing vanishes when we are forced to conclude that if there were 100 capitalists for each 100 laborers and they were forced to divide up their share, Berenberg's "quarrel" with the system of distribution would have to cease!

Value and Surplus Value.

Having laid a foundation of Seligmanian economics and built thereon the rather shaky superstructure of an Utopian "justice" theory of distribution, Berenberg proceeds to prop up his rickety bourgeois edifice with buttresses borrowed from Marx. He now catches up with the very first subject of Marx's (or any scientific) study of capitalist production, the production of exchange values.

Here he never gets past an initial confusion of terms. The opening sentence of his lesson on "Value" (Lesson IV) announces that "capitalism produces commodities chiefly for exchange." What is a commodity, if not a product produced for exchange? If products are produced for any other purpose, how can they be commodities? A commodity is something produced for exchange. If produced for use, a product is not a commodity. When sold to a consumer, a product ceases to be a commodity and becomes a mere use-value or useful product. Capitalism produces only commodities, and that distinguishes it from all other modes of production.

The course next proceeds to confuse use value with exchange value, and makes labor the source of all use values. Land, we are told, has no value, and this is, of course, true, if exchange value is meant. But if use value (or usefulness) is meant, certainly land is useful. The "lesson" goes on to say: "Only when labor is applied to land will it produce things useful to humanity."

"Human Value."

A little later in the lesson Berenberg discovers a new type of value, which he calls "human value," and which, "Socialists claim," can be given only by human beings. As this is an argument by definition, and as Berenberg is the only economist who knows what "human value" is, it follows that this argument is incontrovertible. The same lesson states that Marx did for the theory of value what Ricardo, Smith, and Franklin could not, he "put the idea into such form as to make it clear and unequivocal to all." We can only add that "all" does not seem to include the Marxian Berenberg, for he has not yet been able to distinguish between use value and exchange value, be-

CAPITALIST U. S. A. AND SOCIALIST RUSSIA

This is a sample of the Bolshevick propaganda to the American troops that caused their hasty withdrawal. Printed in English in Moscow.

What is the chief difference between the United States of America and Russia?

The United States is the most capitalist country in the world. Russia is the only socialist State in the world.

You know that every country has its boss. There is no boss-less country on the face of the earth. Who is the boss in the United States, and who is the boss in Russia?

You know who is the boss in your own country. The trusts, of course! And those who stand behind the trusts—Johnnie D., and Johnnie P., and Charlie M. Schwab, and Senator I. Coleman Dupont, and Johnnie Wannamaker (Money-maker), and Guggenheim—and the rest of the bunch. In New York they say that "the whole country, i. e., all the wealth of the country is owned by the two Johnnies"—by Rockefeller and Morgan. "The two Johnnies" are the "Big Bosses." They own all the big industries, all the large factories, all the large banks, the mines, the railroads, the land. You know, of course, that the "Standard Oil Company of New York" is practically the sole owner of the City of New York, of all the street railways, elevated and subway lines, gas and electric and water stations of the city. Johnnie D. is "earning" 60 million dollars a year on the City of New York alone. He's making some money! . . .

You have been talking so much of the German "war-lord"—but don't forget your own American money-lords. They are just as bad!

The worst of it all is that the money-lords, the Big Bosses and the trusts own your jobs and the very bread you eat. The trusts have full power in matters of raising prices, of breaking strikes, blacklisting, throwing workers out of shops and factories, creating so-called "crises," etc. etc.

Why, you remember the potato crisis, and the onion crisis of 1916, and the bread and meat crisis of 1917. Surely, you yourselves cursed the damned trusts in those days! Surely the damned trusts made some money in those days!

The One Big Boss.

We people in Russia have no money-lords, no big, and even no small Bosses. We have done away with the Bosses! We have no Johnnie D.'s and no Johnnie P.'s, no trusts and no bloodthirsty capitalists. We have but one, all-Russian boss. And this only boss of ours owns the whole country.

between commodity production and production for use.

The lesson on "Surplus Value" presents similar characteristics. "Wages" is a term peculiar to the capitalist system, which has for that reason been termed the "wage system." The Marxian analysis of surplus value is proof positive of the fact that wages cannot equal the whole value of the product. But, in this lesson, we are faced with the remarkable statement: "As long as wages do not equal the whole value of the product the employer is getting something for nothing. . . . Robbery can never be fair!"

"Robbery Can Never Be Fair."

"Robbery can never be fair!" That sentence is characteristic of the whole bourgeois mode of thought. Robbery is a term presupposing private property, a propertyless class and a propertyed, the legal protection of property and violation of property laws. But the very laws of capitalist society legalize the taking of profits, of surplus value; hence there is no robbery; hence the present system is fair. Or, turning the thing around, if robbery can never be fair, then the expropriation of private property can never be fair, for that is robbery in every sense of the term, since it is violation of private property.

A few sentences further on Berenberg gets his cart before his horse by subtracting profits from the value of a product and thus arriving at the wages, in place of subtracting wages from the value of the product and thus arriving at the profit. A small matter in itself, it is typical of the confusion of thought in this "teacher" of scientific socialism and his course in "fundamentals." The lesson on surplus value ends with a confusion of all previous forms of unpaid labor with its present historic form, surplus value. Our next issue will contain a study of the Rand School's epoch-making contribution to Socialist theory, Berenberg's remarkable discovery, "Material Determinism."

This only Big Boss is the Working Class.

Russia is owned by the Russian Working People! The land, the factories, the mines, the railroads belong collectively to the working people. Everything is owned by those who work.

The big industries are managed by the so-called "factory committees." These committees are elected by all the workers, men and women of each factory, and are controlled by the workers. These committees act in the interests of the workers.

Industry in Russia is operated for the benefit of the working people, and not for the profit of trusts. This is why we in Russia have no strikes and no lockouts, no "labor unrest" and no "industrial troubles." While you people are struggling for a "living wage," the Russian workers enjoy the product of their collective labor.

The Russian Government is itself composed of representatives of the working people, that is, of representatives of town workers and the peasantry. The Government is the chief organizer of industry. One of the very first decrees issued by our Soviet Government was the eight-hour day decree. No person works more than eight hours a day! Then the palaces of the rich were converted into comfortable homes for the workers. While the working people in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia live in tenement houses in the slum districts.

The estates of the wealthy landlords are confiscated and they are now the property of the Nation. The peasants are organizing communes, peasant societies, in which life and labor is conducted on a co-operative plan. The Government is helping them in every way. They are getting agricultural machinery and other manufactures from the Government at low prices. In return for which they supply foodstuffs for the town population. From a poor, oppressed slave the Russian peasant has become a free citizen in a great Republic of Labor. Of course he is satisfied with the Revolution. Of course he is supporting the Government. He is ready to give his life for the Soviet Government. And so also is the town worker ready to give his life.

Good-Bye Profit System.

There is no exploitation in Russia. There is no exploitation because there is no profit-system. There is no profit-system because there are no capitalists. The workmen factory-committees and the Supreme Council of Public Economy (which is the chief managing Board of Industry and which unites the efforts of all the workmen committees) are the only "captains of industry" we have.

We want you to understand that every country in the world—including your own—can become a Socialist state, a workmen's country, if only it follows the Russian example. Every nation in the world—including the "yankee race"—can become a really free nation, if it only does away with the trusts, the money-lords, and the blood-thirsty exploiters. It is up to you to bring the great lesson of the Russian Revolution home to your toiling and suffering brothers. Its up to you to start it there—in your own America; you just start it—and your brothers will follow you! You just dare! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain.

You just dare take home with you the Red Banner of the Revolution—and inscribe upon it:

Down with Capitalism!
Long live Industrial Freedom!
Long live Socialism!

The Group of English Speaking Communists.

KOLCHAK'S SOURCE OF REVENUE

Recent news from Siberia reveals Admiral Kolchak's real source of income. After he overthrew the Soviets in Siberia, he restored the vodka monopoly. In August last the sale of vodka amounted to 1,023,585 rubles, in September to 2,662,84 rubles, in October to 7,615,545 rubles, in November to 9,630,035 rubles, and in December to about 24,000,000 rubles. Under the Soviets, spirituous liquors are forbidden.

BREAK THE BLOCKADE.

IDIOTORIALS

Wilson Calls a General Strike. "Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, hereby designate the 27th day of November as a day of thanksgiving and prayer by my fellow-countrymen, inviting them to cease on that day from their ordinary tasks. . . ."

In our last we predicted that the President was about nine months pregnant with a new slogan. We were right. From his confinement he has delivered it. It is:

"A world ruled by friendship and good will."

"To Soothe the Savage Beast."

"The musical programs put the employees in a good mood and the management finds that production has increased during the afternoons after the singing and band concerts (during the workers' lunch time)."

"The primary purpose of the musical programs during the noon hour is to foster this spirit . . . of interest in and attachment to the organization."—From the report of an efficiency expert in "The Iron Age."

Famous Sayings, No. 2.

"As far as possible the fight was waged for Socialism and Internationalism."—James O'Neal, S. P. candidate for Aldermanic President, commenting on his campaign.

The Camera Never Lies.

Assemblyman Louis Waldman's picture was snapped while he was conducting a campaign of Americanization and said photograph was published in the Photographic News.

Where is Doc Cohen's secret printing plant?

And, by the way, who stole the sacred minutes?

Dedicated to the World.

On what brand of hashesh does this, our reporter, feed that he doth dream so greatly?

The World says Wagenknecht is Ruthenberg's right hand man.

Then we must be Charlie Ervin's chief assistant.

The Dog Returns to His Vomit.

In 1917 at St. Louis, when we temporarily got control of the Party and adopted the St. Louis Platform, we removed Article II, Section 6. Now that we are out of the Party and the Hillquit-Berengerites are unhampered by any revolutionary rank and file, they are circulating a referendum to re-insert the clause which reads: "Political action shall be construed to mean participation in elections for public office and practical legislative and administrative work along the lines of the Socialist Party Platform."

Well, didn't Marx say that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle?

What do you want of Louis Waldman, anyway?

Louis B. Boudin lectured Friday night for the S. P. on "The U. S. Constitution and the Present Emergency." What emergency is the U. S. Constitution facing, anyway?

The S. P. Class Struggle.

1. Society is divided into two classes, landlords and tenants.
2. The Realty Association has endorsed the Democratic ticket; the Tenants' League has endorsed the Socialist ticket.
3. If you are a tenant you must vote for us.
4. We accept landlords' votes, too.

An East Side Friend writes: "Louis Waldman was elected and my landlord raised me from \$35 to \$40."

First class in algebra, rise. How much would an E. S. F. have had to pay if Lee had been elected, too?

There was an imposing meeting on Rutgers Square—3,000 policemen.

Geehan's Bomb Squad was there to find bombs—but what's the use of finding them when there are no radicals around?

Poor Rand School! Can you imagine it teaching Socialism underground?

Translate the last couple of words into Yiddish and you can imagine it.