The Necessity of an Emergency National Convention

The Revolutionary Age

upon the momentous happenings through which the American world is passing. The last considered opinion of the American Socialists was issued at the St. Louis Convention and dealt almost exclusively with the war. The war, as it was then, is over, and in its place have developed new antagonisms and new problems; arising out of the war itself and out of the revolutions which the war developed. The war was merely as a preliminary struggle, in which contradictory elements were by the necessity of the moment forced to make alliances. With the signing of the armistice these elements began to resume their correct relation and out of the welter of nationalistic war began to emerge the real alignment of the conflicting forces of the world—the forces of Capitalism opposed to the forces of Socialism.

Day by day this alignment becomes more distinct. The shades of opinion are gathering together and assuming definite color. The lines of demarcation are becoming definite and distinct. The two conflicting elements—Capitalism and Socialism—are drawing to themselves all their sympathetic forces for the final struggle.

Many Socialists foresee this development, even through the smoke of battle, and are already adapting their programs to the new conditions, but even the most foresighted never anticipated the incredible swiftness with which this transformation would come. Socialism, from the position of a weak movement propagating an ideal, has leapt to the position of a vital force in action, dominating the trend of the world. In all the calculations of statesmen and diplomats Socialism is now the dominant factor and the chief concern of bourgeois governments is the defeat of this new force.

But with this sudden transition from theory to fact, the Socialist movement of the world has had to face new problems within its own ranks. Old radical issues have gone by the board and men who prior to the war sat side by side are now engaged in death grips. Where the revolution has marched into action, the assault on the aristocratic remnants of feudalism has been a matter of practically no moment. The proletariat moved, and with it the old order, crumbled on its thrones. With the collapse of aristocracy the revolution faced its real enemy, Capitalism, dressed in the habiliments of bourgeois democracy. And led by men from the ranks of the Socialist Leadership. The real struggle of the revolution, while essentially a struggle between Socialism and Capitalism, was the fight between Socialists and Socialists. Majority Socialism, first in Russia and now in Germany, became frightened by the development of its own theories. Therefore a period of fruitless compromise found itself doing the work of its bourgeois masters.

The situation in the countries where the revolution developed is necessarily reflected in the Socialist movement of the other parts of the world. Within the Socialist movement is developing antagonisms, differing fundamentally from the antagonisms which are necessarily a part of any healthy progressive movement, and these antagonisms will inevitably rend the Socialist Party in this country into a thousand fragments if it is left without any definite plan of action or well-considered program.

Due to a variety of causes, these antagonisms have as yet not assumed definite shape in the American movement. A vague feeling of unassailability, a restlessness, is so far the only outward sign that they really exist, but the conviction of this “International Congress” will precipitate the crisis and finally split the movement unless the membership is given an opportunity of expressing its attitude.

The Second International is dead, dead at the hands of the revolution. It was the fight between Socialism and Capitalism, was the fight between the Socialists and the Imperialists. The Third International, which is to be the International of the revolution, is as yet only in the germinal stage. It needs a Congress to ratify the resolutions that were adopted at Brussels, to establish the International of the revolution in all the countries of the world, to give to the International the power and authority that it must have to accomplish its mission.

Resolution adopted by the City Central Committee of Local Bodies, Socialist Party of Massachusetts, on January 14, 1919.

(1) Whereas the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of this country has sent delegates to represent the party at a gathering of degenerate ex-Socialists to be held in Brussels, Switzerland;

(2) Whereas these delegates, in a gathering and the delegation invited to it, mostly men well known as traitors to International Socialism, who, having concluded a Holy Alliance with the capitalists, monarchists and reactionaries of their respective countries have sacrificed the world millions millions of millions of millions millions of millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions millions 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The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of Events in Europe.

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Saturday, January 18, 1919

American Journalism

Mr. HEARST and his papers have recently been the object of attack by other bourgeois papers.

He has been denounced as anti-American and in turn he has denounced his accusers as the enemies of the people. All this makes good newspaper copy and is not anti-Semitic to any American who keeps his minds occupied with unpleasantness, but there is another aspect of Hearst Journalism which it would be well for the community to consider.

For some time past the Hearst papers editorially opposed the occupation of Russia by American troops, said a good word for the Bolsheviks and strongly denounced the misrepresentation of the Soviet Government by the American press. At the same time as these editorials appear in his newspapers another agency bears Mr. Hearst's name, the Hearst news service for the moving pictures, takes a quite different attitude on the Bolsheviks. In one of this series of news pictures an animated cartoon entitled The Menace is shown. A scene of desolation and ruin is depicted and gradually as the film develops the giant shadow of a ferocious Russian peasant with a villanous looking pistol in one hand and a blazing firebrand in the other, is seen gloating over the ruins. The shadow is labelled "Bolshevism."

Which is the true portrait of the Bolshevik? Is it the word picture of the idealist, which shows the Bolshevik as a renounced, misrepresented, highly-emotional and undisciplined people who are striving to establish order out of the chaos wrought by four years of war and centuries of Czardom; or is it the film picture, which portrays the Bolshevik as an evil force, armed with the pistol of murder and the torch of incendiarism, seeking what it may destroy? It would be well for the public to pass judgment on the over-all of American Journalism—if they accomplished nothing else they would at least save themselves from the ignominy of being treated as "villlile fools prepared to swallow anything placed before them.

They Are Still There!

Perhaps the best proof of the real character of bourgeois democracy is furnished by France's action regarding representation for the Soviet Government at the peace conference in Paris. France! Who suffered during her revolution in exactly the same way as Russia is suffering today. The Great Powers of Europe united against her cry of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" thinking that behind that cry stalked the "terrible menace" of the awakening of the common people. The hot proof of their success in crushing the spirit of the revolution is France's answer to Great Britain's proposals regarding the Soviet.

"The French Government, so far as it is concerned, will make no contract with crime," says M. Pichon, the French Foreign Minister. "By agreeing to recognize the Bolshevik Government we should give up the lie to the people—which the Allies have not ceased to sustain in overthrow—of furnishing at all accessible points of Russia all aid and succor possible to the counter-revolutionary movements of Russia in order to help them to escape from the bloody and disorderly tyranny of the Bolsheviks and to reconstruct a regular government by themselves." It is true that the French Government is prepared to make no contract with crime for it is already contacted to the crime of Capitalism. A contract which made possible the horrors which she so recently predicted, are the great aspirations of the Russian people in 1905-6 and which necessitated the invasion of Russian territory in 1918 to terrorize the Russian people into paying the money which France was so keen to get from "the enemy." But it would be folly to suppose that because France is the mouthpiece for the refusal to allow the Soviet Government to participate in the Peace Conference—a conference which Russia more than any other single agency brought about—the other capitalist governments are willing to recognize Russia. France is merely the foolish spokesman for the more astute forces of the Great Powers. England makes a plea for a policy of conciliation in Russia, and France refuses. Since when did England become the conciliator in disputes? Can capitalism England afford to have Bolshevism triumph any more than capitalist France? Even our own bourgeois press shrills loudly that the United States, removed from Europe by three thousand miles of sea, cannot tolerate the growth of Bolshevism in the western prison of peace. And if capitalist America opposes Bolshevism fifteen thousand miles off, how can capitalist England tolerate it when only removed by a few hundred miles? Great Britain's policy is not yet to be regarded as a social-political alignment, made to be respected. England has a strong working class, a working class becoming increasingly impatient with war against the Bolsheviks, and a growing sympathy amongst the Russian peasantry. 

America has given Russia many fine words and now perhaps is even taking a few phrases about conciliation. But actions speak louder than words. Alien troops are still in Archangel and Vladivostok.

Spargo and the Labor Party

With the formation of an Independent Labor Party in New York, Chicago and several other cities well under war The New York World publishes in last Sunday's issue an interview with John Spargo. For some reasons or another The World seems to think that Mr. Spargo is an authority on matters—though he has found out time and again, when he sent it to Europe, that his information regarding the labor movement was very scanty and that on the other hand he doesn't think they are either fools or traitors—if he has not spent his time "abusing his former comrades"—he thinks they were wrong on some fundamental points, but he doesn't think they are either fools or traitors—"The World allows him to plunge into the depths of Socialist philosophy. After wallowing around, with the help of the interviewer, finally a leading question is sprung and then "Mr. Spargo smiled."

"Mr. Spargo asked what the new Labor Party would be a 'strictly American party or would it be (here his voice dropped to whisper) international in its aims and attitude?' Panning to smile, Spargo rushes into explanation. After explaining that the Socialist Party is nationalist, although calling itself internationalist, and that all the rest of America is violently anti-nationalist, though it signifies itself nationalistic, and that nationalism and internationalism are one and the same thing except in fundamental differences, he delivers himself: 'It is quite possible then that the new Labor Party will not think of itself as international; but if it is a genuine Labor Party it will not only be a Socialist Party in fact, whatever its name, but most likely most participate in the international Socialist movement.' But despite the cautiousness of terms that Mr. Spargo uses, the head of the men who have been fighting in favor of it and down at the end of the interview he gives his reasons for his attitude. Labor it appears is beginning to wake up and if things don't go the way it wants them to, there is a danger that it may be very nasty, so Mr. Spargo wants a "same unionism, no thing like Russia, that will step by step realize the utilitarian realization of theory we have been fighting for." In other words it he wants a safety valve, something that will keep the workers quiet without really placing the general system of society. And Mr. Spargo is a Socialist!

The movement to create a Labor Party in America is a healthy sign, a sign of the awakening of the workers to the realization of theory we have been fighting for. But it is only a sign, so far. At this stage of the world's development the creation of a Labor Party is the most profound step taken by the workers. If it is a successful move, if it is a successful move, it is not to be hated with enthusiastic delight. The day of reform is fast passing away, and a new party that will aim to placate the workers and lull them into a sense of false security may well prove a step backward. On the other hand it is to be hoped that at least the march of the times and is destined to hold labor back, at least for a time. We wish the new Labor Party well, that it will develop the class consciousness which its creation indicates is beginning to make itself felt in the ranks of the proletariat. The way to such development lies in having nothing whatever to do with Mr. Spargo or his brand of "Socialism."

Bolshevikjevs

The Peace Conference opens its sessions and all is well with the world except in Russia, Germany, Italy, Poland, Ireland, Hungary, America and a few other unimportant places.

"In fact if the Conference had delayed its sittings for a few more weeks it would have had a much easier task because by that time there would be no peace to discuss."

As Russia, China, Ireland and a few other countries are to be excluded from the peace table it would seem to be alright to call it a Selective Peace Conference.

"Perhaps in view of the way things are going in Tsarist and elsewhere it will be agreeable to call it a Peace Conference."

The life of a Bolshevik leader is at least an eventful one whatever else one may be said about. Liebknecht has been killed, Jaeger, wounded, and exiled within the last week according to the Torsky dispatches, while within almost the same period of time Trotsky has fled from Russia, Jailed Lenin, executed a thousand bourgeois officers, been in bed away with several million dollars in gold and been confined to bed with a bad cold. Lenin has not been so fortunate of late having been merely shot while leading Bolshevik troops, thrown into jail in Moscow by Trotsky, cloistered with von Ludendorff and overthrown by the Russian Government at Stockholm.

The New York Tribune in a headline tells us that the British Empire is a miniature World League which seems to us to be at a loss to disengage from the agitations against the League of Nations we have yet heard.

It would appear from the press reports that unless a little food is given to the starving workers of Europe they may take all they need.

General von Ludendorff is reported to be busy writing a book which will be in the nature of a defense of his part in the war. It would be a good idea for an enterprising publisher to issue all these books, now being written by former generals, admirals, ministers and diplomats, in a series under the title "A defense of failure."

It looks as if one or two Nobel countries to be visited with self-determination is Luxembourg and it serves her right for not resisting the Germans.

Why is Italy like Oliver Twist?
Nothing Doing!

By George Bernard Shaw

The following article from the London "Herald," a left wing Socialist organ, is an interesting analysis of the war in Europe. G. B. Shaw has maintained an attitude all his own during the last five months and although he has expressed the possibility of the war having never surrendered his right to continually criticize the government.

In Savannah it began, and it is in Savannah that they would secure a khaki election before the end of the war, and that would enable them to do the shocking work that is the result of the struggle between the Socialists and the Syndicalist anarchists. And there is a sort of civil war like that followed, a still more appalling crash of the foundations, that so hopeless before the apparent strength and depth of democracy Sir Edward Grey swallowed every infamy and diabolism, from even the two, combined, can now cost the Coalition, yet the chances of spilling the complete walk-over deliberations, even so good of Grey, to their sincere Labour politician in his senses would seem of giving the Prime Minister any other answer than that the Coalition is discredited not only by the collapse of the war, but by the equally unexpected and far less welcome thoroughness with which it has achieved its object. All the Allied Governments had to profess: the overthrow of Autocracy and Oligarchy in Central Europe. Our oligarchs baled out of Central Europe and their Great Powers were as much down to Potsdam as Germany, 1919, suddenly crashed; and the possibility of a Prime Minister in his charge.

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A Criticism of the Finnish Revolution

By O. V. Kuusinen
Translated by O. W. Ohlsen

This self-criticism first appeared in a revolutionary publication published in Petrograd, Russia. Smerch, February 1, 1919, and was immediately translated into the German language.

For many years O. V. Kuusinen has been recognized as an outstanding Russian revolutionary and ultimate leader of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. For seven years he has been the Party's leader in the Diet of Finland

In 1918 he was arrested and sent to a German prison where he spent a number of years. But now he has been released and has returned to his homeland, Finland.

In the summer of 1918, the Bolsheviks established a Workers Academy of Science in Moscow, they put Kuusinen on the faculty. Being directly connected with the Civil War in Finland, and bearing throughout the year a heavy responsibility in the conflict of action, my name has been somewhat overshadowed by the beleaguered from the bourgeois (parliamentary) clique. It was not until after the Russian Revolution that I have had the opportunity to travel about the world for an examination of our experience.

The revolutionary outbreak of 1917 came to us like a flash from heaven, and our party was overcome by the events in March. The Bolshevik strength grew like a whirlpool. As might be expected, the Russian Revolution of 1917 surprised the bourgeoisie of Finland. The bourgeoisie grasped it as a drowning whirlpool. As might be expected, the Russian Revolution of 1917 surprised the bourgeoisie of Finland. The bourgeoisie grasped it as a drowning whirlpool. As might be expected, the Russian Revolution of 1917 surprised the bourgeoisie of Finland. The bourgeoisie grasped it as a drowning whirlpool.
Labor Defense Conference will hold

A PROTEST MASS MEETING
for release of political prisoners
Sunday, January 19, 1919
2 p.m.
Grand Opera House
Cor. Washington and Dover Sts.

SPEAKERS:
Jim Larkin
H. W. Dana
Edward Morgann
Eadmond MacAlpine

ADMISSION FREE
Auspices Boston Socialist Party

Jim Larkin
Will speak at
Dudley Street Opera House
113 Dudley St.
On
Sunday, January 19, 1919
At 8 p.m.
Auspices James Connolly Literary Society
The Background of the German Revolution

By Louis C. Fraina

III

A fundamental issue of the Russian Revolution has been the issue of peace. On this issue the new government and the new movement, the imperialistic bourgeoisie had to continue the imperial war, because its interests and its world-imperialistic policies were involved. The proletariat and the impoverished peasantry had to struggle for the end of the war, as was the case with all the revolutionary movements in oppressed countries.

The new proletarian Soviet Government, or the newly-organized workers' and soldiers' committees for the discussion of an armistice and for all other questions, was a revolutionary attempt to grasp opportunities afforded by the war to establish a new order in Russia. It was the liberation of all the working classes from slavery and exploitation, which resulted in the peace negotiations, issued by the Bolsheviks, announcing that Socialism and the proletariat in Russia had conquered all government.

"The revolutionary struggle for the peace, all the more important, sustained by the workers of the whole world, against the Russian government, is not only a struggle for peace, but, above all, a struggle for the freedom of the proletariat throughout the world."

For months the self-proclaimed bourgeois stabilists and the social democratic opportunists had been fragmenting on the question of the armistice, and especially the labour movement had been involved in the discussion of revolutionary ideas among the Germans, and Austria.

The Allies refused, equally, to enter into general peace negotiations; and imperialistic Germany, engaged in a peace conference at Brest-Litovsk in December, 1917. The Bolshevik delegation appeared as a peace party, all the while appealing to the Allied proletariat and socialists to compel their governments to accept peace negotiations; but their appeal met no decisive response.

The attempt of the Allies allowed Germany to form an armed camp against Russia. The Austro-German delegation accepted the formula of no annexations and no indemnities in words, but refused to give up the annexation of the Baltic provinces in violation of the armistice terms.

Trotski and other Bolshevik leaders exposed the sinister imperialistic aims of the Austro-German delegation, but to no avail: German and Austrian imperialism, with the tacit approval of the Allied socialists, had determined to impose an imperialistic peace of violence and war with an armed camp against Russia. The Bolshevik delegation used the forum of Brest-Litovsk to speak to the proletariat of Germany and Austrian working class, urging the armed camp against Russia to the conflict for peace and freedom. We withdraw from the Brest-Litovsk peace conference, but we know that the forces of the Revolution will ultimately wipe out peace and war; it is our business to continue our work.

In the long run that your confidence will be rewarded, and that the German socialists and the Russian Revolution will march to victory and freedom. In October, a formidable enemy advanced towards the Baltic fleet at Flotan and the sailors of the Russian Baltic fleet send their greetings.

The Marston enthusiasts of the Baltic Fleet send their fraternal greetings to their heroic German comrades who were fighting for peace, freedom, and unity.

"The Russian sailors are in complete possession of their battleships, and are ready to advance to their High Command. The fleet of the former Czar, Poltava, now the head of the fleet, is in possession of the Imperial war ships. The whole of the common sailors, one man from each ship.

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Craft Unionism and the New Movement

By Michael T. Berry

Is it any wonder that in the face of such a suicidal criminal program as is undeniably the program of Gompers and Company, it is any wonder that each succeeding crisis in this country, from 1870, has revealed the fact that the union fosters a state of things which will set one set of workers to be pitted against another in wage wars. The trade unions aid the employable class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class has interests in common with their employers.

This sad condition must be changed, the interests of the working class upheld, and while the capitalists rule still prevails all possible relief for the workers must be secured. That can only be done by an organization aiming steadily at the complete overthrow of the capitalist wage system and formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry or in all industries necessary cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

This intelligent program of industrial unionism must supplant the Gompers-Micha'el and his tribe to keep themselves in clover and the rank and file of the working class chained to the cause of Capitalism.

The A. F. of L. is the legitimate offspring of Capitalism. It came into being in 1881. It was created to put the Knights of Labor out of business, which it did. "Canny Andy" was the Dionysus of the Labor Party.

The craft unionism is a false program which has put crepe on the door knobs of the working class, and that in the face of such a suicidal criminal program as is undeniably the program of Gompers and Company, is it any wonder that each succeeding crisis in this country, from 1870, has revealed the fact that the union fosters a state of things which will set one set of workers to be pitted against another in wage wars.

The working class have been made to know the worth of their labor to the employers, that their labor is the sole source of wealth to the employing class. And Labor is the only one that can do for the working class what the trade unions have failed to do. The working class and Labor are Brothers.

The cornerstone in the edifice of craft unionism is the "capital with capital" program of the union. The unions have been made the tool of the employers. The "capital with capital" program is the criminal program as it is undeniably the program of Gompers and Company, is it any wonder that each succeeding crisis in this country, from 1870, has revealed the fact that the union fosters a state of things which will set one set of workers to be pitted against another in wage wars.

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A New Appeal

By John Reed

does not watch the Courts which interpret the law. For example, take the various Anti-Injunction bills passed by the American Federation of Labor as "a new Magna Charta." And such measures are as effective as a soporific against the workers in industrial disputes. . . . Consider the Child Labor Law, declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The list of effectively nullified labor laws on the statute-books is endless. . . . And if the employers' union is ineffective, the employers simply refuse to obey them, and drag out litigation in the courts until the matter is quieted.

The American worker does not see to the heart of the society in which he lives. When the truth becomes obvious, he is inclined to think that all abuses can be corrected by agitation, by the law, by the ballot-box. He does not see that to do part of the work of civilizing is corrupt from top to bottom, because the capitalist class controls the sources of power.

And yet there is one important truth which he has learned. He knows that the immediate problems of his daily life in industry cannot be solved by politics. For that is necessarily a kind of insurrection—direct action—direct strike. The American worker, however, is only vaguely interested in the problems of other unions, and this vague interest is manifested by the organization of the dominant American Federation of Labor. One union will handle the shop products of a factory in the other, and each will strike against the other. What business is it of the teamster, or the railroad man, who makes the material he transports?

A new tendency among the American Federation of Labor is necessarily composed of limited and exclusive kinds of workers, because of the direct practical interest—the fact that they are the skilled men, and therefore must protect their privileges, not only from the employes, but also from the great mass of the unskilled workers who might lower the level of their position. Half the victories of American Organized Labor are at the expense of the unorganized and the unskilled. . . . In the machine character of modern industry, however, it is itself operating a change in labor organization. The day of the skilled man is passing. Any man can run a machine. In Bridgeport, for example, all the troubles arose from the fact that the employes took unskilled men and trained them; and then they sold that skilled man—at wages less than the machinist was doing it. Three machinists cost a good deal in wages: but three men, each trained to perform one-third of a machinist's function could do the work of three machinists, and do it for two-thirds less money; and at the time the American Federation of Labor's Union was smashed.

In various sections of American industry there is appearing now a new tendency. Political parties are finding that they do not include the masses. The Labor Party is a symptom of this new movement. But why an American Socialist Party? The reason is that the Labor Party is a practical organization, designed to carry out politically the economic demands of the classes; while all the other Socialists have to offer is the election of candidates to office, where they are uniformly impotent, on a platform which is too broad to appeal to the craft training union of the American worker.

The I. W. W. presents another phase of the same question. Here again is an organization which is practical, and appeals to the man who does things with his hands. If the worker becomes conscious of his class-interests, and sees the truth, he naturally wants to formulate what they want in the most practical, the quickest way. He sees that the workers must control, first of all, the sources of wealth. He sees that the banks do no good. Industrial action works; he knows that. He realizes the utter failure of the craft-unions as organs of a working-class best on controlling industry. He is disgusted with politics. Why should he bother the vote at all? They have an easy, and direct action is the only weapon he needs.

If anything were needed to demonstrate the value of such class actions, the Russian Revolution ought to do it. No true Socialist denies that the parliament system is bad, but he sees that it is an industrial parliament: but the transformation of the political to the industrial system must be expressed by political action. The Russian workers' struggle lies in the fact that it creates opportunities for the education of the workers, and for industrial direct action, and protects these two essential methods of the struggle of the working-class for power.

And it is our appeal to the middle-class persons who think that Karl Marx wrote a good Anti-Trust Law. . . .

We have no quarrel with that kind of Propaganda—except that it does not make Socialists. My idea is to make Socialists, and there is only one way of doing that—by teaching Socialism, straight Socialist, revolutionary Socialism, international Socialist. This is the way he has been taught to characterize the Russian Revolution, and the German Spartacus group did. They approached not Socialists, but people: workers, peasants, soldiers, who have found out from the workers people what they wanted, and organized a government, according to their program, and explained how they were related to the other demands of the complete Social Revolution. And they explained, explained, explained, explained. Revolutionary Socialism is not a refined theory adapted to industrial conditions, but is the work of inventing new Socialist tactics, merely so that intellectuals can discuss what Karl Marx would have thought about it. Revolutionary Socialism, above all other kinds, must be practical—it must work—it must be close to what it is about; and make them quick.

Comrades who call themselves "members of the Left Wing" have an immediate job to do. They must be away from their desks; and they must be away from their desks; and they must be away from their desks. . . . They want more—make them want the whole Revolution. They must do this in words which can be understood immediately by the workers, in terms of their own lives. In this lies the secret of success of the Non-Partisan League. In this lies the secret of success of the baby American Labor Party—or will lie, if it is successful. We, however, have a bigger job than the organization of either of those movements: for we must include them and go beyond them, and our appeal must be first of all to those whom they do not include, the unorganized masses. And this is the real social problem, the real social problem, the real social problem, the real social problem, the real social problem: . . . the propertyless.

The work of the coming class must be conscious of it: that all the sources of wealth belong to the capitalist class—who are conscious of it; that this mass stdout of workers, before they can control their own lives; that the education of the other classes is controlled by Force—Economic Force—and that it can only be opposed by Economic Force. And finally, the workers must be told that they have the force, if they will only organize it and express it, and the others who are controlled by Force—Economic Force—and that they want to keep people from doing what they want to do—if only they know what they want to do. And it is our business to formulate what they want to do.

Said Nikolai Lenin, at the Peaceants' Congress in Petrograd, "If Socialism can only be real when the Socialists are in power, then, by God, we can begin to make it now: if Socialism is to be realized in the revolution, then we shall not see Socialism for at least five hundred years. The true Socialist political party is the Vanguard of the Revolution, and it will not allow itself to be halted by the lack of education of the masses average, but it must here and now begin a propaganda fight under the slogan: Lynn up the Labor Organizations for revolutionary initiative.

"And we agree with the Third Congress of Soviets, "You accuse us of using force ... We admit it. All Government can use force. But if you don't and we do, it is because you are fighting against your class - that is, against the people, and directed against those who have exploit