

Combined with "The New York Communist"

# The Revolutionary Age

Devoted to the International Communist Struggle

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*In This Issue:*

*Left Wing Convention,  
Manifesto and Program*



"Nothing Doing!"

# The Revolutionary Age

Combined with The New York "Communist"

NATIONAL ORGAN of the LEFT  
WING SECTION, SOCIALIST PARTY

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## Reaction Dominant

THE American Government, under the control of Capitalism, is apparently bent on revealing all the depths of its reactionary character.

While the capitalist press lavishes its praise upon the Peace—and particularly upon the "liberating" mission of the government of the United States—the acts of the government and the words of the conscious representatives of American Capitalism reveal the purpose to impose reaction and conquer world power for "our" Imperialism.

The Senate brutally speaks of "America's interests." Open scorn answers the old slogans about "making the world safe for democracy." "Ideals" have served their purpose—power is now the only ideal.

Financiers—while the political "liberators" pose—are quietly but systematically mobilizing their forces for the conquest of world power and the suppression of the proletariat. Finance-Capital determines the action of the Peace Conference and of American diplomacy.

The infamous assault upon the liberty of Soviet representative Martens is followed by an insolent, brutal answer of the American government to Soviet Commissaire Chicherin's protest against the violation of Marten's rights.

This proceeds together with ruthless attacks upon Socialist organizations—by means of law and legislatures, and the foul slanders of the gutter.

Through all this looms the sinister menace of intervention in Mexico—to aggrandize American capital.

Reaction is dominant—necessarily dominant. It is the characteristic of Capitalism. The official A. F. of L. accepts reaction. The official Socialist Party promotes reaction by its miserable compromising policy. But labor thinks, and prepares to act. Out of reaction issues the forces for the militant class struggle against capitalism.

## Another Expulsion

THE National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has expelled the Socialist Party of Massachusetts, comprising about 6,000 members. The basis for this is the acceptance of the Left Wing Manifesto and Program by the State Convention.

Simultaneously, comes the news that the State Convention of the Socialist Party of Ohio, by a vote of 47 to 7, has adopted the Left

Wing Manifesto, and decided to organize a new party on September 1, if all delegates to the Emergency Party Convention on August 30 are not seated. Will National Secretary Germer expel the Party in Ohio?

The Left Wing does not recognize these expulsions. Our procedure is this:

All state and local organizations of the Socialist Party (whether expelled or suspended) must elect their delegates to the Emergency Convention. Not to do this is to abandon the struggle in the Party, to surrender to the bureaucracy.

These delegates, with their credentials, will appear at the Party Convention as if no expulsions or suspensions had been perpetrated.

If they are seated (through a Left Wing majority within) we shall proceed to reorganize the party on a Communist basis.

If they are not seated, all Left Wing delegates will secede, and organize a new Communist Party.

This was the procedure decided upon by the National Left Wing Conference. Any act that interferes with this procedure strikes directly at the Left Wing, and revolutionary Socialism.

Expulsions? Let them expel! Our task is to secure the revolutionary masses in the Socialist Party. At Chicago, the Left Wing may not secure control of the official party. What of it? Again: our task is to secure the revolutionary masses in the Socialist Party for a Party of Communist Socialism.

## The Peace

WITH all the pomp and ceremony of the Medieval conquerors, the great "democracies" have dictated their "peace" terms to the vanquished. No detail that would reveal the true nature of the peace was lacking. The old barbaric forms were strictly adhered to, even to the final humiliation of the vanquished.

All the great words, all the heroic phrases, all the high idealism—all vanished and the scene revealed only the age-long spirit—"Woe to the vanquished." Never did feudal knight enforce his will upon a beleaguered garrison with sterner disregard for the "humanities", never were the forces of disease and famine more implacably invoked. "Starve or surrender" said the barbaric lord of old. "Starve or sign" said the "great democracies."

So the Germans signed, and "peace" is proclaimed to the world!

A peace that is merely an armistice, merely a halt until the new antagonisms, with which the treaty is replete, develop—and then new wars. A peace that is the final proclamation to the peoples of the world that capitalism knows naught of peace, that Imperialism must batten on continual war. A Peace that condemns mankind to incessant bloodshed—unless the world proletariat intervenes, and sweeps away society, that so arrogantly proclaims its bankruptcy.

After five years of war, of the mobilization of the world for destruction, of the concentration of the entire energies of three-fourths of the world's peoples on the work of feeding the flames of international hatreds; after six months of diplomatic intrigue, of the fencing of the "greatest minds" of bourgeois society, a treaty was signed and the farce of peace is solemnly proclaimed to the thunder of the guns of the twenty-two wars raging throughout the world, and the sinister preparations of all for the wars that are developing out of the antagonisms of the treaty that heralds peace.

Even while the "statesmen" in Paris sign the treaty their colleagues in their respective parliaments lay new plans for the raising of

gigantic armies and the building of huge navies. Even while they bend to affix their signatures their armies leap at the throats of the new republics they, themselves, have called into being in the name of liberty; while their navies draw tighter the starvation knot round and strangling workers and peasants of Russia and Hungary. While they speak of democracy and freedom, they starve three nations and prepare to set against the people of Russia the representative of the Czarism these people have overthrown.

Peace is signed, but war is raging.

The representatives of Capitalism have proved themselves incapable of settling the problems confronting society. They have proved incapable of settling the problems that confront themselves. Even the authors of this peace are unable to protect themselves from each other. The representatives of Capitalism from the vanquished peoples have equally proved themselves incapable. Before the stronger Capitalism they bow in humiliation, and plant the feet of the conquerors still more firmly upon the necks of their peoples.

There is only one answer to the peace of Versailles. Russia and Hungary have given it in clear and unequivocal tones. Only where the broad masses of the people have taken the power in their own hands is the might of the conquerors impotent. Before the revolutionary workers and peasants, the cajolery of diplomacy and the threats of armed might are alike helpless.

Capitalist-Imperialism, by its peace of violence, is bankrupt, is dragging society into chaos. Like a beacon light the revolutionary soviet republics point the way to world security. Society stands at the parting of the ways—to revolutionary Socialism and security, to Capitalist-Imperialism and disaster.

## A Correction

(Publication Unavoidably Delayed.)  
Editor "REVOLUTIONARY AGE":

In your issue of May 17, you printed a letter (address not indicated) in which Herman Shuster makes it appear as if, although a member of the I. W. W., he had received no assistance either from the Chicago headquarters of the organization or from the New York Defense Committee of the I. W. W.

We have been instructed by the membership of the New York branch of the I. W. W. to request you to correct the erroneous impression you have helped to create by printing Shuster's letter without first ascertaining the facts.

On receipt of the letter Shuster mentions having sent to Louis Ratnofsky on Feb. 4, the N. Y. Defense Committee directed a Boston lawyer to call on Shuster, and also made arrangements for his release on bond, but he wrote back that it was "too cold" and that he preferred to remain where he was.

Furthermore, while Shuster was on Ellis Island—last winter, he shared in the "jail comforts" and other assistance given regularly to the deportees by the New York Defense Committee. Besides this, since his transfer to the Boston Immigration Station, the secretary of the Boston Defense Committee, William Aro-noff, who makes his headquarters in your building, has been in frequent touch with him.

We ask you to publish this rectification of Shuster's misstatements, and take this opportunity to recommend that, in future cases of this sort, out of fairness to your readers as well as to those directly concerned, you investigate the facts before you print an *ex parte* statement.

NEW YORK DEFENSE COMMITTEE,  
Per James Doyle, Secretary.

## Clear the Decks!

THE struggle in the Socialist Party, between moderate Socialism and revolutionary Socialism, has assumed a character making a split not alone inevitable, but necessary.

Action that is necessary cannot be evaded. The integrity of a movement is more important than the unity of a party. The unity of a party is a means to an end; and when the end itself is jeopardized by this unity, the unity must be broken.

There is a tendency to attach too much importance to the expulsions perpetrated by the N. E. C. of the Socialist Party. These acts constitute treachery, of a particularly mean variety. But that is not the issue. The issue is much more fundamental, and the fundamental aspects must be emphasized: the issue comprised in *the impossibility of reconciling revolutionary proletarian Socialism with moderate petty bourgeois Socialism.*

The N. E. C. and the reactionary party bureaucracy generally are animated, not by individual malignancy (this is there) but fundamentally by their particular conception of Socialism, which is not in any sense in accord with fundamental Socialism. They are conserving the Party *as it was*,—an expression of middle class "Socialism" and A. F. of L. Laborism. They represent the social tendency comprised in social-reformism and trades-union activity, which, while dominating the Socialist movement until now, is directly contrary to the actual facts of the proletarian class struggle in its revolutionary implications.

It is against this non-Socialist tendency, and not simply against the Party bureaucracy, that the Left Wing (and revolutionary Socialism in the whole world) is in revolt.

The tendency of the Left Wing is that of the militant proletariat, an expression of the mass struggle of the proletariat.—a struggle not alone against the dominant Capitalism, but equally against the smaller capitalists, the middle class and the privileged "aristocracy of labor" of the dominant trades-unionism.

There is no compromise conceivable on this fundamental issue. An issue of a treacherous bureaucracy, an issue of momentary disputes in tactics,—these can be compromised on the basis of "unity of the Party." But an issue that goes to the heart of Socialism and the proletarian class struggle, an issue that means the conquest of Capitalism by Socialism or the annihilation of Socialism by Capitalism,—this issue excludes compromise. To compromise on this issue is to compromise fundamental Socialism.

Facts are facts.

The elements represented by the dominant bureaucracy in the Socialist Party are not elements of Socialism; they are elements that should affiliate with the Labor Party. Revolutionary Socialism cannot compromise and unite with these non-Socialist elements; and by their campaign of terror and expulsion, these moderate elements recognize that they cannot compromise or unite with the Socialism of the Left Wing—of the Communist International.

If the moderates retain control of the Socialist Party, they will expel all revolutionary elements; if the Left Wing gets control of the Party, it will transform the Party into a party of revolutionary Socialism, of the Communist International. The Left Wing will brook no compromise.

The unity of the Party is broken. It was necessary to break this unity to promote revo-

lutionary Socialism. The issue was forced by the moderates in control of the Party machinery; but the Left Wing accepts the challenge.

Unity! *Of whom and for whom? Of moderate Socialism for State Capitalism; or of revolutionary Socialism for the Communist conquest of power?*

Unity! The moderates constituted unity their litany, until the upsurge of revolutionary Socialism in the Socialist Party compelled them to recognize that their salvation was to break the unity of the Party,—which was accomplished, treacherously and impudently.

But this broken unity becomes the condition for the emergence of a revolutionary Socialist movement. It means the easier conquest, if not of the machinery of the Socialist Party, of the revolutionary masses in the Party.

The Left Wing has conquered the Socialist Party. That is indisputable. Equally indisputable is it that the moderates may, through police power, control the Emergency National Convention on August 30, refusing to admit the delegates of suspended states and locals. In that event, the Left Wing will constitute its own Convention and organize a new Communist Party of revolutionary Socialism.

Should the Left Wing capture the Party Convention, it will proceed immediately to reorganize the Socialist Party on the basis of a Communist Party. This implies not simply the adoption of resolutions; it means not simply a transformation in words, *but in deeds.* The moderates, under these circumstances, will secede; and we shall hasten their secession by the implacability of our policy.

It is necessary to clear the decks. Conquer the Socialist Party for a Communist Party of revolutionary Socialism!

### Debs in Prison

Much has been written of the liberal treatment which Debs received at the hands of the authorities since his incarceration. But this liberality apparently ceased with his transfer to Atlanta Jail. Since then no news has been received of his treatment and his comrades have been living under a false impression.

Whatever may have been his fate in Moundville Jail, a brutal autocracy has since seen to it that Debs suffers all the rigors of prison discipline. In Atlanta Jail, Gene Debs,—the pulsing heart of the American Socialist movement—now grown old and bent in the physical body with years of service in the cause of the oppressed masses of America—and the world, is condemned to work in the clothing factory during the hours of sunlight. From 5 o'clock in the evening until 7 in the morning Debs, in whose soul is the freedom of the lashing sea, of the rushing wind as it sweeps the plains, is locked in a narrow cell, like a beast in a cage. For twenty minutes each day he is allowed to exercise out of doors, for twenty minutes each day he may tramp the prison yard and "gaze upon that little tent of blue that prisoners call the sky."

He is prohibited from reading any Socialist or radical literature, he may not receive any packages and he is permitted to send only one short note each week to his family.

This is Capitalism's answer to Socialism. Let Socialism answer Capitalism.

## Bolshevikjabs

CHINA refuses to sign the Peace Terms— which merely proves that all the money we have spent on missionaries failed to corrupt the heathen. \* \* \*

"And it is much more than a treaty of peace with Germany" says President Wilson in speaking of the Peace Terms. We would have put it the other way round and said: "It is much less than a treaty of peace with Germany—it is a declaration of war." \* \* \*

General Smuts' protest which accompanied his signature shows at least that he learned something from his visit to Hungary. \* \* \*

We suppose that the signing of the document in Versailles means that we can now proceed with the other 22 wars in peace. \* \* \*

There is an important omission in the newspaper accounts of the ceremonies at Versailles. The entire press forgot to mention that the Bolsheviks were not present. \* \* \*

Their absence must not, however, be taken as indicative of a lack of interest on their part. It was merely due to the fact that they felt confident that the Big Four would do the job to their entire satisfaction. \* \* \*

How well their expectations have been fulfilled is proved by the fact that they intend to make the Peace Treaty their chief means of propaganda. \* \* \*

Lenin is quoted as saying that he regards the document as a masterpiece, while Trotzky is of the opinion that a comparison of the propaganda values of the Paris document with those of the one signed at Brest-Litovsk conclusively prove that in this field the Allies are immeasurably ahead of the Germans. \* \* \*

"After Brest-Litovsk" says the Russian war minister, "we swung Hungary into line and we were enabled to make the first definite impression on Germany herself. With the Versailles treaty as a basis we expect to swing the rest of the world into line and complete the conversion of Germany to the principles of Bolshevism." \* \* \*

It is reported in London that, as spokesman for the Monarchs' Union, King George has objected to the document on the ground that it gives the revolutionists altogether too much propaganda material. The Mikado has also lodged a formal protest on the ground that the League of Nations has usurped his Divine Right. \* \* \*

On the other hand Samuel Gompers expressed himself as entirely indifferent, saying that if the A. F. of L. could survive Atlantic City it certainly was proof against any propaganda written in Versailles. \* \* \*

The Lusk Committee took a more serious view of the matter and, while stating that Versailles was outside its jurisdiction, informed our correspondent that it had the subject under consideration and would probably seize the document if it entered through the port of New York and thus prevent its distribution in America. \* \* \*

William English Walling was one of the few people entirely satisfied. He said that he knew all along that democracy could be relied upon.

# The National Left Wing Conference

THE Left Wing of the Socialist Party has unified and organized itself nationally. At its first National Conference, held in New York City starting June 21, the Left Wing was animated by a fundamental and unalterable determination to conquer the old Socialist Party for the revolutionary Socialism of the Communist International.

The most important issue before the Conference was whether a Communist Party should be immediately organized by the Conference, and the struggle in the Socialist Party now be abandoned or whether the fight should continue until the Emergency Convention. The Conference by a large majority decided to wage the struggle within the Party until September, in order to rally all the revolutionary elements for a Communist Party, meanwhile organizing, temporarily, as the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party.

The Left Wing Conference was overwhelmingly a proletarian body. It was animated with a fine spirit of enthusiasm, which nothing could daunt. For four days the delegates labored over important problems; and the product of their labors was an organization basis and a theoretical formulation for a real party of revolutionary Socialism. It was a Bolshevik Conference, appreciating the vital necessity of a Bolshevik policy for the American proletariat. On the one hand, a fringe of Menshevik delegates were overwhelmingly beaten; and, on the other, a tendency toward Anarcho-Syndicalism met with absolutely no response. Theoretically and tactically, this Conference stands alone in the history of American Socialism.

The Conference was composed of over 90 delegates from 20 different states, coming overwhelmingly from large industrial centers, the heart of the militant proletarian movement, such as New York, Boston, Buffalo, Rochester, Philadelphia, Providence, Pittsburgh, Hartford, Chicago, Minneapolis, Duluth, St. Paul, Detroit, Kansas City, Denver, Cleveland and Oakland, Cal. The Left Wing has taken firm root in New England and the Pacific Coast, in the North-West and Middle West, in New Mexico, wherever the militant proletariat is in action. A letter was received from dozens of comrades "doing time" in Fort Leavenworth Prison, greeting the Conference as the inspiration of revolutionary Socialism.

Louis C. Fraina was elected temporary Chairman, and in his opening address sounded the keynote of the Conference:

"This Conference is an expression of the upsurge of revolutionary Socialism within the Party. The crisis in Capitalism has created a crisis in Socialism, and this crisis goes to the heart of our revolutionary problems. The proletarian revolution in action has modified the old tactical concepts of Socialism; and the inspiration of the Bolshevik conquests, joining with the original minority Socialism in the Socialist Party, has produced the Left Wing. In spite of a reactionary bureaucracy, revolutionary Socialism is conquering the Socialist Party, proclaiming that in spite of the dead policies of the past, it will lay the basis for a revolutionary Socialist movement. Our Socialism will conquer not only the masses in the party, but the proletarian masses outside the party. This Conference has an historic mission to perform, and it will perform it in accord with the militant traditions of revolutionary Socialism. Our task is not an immediate revolution; it is the task of organizing and preparing for the revolutionary struggle."

The Credentials Committee, consisting of

Max Cohen (N. Y.), J. Lasman (Mass.), Jack Carney (Duluth), A. Wagenknecht (Ohio) and J. Stillson (Chicago) proceeded to consider credentials. Pending their report various delegates spoke concerning conditions in their local movement. Zucker, of Kings Co., spoke in favor of the immediate organization of a Communist Party, after which the Chair urged that this particular problem be discussed when it actually should come before the Conference. John Reed, just returned from attendance at the A. F. of L. Convention, gave a satirical and critical sketch of the proceedings, indicting the A. F. of L. as a betrayer of the workers.

The report of the Credentials Committee recommended the seating of 66 delegates from 14 states (other delegates being seated at sub-



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sequent sessions) but split on the question of seating 15 delegates representing the Central Committees of the Russian, Polish, Lettish, Ukrainian, Esthonian, Lithuanian and South Slavic Federations. The majority recommended seating them as full delegates. Max Cohen, as the minority, opposed this, arguing that the Federations were already adequately represented through regular delegates they elected or participated in electing, and that seating delegates from the Central Committees meant duplicate representation. The majority report was accepted.

With the adoption of the Credentials Committee's report Fraina vacated the chair, and William Bross Lloyd of Chicago was elected permanent Chairman, A. Renner of Detroit Vice-Chairman, Fannie Horowitz of New York permanent secretary, and Rosenthal of Philadelphia assistant secretary. Committees were then elected as follows:

**Manifesto and Program:** Fraina (Boston), Batt (Detroit), Stocklitzky (Chicago), Ruthenberg (Cleveland) and Ferguson (Chicago).

**Organization, Finance and Press:** Cohen (N. Y.), Wagenknecht (Ohio), N. I. Hourwich (N. Y.), E. Lindgren (Brooklyn), MacAlpine (New York).

**Labor Committee:** John Reed (N. Y.), Ben Gitlow (Bronx), A. Anderson (Boston), Carney (Duluth) and Jurgis (Boston).

**Resolutions:** John Ballam (Boston), Bross Lloyd (Chicago), Tywerowsky (N. Y.), Maurin (Boston) and Stillson (Chicago).

At the second session, Sunday afternoon, the Committee on Manifesto and Program reported. It was recommended to the Conference that the approval of the Manifesto be left to

the National Council, and that only the Program be considered. After a discussion, in which the Communist Party again interjected itself, this procedure was adopted. Ferguson then read the Program on behalf of the Committee, which was considered point by point. It was in two parts—one the Communist Program, consisting of a summary of the Bolshevik Call for an International Communist Congress and of the Manifesto and Program of the Communist International; the other a Program devoted to the program of the Left Wing. An interesting discussion took place, particularly on mass action; Batt of Detroit opposed the Committee's report on mass action, arguing that the term mass action should be qualified by the word political, while Fraina answering on behalf of the Committee, argued that mass action, while it develops non-politically under the impulse of concentrated industry, acquires a political character as it comes in conflict with the bourgeois state, mass action being not alone the tactics of the immediate struggle, but equally the final tactics of the social revolution.

In the discussion of the report of the Committee on Manifesto and Program, the issue of the immediate organization of a Communist Party was again interjected. This interjection of the Communist Party issue interfered with the transaction of business; realizing which, the Conference decided to suspend the regular order of business and proceed with the report of the Organization Committee. The majority of the Organization Committee reported in favor of the Conference organizing as the Left Wing Section of the American Socialist Party, that a National Council of nine members should be elected to compose the executive organ of the Left Wing Section, and that *The Revolutionary Age* (to be combined with the *New York Communist*), should become the national organ. The majority further reported in favor of carrying on the fight within the Party for the coming two months; that all Left Wing locals and states, including those expelled or suspended, should elect delegates to the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party to be held at Chicago, August 30; and that if all delegates are not seated, including delegates of suspended organizations, the Left Wing delegates shall secede and organize a new Communist Party. The minority, consisting of Nicholas I. Hourwich, reported in favor of the immediate organization of a Communist Party.

All Sunday evening was given to this discussion. Fraina raised a point of order that the minority report in favor of immediately organizing a Communist Party was out of order, on the ground that it was in conflict with the Call of Local Boston, Local Cleveland and the Left Wing Section of New York City, on the basis of which the Conference met. The Chair ruled the point of order well taken, and the minority report not before the house. An appeal was taken from this decision, resulting in a vote of 42 to 42, which sustained the chair. MacAlpine thereupon moved, seconded by Fraina, a suspension of the rules in order to discuss the immediate organization of a new party. Larkin amended that Hourwich, representing those favoring an immediate Communist Party, and C. E. Ruthenberg, representing those favoring the other view, be empowered to draw up a joint resolution around which the discussion could center. The resolution was as follows:

"Resolved, that the Left Wing Conference

immediately sever all connections with the Socialist Party of the United States and proceed at once with the work of organizing a new party."

Practically all the delegates participated in the discussion. The advocates of an immediate organization of a Communist Party argued that this was the psychological moment; that further work in the Socialist Party would simply secure for us "centre" elements; that we should organize immediately on an uncompromising party basis. The opponents argued that a Communist Party must be organized; that no one could oppose this party, and that the only issue was one of judgment and time, whether it should be done now in New York or two months later in Chicago; that it was absolutely necessary to proceed with the struggle in the Socialist Party for two months more, in order to rally the broad revolutionary masses of the party for Communist Socialism. The resolution in favor of immediately organizing a Communist Party was defeated by a roll call vote of 55 against 38.

The issue came up in another form, when, after a caucus, the delegates representing the Central Committees of the Russian Federations brought before the Conference the Call of the Socialist Party of Michigan for a convention in Chicago, September 1, to organize a new Socialist Party, asking that the Conference endorse the Call. Challenged to deny that the Michigan call was not a Menshevik one, all the Russian comrades remained silent. This was also defeated. The Conference, anticipating that the repudiated National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party might call off the Emergency Convention, passed a motion that, in that event, the national Left Wing itself carry on the August 30 convention.

Another intense discussion took place on the report of the Organization Committee,

recommending that the executive body of the Left Wing Section shall be a National Council of nine members, elected by the Conference itself. A minority of two, Hourwich and Lindgren, brought in a minority report that, in addition to these nine, there shall be at least seven other members to be elected one each by the Central Committees of the Russian Federations (this, in time, would mean at least eleven members on the Council elected by Central Committees of the Language Federations). This proposal would have meant control of the National Council by delegates of the Federation Central Committees. The argument made in favor was that the Federations constitute the backbone of the Left Wing, and are solidly Bolshevik; the argument made against was that the Conference could not approve of separate and duplicate representation, the Federations already being adequately represented by delegates at the Conference itself; and that we should have membership control, not Central Committee control. The minority report was defeated. A National Council of nine members was thereupon elected, as follows: C. E. Ruthenberg, of Cleveland; Louis C. Fraina, of Boston; I. E. Ferguson, of Chicago; John Ballam, of Boston; James Larkin, of New York; Eadmonn MacAlpine, of New York; Benjamin Gitlow, of New York; Max Cohen, of New York; and Bert Wolfe, of New York. (At the first meeting of the Council, Fraina was elected Editor of *The Revolutionary Age*, and MacAlpine Managing Editor; these two comrades thereupon resigned as members of the Council.)

On the third day, 31 delegates, consisting mostly of the Federations, decided, after a caucus, that they would withhold further activity in the Conference because of its attitude on the Communist Party, these delegates resigning from all committees and having previously declined nominations for the National

Council. The 31 practically bolted the Conference.

At the following sessions (eight in all were held) the reports of the Committees on Manifesto and Program, Labor Organization and Resolutions, were disposed of. A discussion took place on the question of a resolution endorsing the I. W. W. The report of the Labor Organization Committee was finally adopted, accepting the I. W. W. as a revolutionary mass movement, but condemning the theoretical short-comings of its spokesmen. Resolutions were adopted approving the class war prisoners strike, sending our greetings to all comrades in prison, condemning and opposing intervention in Mexico, expressing our solidarity with the comrades of Russia and Hungary, and calling upon workers to refuse to work on munitions for the counter-revolution, and that the National Council be instructed to study the agrarian problem. The Labor Organization Committee brought in a plan for actual agitation among the workers, a permanent Labor Committee being elected, subject to the National Council, for this work, as follows: Reed (N. Y.), Jim Cannon (Kansas), Marion Sproule (Mass.), Carney (Minn.), Cosgrove (Mass.), Stankowitz (Penna.), Key (Cal.), Gitlow (N. Y.), and Jurgis (Mass.).

The final act of the Conference was the adoption of the following motion, made by Fraina: "That the National Council call a conference in Chicago September 1 of all revolutionary elements willing to unite with a revolutionized Socialist Party or with a Communist Party that may be organized by Left Wing delegates seceding from the Convention of the Socialist Party to be held August 30."

After an inspiring singing of the "Red Flag" and the "Internationale" the Conference adjourned, determined to conquer for Communist Socialism.

## To the Workers of Germany

By G. CHICHERIN.

Russian Soviet Commissaire of Foreign Affairs (Moscow, May 26).

IN this terrible hour when the German people are suffering under the cruel blows of a victorious Imperialism, the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia send their fraternal greetings and expressions of workers solidarity. Entente imperialism has defeated its enemy and is now celebrating its feast of victory, which will not, however, last very long. Recognizing no restraint, devoid of shame, it exposes its bandit nature, which knows nothing but profit, force and robbery. "Woe to the vanquished!" it cries out. Drunk with victory, and with the animal lust of the primitive savage it has no other object than to wound as cruelly as possible the vanquished peoples, to exploit them as completely as possible, and to make them eternal captives and slaves.

Unparalleled robbery, unparalleled servitude. Such is the meaning of the Peace Treaty which has been shamelessly forced upon the German people by the Entente rulers. This so-called treaty which an exhausted nation is forced to sign is nothing short of a downright crime. Territories with an unquestionable German population, are torn from the German people, their most precious natural resources are taken away. They are compelled to pay such monstrous contributions, that even if the whole German people should labor day and night exclusively to satisfy their conquerors, they would be incapable of disposing of the burden. They are being so thoroughly disarmed, that the victors may at any time penetrate into the interior of the country and inflict upon it the final blows. The Damocles' sword of destruc-

tion will continuously hang over the whole country.

Under the cover of guarantees and control, the victor, the new slave driver, will follow every motion of his captives and slaves. The situation which is thus created for the German working people is well-nigh unbearable, and its misery would have no bounds if it was not a certainty that the dreams of the victors, who have lost all reason, will last but a short time, that the barbarous governments of imperialistic violations are passing through their last days. The revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia have passed through some tribulations; they know what the merciless triumph of a victor means.

The revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia have placed all their hopes in the workers' revolution, which is approaching with giant strides by means of the revolutionary solidarity of the workers of the whole world, whose hour of triumph will strike in the near future. In the days of battle, the revolutionary forces have been steeled. Surrounded on all sides by relentless imperialistic and counter-revolutionary elements they have forged

the mighty weapons of the Red Armies. The hour of the final victory is yet distant. Serious battles against the hosts of imperialism and against the counter-revolutionary bands which have penetrated into our territory are still being waged. But the Russian workers and peasants know that they are progressing step by step towards the final victory.

For the workers and peasants of Germany also, their present sufferings are only a transitory trial which must strengthen your forces ten-fold. Your sufferings are felt by the working masses of Russia who are united with you in workers' solidarity. The shamelessness and brutality of the victor, forgetful of all reason, are in themselves sufficient proof for us that the world of robbers and violators is on the eve of its final destruction. In all the Entente countries, whose mighty rulers are plundering the defeated German people of their all, the working masses will obtain nothing more than a new sharpening of their servitude, and new and heavier chains. But in those countries also, the eyes of the proletarians will open, and with every victory the revolutionary movement will boil and bubble more and more powerfully. And thus, in the ceaselessly growing world revolution of the working masses, in the fraternal solidarity of the workers of all lands, and in the international union of revolutionary Soviet republics, lies the pledge of their approaching liberation from the heavy chains of the dictators, as well as the pledge of the liberation of the workers of all lands from the capitalist system, which makes such acts of robbery possible.

# The Left Wing Manifesto

THE world is in crisis. Capitalism, the prevailing system of society, is in process of disintegration and collapse. Out of its vitals is developing a new social order, the system of Communist Socialism; and the struggle between this new social order and the old is now the fundamental problem of international politics.

The predatory "war for democracy" dominated the world. But now it is the revolutionary proletariat in action that dominates, conquering power in some nations, mobilizing to conquer power in others, and calling upon the proletariat of all nations to prepare for the final struggle against Capitalism.

But Socialism itself is in crisis. Events are revolutionizing Capitalism and Socialism—an indication that this is the historic epoch of the proletarian revolution. Imperialism is the final stage of Capitalism; and Imperialism means sterner reaction and new wars of conquest—unless the revolutionary proletariat acts for Socialism. Capitalism cannot reform itself; it cannot be reformed. Humanity can be saved from its last excesses only by the Communist Revolution. There can now be only the Socialism which is one in temper and purpose with the proletarian revolutionary struggle. There can be only the Socialism which unites the proletariat of the whole world in the general struggle against the desperately destructive Imperialisms—the Imperialisms which array themselves as a single force against the onswEEPing proletarian revolution.

## THE WAR AND IMPERIALISM.

The prevailing conditions, in the world of Capitalism and of Socialism, are a direct product of the war; and the war was itself a direct product of Imperialism.

Industrial development under the profit system of Capitalism is based upon the accumulation of capital, which depends upon the expropriation of values produced by the workers. This accumulation of capital promotes, and is itself promoted by, the concentration of industry. The competitive struggle compels each capitalist to secure the most efficient means of production, or a group of capitalists to combine their capital in order to produce more efficiently. This process of concentration of industry and the accumulation of capital, while a product of competition, ultimately denies and ends competition. The concentration of industry and of capital develops monopoly.

Monopoly expresses itself through dictatorial control exercised by finance-capital over industry; and finance-capital unifies Capitalism for world-exploitation. Under Imperialism, the banks, whose control is centralized in a clique of financial magnates, dominate the whole of industry directly, purely upon the basis of investment exploitation, and not for purposes of social production. The concentration of industry implies that, to a large extent, industry within the nation has reached its maturity, is unable to absorb all the surplus-capital that comes from the profits of industry. Capitalism, accordingly, must find means outside the nation for the absorption of this surplus. The older export trade was dominated by the export of consumable goods. American exports, particularly, except for the war period, have been largely of cotton, foodstuffs, and raw materials. Under the conditions of Imperialism it is capital which is exported, as by the use of concessions in backward territory to build railroads, or to start native factories, as in India, or to develop oil fields, as in Mexico. This means an export of locomotives,

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heavy machinery, in short, predominantly a trade in iron goods. This export of capital, together with the struggle to monopolize the world's sources of raw materials and to control undeveloped territory, produces Imperialism.

A fully developed capitalist nation is compelled to accept Imperialism. Each nation seeks markets for the absorption of its surplus capital. Undeveloped territory, possessing sources of raw material, the industrial development of which will require the investment of capital and the purchase of machinery, becomes the objective of capitalistic competition between the imperialistic nations.

Capitalism, in the epoch of Imperialism, comes to rely for its "prosperity" and supremacy upon the exploitation and enslavement of colonial peoples, either in colonies, "spheres of influence," "protectorates," or "mandatories,"—savagely oppressing hundreds of millions of subject peoples in order to assure high profit and interest rates for a few million people in the favored nations.

This struggle for undeveloped territory, raw materials, and investment markets, is carried on "peacefully" between groups of international finance-capital by means of "agreements," and between the nations by means of diplomacy; but a crisis comes, the competition becomes irreconcilable, antagonisms cannot be solved peacefully, and the nations resort to war.

The antagonisms between the European nations were antagonisms as to who should control undeveloped territory, sources of raw materials, and the investment markets of the world. The inevitable consequence was war. The issue being world power, other nations, including the United States, were dragged in. The United States, while having no direct territorial interests in the war, was vitally concerned since the issue was world power; and its Capitalism, having attained a position of financial world power, had a direct imperialistic interest at stake.

The imperialistic character of the war is climaxed by an imperialistic peace—a peace that strikes directly at the peace and liberty of the world, which organizes the great imperialistic powers into a sort of "trust of nations," among whom the world is divided financially and territorially. The League of Nations is simply the screen for this division of the world, an instrument for joint domination of the world by a particular group of Imperialism.

While this division of the world solves, for the moment, the problems of power that produced the war, the solution is temporary, since the Imperialism of one nation can prosper only by limiting the economic opportunity of another nation. New problems of power must necessarily arise, producing new antagonisms, new wars of aggression and conquest—unless the revolutionary proletariat conquers in the struggle for Socialism.

The concentration of industry produces monopoly, and monopoly produces Imperialism. In Imperialism there is implied the *socialization of industry, the material basis of Socialism*. Production moreover, becomes international; and the limits of the nation, of national production, become a fetter upon the forces of production. The development of Capitalism produces world economic problems that break down the old order. The forces of production revolt against the fetters Capitalism imposes

upon production. The answer of Capitalism is war; the answer of the proletariat is the Social Revolution and Socialism.

## THE COLLAPSE OF THE INTERNATIONAL.

In 1912, at the time of the first Balkan war, Europe was on the verge of a general imperialistic war. A Socialist International Congress was convened at Basle to act on the impending crisis. The resolution adopted *stigmatized the coming war as imperialistic and as unjustifiable on any pretext of national interest*. The Basle resolution declared:

1. That the war would create an economic and political crisis; 2. That the workers would look upon participation in the war as a crime, which would arouse "indignation and revulsion" among the masses; 3. That the crisis and the psychological condition of the workers would create a situation that Socialists should use "to rouse the masses and hasten the downfall of Capitalism"; 4. That the governments "fear a proletarian revolution" and should remember the Paris Commune and the revolution in Russia in 1905, that is, a civil war.

The Basle resolution indicted the coming war as imperialistic, a war necessarily to be opposed by Socialism, which should use the opportunity of war to wage the revolutionary struggle against Capitalism. The policy of Socialism was comprised in the struggle to transform the imperialistic war into a civil war of the oppressed against the oppressors, and for Socialism.

The war that came in 1914 was the same imperialistic war that might have come in 1912, or at the time of the Agadir crisis. But, upon the declaration of war, *the dominant Socialism, contrary to the Basle resolution, accepted and justified the war*.

Great demonstrations were held. The governments and war were denounced. But, immediately upon the declaration of war, there was a change of front. The war credits were voted by Socialists in the parliaments. The dominant Socialism favored the war; a small minority adopted a policy of petty bourgeois pacifism; and only the Left Wing groups adhered to the policy of revolutionary Socialism.

It was not alone a problem of preventing the war. The fact that Socialism could not prevent the war, was not a justification for accepting and idealizing the war. Nor was it a problem of immediate revolution. The Basle Manifesto simply required opposition to the war and the fight to develop out of its circumstances the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against the war and Capitalism.

The dominant Socialism, in accepting and justifying the war, abandoned the class struggle and betrayed Socialism. The class struggle is the heart of Socialism. Without strict conformity to the class struggle, in its revolutionary implications, Socialism becomes either sheer Utopianism, or a method of reaction. But the dominant Socialism accepted "civil peace," the "unity of all the classes and parties" in order to wage successfully the imperialistic war. The dominant Socialism united with the governments against Socialism and the proletariat.

The class struggle comes to a climax during war. National struggles are a form of expression of the class struggle, whether they are revolutionary wars for liberation or imperialistic wars for spoilation. It is precisely during a war that material conditions provide the opportunity for waging the class struggle to a conclusion for the conquest of power. The war was a war for world-power—a war of

the capitalist class against the working class, since world-power means power *over* the proletariat.

But the dominant Socialism accepted the war as a war for democracy—as if democracy under the conditions of Imperialism is not directly counter-revolutionary! It justified the war as a war for national independence—as if Imperialism is not necessarily determined upon annihilating the independence of nations!

Nationalism, social-patriotism, and social-Imperialism determined the policy of the dominant Socialism, and not the proletarian class struggle and Socialism. The coming of Socialism was made dependent upon the predatory war and Imperialism, upon the international proletariat cutting each other's throats in the struggles of the ruling class!

The Second International on the whole merged in the opposed imperialistic ranks. This collapse of the International was not an accident, nor simply an expression of the betrayal by individuals. It was the inevitable consequence of the whole tendency and policy of the dominant Socialism as an organized movement.

#### MODERATE SOCIALISM.

The Socialism which developed as an organized movement after the collapse of the revolutionary First International was moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism. It was a Socialism adapting itself to the conditions of national development, abandoning in practice the militant idea of revolutionizing the old world.

This moderate Socialism initiated the era of "constructive" social reforms. It accepted the bourgeois state as the basis of its activity and *strengthened* that state. Its goal became "constructive reforms" and cabinet portfolios—the "co-operation of classes," the policy of openly or tacitly declaring that the coming of Socialism was the concern "of all the classes," instead of emphasizing the Marxian policy that the construction of the Socialist system is the task of the revolutionary proletariat alone. In accepting social-reformism, the "co-operation of classes," and the bourgeois parliamentary state as the basis of its action, moderate Socialism was prepared to share responsibility with the bourgeoisie in the control of the capitalist state, even to the extent of defending the bourgeoisie against the working class and its revolutionary mass movements. The counter-revolutionary tendency of the dominant Socialism finally reveals itself in open war against Socialism during the proletarian revolution, as in Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary.

The dominant moderate Socialism was initiated by the formation of the Social-Democratic Party in Germany. This party united on the basis of the Gotha Program, in which fundamental revolutionary Socialism was abandoned. It evaded completely the task of the conquest of power, which Marx, in his *Criticism of the Gotha Program*, characterized as follows: "Between the capitalistic society and the communistic, lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period, in which the state cannot be anything else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

Evading the actual problems of the revolutionary struggle, the dominant Socialism of the Second International developed into a peaceful movement of organization, of trades union struggles, of co-operation with the middle class, of legislation and bourgeois State Capitalism as means of introducing Socialism.

There was a joint movement that affected the thought and practice of Socialism; on the one hand, the organization of the skilled workers into trade unions, which secured certain

concessions and became a semi-privileged caste; and, on the other, the decay of the class of small producers, crushed under the iron tread of the concentration of industry and the accumulation of capital. As one moved upward, and the other downward, they met, formed a juncture, and united *to use the state to improve their conditions*. The dominant Socialism expressed this unity, developing a policy of legislative reforms and State Capitalism, making the revolutionary class struggle a parliamentary process.

This development meant, obviously, the abandonment of fundamental Socialism. It meant working on the basis of the bourgeois parliamentary state, instead of the struggle to destroy that state; it meant the "co-operation of classes" for State Capitalism, instead of the uncompromising proletarian struggle for Socialism. Government ownership, the objective of the middle class, was the policy of moderate Socialism. Instead of the revolutionary theory of the necessity of conquering Capitalism, the official theory and practice was now that of *modifying* Capitalism, of a gradual peaceful "growing into" Socialism by means of legislative reforms. In the words of Jean Jaures: "we shall carry on our reform work to a complete transformation of the existing order."

But Imperialism exposed the final futility of this policy. Imperialism unites the non-proletarian classes, by means of State Capitalism, for international conquest and spoliation. The small capitalists, middle class and the aristocracy of labor, which previously acted against concentrated industry, now compromise and unite with concentrated industry and finance-capital in Imperialism. The small capitalists accept the domination of finance-capital, being allowed to participate in the adventures and the fabulous profits of Imperialism, upon which now depends the whole of trade and industry; the middle class invests in monopolistic enterprises, an income class whose income depends upon finance-capital, its members securing "positions of superintendence," its technicians and intellectuals being exported to undeveloped lands in process of development; while the workers of the privileged unions are assured steady employment and comparatively high wages through the profits that come from the savage exploitation of colonial peoples. All these non-proletarian social groups accept Imperialism, their "liberal and progressive" ideas becoming factors in the promotion of Imperialism, manufacturing the democratic ideology of Imperialism with which to seduce the masses. Imperialism requires the centralized state, capable of uniting all the forces of capital, of unifying the industrial process through state control and regulation, of maintaining "class peace," of mobilizing the whole national power in the struggles of Imperialism. *State Capitalism is the form of expression of Imperialism*,—precisely that State Capitalism promoted by moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism. What the parliamentary policy of the dominant moderate Socialism accomplished was to buttress the capitalist state, to promote State Capitalism,—to strengthen Imperialism!

The dominant Socialism was part and parcel of the national liberal movement,—but this movement, under the compulsion of events, merged in Imperialism. The dominant Socialism accepted capitalistic democracy as the basis for the realization of Socialism,—but this democracy merges in Imperialism. The world war was waged by means of this democracy. The dominant Socialism based itself upon the middle class and the aristocracy of labor,—but these have compromised with Imperialism, being bribed by a "share" in the spoils of Imperialism. Upon the declaration

of war, accordingly, the dominant moderate Socialism accepted the war and united with the imperialistic state.

Upon the advent of Imperialism, Capitalism emerged into a new epoch,—an epoch requiring new and more aggressive proletarian tactics. Tactical differences in the Socialist movement almost immediately came to a head. The concentration of industry, together with the subserviency of parliaments to the imperialistic mandates and the transfer of their vital functions to the executive organ of government, developed the concept of industrial unionism in the United States and the concept of mass action in Europe. The struggle against the dominant moderate Socialism became a struggle against its perversion of parliamentarism, against its conception of the state, against its alliance with non-proletarian social groups, and against its acceptance of State Capitalism. Imperialism made mandatory a reconstruction of the Socialist movement, the formulation of a practice in accord with its revolutionary fundamentals. But the representatives of moderate Socialism refused to broaden their tactics, to adapt themselves to the new conditions. The consequence was a miserable collapse under the test of the war and the proletarian revolution,—the betrayal of Socialism and the proletariat.

#### THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

The dominant Socialism justified its acceptance of the war on the plea that a revolution did not materialize, that the masses abandoned Socialism.

This was conscious subterfuge. When the economic and political crisis *did* develop potential revolutionary action in the proletariat, the dominant Socialism immediately assumed an attitude *against* the Revolution. The proletariat was urged *not* to make a revolution. The dominant Socialism united with the capitalist governments to prevent a revolution.

The Russian Revolution was the first act of the proletariat against the war and Imperialism. But while the masses made the Revolution in Russia, the bourgeoisie usurped power and organized the regulation bourgeois-parliamentary republic. This was the first stage of the Revolution. Against this bourgeois republic organized the forces of the proletarian Revolution. Moderate Socialism in Russia, represented by the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists, acted against the proletarian revolution. It united with the Cadets, the party of bourgeois Imperialism, in a coalition government of bourgeois democracy. It placed its faith in the war "against German militarism," in national ideals, in parliamentary democracy and the "co-operation of classes."

But the proletariat, urging on the poorer peasantry, conquered power. It accomplished a proletarian revolution by means of the Bolshevik policy of "all power to the Soviets,"—organizing the new transitional state of proletarian dictatorship. Moderate Socialism, even after its theory that a proletarian revolution was impossible had been shattered by life itself, acted against the proletarian revolution and mobilized the counter-revolutionary forces against the Soviet Republic,—assisted by the moderate Socialism of Germany and the Allies.

Apologists maintained that the attitude of moderate Socialism in Russia was determined not by a fundamental policy, but by its conception that, Russia not being a fully developed capitalist country, it was premature to make a proletarian revolution and historically impossible to realize Socialism.

This was a typical nationalistic attitude, since the proletarian revolution in Russia could not persist as a national revolution, but was compelled by its very conditions to struggle for the

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international revolution of the proletariat, the war having initiated the epoch of the proletarian revolution.

The revolution in Germany decided the controversy. The first revolution was made by the masses, against the protests of the dominant moderate Socialism, represented by the Social-Democratic Party. As in Russia, the first stage of the Revolution realized a bourgeois parliamentary republic, with power in the hands of the Social-Democratic Party. Against this bourgeois republic organized a new revolution, the proletarian revolution directed by the Spartacan-Communists. And, precisely as in Russia, *the dominant moderate Socialism opposed the proletarian revolution*, opposed all power to the Soviets, accepted parliamentary democracy and repudiated proletarian dictatorship.

The issue in Germany could not be obscured. Germany was a fully developed industrial nation, its economic conditions mature for the introduction of Socialism. In spite of dissimilar economic conditions in Germany and Russia, the dominant moderate Socialism pursued a similar counter-revolutionary policy, and revolutionary Socialism a common policy, indicating the international character of revolutionary proletarian tactics.

There is, accordingly, a common policy that characterizes moderate Socialism, and that is *its conception of the state*. Moderate Socialism affirms that the bourgeois, democratic parliamentary state is the necessary basis for the introduction of Socialism; accordingly, it conceived the task of the revolution, in Germany and Russia, to be the construction of the democratic parliamentary state, after which the process of introducing Socialism by legislative reform measures could be initiated. Out of this conception of the state developed the counter-revolutionary policy of moderate Socialism.

Revolutionary Socialism, on the contrary, insists that the democratic parliamentary state can never be the basis for the introduction of Socialism; that it is necessary to destroy the parliamentary state, and construct a new state of the organized producers, which will deprive the bourgeoisie of political power, and function as a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

The proletarian revolution in action has conclusively proven that moderate Socialism is incapable of realizing the objectives of Socialism. Revolutionary Socialism alone is capable of mobilizing the proletariat for Socialism, for the conquest of the power of the state, by means of revolutionary mass action and proletarian dictatorship.

#### AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

The upsurge of revolutionary Socialism in the American Socialist Party, expressed in the Left Wing, is not a product simply of European conditions. It is, in a fundamental sense, the product of the experience of the American movement—the Left Wing tendency in the Party having been invigorated by the experience of the proletarian revolutions in Europe.

The dominant moderate Socialism of the International was equally the Socialism of the American Socialist Party.

The policy of moderate Socialism in the Socialist Party comprised its policy in an attack upon the larger capitalists, the trusts, maintaining that all other divisions in society—including the lesser capitalists and the middle class, the *petite bourgeoisie*—are material for the Socialist struggle against Capitalism. The moderate Socialism dominant in the Socialist Party asserted, in substance: Socialism is a struggle of *all the people* against the trusts and big capital, making the realization of Socialism depend upon the unity of "the people," of the workers, the small capitalists, the small

investors, the professions,—in short, the official Socialist Party actually depended upon the *petite bourgeoisie* for the realization of Socialism.

The concentration of industry in the United States gradually eliminated the small producers, which initiated the movement for government ownership of industry—and for other reforms proposed to check the power of the plutocracy; and this bourgeois policy was the animating impulse of the practise of the Socialist Party.

This party, moreover, developed into an expression of the unions of the aristocracy of labor,—of the A. F. of L. The party refused to engage in the struggle against the reactionary unions, to organize a new labor movement of the militant proletariat.

While the concentration of industry and social developments generally conservatized the skilled workers, it developed the typical proletariat of unskilled labor, massed in the basic industries. This proletariat, expropriated of all property, denied access to the A. F. of L. unions, required a labor movement of its own. This impulse produced the concept of industrial unionism, and the I. W. W. But the dominant moderate Socialism rejected industrial unionism and openly or covertly acted against the I. W. W.

Revolutionary industrial unionism, moreover, was a recognition of the fact that extra-parliamentary action was necessary to accomplish the revolution, that the political state should be destroyed and a new proletarian state of the organized producers constructed in order to realize Socialism. But the Socialist Party not only repudiated the form of industrial unionism, it still more emphatically repudiated its revolutionary political implications, clinging to petty bourgeois parliamentarism and reformism.

United with the aristocracy of labor and the middle class, the dominant Socialism in the Socialist Party necessarily developed all the evils of the dominant Socialism of Europe,—and, particularly, abandoning the immediate revolutionary task of reconstructing unionism, on the basis of which alone a militant mass Socialism could emerge.

It stultified working class political action, by limiting political action to elections and participation in legislative reform activity. In every single case where the Socialist Party has elected public officials they have pursued a consistent petty bourgeois policy, abandoning Socialism.

This was the official policy of the Party. Its representatives were petty bourgeois, moderate, hesitant, oblivious of the class struggle in its fundamental political and industrial implications. But the compulsion of life itself drew more and more proletarian masses in the party, who required simply the opportunity to initiate a revolutionary proletarian policy.

The war and the proletarian revolution in Russia provided the opportunity. The Socialist Party, under the impulse of its membership, adopted a militant declaration against the war. But the officials of the party sabotaged this declaration. The *official* policy of the party on the war was a policy of petty bourgeois pacifism. The bureaucracy of the party was united with the bourgeois People's Council, which accepted a Wilson Peace and betrayed those who rallied to the Council in opposition to the war.

This policy necessarily developed into a repudiation of the revolutionary Socialist position. When events developed the test of accepting or rejecting the revolutionary implications of the declaration against the war, the party bureaucracy immediately exposed its reactionary policy, by repudiating the policy of the Russian and German Communists, and re-

fusing affiliation with the Communist International of revolutionary Socialism.

#### PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM

Imperialism is dominant in the United States, which is now a world power. It is developing a centralized, autocratic federal government, acquiring the financial and military reserves for aggression and wars of conquest. The war has aggrandized American Capitalism, instead of weakening it as in Europe. But world events will play upon and influence conditions in this country—dynamically, the sweep of revolutionary proletarian ideas; materially, the coming constriction of world markets upon the resumption of competition. Now all-mighty and supreme, Capitalism in the United States must meet crises in the days to come. These conditions modify our immediate task, but do not alter its general character; this is not the moment of revolution, but it is the moment of revolutionary struggle. American Capitalism is developing a brutal campaign of terrorism against the militant proletariat. American Capitalism is utterly incompetent on the problems of reconstruction that press down upon society. Its "reconstruction" program is simply to develop its power for aggression, to aggrandize itself in the markets of the world.

These conditions of Imperialism and of multiplied aggression will necessarily produce proletarian action against Capitalism. Strikes are developing which verge on revolutionary action, and in which the suggestion of proletarian dictatorship is apparent, the striker-workers trying to usurp functions of municipal government, as in Seattle and Winnipeg. The mass struggle of the proletariat is coming into being.

A minor phase of the awakening of labor is the trades unions organizing a Labor Party, in an effort to conserve what they have secured as a privileged caste. A Labor Party is not the instrument for the emancipation of the working class; its policy would in general be what is now the official policy of the Socialist Party—reforming Capitalism on the basis of the bourgeois parliamentary state. Laborism is as much a danger to the revolutionary proletariat as moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism,—the two being expressions of an identical tendency and policy. There can be no compromise either with Laborism or the dominant moderate Socialism.

But there is a more vital tendency,—the tendency of the workers to initiate mass strikes,—strikes which are equally a revolt against the bureaucracy in the unions and against the employers. These strikes will constitute the determining feature of proletarian action in the days to come. Revolutionary Socialism must use these mass industrial revolts to broaden the strike, to make it general and militant; use the strike for political objectives, and, finally, develop the mass political strike against Capitalism and the state.

Revolutionary Socialism must base itself on the mass struggles of the proletariat, engage directly in these struggles while emphasizing the revolutionary purposes of Socialism and the proletarian movement. The mass strikes of the American proletariat provide the material basis out of which to develop the concepts and action of revolutionary Socialism.

Our task is to encourage the militant mass movements in the A. F. of L. to split the old unions, to break the power of unions which are corrupted by Imperialism and betray the militant proletariat. The A. F. of L., in its dominant expression, is united with Imperialism. A bulwark of reaction,—it must be exposed and its power for evil broken.

Our task, moreover, is to articulate and organize the mass of the unorganized industrial proletariat, which constitutes the basis for a militant Socialism. The struggle for the revo-

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# The Left Wing and the Socialist Party

AT this moment two campaigns are being carried on within the American Socialist Party. One is a campaign to defeat the transformation of the party into an organ of revolutionary Socialism. The other is an intensive campaign of Socialist education, the greatest campaign of Socialist education ever carried on in the United States.

The official control of the Socialist Party, now centered in the repudiated National Executive Committee and in some of the local executive bodies, is being used to thwart the demand of the overwhelming majority of the membership that the Socialist Party shall cease to play capitalistic politics with the revolutionary aspirations of the proletariat.

The Left Wing movement within the party has been in actual terms a campaign of education. The Left Wing has brought to the members of the party not only the most faithful record of the historic achievements of the revolutionary proletariat in all countries, but also an analysis of the changing character of world Socialism in relation to these achievements. And, in turn, the awakened impulses and understanding on the part of the rank and file of the membership accounts for the present insistent demand that the American Party shall at once transform itself, in spirit and methods, in harmony with the Socialism now carried by the current of history into the forefront of the world social drama.

Socialists everywhere—Socialists who really think and feel in true proletarian consciousness—have been moved to the depths of their being by the tremendous events since August 4th, 1914. They realize that the historic changes of these five years cannot be without meaning to the proletariat of America. They realize that American Socialism can no longer remain the confused, listless, anaemic expression of radical democratism which it was in the years preceding the world war of finance-imperialism. It must become a proletarian expression in terms of the class struggle.

To those who have not yet grasped the full significance of this new assertion within the party, who have not yet visualized the real challenge of life which must weakly express itself in phrases and who yet suspect that there is an element of artificial stimulation in this process of party change,—to these comrades particularly we call attention to the quiet progress of revolutionary transformation within the party which has been going on since the adoption of the St. Louis platform in April, 1917. For the year 1916, the state of Oklahoma had an average membership of 9,369, surpassed only by the state of New York, with an average for the year of 9,774. Next came Illinois, with 6,600, and only Pennsylvania and Massachusetts also stood above the 5,000 mark. For 1918 the Oklahoma average was under 2,000, with New York at 12,642 and Illinois, 8,098. Ohio was added to the list of states with over 5,000. The big gains for the first part of 1919 are in New York, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Michigan and Massachusetts. From 1916 to 1918, 13 Western and South-Western agrarian states lost approximately 14,000 members.

It is at once apparent that there has been a transfusion of blood within the Socialist Party during the past two years. The losses have been rural, petty bourgeois, losses in favor of the Nonpartisan League. The gains have been proletarian, cosmopolitan, international.

In other words, the stress and strain of war, revolution and prosecutions—prosecutions

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Wing Section.*

which recognize our revolutionary class policy in spite of the party's bourgeois reformist platforms—the life experience of world and American Socialism has already changed the face of the party notwithstanding the stubborn refusal to record this change in the party proclamations and action.

The American party, formerly a Socialist organization of farmers, shop-keepers, professionals, etc., with its working class membership largely of the petty bourgeois craftsman type, has now become predominantly an organization of the industrial proletariat, massed in the large industrial centers. This is the fundamental explanation of the easy conquest of the party for revolutionary Socialism. It is the Left Wing which speaks the real proletarian aspirations.

Recently the party officials, still mouthing the phrases of Socialist internationalism, have been insistent upon an American Socialist Party which is American in membership and American in its program and methods. In this they manifest their utter blindness to the truths of Socialism and of the social conditions about which they speak. In what country have not the active Socialists been branded as "foreigners"? In what country have not the "agitators" been advertised as "aliens"? What a depth of reactionism is revealed by this "Socialist" aping of the blood-suckers who heap fulsome, flattery upon the immigrants while in meek servitude, only to curse, harass, and kill them when there is an assertion of class action!

Think of Americanizing an international party by eliminating Russians, Poles, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Letts, Jugoslavs, and Hungarians, meanwhile keeping within the fold Germans, Scandinavians, Jews, Finns, Italians, Greeks, etc. Nothing could reveal more clearly the unprincipled, hypocritical, inherently reactionary character of the official Socialism challenged by the Left Wing.

The industrial proletariat, in the United States, is predominantly of foreign birth. Of the native elements, the largest groups are the negroes, more alien than any of the aliens. But even this is beside the point, for the struggle against Capitalism is not a national but a world struggle, and when is this more apparent than in the present phase of open alliance of the capitalist forces in the League of Nations for the object of checking the on-sweeping social revolution? Even American Imperialism was quick to accept its mutuality of obligations in laying siege to Soviet Russia, though the American economic interests in Russia are relatively of small account.

It is only the corruption and decadence of the opportunistic Socialist parties which makes understandable how the true internationalism of the early Communists and of the First International became the lip-internationalism of the Second International. The betrayal of the class-conscious proletarians of the United States by their party officials in making a

## MASS MEETING

Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East 4th Street

Monday, July 7, at 8 p. m.

New York delegates to Left Wing Convention will report. All comrades invited.

Admission by Party Card only.

jugglery of phrases out of the whole conception of Socialist internationalism—in the midst of a world-wide proletarian responsiveness to the Russian challenge in the world struggle—is a betrayal of the same calibre as that of the worst Socialist reactionism of Germany, France, and England. It lacks only the setting of a crisis of action to give it the tragic consequences of the Scheidemann-Ebert-Kautsky treason to the Social Revolution.

Consistently with its innate character, moderate Socialism plays the role of working class betrayal, when the proletariat becomes aggressive in its revolutionary expressions. In the United States, not yet having come to the stage of open imperialist servitude, because its aid is as yet spurned, moderate Socialism is already rushing in uninvited to play the role of *agent provocateur* against the rising proletariat. From its vantage point of working class representation it intensifies and fortifies the prejudices against Bolshevism and the I. W. W. by purging itself of all such contamination, meanwhile offering resolutions of sympathy and donations in pietistic affirmance of its working class character.

In like manner moderate Socialism now plays its dastardly role of proletarian betrayal in its attacks on the Left Wing movement within the party. The criminally reactionary party moderates, not content with the party channels of vituperation, carry into the capitalist press assertions and innuendoes to urge and abet the capitalist repression of revolutionary working class education and organization. And, in the midst of its own despicable treacheries, moderate Socialism sanctimoniously cautions against the advocates of proletarian Socialism as "paid spies" within our ranks!

*As if the Left Wing movement were anything more strange than the coming to life of Socialism within the American Socialist Party!*

The Left Wing is the instinctive proletarian response to the Social Revolution and bankruptcy of the Socialism of the Second International. The attempted resurrection of the Second International, at the February Berne Conference, was a ghastly exhibition of the perversion of Socialism to the purposes of imperialist Capitalism. The statement of "principles" issued by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in June is made up of a series of hypocritical evasions, epitomized in a scoring of the Berne Conference coupled with a refusal to repudiate the Second International and align the party with the Communist International. Opportunism never reached a lower level than in the theorizing and performances of this Committee. Avoidance of clear statement on fundamental issues was never more unworthy the party mission than in this time of heroic accomplishments and gigantic efforts by our revolutionary comrades in many countries.

Out of this Left Wing conquest of the party comes an American Socialism of the temper and power of the militant proletariat; a Socialism which speaks only in the unequivocal understanding of the revolutionary class struggle; a Socialism which seeks its formulas of action in the immediate mass response to imperialistic oppression; a Socialism which can truly hope to gather under its banner the aggressive elements of the American working class; a Socialism which must soon become a formidable factor in the great social struggle; a Socialism of revolutionary inspiration and promise.

# The Communist Program

THE Left Wing Program is implied within the terms of the program of the Communist International. We therefore outline, as the controlling propositions of our own program, the main principles of Communism as follows:

1) The present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole capitalist world system, which will mean the complete collapse of world culture, if Capitalism, with its unsolvable contradictions, is not replaced by Communism.

2) The problem of the proletariat consists in organizing and training itself for the conquest of the power of the state. This conquest of power means the replacement of the state machinery of the bourgeoisie with a new proletarian machinery of government.

3) This new proletarian state must embody the dictatorship of the proletariat, both industrial and agricultural, this dictatorship constituting the instrument for the taking over of property used for exploiting the workers and for the re-organization of society on a Communist basis.

Not the fraudulent bourgeois democracy—the hypocritical form of the rule of the finance oligarchy, with its purely formal equality—but proletarian democracy based on the possibility of actual realization of freedom for the working masses; not capitalist bureaucracy, but organs of administrations which have been created by the masses themselves, with the real participation of these masses in the government of the country and in the activity of the communistic structure—this should be the type of the proletarian state. The Workers' Councils and similar organizations represent its concrete form.

4) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat shall carry out the expropriation of private property in the means of production and dis-

*Adopted by the National Left Wing Conference.*

tribution, by transfer to the proletarian state under Socialist administration of the working class; the abolition of capitalist agricultural production; nationalization of the great business enterprises and financial trusts.

5) The present world situation demands the closest relations between the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

6) The fundamental means of the struggle for power is the mass action of the proletariat, a gathering together and concentration of all its energies; whereas methods such as the revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism are of only subsidiary significance.

In those countries in which the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a worker's revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on.

But within this process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the capitalist power has at its command in order to gain its ends, all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of upper-class rule, multiplied by the wonders of capitalist technique; lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny and terror. To demand of the proletariat that it shall be content to yield itself to the artificial rules devised by its mortal enemy, but not observed by the enemy, is to make a mockery of the proletarian struggle for power—a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of working-class power.

7) The old Socialist International has broken into three main groups:

a) Those frankly social patriots who since 1914 have supported their bourgeoisie and transformed those elements of the working class which they control into hangmen of the International revolution.

b) The "Center," at present theoretically led by Kautsky (by Hillquit in the United States), representing elements which are constantly wavering and incapable of following a definite plan of action, and which are at times positively traitorous; and

c) The revolutionary Left Wing.

As regards the social patriots, who everywhere in the critical moment oppose the proletarian revolution with force of arms, a merciless fight is absolutely necessary. As regards the "Center" our tactics must be to separate the revolutionary elements by pitilessly criticizing the leaders.

8) It is necessary to rally the groups and proletarian organizations who, though not as yet in the wake of the revolutionary trend of the Left Wing, nevertheless have manifested and developed a tendency leading in that direction.

Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is now to overthrow this order and to erect in its place the structure of the Socialist world order. Under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won; in the war against imperialistic barbarity, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all forms of social and national oppression—we call upon the proletarians of all lands to unite!

## Program of the Left Wing

*Adopted by the National Left Wing Conference*

1. WE favor international alliance of the Socialist Movement of the United States only with the Communist groups of other countries, such as the Bolsheviki of Russia, Spartacans of Germany, etc., according to the program of Communism as above outlined.

2) We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as Labor parties, Non-partisan leagues, People's Councils, Municipal Ownership leagues, and the like.

3) We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle, that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchic or democratic republican, and to replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the Socialist transformation.

4) We favor organized party activity in co-operation with class-conscious industrial unionism, in order to unify industrial and political class-conscious propaganda and action.

a) The Party shall propagandize industrial unionism and industrial union organization, emphasizing their revolutionary implications.

b) The Party shall make the great industrial battles its major campaigns, to develop the understanding of the strike in relation to the general proletarian emancipation.

5) We do not disparage voting nor the

value of success in electing our candidates to public office—not if these are in direct line with the class struggle. The trouble comes with the illusion that political or industrial immediate achievements are of themselves steps in the revolution, the progressive merging of Capitalism into the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The basis of our political campaigns should be:

a) To propagandize the overthrow of Capitalism by proletarian conquest of the political power and the establishment of a Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

b) To maintain a political organization as a clearing house for proletarian thought, a center of political education for the development of revolutionary working-class action.

c) To win representatives in public offices to serve as special propagandists of the social revolution.

d) To keep in the foreground our consistent appeal for proletarian revolution; and to analyze the counter-proposals and reformist palliatives in their true light of evasions of the issue and impotent; recognizing at all times the characteristic developments of the class conflict as applicable to all capitalist nations.

e) To propagandize the party organization

as the organ of contact with the revolutionary proletariat of other lands, the basis for international association being the same political understanding and the common plan of action, tending toward increasing unity and detail as the international crisis develops.

6) Socialist platforms, proceeding on the basis of the class struggle, and recognizing that the Socialist movement has come into the historical period of the social revolution, can contain only the single demand for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

a) The basis of this demand should be thoroughly explained in the economic, political and social analysis of the class struggle, as evolving within the system of Capitalism.

b) The conclusions of this demand should be illustrated by the first steps and general modes of social reconstruction dependent upon and involved within the proletarian domination of the political life of the nation.

c) A municipal platform of Socialism cannot proceed on a separate basis, but must conform to the general platform, simply relating the attainment of local power to the immediate goal of gaining national power. There are no city problems within the terms of the class struggle, only the one problem of capitalist versus proletarian domination.

7) We realize that the coming of the social revolution on an overwhelming asser-

(Continued on page 13.)

# Labor Organization and Agitation

THE purpose of the Left Wing organization is to create a revolutionary working class movement in America, which, through the action of the working masses themselves, will lead to workers' control of industry and the state, as the only means of expropriating capitalist property and abolishing classes in society.

The capitalist state, as has been clearly proven, expresses the existing dictatorship of the capitalist class, a weapon to defend capitalist interests and to extend them at the expense of the workers. Capitalist control of the machinery of politics and publicity makes it impossible for the workers to conquer this state power by use of the ballot; but even if it were possible, the state could not be used by the workers for their own purpose so long as the factories, mills, mines, land, transportation systems and financial institutions remained in the hands of private capitalist owners.

With the legislatures, courts, police and armies under control of the capitalists, the workers can only win the state power by extra-parliamentary action which must have its basis in the industrial mass action of the workers.

The first act of the workers' dictatorship must be the destruction of the capitalist state and the creation of a new form of Government based on the workers' organizations, whose purpose shall be the permanent destruction of capitalist power by the expropriation of capitalist property.

The absence of any feudal class in America permitted the capitalist class here to concentrate all its strength upon the robbery and subjugation of the working class. At the same time the founders of the American Government so framed the Constitution as to guarantee the permanency of capitalist dictatorship, without any opportunity, under the law, of the workers ever gaining control. For the purpose of blinding the working class and enlisting its support, the fundamental law was clothed in idealistic "democratic" phraseology; and, theoretically, universal suffrage was granted.

But the capitalist system creates a condition whereby the state power is vested, not in the ballot, but in the control of industry. And industry is not a democracy, but an autocracy, in which the fortunes and lives of the great majority of mankind are at the absolute mercy of the capitalist employers. As the power and class-consciousness of the working class increase, the employers resort to palliatives and reforms—"welfare" measures, profit-sharing, schemes of "partnership with labor," etc.—which have as their object and result the further exploitation and deception of the workers.

The unhampered development of American capitalism, in whose service the best minds of the race have been conscripted, has created a condition in which the Government is controlled by the great capitalists to a degree unparalleled in history, while appearing to be an advanced political democracy; a condition in which the working class is the most exploited in the world, while appearing to be the best-paid and most comfortable; where the most abysmal ignorance of the workers' class-interests prevails, while apparently they are the best educated.

The European War has speeded up social and industrial evolution, however, to such a degree that Capitalism all over the world has reached the stage at which it can no longer contain within itself the vast forces it has created. The end of the capitalist system is in

## *Report of the Labor Committee Adopted at the Left Wing Conference*

sight. In Europe it is already tottering and crashing down; and the proletarian revolutions there indicate that the workers are at the same time becoming conscious of the will to power. The capitalists themselves admit that the collapse of European Capitalism and the rise of the revolutionary proletariat abroad cannot help but drag American Capitalism into the all-embracing ruin.

In this crisis the American working class is faced with a terrific alternative. Either the workers will be unprepared, in which case they will be reduced to abject slavery, or they will be sufficiently conscious and sufficiently organized to save society by reconstructing it in accordance with the principles of Communism.

It is the intention of the Left Wing to help prepare the American workers for their historic role, so that when the hour strikes they may take their places in the front ranks of the Social Revolution.

### I. REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

By the term "revolutionary industrial unionism" is meant the organization of the workers into unions by industries with a revolutionary aim and purpose; that is to say, those whose purpose is, not merely to defend or strengthen the status of the workers as wage-earners, but to gain control of industry.

In any mention of revolutionary industrial unionism in this country, there must be recognition of the immense effect upon the American labor movement of the propaganda and example of the Industrial Workers of the World, whose long and valiant struggles and heroic sacrifices in the class-war have earned the respect and affection of all workers everywhere. We greet the revolutionary industrial proletariat of America in the ranks of the I. W. W., and pledge them our wholehearted support and co-operation in their struggles against the capitalist class. But in view of the attitude of some of their leaders and spokesmen, in their denial of the political nature of the class-struggle, and more especially in their rejection of the principles and tactics in the revolutionary movement side by side with the Communist Parties, we condemn the shortsightedness of the theoretical position taken by them.

In the Labor movement a new tendency has recently manifested itself, as illustrated by the Seattle and Winnipeg strikes. This tendency, an impulse of the workers toward unity for common action across the frontiers of craft-divisions, is expressed most clearly in the Seattle Resolution outlining a plan for the recognition of American Labor into twelve great industrial departments, and also in the One Big Union movement of Canada and the West. If carried to its logical conclusion, this method organization and action would inevitably result in workers' control of industry.

To that end it be an instruction to all editors, propagandists, and members to advocate the principles of the One Big Union. Further, where members of the Left Wing are compelled by the monopoly Job Control of the American Federation of Labor, to be members of that reactionary organization, which is in our opinion the main buttress of the Capitalist oligarchy which controls this country; such members should also enroll in an industrial union covering the section of industry in which they are engaged and, if no union functions in

the area wherein they have their habitations, it shall be the paramount duty of such member or members to initiate an industrial union within such area.

The National Left Wing declares its firm conviction that the American Federation of Labor, in its present organization and under its present leadership, is entirely reactionary, and cannot be of any value in the workers' struggle for emancipation.

### II. PROGRAM.

The National Left Wing Conference of the Socialist Party appeals to the workers to educate and organize themselves so that they may understand the necessity of acquiring knowledge and power to overthrow the present capitalist system and carry on industry.

To Labor and Labor alone is industry responsible. Without the power of Labor, industry could not function. The need of the hour is that Labor recognize the necessity of education and organization. This cannot be achieved by attempting to influence the leaders of the Labor movement, as has been clearly shown by the recent Convention of the American Federation of Labor. It can only be done by the workers on the job, coming together and discussing the vital problems of industry.

Because of the industrial crisis created by the World War, together with the break-down of industry following the cessation of hostilities, there is great dissatisfaction among the workers. But the workers can find no means of coping with the present state of affairs. Their unions have refused to take any steps to meet the grave problems of today, and it therefore becomes immediately necessary to find some way by which the workers can act. We suggest that some plan of Labor organization be inaugurated along the lines of the Shop Stewards' Committees, of Scotland and England, or the Factory Shop Committees of Russia. These Committees can serve as a spur or check upon the Unions. Such Committees will necessarily reflect the spirit and the wishes of the rank and file and will enable the National Left Wing to keep in direct touch with the workers. In this way, the workers can be educated on the job and prepare for the taking over of industry. Also these Committees will bring the workers into direct relation with their employers—which means the abolition of Arbitration Boards and such conciliatory bodies.

### III. RECOMMENDATIONS.

We recommend the following measures:

1. That a Committee of seven be elected by the Convention to be known as *The Labor Committee*.

2. That the functions of this Committee shall be to carry on revolutionary propaganda among the workers on the job.

3. Those workers found to be radical shall be organized into Shop Committees.

4. These Shop Committees shall distribute literature, supply information to the Labor Committee, and generally keep in touch with the National Left Wing organization.

5. At places where a number of these Committees are formed, they shall elect delegates to a local Workers' Council.

6. An appropriation shall be made for the purpose of carrying on the work of this Committee.

7. A general propaganda periodical shall be issued by the National Left Wing Council for the special purpose of reaching the workers at their jobs. And this project shall be referred for further elaboration to the Labor Committee.

# "Labor is Not a Commodity"

By JOHN REED.

*Impressions of the A. F. of L. Convention.*

SAMUEL GOMPERS has fought for years for legal recognition of the fact that "Labor Is Not a Commodity or Article of Commerce." At the Thirty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor just ended, Mr. Gompers proudly proclaimed from the platform that he had written this sentiment into the Peace Treaty at Paris. It developed that after the American delegates left Paris the provisions of the International Labor Charter had been "somewhat weakened"—according to a cablegram from President Wilson himself, and the sacred sentiment itself had been changed to read "Labor should not be regarded *merely* as an article of commerce." Andrew Furuseth said that it was as if he had demanded a declaration stating "Andrew Furuseth is not a scab"—and instead, they had put it, "Andrew Furuseth is not *merely* a scab."

In the great white hall out at the end of the Steel Pier at Atlantic City, with the heavy surges running underneath, and the sea-wind sweeping over, six hundred delegates of the American Labor movement met in the "reconstruction" convention. (Said one delegate, in a spread-eagle speech, "Reconstruction? We don't need any reconstruction in this glorious country. All we need is a few slight reforms!") No one suddenly dropped down in that hall would have guessed that this was the annual meeting of delegates from all sections of one of the most powerful labor movements in the world. Portly figures, good clothes, expensive cigars, diamond rings and pins in abundance, buttons of lodges and fraternal orders—Elks, Masons—in whose ranks these "workingmen" hob-nob with business men, manufacturers, members of commercial clubs and Chambers of Commerce. Few workingmen here. It looked like the Democratic National Convention—but a little more prosperous-looking; or like the annual Congress of the Dress Goods Manufacturers.

And it *was* like that. This convention was composed of persons with a commodity to sell; and the commodity was *Labor*. Moreover, Labor was sold there—in hundreds of different ways.

Let us make a rapid survey of what was done by the Thirty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

1. Sentenced Tom Mooney to life imprisonment, by condemning the July 4th General Strike, and ferociously denouncing the International Workers Defense Union.
2. Officially denounced the One Big Union movement, and all forms of industrial unionism.
3. Approved of the Initiative and Referendum in politics, and disapproved of it in the American Federation of Labor.
4. Ignored the Winnipeg strike, and, in a speech by Gompers from the chair, ridiculed the Seattle strike.
5. Refused to endorse the Labor Party and advised against it—although, owing to the strength of the movement, the Federation declared that it would not interfere with the affiliated national and international unions in this matter.
6. Requested the Government to recognize the Irish Republic and *not* to recognize the Soviet Republic.
7. Condemned the Russian people to starvation wholesale by refusing to ask for the lifting of the blockade.
8. Voted down a resolution demanding the release of political prisoners, and declared

that "many of the sentences imposed were fully justified."

9. Decided to organize the Steel Industry.

10. Passed a resolution condemning the abuse of judicial powers in construing the law, and advising workers to disregard injunctions in industrial disputes.

11. Voted down a proposal to change Labor Day to May 1st, and another to arrange it that all contracts expire May 1st—because the International Labor Movement of Europe—which is revolutionary—celebrates on that day.

12. Requested the President to dismiss Postmaster-General Bursleson from office.

13. Voted down a proposal that the workers demand the right to elect their foremen. ("Why," said Matt Woll, speaking on this motion, "that is the business of the employer—not the worker. You might as well have the workers elect the Board of Directors!")

14. Endorsed the bill in Congress to restrict foreign immigration for a term of years—including Mexican immigration.

15. Refused to support Soldiers' and Sailors' Councils, and in particular, the Soldiers', Sailors' and Marines' Protective Association.

16. Refused to take a stand against the deportation of radical aliens.

17. Requested the Government to repeal the Espionage Act, but only after peace is signed, when it will automatically cease to function anyway.

18. Endorsed the Labor Charter attached to the Covenant of the League of Nations—which has been denounced by the Labor Movements of every civilized country on earth—and gave its qualified approval to all the words and deeds of Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party.

The report of the Resolution Committee recommended that the Executive Council "give their early attention" to considering ways and means to get a new trial for Mooney. Then it launched into a bitter attack upon the International Workers' Defense League, accusing the League of attempting to break down the Trade Union movement by taking a strike referendum of the organization. "Irresponsible groups of men," it said, found in Organized Labor "a rich field for exploitation!" . . . An attempted general strike would, in the words of the Committee, "seriously injure the effort to secure a new trial for Tom Mooney." The report ended:

"The Committee would be remiss in its duties if it failed to call attention to the fact that representatives of the International Workers' Defense League who are its agents soliciting funds for T. J. Mooney's defense are doing him an incalculable injury and also creating internal disturbances within the Trade Union movement through their continuous attacks, unjust criticisms and misrepresentations of the American Federation of Labor, its officials and the officials of affiliated organizations."

Patterson, of the Defense League, was given the floor. In a passionate speech he pointed out that for two years various labor leaders had been going around the country whispering that Mooney was guilty; that repeatedly he had offered the San Francisco Labor Council and the San Francisco Building Trades Council full charge of Mooney's defense, and offered to turn over to Organized Labor all

funds and machinery and that both the American Federation of Labor and the great International Unions had refused to do anything to help Mooney, nor had the convention done anything.

Concerning the Committee's recommendation against the initiative and referendum in the A. F. of L., I interviewed Frey. His argument was that if there were initiative and referendum in the Federation, some outside organization would surely be able to get hold of the membership and break down the organization. He admitted to me that the masses of the membership could not be trusted to make laws for themselves without the interposition of some deliberate body, and some rule which provided for a "period of deliberation."

The recognition of the Irish Republic was the price paid by Gompers to the Sinn Fein politicians in the convention, in return for which they agreed to throttle Soviet Russia and support the League of Nations. This action was on a par with the deeds of the Tchekho-Slovaks, who, to gain their own independence, sold their arms to the Allied Imperialists for the black purpose of destroying the freedom of the world's workers. Anyway, it meant nothing—nothing but words; and even then, the United States Senate has demanded practically the same thing.

The Committee's objection to recognizing Soviet Russia was, according to Frey, because it was not "democratic."

"As far as I can understand it," he said, "it is a government of the workers, and the workers alone. Therefore we cannot recognize it!"

The proposal to terminate all contracts with employers on May first, and to change Labor Day from September first to May Day, was voted down for two reasons: first, because May Day was celebrated by European Labor and Socialism—and second, because if the workers of the United States celebrated on the day following the abrogation of their contracts, they would be too excited! "We don't want to have a Labor Day when every body is hot-headed," explained Frey.

Thursday, June 19th, was taken up with the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report. At 9.30 A. M. Louis N. Morones was seated as a fraternal delegate from the Mexican Federation of Labor. At 11.30 Matt Woll read the report recommending the exclusion of foreign immigration, which was quickly amended and passed to apply also to Mexican immigration. . . . I saw Morones afterward. He was pale, and very much agitated.

"What effect," I asked him, "will this have upon the Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention, which is to meet in New York in July?"

He wiped the sweat from his forehead. "Disastrous!" he said. "In the present moment, when the great American interests are urging the invasion of Mexico, the Mexican workers believed that they could rely upon the American Federation of Labor to oppose these plans of annexation. They will not now be so sure."

When the question of the League of Nations came up, Andy Furuseth made a violent attack upon the Labor Charter in the Peace Treaty. He declared that it had been altered by the diplomats after the American delegation left Paris, and that it provided, anyway, that the League of Nations would be able to interfere in the daily life of every worker in the world. He said that a clause against human

slavery and another guaranteeing the rights of seamen had both been rejected.

Gompers, in reply, adopted the usual tactics of accusing Furuseth of acting behind the back of the American delegation. He then went on to say that while the provisions of the Labor Charter were not adequate, the American delegation accepted them to help the workers of the "backward nations." He said that American labor, under the beneficent rule of the Federation, had advanced more than the labor movements of any other country in the world—which of course is not true, since the workers of Europe have, during the war, gained a position far in advance of the United States, as was proven by the Berne Trades-Union Conference; and that not only politically, but also in the purely trade-union province of wages and hours.

The ignorance of the delegates concerning the Labor Movement in foreign countries was extraordinary, and deliberately fostered by the Gompers "machine." According to the officials the A. F. of L. was the largest, most powerful, most advanced, most enlightened workers' organization in the world. It had, according to them, led the workers of the world in inaugurating a Labor Day—in fact, Gompers claimed that the A. F. of L. first suggested May Day to Europe! He added that in Europe the workers did not dare take a full holiday on Labor Day, as Americans did—but celebrated on Sunday or at night, after work; a most remarkable statement! According to Frey, all democratic political reforms in the United States, including the Initiative and Referendum, were invented by Organized Labor . . . .

The delegates listened to the reports of the Foreign Labor Missions without a smile—the hob-nobbings with King George, King Victor Emmanuel, Clemenceau, the visits to Venice, the art galleries of Paris, pleasure tours and banquets; the shaking of hands with generals and military heroes on the battlefield; and the ignorant abuse of the great Socialist movements of Europe, and of the tremendous Labor groups supporting them. They did not even laugh when Gompers was telling of the International "Labor" Congress at Paris; at which, he said, he and the other American delegate (representing the employers), were in absolute harmony—and complained bitterly that the Socialists attacked him as violently as the reactionaries!

But what, you will ask, has all this to do with labor? True, the Convention denounced the usurping of legislative functions by the courts, and also resolved to organize the Steel Industry in the face of the most hostile trust in America. But these actions were in no sense revolutionary actions; they were merely to protect the Federation's monopoly of the commodity, Labor.

The real business of the Convention was the settling of jurisdictional disputes. Just as one of the functions of the capitalist state is to settle disputes among the capitalist class, and to suppress the weak capitalists in favor of the strong, so the main function of Federation is the adjustment of troubles between groups of skilled workers, and the strengthening of the powerful at the expense of the weak.

A little union is formed in a new trade. This union grows, gets a charter from the Federation, becomes important enough so that the great national and international unions about it covet its dues-paying membership, which would strengthen their own financial and political position. So they fall upon the little union and begin to compete for its membership. Then the little union appeals to the Federation; and the Federation appoints a committee to investigate, and this committee is composed of persons obedient to the Gom-

pers machine, in which are represented the presidents of the great unions. Then begins a bitter fight between the great unions for the fragments of the little union; and the end is that they partition it between them, like the Kingdom of Poland, or the Austrian Empire.

Again and again in the Convention these jurisdictional fights cropped up, accompanied by the savage quarrels of the great unions themselves—forever pirating upon each other, forever stealing each other's membership or encroaching upon the boundaries of each other's trades; the increasing refinement and complexity of industry always bringing new quarrels, new adjustments, new partitions.

The officials of the Federation are always repeating phrases about the autonomy of the

## The Left Wing Program

(Continued from page 10.)

tion of mass power by the proletariat, taking on political consciousness and the definite direction of revolutionary socialism. The manifestations of this power and consciousness are not subject to precise pre-calculation. But the history of the movement of the proletariat toward emancipation since 1900 shows the close connection between the revolutionary proletarian assertion and the political mass strike.

The mass action conception looks to the general unity of the proletarian forces under revolutionary provocation and stimulus. In the preliminary stages, which alone come within our pre-determination and party initiative, the tactics of mass action includes all mass demonstrations and mass struggles which sharpen the understanding of the proletariat as to the class conflict and which separate the revolutionary proletariat into a group distinct from all others.

Mass action, in time of revolutionary crisis, or in the analogous case of large-scale industrial conflict, naturally accepts the council form of organization for its expression over a continued period of time.

8) Applying our declarations of party principle to the organization of the Party itself; and realizing the need, in correspondence with the highly centralized capitalistic power to be combated, of a centralized party organization, we offer the following recommendations:

a) Delegation by the National Executive Committee of a large measure of its administrative powers, between intervals of meetings, to a National Emergency Committee, composed of three or more members of the National Executive Committee; this Emergency Committee to maintain the closest possible contact, with the work of the National office and to advise with the Executive Secretary on all matters where consultation is necessary.

b) Strict control by the party organization over all Socialists elected to public office; the Emergency Committee, and the National, State and County Committees to co-operate with the public officers within their respective jurisdictions; immediate expulsion of all public officials who refuse to accept the decisions of the party.

c) Control by the party membership, through the regular party processes, of all party papers and official publications; not by committees or trustees not responsible to the membership.

d) Like control of all party property, such as offices, halls, etc.

e) Like control of officially recognized educational institutions.

f) Establishment of a Central Lecture Bureau and of a Press and Information Bureau.

g) Standardization of party platforms, propaganda, dues and methods of organization.

national and international unions, and how the Federation has now power over them. But it has the power of life and death—absolutely. If a union does not behave—if it becomes too powerful or too radical, if it shows signs of revolt—then another great union is set on to organize in its trade. A jurisdictional dispute ensues, both parties appeal to the Federation and the machine gets in action and revokes or suspends the charter of the offending organization and orders its membership to enroll in the other. And if the members of the defeated union do not obey, they are black-listed, scabbed upon by the Federation union, and in some cases, forced out of their jobs.

Thus at this Convention I witnessed the partition of the Jewelry Workers between the Machinists and the Metal Polishers. One despairing delegate of a union whose charter had been suspended because it refused to submit to the disastrous ruling of the Federation, addressed the chair:

"You have suspended our charter," he said. "That is equivalent to expelling us from the Federation. But under the rules it requires a two-thirds vote of this Convention to revoke a charter; isn't that so?"

Gompers looked at his watch. He then engaged in a low-voiced conversation with old Jim Duncan for a few moments, while the delegate waited. Finally Gompers said: "The hour of adjournment having now arrived, the Convention stands adjourned!"

But while the "machine" appeared all-powerful—more powerful than it has for years, while the old-time radicals kept silent, and only a handful of comparatively new men—Duncan of Seattle, Deutelbaum of Detroit, Sullivan of Salt Lake, Strickland of Portland, Ore.; Brown of Providence, Birch of Seattle, Grow of Los Angeles, Schoenberg, Gorenstein and the foreigners generally—battled with the machine, there were signs of change not to be disregarded, and not disregarded by the ever-watchful machine. For instance, although there was a good deal of talk about "Bolshevism" the first two days, the term was not again mentioned, but deliberately avoided.

But the most important symptom was in the attitude of the radicals themselves. They were not disheartened by the results of the Convention. After all, it was what they had expected, and at the end their attitude seemed to be that of men who had found what they came to find. All with whom I talked were very cheerful. The Convention had proved itself not only reactionary, but entirely out of touch with the Labor movement of the new era. It was not the rank and file which was represented here; this was a gathering largely of national and international officers, profoundly ignorant, profoundly selfish—business men, looking out for their jobs. The "radical" delegates—the Westerners and the foreigners, as can be noticed, acting together—were at last, I thought, and finally, convinced that the American Federation of Labor was nothing but a putrid corpse, and that life was not in it; that what new life shall come into the Labor movement must come, not through the bourgeois political machinery by which the Federation is controlled, but from the new revolutionary impulse stirring at the bottom, among the workers on the job.

And they seemed to feel that the Thirty-Ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor had provided them with some pretty good propaganda against the Trade-Unionism of before-the-war, which, although it is not yet apparent, has gone as completely out of the world as Wilson's Fourteen Points.

Capitalism created the American Federation of Labor. Without Capitalism there would be no A. F. of L. And the end of Capitalism is in sight.

# The Left Wing Manifesto

(Continued from Page 8)

lutionary industrial unionism of the proletariat becomes an indispensable phase of revolutionary Socialism, on the basis of which to broaden and deepen the action of the militant proletariat, developing reserves for the ultimate conquest of power.

Imperialism is dominant in the United States. It controls all the factors of social action. Imperialism is uniting all non-proletarian social groups in a brutal State Capitalism, for reaction and spoliation. Against this, revolutionary Socialism must mobilize the mass struggle of the industrial proletariat.

Moderate Socialism is compromising, vacillating, treacherous, because the social elements it depends upon—the *petite bourgeoisie* and the aristocracy of labor—are not a fundamental factor in society; they vacillate between the bourgeois and the proletariat, their social instability produces political instability; and, moreover, they have been seduced by Imperialism and are now united with Imperialism.

Revolutionary Socialism is resolute, uncompromising, revolutionary, because it builds upon a fundamental social factor, the industrial proletariat, which is an actual producing class, expropriated of all property, in whose consciousness the machine process has developed the concepts of industrial unionism and mass action. Revolutionary Socialism adheres to the class struggle because through the class struggle alone—the mass struggle—can the industrial proletariat secure immediate concessions and finally conquer power by organizing the industrial government of the working class.

## POLITICAL ACTION

The class struggle is a political struggle. It is a political struggle in the sense that its objective is political—the overthrow of the political organization upon which capitalistic exploitation depends, and the introduction of a new social system. The direct objective is the conquest by the proletariat of the power of the state.

Revolutionary Socialism does not propose to "capture" the bourgeois parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it. Revolutionary Socialism, accordingly, repudiates the policy of introducing Socialism by means of legislative measures on the basis of the bourgeois state. This state is a bourgeois state, the organ for the coercion of the proletariat by the capitalist: how, then, can it introduce Socialism? As long as the bourgeois parliamentary state prevails, the capitalist class can baffle the will of the proletariat, since all the political power, the army and the police, industry and the press, are in the hands of the capitalists, whose economic power gives them complete domination. The revolutionary proletariat must expropriate all these by the conquest of the power of the state, by annihilating the political power of the bourgeoisie, before it can begin the task of introducing Socialism.

Revolutionary Socialism, accordingly, proposes to conquer the power of the state. It proposes to conquer by means of political action,—political action in the revolutionary Marxian sense, which does not simply mean parliamentarism, but the *class action* of the proletariat in any form having as its objective the conquest of the power of the state.

Parliamentary action is necessary. In the parliament, the revolutionary representatives of the proletariat meet Capitalism on all general issues of the class struggle. The proletariat must fight the capitalist class on all fronts, in the process of developing the final action that will conquer the power of the state and overthrow Capitalism. Parliamentary ac-

tion which emphasizes the implacable character of the class struggle is an indispensable means of agitation. Its task is to expose through political campaigns and the forum of parliament, the class character of the state and the reactionary purposes of Capitalism, to meet Capitalism on all issues, to rally the proletariat for the struggle against Capitalism.

But parliamentarism cannot conquer the power of the state for the proletariat. The conquest of the power of the state is an extra-parliamentary act. It is accomplished, not by the legislative representatives of the proletariat, but by *the mass power of the proletariat in action*. The supreme power of the proletariat inheres in the *political mass strike*, in using the industrial mass power of the proletariat for political objectives.

Revolutionary Socialism, accordingly, recognizes that the supreme form of proletarian political action is *the political mass strike*. Parliamentarism may become a factor in developing the mass strike; parliamentarism, if it is revolutionary and adheres to the class struggle, performs a necessary service in mobilizing the proletariat against Capitalism.

Moderate Socialism refuses to recognize and accept this supreme form of proletarian political action, limits and stultifies political action into legislative routine and non-Socialist parliamentarism. This is a denial of the mass character of the proletarian struggle, an evasion of the tasks of the Revolution.

The power of the proletariat lies fundamentally in its control of the industrial process. The mobilization of this control in action against the bourgeois state and Capitalism means the end of Capitalism, the initial form of the revolutionary mass action that will conquer the power of the state.

## UNIONISM AND MASS ACTION.

Revolutionary Socialism and the actual facts of the class struggle make the realization of Socialism depend upon the industrial proletariat. The class struggle of revolutionary Socialism mobilizes the industrial proletariat against Capitalism,—that proletariat which is united and disciplined by the machine process, and which actually controls the basic industry of the nation.

The coming to consciousness of this proletariat produces a revolt against the older unionism, developing the concepts of industrial unionism and mass action.

The older unionism was implicit in the skill of the individual craftsmen, who united in craft unions. These unions organized primarily to protect the skill of the skilled workers, which is in itself a form of property. The trades unions developed into "job trusts," and not into militant organs of the proletarian struggle; until to-day the dominant unions are actual bulwarks of Capitalism, merging in Imperialism and accepting State Capitalism. The trades unions, being organized on craft divisions, did not and could not unite the workers as a class, nor are they actual class organizations.

The concentration of industry, developing the machine process, expropriated large elements of the skilled workers of their skill, but the unions still maintained the older ideology of property contract and caste. Deprived of actual power, the dominant unionism resorts to dickers with the bourgeois state and an acceptance of imperialistic State Capitalism to maintain its privileges, *as against* the industrial proletariat.

The concentration of industry produced the industrial proletariat of unskilled workers, of the machine proletariat. This proletariat, massed in the basic industry, constitutes the militant basis of the class struggle against Capitalism; and, deprived of skill and craft divisions, it turns naturally to mass unionism, to an industrial unionism in accord with the integrated industry of imperialistic Capitalism.

Under the impact of industrial concentration, the proletariat developed its own dynamic tactics—mass action.

Mass action is the proletarian response to the facts of modern industry, and the forms it imposes upon the proletarian class struggle. Mass action starts as the spontaneous activity of unorganized workers massed in the basic industry; its initial form is the mass strike of the unorganized proletariat. The mass movements of the proletariat developing out of this mass response to the tyranny of concentrated industry antagonized the dominant moderate Socialism, which tried to compress and stultify these militant impulses within the limits of parliamentarism.

In this instinctive mass action there was not simply a response to the facts of industry, but the implicit means for action against the dominant parliamentarism. Mass action is industrial in its origin: but its development imposes upon it a political character, since the more general and conscious mass action becomes the more it antagonizes the bourgeois state, becomes *political* mass action.

Another development of this tendency was Syndicalism. In its mass impulse Syndicalism was a direct protest against the futility of the dominant Socialist parliamentarism. But Syndicalism was either unconscious of the theoretical basis of the new movement; or where there was an articulate theory, it was a derivative of Anarchism, making the proletarian revolution an immediate and direct seizure of industry, instead of the conquest of the power of the state. Anarcho-Syndicalism is a departure from Marxism. The theory of mass action and of industrial unionism, however, are in absolute accord with Marxism—*revolutionary Socialism in action*.

Industrial unionism recognizes that the proletariat cannot conquer power by means of the bourgeois parliamentary state; it recognizes, moreover, that the proletariat cannot use this state to introduce Socialism, but that it must organize a new "state"—the "state" of the organized producers. Industrial unionism, accordingly, proposes to construct the forms of the government of Communist Socialism—the government of the producers. The revolutionary proletariat cannot adapt the bourgeois organs of government to its own use: it must develop its own organs. The larger, more definite and general the conscious industrial unions, the easier becomes the transition to Socialism, since the revolutionary state of the proletariat must reorganize society on the basis of union control and management of industry. Industrial unionism, accordingly, is a necessary phase of revolutionary Socialist agitation and action.

But industrial unionism alone cannot conquer the power of the state. Potentially, industrial unionism may construct the forms of the new society; but only potentially. Actually the forms of the new society are constructed under the protection of a revolutionary proletarian government; the industrial unions become simply the starting point of the Socialist reconstruction of society. Under the conditions of Capitalism, it is impossible to

organize the whole working class into industrial unions; the concept of organizing the working class industrially *before* the conquest of power is as utopian as the moderate Socialist conception of the gradual conquest of the parliamentary state.

The proletarian revolution comes at the moment of crisis in Capitalism, of a collapse of the old order. Under the impulse of the crisis, the proletariat acts for the conquest of power, by means of mass action. Mass action concentrates and mobilizes the forces of the proletariat, organized and unorganized; it acts equally against the bourgeois state and the conservative organizations of the working class. The revolution starts with strikes of protest, developing into mass political strikes and then into revolutionary mass action for the conquest of the power of the state. Mass action becomes political in purpose while extra-parliamentary in form; it is equally a process of revolution and the revolution itself in operation.

The final objective of mass action is the conquest of the power of the state, the annihilation of the bourgeois parliamentary state and the introduction of the transition proletarian state, functioning as a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

#### DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The attitude toward the state divides the Anarchist (and Anarcho-Syndicalist), the moderate Socialist and the revolutionary Socialist. Eager to abolish the state (which is the ultimate purpose of revolutionary Socialism), the Anarchist (and Anarcho-Syndicalist) fails to realize that the state is necessary in the transition period from Capitalism to Socialism. The moderate Socialist proposes to use the bourgeois state, with its fraudulent democracy, its illusory theory of the "unity of all the classes," its standing army, police and bureaucracy oppressing and baffling the masses. The revolutionary Socialist maintains that the bourgeois parliamentary state must be completely destroyed, and proposes the organization of a new state, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The state is an organ of coercion. The bourgeois parliamentary state is the organ of the bourgeoisie for the coercion of the proletariat. The revolutionary proletariat must, accordingly, destroy this state. But the conquest of political power by the proletariat does not immediately end Capitalism, or the power of the capitalists, or immediately socialize industry. It is therefore necessary that the proletariat organize its own state *for the coercion and suppression of the bourgeoisie*.

Capitalism is bourgeois dictatorship. Parliamentary government is the expression of bourgeois supremacy, the form of authority of the capitalist over the worker. The bourgeois state is organized to coerce the proletariat, to baffle the will of the masses. In form a democracy, the bourgeois parliamentary state is in fact an autocracy, the dictatorship of capital over the proletariat.

Bourgeois democracy promotes this dictatorship of capital, assisted by the pulpit, the army and the police. Bourgeois democracy seeks to reconcile all the classes; realizing, however, simply the reconciliation of the proletariat to the supremacy of Capitalism. Bourgeois democracy is political in character, historically necessary, on the one hand, to break the power of feudalism, and, on the other, to maintain the proletariat in subjection. It is precisely this democracy that is now the instrument of Imperialism, since the middle class, the traditional carrier of democracy, accepts and promotes Imperialism.

The proletarian revolution disrupts bourgeois democracy. It disrupts this democracy in order to end class divisions and class rule,

to realize that industrial self-government of the workers which alone can assure peace and liberty to the peoples.

Proletarian dictatorship is a recognition of the necessity for a revolutionary state to coerce and suppress the bourgeoisie; it is equally a recognition of the fact that, in the Communist reconstruction of society, the proletariat as a class alone counts. The new society organizes as a communistic federation of producers. The proletariat alone counts in the revolution, and in the reconstruction of society on a Communist basis.

The old machinery of the state cannot be used by the revolutionary proletariat. It must be destroyed. The proletariat creates a new state, based directly upon the industrially organized producers, upon the industrial unions or Soviets, or a combination of both. It is this state alone, functioning as a dictatorship of the proletariat, that can realize Socialism.

The tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat are:

a) to completely expropriate the bourgeoisie politically, and crush its powers of resistance.

b) to expropriate the bourgeoisie economically, and introduce the forms of Communist Socialism.

Breaking the political power of the capitalists is the most important task of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, since upon this depends the economic and social reconstruction of society.

But this political expropriation proceeds simultaneously with an immediate, if partial, expropriation of the bourgeoisie economically, the scope of these measures being determined by industrial development and the maturity of the proletariat. These measures, at first, include:

a) Workmen's control of industry, to be exercised by the industrial organizations of the workers, operating by means of the industrial vote.

b) Expropriation and nationalization of the banks, as a necessary preliminary measure for the complete expropriation of capital.

c) Expropriation and nationalization of the large (trust) organizations of capital. Expropriation proceeds without compensation, as "buying out" the capitalists is a repudiation of the tasks of the revolution.

d) Repudiation of all national debts and the financial obligations of the old system.

e) The nationalization of foreign trade.

f) Measures for the socialization of agriculture.

These measures centralize the basic means of production in the proletarian state, nationalizing industry; and their partial character ceases as reconstruction proceeds. Socialization of industry becomes actual and complete only after the dictatorship of the proletariat has accomplished its task of suppressing the bourgeoisie.

The state of proletarian dictatorship is political in character, since it represents a ruling class, *the proletariat*, which is now supreme; and it uses coercion against the old bourgeois class. But the task of this dictatorship is to render itself unnecessary; and it becomes unnecessary the moment the full conditions of Communist Socialism materialize. While the dictatorship of the proletariat performs its negative task of crushing the old order, it performs the positive task of constructing the new. Together with the government of the proletarian dictatorship, there is developed a new "government," which is no longer government in the old sense, since it concerns itself with the management of production and not with the government of persons. Out of workers' control of industry, in-

roduced by the proletarian dictatorship, there develops the complete structure of Communist Socialism,—industrial self-government of the communistically organized producers. When this structure is completed, which implies the complete expropriation of the bourgeoisie economically and politically, the dictatorship of the proletariat ends, in its place coming the full and free social and individual autonomy of the Communist order.

#### THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Communist International, issuing directly out of the proletarian revolution in action and in process of development, is the organ of the international revolutionary proletariat: just as the League of Nations is the organ of the joint aggression and resistance of the dominant Imperialism.

The attempt to resurrect the Second International, at Berne, was a ghastly failure. It rallied the counter-revolutionary forces of Europe, which were actually struggling against the proletarian revolution. In this "International" are united all the elements treasonable to Socialism, and the wavering "centre" elements whose policy of miserable compromise is more dangerous than open treason. It represents the old dominant moderate Socialism; it based affiliation on acceptance of "labor" parliamentary action, admitting trades unions accepting "political action." The old International abandoned the earlier conception of Socialism as the politics of the Social Revolution—the politics of the class struggle in its revolutionary implications—admitting directly reactionary organizations of Laborism, such as the British Labor Party.

The Communist International, on the contrary, represents a Socialism in complete accord with the revolutionary character of the class struggle. It unites all the consciously revolutionary forces. It wages war equally against the dominant moderate Socialism and Imperialism,—each of which has demonstrated its complete incompetence on the problems that now press down upon the world. The Communist International issues its challenge to the conscious, virile elements of the proletariat, calling them to the final struggle against Capitalism on the basis of the revolutionary epoch of Imperialism. The acceptance of the Communist International means accepting the fundamentals of revolutionary Socialism as decisive in our activity.

The Communist International, moreover, issues its call to the subject peoples of the world, crushed under the murderous mastery of Imperialism. The revolt of these colonial and subject peoples is a necessary phase of the world struggle against capitalist Imperialism; their revolt must unite itself with the struggle of the conscious proletariat in the imperialistic nations. The Communist International, accordingly, offers an organization and a policy that may unify all the revolutionary forces of the world for the conquest of power, and for Socialism.

It is not a problem of immediate revolution. It is a problem of the immediate revolutionary struggle. The revolutionary epoch of the final struggle against Capitalism may last for years and tens of years; but the Communist International offers a policy and program immediate and ultimate in scope, that provides for the immediate class struggle against Capitalism, in its revolutionary implications, and for the final act of the conquest of power.

The old order is in decay. Civilization is in collapse. The proletarian revolution and the Communist reconstruction of society—*the struggle for these*—is now indispensable. This is the message of the Communist International to the workers of the world.

The Communist International calls the proletariat of the world to the final struggle!

# The National Left Wing Council NEEDS \$15,000 NOW

The Left Wing of the Socialist Party of America has organized itself as a national unified expression of Revolutionary Socialism.

Its immediate tasks are enormous.

The struggle within the Party must be waged—to conquer the Party for the revolutionary Socialism of the Communist International.

There is the struggle among the masses—the winning of the broad masses of the workers for

## Communist Socialism

Leaflets must be issued, speakers routed, papers published. All this requires money—*At Once*.

The Socialist Party Convention meets August 30. We must carry on an enormous agitation without a moment's delay. Time is pressing and money is an urgent necessity.

Then money is needed immediately for

## The Revolutionary Age

—which has become the national organ of the Left Wing. It must treble its circulation within the next two months in order to reach the rank and file of the Party and the masses of the workers with our message. Financially it is in a sound position, but it is not yet covering fully its own expenses. Every addition to its circulation means a reduction of the organization's expenses.

The Left Wing Convention authorized the National Council to issue special emergency stamps to help raise money. This is being done. But the process is slow. *We need the money now.*

Accordingly, we ask all comrades to contribute individually according to their means.

We ask all locals to *immediately donate* money on the basis of the following quotas:

New York (greater city) .....	\$1,500	Boston, Mass. ....	200
Chicago, Ill. ....	1,000	Portland, Ore. ....	200
Cleveland, Ohio. ....	1,000	Rochester, N. Y. ....	200
Detroit, Mich. ....	500	Toledo, Ohio. ....	200
Denver, Colo. ....	300	Los Angeles, Cal. ....	200
Buffalo, N. Y. ....	300	St. Paul, Minn. ....	200
Philadelphia, Pa. ....	400	Duluth, Minn. ....	100
Pittsburg, Pa. ....	300	Minneapolis, Minn. ....	100
Seattle, Wash. ....	300	Hartford, Conn. ....	100
San Francisco, Cal. ....	300	Providence, R. I. ....	100

Comrades of the Left Wing—history calls to YOU! Upon you—the Left Wing—depends the future of Communist Socialism. Act! Individuals and locals—*act now.*

I. E. FERGUSON

Secretary, National Council

43 West 29th Street

New York City