



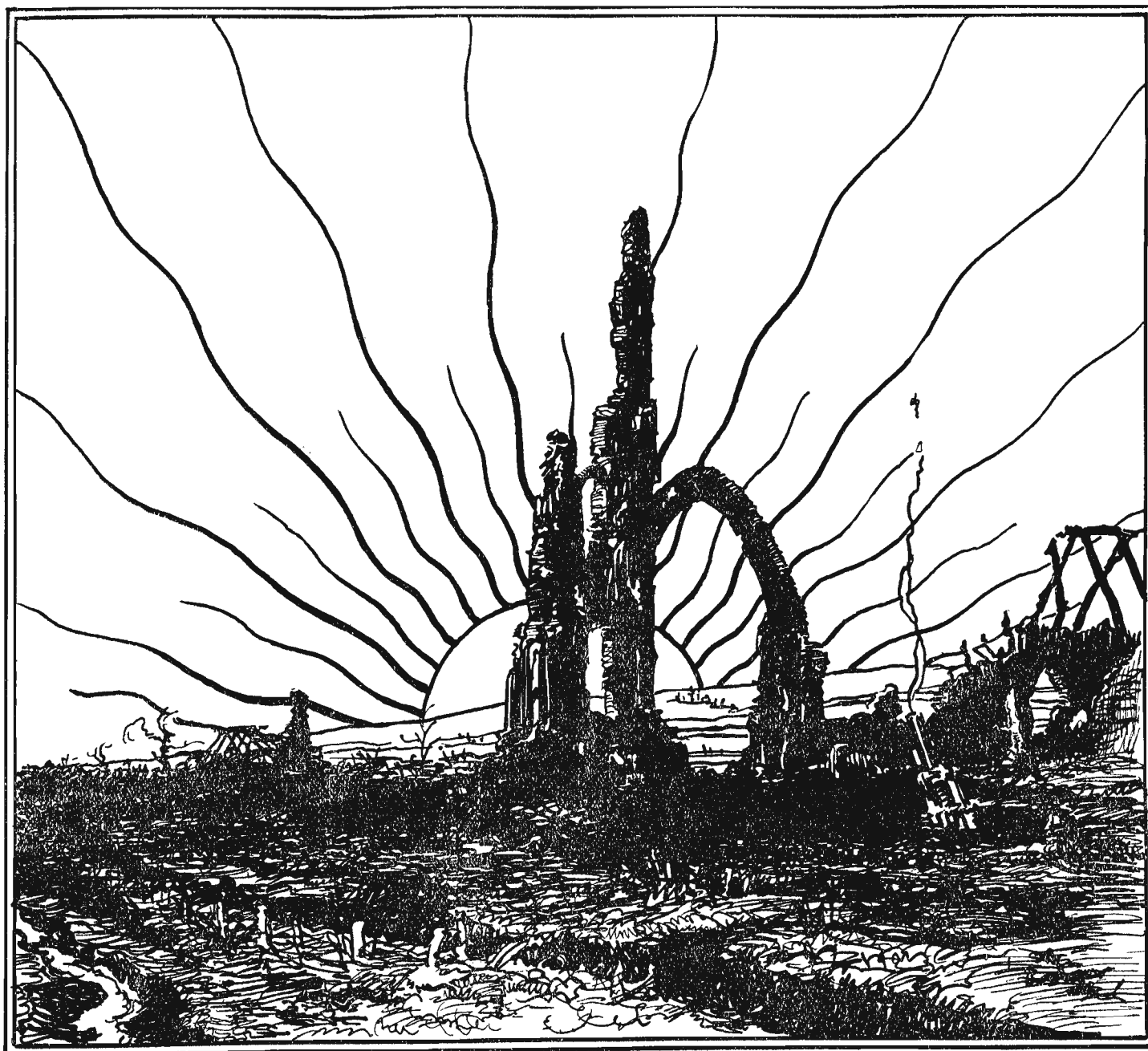
THE PROLETARIAN

A Journal of International Socialism.

Vol. II. No. 1

MAY, 1919

Price Ten Cents



The New Day is Dawning.



SPARTACAN SPARKS

There is music in the air.

"Allies to restore Belgian Scrap of Paper." Some people never learn from experience.

"Czar's death more brutal than that of Louis XVI." But then, consider how often he died.

"Rebels rule Constantinople." One problem less the Peace Conference will have to settle!

"Democracy died a violent death." Dr. Stadler of Berlin. And none so poor to do her reverence.

He may not have kept us out of war, but he certainly is successful in keeping us out of peace.

"Shadow of Lenin rules Peace Conference." Oh well, coming events always cast their shadows before.

"President Wilson peevish at Peace Conference." Ye Gods, upon what meat doth this our Ceasar feed that he hath grown so great.

"American troops in Archangel fighting by the light of the Aurora Borealis."

That is just about as much light as the parents of the boys up there have been getting.

"Twelve professors to go to France to combat Bolshevism in American Army."

Too late, but then the professors may learn something, providing they are intelligent.

"Samuel Gompers lands at New York, and with tears streaming down his face, exclaims, 'Thank God, my country'."

And this from an English Jew.

Did you notice how many stars were in the service flag of the late but not lamented or forgotten American Protective League in your city?

Neither did we. As Shakespeare says: There ain't no such animal.

McClure's April. "Gompers went to work when he was eleven years old. With the wolf at his own door, he went out to toil for the betterment of the masses. Yet capital found him a fair and helpful friend."

And labor found a Judas Iscariot.

According to Lloyd George, Lord Northcliffe is suffering from the disease of vanity, and according to Lord Northcliffe, the Prime Minister is an "ignorant mendacious dodger."

Sometimes they do tell the truth, don't they?

He also kept us out of war,
and
Open covenants openly arrived at,
and
Oh, what's the use.

"I would sooner let Bolshevism take its course in Russia than see England bankrupt." Lloyd George. This is evidently a distinction without a difference.

"French take Wilson Pledge as Guaranty." For reference we would refer the French to Jim Smith, Jim Nugent, Col. Harvey and McCombs.

"Austria turns down Soviet, wants Socialism." No wonder the capitalist press is all balled up.

"Paderewski done playing in public." As a statesman, Ignatz is a damn good piano player.

In 1919 Wilson gave us a "psychological" panic; now we are getting a "psychological" peace.

We too, have been Burlesoned.

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May Day, 1919

By John Keracher

MAY DAY, the day of hope and promise, is this year more expressive than ever of proletarian aspirations. In past years this day has stood out clearly as the annual day of protest, demonstration, and commemoration; this year it is also a day of celebration.

Wherever and whenever the conscious workers have paraded and demonstrated, or assembled in mass meeting, May Day has been the occasion for the renewal of pledges of solidarity, and reviewing the outstanding events in the historic struggles of the slave class for freedom. They recall the great labor strikes in the modern capitalist countries, the Ludlows, Lawrences and Calumets; and earlier, on the European field, the 1848 rebellion in Germany and Austria, and in France the heroic struggle of the Communards in the days of the Paris Commune; the Russian revolution of 1905, with its notorious "Bloody Sunday."

These landmarks on the highway to emancipation have served as an inspiration, from the ashes of which has arisen phoenix-like the spirit of proletarian revolt to bouy up and carry forward the militant workers to further efforts—to renew the fight against class dominance and exploitation, and bear aloft again with renewed vigor the red standard of the oncoming revolution. On May Day our minds travel far back into past phases of the age-long struggle of the slave class. We go back to Carthage, Greece and Rome, with their wonderful civilizations, resting upon the bended backs of vast multitudes of slaves. Many of these had known liberty and enjoyed equality in their free communistic tribes before the imperial masters fastened the yoke of servitude upon their young man and womanhood.

In these reminiscences of the past there flares up like a beacon light the brilliant struggle for liberty made by the slaves of Rome under their noble and valiant leader, Spartacus. A Thracian by birth, Spartacus fought as a mercenary soldier for Rome, but deserted the ranks as did many of those "conscripts" or hired fighters during that period. Later he was captured and sold as a slave to the gladiator school at Capua, where the slave revolt first broke out. He, together with a band of his fellow slaves, escaped from the school and took refuge on Mount Vesuvius, 73 B. C. With two lieutenants, also escaped slaves—Celts, named Crixus and Oenomaus—he gathered around him an army of rebellious slaves who for two years held complete sway in southern Italy, defying all the power of imperial Rome. But finally he was defeated, and died sword in hand fighting against the master class that had enslaved him and his followers.

Through the medieval period, the class struggle manifested itself chiefly in the struggles of the producing class of the towns for freedom from the absolute yoke of the feudal aristocracy. Even within the towns themselves there was constant friction between the groups within the guilds; the forerunners of the modern proletariat and bourgeoisie.

With the advent of capitalism appeared the various bourgeois revolts such as the Lutheran Reformation in Germany, the Cromwellian revolution in England, and greatest of all the French revolution of 1789. In all of these revolutions, despite the fact that the workers were but fighting the battles of one master class as against another, there were always distinct working class movements, which portrayed more clearly the historic mission of the proletariat as time advanced. There were the Anabaptists under Thomas Munzer during the Reformation; in England there appeared the Levellers, while the great French revolution brought into being the Grachhi under Babouf.

As capitalism became further developed with its deeper class antagonisms, these workers' movements take on a more aggressive form. In the revolutionary movements of 1848, there occurred the Paris July Insurrection in which three thousand workers were massacred at the barricades. This same general movement produced in Germany the Communists who flung down the proletarian gauntlet to the exploiters in the now historic Communist Manifesto. There is one outstanding fact which that manifesto proclaimed: That the proletariat is the only class capable of carrying civilization forward; the class that is destined by its own act to emancipate itself. The struggle for proletarian emancipation first took definite form in the Paris Commune of 1871, when the working class for three whole months held political power.

The commemoration of these valiant struggles affords us not only a source of inspiration to further action but object lessons for the guidance of the organized workers movement. The Communist Manifesto with its vigorous injunction: Workingmen of all countries unite! saw its practical application in the formation of the First International. This practically went out of existence with the tragic termination of the Paris Commune.

The Second International, formed by different national groups of socialists, was responsible for the inauguration of the International Labor Day. It was at the International Socialist Congress of 1889, in the city of Paris, that the resolution was introduced by American delegates for the setting aside of the first day of May for the celebration of International Labor Day. The object of the resolution was to use such a day to get the workers of all races and nationalities to celebrate throughout the world their own holiday, and thus demonstrate to the world that in spite of artificial boundaries that their interests are the same, and they all belong to one class. Thus we see that May Day was not handed down from above by a "benevolent" master class, like the Christmas and Easter holidays, but has been set up by the workers themselves and maintained by them in spite of all opposition.

The hopes and aspirations that May Day typifies were dashed to the ground with the advent of the world war and the collapse of the International. In

the chaos and disorder that ensued only here and there a bright gleam of revolutionary consciousness flashed out of the darkness, proving that the spirit of revolt was not dead. These manifestations came in many instances from the elements that had steadfastly refused to support the Second International because of its reactionary character. There was great rejoicing in the capitalist camp when their press proclaimed that "the shibboleth of internationalism had perished." Reaction was triumphant in every land. The acquisitions of organized labor—the result of years of struggle—were cast at the feet of the goddess of national patriotism. Civic rights of all kinds, freedom of speech, press and assemblage, were completely suspended. The workers of all countries were at each others throat.

Then, out of the midst of death and disaster there flashed like a meteor in the night the Russian revolution. How anxiously the class conscious workers of all countries followed the course of its development. Hope again beat high in the ranks of those not completely under the spell of jingoistic democratic phrases. With one blow the Russian proletariat demonstrated that international socialism was NOT dead, but only the miserable perversions that had masqueraded as socialism for so long.

Once more the class struggle takes definite form, vigorously shaping its course through the noise and confusion of a world war. The weakest link in the capitalist chain of nations had snapped with a staggering force and although for a time the loose ends were held together by a middle-class government, the

breach soon widened under pressure of the revolutionary workers and peasants. Soon after the ascendancy of the Bolsheviki to power the revolution crossed the German border and smote the militaristic power of the Junkers, defeated the Kaiser and his crew, and drove them into exile. Since then the progress has been so rapid and so extensive that a detailed account of it is well-nigh impossible.

The revolution is in full swing this May Day throughout the whole of Central Europe. The workers are rising in their might, struggling to cast off the age-old yoke of servitude. So this May Day above all others is a day of action. Their fight is our fight; their losses our losses; our heads bend with theirs as we recall on this day the noble sacrifice of the Spartan leaders of the modern slaves—Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg; and last but not least, their triumphs are our triumphs.

May the American proletariat draw strength and inspiration for action from the militant working class of Central and Eastern Europe. True, we are far removed from the actual scene of action; in a different land with, at present, different conditions but that is no reason for apathy. The proletarian revolution while expressing itself differently in different countries with different settings is, nevertheless, by the very nature of modern society, a world revolution. The characteristic developments of it cannot be accurately foretold, nor the exact line of method of action predetermined by those destined to participate in the conflict. Meanwhile, let us on this May Day pledge ourselves to adhere tenaciously to uncompromising and unceasing struggle for Proletarian Emancipation.

Peace or Revolution?

FROM surface indications it would appear that the gentlemen composing the peace conference had finally reached some definite conclusions as to the main outline to be followed by the Allied countries.

The problems confronting the Big Four were stupendous. First of all the conference had to decide whether it wanted international imperialism or international socialism, and as there was only one choice, the result was the League of Nations. Then there came the questions of indemnities and the one of territories. To the socialist these problems are quite simple, but to the Bourgeoisie they were quite complicated, and were made more so by the fact that the agreement arrived at had to conform apparently, if not actually, to the fourteen points laid down by the Professor from Princeton.

Russia, which has instituted the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, is naturally placed in the position of being forced to wage a continuous war against the other nations of the world, and the others must necessarily enter into combat against her. This is so because the governments of these nations are controlled by different classes, and the class war is a continuous one. Both states are class states. The one ruled and controlled by the Bourgeoisie and for the benefit of the Bourgeoisie. The other ruled and controlled by the Proletariat and for the benefit of the Proletariat. The state which is ruled and controlled by the proletariat has this advantage over the state ruled and controlled by

the bourgeoisie. The proletarian state must crush the bourgeoisie of its own country and reduce them to the status of workers, and this is accomplished by taking away from them the means of production and utilizing them for the benefit of the workers. The bourgeois state is unable to eliminate the proletariat for the reason that it relies upon the proletariat to produce the surplus on which it feeds, and further, it needs a section of the proletariat to keep the workers at home in subjection, and at the same time is forced to call upon the workers to combat their revolutionary comrades of other countries. To allow Russia to continue would simply be holding out the constant temptation to the workers of the rest of the world to do what they are doing, i. e., eliminate the bourgeoisie. Now that Russia has demonstrated to the world that the workers are capable of running their own industries, the bourgeoisie of the other countries have been thrown into a state hysteria, because of the fact that the workers of the other countries might get similar notions and decide to do the same thing. If the nations of the world go on in the same old way, without co-operating with each other, they will be swallowed up, so the only logical thing to do is to combine, for in union there is strength. It was the only alternative and they followed the advice of Benjamin Franklin, who in a similar situation, said: "We must hang together, or we will hang separately."

The question of indemnities was just as serious and

fraught with as much danger. Lloyd-George, in seeking re-election, and those who were swept into office with him, pledged themselves to get the last farthing from Germany, to help pay the enormous debt contracted to conduct the war. Belgium and Servia simply must have funds in order to rehabilitate themselves, and France is placed in a similar position. Without an indemnity these countries will face insurmountable obstacles. Circumstances therefore force these countries to demand their pound of flesh. But in demanding this they are playing into the hands of the enemy. The workers of Germany naturally cannot pay any indemnity out of their wages, and it is questionable whether the bourgeoisie can extract a big enough surplus out of the workers and at the same time conduct the industries. The only alternative the bourgeoisie of Germany have is to turn the state over to the proletariat, if the Allies insist upon getting a large indemnity, and as this would only make matters worse for the bourgeoisie of the Allied countries, we can confidently assert that the indemnity will not be as large as anticipated. This, no doubt, will be a severe blow to France and the other countries that have been devastated, and a severe blow to Lloyd-George, because he will not be able to make good his election pledges, although in the past election pledges, have never been much respected, no less carried out, but at present a large part of the English workers are in that frame of mind where it is dangerous to trifle with them. In addition to these troubles, the German Empire is splitting up, and there seems to be a steady progression on the part of the South German states to leave Prussia to fight it out alone. Bavaria has already gone the same way as Hungary. Saxony, Wurtemberg and Baden are on the way. Austria is likely to follow suit. Yet these countries will have to pay their share of the indemnity which the Allies are demanding, and if Prussia is compelled to stand the thing alone, the bourgeoisie will throw up its hands and turn the state over to the proletariat. It reminds us of the old advertisement. "Going, going, gone."

The territorial problem from a nationalistic standpoint is just as difficult as the others. The United States wants nothing in the line of territories, but will no doubt secure compensation some other way. Italy insists upon getting Fiume, which someone else insists should not go to Italy. Orlando insists upon getting it, because if he does not there is great likelihood of trouble in Italy, which resembles a tinder box at present. If Italy does not get the coveted territory she will come out of the war empty handed, and if she does get Fiume then there is great likelihood of trouble in the Balkan Peninsula. Truly a sorry mess. Then to make confusion worse confounded, along comes Ignatz from Poland, who has achieved a reputation for producing melodious and mellifluous tones, and strikes an attitude which is anything but harmonious. The long haired one insists that Danzig must go to Poland, but it so happens that the country surrounding Danzig and Danzig itself is inhabited by Germans. This, therefore, then, comes in direct conflict with the self determination of peoples. But without Danzig, Poland is without a port, and will therefore be economically dependent upon its neighbors. A serious plight.

Having considered the various phases of the problems, the workers of the different nations probably will ask, What do the workers get out of all this? The

people, the workers of this country probably will be satisfied to know that Alsace-Lorraine goes to France, that Italy gets the Italia Irredenta, and Ignatz, the piano player, gets Danzig, and on the first of the month when the landlord wants his rent all we will have to do is to tell him what a wonderful piano player Paderewski is, and he will hand us a receipt. And when the children want shoes we can tell the merchant that the immigration officials are now deporting all the agitators and everything will be lovely. The workers of England will be satisfied to know that Britannia still rules the waves, that the good Queen George and King Mary still occupy the throne by the Grace of God. The Belgians will be tickled to death to learn that they will again be allowed to work, maybe, and that they will again be protected against the next war by all the Big Powers. France has gotten her revenge, and this will no doubt satisfy the French workers. The people of Germany, the poor devils, have learned that they were betrayed, and before the year is up will learn that the crowd now running things in Berlin are of the same stripe as the ones who were kicked out, the only difference being that those who rule now have not yet had time to pin medals on each other. The Russians and Hungarians have at any rate gotten rid of their masters and emancipated themselves. Each day brings news of further revolts. As we go to press the plot thickens. Verily, the grave diggers of capitalism are on the job!

Ad maiorem proletari gloriam.

The Mooney Strike

WHEN the call for the Mooney Congress recently held in Chicago was made, the response was such as to surprise even those who issued the call. From east and west, north and south, came delegates from the most conservative branches of American labor organizations. It was a gathering of men who more truly represented the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor than any convention of that organization on record. The delegates came with instructions to vote in favor of a general strike, if such drastic action were necessary to free Mooney. They obeyed instructions. There was not one dissenting vote, nay, not one dissenting voice, against the use of the general strike. They did more. Plans were formulated to carry the case to a definite conclusion, so that there may at no time be any hesitation in the propaganda to arouse the workers to act as a unit in his cause.

It was not merely the Mooney case which brought about the feeling necessary to this action. Tom Mooney was merely the vehicle by which these men expressed their resentment against the oppressive laws which, under the guise of war-time necessity, our rulers have used to shackle labor and render impotent its effort to ward off the encroachments of capital. The powder was there—the Mooney case was but the first spark to alight in its midst.

And what a spark! The workers by studying the Mooney case are beginning to realize the nature of class struggle. It exposed the nature of government in its true colors and has demonstrated conclusively the hopelessness of recourse to the courts of the masters for the redress of any grievances they may have.

This is of supreme importance, for as long as the

worker is laboring under the delusion that by appealing to the state he may receive redress for his wrongs, so long will he remain in ignorance of the class nature of government.

But the American worker is learning the lesson. One of the things necessary to capturing the powers of the state is the destruction of the confidence in the present rulers. Homestead, Ludlow, Calumet, Debs, Mooney, Haywood, the world war, the War Labor Board, conscription and the Peace Conference — all these have added their bit toward destroying the confidence of the workers. These incidents were all of historic necessity, for just as no remedy can be devised until the need for it is evidenced, so too the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible until the failure of the present rulers to function in the interest of the workers has become firmly established.

Care must be taken that the agitation for the release of Mooney does not interfere with real class-conscious agitation. Our efforts must be expended only when the fight to free Mooney is waged as a class war issue. An attempt may be made to use the Mooney case as a means to forestall action in the case of Debs and other class war prisoners. This must be guarded against, for it would indeed be a triumph for the reactionaries in the labor movement if they could confine all action to Mooney while Debs, Haywood and others serve long terms of imprisonment.

The Mooney case has further possibilities. There has long been a feeling of estrangement between the rank and file of the labor movement and their leaders, as expressed by Gompers and Company, whose main function in these stirring times seems to be to prevent the workers from taking any action which might embarrass the powers that be, no matter how essential such action may be to the welfare of the rank and file. Their indifference, nay their antagonism, may be the straw which will destroy whatever influence they may have in determining the course of the labor movement in this country.

Already they have launched a slanderous campaign against the Mooney Strike by such lying statements as recently appeared in the Michigan Unionist, published in Lansing. The issue of March 4th contains the statement that "the radical socialists, I. W. W. and Bolshevik agitators who in a convention in Chicago called for the purpose of aiding Tom Mooney in his fight for justice—but manifestly a crude attempt to foist upon the American workingmen the utter absurdity of the Soviet madness—threatened to take charge of the American labor movement and steer it into a nation-wide strike and what not else."

This statement is a deliberate falsehood for only those delegates bearing credentials from bona fide A. F. of L. organizations were seated at the Mooney Congress. Its tirade against the Bolsheviks will only result in widening the gulf which has for some time existed between the men and the "machine." The sympathies of the rank and file are with the Workers Government of Russia and the spectre of Bolshevism has no terrors for them. It is rather a ray of hope in an otherwise beclouded sky.

There is an attitude of expectancy manifesting itself in the labor movement. No one knows what tomorrow may bring forth. In spite of the warning against cutting wages which was issued by far-seeing employers, wages have been reduced and hours increased; the cost

of the necessities of life which receded a few cents again threatens to outdo its former record. The standard of living of the average worker has been reduced; the buying power of wages is lower than before the war, and this in spite of the fact that wages have been increased in a great many instances.

No one can adequately gauge the power of the American proletariat. America, unlike Europe, has no traditional working class. The great natural resources of this continent gave to every man of ability an opportunity of rising above the station of the wage-slave. But this has all been changed in recent years. The conclusion is slowly but firmly being forced upon the consciousness of the American worker that he can rise only with his class. His environment is rushing him forward at break-neck speed. The worker of today is not worker of six months ago.

Progress comes always from the bottom upward; never from the top down. Power tends always toward conservatism. No sooner has a class or an individual ascended to power than the forces which render their ideas and tactics obsolete are at work to replace them with others who more nearly conform to the ideas of those who suffer or benefit by their actions. Just as the labor movement of Great Britain was forced to act over the head of its leaders, so are events paving the way for similar action in this country.

—FRED W. HURTIG.

Radicalism a la Mode

"RADICALISM" has become fashionable. To be in the mode now one must speak of "the radicals" in an intimate sort of way, discuss "radical" movements, advocate "radical" changes, and be a regular fire-eater generally. "Have you read Upton Sinclair's latest book?" asks our hero when you meet him on the street; Isn't it fine that the A. F. of L. is coming out flat-footed for freedom of speech? "Did you hear that radical sermon in the Congregational church last Sunday?" And some one else, fresh from a perusal of a New Republic editorial or Wilson's "Fourteen Points," sidles up to a Socialist with an unmistakable air of comradeship and remarks, "Why, I'm a radical myself."

Even the churches are becoming "radical"—taking them at their own valuation. There are "open forums" in our Y. M. C. A.'s where questions of the day are discussed "from all angles." Respectable pastors are almost preaching revolution—but not quite. In fact, wherever people congregate you will find self-styled "radicals," whose opinions are about as vague as the use of the term implies. The word "radical" may mean anything or nothing; it is an euphemistic expression supposed to be a password into Socialist circles, but at the same time not connecting any definite Socialist idea that would at all embarrass its possessor in a bourgeois drawing-room.

It is a bit disgusting to observe the importance attached to this word by some Socialists. Even "members of the party" may be heard referring to Anarchism as "more radical" than Socialism; whereas as a matter of fact Anarchism is "radical" only in the sense that it is radically wrong. The same class of half-informed Socialists look with admiration and

favor upon the "radical" platforms of the Non-Partisan League and the Catholic Bishops and the "Committee of Forty-Eight." It is essential that the working-class, in order not to be misled, realize that these are signs, not that capitalism is on the verge of adopting Socialism, but that an ambush has been set for the awakening proletariat. We must realize that these programs are not for proletarian emancipation, but for proletarian palliation. They may be regarded as signs of capitalist capitulation only under this condition, that the proletariat maintains warily its class-conscious, uncompromising position on the basis of Marxism—and nothing else. No "radicalism" will do as a substitute.

One of the striking phases of this Cult of the Radical is the flood of red that has today dyed a multitude of emotional Socialists who were but yesterday decidedly lukewarm in their allegiance to revolutionary principles. These are aptly called "November Bolsheviks"

—Bolsheviks who out-revolt the original revolutionists. They revel in descriptions of "mass-action" and are not averse to riots—anything that has a "radical" look, whatever the basis or the object may be. Such Socialists, who may have scarcely a speaking acquaintance with the "Communist Manifesto," call loudly for the immediate organization of "Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils" in the United States, styling all calmer Socialists "Mensheviks," forgetful of the fact that these "Councils" may, if controlled by reactionary elements, hinder rather than help the Socialist cause. What is needed by these discontented soldiers and workmen is rapid educational work, intensive and extensive, in the principles of Scientific Socialism, so that these "Soldiers and Workmen's Councils," when organized under the pressure of social conditions, will contain the largest possible number of well-informed Marxians. It is SOCIALISTS that are needed now, not "radicals."

—OAKLEY C. JOHNSON.

Lions, Lambs and Other Animals

THE founder and first editor of the "Saturday Evening Post" of Philadelphia was Benjamin Franklin. Franklin was a man of literary talent as well as one who had a considerable understanding of economics. It was he who defined man as a tool-making animal—a definition that the present editor would do well to ponder on; certainly if he had one-third the grasp of economics that was Franklin's he could not make the absurd mistakes that are to be found in the editorial columns of the "Post."

George Horace Lorimer has a sonorously resounding name, but alas, it is the empty wagon that makes the most noise. Recently we happened on one of his editorials and were amazed at the profound thought and brilliant argument to be found there. Ourselves overcome with admiration we hasten to share with you these pearls from the pen of the modern bearer of Benjamin's standard:

The French Minister of Commerce spoke recently about his country's situation. There is a huge wastage to be made good, a heavy debt to be borne. In that respect other countries find themselves in much the same position, so stiff competition should be expected, for raw materials on the one hand and for markets for finished goods on the other. Besides dislocation of her industries, due to war, France's man power or labor power is seriously diminished.

That, briefly put, is the nation's problem—a hard problem, certainly. But M. Clementel turned to the other side of the account—namely, to the mighty things France had accomplished during more than four years of a life-and-death struggle. The great achievements of war, he said, had been possible by united effort—all working heartily together. And to solve the problem of reconstruction France must reject the German idea of implacable division along class lines and adopt a French idea of co-operation of all classes in the common interest.

So then, "the idea of implacable division along class lines" is exclusively German. That class lines were rigidly drawn in Germany is true enough, but to make the ignoble "Hun" bear all the odium of the bourgeois anti-aristocrat hatred would surely astonish the venerable Franklin could he be a reader today of the paper he founded more than a century ago. War, as well as politics makes strange bed-fellows.

Not so many years ago "perfidious Albion" was regarded by Americans and French as the staunchest

defender of "implacable" class division. Still, it is of little importance; let it stand. We will consider "implacable division as being essentially German and "co-operation of all classes" French. The word "implacable" seems to be a favorite with Mr. Lorimer; we find in the next paragraph that the Socialist theory is also guilty of something "implacable."

The Socialist theory is that all those who engage in production must align themselves in two implacably hostile classes and fight until one destroys the other. It is founded on as false and shallow a notion as ever gained extensive currency among men—the notion of an inveterate hostility between the interests of capital and the interests of labor, so that one can prosper only at the expense of the other.

Before Mr. Lorimer pooh-poohs us altogether out of court may we (respectfully and quite humbly) ask from whom this "Socialist theory" was derived? It must have been that other great economist who writes for the "Post"—"English" William Walling. None other could attain to such heights of absurdity. In spite of the dizzy pinnacles of authority reached by that notorious renegade we must warn Mr. Lorimer against being taken in by shysters of Walling's stamp. Being a capitalist journal we do not expect the editor of the "Post" to know anything really worth while, but before rushing into an unfamiliar field he ought to take the advice of Mark Twain and "inquire."

We do not contend that "all those engaged in production must align themselves in two implacably hostile classes and fight until one destroys the other"; that isn't even good imitation Socialism. Our position is the exact opposite. We insist that those who "engage in production" must co-operate to the end that the fruits of production shall be the property of the producers. Inasmuch as the Socialist program calls for the personal participation of all the able-bodied in production (using the term to include the socially necessary distribution, etc.) it must follow that there shall be co-operation of all the individuals in society for society's benefit, collectively and individually. Apparently very simple but still a bit deep for those champions of co-operation who wish the producers to continue co-

operating for the benefit of the capitalist class. We would discontinue that system which obliges the majority of society to slave for the comfort and enrichment of that powerful minority which owns the means of production but does not operate them. Our program calls for a genuine co-operation in the "sweet" as well as the sweat of production. Truly "a false and shallow notion." We do not desire to destroy the capitalist class in the sense that Mr. Lorimer wishes to infer. We are not wasting any effort on the products—we are gunning for the system, not its fruits. We are fighting the capitalist system because we are out for the co-operative commonwealth. If the capitalists, personally or as a class get in the way of social progress they will most likely get run over. The industrial overlords of today might well study the history of the Bourbons. The lesson is clear—those who throw their puny strength against the awful might of social revolution will be destroyed. The Social Revolution demands no bloody sacrifice; it is the attempt to stay the march of material, social advance by physical force on the part of the tottering ruling classes that has caused the wholesale destruction in past revolutions.

Mr. Lorimer is not the first to misrepresent Socialist theory or to try to explain away the class struggle. Not that he makes a real effort to explain anything—that would require some research and hard thinking. Editors of the capitalist press are not paid to explain social phenomena. Their function is to charm the sheep into acquiescence or indifference while the kind shepherds lead them to the shearing. If the sweet strains fail in their purpose a hulabaloo about nothing will serve to confuse their weak minds until driven to the desired spot.

Socialists refuse to be lulled or confused. They have the annoying habit of basing their arguments and theories on uncompromising, unpoetic, material actualities. To enter the controversial ring with them is perilous business. To honestly state a Socialist position and then to logically refute it step by step and in entirety is an impossibility. The defender of the capitalist system has no better tactic than to let loose such a broadside of reverberating phrases as will stun the public into a sort of intellectual stupor.

If there were no Russian example common sense and common experience could still affirm positively that reconstruction would fail to make progress in any country exactly in proportion as that destructive idea prevailed; for if there is anything common sense and common experience know it is that men prosper by co-operating and not by fighting.

Mr. Lorimer doesn't say so openly, but it is quite evident that the way reconstruction is going in Russia doesn't please him. We gather that from the cloud of smoky words. We are not surprised that he does not approve of a society that requires capitalists to take orders from their "co-operating producers"—it isn't nice or democratic and the liberty of the capitalists to direct production in their own interests is seriously interfered with. The last reliable information from Russia indicated that reconstruction on the plan of co-operation among the producers was going on rapidly and successfully. There was some opposition from those who preferred a different sort of co-operation—under the direction and to the benefit of those who had formerly owned the means of production or had hoped to in the future. It is likely that the worker's government would not have interfered with the opposition if they had confined themselves to objections. But as al-

ways, the reactionaries tried to resort to force in order to bring their objections to the workers' attention. The details of what followed are still being disputed. It seems to be agreed, however, that 1918 was not a good year for capitalist counter-revolutions in Russia. It is also agreed that the wealthy and their intellectual toadies have not prospered—some are said to be in desperate straits, that is, for capitalists. Former landowners without their necessary wine, women and song (except the International), and duchesses working for a living. Truly an intolerable state of affairs in the eyes of a sentimental American bourgeois.

The editorial is brought to a triumphant close with as entertaining a piece of utter nonsense as we have seen in many a day. Were not the Philadelphian dignity of the "Post" so well established we should take it all as a jest.

Buyers and sellers represent opposing interests; one wants the goods cheap; the other wants them dear. They do not fight, but sit down and dicker until they reach a point where they can agree; and at that point, by and large, both of them profit by trading. The interests of capital and labor are in opposition to the same degree. Socialism's stock in trade is to prevent them from agreeing. It would be difficult to imagine a less serviceable doctrine—especially in this juncture of the world's affairs.

A picture irresistably presents itself to our mind. Henry Dubb and the suave Mr. Grabitall are seen sitting on opposite sides of a Beevo keg in a "friendly dicker" over the price of Henry's labor-power. Henry, clad in patched overalls, well-worn brogans and the conventional paper cap. His guileless countenance carries the uneasy expression of one who is conscious of his impending trimming. His master, clad in elegantly cut clothes, shiny shoes and silk hat, bears his characteristic benevolent smile.

We anxiously observe them approaching "that point, by and large" where "both of them profit by trading." As his final argument, Henry, sweat of unaccustomed mental effort running down his "brow," presents last month's bill (unpaid) for food, clothing and rent. Mr. Grabitall, after a struggle, capitulates and grants a wage sufficient to cover the amount. He severely lectures Henry's lack of thrift and then generously adds a nickel for the movies just to show that the capitalist has a heart after all.

At this point the socialist ridicules Henry for selling his services like his long-eared brother for mere hay, shelter and harness. We point out to him that his labor-power produces wealth far in excess of the cost of his own maintenance as well as that of Mrs. Dubb and the Dubblets. We insist that he claim the entire social value of his product. It is our purpose to persuade him not to accept anything else. Because he is so much like his brother we, who are also workingmen, must accept the meagre ration that contents him. We cannot accomplish the capture of the State and our emancipation without his help. With our Socialist doctrine we will shear his long ears.

We must acknowledge ourselves fully in accord with Mr. Lorimer's final opinion that "it would be difficult to imagine a less serviceable doctrine—especially in this juncture of the world's affairs." Less serviceable to capitalism, surely! Naturally, they don't like our doctrine. In this hour of danger the sweeter one of "Peace, Love (and above all) HARMONY" must be inculcated at any cost.

"The Lion and the Lamb shall lie down together"—with the lamb inside.

BREIT.

International Notes

By John Keracher

Germany A review of the recent events in the various German states reveals a condition of unceasing struggle. Following close upon the Hungarian revolution Bavaria proclaimed the dictatorship of the proletariat forcing the bourgeois government to retreat from Munich, the capital.

For a time it seemed that the Ebert-Scheideman forces had succeeded in suppressing the newly established workers' government, but simultaneously with the reports of its overthrow came news of uprisings in widely separated sections of the country. This would indicate that the proletarian revolution is gaining in spite of the repressive measures employed to crush it.

Twenty thousand strikers in the city of Danzig proclaimed their allegiance to the Soviet principle of government. In Saxony the workers are developing extensively the organization of workers and soldiers councils. The moderate socialist government continues to maintain its existence by force of arms and the most desperate measures, using all the strength of the bourgeoisie and their social institutions to withstand the onslaught of the proletariat.

Munich is again in the hands of the Communists, with constant street fighting going on. In Berlin, Chemnitz and Mannheim the bank clerks are on strike, forcing all the large financial institutions to close. The bankers have sent a delegation to Wiemar, where the German cabinet still sojourns, to find out what they are going to do about it.

Russia The month's progress in the first Red Republic, although not spectacular, is worthy of mention.

Odessa, on the Black Sea, was taken by the Bolsheviki, and likewise the greater part of the grain growing territory of Russia, the Ukraine, and the northern part of the Crimea. This advance, great as it is from the territorial standpoint, is nothing when compared with the economic advantage in gaining possession of this source of food supply. From a military standpoint it puts the Bolsheviki in closer touch with the Hungarian soviet forces.

Within Russia the Bolsheviki forces have met with some reverses on the near-Eastern front, in their clash with the counter-revolutionary government with headquarters at Omsk. We read of a new front being established by the Bolsheviki in the Far East, near Vladivostok. The Archangel district seems to be of secondary importance, and judging from reports of Allied regiments protesting against being forced to fight, it appears that the Red Guard is holding its own.

Meantime the social groups within European Russia which formerly gave considerable trouble to the Workers' Government, have either been won over to Bolshevist rule, or have at least ceased to obstruct its decrees. Notable in this respect is the attitude of the remnants of the Mensheviki, who whilst still refusing to endorse the principle of Bolshevism, record their opposition to foreign intervention and pledge their support to the government on that issue.

Roumanian forces are now being driven from Russian territory, through Bessarabia. Will the Roumanian's be able to stop the Bolsheviki at the border, or will Roumania also become Red territory?

Another strong point in the Archangel situation is that two of the Allied countries, England and America, have empowered Dr. Fridjor Nansen, the Norwegian explorer, to arrange an armistice with Russia on their behalf through neutral channels. It is understood that food is to be supplied through neutral channels providing the Bolsheviki cease fighting and allow the American and English troops to withdraw. Apart from the advantage of securing supplies of food, the Bolsheviki northern army will be released for action elsewhere, most likely against the anti-Bolshevik forces in the East. The feeding of Russia now, one dispatch tells us, is "humanitarian and not political."

The proposal of Lenine to visit Budapest and there call together a conference of representatives of the New International has raised a storm of indignation in the capitalist press, which only proves that the exploiters of the working class in every land see the writing on the wall. Russia, the new proletarian world power, is shaking the very foundations of the present social order.

Great Britain A Joint Industrial Council of labor representatives and employers met in London and reported to Lloyd-George their intention of making the council a permanent body "to advise the Government on national and industrial questions." "Sir Robert Horne read a letter from the Premier welcoming the report and stating that the Government would give it immediate and sympathetic consideration. Later, Mr. Arthur Henderson moved a resolution welcoming the report, agreeing to submit it to their constituent organizations for acceptance. Sir Allan Smith, for the employers, seconded, and the resolution was carried with acclamation." Doesn't it sound like the doings of our old friend the National Civic Federation? We wonder if this is the result of British labor fraternizing with Sammy Gompers. It is worthy of note that the miners and transport workers refused to take part in the conference, although the miners have since endorsed its findings.

The Mother of Parliaments was recently thrown into an uproar when some women appeared in the Strangers' Gallery of the House of Commons and loudly protested against the present parliamentary procedure, demanding instead the Soviet form of government. That was surely the last place on earth to look for it, of course—but such happenings indicate the trend of political opinion in John Bull's islands.

Limerick, in the north of Ireland, is seething with industrial strife; martial law has been proclaimed.

Lloyd-George has just broken with his political team-mate Lord Northcliffe, who has been using his chain of newspapers to criticise the Peace Delegates. In replying to these attacks the Premier asserted that

the noble lord was suffering from "the disease of vanity," and charged that "he has been carried to the point of sowing discord between nations upon whose co-operation the peace of the world depends" * * * "to make France distrust Great Britain and hate America, and to make America, France and Italy quarrel."

Northcliffe is the spokesman of the Shylock element in England who insist upon the full pound of flesh from Germany and her former allies. Lloyd-George and others are at least wise enough to realize that such a policy might bring about the same fate as that which overtook the authors of the "Brigand's Peace" of Brest-Litovsk.

The moderate policy of the British Premier in the Paris negotiations brought forth from the Northcliffe element in Parliament a telegram of protest which was sent to Lloyd-George signed by four hundred members. Evidently the Premier is now making his answer to the telegram. To the average American these happenings have little or no significance. A personal row between two congressmen would have little effect upon the general political situation in this country, but in Britain a clash between these two powerful political leaders means a new alignment of Parliamentary forces, if not a general election as a consequence.

Already there is some talk of Lloyd-George lining up with the Labor representatives; this would require no great change of policy on his part as the parliamentary labor group in England are but bourgeois radicals and social patriots, little if any better than the Eberts and Scheidmans of Central Europe. The straight socialist elements of Britain have no parliamentary representation, although they are gathering considerable strength within the labor movement and working class organizations in general.

The National Socialist Party, as reactionary an element as can be found anywhere, recently called upon the government to aid them in their fight against Bolshevism in England, which goes to prove that the workers movement has its Right and Left wings there as in other countries. And judging from their frantic squeals Bolshevism must have a considerable hold. Taken altogether, the indications are that there is trouble ahead for those in power in Merrie England.

Canada The order recently enforced in Canada suppressing all radical organizations and literature has evidently had the opposite effect than that intended. The organized labor movement has split wide open. The unions in the eastern portion tend to stick to the conservative policies so long pursued but those in Western Canada have gone over almost entirely to the industrial form of organization. The action to form such a union and to withdraw from the old craft organizations was taken at the Inter-Provincial Labor Conference at Calgary. The new body will be known as the Federated Labor Party of Western Canada and announces that its purpose is "to secure collective ownership and democratic operation of wealth production." The spirit of the conference can best be understood through the statement of one of the delegates that "they were not interested in giving Canadian citizens the jobs held by aliens, as the only alien existing so far as Labor is concerned is the capitalist."

The Trades and Labor Council of Regina, Sask., has voted to affiliate with the new organization.

The government at Ottawa is alarmed. One of the senators of the Upper Chamber, Gideon Robertson, Minister of Labor, announces that the Government intends to appoint a commission, representative of both capital and labor, for the purpose of bringing about joint control by capital and labor in certain industries.

Speaking of the "vast interests in common of capital and labor," Mr. C. H. Cahn, K. C., says, "no difficulties can arise between them that cannot be solved, in a manner reasonably satisfactory to all, by careful study and investigation and by constant application of the golden rule of doing unto others as we would have others do unto us."

This is the same Mr. Cahn, who, as chairman of the Public Safety Department (which by the way, died in its infancy) told of the menace of "bolshevism" in Canada, and how certain manufacturers found it necessary to arm those among their employes who were "loyal" with revolvers. We presume they were only preparing to put the Golden Rule into practice. Or has Mr. Cahn made a mistake and put the last word first—perhaps it is the Rule of Gold he has in mind.

At their recent convention, with delegates representing 9,000 coal miners in Alberta and part of British Columbia, the United Mine Workers passed without a dissenting vote and amid applause, the following: "Resolved, That greetings be conveyed from this convention to the Russian Soviets and all the workers of Russia struggling for the same millenium, the complete overthrow of the capitalist system."

Poland With the victorious march of the Bolshevik forces in Ukrainia, the Polish and Ukrainian bourgeois forces are showing a tendency to drop their own quarrels. Poland's plea for help has been answered from Paris by the sending of Polish legions from France. Danzig was selected as the entering point for these regiments. It is difficult to determine what arrangements have been entered into between the Paderewski and Ebert governments. Evidently Paderewski's journey to Paris was for the purpose of entering into some compromise. It is certain that the wily bunch who control the present German government see the need for the Polish bourgeoisie holding out against the proletarian rebels within and the Bolshevik forces on their eastern border, for if Poland goes over to the Reds the "democratic" government in Germany will not last long.

Italy Clash, clash, is the order of the day in the Eternal City. Dispatches from Rome indicate that with the coming of spring the proletarian revolution is beginning to sprout. Parades by a group of socialists calling themselves Spartacans, commemorating Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and demonstrating sympathy with the Russian revolutionists, were broken up by the police and patriotic sections of the populace. These assailed the demonstrators and tore down the red flags the marchers carried.

As in other countries, the socialists are sharply divided—one group supporting the government and the other in opposition.

Italy has for a long time been torn with unrest and now that the war is over and revolution shaking the powers of Central Europe, the populace is dividing on the world-wide class issue.

Our First Anniversary

WITH the present issue The Proletarian starts upon the second year of its career. Much water has flowed beneath the bridge since it first appeared; much has been accomplished for the furtherance of the working class cause. At this time last year we were still in the midst of the world war; black reaction was triumphant everywhere. Only in Russia was there a ray of hope, and even there the future appeared by no means promising. The immense difficulties to be overcome appalled all but the most courageous; German armies were then marching on Petrograd, threatening to crush the Soviets before they could firmly establish their rule.

The Socialist movement in America was at its lowest ebb. Working class papers were being suppressed and barred from the mails; indictments and persecution of all who dared express opinions detrimental to the dominant class were the order of the day. The reactionaries who have for so long dominated our movement seemed as firmly entrenched as ever. A socialist paper which dared to take a critical attitude, as did The Proletarian, was considered being guilty of little short of heresy. Many cheerfully predicted its early demise.

What a change has come over the scene!

The Russian revolution, after many anxious moments and fighting its enemies within and without, has convincingly demonstrated its staying powers. Every attempt to crush it, whether by the armed forces of the German or Allied imperialists, or the more sinister attacks of counter-revolutionists, have failed to shake the determination of the Russian workers to establish their own form of society.

More than that, the revolution has spread with giant strides until it today threatens the whole of Europe. The provinces of the former Czar are now, or soon will be, under Soviet rule. The red flag of proletarian internationalism flies over Hungary and Bavaria and the heroic struggles of the Spartacists adds to the hope of the workers in every land.

This time last year the great question was: Who will win the war? Today it is: What will stop Bolshevism?

The historic events in Europe have had their effect on the movement in this country; the working class in ever greater numbers are rallying around the standard of international socialism. The change in view-point on the part of the rank and file is almost unbelievable, especially to those who have for years labored to place the movement upon the straight and narrow path that leads to victory. New papers, most of them with a decided leaning toward the Left, are springing up. Manifestos, all recognizing the need of a change in Party policy, have been formulated and discussed. Left Wing groups all over the country are making themselves heard; many Locals and one entire state organization have come out flat-footed for the repudiation of the reform tactics of the past.

After the exposure of the counter-revolutionary activities of the "Yellow" elements in the European socialist parties—the callous, brutal and murderous exploits of Ebert, Scheideman and their counterparts—if there be any of their ilk who believe they can impose the same false concept of socialism on the working class of this country they are sadly mistaken.

The Proletarian is well pleased with the progress that has been made in this past year. Though the socialist movement is still far from all that we could wish, the tendency is unmistakably in the right direction. At the present time we feel that a paper based squarely upon the class struggle and devoted to spreading knowledge, encouraging education, and pointing out the necessity for clarity on questions of principles and tactics is more than ever needed.

We will continue the struggle against the system until the goal is reached; we will continue the attack upon all reactionary elements within until they realize that there is no place in our movement for any who are not socialists.

In this we ask the hearty co-operation of our readers.
THE EDITORS.

The Proletarian University of America

AS NO mention has been made of the progress of the Proletarian University of America for some months it is possible that some of our readers may have concluded that the study class work has been suspended. Again, some of our new readers may not be aware of the existence of this organization. It will not be out of place, therefore, to recount the past and present activities in this field.

Following the State Convention of the Socialist Party of Michigan, held in Detroit last September, a group of the delegates met in the office of The Proletarian for the purpose of combining and unifying the work of the various study classes then in existence in this and other states. The result was the formation of the Proletarian University of America. Since that time

this organization has made rapid progress, and has accomplished greater educational results than it is possible to record in this article.

We are nearing the close of a successful season in Detroit. Many classes have been conducted under the auspices of the Proletarian University, drawing the greater part of the students from the Young People's Socialist League and the various branches of Local Detroit. In the language branches the Polish, Russian and German comrades have conducted classes with noteworthy results. It is worthy of mention also, that classes in economics for members of the "economic organizations" have been successfully conducted within the labor unions of the city. These classes have developed a goodly sized group who have a fairly thorough

grasp of socialist fundamentals, with a few who show promise of becoming capable speakers and writers.

The Comrades of Local Rochester, N. Y., have been conducting five classes each week under the direction of their secretary-organizer, C. M. O'Brien. The students there have shown marked progress. Judging from reports that are received the study class activity has placed Local Rochester in the front rank. A high standard of average intelligence is a better standard of measurement than one or two brilliant minds with a large but uninformed following.

Through the efforts of a few Comrades, Local Buffalo (N. Y.) endorsed the study class work and in January secured the services of one of the Comrades associated with *The Proletarian*, who has since been devoting his entire time to conducting classes in that city. A recent report shows eight classes in full swing, with many of the students developing into class instructors. The development of a well-informed group in Buffalo will in time prove the greatest strength of that Local.

Another Comrade who had long been active in the study class work in Michigan, and who is now residing in Chicago, reports that three classes have been organized and that there are excellent prospects for further extension. Until quite recently, Chicago, next to New York City, has been a center of reaction; but thanks to the Russian and other groups, a fair start has been made on the road to clarity.

In the western part of Michigan Comrade W. E. Reynolds is conducting weekly classes in Muskegon, Grand Rapids, Holland and Battle Creek. Excellent work has been accomplished along these lines by D. E. Earley, State Organizer.

Toward the end of 1918 the Comrades of the Left in Minneapolis formed a class and affiliated with the P. U. of A. Comrade A. L. Sugarman, who recently toured Michigan, reports that excellent progress is being made. On the Pacific Coast several classes have been formed, those in Portland (Ore.) being especially successful.

Many inquiries are received from Comrades in various sections as to the methods followed in these classes, indicating that considerable interest is being taken in this phase of socialist activity. In answer to these inquiries, and for the information of others who may be interested, a brief outline of the methods used will not be amiss.

In former issues we have recommended for beginners Mary Marcy's "Shop Talks on Economics," to be followed by the "Communist Manifesto." After the class has finished with one of the above mentioned books or both, if enough members can be gathered another beginner's class should be started to go over the same books while the old class goes on with the study of Marx's "Value, Price and Profit" or "Wage, Labor and Capital," by the same author. Engel's "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" has been found to be an excellent work for intermediary study followed by LaFargue's "Social and Philosophical Studies," or his "The Evolution of Property."

To those Comrades who are instrumental in starting classes we would say that the choice of text books

depends largely upon the stage of advancement of the class contemplated. Do not hesitate to go on with the work, for after all, experience is the best teacher. The class director will develop the tact and capacity for dealing with little obstacles that may arise. Many imagine that in going through one of the above mentioned books they should be able to explain every clause and sentence, but while we are not advocates of superficiality, we realize that it is possible for the students in class work to get the full value of such classic works only after many readings and re-readings. Still, it should leave in the mind of the average member an outline or skeleton of the work, embracing the main points. On this framework of fundamental knowledge the student can go on building indefinitely.

The class director should insist upon each student standing and reading slowly and distinctly, setting the example by reading the passage the second time, previous to discussing what has just been read. As a matter of courtesy, the individual who has read the passage should be given the first opportunity to explain its meaning. Then it should be opened to the other members of the class, to explain and bring out further points. The director, of course, always tactfully keeping the discussion on the actual subject matter just read, and keeping those participating from wandering from the subject.

The thing to keep in mind all the time is not what the other fellow thinks should be in the book, or what interpretation one would like to place on the passages, but just what meaning the author is trying to convey. Added interest is aroused by using illustrations from present day conditions whenever possible.

On the whole, the success of the Proletarian University has exceeded the expectations of those who were instrumental in its formation. We are aware that this is one of the most difficult phases of socialist endeavor; it is easy enough to sell a book or periodical, or to deliver an occasional lecture, but by far the hardest task of all is to get socialists to study socialism.

The army of the proletariat must be well-equipped with the theoretical weapons with which to demolish the contentions of class antagonists; every member of the organization should be capable of doing propaganda work among their fellow workers. In the classical works of modern socialism we have a vast wealth of information upon which to draw; the study class is the workshop in which the intellectual weapons of the workers are forged.

There is great demand for socialist writers and speakers and these must be supplied from our own ranks. Unless we meet this need the movement will again fall into the hands of "middle class" intellectuals as in former times. In these portentous days every sincere Comrade must stand prepared to throw his full strength into the movement; through the medium of study classes such as are now being conducted by the Proletarian University the capabilities of the individual members are increased and the whole organization placed upon an efficient and substantial basis.

Right, Center and Left

By Dennis E. Batt

THE modern labor movement appears to be developing as many "wings" as an aeroplane. Properly speaking there can be but one wing to the socialist movement, for as the workers advance in their knowledge of the socialist philosophy there can be no doubt as the "wing" they will line up with. Just now we are confronted with the difficulty of absorbing a great number of "November Bolsheviks" and it behooves us to carry on more actively the educational work that is essential before we can ever hope to accomplish the emancipation of our class. We find that the socialist movement is divided into three sections, known as the "Right," "Center" and "Left" wings. The events in Europe since the break-down of the Second International (which was neither international nor socialist) have called attention to the fact that there was something wrong with the make-up of the socialist movement. In Europe the so-called Right and Center clearly showed their counter-revolutionary character. If we are to profit by the events which have taken place "over there" it is necessary that we understand which groups in our own movement represent counter-revolutionary tendencies.

We find that socialists of the Ebert and Schiedeman type in Europe have always taken a reactionary attitude; this was well known long ago to those who understand the real nature of socialism. Their acceptance of internationalism and the Marxian philosophy was never more than mere formality. We have had and still have their counterpart in this country. The national programs of the Socialist Party have been programs of reformism. The sole aim has been to make the conditions of the workers' slavery a little more endurable. The Social-Democratic Party of Germany was an ideal organization in the eyes of our "leaders," who have endeavored to follow in the footsteps of those who are today recognized as the most dangerous of all the enemies of the workers. Their aim was and is to build a great vote-catching political machine. To this end they have prostituted all their efforts; they have consciously and deliberately obscured the class character of the socialist movement. One has to go back no farther than their recent call for a convention of all the freaks in the country—the infamous "Amnesty Convention" which is to be held in Chicago. This is a deliberate attempt to obscure the class nature of the workers' fight to free class war prisoners. No measures proposed by this group (which is properly called the Right) seriously menaces the continued existence of the capitalist system. In fact, any or all of their proposals could be endorsed by an intelligent and progressive capitalist as measures that would patch up the existing system and make it last a bit longer. This group which is represented by Berger, Work, Germer, Stedman and others, is even now working to prevent the class character of the movement from being exposed. Stedman, at least, has worked for the alliance of the Socialist Party and the Non-partisan League. The "yellow" character of Berger's socialism is too well-known to need any comment. In discussion with their defenders one will be confronted with the statement that because the government has feared them enough to put them in jail they must be real

socialists. We refuse, however, to accept the judgment of some stupid government official as a criterion of the caliber of a socialist. A jail sentence will not serve as a substitute for a clean record. Kerensky and Breshkovskaya were both jailed repeatedly, and anarchists without number have been imprisoned, yet their counter-revolutionary bend is undeniable.

The "Center" presents another problem. It has but recently assumed any importance in America. This group presents an even greater problem than the Right. In general, the Centrists agree in part with the program of the revolutionary socialists, but the points in which they do not agree are the most important. The Center socialist possesses a natural tendency to compromise with the reactionists of the Right; in this they are actuated by the fond hope that they can use the Right to further revolutionary organization and propaganda, whereas in reality it is the reverse; the Center is used by the Right to further their reactionary schemes. They justify their action by a plea for "harmony and unity," but there can be no harmony or unity in the workers' movement except that which springs from a clear understanding of the socialist position. Those who urge the compromising of fundamental principles in order to get the support of reactionary elements are surely urging us to lean upon a broken reed. We must not fall into the trap but must at all times insist upon a clear and definite working class stand.

That the rank and file is beginning to realize this is evidenced by the fact that everywhere Left Wing groups are springing into existence. Manifestoes issued by these new groups show a lack of grasp of socialist tactics, yet their intention is clear. Each and every one is an attempt to get away from the vote-catching methods which the party has used in the past. Seeing the proletarian revolution in action they have realized that the pure-and-simple parliamentary socialists are not to be relied upon in times of stress. Because of the very manner in which these newly forming Left Wing groups have acquired their affection for the uncompromising socialist tactics there is danger that they will allow themselves to be used for reactionary purposes. A great many of the individuals in these groups have been attracted upon purely emotional grounds and as yet have not a proper understanding of the questions at issue. Nevertheless, the trend is in the right direction and unless we allow enthusiasm to get the best of our heads we will succeed in placing the Socialist Party upon a sound basis.

As one looks over the different manifestoes which have recently been issued the thought arises that there is a danger that the Left Wing tendency now developing may swing to the other side of the arc and become as reactionary in one direction as the Right is in the other. Space does not permit a detailed analysis of the various manifestoes, yet a general tendency may be noted. All seem to be predicated upon the idea that the revolution is just around the corner. They seem to lose sight of the fact that the capitalist system as it exists in this country shows no signs of collapse in the immediate future; at least there seems to be no evidence of weakness. It may be a case where the wish is

father to the thought. There is also a tendency in some of these manifestoes to lose sight of the political factor and lean toward the anarchist position. We must not forget that the first thing which the workers must do is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class. We must gain control of the political state. With a few notable exceptions the manifestoes which have come to our attention have either ignored or slighted this factor.

As a basis for the successful accomplishment of their own emancipation the workers must have an understanding of the class nature of society. Consequently the thing that we must concern ourselves with most at this time is the spreading of this knowledge among the workers. This our first duty as socialists.

The proletarian revolution in action has demonstrated the necessity of gaining control the state power. We are deceiving ourselves if we neglect the work necessary for the conquest of political power.

This is the most critical period the Socialist movement has ever faced, and it behooves us to work harder than ever before. We must spread the knowledge of the class nature of society and this cannot be done by merely stating that governments are used in the inter-

est of the class which controls them. To understand the function of the state it is necessary that we study the laws underlying social development. While every workingman cannot be expected to become a thorough student of socialism, it is necessary at least for those who are sufficiently class conscious to belong to the Socialist Party to be familiar with the fundamental principles upon which the socialist movement is based. This need for study is being met all over the country by the organization of study classes. This work should be encouraged by every socialist who has the best interest of the movement in mind, for by that means alone will we eventually clarify it.

The Party is growing fast. It is by the study route alone that we will be able to assimilate the newcomers to the movement. The immediate future is pregnant with possibility for securing the organization for socialism. It would be a great calamity if we were to reject opportunism only to turn to the other extreme of reaction. This can be prevented if study classes are started in all Locals so that the membership may have opportunity to become informed on the fundamentals of socialism. If we train the newcomers in our ranks and school them in the work of training others then the future belongs to us.

Grant Allen:

A Tribute to His Scientific Work

MANY of the ablest thinkers of the revolutionary movement are forgotten except by a few. Social science has given us notable pioneers whose work and memory are neglected because they did not serve in a popular cause. Karl Marx set an example in giving due recognition to his fore-runners. In "The Poverty of Philosophy" (1847) he is careful to acknowledge the able work of the early socialist of Ireland—William Thompson—whose "Inquiry into the Principle of Human Happiness" (1827) was a book on surplus value, remarkable for its time. John Gray, author of "The Social System" (1831) and J. F. Bray, who wrote "Labor's Wrongs and Labor's Remedy" (1839) were both rescued from oblivion by Marx's international lectures and studies. How easily gifted workers for socialism are eclipsed in our memory can be gathered from the few who recall the writings and activities of Peter Lavroff and Felix Volkhovsky who did so much for the Russian revolution and died in exile before they saw the Promised Land of their ideals. So too, men like Paul Lafargue and women such as Eleanor Marx Aveling never received one-tenth the attention given to less able if more popular stars in the socialist firmament. And the same is true of natural science. Lamarck the deep and original thinker of evolution who died in abject poverty has been practically forgotten by those who praise Darwin to the skies. Professor William Kingdon Clifford, the brilliant essayist of evolution and rationalism, died when young and his spirited warfare against superstition and ignorance is now hardly known. Half a century ago in the days when Darwinism was fighting for its life, the soldiers of science used no kid gloves and called a spade a spade unlike our respectable and apologetic rationalists and men of science now living. And in sheer ability and quality of effort they are unequalled in this age of

cut-throat commerce and break-neck-speed industry. Modern America is the country, par excellence, where instruction is plentiful but ideas scarce. The record of the fine work and unrewarded genius of such a thinker as Grant Allen should be useful to stimulate study and illustrate the truths we teach.

Born in Canada in the memorable year of 1848, Grant Allen came from Celtic stock. His father was an Irish clergyman who later revolted against the compulsory reading of the Athanasian Creed with its damnation clauses for those who honestly disbelieved. His mother was Scotch of French parentage and thus the Celtic spirit of lively, alert and fluent power combined with scientific knowledge to make Allen the man he was. Life as a boy amongst the flora and fauna of the "Thousand Islands" of Eastern Canada, taught him much of that fine grasp of plant and animal life which blossomed later into the scientific studies which have charmed and helped our generation. Those flower and bird and insect rambles ripened into his "Evolution at Large," "Flowers and Their Pedigrees," "The Colors of Flowers," "In Nature's Workshop," "Common Sense Science," "Science in Arcady," "Falling in Love," "Story of Plant Life," "Colin Clouts Calendar," "Vignettes from Nature" and many others. These books combine charm and simplicity of language with the latest science such as not even Huxley could excel.

Adverse falls in family affairs cut short his Oxford University life and drove him to private tutorship—the last hope of a university man. Spencer, Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall, and others were making scientific history and Grant Allen saw his life work in the same field. He began to accumulate materials for an investigation into the History of Religion but he had to spend his days in a bitter struggle to provide food and shelter for himself and wife and child. He became

Professor of Moral Philosophy at Spanish Town Government College, Jamaica, but British capitalist domination did not arouse the negro to education and Allen's classes lacked pupils and he was jobless again. So like many others he found that unless you prostituted your education to the service of the few—poverty stares you in the face. As Jack London has so bitterly recorded—you can make more money writing rubbish than scientific books.

People spoke of London's "Call of the Wild" and "White Fang" as good dog stories, whereas they were written as applications of Spencer and Darwin's teachings on heredity and the struggle for existence. Grant Allen incorporated truths of science—heredity, ethnology and psychology in his stories but people saw the romance and tragedy and understood nothing more. Like Jack London—Grant Allen had to satisfy popular "taste" and his own pressing needs by writing pot-boilers such as "Hilda Wade," "The Typewriter Girl," "The African Millionaire," etc. "What's Bred in the Bone," "The Great Taboo," "Rev. John Creedy" were written to embody scientific principles but publishers wanted "light stuff" and the talented man of science bitterly turned his back on the real work of his life for many years. As soon as possible, however, he began to write books which pleased himself and will please many generations to come—if they value knowledge.

In his earlier days he had written many magazine articles such as "The Positive Aspect of Communism," "Socialism and Natural Inequality," "The Genesis of Genesis" and many articles on woman's share in primitive social life, in debate with Lester Ward whose theories of the female being the original sex Allen disagreed with. His study of original materials gave us "Anglo-Saxon Briton"—a history of social institutions and social evolution in early Britain—not a history of kings and heroes but a great advance upon the history-writing methods of his day. Andrew Lang—the prominent writer on mythology—said of Allen's "genius, the most versatile, beyond comparison of any man of his age. Had he been able to devote himself entirely to physical science, as he desired, it is not for me to conjecture what he might have added to the sum of human knowledge. But"—here the tragedy—"he had to live by his pen—by scientific work he could not live."

Allen found more money in writing guide-books to Italy and France than by his most brilliant studies in science. He stopped writing a "Philosophy of History" based on the facts of evolution in order to write such novels as "All Shades" to keep from starvation. Long study of physics caused him to plan the original work on "Force and Energy" which he was compelled to issue privately in 1873. Publishers did not care to speculate. The theory of attractive force and repulsive energy foreshadowed many ideas which are commonplace in our day. Jack London and Grant Allen had in common profound regard for the writing of Herbert Spencer who influenced the views of both these men considerably. Spencer had nothing but high praise for that now scarce book of Allen's "Physiological Aesthetics," an original treatise on the origin of the pleasure we derive from natural and artificial products. Allen showed that the foundation of all sensation is in the laws of nervous action and that all aesthetic feeling is finally based on sense delight, tastes, smells, touches, sounds, forms or colors. Dedicated to Herbert Spencer the lat-

ter said it was a valuable development of evolutionary thought. Spencer tried to get Allen a position as educator, but in vain. Not more than three hundred copies of the book were sold and Allen lost two hundred and fifty dollars through advancing science. In 1879 he published that remarkable study in psychology—"The Color Sense." Darwin, Wallace and Spencer esteemed it a valuable investigation into that difficult problem of comparative psychology—The Origin of a Color Sense. After ten years Allen obtained one hundred and fifty dollars from the book and he sarcastically said: "As it took me only eighteen months, and involved little more than five or six thousand references, this result may be regarded as very fair pay for an educated man's time and labor, and should warrant the reproach of the thoughtless critics for deserting the noble pursuit of science in favor of fiction and the filthy lucre."

Allen's journalistic work on the staff of "London" came to a sudden end with the collapse of that paper and he accepted the drudgery of compiling an index for the Indian Gazeteer. This was done to the end that he could later devote himself to his late work on the inquiry into the origins of religion, and after twenty years' patient study, collection and comparison of materials he published the book that took him ten years to write—"The Evolution of the Idea of God" (1897). The title was suggested by Herbert Spencer and the book is one of the greatest proofs of the earthly origins of Gods and belief in "Spirits" ever written. Huxely and Spencer, amongst many others, considered it a masterpiece, though the view Allen took of the origin or religion differed in some respects from his contemporary investigators. Those who are familiar with the great work of Frazer "The Golden Bough", Tylor's "Anthropology" and Spencer's "Sociology" will find easy indications of the foundations of Allen's views.

Allen adopted the essentials of Spencer's position that religion arose among savages in Ancestor Worship. Answering the question, "By what successive steps did men come to frame for themselves the conception of a deity?" Allen summarizes the evidence of the early beliefs of savages, past or present, and the testimony of historical documents and ancient monuments. How did men come to believe first in many gods—polytheism? How did men come to remove most of their gods until eventually certain races believed in one single, supreme and all-powerful God? And from that how did the advanced races and civilizations conceive of God as a trinity with a human person as one of its three forms—The Origin of Christianity? Allen followed the main conclusion of Spencer but added to it and modified it many ways. He adopted the view that ghost worship was the foundation of belief in gods, and the worship of corpses and not the association of spirits with non-living things was the first form of practiced religion.

The conception of the life of the dead was shown to pass through three stages, corpse worship, ghost worship and shade worship, and were associated with the three stages of mummification, burial and cremation. "In its origin," says Allen, p. 16, "the concept of a God is nothing more than that of a dead man, regarded as a still surviving ghost or spirit, and endowed with increased or supernatural powers and qualities." The worship of the

sun, moon and the stars is not primitive, but a later derivation. Many writers hold that religion grew out of fear, but Allen shows that does not answer the question, why men revered and worshipped their gods as a beneficent and generous father. Allen demonstrated that religion consists not in ethical theory but in ceremonial practice and custom—prayer, propitiation, praise, offering, etc. "In its simplest surviving savage type, religion consists wholly and solely in certain acts of deference paid by the living to the persons of the dead."

In England the Rationalist Press Association published a twelve cent edition of this wonderful book, and in a short time one hundred thousand copies were sold to working men—much to the dismay of a historic enemy—the church. Those who want to understand the reasons for socialists taking their stand on the scientific grounds of criticism of religion must read Grant Allen. For two years Allen went from publisher to publisher, but they were afraid to publish until a relatively obscure man did so. After Allen's death the materials for a second volume were found and published as they stood under the title of "The Hand of God"—a study in the "Worship of Death". This is a brilliant addition to the earlier work and contains many essays on modern evolution.

The little book on "Charles Darwin" by Grant Allen is one of the best studies ever written, and as Spencer well said, is one of the few books on this subject that is fair to Darwin's contemporaries and accurate in its views. It shows the credit due to Spencer for his presentation of cosmic evolution and to Darwin for his discovery of the origin of species. It shows also how every great mind depends upon the society of his time for his success.

The barbarous religions and social conventions of his time found a burning critic in Grant Allen. The hypocrisy of "respectable society"—the idiotic and property relations between the sexes gave us articles like the "New Hedonism" and those poems on the woman victims of a rotten system, printed in his charming "Lower Slopes"—the only book of verses Allen issued.

When he felt the hardest part of his sordid struggle with poverty ending Allen embodied his views on the marriage and social question in two novels—written to please himself—not his publishers. After a long struggle he succeeded in getting a publisher and "The Woman Who Did" and "The British Barbarians" upset the respectable world of his time. They picture people trying to avoid the conventional codes of morality and show their treatment by the "upright" hypocrites around them.

They trace the paralysing influence on men and women of established institutions and point a better way to a brighter life. These two books are well worth attention by the seeker after real pictures of social life.

In 1898 he was asked to write an article on the Defense of the Dominion for the Canadian Yearbook, and his reply is a good lesson for the Haeckels and Lankest-ers of today. Allen wrote:

"You can know very little of my aims and ideals if you think I would willingly do anything to help on a work whose avowed object is to arouse 'military enthusiasm'. Military enthusiasm means enthusiasm for killing people. My desire in life has been not to kill, but to help and aid all mankind, irrespective of nationality, creed, language or cult. I hate war, and everything that leads to it, as I hate murder, rapine, or the ill treatment of women. I dislike slavery, however cloaked under the guise of 'imperialism'. I contribute gladly to works designed to strengthen the bonds of amity between nations and to render war impossible, but I cannot contribute to one which aims at making peaceful Canadian citizens throw themselves into the devouring whirlpool of militarism."

After a lifetime of illness, Allen died on October 25th, 1898, at the early age of fifty, with much of his chief projects unfinished. Down to his last day he was in Shelley's words

Singing songs unbidden, till the world is wrought
To sympathy with hopes and fears it heedeth not.

JOHN O'LONDON.

The Woodman

Thick round me in the teeming mud
Breir and fern strove to the blood:
The hooked liana in his gin
Noosed his reluctant neighbors in:
There the green murderer throve and spread,
Upon his smothering victims fed,
And wantoned on his climbing coil.
Contending roots fought for the soil
Like frightened demons: with despair
Competing branches pushed for air.
Green Conquerors from overhead
Bestrode the bodies of their dead:
The Caesars of the sylvan field,
Unused to fail, foredoomed to yield:
For in the groins of branches, lo!
The cancers of the orchid grow.

Silent, as in the listed ring,
Two chartered wrestlers strain and cling;
Dumb as by yellow Hooghly's side
The suffocating captives died;
So hushed the woodland warfare goes
Unceasing; and the silent foes
Grapple and smother, strain and clasp
Without a cry, without a gasp.
Here also sound Thy fans, O God,
Here too Thy banners move abroad:
Forest and city, sea and shore
And the whole earth, Thy threshing-floor!
The drums of war, the drums of peace,
Roll through our cities without cease,
And all the iron halls of life
Ring with the unremitting strife.

—Robert Louis Stevenson.