



THE PROLETARIAN

A Journal of International Socialism.

Brit



CIVILIZATION!

SPARTACAN SPARKS

The Detroit Journal heads one of its editorials "Suicidal Socialism."

There is nothing like variety.

"Handwriting" seen in Britain.

Glad to note their eyesight is improving.

According to the "Vastnick Manchuri" published in Harbin, Siberia, the Japanese now have 85,500 men in Siberia.

Certainly takes a lot of soldiers to "rescue" the Siberians from the Bolsheviki and to fight for the "triumph of law, order and justice."

"Strike Delay put up to Gary."

If the workingmen of the steel trust want anything, Gary is the bird that will give it to them, not.

"Canadian dough-boys want two thousand dollars apiece."

Where do they get these Bolsheviki ideas. If the Canadian Government would have used the same tactics that we did, Americanize them, then sixty dollars would have been more than enough.

"Hoover sees no red need. Declares U. S. has seen socialism's result in Russia. Calls on America for good substitute."

So we do need something, eh, Hoover? You have been giving us so many substitutes in the line of food, that substitution is becoming habitual with you, but like our whisky, we want our socialism straight.

"Villa blamed for kidnaping."

Something wrong, somewhere. Usually the red agitators are to blame.

"Policeless Boston the scene of rioting."

Too bad that Louis was absent when his former fellow-citizens were mass actioning.

"Some tribes in Africa still worship mythical Gods."

Will some one please tell us the difference between a mythical God and just an ordinary every-day God.

"Bolshevism warned to avoid Germany. Noske promises to meet

them with blood and iron."

There is an old saying Noske should familiarize himself with "Whom the Gods would destroy, they first make mad."

"Wilson voices new creed in train speech."

Voicing new creeds is about all Wilson has accomplished since he became our president.

"Goat roasts sold here as spring lamb."

This does not do any particular damage to the customers, but it must be hell on the goats.

"Chase Osborne proposes 'Caloric Dollar' to oust present value standard."

Our loquacious ex-Governor is pre-eminent in one thing, at least, he is always original, even if foolish.

Wilson asserts that the British will not control the League of Nations.

Of course, we believe everything that Wilson tells us.

"Mr. Bullitt spills the beans."

That's what they get for openly arriving at open covenants of peace.

The Proletarian

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"Wilson calls Boston Strike Crime.

Anything that is detrimental to our masters, is a crime, particularly if their property is endangered.

"Gompers Plea Fails to Save Jobs of Police."

They don't even trust Sammy any more. Must be getting panicky.

"Insurance Against War." President Wilson so terms treaty in Address at Tacoma.

Mr. Wilson is certainly gullible. What a fine prospect he would be for an old-fashioned green goods man.

"Why a big army?" James asks Baker.

For a congressman, Mr. James, you appear to be just a little bit more stupid than we thought it possible.

"N. Y. Governor sends troops to stop Lackawana Rioting."

This naturally suggests the question, what is the function of the State.

Sammy Gompers, speaking on the Cummins bill which makes strikes illegal, says: "With a full sense of my responsibility, I say that I should have no more hesitancy about participating in a strike after its passage than I do now. It wouldn't stop strikes; it would just make law breakers."

Why, Sammy Gompers, we're surprised at you. But, then, you know, Sammy, if you don't like "our" laws, you can go back to England where you came from. The impudence of these damn foreigners is amazing.

"Share profit, Cure unrest, says Clark."

Isn't it against the ethics of the profession, Champ, to ask a thief to divide the plunder?

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Communist Party Convention

The First of September saw three distinct conventions under way in the city of Chicago, the outcome of which has not yet been assimilated by the different elements that looked hopefully in that direction for guidance. It will be some time before those who sent delegates to "The Windy City" will be able to form a fair estimate of what transpired and why.

The Socialist Party Convention was the first to be called to order by the reactionary Germer, under the protection of a squad of police called in to help the old machine to remain in control.

The remnant of the "Left Wing," together with their following, soon found out the hopelessness of capturing the Socialist Party for "revolutionary socialism." Between those who were refused a seat and those delegates who found themselves confronted by a well organized "yellow machine," an understanding had to be reached. The time was short, for the Communist Convention was called for Monday morning at 10:00 A. M. Consequently, a hall was secured in the same building, and on Sunday night the expelled and bolting delegates, led by the doughty J. Reed and his associates, Gitlow, Wagenknecht, Katterfeld, and others, hastened to organize a new party.

The claim was set forth that the Socialist Party had been "captured" and was now transformed into the Party of Communist Socialism. A committee was elected consisting of L. E. Katterfeld, A. Wagenknecht, Ludwig Lore, Kate Greenhalgh, Casper Bauer, for the purpose of seeking unity as a whole with the Communist Party. On the following morning this committee met with the joint organizing committee of the Communist Party. As the convention had not yet been called to order, no decisive action could be taken in the matter by the organization committee as it was a matter for the convention itself to pass upon.

With the orchestra playing, the delegates and a large crowd that had gathered singing "The International," the convention that marked the official launching of the Communist Party of America, got under way. Dennis E. Batt, in the name of the Organization Committee and that portion of the Left Wing Council that had finally united on the joint call, in a speech brief and well-constructed, traced the development of the revolutionary elements that had split away from the Socialist Party and their progress that culminated in the organization of the Communist Party, closing his remarks by officially calling the Convention to order.

Louis C. Fraina, of New York, was elected temporary chairman and delivered a speech of considerable duration, dealing at length with the development of the communist elements in Europe and the Third International. After the election of committees on credentials, rules of procedure, order of business, and an emergency committee of nineteen, the Convention adjourned to allow these committees to proceed with their work.

The convention started its first official session at 9:10 P. M. Al Renner, of Detroit, was elected permanent chairman. A motion was made by I. E. Ferguson

to elect a committee to confer with the committee of The Communist Labor Party Convention. This was overwhelmingly defeated. The minority on this vote, about 30, representing largely the Left Wing Council elements, withdrew from the Convention and went into a caucus. On returning the members of this group holding offices resigned.

The Tuesday morning session saw further resignations. Ferguson, Lovestone, Fraina, Ruthenburg, Selekovitz, Ballam and Cohen, resigned from Emergency Committee and Paul and Fannie Hourwich resigned as secretaries. Chas. Dirba, of Minnesota, and C. A. Talbot, of Flint, were elected as secretaries, the balance of the Emergency Committee standing.

From then on the three distinct groups stood out sharply through most of the proceedings. The largest group of the Convention was the Russian caucus group made up of the Russian speaking elements, including Poles, Lithuanians, Letts, Ukrainians and others. The Fraina-Ferguson caucus has already been referred to. The other group generally referred to as the Michigan group was composed of delegates from Muskegon, Grand Rapids, Grand Ledge, Jackson, Detroit, Buffalo, Rochester, Cleveland, Rockford, Ill., and Chicago. This group stood firm on the floor but held no caucus, as they knew what they wanted and had no need of any form of coercion.

The Russian comrades had no difficulty in controlling the Convention and forcing their will on the body, as they voted en-bloc, all important matters being decided in caucus. Fear and mistrust of the Michigan group seemed to mark the actions of the majority from the outset of the Convention. Every action was carefully and skilfully worked out to test the strength of this group. Such ironclad precautions were entirely unnecessary as this delegation which remained a unit until the last comprised no more than one-fifth of the convention.

The only real struggle that threatened to break loose on the floor of the convention was carefully choked by the Russian mass vote. This was over the adoption of a Manifesto and Program that was to give the Communist Party official expression. On Friday night, after many days delay, the Committee on Manifesto attempted to introduce its work to an impatient convention. The first move of the committee was the reading, by Louis C. Fraina, of the Program taken from the majority report. The minority of the committee, Comrades Batt and Wicks, announced that the minority report was ready to be considered as a whole, pointing out that the Program was an integral part of the Manifesto and could not be considered intelligently apart from the same. The chairman ruled that this would be the procedure, an appeal was made against this decision but in the division the chair was sustained. After reading several clauses Fraina asked to be allowed to withdraw the Majority Program, as it had been decided to consider Manifestos as a whole.

Saturday's session saw the fight continued. The minority was dexteriously shut off by a motion made after

the reading of both Manifestos, "to take up the majority report as a basis for discussion and adoption." This motion carried, the division being 72 for and 22 against.

At this point it was decided to elect party officials before continuing the discussion on manifesto written by Fraina. For International Secretary, Louis C. Fraina was elected with I. E. Ferguson as alternate. For International Delegates the following were elected: Comrades Ruthenberg, Hourwich, Ferguson, Stoklitsky; alternates, Comrades Elbaum, Bittleman, Ballam and Lovestone. Central Executive elected as follows: Comrades Ballam, Schwartz, Bittleman, Hourwich, Elbaum, Tiverowsky, Cohen, Ruthenberg, Wicks, Dirba, Karosses, Ferguson, Lovestone, Fraina, Petras. For National Secretary, Batt, Renner, Koppnagle and Ruthenberg were nominated. Batt and Renner declined nominations and Ruthenberg was elected. For National Editor, Batt and Fraina were nominated. Batt declined and Fraina was elected.

Upon the adoption of the majority Manifesto as a whole, a statement was read from 22 delegates including an alternative and fraternal delegate as follows: "We, the undersigned delegates, herewith publicly state our disapproval of the Manifesto and Program adopted by the convention and of the methods used in forcing its adoption. Therefore, we ask to be recorded in the minutes as not voting, either affirmatively or negatively, on the adoption of said Manifesto and Program, and as not accepting nominations for, or voting on any party official elected by this convention." (Signed) Batt, Keracher, Danta, Elzinga, Carlson, Johnson, Shuman, Till, Komorowski, Leslie, McGregor, Krispenz, Ball, Renner, Early, Anderson, Talbott, Breitmeyer, O'Brien, Eastman, Tamarkin and Wicks.

Although the method of shutting off consideration of the manifesto submitted by the Michigan Delegation left no room for it to be adopted, still under the rules of the convention previously adopted, it was possible for Comrade Batt, reporting for the minority of the committee, to make an able defense of the principles embodied in that document and to score the crude and contradictory manifesto submitted by Fraina. Batt used up his allotted time and had some extended, his speech being one of the outstanding features of the convention.

Before the close of the convention, strenuous efforts were made by the caucus leaders to induce Michigan delegates to accept places on the Central Executive Committee and Comrade Ferguson pleaded on the floor for changes in that committee to make it more representative of the elements that made up the convention. Resignations from the committee were affected and although Comrades Dirba of Minnesota, and Wicks, of Chicago, accepted, the Michigan and other delegates adhered to their position.

The chief point of disagreement between those who supported the program adopted and those who opposed it is the question of political action and the attitude towards the State. The opponents of the minority group contended that parliamentary action is the limit of that group's conception of POLITICAL ACTION and that the group have no real backing, etc.

The Comrades of Michigan who have upheld **revolutionary political action** in their State Conventions over a period of years, regard parliamentary action as but a phase of POLITICAL ACTION but an important one in countries with a form of government like the United States. Other phases of Political Action is the organized might of the workers directed by industrial

groups or otherwise against the POLITICAL SUPREMACY of the capitalist class. To arouse the workers to a conscious understanding of their CLASS position and the use of revolutionary political action is the correct function of the Communist Party at this time. The trouble with the dominant elements within our ranks, themselves until recently bourgeois parliamentary actionists, is that they have reverted consciously or unconsciously to the syndicalist position. The only thing that has saved the Party from the absolute anti-political position is its thin mask of parliamentary action.

Another "crime" charged against the Michigan comrades is their failure to endorse the Left-Wing Manifesto with its crude mass-action verbosity and still cruder adherents. Elements absolutely incapable of unified action in any given direction for any length of time. Larkin, Reed, McAlpine, Fraina, Ferguson and Company were no strangers to us, we have seen and heard them in action before. Although birds of a feather, they did not stick together long and are now in different parties.

Many good points have been incorporated into the Party Constitution which tend to promote unified action and discipline. Education of the membership through class methods is an excellent feature if carried out systematically and with the classic works of Marx and Engels as text books.

The future of The Communist Party depends upon the understanding of its present membership.

NOTE:—For information of our readers, we are printing in this issue the Manifesto and Program submitted by the minority to the Communist Party Convention. This document is referred to in reports of the convention as the "Michigan Manifesto," the "Batt Manifesto," etc. The full text will be found on page 13.

"Vaudeville Socialism"

The convening of the Emergency Socialist Party Convention was a landmark in the history of polite amusement in America. The whole convention, from its inception to the time it met, was a series of sidesplitting horse laughs, and concluded with a long and loud guffaw. Germer and Berger were the comedians in this political vaudeville show, Julius Gerber, Jack Carney and John Reed made excellent chorus boys. With policemen as ushers and the whole capitalist public as spectators, there is no doubt that "vaudeville Socialism" is meeting a wide and enthusiastic response.

There were many wise and serious heads which pondered deeply over the split in the Socialist party last June, when "rash" and "hasty" individuals determined to organize a Communist Party. "Why don't you stay in the old party and capture it for Socialism?" they asked pityingly, from the lofty heights of their superior knowledge, "Why don't you go and capture the Emergency Convention? Don't you know how valuable it is to capture the machinery of the old party, so you can accomplish something?"

Still another blunder of the wise heads was that propaganda should be carried on within the old party, in order to reach the "rank and file." Yet we see the "rank and file" flocking to the standard of the Communists, while the old party officialdom find themselves with but a mere handful of supporters. The

dictum of the wise-heads rested on the assumption that the general membership of the party were so ignorant they could not distinguish a cart from a molehill without assistance. Now, what they actually needed was to have before them a definite split, an actual issue upon which they could act.

Old Notions Exploded

The exponents and demonstrators of "vaudeville Socialism," from "stand-patters" like Goebel to "insurgents" (Heaven save the mark) like Gitlow, are fond of saying that American workers are not ready for

real Socialist propaganda, but must be "kidded along" by entertaining diversions, spiels on reforms, government ownership, tableaux, pacifist melodrama, and all that cheap stuff. Thus vaudeville Socialism was born, and the recent pow wow at Machinists' Hall is not at all out of keeping with its past. There is Menshevism in Russia, Fabianism in England, Social Patriotism in Poland, and "Sausage Socialism" in Germany; but America has reached the ridiculous but logical extreme of "vaudeville Socialism."

O. C. J.

Morals vs. Profits

The capitalist is a very moral person. You can tell this by what he says (rather than by what he does), also by what others say of him, particularly preachers and fake reformers of society. The capitalist and those who speak for him can talk in the most idealistic terms, he can use words as "democracy," "justice," "liberty," "equality," etc., until one is simply astounded at the breadth of vision he displays and his deep-seated "human interest."

That is, he can do this so long as he does not have to talk of the real facts of life. But the moment he tries to combine his high ideals with the real problems presented by the struggle between himself and his workmen over wages, hours, etc., the other side of his character comes to the front, try as he will to hide it, and can easily be detected by anyone who is even moderately critical of what he reads.

The Union League of Chicago has published a pamphlet by Herbert T. Perkins, of the International Harvester Company, under the title, "The Manufacturers' Wage Problems." Summed up, the problem is how to keep the workers contented, make a "fair" profit, find a market for his goods, and absorb the returning soldiers into industry. Mr. Perkins recognizes the bigness of the problem when he says: "He would indeed be more than a man who could measure the problem and fit its answer. . . ."

Mr. Perkins, in attempting to analyze the situation, is obliged to deal with facts, and in so doing he brings out the conflict between the capitalist's word-morality and his economic brutality. He does not do this intentionally, however. Throughout the pamphlet he speaks in terms of idealism.

Here is a sample. He says:

"Too many employers, with their minds more on the experience of the past than the promise of the future, have been watching anxiously and often nervously the constant rise in money wages. The thought has been borne strongly in upon them that the historical and, therefore, the most natural and correct method of meeting the period of declining business and profits is through the prompt reduction of the wage rate attained through the stimulation of these past years of conflict."

There is considerable to be learned from this paragraph if we will ponder over it. For one thing we learn that the "historical" method of preventing a reduction of profits in times of business depression is to reduce wages. By "historical" Mr. Perkins simply means that it has been the customary method of the past. Now all workers who have experienced reductions of wages, or partial or complete unemployment during such times,

know what a hardship it is. And no doubt, Mr. Capitalist also weeps when he thinks of the hardships resulting from layoffs and wage reductions, but we have noticed that he seems to bear this sorrow of having profits reduced. We have noticed that when there is reduction or threatened reduction of profits, Mr. Capitalist not only becomes "nervous" but positively hysterical.

Mr. Perkins, however, believes that the sacrifices which both capitalist and worker, as he says, have made during the war, has bred a higher spirit. Directly following the quotation above, he emphasizes the following remark:

"It does not seem possible, however, that such a thought can be the proper immediate reaction of peace to the spirit which impelled the United States to take up arms in the fight against the Central Powers."

Alas, he who expects the capitalist to live up to the ideals which he is wont to voice at banquets, is doomed to disappointment. These things will never do for the hard realities of business conduct. Already we hear of an organization of soldiers in the same city from which this pamphlet came, Chicago, for the purpose of trying to obtain employment for returned men. We also hear that the organization is not approved by the military authorities

But much as Mr. Perkins seems to wish that the employers will refrain from reducing wages because of the stopping of the war, he is finally obliged to admit that it may be necessary. He says:

"If the worst comes and through the pressure of competition from abroad, it becomes evident that with all other resources exhausted, general employment and consequently general prosperity can only be maintained by a decline in commodity wage, such further adjustment must necessarily follow."

By "commodity wage" Mr. Perkins means the actual amount of commodities which wages will purchase. He, therefore, means to say that a reduction in the living standard of the worker may be necessary. But, Mr. Perkins, if the Capitalist has imbibed so much "democracy," we may, at least, confidently expect that he will not do this until, as you say, "all other expedients are exhausted." We shall expect him to first give up his palatial mansions, his country clubs, his yachts, his retinue of servants and his kept mistresses before he burdens himself with the sorrow of knowing that his workmen and their children are suffering privation. We have a suspicion, however, that if we ever see such things it will be in an opium joint.

Is there any lesson for workingmen to learn from

all this? Yes, there is one big lesson and that is that the way to settle the "Manufacturer's Wage Problem" is to institute a system of society in which there will be no "Manufacturer" (capitalist) and no wages. A form of society where the producers will receive their remuneration, not in the form of a wage paid by a capitalist, but as a remuneration for services, tendered by society for service rendered to society, They are doing it in Russia.

L. B.

The W. I. I. U. Editor Bumps His Head Against the Proletarian

The editor has handed me a letter from The Workers International Industrial Union, signed by Clarence Hotson, the editor of The Industrial Union News. He objects to the criticism of his organization in the articles on Revolutionary Political Action. He spreads himself out over five pages but instead of dealing with the evidence adduced in the Proletarian he indulges in vilification of a contemptible kind.

The one or two points we can gather out of the mass of vituperation are answered below.

He denies that the S. L. P. idea that the political party is a mere shadow of the economic organization logically led to the great bulk of the members forsaking the shadow and clinging to the substance of economic organization. Hotson says that the leaders and members of the S. L. P. did not gravitate to the repudiation of politics.

Anyone familiar with the S. L. P. since the formation of the I. W. W. in 1905, knows that most of the prominent men in the S. L. P. eventually took up the anarchist position. Frank Bohn, Secretary of the S. L. P., Justus Ebert, John Sandgren, Gurley Flynn and practically all those connected with the original I. W. W. were only logical in holding that the S. L. P. insistence that the only power to "take and hold" was economic, made political action unnecessary.

So much does the S. L. P. insist upon the all importance of industrial unionism that in their address to parties affiliated with the International Socialist Bureau (Arm and Hammer Pamphlets, No. 1) they state that if the European Socialists had been industrially organized the war would have been prevented and the capitalists overthrown.

The S. L. P. remains ignorant of the fact that not a lack of industrial organization but of Socialist knowledge was the reason why most European parties and American parties supported the war. The S. L. P. in this address calls upon the European Parties "to give their **Undivided Attention** to the question of industrial unionism." If they are to give their **undivided attention to that**, it does not leave any room for attention to political action, Mr. Hotson?

The address goes on to state that, "Not a 'General Strike' of the workers but a 'General Lockout' of the capitalist class is our slogan. And this can **only** be done by organizing the workers industrially to take and hold the means of production." Obviously if this can **only** be done by industrial organization, why trouble about politics. The steady decline in the S. L. P. can be noted since the promotion of industrial unionism. Practically all their internal dissention has been due to that. From the case of Gurley Flynn to that of Ru-

dolph Katz or Caleb Harrison, industrial unionism has been the curse of the S. L. P. The dissolution of the locals in the three largest cities in America, New York, Chicago and Philadelphia, marks the signal decline of the S. L. P. In other cities the locals exist on paper only, little propaganda actually exists because there are no speakers and few members.

Finally let me advise Mr. Hotson to read De Leon's remarks at the third convention of the I. W. W. Notice the all-importance of economic action:

"I have endeavored to explain how correct, according to Marx's own principle, it is that you must take and hold without affiliation with any political party.

"The error has gone abroad that a political party can take and hold. It is an error because you cannot legislate a revolution. A political party cannot do it. The nature of its organization prevents it, and that clause was put in there deliberately as a blow in the face to those fellows who imagine that a political movement is capable of a revolutionary act."

The S. L. P. considers that the economic organizations overwhelm all other issues and were willing to unite with that rotten organization, the S. P. of A. "The rock upon which the conference split," the Weekly People says, "was the question of endorsing the principle of industrial unionism." (Jan. 13, 1919.)

The next point the W. I. I. U. Editor objects to is our statement that after years of teaching that the original I. W. W. Preamble was correct—the W. I. I. U. changed it themselves and struck out the clause that the workers should come together on the economic and political field without affiliation with any political party. Mr. Hotson calls this underhanded lying and proves it by saying that they replaced it by something better. This form of denial must be a W. I. I. U. innovation.

At the first convention De Leon and others fought to defend the original clause. It has now been changed, however, and they state that the workers must come together on the political field under the banner of a distinct revolutionary political party. This is a phrase which the W. I. I. U. has inserted but in their actions it means nothing. The W. I. I. U. has steadily refused to indorse its parent, the S. L. P., or any other party. Half its membership belongs to the S. P. (see notes on convention in Weekly People) and hence they are afraid that to adopt their own preamble and endorse a political party will reduce their membership. The W. I. I. U. has not a revolutionary membership and its preamble does not make it so.

Let me remind Mr. Hotson of his own article, "Our Task and Our Goal," in the Industrial Union News (July 26, 1919):

"The revolutionary political party of labor, though absolutely indispensable in its field, is, however, the subordinate, **temporary, makeshift organization** made necessary by capitalist conditions. It is comparatively like the scaffolding of a building in process of construction. The Socialist Industrial Union is the **permanent** organization, which provides the working class not only a far more effective means of waging the inevitable struggle against reduction of wages and lengthening of hours, and bad conditions generally, but also organizes in such a way as to enable the working class to take hold and operate the industries in its own interests when once the workers, through majority vote, shall have expressed their will for the new social order.

This is something no political party can do, for the following reason:

"A political party, in order to carry on its struggle, must be organized along the lines of political subdivisions or demarcations," etc.

Is it any wonder that logical industrial unionists neglect the "makeshift organizations" and seek the "permanent." The idea that the political organization is weak because it is based upon territorial and not industrial representation is nonsense. It has been repudiated by the British S. L. P. after they slavishly followed the American S. L. P. for fifteen years. They are getting wise.

That's all—Mr. Hotson—unless you want to meet me in debate.

JOHN O'LONDON.

Shall Private Property Be Abolished in America?

By O. C. Johnson

If this question is put to a group of American-born workers, the probable result will be a series of questions in reply. In spite of the fact that living conditions for American workers are unsatisfactory to them, and strikes and union activities are increasing at a startling rate, yet the average native worker unfamiliar with Socialism is so stuffed with capitalist teaching in the public schools and the newspapers that he thinks America is "free," and just about O. K. So his answer would immediately be a question in return—WHY abolish private property? Is anything wrong?

Yes, there is something wrong, and it doesn't require a Socialist to prove it. The phenomenal growth of a plutocratic capitalism in this country has produced more billionaires than in all the rest of the world combined. All the automobile factories, the food-packing plants, the railroads, the mines, and most of the land are now in their hands and under their complete control. These things are their **private property**, to use as they see fit. The working class, on the other hand, is now a big army of workers who go morning after morning to work in these industries, and get barely enough wages to live on and support their families. These workers are so dissatisfied that they are joining unions, and going on strike in an effort to get more to live on. But because the places they work in are private property, they can't better their jobs permanently, but always must scrap with the boss in order to keep up the level of existence—and even at that, many are out of work, and wages are going down. Still worse, the capitalist class, which owns and controls all the jobs also controls the courts, and can use the police and the jails to make the workers come to time. It looks as if the working class were not much better than slaves.

Now the whole trouble is, that the factories and other industries are CAPITALIST PROPERTY. If they were PUBLIC property, so that the working class as a whole owned and controlled them, that trouble would

all be over with. The workers would make the work-day a good deal shorter, so that a workingman would have a little time for himself. They could also fix it so that a workingman would get greater remuneration, probably three or four times as much as he is getting now, because the great profits that are made now, and that the millionaire owners put in their pockets to make themselves richer, would mostly be used by the workers themselves. The idea is, then, to abolish private property in America as far as these large industries are concerned, and substitute public ownership, that is, common ownership. If any kind of private property, like a factory, for instance, has to be used by the workers in making a living, then it should be owned by them in common, not privately owned by a few rich men. This plan of abolishing private property, or rather private ownership of property, is called Socialism or Communism, and is now being successfully brought about in Russia in a gradual way. Of course, many lies are told about the Bolsheviki, but the truth is that they are simply abolishing private ownership of those things that the workers need. They are doing it so satisfactorily that the Russian workers are now firmly determined to keep on along this line, and all the efforts of the Allies to overcome the Bolsheviki are failing. The Russian workers know what is good for them.

Now, if this plan of abolishing private property works so well in Russia, why not here in America? It is needed here much more, for our capitalists are much richer, and have much more power. Moreover, the working class in America is better educated than in Russia, and have more skill in all kinds of machine work, and they could take over the industries that now are the private property of a few, and run them in their own interest much more efficiently than the Russian workers were able to do at first. They had to learn a lot about doing things that we wouldn't need to learn. But the Russians knew one thing that American workers are slow to learn, and that is, that as long as their jobs are the private property of the rich, they will never be any better off than they are.

Now that ossified looking youth, the British Crown Prince—beg pardon—The Prince of Wales, is being exhibited in America, as was his royal father and grandfather of odoriferous memory, it shows up one phase of the game of "kidding the workers."

In ancient Rome, we are told popular dis-satisfaction was calmed by "Free Bread and a Circus." In our own time an English statesman has said "What! the people are uneasy!—give them a Royal procession." And so the scion of the physically and mentally degenerate houses of Brunswick, Gueph, Wettin, et al., is paraded around like a two-headed steer to the great awe of the scissor-bill and amusement of the intelligent worker who is in the know.

"The man of independent mind, he looks and laughs at a' that"—well, said Bobby!

International Notes

By John Keracher

England With the cost of living steadily rising the workers of England are engaging in many strikes. Their leaders, like the American labor leaders, disapprove of the methods the workers themselves are developing. The strikes in many instances are pulled off in opposition to the leaders. Another feature that is causing these conservative office holders some trouble and alarming the authorities is the adoption of what the English call "direct action." This must not be confused with the I. W. W. conception in this country. By direct action the English labor movement means using the strike for political objects rather than for industrial gains. Such a movement, formerly referred to in these columns, was the "hands off Russia" campaign, which by a threat of a general strike compelled the government to pledge the withdrawal of the troops.

We now read that the British troops supporting Denikin in Southern Russia have been withdrawn. The peace conference decided to give no further active support to the anti-Bolshevik armies on the Baltic, as Esthonia, Lithvia, and other national elements have arrived at an agreement with the Bolsheviki. Whether this will be permanent remains to be seen.

One of England's active labor "leaders," Arthur Henderson, who was defeated in the last general election, has been victorious in a by-election at Widnes. This is proclaimed as a "victory" for labor, as it is the first time that any but a regular bourgeois representative has held the seat. It is, however, noteworthy that "labor's leader" had the pledged support of the Liberal Party. When the English bourgeois can support a labor leader they must be pretty sure of their man.

Another rumor comes to the surface, relative to the insecure state of the Coalition Government. Certain newspapers are asserting that Lloyd-George is about to retire from the premiership. If this is the case another election is almost inevitable. The government's inability to solve the Irish question, the continued industrial disputes, the more militant attitude of labor, together with the contradictory elements within the government itself, is having a disturbing effect that is almost sure to result in a political crisis before long. It is to be hoped that the working class in England is learning to understand the nature of capitalist class rule and methods of control. Learning to understand the State and need for absolute proletarian control of it, so that the State can be used as a means of expropriating the exploiters of labor.

Persia As far back as 1907, Imperial Russia and Imperial Britain divided the control of Persia between them. The theory that the British put forth at that time was that they were only interested in the maintenance of Persian independence, which was threatened by the aggressive policy of the Czar's government. The treaty gave Russia the northern half of Persia, including Teheran, the capital. Britain taking control of the southern portion.

With the advent of the Bolshevik revolution and the putting into effect of their policy of self-determination

(not merely theorizing about it like some of the leading democracies) Soviet Russia renounced the control over northern Persia.

When Germany and Turkey thrust out towards the Orient, the region of the Persian Gulf became the scene of military operations by England. Persia was occupied, and this occupation will be continued under the guise of helping Persia to prosper. In this scheme of progress and prosperity they will be encouraged to develop an army of their own "under the control of British officers." In the treaty Britain pledges to "respect absolutely the independence of Persia" and further pledges to supply "expert advisers" to assist the various departments of administration. To crown this "generous" scheme, a loan of \$2,000,000 will be made at the modest interest of 7 per cent. A part of this loan will be made by the Indian Government, a neighbor powerful enough to collect in a pinch.

The treaty under which "slight" concessions are made relative to building of railroads, control of oil fields and other mineral deposits, make it quite "clear" that it is all in the interest of Persia and out of sheer good will on the part of England. These concessions are merely incidental, and likewise the strategic advantages in relation to the Indian Empire, and the political and economic noose that is being made for Afghanistan. France is a little sore, we learn, about this ripening "Friendship" between her powerful ally and Persia, but it may be possible to appease Clemenceau and his associates by granting them the right to make friends in some other direction. The "new imperialism" is so much better than the clumsy old way. Leave it to the British diplomats when it comes to "World Democracy" and smooth stuff—they have the diplomat of bluff-land backed off the map.

Afghanistan The trouble between Afghanistan and British India has been temporarily arranged by a truce, which provides for the cessation of hostilities and other provisions, but it will be surprising if the warlike Afghans hold to it for long.

The advance of the Bolsheviki into Siberia, the repeated defeats of Kolchak, and the capture of strong positions on the Afghan border by the Siberian Bolsheviki, is, no doubt, giving some anxiety to the masters of the Indian Empire which is now under martial law. The recent declaration of independence on the part of the Afghans (England held suzerainty over them) was greeted and recognized by the Soviet Government in the following manner:

"The Soviet Government, from the first day they received power, have heralded to the whole world their desire not merely to recognize the right of self-determination of all peoples, both great and small, but to render assistance to those peoples who are struggling for their independence, and for the right to settle their own internal life in accordance with their own desires, without permitting the interference of the great foreign imperialistic governments. The Soviets have restored all that was taken away by the Russian Czars,

and have afforded autonomy to all Mussulman peoples. To those who desire to remain voluntarily in the Russian Socialist Federated Republic of Soviets, the Soviets have afforded material and military aid. Directly the Soviet Government learned of the declaration of independence of the Afghan people, that moment they admitted the desirability of entering into contact with the Afghan people."

United States The most easy-going, apathetic specimen of the genus homo has been that "king in overalls," the Yankee working man. In the not very distant past socialist arguments rolled off his indifferent head like water off a duck's back—if we may be permitted to use the illustration. But the war came on and while it was still novel and sensational, Mr. Average American took a sportsman's interest in the great struggle. As the conflict dragged on he lapsed into a "none of our business" attitude, and became a true neutral. He had no merchandise in danger on the high seas, no investments in foreign enterprises to protect. Unlike his capitalist "brother," he "didn't care a cuss who won the war." "It's over in Europe, thousands of miles from here—a kind of Royal Family quarrel. We should worry." This was the typical American attitude.

Economically speaking, the worker alone could be neutral. Following the outbreak of the war, industry stirred a little, soon its pace quickened and then it fairly boomed. Wages were good and employment fairly secure; the cost of living advanced a little but at first did not reach the heights that were to come later. "War prosperity" looked good to the worker; he almost forgot the hunger pangs of the jobless years of 1912-13.

Meanwhile, American capitalists were making millions of dollars on war orders and investing their surplus in Allied war bonds. The House of Morgan became the purchasing agents and financiers extraordinary to John Bull. Gold, the medium of exchange, literally flowed to America. Bonds in American enterprises, held by British capitalists, made a return trip across the Atlantic. So great was America's prosperity that it looked for a time as though the world's center of finance would gravitate from London to New York.

Still greater and greater loans were made to the Allied Powers; American financial interests were interlocked with those of the Entente. A wall of bristling steel and scorching flame surrounded the Teutons; their fleet was bottled up, starvation stalked at their heels—they were strangling in a great trap. In desperation Germany let loose upon her enemies terrors of the air and of the deep seas. Cities were bombed and shelled from long range; ships of all descriptions, passenger and merchantmen alike, were torpedoed without warning. England and France were almost beaten to their knees. Defeat for them meant disaster, ruin and financial bankruptcy.

With England, France and Italy bankrupt, who would repay the vast loans made by American financiers? The world simply had to be "saved for democracy." The ruthlessness of German war methods had stirred up the American worker. The sinking of the Lusitania, one of the greatest crimes of the whole criminal business, was eagerly seized upon for propaganda purposes by the pro-Ally press, which was vigorously urging war upon Germany. America's entrance into the war, the speedy mobilization and transportation of a vast army,

threw the balance of power so strongly upon the side of the Allies that victory was practically assured. Revolution in Germany finally brought the war to a close. The return of the army and demobilization has kept interest and excitement at a high pitch.

The Peace Council has come in for more or less attention, as has the more or less veiled warfare against the Bolsheviki.

Meantime, the state of mind of the American worker has undergone considerable change. We do not contend that the average worker understands what the fracas was all about; nor that he has suddenly become conscious of his class position in society—or even conscious that he belongs to a class—but he has lost much of his former apathy. He has quit saying that "it is none of our business." He and his kind have traveled overseas; Europe has become definitely connected with America in his thoughts. In fighting the "foreigner" he had to be a comrade with other foreigners on foreign soil. He sees that conditions at home are no better, if not actually worse, than before the war. It is true that wages have advanced but the cost of living has made even greater advances. Disappointment and dissatisfaction is rampant. Strikes are numerous and are taking on a new significance and character. Even the policemen are making the "discovery" that they are workingmen. The militant nature of the Boston police strike is a case in point. We do not agree with the smash action methods of the mob but it is a sign of the times. Labor is more or less aroused and is striking out blindly. The race riots in Chicago had their rise in labor conditions and in the competition for jobs. The great strikes which have paralyzed the industrial life of cities such as Seattle and Winnipeg, spontaneous and unplanned in their nature, were but miniature rebellions against the present order of things.

While these disturbances are going on, let us see what the class which holds power, the capitalists, are doing. As they do not work in the open themselves, we must turn our attention to their spokesmen, those who administer for them their political power. Mr. Wilson, pilot of the ship of state, is out stumping for the ratification of the Peace Treaty, including the League of Nations. He is being trailed by political opponents who oppose the terms of the Treaty. In the Senate, a minority report on the Treaty sets forth the advantages to be gained by US. It appears that the Peace Treaty includes Germany's acceptance of the conditions relative to the seizure of "Alien Property" during the war, and, in addition, that they will "pay the debts which Germany or Germans owe to American citizens." This eight hundred millions worth of property which WE seized belonged to German citizens. And to compensate US for shipping lost during the war, more than 500,000 tons of shipping which was seized will be retained by the provisions of the Treaty.

The WE and the US referred to is, of course, not the working class, who were compelled to do the bulk of the fighting. It means the capitalists, the owners of shipping and those who had investments in Germany prior to the war. Their claims will be paid in full—and then some. Of the eight hundred million dollars in seized, what will be the workers' share?

The American workingman is just beginning to understand how government operates—protecting the interests of the rich and powerful and ignoring the interests of the workers entirely. Hitherto, the cry has been: **No politics in the union;** today every gathering

of labor is advancing some political scheme. The railroad unions demand nationalization of the railways and the miners follow suit by demanding the nationalization of the mines. The Plumb plan emanates from the unions, and no matter how grotesque it may seem, it is a sign of awakening consciousness on the part of the workers who are backing it. As we go to press, the country is in the throes of a great steel industry strike. The steel magnates, the backbone of American capitalism, are determined to break the militant spirit of their vast army of employes. The mere tying up of industry is of itself of little importance—even when the strikers gain their demands. The only lasting benefits which such labor wars have is that they bring home to minds of the workers engaged the principle that **political power and ownership go hand in hand** and that the road to the permanent solution of their problems is **the conquest of the powers of the state**, in order to obtain the ownership of the means of production—the modern tools with which they work.

As You Like It

Gone are the days of chivalry!

Vanished forever have the simpering lady-fair and the armored knight of romance, whose doings, related both in official "history" books and in the more alluring dime novel of our youth, which were wont to make us lament that we were born in such dull times, and sigh for the "good old days," the days when every woman was a queen, when even her name could not be brought into the rude affairs of men without a battle.

But, alas! what shocks are in store for us in these degenerate days.

We read in a pamphlet issued by the Public Health Department of the Federal Government, entitled "On Guard," and circulated amongst "girls and young women" that "the girl who believes that she is doing a patriotic service by providing a 'celebration' for returning soldiers is ignorant of true facts. **She may unknowingly be spreading venereal diseases among these heroes.**"

The emphasis is ours.

Verily, in spite of the devastating influence of our motley crowd of slobbering "reform" sisterhood, the days of chivalry are, indeed, gone.

"What makes the movement look so blue?
The S. P. member said.
We're nearly through—we're nearly through.
The gay "Left winger" said.
For we're hanging the old 'Kangaroo.'
You can hear the Dead March play.
The comrades are in hollow square.
Just like on First of May.
They are scaring all their members off
and there will be hell to pay,
When they hang the 'old corruption' in
the morning."

In these stirring days of the real beginning of the international awakening of labor to its position in capitalist society—when the bourgeois masters of two con-

tinents are straining every effort to confuse and crush down the proletarian movement for emancipation—at this time it gives one a distinct thrill to be able to record that there yet remains in the "Socialist" Party local of the largest city in a Western State—a movement to run a "special" edition of a "Socialist" paper—featuring a threatened street car strike and a raise of two cents in car-fare.

Ye Gods and diminutive dwellers in the vasty deep!

Who would expect to find such a mental cave-dwellers attitude in a city that knows poverty and riches, class ownership of the means of life—and class dispossession. In a city in which girls of the working-class—realizing that it is more profitable to peddle sex-favors than peddle labor-power—are arrested and driven off the streets by the forces of "law and order." In a city which boasts of its high per capita of wealth and in which the workers are cursed with the physical and mental blight of capitalism—resulting from the robbery of the useful worker which goes on under the "Wage system"—the organization calling itself "Socialist" can find no better ways to assert its existence than by detailing the effects of the system as represented by a threatened strike of carmen—which didn't materialize—and the consequent two cents more which the struggling consumer would have to pay, or walk.

In the same way in which the humorist Artemus Ward opined that a little comic matter would not be out of place in a comic paper—some day it might occur to our self-styled "socialists" that an advocacy of socialism would not be out of place in a socialist party.

If it could be proven that the evils of Capitalism are caused by anything but Capitalism itself, why, then it might be in order for a "Comrade" to advocate the removal of whatever was doing the mischief. But for lack of evidence in that direction we must insist that "To a Socialist, as such—nothing matters but **Socialism.**" No, dear sister, not even women's suffrage or the "Abolition of the double standard of morals," thank you.

CORRESPONDENCE

We have received a letter from J. Harrington and one from J. Kavanagh, both members of the Socialist Party of Canada, and both relating to the series of articles on Revolutionary Political Action. Owing to the necessity of dealing so largely with the recent conventions we are unable to deal with these letters in this issue.

For similar reasons "The Socialist Forum" has been crowded out of this issue. This department appears to be quite popular with our readers, judging by the number of questions propounded. Questions of general interest will be published in the November issue.

Of late there have been so many requests for information in regard to Study Classes, how they are organized and conducted and so forth, that we have decided to prepare a special brochure covering these points. This will be ready in the course of a week or ten days and will appear in the November Proletarian.

Revolutionary Political Action

The Road to Socialism

(Fifth Instalment)

This is the fifth of a series of articles dealing with the various proposed methods of working class activity toward emancipation. Each of the many panaceas offered as substitutes for revolutionary socialism will be examined and discussed in detail. The subject will be dealt with under the following headings:

1. *Why This Discussion?* 2. *The Purpose of Politics.* 3. *Socialist Political Action.* 4. *Education and Political Action.* 5. *Political Action and Its Opponents.* 6. *Political and Economic Action.* 7. *Our Revolutionary Reformers.* 8. *The General Strike.* 9. *Is Industrial Unionism the Better Way?* 10. *The Value of Mass Action.* 11. *The Lessons of Russia.* 12. *Dictatorship and the State.* 13. *The Situation Summed Up.*

THE EDITORS.

The Value of Mass Action

If mass action means the conscious efforts of the organized informed mass of revolutionary wage workers against the few oppressors, we are for it. The recent propaganda of "Mass Action," however, is based on the theory that the workers are ready for it. So far from the mass of the workers being revolutionary, not even the membership of the various parties claiming to be socialist is fit material for revolution.

"Mass Action" has been defined as something more than industrial unionism and strikes. We are told that industrial unionism can only reach the mass of the workers after the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is accomplished. Writing in the "New International" (Feb., 1918), S. J. Rutgers said:

"Industrial organization has its limits beyond which we cannot go at the given moment of our action. Large groups of workers will continue for a certain time to organize in craft unions and although we will tell them they are wrong and fight them, where injurious to our class, still they will be a factor in our revolutionary struggle for or against. * * * We are convinced that the technical development of the capitalist world makes conditions ripe for the Socialist Commonwealth at this very moment, that only our lack of power stands in the way of the realization of our hopes."

What is this mass action? How does it express itself?

Louis Fraina (Revolutionary Socialism, P. 196) explains it as "the instinctive action of the proletariat, gradually developing more conscious and organized forms for certain purposes."

"It is extra parliamentary in method, although political in purpose and result, may develop into and be itself developed by the parliamentary struggle."

It is then instinctive action which may develop into the parliamentary struggle. "Organizations," says Fraina, "have a tendency to become conservative" and he relies upon the workers "acting instinctively under pressure of events." Masses acting instinctively, however, are a poor reed to lean upon. Instinct is blind. Unconscious action when unaccompanied by reasoning denotes a low mental state. Instinctively, mobs

become war mad, break up meetings of Socialists and engage in all kinds of unintelligent conduct due to their little education and reasoning power. The intellectuals and capitalist orators know this and they can easily mislead the workers who act instinctively. What we are suffering from is the instinctive actions of the mass right down the history of the working class. Only when they are educated in Socialism and cease to act as instinctively as mules will the workers be ripe and ready for emancipation.

Instinct is an insufficient guide because it ignores the knowledge and ideas which promote reasoned action. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Fraina and others are driven to the false position of relying upon an intellectual minority to bring about a revolution. Instinct may lead men to destroy in their rage but impulsive action alone cannot build a new society.

"Mass action may mean nothing or anything," says S. J. Rutgers in the article quoted. "It may cover the most conflicting thoughts and deeds." In the minds of its advocates mass action certainly covers a multitude of words which can be boiled down to parliamentary action and industrial unionism. In most minds, however, it takes the form of a general strike. All these phases have been dealt with in these articles. The very vagueness of the phrase makes understanding difficult. While it seems to imply the action of masses rising spontaneously in a time of crisis, the argument that a vigorous few must lead the many, makes it minority action, not mass action. There is endless danger in a few workmen dominating the mass and every possibility of failure to establish permanent improvement.

Action in the streets is another item in mass action. Here again there is vagueness. While political bodies make every use of the streets to hold meetings and conduct inspiring processions, it is another thing to set out to provoke military oppression. These street demonstrations are attacked by the mass action of the blind instinctive press-poisoned mob of workers and then the imposing force of arms which cuts down those it does not frighten away. To advocate that the Socialist minority should continually clash with the mighty armed power is to court massacre and the apathy resulting from it. Most workers now vote for their masters' candidates and if we are to rely upon their assistance we shall have a very rude awakening. In spite of their recognition of parliamentary action, the mass actionists, repudiate it almost as soon as they mention it. They argue that none of the institutions of capitalism can be used to our advantage. They forget that the political machinery and other institutions now used by capitalists to dominate are the result of long ages of evolution, and are due to material conditions and not the will of the masters. It took the workers of England forty years to get a share in the franchise and not until Chartists were persecuted and sometimes killed did the long painful struggle end in the passing of legislation by Conservatives to give workers the vote. If the vote is a plaything and intended only to mislead the workers why did they have

such a fight to get it? Why do the capitalists spend millions to enlist it on their side? Why do they lie like Christians to vilify any Socialist who attempts to take part in an election? While the various sections and parties of capitalism are prepared to unite against a revolutionary candidate, they use every agency to prevent a revolutionary voice being heard in their council chambers. If, on the other hand, we try first of all to make use of existing institutions and political organs in our march to power, we will rally the workers to our side in greater numbers, should the capitalists abolish their own machinery and "democratic" procedure. The workers will readily understand that the ruling class have driven us to rely entirely upon other methods. They will easily see that our anarchist masters have given us no alternative. We will have a clear call to the masses against our enemies who force us to concentrate upon a more violent and naked struggle for political domination. We have no illusions about the brutal and anti-democratic character of the employing class. We never forget, that in the last analysis government rests upon force. And as this force is controlled through the present political machinery, our efforts must be directed to capture this machinery. Our tactics depend upon the nature of the forms of government and conditions of the time. Parliaments grew up centuries before the capitalist era. They have been the battle ground of class conflicts and the class who won control of them eventually dominated the situation. To ignore these institutions, to turn our backs upon them and at once call for uprising or purely industrial warfare is to play our masters game. They know how to handle opposition amongst the workers against such an anarchistic policy, and as outlaws nothing will be left us but an underground conspiracy of a mutually suspicious minority. We must not leave the organs of political powers such as parliament in the hands of our enemies. While they are centers of political control, we have to wrest them from the capitalists. If they destroy their institution, our tactics will be adapted to suit the new conditions. Our work of education and organization will not be wasted, but be even more essential in the newer conditions of struggle. Let us remember, however, that the capitalists cannot destroy elective institutions without paralyzing the entire system of modern commerce and industry, which depends upon smooth working of all its parts. The capitalists established elementary education to make the workers better profit-making instruments. Socialist books become enemies of capitalism. So with the vote. In spite of their wishes and hopes, the capitalists dig their own graves. The workings of their system drives them on to their funeral.

The value of street fighting has certainly faded in face of the mighty instruments of modern military science. The European War and the use of great machine guns by the Scheideman Government in Germany clearly shows the puny power of workers unarmed with the latest weapons of warfare. The mass actionists are trying to revive the days of the barricade, of 1871 Commune days. They are blind to the terrible vengeance enacted on the people of Ireland who tried street warfare in the Easter Rebellion of 1916.

A few months before he died (1895) Engels wrote an introduction to Marx's "Class Struggles in France." He tells us that the old methods of proletarian masses led by an alert minority, have gone forever. They proved disastrous in the past and will more so in the

future. Says Engels: "Let us harbor no illusions on this point. An actual victory of a revolt over the military force in a street fight, a victory as between two armies, is a thing of rarest occurrence.

"As conditions have changed for warfare, so not less for the class struggle. The period of sudden onslaughts, of revolutions carried out by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses is past. Where the question involves the complete transformation of the social organization, there the masses themselves must be consulted, must themselves have already grasped what the struggle is all about and what they are to stand for. This is what the history of the last fifty years have taught us. But in order that the masses may understand what is to be done, long and persistent work is needed and it is just this work that we are now doing and that, too, with a success that drives our opponents to despair."

On this question of the force against which we must fight, Engels says: "Even if more trained soldiers are found on the side of the insurgents it will be so much more difficult to arm them. The hunters and sportsmen's guns from the retail stores, even if the police should not have rendered them unserviceable by removing part of the lock as a precautionary measure cannot by any means compete with the magazine gun of the soldiers at close range. Up to 1848 a man could manufacture the necessary ammunition himself out of powder and lead; but today the cartridge is different for every gun and only in one particular is it alike everywhere, viz., that it is a technical product of large scale industry and therefore cannot be prepared extempore, and therefore most of the guns are useless so long as one has not the ammunition specially fitted for them. Finally, the new districts of the great cities have been laid out with long, straight broad streets, as if made with special reference to operations with modern cannons and small arms. The Revolutionist would be insane who would deliberately select the new workingmen's districts in the north and east of Berlin for a barricade fight.

"Does the reader now understand why the ruling classes are so anxious by all means to get us where the rifle cracks and the sabre slashes? And why today they accuse us of cowardice because we do not straightway betake ourselves to the streets where we are beforehand certain of defeat? And why they so passionately beseech us to be good enough to play cannon fodder just for once." (Introduction to Marx's *Class Struggles in France*, 1895.)

Even the I. W. W. has been driven to ask: "How could we have mass action before we have control of the mind and will of the mass? We have first to carry on an intensive work of education so that we get the mass on our side and at the present rate of progress that will not take many years. When the mass of the industrial population has adopted the principles of the Communist Society, then the time has come for a change. Then and not before can there be talk of a "revolutionary mass action," but then it will not be mass action a la bolshevik; it will be organized mass action by a majority. This being a democratic country the will of the majority will decide." (*One Big Union Monthly*—May, 1919.)

Let us remember the final editorial of Karl Liebknecht in the "Red Flag" where he confessed that the "time was not ripe"—"the masses were not ready." Mass workers action of a few against the many means

massacre and apathy arising from defeat. Mass action of the many workers against the few exploiters must be built upon education and organization for the complete control of political power.

Mass actionists hold that the coming of Socialism cannot depend upon the conversion of a majority of the working class. Karl Radek the prominent Bolshevik declares (*Workers Dreadnought*, May 3, 1919):

"In no country in the world will the Revolution be the act of the majority of the population. For Capitalism is not merely the physical control of production but everywhere it controls the minds of the masses as well. Want and oppression, the cataclysmic effects even of that product of Capitalism war, will not suffice to cause the universal rising of the oppressed and despoiled. The revolt is always led by a minority which accomplished the revolution."

This point of view was continually expressed at the Communist Party Convention, especially by Fraina and Hourwich. If it is true that capitalists will always

control the minds of the masses then Socialism will never come. A vigorous minority is no substitute for a well-informed majority, especially in such well-trenched capitalist countries as America, England, etc.

The advocates of mass action continually insist that only in action can the workers get a revolutionary outlook. Action, they say, is the great educating influence. By action they understand strikes and demonstrations but we have examined the educative value of strikes in previous articles. It might be well to point out here that strikes, etc., have a limited educative influence. The strikes of the capitalist world have been carried on by the very workers who support Capitalist politicians. Even for the purpose of conducting strikes and union activity theoretical knowledge of the class struggle and socialism is valuable. Alike on the economic as on the political field, the teaching of Socialism is the condition of working class success.

JOHN O'LONDON.

Manifesto and Program

Minority Report of the Committee on Manifesto and Program at the Communist Party Convention.

Working men and women of America! Are you content to remain indifferent to your own welfare and the welfare of your class by ignoring the proletarian struggle for power that is taking place throughout the world today? Are you content to forever toil that others may live in luxurious idleness? Do you desire to remain in bondage and to grant as a heritage to another generation the poverty, misery and ignorance of a class ruled society?

If not, study this manifesto, in order that you may understand the principles here set forth and take your place among the men and women who are moving on to the inauguration of a new social order. Affiliate with the Communist Party, the party of deeds, the party of working class emancipation.

The Communist Manifesto of 1848 was a challenge hurled to the capitalist world by the proletariat upon its first firm step into the arena of class conflicts. The manifesto of the Communist Internationale re-echoes the old call, but today it comes not so much a challenge, as a call to the final conflict.

We, the communists of America, affirming our allegiance to the Communist Internationale, whose first congress was held at Moscow, the seat of government of workingmen's Russia, will carry to the workers of America the call that has been kept alive by the vanguard of the proletariat in its sometimes weary, sometimes triumphant, struggle during the past seven decades on the road to a higher form of society: "Proletarians of All Countries UNITE!"

A SPECTRE IS STILL HAUNTING EUROPE and the entire world—the spectre of Communism, just as it did in 1848, when the Communist Manifesto was issued to the world by Marx and Engels on the eve of the first great battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a battle that shook to their foundations three nations of Old Europe. Though this first struggle soon ended in defeat for the working class and confined the class struggle solely to the contest for power between the rising capitalist class and the declining feudal system, the capitalist states entered into a holy alliance against the communists and ruthlessly hunted down and endeavored to exterminate every vestige of independent proletarian action.

"Communism has been exorcised!" shouted in unison the spokesmen of the ruling class; but in 1871, workingmen's Paris proclaimed the commune and for two months, against the ruling class of France and Germany, against the vilification of the balance of the so-called civilized world, the crimson emblem of the proletarian revolution floated from the Hotel de Ville. Again the revolutionists perished, along with the revolution they had made, before the blind brutality of the capitalist class; again the apologists for this ruling class assured the world that communism was at last dead—forever!

Again, on November 1, 1917, communism became a reality in Russia—an actual power. Soviet Russia, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, is now laying the foundations for a communist society. The lessons taught in the first manifesto and in the conflict of 1871 have been utilized by the Communists of Russia,

and with a clear understanding of the mission to which history has called them they are able to triumph over the intrigues of international finance-capital and through the combined treason and ignorance of petty bourgeois socialists.

Capitalism has served its purpose in history, has outlived its usefulness; the forces of production have developed to the point where they have come into violent conflict with the existing social relations: idleness and luxury on the one hand, toil and poverty on the other. The structure of this society is so rigid, so incapable of self-adjustment to the conditions of higher industrial development, so clearly a class instrument of oppression, that save through revolution no change is possible. The time is now ripe for a social revolution by and in the interest of the working class.

Only the inertia and lack of understanding on the part of the working class permits the continued existence of a social system based upon wage slavery; a system which permits the ruling class to revel in idleness, luxury and debauchery by means of the wealth produced by the workers; a system which preserves and perpetuates human slavery; a system that can only exist so long as the majority of the working class is kept in ignorance and superstition. In order to perpetuate its power every avenue of information is controlled and prostituted in the interests of capitalism; the press, the pulpit, schools and colleges, public playhouses and all other institutions serve to pollute the minds of the workers, in an effort to keep them content with their misery, poverty and unspeakable degradation.

We Communists, representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of America, call upon the working class of the nation to familiarize itself with the principles of Communism, to the end that it will enter the proletarian class struggle freed from all petty bourgeois delusions, and realize the necessity of separate and independent proletarian action against the capitalist class for the purpose of acquiring all power for the revolutionary proletariat, under the banner of the Communist Internationals.

Capitalist Dictatorship vs. Proletarian Dictatorship

The class struggle was a fact in history before capitalism or Communism was ever known: it was invented by no one, but is the logical and inevitable outcome of the social development of a certain period. It was not invented. It evolved! Simultaneous with the division of society into classes there arose a special instrument of coercion in the hands of the ruling class to enable it to maintain its supremacy over the subject classes. The history of chattel slavery, feudal serfdom and wage-slavery is proof of the correctness of the Marxian definition of the State—AN INSTRUMENT BY WHICH ONE CLASS ENSLAVES ANOTHER!

The pretense of democracy under capitalism enables the ruling class to impose its will upon the workers, to wage the class struggle relentlessly against the working class. The control of the means of information has a strong tendency to keep

alive the belief in so-called popular government, even though the proletariat is conscious of its deplorable condition.

Through deception, bribery, demagogism, slander and terror the capitalist class perpetuates the illusion of popular government. The "freedom" of capitalist countries is merely the freedom of the capitalist class to maintain an iron dictatorship over the masses, and the government of each capitalist country is merely a part of the dictatorship of the world's capitalist class over the international proletariat. Bourgeois democracy spells slavery for the workers, for as Frederick Engels declares: "The possessing class rules directly through universal suffrage."

The working class is led to attribute its misery to individualistic rather than social causes, as the idea of individual responsibility is one of the reflexes and attributes of the present system of wealth production and distribution. The basis of the capitalist class dictatorship is not to be explained on the basis of an inherent depravity on the part of the capitalists, but in the economics of the capitalist system of wealth production.

Labor power under capitalism functions as a mere commodity, offered for sale on the open market. Due to the private ownership of the means of wealth production, the workers are forced to sell their labor-power at a price which gives them only a bare subsistence, while the ever-growing surplus product, made possible by the increasing sub-division of labor and the development of machinery, serves to enrich further the master class. Through machine improvement and efficiency methods, the margin between the workers' wages and the value of the wealth they produce increases enormously and therefore the relative condition of the working class continues to sink lower and lower, and the misery of the workers rapidly approaches the limit of endurance.

"The anomaly of starvation in the midst of plenty, a distinctive feature of capitalist society, becomes more and more apparent to the workers; and the capitalists themselves overpowered by the forces of production they have perfected but are no longer able to control; suffocated by the enormous mass of wealth they can no longer consume; and faced by the ever-increasing army of the unemployed—will be compelled to give way to the economic and human forces around them."

These forces came to a head when the crisis arising out of the internal contradictions of world capitalism gave rise to the GREAT WAR. The international bourgeoisie unhesitatingly deluged Europe with blood in the mad orgy that followed, brazenly sacrificing millions of workers' lives in their rivalry for pelf and power. In the midst of this anarchy the Russian proletariat arose like a mighty giant and hurled the hideous monster of bourgeois greed out of their land—forever!

The war is "over"—officially. Peace is signed—officially. And the great bulk of the world's workers are still being ground down under the iron heel of the Capitalist Dictatorship.

Society, however, is in constant process, and may progress by leaps and bounds in times of strife or social crisis. The irremediable defects of capitalism have been demonstrated in a thousand social ills, in financial crises and panics, and in the Great War. Capitalist dictatorship is about to fall.

In this crisis the only class that can take over the management of society is the working class, the class which must emancipate itself by overthrowing the capitalists. This can be done only through the capture of the political state.

When the proletariat attains power and establishes its class dictatorship over the rest of society, it too must organize a special repressive force representing the interests of a vast majority of the entire population. The institution of bourgeois democracy having been abolished, in its place will be established a proletarian democracy based upon the direct power of the proletariat. This new form of government is not disguised, nor does it pretend to represent all the people, but just the useful elements, the immense majority. It is the dictatorship of the proletariat. The experience of the Paris Commune of 1871 taught the proletariat that it cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made machinery of the capitalist state and wield it for its own purposes, so a new kind of state machinery arose in Russia, patterned after the Commune, which is known today as the Soviet. This new type of government replaces the army and the police of the capitalist state by the armed citizenry of the proletarian state, and is sufficiently elastic to at all times represent accurately the degree of development of the proletariat. With the institution of this new form of government the proletariat is able to suppress counter revolution, oppose the forces of the proletarian nation to the encroachments of the Imperialist capitalist nations, and proceed with the transformation of industry from a capitalist to a communist basis.

Thus the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, unlike capitalist

governments, with its false democracy, is not intended as a permanent condition, but as a transitory institution, bridging the gap between capitalism and communism. To act as the vanguard, and guide the proletariat of America in the fulfillment of its historic mission—self emancipation—is the aim of the Communist Party of America.

The Communist Party and the Working Class As a Whole

The Communist Party of America affirms now, as did the Communists of 1848, that it has "no interests separate and apart from the proletariat as a whole." It points out to the American proletariat that their interests are the common interests of the entire world proletariat, regardless of sex, government, color, nationality, or country. The Communist Party always represents these common interests of the proletariat, and constitutes "the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties" on this continent, striving to "rescue the proletariat from its mental asphyxiation by bourgeois ideas."

In thus serving the interests of the whole working class, the Communist Party does not, however, endorse "labor parties," "moderate" socialist or reform parties, but, on the contrary, consistently opposes them, explaining to the workers the true function of these parties as the final obstacle to the overthrow of capitalism. As proof of this, attention is called to the Social Revolutionists and Mensheviks in Russia and the Majority Socialists of Germany, and to such men as Kerensky, Ebert, Scheidemann, and their prototypes in England and America—Henderson, Gompers, Hillquit and Berger.

The Communist Party has the advantage over other labor movements in that it is based on a clear knowledge of the driving forces in history and the ultimate outcome of present social movements.

Platform of the Communist Party of America

A. OBJECT:

The Communist Party has for its immediate aim, the dictatorship of the proletariat, with all political power in the hands of the working class; for its ultimate aim the Communist society, based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means of wealth production.

Its motto under capitalism is "Down with exploitation of the workers;" and under the proletarian dictatorship it will strive for the establishment of a communist society wherein the motto will be, "From each according to his faculties, to each according to his needs."

In attaining its object, and in its program, tactics and general party activities, the Communist Party holds, with Lenin, that "it behooves Marxists to resort to special emergency tactics, for Marxists do not consider personalities, but merely objective facts, masses and classes." Marxism demands of us the most exact, objective analysis of the relations of classes and the concrete peculiarities of each historic moment. This necessitates the adaptation of correct methods to American conditions, for Marxian teachings are not a dogma, but a guide to action.

B. THEORETICAL PRINCIPLES:

The three principles of scientific socialism—the Class Struggle, the Labor Theory of Value, and Historical Materialism—are the irrefutable basis for the Communist parties of the world; they constitute the starting point of, and foundation for, all useful proletarian philosophy, politics, aims, propaganda, organization, tactics.

The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is evident to all the world. The headlines of every paper blazen it forth each day, and he who runs may read.

The Labor Theory of Value is disputed only by bourgeois economists whose flimsy doctrines must be upheld, even in the universities, through the bald compulsion of the ruling class. There can be no refutation of the proposition that articles of commerce are given value by the socially necessary labor needed to produce them. Neither can there be refutation of the oft-demonstrated fact that laborers produce a goodly surplus over and above what they receive in wages, a fact which plainly shows the exploitation taking place—a fact the concealment of which is in the interest only of those who profit by this exploitation.

The Materialistic Conception of History is the Marxian principle that material conditions determine all social institutions

—all governments, religions, ideas, beliefs, laws. This discovery explains how capitalism grew up, and why capitalists try to remain in power; and this is why capitalist learning hates and fears the teaching of Historical Materialism. But the proletariat uses it as the key to history, and by its means understands the present social system, thus enabling itself to fulfill its historic functions, secure its own emancipation and build a new society.

In accordance with the above, therefore, the Communist Party sets forth the following propositions as a general guide to action:

1. Like other social systems, capitalism has served a useful function in history, namely, that of developing the machinery of production and preparing the way for the proletariat to establish Communism. It has now served that purpose, and, because of its inherent contradictions and dependence on class rule, its continued existence is a menace to civilization and fraught with wretchedness and peril to the entire proletariat. Its abolition therefore, is a social and historical necessity.

2. Since a political change of real benefit to the workers implies the end of capitalist exploitation, any attempt at such change is futile so long as capitalism remains in power. Furthermore, experience has shown that if the workers are capable of bringing sufficient pressure to bear upon the capitalist state to force it to yield any substantial portion of its power against its will, they have sufficient power to compel the capitulation of that state. Still further, history proves that "liberal" and reform parties have at all times served as the final bulwark of the oppressors against the revolutionary oppressed. The Communist Party, therefore, leaves all reform agitation to the organizations and groups that consider the present social order worth reforming. And it does not, as do other socialist parties, make "immediate demands," for it realizes the uselessness of demanding from the bourgeoisie that it shall cease to be imperialistic—or that it shall pass "out of the capitalistic structure of society."

3. The workers are exploited as a class, not necessarily as individuals; and as a class they are exploited as producers, not as consumers. Hence, all bourgeois promises of cheap food, for example, as a reduction of the "high cost of living," is mere camouflage, and calculated to deceive the workers. "Lowering of prices" is the bourgeois notion of cheapness to get a cheap working class! Not by lowering prices, but by abolishing exploitation will the misery of the proletariat be brought to an end.

4. Owing to the fact that the present system of wage slavery is in the interests of the capitalist class, the workers must realize the futility of expecting betterments from them, or from political parties reflecting their interests. The emancipation of the working class can come only through the workers themselves. All bargain making with capitalist politicians therefore, all opportunistic support of "honest" or "good" men opposed to Communist principles, is the height of folly and must be regarded as treason to the proletariat.

5. During the last few years a great deal of ink and breath has been wasted on "profit sharing," "co-operative societies," purchase of stock by employees, etc., etc. These plans are loudly advocated by employers and capitalist apologists as being "fair" and "liberal" to the hard working laborers; in reality they are shrewd schemes to placate the workers in a time of growing discontent, siren lullabys to put them to sleep, while increased exploitation goes on apace. In the same category is all "social welfare" work, and other such charitable flim-flams, intended to make pauperized laborers "grateful" to the very persons who hold them in slavery. The Communist Party calls on all intelligent workers to spurn the crumbs that capitalist duplicity offers them.

6. The working class will achieve its emancipation only when it acquires the power to do so. To have power the workers must unite, and to exercise power they must win control of the powers of state. But to unite efficiently for this purpose they must understand their class position and their class interests. Constant and intensive education of the workers is, therefore, the first and most essential immediate task. We must not stagger and hesitate, as do the moderate socialists, and thus muddle the work of enlightenment and education. We must, like Lenin, emphasize the "necessity of patient, persistent educational work, of spreading understanding, adapted to the practical needs of the masses."

7. Efficient proletarian organization must include both the industrial and the agricultural proletariat, not merely because it is tactically advantageous, but because both belong to the exploited wage working class, both are vitally interested in the project of emancipation. The Communist Party, therefore, realizes the necessity of an agrarian, as well as an industrial program, and of propaganda among rural laborers and pauperized

farmers. The rural proletariat is hereby called to the standard of the class conscious workers of America and of the world.

8. Since all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interests of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party. Hence the attitude of the Communist Party towards all other political organizations, whether alleged socialist or avowed defenders of the present social order, is one of scathing criticism and militant opposition.

9. Our propaganda attitude toward present day institutions and social phenomena, shall be to explain, criticize and attack if necessary, without exception, each and every one of these institutions that prop up, apologize for, or defend the capitalist class in its privileged position. In this respect, religion as a social phenomenon and the church as an institution shall be explained in the light of the Materialistic Conception of History. This attitude is necessary to uproot superstitious ideas that are used to befuddle the minds of the masses and to rid them of capitalist ideology.

10. The Communists of America recognize the truth of Marx's statement that the class struggle takes in each country essentially the form of a national struggle. Therefore, we will "strain all our energies in an endeavor to develop the revolutionary movement and feed the revolutionary struggle in our land." Hence, the Communist Party of America devotes itself primarily to the class struggle here, under the economic, social and political conditions that now exist, or that may arise in the United States. It will utilize the regime of American political democracy for its organization against capitalism and will run candidates for political office and engage in other forms of parliamentary activity wherever and whenever this activity can be used as a means of reaching the workers with its revolutionary propaganda. The main advantage in securing political office in the bourgeois legislatures is that of using such position as a forum from which to speak over the heads of the representatives of capitalism to the masses of the working people.

However, to demand of the proletariat that it shall be content to yield itself to the artificial rules of parliamentary procedure devised by its mortal enemy, but not always 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.

11. Although the class struggle is carried on most intensively within the confines of the individual capitalist nations, nevertheless the proletariat in every land must ally itself internationally with the proletariat of all others. In relation to this matter, the Communist Party of America will establish and maintain relations with the Communist groups of all other nations, and ally itself directly with the Third International.

12. "The working men have no country." The interests of the world proletariat are identical in every land. The workers, therefore, who join the Communist Party will not be misled into supporting the imperialistic schemes of the American bourgeoisie, as instanced, among other examples, by American interference in Mexico and they will recognize the true character of all capitalist wars as due to conflicts between the economic interests of competing capitalistic nations or alliances.

13. The party endorses the industrial form of labor organization as against craft unionism, since it is in conformity with the industrial development of capital itself. It pledges its support to all mass industrial struggles directed by the workers against their exploiters, and will officially participate in such struggles. The object of participating in these mass struggles is to sharpen the workers' understanding of the class conflict, develop their class solidarity, and train them for the final act of emancipation. We should realize, however, that the strike in itself has its limitations. As Trotsky points out, "the capitalist can wait longer than labor in cases of interrupted production," and Marx, too, says: "In its merely economic action capital is the stronger side."

14. Scientific Socialism, and its living truth in Soviet Russia, demonstrates both the need of a provisional state during the transition period preceding Communism, and the necessity for political action in the conquest of state power. Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism, therefore, are basically unsound, in that they not only deny both needs, but acclaim other methods based on so-called "direct action," and other crude methods, means which amount to transferring the discredited anarchist doctrine of "propaganda by the deed" to the industrial field. Anyone who affects indifference to the state, as being a mere "reflexion" of economic power, those who do not see the necessity of capturing and breaking down the state and establishing in its stead the

proletarian state, fail completely to understand the nature of the class struggle. This blindness to the state power, with its encouragement of violent attack by insignificant minorities, spells danger to the workers. Russia's experience with Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism is further evidence that they must be regarded as constituting an obstacle and peril to the proletariat in its struggle for freedom.

C. PARTY ACTIVITY AND ORGANIZATION:

The Communist Party, in carrying out its revolutionary principles, shall engage in the following lines of action:

1. Candidates shall be nominated for public office, election campaigns being utilized for propaganda purposes. Candidates elected shall be subject absolutely to party control.
2. There shall be a party owned and controlled press.
3. The party shall sell no literature not in keeping with its principles, either nationally or through local or branch organization.
4. The party shall systematically organize Communist Study Classes in order that the workers may be best fitted to work for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Communist Society.
5. The party shall maintain a centralized lecture bureau and supervise, control and assist the work of all speakers, teachers and organizers engaged in party work.
6. There shall be standardization in methods of organization, accounts and reports, etc., from the lowest local unit to the national organization, in the interests of efficiency.
7. The party shall carry on intensive propaganda adapted to the agrarian proletariat and poorer farmers, in addition to that essential among the industrial proletariat.

D. TACTICS:

The subject of tactics requires particular attention at this time, owing, first, to a widespread misconception of the nature of world changes that have lately taken place, and, second, to the recent growth of conflicting and anti-Marxian theories, in which every conceivable tactic, no matter how absurd finds ample justification. It is of the greatest importance to the proletariat that correct tactics be formulated and followed, else not only will needless trouble result, but indefinite postponement of proletarian success as well.

The Communist Party advocates the tactics of revolutionary political action by the working class—meaning those actions taken to secure control of the state power in order to establish a proletarian state and transform the social system. This action includes the agitation carried on to arouse the workers, education to enlighten them and organization to marshal them for the conquest of state power.

For the present this action will proceed chiefly through parliamentary channels through the use of the machinery of political democracy. However, we must not confine ourselves to mere parliamentary procedure, nor lose sight of the value of the mass action of the proletariat when inspired and guided by a correct understanding of the needs of the working class. As Engels says "Universal suffrage is the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It never can and never will be anything but that in the modern state, but that is sufficient. On the day when the thermometer reaches its boiling point amongst the workers, they, as well as the capitalists, will know what to do." It is the task of the Communist Party to direct the masses into the channels of planful political action, in order to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class.

To successfully carry out political action of any kind, education of the proletariat—"the most practical form of revolutionary activity" at this time is necessary. We must get the majority of the workers on our side. "We are not Blanquists," says Lenine, "we do not stand for a seizure of power by the minority." But the majority must be taught sound Communist principles, and when it becomes necessary the new circumstances will breed new politics. "As conditions have changed for warfare," says Engels, "so not less for the class struggle. The period of sudden onslaughts, of revolutions carried out by small conscious minorities, at the head of unconscious masses is passed. Where the question involves the complete transformation of the social organization,

there the masses themselves have already grasped what the struggle is all about and what they are to stand for. This is what the history of the last 50 years has taught us. But in order that the masses may understand what is to be done, long and persistent work is needed and it is just this work that we are now doing, and that, too, with a success that drives our opponents to despair."

The best guarantee for sound action, in any crisis, will be the Communist knowledge possessed by the class conscious wage slaves. In highly developed capitalist countries, like the United States, the social revolution, whatever the circumstances, requires the aroused and intelligent interest of the great mass of the workers. Well informed, well organized, alert and insistent—such a working class will be able to dominate the situation in spite of all that may happen. It is impossible to have the right kind of mass action before we have control of the mind and will of the masses. Mass action of the many workers against the few exploiters must include education and organization for the complete control of political power.

The Communist Party will utilize every opportunity of spreading Communist propaganda, through shop committees in the industries and through its members in the industrial unions. When the work of teaching Communism inside and outside of the present unions has been carried far enough the organizations will reflect the ripening minds of the members. Until then the unions formed will be composed of non-Communists and Communists alike, and calling them industrial unions will not make the members Communists—will not make them revolutionary or class conscious. The worker must not think as a member of his industry, but of his class. One Communist union for the whole working class will remain a mere hope until the workers are Communists. The workers must organize into a revolutionary political party which aims at Communism through the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The Task of the Hour!

Now is the critical period of the world revolution. Capitalism is on the brink of utter collapse. Staggering under the load of war indebtedness, even the "victorious" countries are facing bankruptcy. The masters of the world are straining every nerve to rehabilitate their slave system, and to maintain their domination over the working class. In desperation they are mobilizing every repressive force, every brutal means, to crush the rising proletariat. Like every dying ruling class the despairing bourgeoisie are deserting their barren ideals. At the behest of the rulers, the parliaments are passing repressive laws wiping out the last vestige of freedom of speech, press and assemblage, nullifying all pretense at even formal "democracy." They are organizing for an absolutely complete domination of the world by force.

On the other hand, flushed by its first great victory in Russia, the proletariat of the world is rallying for the final struggle. Discarding all weak and reactionary elements, the working class is organizing itself for the conquest of political power. The time for hesitating and vacillating is passed. There can be but one demand in this critical hour—the complete abolition of the wages system. With the organization of the Third Internationale the proletariat severed all connections with the betrayers of labor—cowardly reformers, social patriots and liberal bourgeoisie. Action and re-action throughout the world have reached the parting of the ways. The classes are lining up for the final conflict.

In this crucial struggle all class conscious workers will know where to stand. There can be no traveling down the center of the road. Either you are with the working class or you are against them. If you as working men and women are willing to submit to exploitation and robbery on the part of the capitalist class you will follow the old path of servitude, content to remain in poverty, misery and ignorance. But if, as workers, you realize the truth of the Communist position, if you are conscious of your abject position, if you wish to leave anything more than a heritage of slavery to the coming generation, and if you have the courage of your convictions you will not hesitate to affiliate with the Communist movement and carry the struggle on to the final triumph of the proletariat of the world.

"The Communist Internationale calls the entire world proletariat to its final struggle."

"You have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain. PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!"