The Policy of This Publication

At no time in the past have the conditions in this country been as propitious as they are right now for the publication of a real Socialist paper. Therefore THE PROLETARIAN makes its appearance to give expression on current events, as its name would imply, from a proletarian standpoint and from no other.

This paper is dedicated to the exploited AMERICAN WAGE WORKERS in their POLITICAL STRUGGLE for emancipation from exploitation. The editorial policy will be based squarely upon the recognition of the CLASS STRUGGLE, and adhere to the philosophic principles expounded in the works of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Auguste Lafargue, Antonio Labriola, Jurecic Dvorak, and others of the revolutionary school of modern Socialism. No wilful sacrifice of accuracy for the purpose of increasing the circulation will be tolerated that is not responsible for this paper.

The stultification of the Materialistic Conception of History, which has become so fashionable in many so-called Socialist societies, will have no place in our columns. We will, on the contrary, denounce at all brands of hyphenated Socialism just as strongly as we will oppose the "pure" and simple defenders of Capitalist Society. No individual, no nation, no social system can reform itself, nor can any nation—by the contortions and perfusions of the perverted presentation of Capitalism be exempt from our attack.

We will leave reforms of all kinds to those who think the present social system worth reforming. For our part, the revolutionary watchword, "the abolition of the system," will be the keynote.

The Political Activities of the British Labor Movement

One might imagine, from the reports in the daily press, that the capitalist world was becoming greatly alarmed over the part that Labor is going to play in the "reconstruction that is to follow the war." The specter of "born hard labor" sitting in the councils and dictating the terms is very shocking indeed. In the case of England, it has even been asserted that, either at the next election or immediately after the war, organized labor will be in the position of power. Some writers have gone so far as to predict that Mr. Arthur Henderson, leader of the Labor Party will be the next premier.

Inasmuch as the press of the entire country has devoted a great deal of space to the British Labor Party and its so-called program, which the Socialist press of this country has, almost without exception, indorsed and praised to the skies, it will be necessary to go to the trouble of inquiring a bit into the history and character of the British labor movement in order that we may be able to judge just what revolutionary possibilities are to be found in the Labor party, as at present constituted.

The American reading public, as a rule, is not very well acquainted with the labor movement in Great Britain and the initials designating the different political parties, which are generally used in the place of the more cumbersome names, are so many meaningless symbols to them.

The avowedly capitalist parties are three in number, the Conservative, Liberal and Irish Nationalist parties representing different kinds of capitalist interests.

Of the "Socialist" parties now in existence, the first to appear was the Social Democratic Federation, now known as the British Socialist Party. Mr. Hyndman has always contended that the workers will never be able to emancipate themselves unless they receive the assistance of the intellectuals, such as himself, as he recently pointed out in an open letter to President Wilson. The policy of this party has ranged all the way from an anti-reform stand to hobnobbing with the Tories and Liberals.

The Fabian Society was organized in 1884 by a group of middle class intellectuals, of whom George Bernard Shaw, the playwright and adherent of the "marginal utility" theory of value, which, we are informed, "owes its origin to the name of Marx," was one. Shaw and Sidney Webb, the historian of the trade unions, are probably the best known of this group. The Fabians have never pretended to stand on the Cams struggle.

The Independent Labor Party, familiarly known as the I. L. P., was organized in 1890, at a conference of trade union delegates, local branches of the Social Democratic Federation, Scottish Labor Party members, etc. The late Mr. Kier Hardie, Ramsey MacDonald and Mr. Philip Snowden have been the most prominent leaders of the organization. It is not necessary for the purposes of this article, to go into all the details of the questionable political alliances with the capitalist parties, which have characterized the I. L. P. since its inception. Its policy has always been one of political expediency.

All these parties were alike in the respect that none of them took up a sound position but followed a policy of capitulation to capture the labor movement by the method of "permeation." By "permeation" is meant the gradual penetration of the movement with their ideas, a method that is known in this country as "boring from within." They also cling tenaciously to the policy so dear to the heart of the "permeator," the "reformation" of capitalism by the method of demands.

In the mean time, in order to seat trade union representatives in Parliament a Labor Representation League had been formed in the union movement. This organization endeavored to work through the Liberal party but failed to be recognized. In 1918 three members were elected to the House of Commons by the Labor Representation League. These however, acted and voted with the Liberals. A move was set on foot to unite the various co-operative societies, socialist, trade union and other working class organizations, in order to secure an increased number of labor members to the next parliament. At a conference in which sat delegates from the Social Democratic Federation, the I. L. P., Fabian Society and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, the Labor Representation Committee was formally inaugurated. Among the resolutions adopted the following is decidedly significant:

"That this conference is in favor of establishing a distinct Labor Group in Parliament, who shall have their own whips, and agree upon their policy, which must embrace a readiness to cooperate with any Party which for the time being may be engaged in promoting legislation in the direct interest of Labor, and be equally ready to associate themselves with any party in opposing measures having an opposite tendency..."

We refer the reader to Wilhelm Liebknecht's "No Compromise—No Political Trading" in which he eloquently deals of the tendency toward trading with the enemy always present in a labor organization not standing squarely on a sound, class conscious program.

The weakness of the position was evidently recognized, as the attempt was made to patch it up in a resolution passed in 1903 which we quote as follows:

"...this conference regards it as being absolutely necessary that the members of the Executive Committee should strictly abstain from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any section of the Liberal or Conservative parties inasmuch as we are to secure the social and economic requirement of the industrial classes, Labor representatives in and out of Parliament will have to shape their own policy and act upon it regardless of other sections in the political world; and that the E. C. report to the affiliated association or bodies as much official acting contrary to the spirit of the constitution as hereby amended."
How far "the spirit of the constitution as hereby amended" was maintained will be brought out later in this number. It was at this time that the present leaders of the party among them Arthur Henderson and Mr. Labour party. The incoming Labour government thus adopted a special alienated. "Socialist" doctrine in order to hold their jobs in Parliament. It is noteworthy that Mr. Bell, the president of the Amalgamated Railway Servants, who revived the "radical" type of organisation, was converted to "Socialism," by this method and con-
sequently was obliged to conform to the British law protecting trade union activities. The effect of the same year, conducted by the well-known Mr. Ben Tillett. The Labour leaders do not seem to have learned anything from their previous experiences and a watch must be kept to see whether the government lined up solid behind the port of London authorities. One wonders what else they expect in this context.

At the outbreak of the war the Labour members hastened to take up the "Socialist" position, and when the Coalition Government was formed, con-
ented to take office in the cabinet with the old "enemy," the Conservatives. We observe the wiser spectacle of the "Socialist" Arthur Henderson, seat-
ed in the cabinet by the right hon. D. A. Lyttleton of Rhodesia, the country, who will be remem-
bered as the spokesman of the coal barons in the strike of 1912, already referred to.

The object of the Labour party to be a task of greater duration than had at first been anticipated, a war board of three was formed to take the place of the rather unwieldy cabinet. Mr. Lloyd George - the minister, the Labour party and the London members, Arthur Henderson and Mr. John Hodge. It would be impossible, at this time, to follow all the ramifications of the war during the war; however, the following are fair samples of the general attitude:

"That in view of the serious situation created by the European War, the Communist of the Labour party agrees with the policy of the Parliamentary party, in joining the campaign to strengthen the British army, and agrees to place the centre in official organization at the disposal of the campaign, and further recommends the affili-
ated bodies to give all possible support."

In case of the death or resignation of a member of Parliament, in order not to embarrass the govern-
ment, an agreement was reached whereby the vacated seat would be filled, without contest, by the party member.

Mr. Arthur Henderson tells us in a special article in this number that he has used the power of the\n
Labor party to appeal to the workers through and not to fratter their opportuni-
ties in futile discussion as to its causes nor as to the conditions on which an sincere and artifi-
cial peace might be obtained.

 Naturally, in accordance with the "eternal fitness of things," the workers should leave such "futile discussion" to their Parliamentary representatives and preserve the dignified silence that so becomes the well-behaved wage worker the world over.

After the fall of the imperialist cabinet in Russia, Mr. Henderson has been described as a "radical" or "Socialist" to visit Russia in the hope that it would be possible to leave the Russian workers to the "safe and sane" position of the British Labour party; the Russian government, under Charles Edward Russell or Mr. Henderson or even the feminist, Emmeline Pankhurst, was able to make any more favourable an impression on the "diluted" Russian public. The success of the revolution so turned Mr. Henderson's head that he returned post-haste to London to present the case to the Labour party. Mr. Charles Edward Russell or Mr. Henderson, in order to reintegrate himself in the affections of the working class, which had been showing signs of a deplorable dissatisfaction with the "sack" of the recent war boards, just in time to avoid being kicked out, as the premier had already used him about to the full extent of his capabilities.

It is the notoriety gathered from this incident as well as his connection with the long-winded reform program recently issued by the Labour party, which has made him much of a figure and threatens, in the newspapers at least, to make him the next premier.

The problems of after-war reconstruction is looming large as a question of national policy, for one that will demand all the ingenuity that the capitalists can bring to bear. The worker coming to the fore in the hands of the minister, acting to get some benefits from the struggle he had undergone to wage "against autocracy." From the published utterances of numerous industrial overlords (we see no new form "change" in the case of Charles M. Schwab, the steel king) it can be seen that they are genuinely disturbed over a situation pregnant with disastrous possibilities. The im-
portant fact in the Labour movement is its increasing apparent of the Labour movement as a whole,
becomes apparent. The activity of the Labour move-
ment must lead to hopeless channels, As Workers. It is a better pro-Greath to the International and pro-Labradorian.
Germán Peace (7) Terms.

March 14th, all eyes on Russia, the German peace terms are up for final adoption or rejection by the All Russian Soviet at Moscow, where the capital now has been established. The violent upheaval and absolute rejection of Germany’s peace terms that American press reports dealt hand to mouth, did not materialize. The two American presidents, Mr. Wilson for the government and Mr. Gompers for the American Federation of Labor, sent their respective messages of sympathy, regret and promise. We learn that the first was received courteously with a vote of appreciation and the second with “applause,” but no other response. M. Svercloloff of the Central Executive Committee reminding that the message to the AMERICAN PEOPLE in response to President Wilson’s message was sufficient. The press reports inform us that the President’s message was cheered wildly by about one-third of the delegates, comprising the “Moderates” and the Social Revolutionists, producing a current of Nationalistic feeling against the International nature of the Bolshevik reply, which was as follows:

“The Congress of Soviets expresses its appreciation to the American people, particularly the toilers and those who are being exploited, for their sympathy toward the Russian people at a time when the Russian Socialist Republic is experiencing its greatest hardships.”

The Republic takes advantage of President Wilson’s message to express to all peoples yearning and suffering as a result of this imperialistic war, its warm sympathy and confidence that the United States, not for distant when the masses will overthrow Capitalism and establish a Socialist society, which alone is capable of giving a lasting and just peace and assuring the welfare of the world.”

The outstanding fact in the Russian situation is that the Bolshevik government has been strong enough to withstand all obstacles and opposition, both within the country and outside, to maintain their dominance. While pledged to a policy of peace, as far as other countries are concerned, they refuse to give up their purpose of carrying on propaganda in all countries that they can reach. This feature of Bolshevism, true to the international principles of Socialism, will be sure to manifest itself again in world affairs.

The Method of the Methodists.

The one hundred and thirty-first Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church took place recently at Philadelphia, with 400 ministers of the denomination in attendance. The humble (7) followers of the lowly Nazarenes, who commanded them to LOVE THEIR ENEMIES, cheered熹 lastly upon the adoption of the following resolution:

“We urge the speedy enactment of a law, which will mitigate to German propagandists and traitorous Americans the full penalty of spies.”

We have no sympathy with propagandists of any kind, who attempt to justify or condone the crimes of the GERMAN RULING CLASS, or any other RULING CLASS, for that matter. People who are in that deplorable mental state have an intellectual standard which is on a par with that of the above mentioned followers of the “Gentle Jesus.”

Under the guise of “patriotism,” there is an element that is endeavoring to bring about the total suppression of speech and free political expression. The charge is being hurled at Socialists that we are anti-American. If those who are pledged to the socialization of the population, our America’s sources of wealth production, (that is, America and all it contains for all the people, in spite of the population, and the case now), are anti-American, then we are guilty. The only “anti” about Socialism is its ANTI-CAPITALISM.

WHO IS PAYING FOR THE WAR?

A refutation of the charge that this is a rich man’s war appears in one of the leading dailies. A Collector of Internal Revenue points out that a married man with an income of $2,500 a year, will pay $10 war tax on $300 of his earnings. While on the other hand, a business man with $25,000 income, will pay a tax on $24,500 income, (seven times as much as the man with the $2,500), pays 178 times as much war tax. In the case of the very wealthy man whose in- come is $5,000,000, the income tax amounts to more than $3,000,000.

These are interesting figures for workers who THINK. A choice argument of Capitalism is that those who pay for a thing are its owners. This gentleman thinks otherwise. He says, “Rich man’s war? Not yet.”

The question of taxes is an interesting one, many superficial thinkers contending that the working class should worry about the rate taxation. But the great mass of wage workers have nothing to tax, their wages being only sufficient to meet the cost of food, shelter, clothing, and necessary to the re-production of their labor power.

Taxes are paid by the owners of property. The millions of dollars of tax burden, are paid out of the SURPLUS VALUES already extracted from the workers. How much or how little of this surplus is given up by the Capitalists, does not in any way affect the status of the wage worker, any more than the price of milk effects the amount of food that the cow must have before it can be milked again.

In the case of the workers, who have the liberty of buying their own food—if the prices of com- modities have risen and wages have not been advanced accordingly, then they are faced with a re- duction in the REAL wage, their food shelter and clothing.

THE GREAT SYSTEM.

ALEXANDRA KOLLNAT.

Much has been said about the Bolshevik leaders, Nicholas Lenin and Leon Trotsky, but very little mention has been made of the “woman in the case.” Alexandra Kollnatsky, who is a very important person in the Revolutionary government.

Prior to the revolution of November, while the Keretsky government was in power, an order for her arrest was issued. This order was never executed and at the formation of the Bolshevik cabinet she was made Minister of the Interior.

From the time that the miner’s strike came through from Russia, it is impossible to follow all the activities of those who hold the important offices in the revolutionary government. From a recent dispatch, however, we learn that she, together with twelve assistants, fell into unwelcome hands in Finland while en route to Sweden with some ten tons of revolu- tionary literature which was, no doubt, intended for theakening of the Scandinavian wage slaves. It appears that the party was put aboard a ship by the Finnish White Guard and turned loose in a waters infested with mines. They finally made their way to the Allied Islands over the ice floes, where they were placed under arrest by the Swedish gov- ernment officials. The Bolshevik government de- mand the immediate release of the party, threaten- ing that the failure to comply would cause the arrest of every Swede in Russia.

Because of her knowledge of languages, Alex- andra Kollnatsky acted as interpreter at the last Congress of the International that met before the war. She toured this country and lectured und the spirit of the Socialist party in the w of 1915-1916. The writer of these notes had pleasure of acting as chairman at a meeting which she addressed as a speaker. The address was a last, one of constructive criticism. She was to be amused with the make-up of the Socialists of America. In her opening remarks she had been introduced to her audiences on sev- eral occasions by reverend gentlemen acting as chairmen. One of the affairs introduced the speaker that “the spirit of Nicodemus would be with her.”

“Now,” said Kollnatsky, “when I make a good speech I like to gain full credit for myself, but when I am tired and have not delivered a talk up to the stand- ard, it is handy to have Nicky to blame for it.”

Throughout her entire talk she showed a won- derful understanding of Socialism and took up quite a revolutionary stand on party tactics.

The Case of Nearing.

Scott Nearing, apostle of democracy, has been indicted by the federal grand jury in New York. The specific charge against Nearing is the writing, printing and distributing of a pamphlet entitled “The Great Madness.”

Nearing sees in present day society two groups, the “Democracy” and the “Plutocracy.” The “demo- cracy,” being composed of the “people” or the general public, who, to use his own terms, derive their income in the form of wages or salary in return for services rendered to society, while the “plutocracy” is that group which receives “unearned income” through their “special privilege” as owners of the socially operated monopolies or mass production. To one who looks upon bourgeois so- ciety from an idealistic point of view the conclusion is that such a state of affairs is in violation of the eternal principles of justice, equality, and the in- herent rights of man. In short, it is undemocratic.

The pamphlet referred to is written from the point of view. It is a scathing denunciation of that “plutocracy” who have deliberately, will- ingly, with malice aforethought, upon the “De- ocracy” the yoke of militarism.

To the Socialist who applies the materialist conception of history to current events, this too is true, to say the least, amusing. Modern are not to be explained by subtritting them for it general coarseness of any group in society. On the contrary, they are the normal result of the economic rivalries developed through the necessity for expansion which is inherent in modern Capital- ism. As Marx puts it: “My stand-point, from which the evolution of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history, can less than any other make the individual responsible for relations whose creator he socially re- mains.

Nearing’s sincerity and honesty of purpose cannot be questioned. He is an enthusiastic crusader in the cause of humanity. A believer in the equality of the ethics of Christianity as a social force, the democracy he strives for would be the realization of the kingdom of heaven.

It is indeed strange that one who is guided by such lofty ideals should come into conflict with the American government, which entered the world war for the avowed purpose of advancing the cause of democracy. Not being familiar with the provision of the Espionage act we are not qualified to pass on the merits of the case, but it is evidently another instance of a prophet being without honor in his own country.

The Willy Jap.

A bargain has just been struck between the Japanese and the U. S. Government, whereby Japanese ships representing 130,000 tons can be transferred to the United States for a compensation of one ton of s-"panese pro-" caused to this country by Japan’s aggression. East.
Working Class Education

The editor of this publication has issued an edit against patios. Nevertheless, I intend only to exercise my "constitutional" right of free (I) speech to the extent of declaring that, in my opinion, the most pathetic thing about the proletariat in this country, is its lack of working class education.

In all that capitalism requires him to know, the average American stands second to none, but in the elementary understanding of present-day society and his function in it, he is a babe-in-arms. The American probably knows less about what he needs to know for his own interests than the worker of any other modern country. His stupid conceit in the face of his almost abysmal ignorance, forms, at the same time the most exasperating and the most pathetic feature of his character. It would not be too much to say that the majority of workers in this country do not even know that they are of the working class.

There are many factors that contribute to this deplorable paucity of comprehension but the most efficient of them is probably the curriculum of the public schools which not only quietly ignore matters of the most vital importance but spend billions of dollars and the energy of thousands of instructors in teaching things that are quite untrite.

To put the term "working class" designates the inhabitants of the slums of perhaps those uncouth animals who build and repair railroads, sewers, etc., and jabber in strange tongues at the orders of an orde of "boss." He has not the faintest notion upon what basis classes exist and will indeed, warmly protest that "there are no classes in America."

Due to all ages, since the institution of property arose, classes have existed and there has been a never ceasing struggle between the ruling class and the dominated class or classes for the tery. The former striving always to hold its r and stamp out the incipient revolt that is naturally breaking out or in preparation among the latter.

All this condemnation of Socialism, in vogue at this time, for the alleged, "stirring up class hatred" is silly and quite futile. The classes exist and the struggle between them will continue without the intervention of Socialism and in spite of the best efforts of those who are interested in keeping the truth from the workers.

Unlike the American, the European worker, with the traditional class subjection of centuries behind him, has no illusions about the class nature of society. This truth—that he who sells his labor power belongs to a definite class, viz., the working class, and he who buys labor power, directly or indirectly, is of the capitalist class,—must be taught the American slave wage before it is possible to enlighten him further on the nature of modern society and the worker's place in it.

In the past, the Socialist movement, in this country, hasibus itself mainly in the work of arousing the minimum degree of class consciousness necessary to make the individual vote the ticket. After that, he is generally allowed to drift along unless accident or circumstance happen to get him inter- ested in the class struggle.

The founding of this paper is part of the recognition of this deplorable state of affairs and the partial solution of the problem is to assist in the encourage and organization of systematic Socialism, or Socialism study, in order that the membership shall know what Socialism is and be enabled to purges the Party of those harmful and pernicious tendencies that are only too prevalent on every hand.

It is at last being recognized, that to be Social- ialist, the party must be composed largely of Socialists; study and not be an objective of Socialism. Socialists are neither born full bodied nor "converted" to Socialism. The "old order passeth" and the new day demands UNDER- STANDING, IGT. Today, something more is required than the prompts pay- ment of dues to entitle one to be designated a "good Socialist."

This is now so generally recognized that already there is a well defined study movement to be dis- cussed all over the country—a movement that is destined to contest the seat of power in the make up of the Socialist Party of America.

The value of study class work can not be over- estimated. There is a constant and urgent need for study leaders and for peakers in the ranks and we are being informed. Study classes, besides equipping the general membership to better carry on the work of personal agitation, among their fellow workers, develops speakers and teachers, of which we now have only too few.

Every Local should maintain at least one weekly study class, not for advanced students alone, but more important, for beginners. In the case of small Locals some have found it a good plan to turn the regular meetings into study classes, with occa- sional short business sessions to take care of the necessary routine work, with now and then a lecture by a local or visiting speaker.

Experience has shown that the best method of study class consists in the distribution of elemen- tary books, such as, "The Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engels for beginning the systematic study of Socialism. A class director should be selected from among those who have done the widest and most thorough reading.

We will imagine the class assembled, director selected and all are ready to proceed. The director stands up on the left hand of the room and stands up for the reading. After a few paragraphs are read, the director, who by the way, should be a good reader, reads the paragraphs over again carefully and calls on the student to explain what has been read, after which he asks for additional explanation from the class. If the students are a bit slow he should try to get out of them by questioning before proceeding to cover the points missed. This is important— a point should be covered by the key points and thoroughness of the student's understanding and powers of explanation. If the student knows that he will be required not only himself to under- stand, but to analyze in what he has read he will be much more attentive and think harder and that is the prime object of working class education—to add thinking capacity to direct and objective the mental resources of the masses.

After the class has finished with one of the two above mentioned books or both, if enough members can be gathered another beginner's class should be started to go over the same books while the old class goes on with the study of Marx's "Value, Price and Profit" or "Wage Labor and Capital," by the same authors. Engels' "Socialism, Utopian and Sci- entific" has been found to be an excellent work for intermediary study followed by Lafargue's "Social and Philosophical Studies," or his "The Evolution of Labor." It requires considerable elementary study before anything much can be gained from the study of Marx's Capital and we would advise a thorough course in general studies that are not but important of all the classic literature of Socialism.

We publish, in this issue, a list of books from which selections can be made for the reading of "classics," as well as unimportant literature, of which altogether too much has circulated in the past for the good of Socialism.

We have not gone very far in this sort of systematic study before we get into the habit of using his head in an entirely new way. Social phenomena, hitherto puzzling to him, appears in an entirely new light and he wonders at his previous lack of comprehension. The underhand work of the capitalist politicians and journalists becomes as an open book to him and the . . . sound of the intellectual lackeys no longer have any effect.

He laughs at the things be formerly worshipped in ignorance and has only contempt for "sacred" institutions, of which he stood in awe.

His life has changed with the development of his intellect, he has become a thinking man instead of the unprotesting cog in the capitalist machine. He has a mind. Surface appearances no longer de- ceive him. He is now a class conscious, deep think- ing proletarian who knows and who will be ready to do whatever it takes to make his hard and bitter struggle against the capitalist system when the time comes. In short, he is a man who has gained and will continue to add to his store of Working Class Education.

Should Socialist Women Fight for Suffrage?

The vast army of women now employed in industry has made the sex an acute question "prac- tical politics." Great Britain has already extended the vote to six million women under certain con- ditions and Canada has given the right to vote to relatives of soldiers. Here in the U.S.A. the ques- tion is being given wide publicity and a great deal of support.

What, then, must be the attitude of the Socialist woman toward this agitation? To the average per- son it may seem quite natural for the Socialist to support the movement for women's votes but to us the point calls for careful examination. Things are not always what they seem.

We shall be told that as Socialists are for dem- ocracy we must help women to get the vote. If we do not, they will not get the women's vote and such "female logic" is just fault.

We do not believe in "natural rights." Such plan ideas as the inalienable rights to this, that and the other thing do not belong to a scientific con- cept of affairs. If we hold to the value of every- 'thing a voice in control it is because of its 'ness in a society to assist the common welfare of its members. The vote is the means to an end. We regard the worker's vote now as useful only if used to express a worker's desire for Socialism.

We are for real democracy. We are for the eco- nomic and political freedom of men and women to enjoy the benefits of social life and social progress. By "freedom" we mean the opportunity to exercise their faculties and develop all their powers provided they do not interfere with the like freedom of others. How can we secure such a society?

We must inaugurate the Socialist system—the common ownership and democratic control of the resources of production and distribution. The first and most urgent task is to elect a working committee by a Socialist working class. Must we get woman's suffrage before we can do this?

In the midst of lines which divide worker and parasite, rich and poor, possessor and dispossession are not drawn through sex lines. The lines of division are not drawn through sex but class lines. "Man-Made World." is the one-sided picture a feminist usually paints.

Continued on Page 5.
The Nationalist Party---A New Factor in American Politics

The period immediately following the Civil War in the United States, developed the demand for the fusion of two definite groups, each represented by a political party. The political party of the South was the Democratic Party, and the party of the North was the Republican Party. With the development of the South, the Democratic Party took form, and the Republican Party took form in the North. The two parties were divided along different lines, with the South being represented by the Democratic Party, and the North by the Republican Party. The two parties were in opposition to each other, and this opposition continued until the end of the Civil War.

During the last twenty years the struggle between these two parties has become more intense, and the consequent political differences have become more pronounced. The Democratic Party, on the one hand, represents the small business and land-owning classes, while the Republican Party, on the other hand, represents the large business and industrial classes. The Democratic Party is the party of the South, and the Republican Party is the party of the North. The two parties are in opposition to each other, and this opposition continues to this day.

Since 1901 there have been two Socialist parties in the United States. One of these is the Socialist Party of America, and the other is the Social Democratic Party of America. These two parties are not identical in their fundamental principles, but in regard to the tactics or methods to be followed, they are not identical. The Socialist Party of America is more radical in its principles, while the Social Democratic Party of America is more moderate in its principles. The Socialist Party of America is more willing to use violence to achieve its goals, while the Social Democratic Party of America is more willing to use peaceful means.

The Socialist Party of America is the party of the working class, and the Social Democratic Party of America is the party of the middle class. The two parties are in opposition to each other, and this opposition continues to this day. The Socialist Party of America is the party of the South, and the Social Democratic Party of America is the party of the North. The two parties are in opposition to each other, and this opposition continues to this day.
THE PROLETARIAN

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position to state, but when we consider the matter from the embarking standpoint, it is obvious that the Japanese were asking for more trade advantages than would be in harmony with the business interests of our own country. Japan has rapidly come to the front as a capitalistic power within the last decade. A commercial rival of American manufacture is in the world market. Apart from the desire to keep as much steel as possible in the country during the war, this competitive factor should not be overlooked.

Evolution in that situation, owing to Russia's withdrawal from the war, and the continued destruction of shipping by the U-boats, makes imperative that the Allies obtain shipping somewhere. Some one has said that necessity knows no law. The seizure of the Dutch ships (while, we understand, that this act is backed by certain international laws), brought protests from the government of Holland. The crying need for more ships is probably the basis for the present agreement with the Japs.

Just as the class Struggle goes on, in and through the present war, so is the conflict of the business interests of one country against another over to the fore, and this in spite of the fact that nations may be bound together by a defensive or offensive alliance. Manifestations of this character are breaking out on every hand. The herded entry of Japanese troops into Siberia has not taken place, but tamper fees have been thrown out by Japan, while seemingly approved by Great Britain and France, did not meet with the endorsement of the United States. It will be interesting to watch further developments.

ADIDING THE BOLSHEVIK.

There is a growing demand that the Socialist party execute an about-face and withdraw from the position taken by socialists and non-socialists. These matters are of special interest to the membership of the Socialist party for the very good reason that those who have been the prime movers in launching the new party have but recently withdrawn from more or less active participation in our affairs. It is, therefore, fitting that we examine the relative positions of the two organizations.

From its inception until the present time the Socialist party has pledged its allegiance to the principles of internationalism as formulated by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and others; that school of socialism which is best known as the Marxian or Scientific. In its activities, however, the party has been more or less a part of the principle of Marxism. The immediate demands have gradually become the chief object to be attained. Social reform, labor legislation, and measures designed to give relief from the oppression of capitalism have held the most prominent place in both national and local platforms.

The explanation of this contradictory position is to be found in the fact that for years the machinery of the Party has been dominated by decidedly reform elements. Owing to the peculiar political situations of the two in any degree opposed the rule of the industrial and financial groups, aligned themselves, yet their interests are identical when confronted by a successful proletarian revolution. It is manifestly absurd to assume that the workers of America can assist their comrades in Russia by forming an alliance with or giving support to any bourgeois government. It is this very thing which has called down upon the Majority Socialists of Germany the bitter denunciation of Lenin and Trotsky. The reply of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets to the people of the United States is clear and to the point; there is no reference to the possibility of crushing German militarism—the workers are urged to wage a relentless war upon the common enemy every country.

To withdraw from the position taken in the St. Louis report, in the face of this call to action, would "give aid and comfort to the enemy," and be a flat rejection of the principles which have been so brilliantly upheld by the Internationalists of Russia.

SHOULD SOCIALIST WOMEN FIGHT FOR SUFFRAGE?

Continued from Page 4.

There is not the slightest doubt that the majority of votes are held by the working class. Every scientific writer on social questions from Marx to Kautsky and from James Connolly to Lawrence Call to the Chairman of the Industrial Relations Commission.

English labor movement.

The Party announces that its policies and methods are to be molded along similar lines. The Socialist party, without exception, chosen to pooh-pooh the possibility of the success of the National Party. It is a common fault to underestimate the strength of the opposition. To the founders of the National Party are capable men cannot be questioned; they are no mere amateurs, but old war-horses in the movement. All known, and known to some following within the ranks of the Socialist party and the American Federation of Labor.

The support of the new party will probably come from the most conservative bodies unionists and the faint-hearted "sympathizers" who have previously supported the Socialist ticket. The "boring from within" tactics of capturing the organized labor movement have not been entirely successful. Outwardly, at least, there is a wider gulf between the A. F. of L. and the Socialist party than at any time in the past. The elections of 1916 demonstrate a great portion of the voters who had in pre-years supported the Socialist candidates at the polls did not base their support upon a clear conception of the Socialism, for had that been the case it would not have been possible only by a complete confiscation of private ownership of industry, the abolition of the wage system, and a re-construction of society based on social ownership; devoting our entire energies to educating the working class along these lines and building a consciously revolutionary party. That such a step must soon be taken is becoming more and more apparent. From several sources have come demands that the resolutions adopted at the St. Louis convention be withdrawn by the membership be reconsidered. There are several sections of the Party that are about ready to "go over the top." The organization will not be greatly harmed by their withdrawal so long as those who believe in the policy of reforming Capitalism, they should align themselves with the party of Marxists. Spargo, Simons, Reitfle & Co. There they can work on old age pensions, municipal coal yards, world democracy and eternal peace unhampered by being attached to an organization that subscribes to a philosophy which reduces such activity to an historical absurdity.

Let us have a Party that will be Marxian in fact as well as in name; a Party that will be the political expression of the aspirations of the class-conscious proletariat of America.

WHAT TO READ ON SOCIALISM

A list of books on all phases of Socialism, economics, history, philosophy, science, etc. This list has been selected, arranged, and recommended by Branch One, Local Detroit, Socialist Party of America.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wage, Labor and Capital—Marx</td>
<td>$0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value, Price and Profit—Marx</td>
<td>$0.15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marxism and Darwinism—Pannekoek</td>
<td>$0.15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Evolution of Property—Lafargue</td>
<td>$0.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social and Philosophical Studies—Lafargue</td>
<td>$0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialism, Utopian and Scientific—Engels</td>
<td>$0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positivism and Evolution—S. F. G. B.</td>
<td>$0.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Right to Be Lazy—Lafargue</td>
<td>$0.10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cloth</td>
<td>$0.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Introduction to Sociology—Levis</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
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Vital Problems in Social Evolution—Lewis | $0.50 |
| Evolution, Social and Organic—Lewis | $0.50 |
| Law of Biogenesis—Moore | $0.50 |
| Science and Superscience—Lewis | $0.50 |
| Ten Blind Leaders—Lewis | $0.50 |
| Origin of the Family—Engels | $0.50 |
| Socialism and Evolution—S. F. G. B. | $0.50 |
| Feuerbach—Engels | $0.50 |
| Capital—Three Volumes by Marx, each—$2.00 |
| Landmarks of Scientific Socialism—Engels | $1.00 |
| Anarchism and Socialism—Plechanoff | $0.50 |
| Positive Outlook of Philosophy—Dietgen | $1.00 |
| Philosophical-Essays—Dietgen | $1.00 |
| Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History—Labriola | $1.00 |
| Ancient Society—Morgan | $1.50 |
| Civil War in France—Marx | $0.50 |
| Memoirs of Marx—Liebknecht | $0.50 |
| Theoretical System of Marx—Boudin | $1.50 |
| Science and Revolution—Unterman | $0.50 |
| Evolution of Man—Bolche | $0.50 |

We carry the following literature which we highly recommend to our readers. A careful perusal of these works is essential to a thorou understanding of Socialism. Make all checks and money orders payable to the Proletarian Pub. Co., 17 John R., Detroit, Mich.
Scientific Socialism---The Theoretical Expression of the Proletarian Movement

Modern Socialism, which had ceased to trouble the majority of the American capitalists prior to the European war, has once more brought itself forcibly to their attention. The threat of working class political alignments once more disturbs their complacency. The "red spectre" once more stirs abroad.

Hardly any issue of the public press is free from some comment on the special political activity of the working classes. Now the question is not so much what the working classes do not understand, at that time, that was the class "privileges" to be abolished were all those restricting the free development of Capitalism.

The smoke of the revolution had hardly cleared away, when the bourgeois incapacity to govern began to manifest itself. Unfortunately French labor had swept the governing classes out of existence. Having no previous experience at government, their state collapsed and the frightened bourgeois were left with a dangerous despotism of the Directoire in order to recover from the Reign of Terror. The Directoire, in turn, became so corrupt and indefensible that the bourgeoisie were left defenseless.

Napoleon soon turned the promised "endless peace" of the pre-revolutionary philosophers into an endless war of conquests.

The antagonism between the feudal masters of society and the Third Estate was now being transferred to an antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the propertyless workers, the Proletariat. The "freedom of property" turned out to be, for most people, freedom from property. As the small bourgeoisie and the peasants were crushed under the yoke of the great industrialists and the exactions of the Empire, the Napoleonic wars contributed their quota of misery to the general fund. Oppression by force, revolution by flight, money became the great leveller: "the golden age" predicted by the eighteenth century idealists was realized as an age of gold. The social and political institutions following the revolution were disintegrating caricatures of the golden dreams that formed a large part of the pre-revolutionary literature.

Utopian Socialists

It was at this time that the Utopian Socialists appeared to formulate this disappointment. Capitalism, just getting under way, was still only in a partly developed state. Modern industry, just emerging from the industrial feudal stage, still maintained links with feudalism. In France and much of the continent the antagonism developed from the exploitation of labor by capital was only taking root. As a result the factory system was not yet developed.

Utopians could not understand its true nature and their theories were consequently faulty. They attempted to work out in their heads the solution to social problems that, as yet, lay hidden in undeveloped economic conditions. They felt that something was radically wrong but did not know what the cause was. They sought to discover a new and untried form of government, the reason for which was to be worked out in detail and imposed upon existing society by propaganda or, whenever possible, by model experimental communities.

St. Simon in his Geneva letters pointed out that the victory of the Third Estate was the victory of a part of that Estate only, the propertyless workers. He declared that this antagonism lay between the "workers" and "idlers" as he called them. By "workers" he meant, not only wage-workers, but also small proprietors and manufacturers as well. The "idlers" were those who lived on their incomes and took no active part in production whatever. "Science," the scholars, and "Industria," the manufacturers, were the two classes that would direct the new society and hold a privileged position in it. But what interested him most was the lot of that class which he designates the "most numerous and most powerful". The question was how to put into effect the declaration that all men ought to work.

Fourier was a Utopian of another sort, a critic and a satirist of the first rank. He remorselessly laid bare the moral and material miseries of the bourgeois world, and showed how completely it had failed to fulfill the promises of the distant revolutionaries and philosophers. He completely exposed the hypocrisy and roteness of the revolutionary slogans and the absurdities of the conceptions of the revolutions. He was the first to point out that the degree of woman's emancipation in any given society, is dependent upon a degree of government intervention.

Fourier took a long stride in advance of his contemporaries in his conception of the history of society, the division of labor into four groups: savagery, barbarism, the patriarchate and civilization, which was the period of his own epoch—the bourgeoisie society of the day. He showed how the development of society was being done by the transformation of society with leaps and bounds. Modern industry was rapidly taking the place of the old artisan and simple-manufacture methods of production. The manufacturer became suddenly and immensely rich. The class grew politically powerful with its increasing wealth. Instead of precipitating an armed counter-revolution, as was the case in France, the Feudalists either went into business for themselves or adjusted their ancient privileges to the demands of the new methods. Recognizing their impotence to take entire charge of government the bourgeoisie of England left the aristocracy in possession of the most important political offices, relying upon their control of the government to ensure the well-being of the state in the interest of the rapidly developing capitalism. With the advantages of superior natural resources and an earlier start, capitalism in England soon took the lead of the rest of the world and the contrast between rich and poor became even more glaring than in France.

Robert Owen's Communist Society.

To correct the distress, a young reformer of twenty-nine came forward with a few theoretical treatises that very soon attracted the attention of the whole of Europe. Robert Owen was himself a manufacturer and one with a genius for organization and administration. He had already declared that a man's character is the product, on the one hand, of heredity, and on the other, of his environment; that it was possible to transform society by transforming the conditions of its material existence.

He visited a town of 2500 people into a model community in which lawsuits, police, drunkards, charity, poverty and all the rest of the noblest by-products of capitalism were unknown.

And all this by placing the workers in material conditions worthy of human beings, and especially in carefully bringing up the rising generation. While other manufacturers were working the people hard for fourteen hours a day, surrounded with the most inhuman conditions, the operatives at New Lanark worked but ten and a half.

Working conditions were as nearly ideal as possible under capitalism, and the business in an increasingly prosperous condition, Owen was not satisfied. The people were too free, the men were too independent. Owen was not himself a materialist, what becomes of this vast difference? He was
gone to the

The case of New Bank was only one example of enormous wealth being dissipated. Yet, "the new power" was not the only "new power." "This new power is the creation of the working classes," and to them belonged, by right, the fruit of this new power. Owen then attempted to organize a commonwealth on a business basis. Everything was mathematically and carefully worked out and if one accepted the Owen reform movement, there was little to criticize in the details of his scheme.

Owen's experimental colonies were tried out in America and, of course, they were not as successful as he had hoped. He believed that the failure of the colonies was due to the fact that his converts did not work hard enough to make the colonies succeed. He was then forced to conclude that the idea of a social change that would result in a better world was too difficult and too hard to achieve.

The Utopian mode of thought formed the basis of the socialist ideas for a good many years and seems to dominate some people yet. A great many of those who call themselves Socialists today are basically engaged in trying to improve the world and help the capitalist patch up their rickety old system. I suppose they like capitalism so well that they do not think it is possible.

To make a science of Socialism it had to be put on a real basis. When we consider and reflect on matters at large, the methods of the natural sciences, the best ones, give us a certain insight into the things that we may notice or that may happen. We may see the connection and the cause of things. When we look at the whole world, or at a system, or at a country, we see the activity and the changes, the development of things. We see the picture as a whole with the details vague and indistinct; we see the activity and changing, rather than the static, the changing.

The world is, in fact, undergoing constant change and development. From this point of view the history of mankind no longer appears as an unconnected series of sensations, aimless deeds of violence, as the pre-revolutionary philosophers saw it, but rather a part of the process of the development of man.

In the meantime the struggle between the working-class and the bourgeoisie was coming to the front all over Europe, and the degree of development, on the one hand, of modern industry, and on the other, of the newly gained supremacy of the bourgeoisie. It became increasingly apparent that labor and capital were not at all compatible. The promised peace and prosperity was that to follow the overthrow of the feudalism discerned into an almost incessant war between the classes over the wealth produced by labor. Strikes and labor revolts took place all over Europe and in England even a political movement of the working class took its beginning. The Chartists.

All these things made imperative a new examination of history and it was at this time that Marx wrote his "Materialist Conception of History," which declared that the economic structure of any given society always furnished the real basis from which alone can be explained the superstructure of institutions, religious and philosophical as well as legal and political. Man's ideas were now explained by his material surroundings and institutions instead of, heretofore, explaining his institutions by his ideas.

Modern Socialism is a Science.

Socialism was no longer a sentiment or an idealistic scheme, but a science, dealing with two historically developed classes, the working-class and the capitalist class. Marx, in his earlier days, had certainly criticized bourgeoisie society but could not explain it and consequently could not get the necessary mastery. The more the early Socialists denounced the exploitation of the working-class, the less they understood the way the thing was done.

The Marxist theory of "surplus value" gave the key to the mystery. Marx proved that labor-power functions as a commodity and is bought and sold on the market like any other commodity, at its value; at what it costs to reproduce. But labor-power has a characteristic possessed by no other commodity. It has the power to create values greater than the cost of its own reproduction. This difference "between the power to reproduce and the values created through its expenditure Marx called "surplus value." In other words, the laborer is effectively working for the owner for the reproduction of his labor-power—and in the application of his energy and skill produces goods of greater value than that represented by his wages. From this point of view, the capitalist is the exploiter and the continually increasing accumulation of wealth in the hands of the owning class.

With this concept of "surplus value" and the materialistic conception of history, Socialism became a science. The materialist conception was "the result of the proposition that the production of the means of human life, and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that 95% of every society that has existed in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders, is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view various important and political revolutions are to be sought, not in many revolutions insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. While this is a new approach to the problem, and the prevailing institutions are unreasonable and unjust it is a sign that changes have silently taken place within these spheres, and that the institutions, well enough adapted to the old methods are no longer in harmony with the needs of society.

The present structure of society is the creation of the ruling class of today, the bourgeoisie as we usually call it America, the Capitalist Class. The capitalist method of production was not in harmony with the feudal system, the privileges granted to individuals, entire classes and local corporations, so the bourgeoisie broke up the feudal system and built up its rule on the capitalist order of society of free competition, personal liberty, equality before the law of all commodity owners, and all the rest of the capitalist blessings.

The transformation of feudalism into capitalism has developed with extraordinary speed with the enormously increasing productivity of machinery, just as economic development, in conflict with feudal institutions and the primitive modes of wealth production, so now modern industry cannot be maintained and that the restrictions imposed, of necessity, by the capitalist method. Machine production is hampered by the private ownership of the machine, which cannot be operated unless the property right can be maintained. Consequently then, is not one that merely exists in the minds of men, but exists independently of the will of the class that brought it into being. Socialism is the reflex in thought of this conflict in fact.

To be concluded in next month's issue.

THE POLITICAL WAR IN WISCONSIN.

At the time of writing, a regular political battle was raging in the state of Wisconsin. The Wisconsin Republican, under the编辑的督审, has its ideal reflex in Congress and the Senate, Wisconsin, D. C. Senator Williams, of Mississippi, makes a bitter attack on Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin, urging his expulsion from the Senate. It looks as if the Republicans and Democrats were renewing their political differences, for the time being, at least. The efforts to obtain the withdrawal of one of the old party candidates and prevent a three-cornered fight in the State Senate have failed. Of course the basis of their apprehensions rests upon the possibilities of the other candidate being elected. Mr. Wilson has been accused by Republican Senators of partisanship, at a time when the Republican party, with the exception of the Platte press are pulling out at present. Those who do not stand where they do politically, especially Socialists, are Pro-Germans, Anti-Americans, and all the usual synonyms. At any rate, I am an American, I have been pointing out the nature of the German ruling class, as well as all other ruling classes since long as the war was waged, and this country was in a position to do so after the war ends—if society maintains its class character.

That is why Pro-Germans, and by that token, Anti-Americans actuated by nationalism and race consciousness, is undesirable. But there will be hundreds of thousands (if present indications do not deceive me), who believe that no one can point to the first time this Fall as a protest against the present social order.

A politician is the same as a statesman, with this exception: When a politician becomes a senator, supreme court justice or president he is then a statesman. It's a difference in official prefix only.

What use has a Socialistic party platform except to enable the faithful to reach the plums that grow on the political tree?