



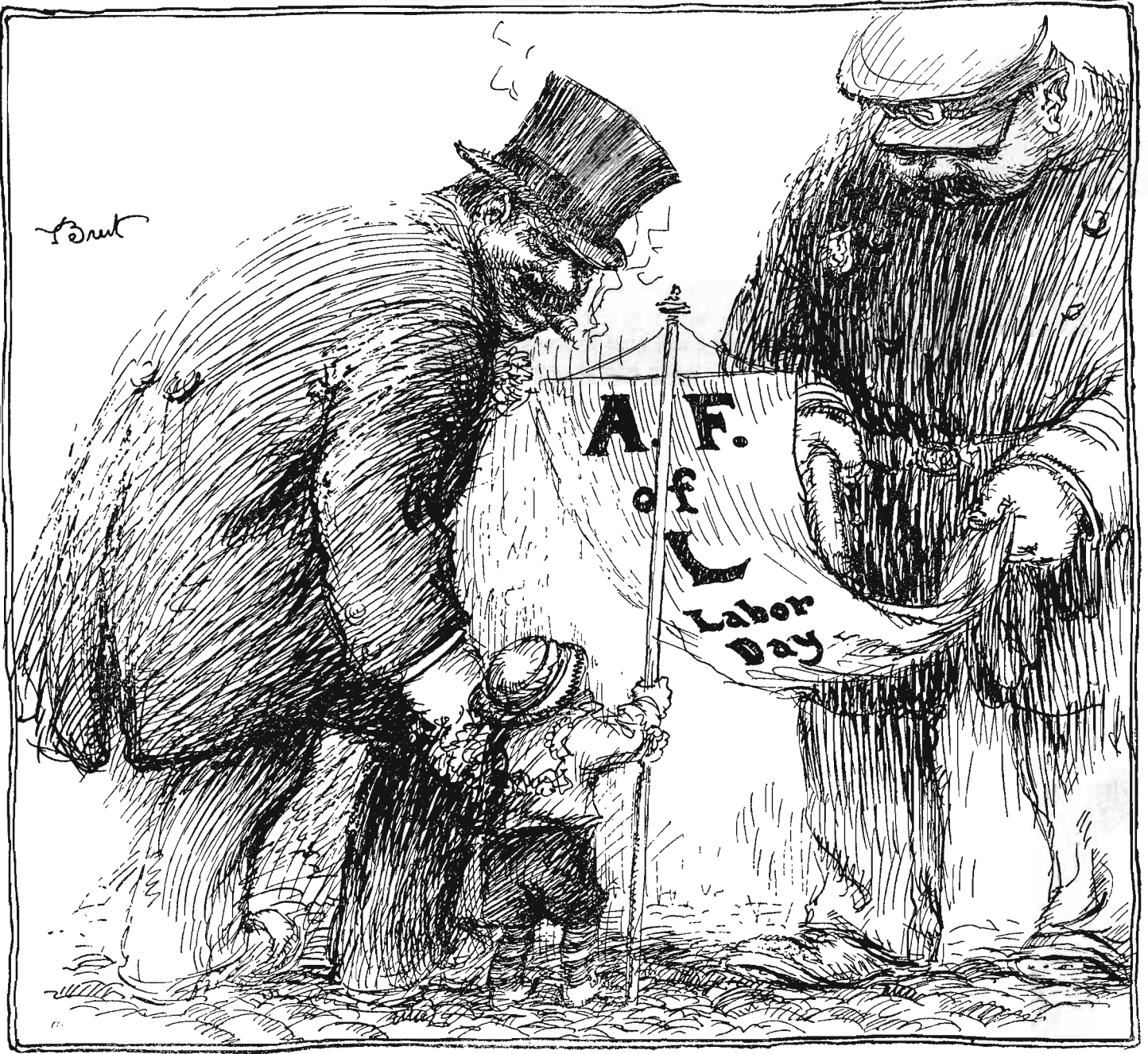
THE PROLETARIAN

A Journal of International Socialism.

Vol. II. No. 4

SEPTEMBER 1919

Price Ten Cents



Capital—It's All Right Officer, It's Not a Red Flag

SPARTACAN SPARKS

"Banker says agitation will not lower prices."

You bet it won't, but we know what will.

* * *

"Ordered to Russia, Britishers mutiny. 300 Veterans refuse to embark; leaders arrested."

Every day we read the papers, we are forced to believe, even against our own conviction, that the people are really waking up.

* * *

"Plumb plan called rail russianization."

That is the custom, now, isn't it, of calling everything Russian that does not suit us.

* * *

"H. C. L. hits politics."

There is one thing we are not opposed to, particularly the kind of politics referred to.

* * *

"Sees Kolchak crisis coming."

We can see further than that. We can see his finish.

* * *

Flay U. S. Army bill as "prussianistic." "Peace-time Conscription."

Wasn't that one of the fourteen points, that we should take Prussianism out of Europe. Now that we got it, why complain?

* * *

"U. S. Prestige drops abroad. Writer says war-torn nations losing faith as loot war prevails."

That is what they get for having "faith" instead of informing themselves.

* * *

"World menace seen in Poland. Lithuanian Premier says New Empire will be breeder of militarism."

The Lithuanian Premier takes the piano player too serious, we are sure.

"Ad men to tackle high living costs. Present day problems to be discussed at convention in New Orleans. To urge production and reduce cost of selling to bring relief to workers."

It never occurs to these gentlemen that the high cost of living could be lowered by just the amount necessary to keep them, if they would eliminate themselves.

* * *

"Declares church profited by war. Rev. J. T. Command says Catholics did valiant work." "The greatest profiteer in the world war is the Roman Catholic Church in the United States," said the Rev. Father Command."

Comment is unnecessary.

* * *

"Massachusetts minister discovers new comet."

We are glad to see a minister do something useful, once in a while.

* * *

"Wall Street sees danger ahead unless wise leadership appears."

When things become dangerous to Wall Street it usually means something good for the workers.

THE PROLETARIAN

Published Monthly at

174 Michigan Avenue

The Proletarian is the official paper of the Proletarian University of America and has the endorsement of Local Wayne County (Detroit) and of the Socialist Party of Michigan.

Subscription one dollar a year; single copies ten cents. Rates to dealers on application.

No advertising matter accepted.

Make checks and money orders payable to The Proletarian Publishing Company.



"State's women story denied. Writer finds that alleged "Nationalization" in Russia is hoax. Divorces show drop." By Isaac Don Levine.

The story was not a hoax. It was deliberate, unqualified, malicious. By looking up statistics here, we also find that divorces are on the increase, this is so, because this is a liberty-loving people.

* * *

"Senators spot packer plots."

When a United States Senator has intelligence enough to spot anything, we need not grow despondent. There is still hope for the proletariat.

* * *

Lansing retailers rage at big profits exposure."

But it hasn't reduced prices any that we can notice.

* * *

"\$500,000 R. R. men take new strike vote. Wilson's wage offer spurned."

This may not be sedition, but it certainly smacks of lese majesty.

* * *

Japanese Press fears upheaval. Labor unrest due to rice shortage and high prices..

Everybody seems to fear an upheaval, excepting the worker. The reason, they have something to lose.

* * *

"Beat Reds, aim of U. S. business. Chamber of Commerce opens war on doctrines of all radicals. Labor, capital, must be friends, is slogan."

To labor we can truthfully say, another damphool slogan.

* * *

"Kolchak army quitting Omsk."

Kolchak will be quitting Russia, and then the Press will have to quit lying about the wonderful victories.

THE PROLETARIAN

Vol. II

AUGUST, 1919

No. 4

Communist Party Convention

All eyes are now centered on Chicago, watching expectantly for the advent of the Communist Party; some with doubt, some with fear, some with approbation. This is a critical time in the development of Socialism on this continent, and this convention promises to be a landmark in history. Whether it dates the beginning of an epoch of clear-headed revolutionary propaganda in this country, or simply indicates another abortive attempt on the part of the proletariat, depends entirely on the advancement of the delegates who will assemble in the Convention on Sept. 1, and on the understanding of the rank and file who support them.

The beginning of this Communist movement cannot be traced to any one spot, or to any one set of ideas. The movement for Scientific Socialism carried on for several years in many parts of the country resulted in complete repudiation of the reformism of the old Socialist Party; the growing tenseness in industrial strife developed contempt for the pussy-footing conciliatory tactics used by the party towards the American bourgeoisie; and finally the Russian Bolshevik revolution stirred the workers of "prosperous" America to the depths, and engendered an enthusiasm for Proletarian emancipation which was entirely foreign to the petty bourgeois character of the so-called "Socialist" Party of America.

Out of these various and, in some cases, conflicting elements came delegates to the Left Wing Conference in New York on June 21,—a conference which resulted in a split, the Majority announcing its intention to "capture" the convention and machinery of the old party, the Minority resolved to organize a

new party, a Communist Party. The delegates from Michigan, satisfied that nothing could be gained from longer association with the old Socialist Party, and confident that the Federations and associated groups offered the best chance for a real Socialist party at this time, threw in their lot with them, and have worked unceasingly for the organization of the Communist Party.

The Majority of the Left Wing Conference, who at first expected to "capture" the old party, have been obliged by recent developments to give up that plan, and by a majority vote of one have agreed to unite with the Organization Committee in the organization of a Communist Party. This is without doubt a good turn in Socialist affairs, not because it indicates complete unity in principles and tactics (such a result could not be expected from a movement which, however revolutionary in spirit, is still immature), but because it eliminates some of the minor differences and clears the way for action.

In this crucial moment *The Proletarian* favors the new party. The policy of this periodical in the past has been to stand uncompromisingly for Revolutionary Socialism, and it purposes to do so in the future. It points out to the Convention that there is danger, on the one hand, from the moss-backed conservatism of the Socialist Party of America, and, on the other hand, from the over-excited Anarcho-Syndicalistic tendencies of the so-called "Left Wing." But the time is ripe, and the outlook is very favorable; *The Proletarian*, therefore, echoes the call, "All power to the Communist Party."

Editorial Committee.

Race Riots in America

By Oakley Calvin Johnson

The recent outbreak of race riots in Chicago constitutes a nice little problem to the Sociologist, with his bourgeois prejudices and University limitations. Hard indeed is its solution to one not possessing the key to the understanding of all social phenomena,—the Materialist Conception of History.

In a case of this kind the Sociologists of the press leap instantly to the conclusion that it is the color of the black man, the racial difference between whites and blacks, that is at the bottom of the antipathy existing between them.

Such is not the case. The Jewish pogroms that have occasionally taken place in some of the countries of Europe have been fully as sanguinary as the race riots against American Negroes. No one, however, can maintain that there is any racial characteristic of the Jews to inspire such hatred, else there would be po-

groms in the United States as well. For years a bloody hatred of the Armenians has characterized the Turks, but something other than racial incompatibility was the cause. On the other hand, we often find that race hatred is artificially created and fostered to cover up the economic interests involved, as illustrated by the "Yellow Peril" propaganda of a few years ago, and the "Hate the Hun" slogans of recent war-time popularity.

A strict investigation of the Negro question would show the same underlying base,—an economic one. The Negroes were imported in the first place because of economic reasons, cheap slave labor for the plantations of the South. They were emancipated because the economic development of the North favored wage, rather than slave, labor. In the last two or three years the Negro population of the South has begun to move northward, attracted by the comparatively high

wages to be received, especially while the war kept so many workers in the army. The North, already overcrowded with workers, is being flooded with this new cheap labor, and the anger of the northern workers naturally directs itself against these new competitors. Especially is this so since the coming of "peace" has permitted the disbanded soldiers, who have returned to find their jobs taken by Negroes, to swell the army of the unemployed. This resulted in "race riots" in St. Louis during the war; it is resulting in "race riots" now in Washington and Chicago. Unable to see the cause in the economic structure of Capitalism, the workers react on the first apparent obstruction: in the early days of factory production they attacked the machines; now they vent their rage on "foreigners," Chinese coolies, "Niggers," etc.

The fact that up until a few weeks ago the American Federation of Labor never permitted Negroes to join its craft unions is significant in this respect. Only a general change in public sentiment could have brought about the change even now, (together with the fact that actual participation of Negroes in industry can no longer be gainsaid), for the tendency to monopolize jobs is fully as strong as that of union for common action.

It is true that jobs are scarce, and no doubt true also that Negroes often work for less wages than white slaves. But the latter should remember that the same factors which determine their wages determine also the wages of colored workers. The white man gets the value of his labor power, its cost of reproduction, and the Negro gets the value of his labor-power; but owing to his previous economic environment he may need less than the white worker, and the market price of his labor power will therefore tend to be lower in like proportion. But both the whites and the blacks submit to the same economic

law, both meekly accept exploitation. So long as the white worker is willing to be a slave, he has no business condemning other slaves. Let him know that capitalists, not Negroes, are his enemies; that capitalism, not black labor, is taking the bread from his mouth.

Aiding and abetting these race riots, this blind reaction to an economic situation, is the capitalist class, its press and spokesmen. Lynchings are gleefully reported, massacres described with an evident smacking of the lips, and the whole atrocity condoned and glossed over in a way scarcely calculated to end the trouble. The result is, of course, that the workers' ultimate understanding of the matter is delayed as much as possible; obscuring the real issue redounds to the benefit of Capitalism.

Especially do the activities which the authorities are forced to undertake strikingly illustrate this obscuring of the issue. Federal investigation of the riots was advertised as having a specific purpose, namely, to find what relation the race riots bore, first, to the activities of "radical" agitators, and, second, to the pre-war "pro-German" propaganda! Either these "investigators" are idiots, or they think the masses are; the latter condition will not be far from the truth so long as white workers blindly vent their wrath in "mass action" against fellow workers of another race.

No claim is made here that the Negroes are angelic souls suffering injustice and oppression. They are certainly no better than the white workers who attack them. Indeed, it would be very surprising if they were as well developed in character and mentality as white workingmen, considering their training and environment. The point to be observed is, that material conditions in society are directly responsible for the riots taking place,—conditions whose only remedy is the coming of Socialism.

Bolshevism is Dead—Long Live Democracy

Well, Bolshevism is dead again! This time, phrase-criticism has laid the wild man low. Not starvation, not Kolchak, not "civilization," nor even the Allied "iron ring;" just one of our brainy American magazine writers, one who has penetrated to the heart of the matter and found that Bolshevism is a "hoax." To Mr. H. W. Stanley are we indebted for this epoch-making discovery. Lenine, "master phrasemonger," has fooled us all; capitalist and worker alike. Even Clemenceau and the peerless Mr. Wilson have taken the thing seriously. Of all the literary toreadors who have attempted the analysis of the Russian Revolution, Herbert Wilton Stanley alone was keen enough to see through the "fantastic ideologies," the fuming, explosive utterances" of the Bolshevik chiefs. The truth about Russia has at last been laid bare for all the world to see. Those who care to know need only turn to the first article in the July "Atlantic."

There is no such thing as "proletarian dictatorship," Russia is not governed by an organization of occupational Soviets and "mujic hordes turn out to die like "zealots" for a "democracy," a "political state . . . whose traditions spring from Jefferson far more than from Karl Marx. And Lenine—master phrasocrat of the age—enlists limitless battalions in a sacred war for a "Commune" which is only a republic!"

Upon what facts does our author base his brightly original criticism. In the Marxian "creed" as interpreted by Mr. Stanley "(1) The Commune must achieve complete Proletarianism; (2) It must be anti-parliamentary and (3) it must inaugurate socialization." Now it is quite evident that, though the Bolsheviks have been in power over a year, they have only succeeded in establishing a stable government. Awful! It only took our super-heroic American Fathers and Uncles of their country nine years to found a national government. Next, the millions of acres of Russian agricultural territory has not all been socialized, the state is not dead, former capitalists still manage the industries (that is, some of them), the church has not been destroyed, the bourgeois are not all dead, there is a powerful Russian army, the Soviet Republic is a fraud for Russia is still governed geographically! What profound analysis, what masterly reasoning, and what a convincing conclusion.

However much of a hoax Bolshevism may be in the opinion of Mr. Stanley, the revolution is a very real thing he admits as much. The trouble is that it hasn't been precisely the capitalistic triumph that most of the rest of the world would like to have it, the greater part of the literary lights of the bourgeois world would have preferred to look upon the working class government

as a transient thing, one destined to melt soon before the destroying breath of "democracy." Many liars have been so eager to bring the desired glad tidings to the dear ones at home, that the demise of the Republic has been several times prematurely heralded abroad. Mr. Stanley has no such crude method of restoring confidence to a sadly frightened world. He claims that Russia has a stable government and not a declining one, but he says though in apparent defeat in reality, "democracy" is gloriously vindicated.

The dreaded Socialist Commune isn't socialistic at all. The working class does not govern Russia. There isn't anything new about the Russian Republic, only the terms are different, the substance is the good old stuff according to Tom Jefferson and Jeremy Bentham.

The revolution and the success of the Proletarian State has fired the imagination of the working class all over the world. The success of the workers of Russia has revived their hopes. There is great danger that the thing will spread. The ruling classes of more than one European nation hate to go to bed for fear that their precious governments will be in ruins before they awake. The propaganda of the revolution must be counteracted, the Bolsheviki must be overwhelmed, and Russia delivered over to the exploitation of the international plunderbund.

Unfortunately for European and American capitalism, the task turns out to be a little too difficult for the nationalities interested, thus far the Russian adventure has been a fiasco abroad and of additional friction at home. The every effort has been made to blacken the Russian workers' government in the eyes of the world's proletariat the propaganda has met with no better success than have the military offenses.

The Bolsheviki have extended their territory in Russia and their propaganda has weakened the nationalistic loyalty of the Allied armies. Anti-Bolshevik propaganda, on the other hand, has gone stale, much of it has reacted upon the sources of the propaganda. Much more of it has met with ridicule rather than with patriotic fervor. The pathetic story of Baroness Highanupski doing her washing, excites more laughs of satisfaction than sympathetic tears.

The alliance with Kolchak has had a decidedly unpleasant effect in America. The American worker has been brought up to regard Czarism as barbarism. The despotic nature of Russia's pre-revolutionary ruling class is so well known that the joining of forces with one of the sinister figures of the old regime appears to him far from a triumph for democratic forms of government.

The average reader does not stop to think of the material necessities of his favorite author. Authors must eat just the same as shoemakers. In order to live they must sell their wares, since the revolution there has been an active demand for those who can supply the brilliant nothings most apt to influence the proletarian mind. Now that "terror" stories and similar literary truck fails to arouse interest, the performer who can discover a new angle is a creature much in demand.

Mr. Stanley is one of these more clever ones. In his "Hoax of Bolshevism" he weaves together a very entertaining tissue of obvious facts, disputable assertions, misunderstandings and downright falsehoods to finally reach a preposterous conclusion. Like all good apologists for capitalism, he bases his arguments on a sweeping statement which, it is assumed, we are to accept without any analysis whatever.

"Now, the outstanding fact in the Russian situation is the fact that the revolution—what there was of it—

is over and accomplished. The flux of change has already cooled into a status quo. A rigid constitution is already operating, and this constitution is neither Marxism nor Communism." Our worthy author attempts to prove that Bolshevism is a hoax because it is not according to Marx or rather what he supposes to be Marx. The supposition that the revolution is over and done with will not bear scientific investigation. In any revolution the period of armed conflicts is only the prologue of the great drama itself. It is the period of acute struggle between the classes for the possession of the state—the power of coercion. Then along with counter revolutionary activity, which the new state must combat, comes the period of social reconstruction usually a period of political experiments. The coming of a new class to power demands the invention of new political and social forms. The administrative and legislative experience of the new ruling class is developed in this period. Until the new class and the new forms have become so firmly established as to be predominant, the revolution cannot be said to be more than well begun. In so much as capitalistic production still predominates in Russia, though subject to the supervision of Proletarian Dictatorship, Socialists regard the real revolution as only in its infancy.

Mr. Stanley's declaration that anti-parliamentarism is a Marxian pledge, is false. He makes this statement not primarily because he is a liar, but rather because he wholly misinterprets Marx. In this fault he is not alone. Too many of our most zealous "socialists" make the same mistake. Parliamentary action is a phase of political action. It has its value. It is unavoidable both in the pre-revolutionary epoch and in the transitional stage when the new forms are developing. The State and along with it parliamentarism, exists only as long as classes exist for the State is a class instrument. With the coming of the Co-operative Commonwealth or Communism we have a society in which each able-bodied adult is a participating producer—a free citizen in the true sense of the word. Society, not individuals or corporations, has possession of the means of life. Society conducts production and the government of persons has become an administration of things. . . . There being no class to suppress, no private property relations to maintain, the State dies out.

Can the Russian proletariat accomplish the industrial development of the country—can they hang on until the proletariat of the rest of the world catch up? I think they can, if the workers of Europe are class conscious enough and strong enough to keep their masters from bringing the military pressure to bear on the Soviet Republic. I am inclined to think that such articles as the one by Stanley are evidences of the acceptance of the inevitable by the least dense among the defenders of the present order. They must put the best face possible on a difficult situation. Hence, they must represent the triumph of the workers of Russia as a "vindication" of the past. The workers of the world must be led to believe that no other system is possible but capitalism, that with full control in the State the Marxians have been powerless to do more than establish capitalism with new names and new forms. It must be made to appear that capitalism is the final stage of social development—the divine plan that eludes all efforts at destruction. Perfectly natural phenomena of the transitional period are shown as evidences of the "failure of socialism." When it becomes apparent that the Soviet Government is here to stay clever ones step

around to show how the Bolsheviki have all the time been working hand in hand with the capitalistic development quite against their own expressed intentions. Lenine Trotsky et al. are merely the instruments of the Bourgeois Liberalism. Their followers have been deceived by the "Hoax of Bolshevism."

Capitalism has need of such bards as this one. Comforters in an hour of trial are a great help. How sweet to the anxious ear and the words "Not all is lost, there is yet hope." It is true that the workers are at the

threshold of world-wide revolt. Kolchak did not reach Moscow, there is something very unsatisfactory about the "overthrow" of Bela Kun. Petrograd has not fallen into the hands of Mannerheim. The French have "strategically" evacuated Odessa. Still, "capitalism is returning into Russian industry" (though it never was out). The Proletariat, thank God, "is resuming the yoke and capitalist "democracy" is saved—who would have believed it?—by the Bolsheviki themselves!

BRETT.

Bourgeois Ideology versus Revolutionary Action

When one looks around and sees the different publications for sale dealing with the various social problems of the hour, one is very liable to, and most probably does gather a number of conflicting ideas in the perusal of the contents of these publications. They are as varied as they are numerous, all the way from Hearstism with its Victrola-a-la Anglophobia to such liberal publications as the Dial and the Nation.

It is against such organs for expression of Bourgeois thought as these last two that one needs to be on his guard.

We all know where to place William Randolph Hearst, just as we have little difficulty in placing the other William Randolph of English fame, but unless one is equipped with knowledge of Marx and Engels, he is liable to fall by the way-side in regards to such literature and ideas as expressed in the Dial and the Nation.

These two periodicals have quite a large circulation and the news contained in them is refreshing when taken into consideration with many other journals and newspapers, and undoubtedly they publish much that others leave well enough alone.

They purport to deal with the present social conditions, but they always do so from an ideological viewpoint. In doing this they plainly show their Petit Bourgeois status, and also express the ideas of thousands of that ilk, who can feel that something is happening. They feel themselves being crushed downwards into the rank of the working class by the relentless pressure from those above them, the financial and big industrial magnates. They see the misery existing all around them; they read of the miserable conditions in Europe; of the social upheaval going on over there and are anxiously trying to find out what it's all about.

"The growing preception that existing social institutions are unreasonable and unjust, that reason has become unreason, and right wrong, is only proof that in the modes of production and exchange, changes have silently taken place, with which the social order adapted to earlier economic conditions, is no longer in keeping." (Socialism Utopian & Scientific.)

Here we have explained to us the material basis that gives rise to our Bourgeois idealists. The changes in the economic substructure have been steadily going on in one continuous process, and have at last reached a stage where even university intellectuals can see that the political superstructure can not function efficiently. Like a tight skin on a well-fried sausage, it is bursting asunder as predicted by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto, written in 1848, and "just

therefore at an earlier period a section of the nobility went over to the Bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat and in particular a portion of the bourgeoisie ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movements as a whole." (Communist Manifesto.) Does this mean to say that they are revolutionary? By no means. They still speak from the idealist point of view, deprecating any violent action either from the side of the workers or the bourgeois. They warn the "blood and iron" capitalists to observe what is going on in Europe, and are anxiously trying to devise ways and means whereby capital and labor can be brought together, on an "amicable" and "profit-sharing" basis, again showing that they are more concerned with the preservation of the present system than its abolition.

They utterly ignore the causes of these outbursts on the part of the wage slave, but still try to reconcile two contradictory opposites, and, when forced to recognize the class struggle, instead of pointing out how to end it once and for all, they prate and prattle in flowery rhetoric about the injustice of this class and the unreasonable attitude of that class.

All sorts of pet ideas are brought forward by these would-be emancipators of humanity. In times of war, when dealing with other countries, they form Leagues of Peace, but when "their country" is swept into the maelstrom, they immediately adopt the slogans of "stand behind the President," "make democracy safe," etc., along with their pink cousins, the social patriots. Now that the war is over, they talk of the unjust and harsh treatment meted out to Germany, utterly ignoring the fact that the ones who will suffer most are the proletariat of the "victorious" countries, and the bourgeoisie of Germany, who will be reduced to the position of executive managers of German production in the interest of the Allies.

This means all kinds of employment for the German slaves producing commodities and very little opportunity for the Allied proletariat to give vent to that peculiar aesthetic taste of his in regards to his "love to work" and "I hate to be loafing around," etc. Verily there should be a great field for Paul Lafargue's keen satirical pamphlet, "The Right to be Lazy."

"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the Bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class." (Communist Manifesto.)

Every day that goes by finds him occupying a more precarious position. He is the one who is most vitally concerned in a complete social change. True, the capitalist will lose his "savings" "accumulated" thru leading an "abstemious" and "exemplary" life, but,

he'll still live as a human being under socialism, while the worker of today is dying by the thousands over in Europe under capitalism.

Under the present system he is always faced with the possibility of starvation, and when he understands how to avert this dread spectre for all time, he will soon put an end to private ownership of the means of life.

"He who understands understanding, cannot misunderstand," (J. Dietzgen), and in order to understand where we are at, and how to get out, we still have to go to Marx and Engels and not to our Bourgeois professors like Bertrand Russell, Scott Nearing, et al., or liberal publications like the Nation and the Dial.

Nicolai Lenine had his troubles with the bourgeois intellectuals of Russia, and there is no reason to think our intellectuals will act so very differently.

Workers, study socialist literature based on scientific facts. Learn to recognize that the present governments are merely a master class weapon, to be used not in the interests of the workers but to carry out the

desires of the capitalist class, be that desire to crush its own workers, or to organize armies, and navies to protect their interests abroad.

You may organize as you will on the industrial field, in fact you are forced to in order to try and maintain your standard of living, but all along the line you are losing ground, and will continue to do so as long as you are willing that the reins of the state stay in the hands of the master class.

The Bolsheviki had to seize political control in order to bring their Ideas to the fore and suppress the counter-movements of the reactionists, and we will have to do likewise. We have the numbers, and when we have acquired the knowledge, we'll have the power. This knowledge will not be gained from liberal editions with "radical Ideas" as expressed by reactionary bourgeois professors, but from our own proletarian literature, which expresses the Ideas of the only revolutionary class, the Proletariat.

JAS. CONLAN.

The Socialist Forum

This month again brings its crop of queries. One thing is noticeable, however, and that is that a growing number of our readers wish enlightenment upon matters of tactics and policy. This is no doubt one of the results of the rapidly moving political readjustment which follows all wars. So that the nature of the questions and answers takes on more of the style of a literary "Pot Pourri" than merely a discussion on knotty points arising during the study of the capitalist mode of production.

THE DUTIES OF A LABOR UNIONIST.

"J. H. Mc D.," of Minneapolis, a labor-unionist of many years' standing, becoming convinced of the necessity of Socialism, is perplexed as to what now should be his attitude towards his fellow labor-unionists. Remember, "Mac" that the Socialist is a propagandist first, last and all the time.

On all occasions on which he comes in touch with his fellow unionists he should continually emphasize the impotence of the labor-union, as it exists at present—to accomplish the emancipation of the working class—and that is what the Socialist is interested in mostly; whether he be in the union or out of it.

A labor union is very much what its members choose to make it.

The writer has known unions which were but glorified "coffin clubs"—they were excellent when they functioned as "sick and burial societies;" they were great on hanging crepe on the charter when some member passed on to the great beyond, but they were very weak in steadying the ever downward tread of the real and relative wages of their members. And they were no use at all, but a positive hindrance to spreading those ideas which the workers must be imbued with before they can act intelligently on their way to economic liberty. (See the last few paragraphs of Marx' "Value, Price and Profit" and read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest, Friend Mac).

On the other hand we have seen a labor union doing work in the education of the workers in the things that

count, that makes the "labors" of some self-styled "Socialist" organizations that we wot of look like very small potatoes.

It is not the name on the shingle that counts so much as the goods that are behind the counter.

In short, be a Socialist in your union, you will find that in this day and age it's very contagious—when the members of any union are converted to Socialism the nature of the organization will change, their false "leaders" will lose their power; and the union will fall into line with the revolutionary movement so far as is necessary to the success of that movement, or they will cease to exist altogether. In either case the result is satisfactory to the Socialists.

DOES POVERTY PREVENT OR BREED CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS?

Our correspondent "Harry P." of Detroit has had lengthy argument with a fellow shopmate and Socialist. But, alas! having come to no agreement on the subject under dispute, and neither one being able to convince the other, they lay the case before "The Forum."

It appears that "Harry P." claims that the reason that more of the working class are not Socialists is because the fact of their poverty and accompanying bad conditions of life, ill housing, and general overworked and nerve shattered condition make it impossible for them to intelligently study Socialism.

His friend, on the other hand insists that if these same workers were treated even worse—if this were possible—if they were worked harder and longer—if they were starved by hunger and smitten by privation—when as he rather picturesquely puts it, "When their stomachs are rubbing against their backbone, then, and then only will they listen to reason."

You are both wrong, boys. The extent to which the workers understand and accept Socialism is governed by their intelligence and the manner in which the Socialist presents his case to them. Too many of our Comrades imagine that an understanding of So-

cialism comes about by some kind of mental spontaneous combustion. It would be well for such ones to cast their memories back to the point where they themselves got their first start on proletarian education. They will remember it started with hearing some one on a soap-box at a street corner, a leaflet left on the doorstep, or maybe a conversation with a fellow shopmate. But in no case does a fellow go to bed a "Henry Dubb" and wake up in the morning bursting with quotations from Marx and Engels—that infallible sign of a "deep" student! However, we deny that the workers are not sufficiently intelligent to understand Socialism, one of the reasons being that we are workers ourselves. What does prevent the workers accepting Socialism is the confusion and fakery introduced into its propaganda by persons calling themselves socialists, preaching and doing that which is inconsistent with Socialism. The antics of such as Victor L. Berger, American Champion reform peddler and confusion artist, of Meyer London, the "patriot," of such extinct volcanoes in the American movement as Stitt Wilson, Alexander Irvine, and Allen Benson, these are all reasons why we have a crop of freaks and muddleheads in the American Movement today. No, my good friend, "Harry P.," poverty by itself does not incapacitate a person from understanding anything; many intellectual geniuses of all times have struggled with poverty; nor does poverty prevent a class from being revolutionary. Although the Peasants' Revolt in England was undertaken when the peasants were in a position of comparative prosperity, the revolt of the peasants of France, the *Jacquerie* in particular was undertaken at about the same time when at the lowest ebb of poverty and degradation. The working class effort needed to agitate for and administer an adequate measure of minimum wages is about equal to that needed for the Social Revolution, and the working class capable of conducting the one is certainly equal to conducting the other, while Socialism would render the former palliative unnecessary. If as "Harry P." states his friend contends were the case, we would find all our active Socialist workers coming from the very dregs of humanity. Coming from what Marx referred to in no uncertain terms as being untrustworthy, the slum proletariat in fact. But this is not the case; our active men do not all come from this class. And if friend Harry's case were the true and correct one, why, all Socialists would spring from the better paid grades of workers, those who worked less hours, and who had a higher standard of living. Let us see. A few years ago when the average wage in Detroit was about \$2.75 per day, Ford workers were getting \$5.00 for eight hours.

Did that condition make lots of Socialists among these men? On the contrary one would need a microscope to find Socialists among Ford workers at that time.

The sum total of it all is, boys get busy with literature, personal talks, and circulate standard Socialist books among the workers, whether they be highly paid mechanics or day-laborers. Give them the clear stuff and they will respond.

WHO WILL EXPLOIT THE WORKERS WHEN THE CAPITALIST CLASS IS ABOLISHED?

Jack Mason, of Dodge City, Iowa, has been informed by some Socialist (?) friend of his, that under the co-operative commonwealth that Socialists are striv-

ing for, the community will assume the function of the capitalist! This is indeed rich! It is almost as good as that old gag that used to be peddled around so extensively by members of the S. P. of A. about nationalizing capital and running industry "like the post office is run now." But friend Mason has been a reader of this journal long enough to know that there is something decidedly fishy about the statement of his "Socialist" friend. And Jack is quite right. If what his friend says is true, then the worst accusations of the Anti-Socialist are supported by it, and that the robbery of the workers which is now done by the capitalist class will become the function of the "nation," however, these alleged Socialists are taken to task upon this question, it is found that their grave error has its foundation in their ignorance of the real function of the capitalist: for it is by them asserted that his function is the organization of industry! In the face of the industrial crisis and periodic gluts in the market the unemployed, and the overworked in capitalist society, it is difficult to take this last assertion seriously, whilst it is, at the very best, only remotely excusable by the fact that capitalism, in spite of itself, leads up to the organization of industry which will culminate in Socialism. Just as capital is that part of wealth which is used to obtain a profit, so the function of the capitalist, as such, is the obtaining of profit from the labor of others, in short, the robbery of the workers. This should be obvious to all, as the capitalist seeks his profit just as readily in the disorganization as in the organization of production. Do not forget this. In another way, equally, the assertion that the running of industry is the duty of the capitalist can be seen to be nonsense. What really comprises the "activities" of the modern capitalist class? In the winter they will be found at Palm Beach, Miami, or some other equally desirable spot. Organizing industry? Not on your life! Enjoying themselves with the profits wrung from labor by virtue of the ownership of the social machine of wealth production. Occasionally, it is true, he glances at the quotations of the Stock and Bond Market in the daily newspaper, with an eye to the purchase or sale of stock, and at certain intervals he receives his dividend checks, which he turns in to the banker and is credited with the cash. And right here let me advise "Jack Mason"—and all who are in the same fix as he is, to get hold of a little pamphlet written many years ago by Daniel De Leon, and called "What Means This Strike."

A close reading of this little work will reveal better than can any words of mine the ins and outs of "how the capitalists get their wealth."

To sum up then; in spite of the mouthings of alleged Socialists whose deficient knowledge makes the task of the Socialist so much more difficult, it is obvious that the function of the capitalist class is not the organization and running of industry, but the exploitation of the workers. It is also very obvious that under Socialism the community will not assume the function of the capitalist, but will abolish both the capitalist, as such, and also his function; whilst the organization of industry in the interests of the producers will at last become an accomplished fact with his disappearance.

The thing for "Jack Mason" and all other proletarians to do, therefore is to assist in spreading the knowledge necessary to the makings of more and ever more Socialists. That, friend Jack, is our function!

JOHN DAVIS.

International Notes

By John Keracher

Hungary When the news first came about the fall of Bela Kun we were sceptical about its truth, as his fall like the "fall of Lenine" had been reported many times before. The newspapers represented the event as the failure of Communism and "proof" that the people had had enough of it, but the outstanding event remains that the Proletarian Government was defeated from without by the advance of the Rumanians.

From Bucherest to Budapest is no great distance, and the gallant but unsuccessful attempt of the Hungarian Red army to hold back superior forces, brought the crisis to a climax. Hemmed in on all sides with no prospects of immediate relief, the soldiers grew restive, and some of them fell back on the Capital.

With the approach of the Rumanian army, Bela Kun and others took refuge in Vienna, where they are now held prisoners. A new Government was hastily formed but it had no real power as the armed forces necessary to the maintenance of Government were gone. The Rumanians met with no resistance on entering Budapest. The new "Government" was brushed aside and a military one set up in its place. Then the second act of this "democratic" drama was staged. A Hapsburg, the Grand Duke Joseph, supported by his junker friends and other anti-proletarian elements that have emerged from cover, was returned to power. This new "provisional ruler" of Hungary, unmolested and in fact protected by the Rumanian army of occupation, has announced his willingness to be King or President, just as the people desire, which is very accommodating on his part. Meanwhile the Rumanian army is scouring the country beyond Budapest to "clean out" the revolutionaries.

One thing is very noticeable in the Allied press. There has been no indignant outburst at the return of the Hapsburgs. Any kind of ruler, any kind of Government is welcome, so long as the working class is not in power.

Russia The land of the Soviet continues to hold the attention of its enemies as well as its friends. The collapse of the North Russian forces has been rapidly followed by a much greater disaster for the anti-Bolshevik armies. Admiral Kolchak has been forced to make a "strategic retreat" of over 200 miles to the rear, leaving in the hands of the "Reds" many prisoners and much equipment, as well as a large tract of territory. His capital Omsk, is quite a distance back of the Ural Mountains in the vicinity of which his front was located, but so badly has he been defeated that it is expected he will establish his new base at Irkutsk, half way to Vladivostok. His call to Japan for several divisions of troops to save the situation has, according to reports, met with flat refusal.

So the great Kolchak "saviour of Russia" who was recently recognized by the Allies (with the exception

of the United States who merely pledged moral support) has found the job too much for him. It is only a few weeks ago the newspapers hailed this recognition as the beginning of the end of the Soviet Government. "He will soon have the Bolsheviki on the run" they said, but they forgot to say in what direction, nor the fact that the Bolsheviki can't run fast enough to keep up with Kolchak.

While disaster has overtaken the counter-revolutionary armies, in the North and East, the southern armies under Denikine are making great headway, that is, if the reports are not greatly exaggerated to counteract the news of the other defeats. Odessa is threatened by the advancing Cossack leader, who has recently received shipments of American supplies. He has also adopted the compulsory service methods of Kolchak, described as a "strong" policy to uphold discipline in the army and civilian population. Lenin addressing the Moscow Soviets admitted the menace of Denikine's advance, but said: "Our defeats to the south are the result of the general mobilization ordered by Denikine, but this move that seems to give him such strength, will very soon be his undoing, as it has been with Kolchak."

A good deal of light has been thrown upon the aims of Denikine by his Assistant General Dragomiroff who was sent to Paris to arrange better relations, and a closer understanding with the French authorities. A French writer in "Humanite" states:

The ideas of this General Dragomiroff are clear cut and vigorous, and for fear that he has not explained himself sufficiently forcibly to the French Press, I have thought it well to search the official records drawn up by the authentic delegates of the Entente, who have had the honor to converse with the noble General.

In this statement, short and polite, as is necessary to present facts to westerners lost in Liberalism, we can find the true friend of Russia, of Nicholas and of Rasputin.

Declaration of General Dragomiroff,

Only by arms shall the future of Russia be decided. It is in Moscow that we shall determine the means of reorganizing the country. But for the present I can say that a military dictatorship is necessary. It will last as long as required—one year, two years, three years, as may be required. Whether the dictator be Denikine, Kolchak or any other, matters little so long as he has an iron hand to bend the country to his will. The dictator will, of course, take what measures he thinks necessary for the good of the nation.

He will suppress free speech and a free press and re-establish the laws of exception. In Russia must be heard no voice but his.

Then when all is once more calm the dictator will disappear. Before he goes he will appoint a new liberating Tzar, whom we have not yet decided on, and

he will gain immediate popularity, by relaxation of the iron laws. There is no need, for a long time yet, of a Constituent Assembly. As it is impossible to return purely and simply to an autocratic system there could be a Constituent Assembly composed chiefly by the nobility, clergy, bourgeoisie and representatives of the Zemstvos, etc. It will act as a guide for the sovereign and intermediary between him and the people. It will not be till much later that it may be advisable to institute under the Tzar, and Assembly, the decisions of which would be law. Russia would be highly centralized.

We concede that Poland should be an independent State, but not the Ukraine nor Finland can dream of separating from Russia. The possession of Finland is necessary to the security of Petrograd, and as for the Ukraine, her national aspirations are based on nothing. Federalism is dangerous for it is conducive to separation. It is important that the new Russia shall differ as little as possible from the old and that the experience of the revolution shall act as a warning to eliminate the faults of the old system.

With this very able explanation of anti-Bolshevik policy it should be apparent to all who have the pleasure of profiting by the above statements that 'World Democracy,' like the King of Heaven, moves in a mysterious way its wonders to perform.

Finland When the history of the Finnish revolution is finally written it will reveal much, both valorous and tragic, the details of which are not yet known to the world at large. The general aspect, however, of the past two years happenings in Finland are of such a nature that the present political situation and its tendencies can be analyzed. The country is now completely in the hands of the Bourgeoisie, who have recently adopted a constitution suitable to their interests.

The "socialists" have become thoroughly respectable repudiating Bolshevism and pledging support to the Republican form of Government. They are now playing a sort of left-wing part to the Bourgeoisie, politically grouping themselves with the Agrarians a strong reform party.

It will be remembered that while the Kaiser was still in power, the Finnish Bourgeoisie had to pay the price for German assistance in crushing the Proletarian revolution, by accepting Prince Charles of Hess as a king to rule over them. Distasteful as that was to the majority of the Bourgeoisie, they accepted it gratefully in acknowledgement of the valuable services rendered them by the slaughter of the working class, who had nearly dislodged them from their position and power.

With the outbreak of the German Revolution and the collapse of the Hohenzollerns, this piece of imported royalty found his job in jeopardy. Pressure was soon brought to bear upon him by the adoption of a constitution, republican in form, thereby compelling him to resign. Now that the constitution is adopted the question arises of electing a President, the method of election, and the period of office.

The acting president, General "Baron" Mannerheim is grooming himself for the job. Although the "socialists" passively resist his dictatorial methods, he seems to have the situation well in hand, for the army is at his beck and call. When his former friend

the Kaiser collapsed, the wily Mannerheim hastened to London, where he no doubt reached an understanding with those in power, for he has earned the gratitude of the whole capitalist world by the masterful manner in which he butchered his fellow countrymen, who had set up a Proletarian Government at the Capital, Helsingfors.

That this worthy will be President of Finland is a forgone conclusion. He has protested to the Landtdag against their attempts to control the office, and insists that he will only accept the nomination for a six year term if elected through a special assembly independent of the Landtdag. In this attitude he has the support of a powerful minority in the new Government, as well as the army which is completely at his disposal. This Napoleon of the North, quite naturally prefers to have his military dictatorship cloaked in the garment of bourgeois constitutional democracy. In any case he has the power to assert himself and in all probability will. The hundred thousand slain, exiled, and imprisoned workers have paved the way to his military throne.

England It is difficult to estimate what effect the pressure of the labor unions in England had upon the Government's attitude towards Russia. There is no doubt that the belligerent stand of the organized workers had much to do with the promise of War Minister Churchill, that the troops would be out of Northern Russia before Winter. The pressure of labor on the one hand, and a promise on the other, is likely to be quickly forgotten; but other factors are at work that are causing the British Government to move cautiously, to modify their policy of aggression, if not actually to take steps to crawl out of the mess they have landed themselves in.

The Orient, from the Suez Canal to the Sea of Japan, is a seething mass of social unrest, bordering in some instances on revolution. England's role in imperialistic affairs is of such a nature that, should any real outbreak occur at home, the colonial possessions and protectorates, such as India, Afghanistan, Egypt and Ireland might seize the opportunity to cast off the imperial yoke. Churchill, as head of the War Office, is in a position to know just what is going on in Egypt, India, and other territories in the Orient now under British rule or suzerainty.

The Afghans and British troops have clashed in the vicinity of the Kyber Pass. Egypt, which until recently was under the nominal suzerainty of the Turks has taken the same course as Persia, and passed entirely over to the British.

It is only by standing armies that these countries are held in line, and at a time like the present their general attitude has much to do with Governmental policies at home. The friendly relations between the ruler of Afghanistan and the Bolshevik Government, and the fact that diplomatic relations have commenced between them, is no doubt keeping the British War Office guessing.

If labor would "behave" as the master class desire, and speed up instead of "slacken" production, the balance of imports over exports might be restored. This is just the rub, the pesky labor disputes and the "hands off Russia" threats of organized labor, particularly the "triple alliance," is keeping England in a state of political ferment, with her acrobatic premier twisting and turning at the helm of State to steer clear of the many rocks ahead.

Revolutionary Political Action

The Road to Socialism

(Fourth Instalment)

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

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

THE EDITORS.

Is Industrial Unionism a Better Way?

Inspired by the French Syndicalists, the leaders of political and economic bodies began to propagate Industrial Unionism in 1905. They taught the workers that the old form of organization was wrong. "Organize according to industries and then can you dominate the situation." They did not understand that it does not matter whether you organize the workers in trade unions, industrial unions, soviets or parliaments; unless the material is Socialist it cannot be a revolutionary body or function as such. And a Socialist preamble alone does not make it so.

Daniel De Leon told the delegates to the first I. W. W. convention that "the political expression of labor is but the shadow of the economic organization" (Report P. 148). This idea logically led to the great bulk of the members forsaking the shadow and relying entirely upon the economic organization of labor. From that day forward the leaders and members of the S. L. P. and the I. W. W. gravitated to the repudiation of politics. The gymnastics of the S. L. P. on the relative value of economic-political action are a study in confusion. In 1902 De Leon said: "Obviously, independent class conscious political action is the head of Labor's lance. Useful as any other weapon may be, that weapon is the determining factor. Entrenched in the public powers, the Capitalist class command the field. None but the political weapon can dislodge the usurpers and enthrone the Working Class." (Two pages from Roman History" P. 45).

From this attitude of the superiority of political action, they moved to the position that economic and political action were equally necessary. (The Burning Question of Trades Unionism—1904.)

When the I. W. W. was formed they took the stand that economic action was the real and most important weapon. The S. L. P. then argued "It is not a political organization . . . that can 'take and hold' the land and the capital and the fullness thereof. That—as the Preamble proclaims and I shall prove—is the function reserved for the economic organization of the working class." (De Leon's Address on the Preamble of the I. W. W. 1905.)

Unity on the economic field was preached as the best way to get political unity. The "unity" of all the

conflicting elements in 1905 showed that economic action alone does not unite the workers. The more logical followers of the anti-political position of the Socialist Labor Party seized control of the I. W. W. and cut out the reference to politics in the Preamble. Thus the inevitable result of exaggerating the importance of economic power took place. The I. W. W. drifted to the advocacy of sabotage and condemned political action as a snare. The S. L. P. claimed that the original preamble was the correct attitude but the Workers International Industrial Union eventually struck out the clauses about the workers coming together on the political and economic field without affiliation with any political party. But even now the W. I. I. U. refuses to endorse the Socialist Labor Party.

Industrial Unionism is represented as the best form of unionism because it is adapted to a machine age. Craft unionism is held to be obsolete owing to the passing of the skilled worker. Trade Unions of today are attacked because of their false ideas about the identity of interests between capital and labor and the treachery of the leaders. Industrial unions are advocated as the organized might to effect the workers emancipation.

Unionism is a necessity under this system. Unions can also be of assistance in the preparation for Socialism. To assert, however, that mere economic combination is THE force to take control of the wealth of the world against the political might of capitalism, is to fly in the face of the facts. The weakness of the trade unions lies not merely in its form of organization but in the members' ignorance of their class interests. They are not class-conscious. They do not appreciate the forces which keep them in subjection or the way out of their slavery. Until this work of education is accomplished little can be done by unionists, in whatever form they are organized. The correct form of organization on the economic field is a class union, one union for the whole class instead of a great number of trade or industrial unions. The fact that a person is a worker is sufficient for admission. Employed and unemployed must be organized together. There must be no high dues and heavy initiation fees which cause unions to make their own scabs. The officials must be the agents of the members, not their masters. The union leaders trade upon the ignorance of the rank and file. The guarantee against the corruption and crookedness of the leaders is an informed body of men and women. Knowledge will guard them against political or economic leaders selling them.

When the work of preaching Socialism inside and outside of the present unions has been carried far enough the organizations will reflect the ripening mind of the members. Until then the unions formed will be composed of non-Socialists and calling them industrial unions will not make them Socialist. Organization by industry is not the final form of grouping. A man often works in one industry one week and another industry the week after. While his trade may lose its place, and his industry change, the worker remains a wage slave and industrial exclusiveness cannot be

the mode of organization. The worker must not think as a member of his industry but of his class.

The I. W. W. has laid special claim to the field of unskilled and migratory workers and given up the skilled as hopeless aristocrats of labor. The Industrial Unionist, however, in "Our New Problems" by Walker C. Smith says, "our efforts must be directed towards reaching those whose work is such that they do not move from place to place, to appeal to workers with families and to base our propaganda on the fact that a great deal of skill is still required in many lines of work, instead of being wedded to the theory that skill has already disappeared before the onward sweep of the machine process."

One Socialist Union for the whole working class will remain a mere hope until the workers are Socialist. Our efforts therefore will be best used in the direction of making unionists and other Socialists rather than to try to form Socialist unions with the present number of Socialists. When the workers rally in large numbers to the Socialist Cause, the Socialists will express themselves on both the economic and political fields. A man who is a Socialist will manifest his ideas on both grounds. Superior and important as political action becomes for the Socialist, the economic struggle is an essential part of class activity. Instead of permeating the unions with Socialism, too often the unions have permeated the "Socialist," and he panders to their ideas and gets a leader's job.

The economic organization, trade, industrial or Socialist Union, cannot permanently improve the workers' condition within Capitalism. Shortening of hours and higher wages secured for the time are nullified by the very development of the system itself. No union can stop the introduction of machinery, the combination of capital and the reduction of waste and workers it implies. The machine is the mightiest economic instrument with which to combat the workers' efforts. No union can stop unemployment. The false hopes of lasting and immediate betterment held out by the A. F. of L., the I. W. W., and W. I. I. U. are based on ignorance of the working of the system. The Workers' International Industrial Union says that it "can reduce exploitation" (W. I. I. U. Leaflet) but that is only a catch cry to get members. Exploitation will inevitably increase even more than it has in the past. Marx tells us in Value, Price and Profit that 99 out of every 100 struggles are attempts by the workers to get back what they previously lost. To maintain their present standard of living alone will take the combined energies of all the unions. Real permanent improvements can only come by changing the social system and for this industrial unionism is insufficient. That this is so the Left Wing program of New York agrees. Their reason, however, is that it is impossible to organize "an overwhelming majority into industrial unionism." We are told by L. Fraina (Revolutionary Socialism, p. 193.) "The Proletariat of unskilled labor, which alone may accept industrial unionism is a class difficult to organize; its conditions of labor discourage organization and make it move and act under the impulse of mass action."

The idea of relying upon "unskilled labor" has been scouted by the I. W. W. writer referred to. It is foolish to imagine that you can do without "skilled labor." Russia has demonstrated how important that support is for common action.

Fraina further says:

"The conditions of capitalism, its violent upheavals and stress of struggle exclude the probability of an all

inclusive proletarian organization; moreover should we hesitate to act until the general organization materializes, Capitalism may turn in on itself and establish a new form of slavery. In its dogmatic expression, industrial unionism, has much in common with the parliamentary socialists' conception of "growing into" Socialism; it evades the dynamic problems of the Revolution, substituting theory for reality and formula for action."

His criticism of industrial unionism is that organization is not the important thing.

The persecution of certain organizations swings support to their side. But panic stricken capitalists persecute for all kinds of reasons, often blind to what they are about. If they prosecute Berger, that is no reason to support Milwaukeeism. When they prosecute bourgeois pacifists does not show that pacifism is the remedy. If exponents of violence are jailed, it merely shows that violence by workers interferes with the easy administration of affairs. It is not revolutionary. When the Capitalists of Mexico clashed with the Catholic Church because they had too many feast and fast days to permit modern rapid wage slavery—does that say that Catholicism should get the help of the working class? The jailing of Sinn Fein leaders does not establish the value of Sinn Fein ideas for us. The methods of the I. W. W. in certain districts means the delaying of production through strikes and hence Capitalists oppose them just as they have treated the Western Federation of Miners and other organized and unorganized workers. The sincerity of our fellow workers, while commendable, is not a test of policy. The brutality of the bosses must not blind us to the defects of the I. W. W. Socialists must decide what their policy must be, not the panic stricken plutocrats who call Government Ownership, Socialism. The Czar persecuted the Social Revolutionary Party in Russia but the Socialists did not therefore stop criticising its policy and laying down the correct attitude for the working class.

Industrial Unionism is an attempt to evolve a better union struggle. There are no Socialist unions today and the industrial unions function as trade unions concerned with job conditions. They organize for day to day warfare about hours and wages of slavery. The I. W. W. scorns Socialist education and often ridicules the teaching of Marxian economics. They have not yet attempted to replace Marxism with something better but say "don't study"—get out and organize on the job. They do not realize that when you call out men in plants during a strike—organize them all, with their ideas unchanged, the educative work of Socialism still remains to be done. This belittling of education common to mass action and industrial unionism advocates is a dangerous thing. Education alone is utopian, and economic pressure alone is insufficient, to bring Socialism; economic pressure combined with real education are forces making for Socialism.

The Socialist Labor Party in its address to International Parties in the War (1915) say that the lock out of the Capitalists "can only be done by organizing the workers industrially to take and hold the means of production." This idea common to the W. I. I. U. and I. W. W. is founded on the notion that unionism has the power to take and hold the means of life. All history demonstrates that the ruling classes establish their control by getting political power. The workers cannot take and keep the wealth of the world against the forces which the Capitalist use against them by

virtue of their political supremacy. We must first dislodge the masters or as the Communist Manifesto says, "the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy."

The armed power contests the toilers at every step. Whether in the Parts Commune or at Ludlow, Pullman, Cour d' Alene, Everett, Lawrence, Patterson, McKees Rocks, Seattle and Calumet in America; or at Belfast and Dublin in Ireland; at Featherstone, Manchester and Hull in England; in South Wales and on the Clyde; in Paris, in Germany; in all these conflicts, those who control political power have used the army and navy and all their death dealing machinery against the workers. We cannot fight them with our bare fists and they stand between us and our victory. We must control the machinery of governments and the forces of domination that belong to it.

The army is composed of workers but due to their environment in the army they are usually deaf to our message. Discipline and blind obedience, isolation from the rest of the workers and the careful molding of their minds make the soldiers little responsive to Socialist agitation. While agitation amongst soldiers is useful, it is only after a long unpopular war, that they can be expected to turn. Too often their revolt is a purely professional fight and has no revolutionary significance. In Russia the old tottering feudal Czar and his clique, hated by the great bulk of the people was another factor besides the long hopeless war and insufficient food that made the soldiers revolt. In Germany the capitalist ideas have sunk too far in the soldiers' minds, hence they did not take the side of the workers. Even in Arctic Russia the American soldiers who rebelled were few.

Industrial Unionists take up a contradictory position. First they rely upon a revolting army and then they say that they can prevent their transportation and feeding. Unfortunately they cannot. The soldiery can run trains as we saw in France; they can use armored cars, zeppelins, bombs and poison gas. They can provision an army and maintain capitalist order under a wide variety of conditions. To uphold their system the capitalists will blow cities to pieces as they started at Dublin or burn women and children alive in petroleum as at Ludlow, Colorado. Industrial Unionism relies upon the power of folded arms. With their supplies under guard, the Capitalists can live while we die or starve.

Class solidarity is misunderstood by the industrial unionist. We are told by all sections of them that there is such a thing as industrial consciousness. The S. L. P. for instance in the International Letter referred to, says "no one man can truly represent the many and varied interests of the different industries which are found within a given territory. To represent any one of these industries in the interests of those actively engaged and producing therein, one must himself be engaged therein, understanding the needs and requirements of such industries."

This is anti-Socialist nonsense. A Socialist represents class interests, not plumbing or clothing interests. To say that you must be actively engaged in an industry to represent the workers therein, is to forget that all the workers have the same interests. To say a man must be a plumber to represent plumbers is

to perpetuate the lines of craft jealousy, fostered by the A. F. of L.

We are told that the industrial unions are the shell of the new society within the old. Such bodies with such ideas are not the shell of a Socialist society. Industrial unions each holding that only their own kind of workers can represent them leads to the rivalry of industrial sectionalism. Socialism recognizes that all workers have the same interests and under Socialism we shall meet on the common ground of common interests in all the affairs of society. Not as undertakers concerned only with funerals.

Russia showed the dangers of this. M. Philips Price in "The Old Order in Europe and The New Order in Russia" says:

"The greatest danger in the transition period came from those workmen's councils, shop stewards' committees and professional alliances, who ran their own provincial economic policies without considering the interests of the country as a whole."

The idea of each line of industry having interests apart from the rest was borrowed from Syndicalism—the petty bourgeois idea of sectional ownership.

Sabotage also came from France and was preached by members of the I. W. W. Eliz. Gurley Flynn says (Sabotage): "Sabotage is for the workingman an absolute necessity." It is not class but individual action and results in the sabotauer being fired off the job. It tries to make up in violence what a body lacks in organization. In other words it is simply the Anarchist idea of propaganda by deed transferred to industry. Sabotage is opposed not on moral grounds but on its ineffectiveness—the reprisals it results in. We will not refer much to it now as the I. W. W. Executive Board passed the following resolution against it:

(May 4, 1918—Defence Bulletin-Chicago.)

"In order that our position on such matters may be made clear and unequivocal, we the General Executive Board of said Industrial Workers of the World, do hereby declare that said organization does not now, and never has believed in or advocated either destruction or violence as a means of accomplishing industrial reform; first, because no principle was ever settled by such methods; second, because industrial history has taught us that when strikers resort to violence and unlawful methods, all the resources of the government are immediately arrayed against them, and they lose their cause; third, because such methods destroy the constructive impulse which it is the purpose of this organization to foster and develop in order that the workers may fit themselves to assume their place in the new society, and we hereby reaffirm our belief in the principles embodied in the report of this body to the seventh annual convention, extracts from which were later republished under the title, "On the Firing Line."

—JOHN O'LONDON.

ERRATUM:—Owing to a typographical error, a mistake occurred in printing the eighth article of this series, on "The General Strike." Readers interested in John O'London's essays on "Revolutionary Political Action" will please turn to page thirteen of the August issue of the Proletarian, and strike out the fifth paragraph in the first column beginning "It is too early to say what the actual results of the strike will be, etc." This passage belonged to the section of the International Notes dealing with England.

The Proletarian University

We are now getting towards the close of the summer propaganda season and outdoor work will soon be over. Some comrades are already turning their attention to the class work conducted under the auspices of The Proletarian University of America. There has been a phenomenal growth of study classes during the past year. The great change that has come over the Socialist Movement is compelling the comrades to turn their attention to the classic literature of Socialism. In order to understand the ever-changing events and movements at home and abroad, it is necessary for every socialist to inform himself on the philosophic principles on which the International Socialist movement is based.

Never before has there been such a demand for speakers and writers. The "socialist" propagandists of the past are mostly unable or unwilling to move forward with the change within our ranks. Systematic study class work, particularly among the younger element, is the speediest and surest way to develop the necessary exponents of revolutionary propaganda.

You may hear the argument that the time is past for socialist study, as a matter of fact it is only beginning. You may hear sneers about turning the movement into one big study class, or creating a movement of armchair philosophers, but as we have pointed out in the past the socialist movement is a movement of action; the study classes are not the movement but a very important part thereof. The training of young speakers and writers, and the spreading of a more comprehensive understanding among the members will lead to a more vigorous and capable movement in the near future.

Certain leaders both in the right and left wings of the movement belittle the systematic education of the rank and file. They know that an informed membership cannot be blindly led or carried away nor misled by any would be leaders.

The classes of The Proletarian University of America have so far, more than exceeded expectations and bid fair this coming winter to surpass all previous results. If your local or branch has not yet taken up this necessary branch of socialist activity a start should be made at once, in order to have the students organized ready to commence about the beginning of October.

We have already firmly established classes in many of the large locals throughout the country most of which are conducted by the local comrades themselves, and in others by comrades sent out from Detroit. There are also classes operating in the labor unions using the text books of Marx and Engels and conducted by comrades who are members of both organizations. How to start this good work going and full particulars on the conduct of classes will be furnished any local or group who desires to engage in this work. Busy yourselves at once, organize those who are willing to study and write for further particulars.

Money Talks

I am money. Yes, I'm Mr. Gold, and my business is that of exchanging things and measuring their value, and I am powerful. At one time the sword was my master, but now I, the precious metal, am monarch of all I survey. I am the social lever of the capitalist world. The sword, my old master, has yielded to the potency of my power. He had his day, he was sharp and ever ready, but alas! AUTOCRATIC, and therefore out of date, while I, well am up to the minute, and above all DEMOCRATIC, measuring all alike by my measure of value reducing everything and everyone to a cold cash basis. From the commonest knave to the highest dignitary in office, each in my catalog has a price.

So great is the power of my little yellow pieces that I have enslaved the great masses of mankind. Millions serve me and put their very lives at my disposal; the Genius, the Statesman, the Artist, the Physician, the Soldier, the Artisan, the woman of the street, and the preacher in the pulpit—they are ALL mine. They are ALL measured by my shining yard-stick.

Where did I come from? Well, I was not a special creation. I was not invented. I was discovered a long time ago. In the dim past mankind prized me because of my brilliance, my weight, wearing qualities, pliability and rarity. They fashioned me into ornaments for their personal adornment, and although not then the universal medium of exchange that I am today, still in a world of trade and barter I held my own with the best of them in the markets of those days. The wool and the wine, the hides and the horns, the fruits of the earth and the beasts of the field were bartered and exchanged with each other at their respective values. They were clumsy and coarse and bulky, while I, though small, was brilliant and refined. Many of them were perishable. I was tough and enduring.

At first, I must confess, I did not stand alone as an exchange medium. I had many rivals, chief of which were Copper and Silver. These fine metals now play a secondary part and their value is measured by the standard of mine, for let me tell it proudly again—I AM THE UNIVERSAL MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE. I, Money—that everyone wants, from the beggar with his outstretched palm to the reckless spendthrift who squanders me voluptuously—am but the embodiment of so much Human Labor Power. I but represent the sweat and toil and pain of the productive classes. Yet of the many who handle me, how few really know that simple truth: That I, GOLD, THE MONEY COMMODITY, AM ONLY VALUED IN THE SAME MANNER AS ALL OTHER COMMODITIES—SO MUCH REALIZED HUMAN LABOR. That is how I function in exchange. So much socially necessary labor that is worked up in the other commodities exchanging with a like quantity of socially necessary labor, worked up in a certain portion of me. It makes no difference what the nature of the commodities may be, nor the purpose for which they are used, whether they are socks or soap, beer or bricks, small in size or big and bulky, my sole affinity with any of them, the coarsest or the finest, is the SOCIALLY NECESSARY LABOR THAT WE MUTUALLY CONTAIN.

I am chopped up into every denomination from a penny upwards, to measure in exchange the respective quantities of socially necessary labor embodied in all commodities. The sphere of capitalism, the com-

modity market, is as wide as the world. But the circle of exchange is narrowed down to: MONEY, COMMODITIES, MONEY. And so the mad scramble goes on for place and power. The journey is over one route only—Money, Commodities, Money.

The commodity, Gold; out of which I, the Money commodity am made, has a price like all other commodities. It is used for manufacturing watches, rings, and other articles, and sells by weight. Yet I, Gold, as money, have no price. To say the price of a Dollar is a Dollar, would be illogical, or that Ten Dollars is worth Ten Dollars. I can, therefore, be understood only as a commodity, equivalent to all other commodities, through which they exchange with each other. My value can only be measured by their values. So, therefore, it is not I that makes them commensurable. On the contrary, I, the medium by which they are exchanged, am only commensurable with all of them: BY THE AMOUNT OF SOCIALLY NECESSARY LABOR EMBODIED IN MY PRODUCTION OR RE-PRODUCTION.

And why am I the chosen one? Midst all the ar-

ticles of commerce, why Gold? Why not lead, or lumber? Why not diamonds? My case is a true one of the survival of the fittest. I have been naturally selected. I have stood the test of time. Many, many things have functioned as money in the past, and do still in remote parts of the Earth. But I have topped them all, because I have been obtainable for ages, yet not in sufficient quantities to make me cheap like Coal or Iron. My wearing qualities, neither too brittle nor too soft, has aided my success as coinage as well as social custom, and the outstanding fact that has dominated that custom—Great values in little bulk. And with it all, what am I? What do I really represent? In the earth, embedded in the rocks, before labor has been applied, I am worthless. I show a bright face to the world, but my body is of common clay, the commonest of the common kind that sells on the market along with the other RAW materials, the logs of lumber, barrels of blubber, tallow, coal-oil or axle grease. Yes, that is all I am! That is the real source of my wonderful power—COMMON, CHEAP, HUMAN LABOR. —J. K.

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BOOK REVIEW

“The Gospel for a Working World”

By Harry F. Ward

Published by the Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, New York, 1918 (249 pages)

The author of this book attempts to solve industrial problems by the application of Christianity. His theories are closely allied to those of the so-called “Christian Socialist,” although he does not announce himself as such.

The major portion of the space is taken up with a recital of facts, statistical and incidental, concerning industrial conditions in the United States. Those facts are well known to Socialist students, but the class of readers for whom the book is intended are poorly informed on these matters, a fact which the author recognizes, and for which he also gives the reason, as follows:

“Except in the case of some great explosion, terrific railroad wreck, or enormous marine disaster, the newspaper headlines do not chronicle the casualties of the peaceful battle-fields of industry. That gruesome story is mostly buried in official government reports.” (p. 3).

The facts are well presented, citations being taken from the most authoritative sources, such as the report of the Industrial Relations Commission, etc.

Although the facts are well stated, the interpretation of them is extremely weak. The peculiar thing about this is the inconsistency displayed. For instance, the following is very clear:

“When men bought and owned other men and in return for their labor gave them shelter and subsistence, that was slavery. Of course the owners dictated the conditions under which the other men should work and, if necessary, enforced their or-

ders by the overseer’s whip. That was chattel slavery. If by the wage system men are compelled to work under conditions to which they do not consent; if in return for their labor they get not food, shelter, and clothes, but wages which often will not provide these things; if these conditions are enforced to the profit of others not by the slave-driver’s whip, but by the fear of hunger and unemployment, sometimes created and always taken advantage of by those who profit by them, is not this the essence of slavery?” (pp. 171-2).

Here we have a recognition of the fact that the modern wage worker is in reality a slave. This is fine so far as it goes, but let us read another passage:

“In a recent mining disaster the management declared it would go to any expense and any risk to save the life of one worker. That was an expression of the Christian principle of reverence for personality. Working as leaven, that principle will make further changes in the industrial world.” (p. 23).

Now, if the workers are slaves, the men who reap profit from their labor must be slave masters. Is it reasonable to suppose that men who will hold other men in slavery would be so concerned about the lives of their slaves because of ethical or religious principles? We know that in chattel slave times there were masters who were more considerate of their slaves than others were, but can we argue from this that the relation of master and slave was a brotherly

one? It shows a failure on the part of the author to appreciate the nature of ruling classes when he credits them with a genuine concern for the lives of their slaves.

The author cites enough facts to show that he is fully acquainted with the utter brutality of the capitalist class, as a whole. He shows how the masters frequently disregard even the humblest petitions of their employes, that they consider themselves superior beings, and that they regard any interference with their business by their employes as intolerable insolence. Here is an example of the recklessness of human life exhibited by the capitalist class:

"We use up one batch of men as fast as we can, and when they are done, we throw them aside and get another.' This was the regretful admission of one big business leader concerning the effect of his industry upon the lives of its immigrant workers." (p. 3).

Of course the capitalists "regret" the fact that they ride on the backs of the workers, but we know from history, both past and present, that they will use every means to retain their present position. But the author confidently expects the capitalists to be brought to see the injustice of these conditions through Christianity. He says:

"To both managers and workers, to owners and wage-earners, the church must make clear the teaching of Jesus concerning the value of every life, until they will observe it both for themselves and for others." (p. 11).

It might be suggested to the author that it would be a somewhat less ambitious task to teach ethical principles to his satanic majesty himself. As a matter of fact the gentlemen of the profit game have at present about all the Christian ethics they can use in their business, and any more would be an encumbrance to them. No doubt the author expects that when the masters have imbibed a sufficient amount of Christianity they will gracefully get down from the workers' backs with a mumbled apology and explain that they never understood Christianity that way, until Mr. Ward explained it to them. Even the recent happenings in Russia do not appear to have taught anything to the author of this book. These incidents show that the capitalists will cease their aggression when the workers take away their political power and they have been definitely defeated, and only then.

The following passage seems to be a recognition of the class struggle. It is the author's conception of the nature of that conflict:

"The basis of organization for the world of work is that of struggle between the 'have's' and the 'have-not's'—between those who have not a fair living and those who have more than is good for them. On the one side are the possessors seeking ever to increase their income, and endeavoring to effect this by keeping down the cost of production. On the other side are the producers, who have little but their labor power. Unable to share in the ownership of the tools necessary for the making of goods, for the most part unable to acquire property, continually finding their incomes lessening in purchasing power, their constant effort is to push up the cost of labor. Here is the inherent antagonism

that exists in the world of work." (p.100).

Aside from the fact that the matter is unscientifically stated, no serious objection can be taken to the above passage. But when we turn to a passage in which the author deals with the remedy, we find the following:

"Are the people in the churches who live in comfort willing to limit their own desires and needs in order to provide the means of development for others? Are they willing to enter the fellowship of the sufferings of Jesus? Only sacrificial service is redemptive. Nothing else will emancipate the people from poverty and the grip of Mammon, that they may be free to work out their salvation." (p. 96).

Although the author sees the fact of the struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, he does not see that this struggle is a matter of historical development. He does not see that it is the development of society which has produced these classes. Instead he regards it as solely a question of the lack of a proper understanding of Christian ethics and ideals. He does not see that it is the material conditions which make men's ideals, but instead he thinks that the economic relations of the capitalist and working classes can be changed by simply changing the ideals of the capitalist class. History should teach him better, but perhaps he has never studied it.

We are told that the Federal Council of churches has declared for "the fullest possible co-operative ownership of both industry and the natural resources upon which industry depends,' as the expression of the Christian ideal." But the workers are not to get this for themselves. They are to wait until it is handed to them by the masters, at the author's suggestion. The author should invite the workers to have a seat and make themselves as comfortable as possible, as they will have some little wait. It is historically reasonable to expect the capitalist class to act today as they have acted in the past and as all ruling classes have acted. Any other expectation is childish. But religion belongs to the childhood of the race, and religious people naturally have childish ideas.

The real keynote of the book, however, remains to be noted. Despite his occasional flashes of insight into the nature of the capitalist system and his expressions of sympathy with the workers, the author really wants better conditions for the workers, primarily so that they may devote more time to church matters. What worries our author is the fact that the workers are becoming irreligious. The following statement exhibits this condition:

"The Rev. Charles Stelzle, founder of the Labor Temple, and formerly head of the Presbyterian Bureau of Church and Labor, reports that the result of his inquiry showed that with the increased intelligence of the workingman, with the growth of his interest in his own organization for the improvement of his condition, his interest in the church declines." (p. 133)

Quite so. Increase of intelligence means the declination of religion. The workers are learning to depend upon themselves, not upon silly sentimentalists like the present author, nor upon hypocritical pretensions of a brotherly attitude on the part of a brutal ruling class. The "Gospel For A Working World" will never do as a gospel for a militant proletariat.

L. B.