I have received a flaming appeal from a comrade of ours—an appeal to issue a call to action to you who are out, to rally to the cause of your comrades who are in prison. This is the appeal:

"Oh, Fraina, are we not cowards to stand by timply like this when our strongest men and women are behind bars which we could break?

"Are we not hypocrites to assemble on Sunday afternoons, as if to enjoy ourselves, listen to a few speeches, and pass a few innocent resolutions?

"We do not take it seriously. Wake us up! Speak to your own cell!"

"Why don't our comrades appeal to us, the mass for whom they were imprisoned?

"We do not realize the awfulness of it all. Why do you men let us forget our mission? Appeal to us! We would be base indeed if the voices of our celled comrades cannot wake us from this lethargy."

I am urged, and I shall speak.

I shall not speak for myself. My term ends in a few short terms, I shall speak of my comrades who are serving long terms in prisons that cannot break their spirits or degrade them, but which do torture them. I shall speak, moreover, not of them and for them principally, but of and for the Cause of which they are imprisoned.

For our imprisoned comrades are not the least fortunate. They do not envy the physical liberty of men and women who are intellectually in thrall to Capitalism. The iron bars of their cells, of their prisons, cannot imprison their ideals, their minds; and while the mind is free, one is supreme and may mock at governments and at iron bars, mock even while the body is being broken. They suffer, but their ideals come first. They desire liberation, because, after all, they may then contribute more than they are contributing now.

The imprisonment of our comrades is testimony to the brutality and class character of the government; but it is equally testimony to the lack of power of Socialism. Karl Liebknecht goes out in the streets of Berlin urging armed revolt against the old Imperial government—four and one-half years in prison; 

"Eriga Delta steaks against the war and in favor of the Bolsheviki—ten years in prison! The Italian Socialists in Ferrara are convicted of high treason—seven months in prison: but, for the most trivial offenses, scores of our comrades are serving three and five, ten and twenty-year terms. The savagery of the American government in its attitude to political criminals has been unparalleled. But the "clumsiness" of the German, French, Italian and British governments is a consequence not of their being less savage, but of the power and consciousness of the proletariat. The American government is as savage as it is because it believes the proletariat will not protest in action against tyranny and reaction. Acquiescence invites repression. . . .

Your comrades are in prison. In a world trampling upon ideals, they maintain their ideals; at a time when the majority is yet a very short minority in terms of the military struggle, they think in terms of the proletarian class struggle. Apparently reaction is all conquering, omnipotent; but the tens and hundreds of men and women who are now in iron cells, and whose spirit sings in joy at the outward sweep of the Revolution—these men and women mock at the temporary triumph of reaction, knowing that you are striving to liberate them, that you are in the masses which, once acquiring full expression, will crush the reaction. They are augurs of the Revolution.

Your comrades are in prison. They are in prison because they could not let the flame of freedom die. They are there as a protest against the democracy of words and the tyranny of deeds. They are there that the proletariat may awaken to consciousness; that the soldier may not offer up life in the service of death; that the world may cease being a sham; that the proletariat may cease being pariahs, and the world smile in the joy of life, instead of agonize in the sorrow of death.

Your comrades are in prison—for you, m.m. and for you, women. Are you out there for them? . . .

I know that you are with your imprisoned comrades. I know that you are striving to liberate them, that you are eager to welcome them home—to life and the great struggle. But my pen stops; my eyes look straight ahead—there are the iron bars of my cell; six feet beyond are still more iron bars; then come the winds, the rain, the snow; barred with iron; and outside is the prison wall. The keepers are hawling out orders. . . . In another cell is Roway Baldwin, in another Ralph Cherney; other comrades in other cells, in this one prison alone. And—but how many prisons are there in this free nation of ours? . . .

Are you doing all that could be done for your imprisoned comrades? I have no right to ask this in the name of myself, but have I not the right to ask in the name of tens and hundreds of imprisoned men and women—Comrades all?

The anguished appeal of our young comrade is lofty and intense—it is true.

I know that it is an impatient appeal—that it is the flashing appeal naive perhaps, of the ardent spirit of youth—impetuous, impulsive, eager for the moon. It is all that. But is not the spirit of Revolution the spirit of youth? Are we not apt to become too patient, to accept routine for action, to get into a state of mind bordering on lethargy? The complicity can be shocked out of us. I have been guilty myself; I was bordering on lethargy, my other imprisoned comrades becoming a memory, when this appeal flamed through me and restored my spirit. Are you not, O comrades, perhaps equally guilty? The impatient, ir-repressible, haughty spirit of ardent youth is the spirit of Revolution—Geheimnis.

The indictment of your young comrade is too sweeping. I admit that. Meetings are necessary; resolutions are necessary. Aggressive agitation is itself an act of Revolution. For many lonely years the revolutionary activity of the Bolsheviki was limited in this way. But we are apt to do that which the Bolsheviki never did—accept the means for the goal, forget that agitation is simply a preparation for creative action. Youth is apt to repudiate the necessity for the hard, grinding work of preparation; but is not experience apt to grow cold, calculating and obstructive, losing the first line flush of revolutionary ardor?

Will the time for action never come? That is the query of your imprisoned comrades. They have a right to ask. Their imprisonment in itself, contributes to Socialism. We must learn, we must acquire, and nothing more, unless it inspires you to action and you use your imprisonment to arouse the action of others. The ideals of the individual are a source of Revolution only as they become mass ideals.

Our activity might become still larger and more intense—not one of you, I believe, will dispute this. But that is not the issue. It is not the lack of propaganda, but the character of this propaganda that is at issue. And, I must confess, the propaganda for our imprisoned comrades is in general a bourgeois liberal provocation. It is not revolutionary agitation. It is not directed toward action. Expressing indignation, indurating in protests—that accomplishes very little. Our imprisoned comrades, their ideals and their action must be made an issue of the proletarian class struggle: the bourgeois liberal attitude is worse than impotent, it promotes reaction. This issue and all other issues, must be met by an intensive, aggressive agitation for revolutionary mass action. The party must revolutionize its policy and agitation.

The official party policy in general is largely bourgeois liberal—not the impossibly policy of revolution of the Bolsheviki. We must learn, we must acquire the new spirit of the Revolution; we must reconstruct and reorganize. We must devote ourselves anew to the revolutionary class struggle.

"Are we not cowards to stand by timply like this when our strongest men and women are behind bars which we could break?"

You could break the iron bars of our prisons—and of Capitalism. We could. you and I, and the masses; we intend to—but do we, really and seriously, flaminly, or is it simply an intention? Is it a resolve to act to immediate action, or is it simply an ideal for the days to come?

Your imprisoned comrades call upon you to act—not for them, but for the revolutionary struggle. They depend upon this struggle. They will this struggle—menace and relentless, beautiful and inspiring.

We must dare. We must issue the revolutionary challenge uncomprovincingly. There are your imprisoned comrades; more—infinitely more—there is Russia and our own crisis; there is the international proletarian revolution—all insist upon action. We must frame our challenge to Capitalism, but also to our own complacency, to our own inaction, to our own policy of hesitation. Fearless and aggressive in all things: scorning timidity and consequences.

We must dare, you and I, comrades. We must act, creatively and dynamically.

Break the iron bars, O comrades—the iron bars of our prisons, of your fears and prejudices, of moderate "Socialism," of Capitalism!—

Break—and then we shall build anew, firmly and honestly.
The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of Events in Europe.

JULIUS C. FRIEDA ................... Editor
EADON MACALPINE .......... Associate Editor

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The Left Wing

On other pages we print the Manifesto and Program of the newly formed Left Wing of the Socialist Party and also the Program of the Chicago Commerce Propaganda League, while on the back page we have a program of the Portland, Oregon, Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors. All these documents are expressive of the present tendency in the Socialist and Labor movements of America, which is the reflex of the march of the Socialist and Labor movements of the world, and more particularly of Europe.

Europe is aflame with revolt, and, the bourgeois press to the contrary notwithstanding, this revolt is the spontaneous uprising of the masses themselves. In various places, as for instance England, Scotland and Ireland, the revolt is as much directed against the old time leaders and the old methods of narrow party work and craft organization as against anything else. The bourgeois press rejoices that the strikes in Britain and America are concluded, and is the leader of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, the largest industrial union in the world. It naturally follows that he is a Bolshevik, in as much as he is a part of the movement of which the Bolsheviki are the expression in Russia, it also follows that he is in sympathy with the I. W. W., which is the American expression of the industrial union movement, but in Ireland he is known as a Socialist and Labor man and is not affiliated with the Sinn Fein, which is a purely political movement. The Irish working classes are in conflict with both Ireland's demand for independence and is always found in the forefront of the fight, but whereas Sinn Fein aims at the establishment of an Irish Republic, the Irish Socialist and Labor movement aims at the establishment of a Workers Republic in Ireland.

48-54!

Lawrence, Massachusetts, is a typical New England mill town, a town of squalid poverty and despair. Bandaged against the pleasantries of the evening sky it shows the grim outline of tawny, factory buildings, accompanied by giant chimneys belching forth smoke, and the long monotonous lines of factory buildings. As the train pitched in the midst of the confusion of a railroad freight yard greets the traveller. An irregular plot of brown lifeless grass opens into a street of business bostle, a street composed of new flashy buildings—the architecture of industrial riches—and gaudy stores, of unexpected vacancy spaces covered with odds and ends of discarded building material and of tall irregular telephone poles.

Stretching away from the common, a plot of grass and trees of some beauty, runs a long straggling street offshoot with little streets lined with the hideously regular modern dwellings of the toileurs in industry. Such is Lawrence, the scene of one of the bitterest industrial battles of recent years and always the scene of the grim never-ceasing class struggle. And her little streets, her wooden dwellings, her broken pavements, her grim fighting, make this land of lifeless grass plots are the scars of that struggle.

We had read in the Boston papers that the class struggle had again flared in open revolt, that the strikers were assaulting scale, that disorders were so far advanced that the relief of the welfare of their children, had been forced to import police from surrounding towns, that mounted police were riding down the workers on the sidewalks of the city, that the foreign workers were holding up the town, so we decided to visit our brethren and see for ourselves what was happening.

We arrived about noon and found in the main streets of the town people going about their usual business. Everything seemed peaceful and no outward signs told of anything unusual, except that we did not see an unusual number of police ostentatiously parading up and down.

Making our way to the headquarters of the strikers we found the Strike Committee engaged in deliberations presided over by Sam Bramhall, an old-time Socialist rebel of English extraction, a member of the Cambridge Committee. The members were seventy women representing thirty-one nationalities, the delegates from different mills. Business was proceeding in an orderly and systematic manner as we entered. The doorkeeper, recognizing one of us, informed our comrade, Ike Kaplan, that Jim Larkin was in the hall.

A motion was immediately made that the regular order of business be suspended and that Larkin be asked to address the delegates. It was carried enthusiastically and Larkin stepped forward. He explained that the workers in the vicinity felt it their duty to come amongst them and find out what the position was so that the outside world of labor might become acquainted with the details of the struggle, for, needlessly he said, the principle they were fighting for was accepted by the whole of the international labor movement, namely the right of the worker to dispose of his own life. He regretted that their imagination had not carried them as far as in the field of practical demands as their fellow workers in other industries. "You should not only ask for a shorter working day" he said "but an increased wage and the right to participate in the management of the industry." He assured them that the eyes of the whole working class of America was centered on Lawrence, but that in saying this he did not mean to imply that all the labor leaders. He promised that they should get the fullest publicity and the cooperation of the best minds of the American labor movement. He, with others, would place themselves unreservedly at their service.

The writer, when called upon, acting under instructions from the editorial board of The Revolutionary Age, placed the columns of this paper at their disposal and informed the Strike Committee that John Reed would, if necessary, attend to the publicity. F. Cosgrove, a member of the Firemen's Union and an active New England Socialist told them that the keynote of their success was solidarity.

After the session closed we adjourned to the home of the secretary of the Strike Committee, Ike Kaplan. During the evening we were entertained by a young man, a section of the Textile trade whose ability has been recognized by the Central Labor Union of Lawrence, which body engaged him to organize the present movement. He appeared to be a whole-souled enthusiast, yet with a practical grip of the details of the industry and possessing a personal knowledge of his fellow workers and their needs, and, as always follows with this type of man, a conscious Socialist concerned not with his own interest but with the interests and uplift of his fellows. Of course the usual demurrings were being poured into his ear. The Strike Committee in a legal way is Tom Connolly, a Socialist lawyer of Boston, a live wire by all appearances.

Thirty-five thousand men and women are already on strike, ninety per cent of the mills are closed and the remainder crippled. The workmen are working a forty-eight hour week and the same pay as they received for forty-four hours. Though the employers claim that they have granted since 1912, an eighty seven per cent increase on that standard the workers say that the cost of living has increased in the same period one hundred and thirty-two per cent. As one of the Strike Committee put it: "We are textile workers. When we hear any speech or sermon and divi- dents? We know that we can barely pay our grocery
sills and we have come to the conclusion it is better to starve idle than to starve working.

The Strike Committee has issued a statement which we are in part publishing:

The textile workers of Lawrence are on strike to secure a 48 hour week with 54 hour pay. The 6 day week has been won by all the skilled workers of the industry through a reduction in total wages. It has been recognized by the National War Labor Board and the industries and worked out under the necessities of war production. It has resulted in increased production wherever put into operation under favorable conditions.

The strike is not for more than what other workers because their work is mostly nonwhite, nonwhite, a 48 hour week would prevent them from earning money which they sorely need for their families as soon as the mills are shut down.

To those who argue that the workers would strike for higher wages when there is a naval bonanza, we ask the workers will not be in so good a condition to strike after the period of unemployment which we are facing, so they are right now.

To accept merely a 48 hour week now, when we are in a strong position to endure the difficulties of striking, is to use our strength for nothing and not to accept a real bettering of our condition.

That the real struggle of the Lawrence workers is a struggle for their wages may be realized from the following facts: The 1913 Annual Report of the Statistics of the Massachusetts textile industry shows that in 1915, the male adult wage earners in the cotton industry of the state made an average of $13 per week, while the average annual net earnings of the male adult wage earners in the woolen industry of the state was $15 per week and that 14% of these cotton workers and 13% of these woolen workers received less than $13 per week.

Taking the American Woolen Company as a representative example of the textile industry, we have the following facts presented by Amos Fishgott in his open letter to Claude Ekins of Aug. 14, 1918, urging higher wages for increased war profits.

The pre-war average net annual earnings (1.6 for the years 1913-1915) of the American Woolen Co. was $75.879. The net earnings of this company in 1916 are reported as $83,000,000. If we deduct 10% of this total to cover taxes, insurance, and other all other possible wage expenditures, there remains still over six times the amount which the workers of Lawrence have helped to produce.

Under these conditions it may readily be seen that the strike is really a protest against unemployment and the defeat of work to those who need it to buy bread for their children. Today from 20% to 25% of the mill workers of Lawrence are idle or on part time with greatly reduced incomes. Without going into the question of whether the strike is to be blamed for this condition, the fact remains that thousands of workers are denied the opportunity to sell their labor power, when the amount of labor is so high. If were not that slaves, food, clothing, shelter and work would be provided for the white workers, we must consider the cruel form of sabotage which modern society can impose. We know that the world needs immense quantities of man-hours and that the raw material and the labor is available to produce these things against an economic system and against economic conditions which allows the kind of treatment of the workers. We believe that it is unnecessary and we plan to unite with all the forces which we can into one large joint union so that we may have the power to win a living wage and the right to be consulted and consulted in the vital affairs of the industry of which we are a part.

The real cause of the present condition of the textile workers of Lawrence is the Canadian border, in our opinion, that the organization functioning in this industry is unsuited to the development of the industry. It might have been suitable in the past under the 6 day and 10 hour period but is not fitted to cope with the highly centralized factory and machine production of the present day. The so-called Leaders of the textile unions are one-eyed men in a kingdom of two eyes. They have less than 20% of the workers of this industry organized, they have neither capacity or vision and so long as they can get sufficient dues collected from the bosses, they continue to work to the extent that they are able to provide them with fat salaries these leaders (morysh) are perfectly satisfied with the present order of things.

Steps must be taken immediately to get this industry organized on a proper basis. That is the task facing the revolution of the class movement of the country. The workers are ready. All that is required are teachers and financial backing. The field is un-

The Revolutionary Age Book Department

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CHAPTERS FROM MY DIARY

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By LOUIS C. FRAINA

The Revolutionary Age joins with the working class in the city, if. If the debtor could not comply with his pledge then the "lost" or ascars came with the policeman and the first stepv involved to stick and then might be found in the boxes was taken away in spite of the prayers and crying of the women and children.

Now, Catherine Breshkovskaya, don’t you know that the children of the Russian peasants were dying by the hands under the agony of hunger? Catherine, only you know, old woman, that the lalala were fed on rye bread which the workers chewed with salt, then took this massacred bread and tied it into a small rag thus making a meal of it. I was one of the members of the small group that was able to get up and to go to the fields.

Don’t you know that the Russian peasant mothers gave birth to dozens of children, and that they crossed the border of the Russian death and I wished to die, believing that God had mercy with still have those little things and took them back to his paradise! You know all these Catherine Breshkovskaya, but still you are coming America and begging the people to send them over to Russia to return the lands and fields to the landowners and bourgeois, taking the masses of the Russian people what they have produced through countless ages by the sweat of their brows and under conditions which meant sacrifice of mother and even life, and at last after centuries of swaying, bleeding and dying those ignorant, helpless martyrs of the Mother Russia have been collected and have taken control of Russia in the interest of millions of people and not for the few parasites who have lived and enjoyed on the suffering and agony of the Russians.

In my first letter I explained to you what is meant by the class struggle, but it appears that you have not so old that you cannot understand. Oh, you would understand if you and your like, Kropotkin, Pluhckow, and others were courted by compulsion in which you do not have to do just to be able to merely exist but a life of the peasant came with the peasant was able to be exploited by some “kind-hearted” master they must look youthful and ensure to the master that they can stand the terrible grind of industrialism. But you, Catherine Breshkovskaya have successfully evaded the rank of the proletarians and learned to get enough money for your adventurises, even to these last days when you are well subsidized by reactionary forces to enable you to reach America and poison the minds of the people with your lies and crying—

a clever actress playing her last game.

But what is the use of such hypocrisy? The masters of the world are using you to gain their ends. The overthrow of the Soviet administration in Russia means the intonationalization of Capitalism in its stead and the horrors, and slums, and the filth and disease which are its companions.

However your sympathy and crying and appeals cannot seem the tide of Social conditions. It is now simply a question between the capitalists of the world and the workers. The former are doctored of intervention in Russia so that they can draw big dividends from their invested capital, the latter, the workers, must oppose them if they wish to survive as a happy and healthy people.

The international working class stands in your way. Mark you! The workers of the world are realising that they have to do just the same as was done in this land, that is to say, they have produced during centuries and therefore belongs to them and them only, and then force the parasites and usurers, your friends, to go to work or to die. What is useless and rotten must vanish—this law of nature you ought to know, you intellectual serf!
Introduction

The members of the Socialist Party of America are entitled to an explanation for the issuance of this pamphlet by the Left Wing Group. First of all, it understood that we are not a secessionist movement, nor do we.commit ourselves to any party. We are a very active and growing section of the Socialist Party which is attempting to reach the rank of a party with the urgent message over the heads of the powers that be, that through inertia or a lack of vision, cannot see the necessity for a critical analysis of the party's policies and tactics.

The daily press is so loaded that we cannot adequately present our side of the case. In the various discussions that arise wherever party members or delegates assemble, both sides grow too heated for calm, dispassionate judgment.

Therefore we have decided to issue our Manifesto and Program in pamphlet form, so that the rank and file may read and judge our case on its merits.

Manifesto

Peter Kropotkin, August 1914, the nations of the world on a roll. Violent warnings from time to time gave warning of the cataclysm to come, but the plotters and statesmen managed to localize the outbursts, and the masses, slightly aroused, sank back into their accustomed lethargy with doubts and misgivings, and the subterranean fires continued to burn. Surely, the people reasoned, no one would be so mad as to precipitate a world catastrophe.

Besides, they trusted, in their statesmen, some in the cohesive power of Christianity, their national religion, and some in the growing strength of the international socialist movement. Had not the German Social Democracy exchanged dramatic telegrams with the French Socialist Party, each pledging self not to fight in case their governments declared war on each other? A general strike of workers led to the court of last resort, for a truce.

The Social Democrats of Europe, unable to meet the crisis, were themselves harried into the configuration, to betempered or consumed by it.

The collapse of the Second International

At first the question which agitated Socialists minds all over the world was: why have they failed? All sorts of extinguishing circumstances were pleaded in their behalf: "defensive war," and "a low type of civilization," and "prejudices," and "socialism not free from the virus of nationalism." All these reasons equally begged the question.

We know that great mass-demonstrations were held in every European country by Socialists protesting against their governments declarations of war, and mobilization for war. Alone, or in concert with other democratic forces, they were unmercifully repudiated; by the complete surrender of the Socialist parliaments to the official Socialist press; and by the official press itself, Francesco Mereghi, Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin organized the Spartacus group. But their voices were drowned out in the whistles and the shrieks of the dying and the maimed.

Russia, however, was to be the first battle-ground where "moderate" and revolutionary Socialism contended for the mastery of the East. The first and most of the corrupt, bureaucratic Czariat region opens the flood-gates of Revolution. Centuries of oppression had paved the way.

The main opposing parties attempted to rise into power on the revolutionary tide: the Cadets, the "moderate Socialists-Mensheviki and Social Revolutionaries-and the revolutionary Socialists-the Bolsheviks. The Cadets were first to be swept into power; but they tried to stem the still rising flood with a few abstract political ideals, and were soon carried away. The soldiers, workers and peasants could no longer be fooled by phrases. The Menshevik and Social Revolutionaries succeeded the Cadets and now came the crucial test; would they, in an act with Marxian teachings make themselves the ru, clerical and sweary way to power, and thus prepare the way for the Revolutionary Czariat?

They did the latter, and proved for all time that the "moderate Socialism" cannot be trusted. The Socialists began to understand why the "moderate Socialism" had broken down. The Russian Socialism was not prepared to seize the power for the workers during a revolution. "Moderate Socialism" had a rigid formula: "Constructive" reform legislation within the capitalist state, and then to formula it clung. It believed that bourgeois democracy could be used as a means to construe the Social order; therefore it must wait until the people, through a Constituent Assembly, would be able to establish Socialism in existence. And in the meantime, held that there must be established a Government Coalition with the enemy, the bourgeoisie. As it was with all the means of controlling public opinion with hands of the bourgeoisie, a Constituent Assembly could or would ever vote the Socialists into power.

The Socialist leaders had not grasped the true meaning of the scientific Socialist, that there are two domains in society-the bourgeois and the proletarian that between these two classes a struggle must go on, and which is destined to replace those of nature by the force of the new, unimportant devices and instruments of power and distribution, the abolition of the capitalist state, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, creates a Social order. In the Social order it is not the army, or the ruling class of capitalists, who make war, but the workers, through a League of Nations, organized the Socialists into the Social order. The Socialist movement. It is the "moderate Socialists," through intellectual gymnastics, exaggerations, misquotations and the tearing of sentences and phrases from the context, to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, it is a such clumsy and force the old conditions of production; if then it will, along with these conditions, be revive its own revolution by the force of existance of classes, antagonisms, and of classes generally, and without any other and it's own supremacy as a class, Marx and Engels clearly define the position of the Socialists on the Social movement. It is the "moderate Socialists," through intellectual gymnastics, exaggerations, misquotations and the tearing of sentences and phrases from the context, to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, it is a such clumsy and force the old conditions of production; if then it will, along with these conditions, be revive its own revolution by the force of existance of classes, antagonisms, and of classes generally, and without any other and it's own supremacy as a class, Marx and Engels clearly define the position of the Socialists on the Social movement. It is the "moderate Socialists," through intellectual gymnastics, exaggerations, misquotations and the tearing of sentences and phrases from the context, to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, it is a such clumsy and force the old conditions of production; if then it will, along with these conditions, be revive its own revolution by the force of existance of classes, antagonisms, and of classes generally, and without any other and it's own supremacy as a class, Marx and Engels clearly define the position of the Socialists on the Social movement. It is the "moderate Socialists," through intellectual gymnastics, exaggerations, misquotations and the tearing of sentences and phrases from the context, to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, it is a such clumsy and force the old conditions of production; if then it will, along with these conditions, be revive its own revolution by the force of existance of classes, antagonisms, and of classes generally, and without any other and it's own supremacy as a class, Marx and Engels clearly define the position of the Socialists on the Social movement.
Ving of the American Socialist Movement

distinction in views concerning party policies and tactics. And we believe that this difference is so vast that from our standpoint a radical change in party policies and tactics is necessary.

The industrial unrest that has been excited by our party leaders and officials generally. In view of the impending change in the tactics of organized labor in this country, we must hurry to readjust the Socialist program to the new conditions or find ourselves left behind by the march of events. Already there is formidable industrial unrest, a seething ferment of discontent, evidenced by labor strikes and lockouts striking over wages and working conditions. The transformation of industry from a war to a peace basis has thoroughly disorganized the economic structure. Thousands upon thousands of workers are being thrown out of work. Demobilized sailors and soldiers find themselves a drug on the labor market, unless they act as scalers and strike-breakers. Skillful mechanics, fighting desperately to maintain their war-wage and industrial status, are forced to strike. Women, who during the war have been welcomed into industries hitherto closed to them, are struggling to keep their jobs. And to cap the climax, the capitalistic leaders of Congress and their Merchants’ and Manufacturers’ Associations, have resolved to take advantage of the situation to break down even the inadequate organizations labor has been able to form in the confusion of peace.

The temper of the workers and the soldiers, and the sacrifices they have made in the war, is such that they will not endure the reactionary labor conditions so openly advocated by the master-class. A series of labor struggles is bound to follow—indeed, is beginning now. Shall the Socialist Party continue to feed the workers with social reform; or shall it attack the whole question from the standpoint of votes and the election of representatives to the legislature? Shall it emphasize the consumer’s point of view, when Socialist principles teach that the worker is robbed at the point of production? Shall it talk about Cost of Living and taxation, when it should be explaining how the worker is robbed at his job?

There are many signs of the awakening of Labor. The organized Trade Unions, against the definite commands of their leaders, are resonating to independent political action, in an effort to control the production they have won and which they have conquered from the master-class. What shall be our attitude toward the awakening workers?

On the basis of the class struggle we shall go among them, inspiring them with revolutionary Socialism; we shall teach them solidarity; we shall teach them class-consciousness; we shall teach them the hopelessness of social reform; we shall teach them that the worker is robbed at the point of production. And unrest, the ferment of discontent, will compel them to listen!

Capitolism Imperialism

Among the many problems immediately confronting us are those new questions springing from Capitalist-Imperialism, the final and decisive stage of Capitalism. How shall the Socialist Party meet these problems?

Imperialism is that stage of Capitalism in which the accumulation of capital becomes so great for the home market to reinvest or absorb. The increased productivity of the working class, due to improved machinery and efficiency methods, and the mere existence wage which permits the worker to save a small portion of what he produces, makes an ever-increasing accumulation of commodities, which in turn become capital and must be invested in further productive apparatus. When Capitalism has reached the stage in which it imports raw materials from undeveloped countries and exports them again in the shape of manufactured products, it has reached its highest development. Capitalism is the proletarian and. Foreign markets, spheres of influence and protectorates, under the intensive development of capitalism and industry in turn become highly developed. They, too, seek for markets. National capital control, to save itself from ruin, breaks its national bonds and emerges full-grown as a capitalist League of Nations, with international armies and material class, instead of democracy.

The new situation the Socialist Party must meet.

From now on the United States will no longer hold itself aloof, isolated and provincial. It is reaching out for new markets, and new machines, new capitalist tectors; not alone, and not in competition with other capitalist nations, but in cooperation with them. They will divide the world among them. And the League of Nations will be the instrument through which they will work.

The master-class of America will soon attempt to use organized labor for its imperialist purposes. But a resilient and discontented working class can pile up profits. Therefore in this country we may soon expect the master-class, in true Ilistorian fashion, to grant factory laws, medical laws, old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, sick benefits, and the whole category of bourgeois reforms, so that the workers may be kept physically and mentally fit to produce the greatest profits at the greatest speed.

Dangers to American Socialism

There is danger to the Socialist Party of America that might make use of these purely bourgeois reforms to attract the workers’ votes, by claiming that they are victories for Socialism, and that they have been won by Socialist political action. The object of these master-class measures is to prevent the growing class-consciousness of the workers, and to divert them from their revolutionary aim. By appealing for these reforms, therefore, the Socialist Party would be playing into the hands of our American imperialists.

On the basis of the class struggle, then, the Socialist Party of America must be candid in its purpose, and prepare to come to grips with the master-class during the difficult period of capitalist readjustment now going on. This it can do only by teaching the working class the truth about present conditions; it must teach revolutionary industrial unionism, and urge the workers to turn their craft unions into industrial unions, the only form of labor organization which can cope with the power of great modern aggregations of capital. It must carry on its political campaigns not merely as means of electing officials to political office, as in the past, but as an all-around educational campaign to make the workers class conscious economic and political action, and to keep alive the burning ideal of revolution in the hearts of the people.

For New Policies and Tactic

We believe that the time has come for the Socialist Party of America to adopt a new course of action: to throw off all parliamentary opportunism and to stand squarely behind the Soviet Republic of Russia, the Spartacus Group in Germany, and the revolutionary working class movement in Europe. Thus it will be ready when the hour strikes in this country—and it will strike soon—to take the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle with the capitalist, instead of obstructing its progress, with the palliative of parliamentary reforms and legislation, and the workers forward to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the final phase of the class struggle, necessary to the ushering in of the Cooperative Commonwealth.

Political Action

Realizing that the vital difference between revolutionary Socialism and "moderate Socialism" lies in their conception of political action, and realizing that on this point revolutionary Socialists are most misunderstood and misrepresented, we append a detailed explanation of the scientific Socialist conception of political action.

Since we assert with Marx, that "the class struggle is essentially a political struggle," we can only accept his own oft repeated interpretation of that phrase. The class struggle, whether it manifest itself on the industrial field or in the direct struggle for governmental control, is essentially a struggle for the capture and destruction of the capitalist political state. This is a political act. In this broader view of the term "political," Marx includes revolutionary industrial action. In other words, the objective of Socialist industrial action is also "political," in the sense that it aims to undermine the state, which "is nothing but class antagonism expressed in one class by another and that no less so in a democratic republic than under a monarchy."

Participation in Elections

Political action is also and more generally used to refer to participation in election campaigns for the immediate purpose of capturing legislative seats. In this sense also we urge the use of political action as a revolutionary weapon. But in both the nature and the purpose of this form of political action, Socialist and "moderate Socialism" are completely at odds.

We contend that such political action is a valuable means of propaganda; and remind the working class that the economic and political arm is an effective means of capturing the political state, but—and here is the vital point for the "moderate Socialist" goes no further—we hold that this capture of the state is by no means the end of destroying it. The nature of Socialist parliamentary activity should be purely destructive. "Moderate Socialism" aims to "simply hold by the ready-made machinery of the state," the attainment of Socialism. And so the "moderate" falls into the error of believing that parliamentary activity is constructive—that he can eventually legislate Socialism into existence. This error leads to two dangerous practices: (1) making parliamentary activity an end in itself; and (2) making essentially destructive political action the instrument for constructing the socialist order. To avoid these dangers, and to strengthen Labor's political arm, the Socialist ballot must be supported by the might of the "industrial organization," the working class. Only the economic organization of the working class can build the new society within the frame of the old.

Revolutionary Industrial Unionism

"Moderate Socialism" constantly overlooks this fact. We must continually remember that working class organizations are naturally the school for Socialism. All political parties, without exception whatever their constitution may be, are "products of the working class only for a reason, temporary."

Only through his industrial organization can the worker receive training in the control of production. It is by means of this weapon that the working class can actually take over and hold the machine shops and factories, not for the purpose of destroying them but for their permanent control and development. Thus, the only thing worth taking from capitalist society and keeping the highly developed means of production and distribution—will be won for the working class by its Revolutionary Economic Organization. Because of its constructive nature, our "industrial political" organization, may take a "little" at a time. Our economic movement is not unlike a military movement. All means are used to win a war—infantry attacks, heavy and light artillery, bombardments, sieges, and guerrilla fighting. In the industrial struggle the working class employs strikes, boycotts and the like. The political movement, however, has for its object only the storming of the political citadel. Therefore, the working class political arm cannot compromise. Our political movement should be the essence and incarnation of our revolutionary aim. With Liebknecht we say, "Our parliamentarianism is to compromise, to logical, to sell out."

Syndicalism and Parliamentarism

Is characteristic utopian fashion the Syndicalism...
A GROUP of Socialist party officials and active members from all parts of the country, together for consultation as to ways and means for giving the American Socialist movement a revolutionary character, in harmony with all the significance of November 7th, the greatest date in all history. At the hour of that little meeting bedlam reigned in the streets of Chicago by paternity celebration of peace. The calling of this meeting during the mass tumult of November 7th is primarily the political weapon; and the principles together at the four corners of the world which brought these comrades together. On that day the seething proletariat ruled Chicago by sheer force of numbers. One thing alone was needed to give this mass expression of the proletarian movements of Europe—one thing: the revolutionary idea!

The Communist Propaganda League is an organization for the propagation of the revolutionary idea. The civilization of tomorrow is with the unorganized masses who greeted the news of peace and revolution in Germany with what may safely be described as the greatest spontaneous expression of mass sentiment ever witnessed in America. To give direction and inspiration to the advancing and irresistible army of the proletariat is the mission to which this League is dedicated.

PROGRAM

We speak as members of the Socialist Party to other Socialists, primarily in the interests of the party itself, fundamentally in the interest of a truly revolutionary proletarian movement in the United States.

Those who have organized this League, in common with like-minded Socialists throughout the country, are imbued with the thought that the Socialist Party, as it is at present functions, falls short of its possibilities because of its character, in common with other Socialists, primarily in the interests of the party membership of all party officials.

demand that the Socialist Party of America never be in any event a political party in the sense of its at present functions. It is to be a fighting organization for the revolutionary class struggle; a Socialist movement founded on revolutionary proletarian adherents. At the beginning of petty bourgeois reformism as the basis of Socialist Party activity.

Party policies and platforms free from hypocrisy and designed to catch votes; platforms only as statements of revolutionary aims.

Furtherance of such changes in political forms as are in line with the needs of proletarian-controlled industry, not of political changes based on bourgeois "democracy."

Identification of the Socialist Party with class-conscious industrial unionism.

Unity of all kinds of proletarian action and protest forming part of the revolutionary class struggle. Political action to include political strikes and demonstrations, and to be in cooperation with industrial mass action.

No compromising with any groups not inherently committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as Labor parties, People's Council, Non-parliamentary Leagues, Municipal Ownership Leagues, and the like.

The proletariat to be organized to oppose all wars of imperialism, through declared for "defense of country" or "defence of democracy," and to carry this opposition and of a People's Government, to the limits of its possibilities.

A sense of realism as to the limited possibility of the ballot as a weapon of revolution or fights for "justice" in capitalistic courts, and dependence primarily on mass power and the mass action of the proletariat.

Centralized party organization, corresponding closely to the highly centralized imperialist control to be overthrown.

a. Organization for quick action and immediate response to new situations by having a National Executive Committee composed of paid party officials and propagandists with offices in the National Headquarters.

b. Definite and easy control by the party membership of all party officials.

c. Control by the party organization of all Socialists elected to public offices.

d. Control by the party membership, through the regular regular electoral committees of the party, over all official party publications; not by independent special committees of trustees.

e. Establishment of a Central Lecture Bureau, for the distribution of literature.

f. Standardization of party platforms, propaganda, does, and methods of organization.

 Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Movement

(Continued from page five)

and the abolition of all social reform planks now contained in them.

2. The party must teach, propagate and agitate exclusively for the overthrow of Capitalism, and the establishment of Socialism through a Proletarian Dictatorship.

3. The Socialist candidates elected to office shall adhere strictly to the above provisions.

4. Realizing that a political party cannot reorganize and reconstruct the industrial organizations of the working class and that its policy of the party as such has been to win over the Socialist organizations themselves, we demand that the party assist this process of reorganization by a propaganda for revolutionary and industrial unionism in part of its general activities. We believe it is the mission of the Socialist movement to encourage and assist the proletariat to adopt newer and more effective forms of organization and to stir it into newer and more revolutionary action.

5. We demand that the official party press be party owned and controlled.

6. We demand that officially recognized educational institutions be party owned and controlled.

7. We demand that the party discard its obsolete literature and publish new literature in keeping with the policies and tactics above mentioned.

Immediate Demands

1. We demand that the National Executive Committee call an immediate emergency national convention for the purpose or reorganizing party policies and tactics to meet the present crisis.

2. We demand that the American Socialist Party shall not participate in the proposed Labor Conferences, engineered by "moderate Socialists" and social democrats.

3. We demand that the Socialist Party of America issue a call for an international congress of the groups of the Socialist movement that participate in it the Second International in 1915, and the Kielten Conference in 1916, and the groups that are in agreement with them today.

4. We demand the immediate abrogation of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

5. We demand the unqualified endorsement of Spartacus Group of Germany.

6. We demand the immediate recall of all officers and the liquidation of all local and national revolutionary class struggle; a Socialist movement founded on revolutionary proletarian adherents. At the beginning of petty bourgeois reformism as the basis of Socialist Party activity.

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The Height of Impudence

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The Theat of Impulפע

Place—Lawrence, Mass., February tth, the Year of Our Lord 1919.

Person—Peter Carr, City Commissioner and one of the ten thousand citizens—mostly wage-slaves.

A STRIKE of thirty-five thousand of the wage slaves to demand the same monotonic conditions of existence, same miserable housing conditions, same beggarly mess of posture, same sense destroying moving pictures, same character destroying pool parlors and saloons, same tin chapel bell ringing and attendance thereat, same old drab, soul-destroying hymn singing, ugly, unclean, and humble, obey your masters, praise the lord, order yourselves humbly before your betters, order of things, with this one exception that these daring rebels on strike who compose 31 different nationalities had the audacity to ask for a shorter working week, do that they might have the time to get the little more fresh air in their lungs and a larger measure of recreation and a few hours more of the warmth of the sun, and as all these authorities have the authority to think they have the right to parade through the city which they built by their slave labor.

So humble, like those submissive slaves that they are, they approach with that humility which only the working class seems to possess, the notionary Peter Carr, not the man of law, the citizen Peter Carr, the man of the people, the representative of the masses, the modern Poo Bah and beg to ask his All-Highness the mayor to select his words and overwrought frames to the public, but Peter in that unctious, rictious, rightious manner, which so well succeeds in aping that of his masters, the capitalist owners of the mills of Lawrence, in a letter which he had neither the ability nor the knowledge to write, replies in his autocratic Prussian manner and says:

DURING my eleven year's service under the Foreign Office in parts ranging from the Equator to the Arctic Circle, I have seen how the direction of the chief departments of foreign affairs, and of the exclusive class bureaucracy; and how matters vitally affecting international relations are decided by officials, often of minor rank, who, for the most part, have no first-hand knowledge of the countries on which they are experimenting, and who ignore, if they do not actually resent, any suggestions or advice from "outsiders." I must confess to a certain knowledge. The plea of "State Secretary" is used by this bureaucracy to conceal its blinds, which often involve the lives of thousands of the people. Our diplomatic representatives, as a rule, are in charge, in the absence of a treaty or of a treaty, the members of which in most cases do not even speak the language of the country in which they reside, and who gather their knowledge within the four walls of their Chancellories or in the Court or aristocratic circles which they exclusively frequent.

In my three years' service as British Consul at Archangel during the war, I have seen the money of the British taxpayer squandered with the most cynical indifference, by a similar bureaucracy established by other departments.

The British Government played a dirty, double game all through the war. In Russia, they gave a solemn assurance, which was published over my name in the Archangel Press, that they had no annexation intentions and that they would not give their consent to any war in Russia. They have accepted by myself and by every man who read it, and who was not concerned with the niceties of diplomatic quibbling, as meaning that the British Government in no sense would give consent to any military action against the Soviet Government. Then they stabbed that Government in the back by forcing a landing of Allied troops at Archangel under pretext of "humanitarian purposes." So far from the Soviet Government having violated the sanctity of the British Embassy at Petrograd, the Embassy no longer existed, as its personnel had ignominiously fled the country some months previously, and official representatives of the British Admiralty and War Office were abusing diplomatic privilege—nothing, in fact, they had no claim—to organize, in conjunction with Russian counter-revolutionaries, under cover of the Embassy building, a plot to overthrow the Soviet de facto authorities in Archangel and elsewhere.

The British Government having completely failed to substantiate their adumbrated and insignificant cause of the Russian Revolution and the ideals and aims of the Soviet Government, proceeded to suppress any news or any expression of opinion which did not coincide with their preconceived notions. And further, they proceeded to misrepresent and blacken every action of the Soviet Government, giving either deliberately untrue or evasive replies to the few independent members of all parties who have tried by questions in Parliament to extract the truth, though there is, of course, always the possibility that Ministers have not been allowed to possess, for discomforting the public.

The Archangel expedition, considered only as a military enterprise, and apart from questions of mora! or political expediency, is already admitted even by its military leaders to be greater a failure than than might have been anticipated. It is actually in danger of being thrown out into the White Sea, leaving the civil population of Archangel at the mercy of the Bolshevists. And this failure was due primarily to the fact that our naval authorities grossly underestimated not only the moral force but also the military force of the Soviet Government, and then, having known that in its stronghold at Moscow, 700 miles from Archangel, the walls of Bolshevism would fall to the ground at the approach from the White Sea of a few "hands-nuts" and a force of a few hundred men "scared together."

I have seen in Archangel a British general acting toward the Russian population in their own country as a disinterested and benevolent "missionary" and an agent of the British Foreign Office, as a neutral. And on the other hand, the British Government having entirely failed to extract the truth, thouflh through the sudden collapse of Germany as our greatest enemy, they have no right to claim the right to be on a large scale—it may be years of war. It means the sacrifice of thousands of lives and millions of money, and hence, that it cannot be limited intervention. If it continues it must be on a large-scale—with all the consequences that implies.

It is another alternative. I believe that if a delegation, composed of no bureaucrat or militarists but of broad-minded representatives of all British political parties, were to meet a Soviet delegation in London, they might be quickly reached after a few hours' deliberation. I believe that that understanding might be acceptable alike to our extreme Socialists and to British capitalists whose sole interests in Russia seem to be to get their money back and to secure a field for making more. M. Litvinoff is reported to be in Stockholm offering to open negotiations. It is for British public opinion to see that the opportunity for retrieving a ghastly blunder and for removing a stain on our national honor is not missed.

I hate "Bolshevism."—a product of reaction working upon national war-weariness and popular discontent. But I am convinced that the policy or absence of policy of the British Government is responsible for having strengthened "Bol- 

shevism" by forcing the Soviet Government to adopt cruel and inexorable measures for its self-preservation and, incidentally for placing Russia still more under the heel of Germany and for slaming the door in our own faces against British political influence in that country. I believe that Bolshevik propaganda in the United Kingdom, realizing the aim of the extreme Russian Bolsheviks of spreading their ideas throughout Western Europe.

Russia cannot be invaded and conquered by a few thousand men. The distances are enormous: the difficulties are great: the Bolsheviks are strong and are growing stronger. It is not a question of "restoring order in the country" but of the "White Terror" and the Bolsheviks would have no chance at least of penetrating to Moscow. That means war on a large scale—it may be years of war. It means the sacrifice of thousands of lives and millions of money, and hence, that it cannot be limited intervention. If it continues it must be on a large-scale—with all the consequences that implies.

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The Birth of the American Soviet
Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors of Portland, Oregon

Declaration of Principles

The Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors declares that society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone wealth is produced.

In this society there is an antagonism of interests manifesting itself in a struggle between the master class and the working class, which struggle can only be abolished by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class by the conversion of the means of production and distribution, now held by the master class, into the common property of society, and their democratic control by all of society.

In the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve emancipation, therefore the emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class itself. We cannot expect the master class to introduce any measures that will be of slightest benefit to the working class.

The machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, therefore the workers must organize consciously for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted into a instrument of oppression into an instrument of emancipation.

The ruling class today is absolutely incapable of longer conducting the industrial affairs of the nation in a manner conducive to the welfare of the people. Every act of its official spokesmen in the congress, the senate of the United States and the various state legislatures proves its utter inability to deal with the problems confronting it. Industry has reached such a point of development that the forces of production have come into violent conflict with the existing relations of production, therefore a period of revolution must ensue in which these relations must be burst asunder.

The working class must organize into a class organization for the purpose of waging unceasing warfare against the capitalist class and its instrument of oppression by any action that has for its object the overthrow of the political state of the master class and the subordination therefore of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The purpose of the Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors is to organize all members of the working class into one organization and train them in the principles of mass action in order that we may realize that concentration of energy, that concentration of force and continuity of resistance necessary to strike the final blow against the capitalist class.

Form of Organization

1. The Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors shall be composed of all men and women employed in industry or who in any manner whatsoever contribute to the social welfare, except those who employ the labor of others. This includes all who work for wages, whether or not engaged in housekeeping, discharged soldiers and sailors; in fact all the working class, employed or unemployed.

2. No craft or industrial division shall be recognized by the Council, but existing organizations may be called to the Council, the basis of representation being one delegate for every hundred members in good standing, or major fraction thereof, providing such organization endorses the Declaration of Principles of the Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors. The representation of the Soldiers and Sailors shall be upon the same basis as the representation of the Workers.

3. The Council shall have the following offices, elected for a period of six months, but subject to recall at any time by a majority vote of delegates, and the terms of office shall expire on the 31st of December, and the 30th of June:—a president, vice-president, recording secretary, secretary-treasurer, sergeant at arms and reading clerk.

4. The president shall preside at all meetings and be ex-officio member of all committees, except where a committee is elected to investigate the official acts of the president. The vice-president shall be present at all meetings, and as chairman in case of absence of the president, the recording secretary shall keep a record of the minutes of every meeting and permit any member of the Council to examine them upon request. The secretary-treasurer shall have charge of all funds and keep an accurate account of receipts and expenditures. The sergeant at arms shall take care of the door and admit only bona fide members of the Council at any business meeting. The reading clerk shall read the minutes of the previous meeting, communications, etc. In case of absence of sergeant at arms or reading clerk, the president shall appoint members to take their places.

5. All checks must be signed by the secretary-treasurer, the president and vice-president. All money must be deposited in a reliable bank.

6. Robert's Rules of Order shall be observed at all meetings.

7. This shall be the only rules of order observed by the Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors, as we do not recognize bourgeois formulas and consider a detailed constitution an impediment to revolutionary action.

8. Any member of this Council who denounces the declaration of principles will be immediately expelled on competent proof, without the formality of a trial. In case the expelled member desires a trial it shall be granted.

9. Sufficient working committees shall be elected, subject to the desires of the Council.

10. This document shall be amended at any time, subject to majority vote of the Central Executive Committee.