

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events

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They can Deport Men, but not Ideas!

THE master class of America is becoming nervous. The workers are restive and Capitalism is unable to sooth them. The war has petered out and those who bore its bloody burden are awakening to the realization that they were duped. All the glowing promises, all the thrills of victory, all the sacrificial fire, all the democratic phrases are gone and only the hideous reality remains, the struggle for existence, the bite of poverty, the quest of a job, the daily grind, the fear of want. The mirage has vanished and only the gritty desert sand remains to torment the parched lips. . . .

The workers, those who remained behind and bore the slavery of industry, those who went forward and suffered in the hell fire of war, are demanding a fulfillment of the promises. Not perhaps as yet consciously but nevertheless insistently and the "masters, lords and rulers of all lands" are empty handed. The master class is becoming aware that a demand is being made, that they are unable to fulfill it, and so they are nervous. They turn this way and that without result and their nervousness turns to irritation. "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."

During the war the class conscious worker foresaw many of the developments that are now taking place and he gave voice to his vision. The jails opened to receive him, condemned as a pro-German. The hysteria of war blinded the others of his class, they were silent and Capitalism smiled. The jails filled, still the voices increased and Capitalism ceased to smile. . . .

Now the war is over and the voices have become a roar and the roar has become action. The workers are seething with dissatisfaction—dissatisfaction that may at any moment become revolt. The master class is nervous and nervousness begets precipitate action. Deportations become the order of the day.

American Capitalism has awakened to the fact that jailing men can not stop the spread of ideas. It has taken it many years to realize this fact and it has realized it only to turn to the deportation of men in order to accomplish the same result. Jailing men does not succeed in jailing ideas, consequently deporting men will result in the deportation of ideas!

Fifty-three men and one woman are already in New York Harbor awaiting deportation. They are charged with being agitators and the press reports that government officials have a list of over 5,000 men and women, also agitators, whom they propose to deport. According to the newspapers the avowed object of the action is to stop the industrial unrest that is today spreading throughout America. The prisoners are alleged to be Bolsheviki, Anarchists and members of the I. W. W., or sympathizers of these movements.

Whether this action is a violation of the constitution of the country, or of the freedom that residents are supposed to enjoy matters not. The world is at present in the throes of the birth of a new order of society. The class struggle is actually flaming in action and these deportations are an evidence of the fray. Two opposing classes face each other and struggle for the conquest of power. Capitalism is fighting for its existence and these deportations are part of the struggle. Constitutions and bourgeois guarantees are worthless and legality plays but a minor role.

Capitalism believes that these agitators menace its existence, it has discovered that prison walls do not allay the menace and so it turns to deportation. Deportation plays a double part. It gets rid of the agitator and at the same time brands him as something alien to the soil of America thus fostering in the mind of the unthinking the idea that the propaganda is also alien to America.

The cry is for Americanization, and Americanization has been interpreted by the press, university professors, the pulpit and all the other agencies of reaction to mean something altogether apart from the rest of the world. America and Americans are different, they know nothing of labor troubles, they have no ideas for the reconstruction of society, everybody is content with things as they are, everyone is equal, there are no kings in America! All the discontent that is at

present seething throughout the world is the result of foreign doctrines and though in some parts of the world there may be reasons for the discontent here it is entirely the product of agitation and propaganda by sinister forces utterly foreign to these shores! Deport the foreigners and their ideas go with them and we can once more resume our peaceful progress towards the millenium, we become a nation of potential presidents and multimillionaires!

This cry of Americanization, this movement for an intensive and narrow nationalism, is in reality nothing

Strike Breaking

The arrest of Ime Kaplan, secretary of the Lawrence Strike Committee, on the charge of draft evasion is merely a further instance of how even the Federal laws and the legal machinery of the country, to say nothing of the State laws and machinery, are used for the purpose of supporting the master class. The fact that Kaplan was released after a few hours detention only serves to strengthen the assumption that the affair was a deliberate "frame up" for the purpose of injuring the cause of the workers. If after investigating the case for a couple of hours the authorities can decide that Kaplan had complied with the law, the question naturally arises as to why such investigation was not made prior to the arrest.

According to press reports Kaplan was arrested while a committee meeting was in progress, and the men making the arrest also threatened Sam Bramhall, chairman of the Strike Committee, that they were after him. Bramhall is a man beyond the draft age and it would be interesting to know why the police are after him. It would also be interesting to know, provided the newspaper accounts of the affair are correct, upon what authority the police have the right to threaten him. A policeman's job is to enforce the law, to make arrest if the law is transgressed, not to take it upon himself to threaten individuals. The assumption upon which the workers are supposed to respect the law is that the law is for the protection of the community. If this assumption is destroyed, if it becomes clearly apparent to the workers that the law is only a club with which is to beat them into submission then the effects will be indeed far reaching.

The press gave much publicity to the arrest of Kaplan as "a draft dodger" and interspersed the news with many references to "foreigners" clearly showing that the objective aimed at is to once more divide the workers. The war department has officially stated that the draft is no longer operative and it logically follows that it is no longer necessary to carry a registration card to protect one from arbitrary arrest. Why was Kaplan singled out for examination as to his draft status? Why was he taken away from the Strike Committee at the moment of critical deliberations? Did his arrest serve the interest of the 30,000 workers who are on strike, or did it serve the interest of the half-dozen industrial barons who are responsible for the strike?

The actions of the authorities in this matter require investigation, not only by the workers of Lawrence, but, by the workers of the entire country. The master class makes the laws through its henchmen in the legislatures, and what is more important it applies the laws through its control of the police. Bourgeois society rests on the theory that governments and laws exist for the benefit of the community as a whole, once this theory breaks down the structure of that society crumbles. The workers have had many instances of the fallacy of such an assumption and have still remained blind to the real situation but that is no guarantee that they will always remain blind.

more than an attempt to utilize all the base passions let loose by the war, self-glorification, racial prejudice. But the war that has enabled the cultivation of these ideas has also forever damned them. American soldiers have gone to Europe and found out that they were not so much Americans as human beings, subject to the same feeling and emotions as the millions of human beings with whom they fought and the other millions against whom they fought. American workers have stifled all their ordinary development

through the years of war only to find that their masters took advantage of the opportunity to more firmly entrench themselves in their privileged positions. The war is over, the "Hun" is no longer at the gate and the workers of America are taking a breathing space and looking around.

They find that while they have unsparingly labored others have schemed and that all their toil and misery and bloodshed have resulted in nothing except riches for the few and poverty for the many. They have, however, discovered something more. They have begun to realize that they have a community of interest with the workers of other lands, that the things they are complaining about are the same things against which workers of other countries are protesting. And more than this they are seeing that the Russian workers have found the solution. Dimly, through darkened glasses, they are seeing that the evils which are pressing them down are not the superficial, individual, local evils but evils resulting from a state of society that functions equally in the Seattle shipyards, the Lawrence mills, the Japanese rice fields, the English mines. . . .

The unrest is not the result of agitators or of agitation but of conditions. The ideas are not the result of agitators so much as they are the result of the fact that the workers have begun to think for themselves. The Russian revolution, the struggle in Germany, the unrest in England, France, Italy, all affect the unrest in America just as the American unrest affects the unrest in England, France and Italy, and the deportation of the agitators only further this unrest.

While America is engaged in deporting subjects of the British Empire as alien agitators, England has gathered together over 200 agitators for deportation to America. The ships that carry the English, Scotch and Irish agitators to Britain will pass the ships that carry the American born agitators to America. Englishism is being paraded in England just as Americanism is in America. The American agitator is looked upon with as much horror by the unthinking British workers as his compatriot is regarded by the unthinking American.

The Seattle strike, the Butte strike, the strikes in the textile trades are the results of conditions and the tactics adopted by the workers in their struggles with the master class are also the result of conditions. The strikes in America are conducted on American lines because they are confronted with American conditions. The basic tactics of both the workers and the bosses are the same the world over but in detail they differ according to the prevailing conditions.

The unrest, the revolutionary movement, that is sweeping Europe has its reflex in the American working class, but the American capitalist class also reacts to it. A period of reaction is here, is developing intensively. The espionage act will shortly have to be repealed because the war is over but in the meantime the master class is preparing new laws to take its place, laws which will meet the newer developments. The change in the immigration laws which makes possible these deportations is one of the new laws. These deportations are the first overt act in the new war of the capitalists on the workers. Many more acts will follow, but the Seattle strike also took on new aspects. The fight made by the western workers was the first step in repelling the attack. As the struggle becomes more intensive both sides will develop new methods. The working class is learning rapidly and is daily developing new tactics.

The reply to the new reaction will probably be that revolutionary propaganda will go underground. Secret organizations will function with more power and intensity than did the old open organizations which are now proclaimed. Deportations may go on but the working class has already grasped the ideas that are today revolutionizing the world, the ideas that Russia and the German Spartacans have translated into action. Jailing the agitators have spread their ideas, deportations will simply further the work.

Ideas cannot be deported. Capitalism can not bolster up its tottering power. The march of progress has decreed that it must go. "it is history's iron must." Let the ships sail!

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Reactionary A. F. of L. Officials

THESE are at this moment 30,000 men and women of the working class on strike in the textile mills of Lawrence, Mass. They have a hard struggle—race prejudice and the governing powers are against them. In the midst of this hard struggle, the Central Labor Union of Lawrence issues an attack upon the strike: it declares that the strike is not at all founded upon the "reasonable demands" of organized labor, but represents a bold attempt of a few leaders to stir up trouble, that the demands of the strikers are pro-German (!) and tacitly calls upon organized labor not to support the strikers. This is infamous; it reminds one of the attempts of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to break the great Lawrence strike in 1912 by all sorts of desperate and contemptible means. There is a real struggle developing between the workers and reactionary unions and reactionary union officials: in England this is a great issue, it is becoming a great issue here. There must be a struggle against reactionary unionism, against corrupt union officials, against betrayals of the working class. On this issue the Socialist cannot compromise: it must become a central issue of our party policy—industrial unionism and mass action against reactionary unionism and its officials.

Strikes and Mass Action

THEY said that the American workers had nothing to complain about. They said that only in Europe could they have industrial revolts—that only in monarchical countries was there any revolutionary spirit. They have declared, the corrupt masters of bourgeois society, that the American workers were satisfied, and that only a few foreign agitators and un-American ideas were responsible for unrest. They tried to isolate the American working class, assisted by Samuel Gompers, against the international development of class action and class consciousness.

But, instinctively, irresistibly, great strikes are developing in our country. The war is over; the world is safe for "democracy," the peace conference, through Mr. Wilson, talks beautifully of a new order of civilization: 1,000,000,000 are appropriated by the American Congress to feed Europeans; the press teems with reports of prosperity;—but unemployment is on the increase; demobilized soldiers can't get jobs; and all over the country strikes are breaking out, a great struggle is developing between the proletariat and the capitalist class.

In its issue of December 11, 1918, *The Revolutionary Age* said:

"With the end of the war and the peculiar industrial conditions it created, will come readjustment; and with readjustment will come an era of great industrial struggles, greater than any this country has ever seen. That will be the opportunity of Socialism. The characteristic of revolutionary Socialism is that it study the alignment of social forces, the characteristics of each period in social development, and adapt itself and these characteristics to the task of developing the final struggle. The characteristic of the situation in the United States during the coming two or three years will be great industrial strikes. This will test the Socialist Party. If we are simply to use these strikes to make political capital, we shall miss a great opportunity; but if we absorb ourselves in these strikes, appreciate that in the industry lies the power of the proletariat, that it is the function of Socialism to use strikes to develop finer industrial organizations and general industrial action of the workers, out of which emerge class power for the final struggle, then the Socialist Party will measure to the oppor-

tunity, and a new and more vital Socialism come into being."

This analysis of ours is being confirmed by events. Great strikes are developing; revolutionary Socialism is measuring to the opportunity as determined by conditions.

This analysis of our's is being confirmed by events. The "prosperity" of the war is at an end—a prosperity which created thousands of new millionaires while millions of men were being slaughtered. During the war there were more jobs than workers; now there are more workers than jobs; accordingly, unemployment, reduction in wages, strikes, more misery and oppression for the working class.

And so they strike. The American workers are awakening. The war has taught them; that nothing is coming out of the war except splendid phrases is teaching them; and the Bolshevik Revolution, in which the workers themselves are masters of society, is having its profound influence among the workers of the world, silent, as yet inarticulate, but determining forms of action and about to burst forth in the international struggle for Socialism. And so they strike—for shorter hours, for more wages, for better conditions generally; but circumstances force these workers to use new forms of action, to develop larger purposes; and an immature revolutionary expression is imposed on the strikers by the brutality and aggression of the governing powers.

One thing the strikers seem to be learning, and that is—it is not enough to strike, and fold your arms: strikes must become more active, must have a larger purpose. They must, in the first place, become more general; not one trade, nor one industry, but a large number must strike;—a general strike;—they must be ready to meet the hostility of the state, the use of armed troops; and they must, in any large strike, assume control of keeping the life of a city going *themselves* while the strike is on and the employers are being beaten.

In the great Seattle general strike, of the shipyard workers, car men, and others, the new tactics of the industrial struggle were partly in action. It was a strike of many trades; it was managed by a unified council of the various industrial strikers; and it tried to assume municipal functions so that the strike might continue while the citizens of Seattle were not prevented from eating and carrying on their regular functions.

The Central Labor Council of Seattle issued the following proclamation:

"On Thursday at 10 A. M. there will be many cheering and there will be some who fear. Both these emotions are useful, but not too much of either. We are undertaking the most tremendous move ever made by labor men in this country—a move which leads no one knows where. We do not need hysteria. We need the iron march of labor. Labor will feed the people. Twelve great kitchens have been offered, and from them food will be distributed by the provision trades at low cost to all. Labor will care for the babies and the sick. The milk wagon drivers and the laundry drivers are arranging for supplying milk to babies, invalids and hospitals and taking care of the cleaning of linen for hospitals.

"Labor will preserve order. The strike committee is arranging for guards, and it is expected that the stopping of the cars will keep people at home. . . .

"As a mere shutdown will not affect these Eastern gentlemen [the shipowners] much, they could let the whole Northwest go to pieces, as far as money alone is concerned, but the closing down of the capitalistically controlled industries of Seattle, while the workers organize to feed the people, to care for the babies and the sick and to preserve order, this will move them, for this looks too much like the taking over of power by the workers. Labor will not only shut down the industries, but labor will reopen under the management of the appropriate trades such activities as are needed to preserve public health and public peace. If the strike continues labor may feel led to avoid public suffering by reopening more and more activities under its own management, and that is why we say that we are starting on a road that leads no one knows where."

The *Seattle International Weekly*, organ of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington, asked "Can 60,000 workers operate industry without bosses?" and said:

"The policy of the folded arm is a passive one, a negative gesture of defiance to Capitalism. The workers are not satisfied with merely defying Capitalism; they are demanding the overthrow of the whole rotting, decaying system. They are not going to stand by and see the industries of Seattle non productive because it is the whim of the American capitalist class to crush out unionism. The class conscious workers of Seattle insist on a positive policy; the management

of industry by the workers with the complete elimination of the boss. The decision lies with the employers of Seattle. Do they want to compromise and give in to the shipyard workers' demands or would they rather face expropriation? . . .

"It would be nothing short of a crime for the shipyard workers to allow the shipyards to remain idle for more than two weeks when the world needs ships and the returning soldier must be provided employment alongside of the worker. If the shipyard owner does not want to "build ships" the workers must not let him prevent them from so doing at wages satisfactory to themselves.

"Unemployment stalks through the land; hunger and cold threaten the people; millions of soldiers are returning and expecting jobs which don't exist. What is the solution? Surely not the closing down of the shipyards for a protracted period. The shipyards must be reopened; the strikers are the only ones to do it. Then let's do it."

This was a proposal for revolutionary mass action; and American Capitalism recognized the revolutionary threat latent in the Seattle strike. The whole American press organized a campaign of slander against the strike; Mayor Ole Hanson used all the power of the municipal government; Secretary of War Baker sent troops to break the strike; all the forces of American Capitalism were directed against the strike, the workers elsewhere did not respond; and the strike ended—but only temporarily. Its educational value has been tremendous. The American working class will accept revolutionary mass action.

Then came another industrial explosion, in Butte, Mont. Thousands of miners are on strike, including hundreds of demobilized soldiers. The strike is being directed by the local Soldiers' and Workers' Council, 1,000 demobilized soldiers alone being on the picket line. The Mayor has proclaimed martial law; but the workers are organizing their own military guards, prepared to meet force with force, if necessary. Troops of the regular army are being used against the strikers, many of whom have been bayoneted while picketing. The Council has demanded of Secretary of War Baker whether these troops are being used as strike-breakers with the consent of the Department of War. Major A. M. Jones, of the United States Army, informed the soldiers and sailors that he had cleaned up the scum of Panama and that there would be no dallying with the "disturbing" elements in Butte. The troops are armed to the teeth with machine gun equipment.

The strike in Butte is still in process of development; it may develop into a general strike; it is tinged with revolutionary sentiments, the most important thing being the unity of soldiers and workers. In this sign the working class will conquer!

Then there is the Lawrence strike; there was the silk-workers strike in Paterson and a number of strikes in New York—all proof of the great movement among the working class.

This strike movement is developing new features. The Butte, Seattle and Lawrence strikes are largely mass movements; the old union officials are being repudiated; the workers are taking power into their own hands, depending upon their own initiative and mass action—as in England and in Russia. The old union officials are largely conservative; they are united with the government and with capital; they are trying to tie ropes upon the workers—the workers must repudiate them. Unionism and the working class must be revolutionized before they can revolutionize Capitalism.

Strikes are not "made to order" by agitators—they come because they must, out of the terrible pressure upon the workers. That more and larger strikes are coming, that they are more radical than in the old days is because of more pressure, more experience, more understanding.

Bad days are ahead for the American workers. The war has strengthened the power of the capitalists, but not to the same extent the power of the workers. The capitalists will use, *are using* that power to starve the workers, to subjugate the workers. The workers must answer by means of strikes and industrial mass action.

These strikes are here; more will come. The measure of their success will depend upon how much the workers have learned the new tactics, the new revolutionary spirit. They must use the general strike; they must repudiate the old union officials and the old unionism; industrial unionism is necessary, they must use mass action, the unity of organized and unorganized workers in action; they must take control of their affairs by means of organizations based directly on the workers in the shops.

These strikes, moreover, must always strive to cease being strikes and become *revolutionary mass action against Capitalism and the state*. While Capi-

talism exists, the workers will suffer. Capitalism must be overthrown; the workers must organize their own state of the producers in the shops; they must take possession of the shops, of all industry.

Capitalism is in a revolutionary stage. Capitalism is shaking. Capitalism cannot exist much longer. Every strike must be a small revolution, organizing, educating and disciplining the workers for the final revolutionary struggle.

Turn to the Left!

THE American Socialist Party is in a condition of feverish theoretical activity. Pressing problems are being met in a spirit of self-criticism. New forms of action in the social struggle are being accepted. Old methods, old tactics, old ideas, which in the test of the war have proven incapable of furthering the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, are being seriously analyzed and repudiated.

The membership of the Socialist Party, the majority, is instinctively class conscious and revolutionary. It was this membership that compelled our officials to acquiesce in the adoption of a radical declaration against the war—which most of the officials sabotaged or converted into an innocuous policy of bourgeois pacifism. When the Bolsheviks conquered, the majority of our officials were either hostile or silent; some weeks before, the *New York Call* had stigmatized the Bolsheviks as "anarchists." But the membership responded; they forced the hands of the officials, who became "me too" Bolsheviks, but who did not draw the revolutionary implications of the Bolshevik policy. These officials and their machinery baffled the will of the membership; more, the membership baffled itself because it did not clearly understand the theory and the practice implied in its instinctive class consciousness and revolutionary spirit.

While our N. E. C. accepts the Berne Congress and refuses to call an emergency National Convention, locals of the party are actively engaged in the great struggle turning to the left, to revolutionary Socialism. Groups within the party are organizing and issuing proclamations, determined that the party shall conquer the party for revolutionary Socialism. Two of these proclamations were published in the last issue of *The Revolutionary Age*. They deserve serious consideration and discussion.

The manifesto of the Communist Propaganda League of Chicago is a concise document. Its criticism of the party is summarized: "the party proceeds on too narrow an understanding of political action for a party of revolution; that its programs and platforms have been reformist and petty bourgeois in character, instead of being definitely directed toward the goal of social revolution; the party has failed to achieve unity with the revolutionary movement on the industrial field." Its proposals for democratizing the party—*mass action in the party*—are excellent; it repudiates the old International and the Berne Congress, and asks: "Identification of the Socialist Party with class conscious industrial unionism; unity of all kinds of proletarian action and protest forming part of the revolutionary class struggle; political action to include political strikes and demonstrations, and to be in cooperation with industrial mass action; no compromising with any groups not inherently committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as Labor parties, People's Council, Non-Partisan Leagues, Municipal Ownership Leagues, and the like." The manifesto is too abstract in its formulation; but it is a clear expression of the left tendency.

The manifesto published in our last issue under the caption "Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Movement" was formulated and adopted by a group of comrades in New York City, a group started by a bolt of delegates from a general meeting of the Central Committees of the Greater New York Locals, after the meeting refused to discipline the "Socialist" Aldermen who are betraying Socialism and the party. It is a comprehensive document, and its tendency is that of revolutionary Socialism. But in many of its formulations it is unfortunate and hasty, giving the impression of not clearly understanding the problems under consideration.

We shall not discuss minor points, such as including the Socialist Party of Italy among the parties whose "official press . . . suddenly reversed its position and called for resistance to the invader"—the Italian Socialist Party has always been against war, and it is a Bolshevik party.

There are more serious things. The moderate, parliamentary Socialists, says this Manifesto, "lost sight of Socialism's original purpose; their goal became two-fold—'constructive reforms' and *Cabinet portfolios*, of the means to an end they made an end in itself."

This is either an unfortunate formulation, or a complete misunderstanding of revolutionary political action. The implication is that "constructive reforms"

and Socialists accepting "cabinet portfolios" in bourgeois governments are a means to an end, that they are a part of Socialist political action. They are not. "Constructive reforms" and "Cabinet portfolios" are the finest expression of moderate Socialism, of its perversion of political action, of its policy of gradually "transforming Capitalism into Socialism" by means of legislative reforms and co-operation of classes. "Constructive reforms" and "Cabinet portfolios" are not Socialist political action, but a betrayal of political action: real Socialist political action tries to arouse that revolutionary mass action of the proletariat which alone can conquer Capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. But, we believe, this is precisely the idea of the New York Comrades, since the implication of their unfortunate formulation is directly contradictory to other parts of their manifesto.

But this unfortunate formulation, or misunderstanding, persists. In another part the Manifesto says: "We contend that such political action is a valuable means of propaganda and further, that the *capture of legislative seats is an effective means of capturing the political state*, but—and here is the vital point for the moderate 'Socialist' goes no further—we hold that this capture of the political state is merely for the purpose of destroying it." (Our italics.) This is not at all the revolutionary conception. The political state is not "captured" by means of votes: it is overthrown by means of revolutionary mass action, by means of the seizure of power by the revolutionary proletariat. The parliamentary struggle, as the Manifesto itself says elsewhere, is agitational; its chief purpose is and can alone be the development of the revolutionary consciousness and mass action of the proletariat, which can seize power and establish the transitional "state" of Socialism—the state of Soviets, of the organized producers, functioning temporarily as a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Manifesto further says that "the Socialist ballot must be supported by the might of 'the industrial organization of the working class'." This is laying the emphasis on political action, while the creative revolutionary action lies in the industrial and revolutionary mass action of the proletariat. The Manifesto accepts De Leon's formulation of this vital tactical problem; but revolutionary Socialism in Russia and in Germany has improved upon De Leon's conception, and emphasizes that the conquest of the power of the state is not a parliamentary act, but an act of revolutionary seizure through proletarian mass action breaking loose in a revolutionary crisis. And it is the task of the political party of Socialism to prepare the proletariat for action in this crisis. This conception of industrial organization leads to another statement of the Manifesto: "Only the economic organization [this means, we presume, revolutionary industrial unionism] of the working class can build the new society within the shell of the old." Acceptance of this formulation depends upon whether it is relative or absolute. The doctrinaire industrial union conception, accepted by the Socialist Labor Party, is that when the whole working class, or an overwhelming majority, is organized industrially, then they may seize industry and establish the industrial state. But this, clearly, is utopian. The conditions of Capitalism do not allow this gigantic organization of the proletariat; all that industrial unionism can accomplish is to organize the working class *partially* into industrial unions, to establish a centre around which action might unite, to develop the ideology of the industrial state; but you can "build the new society" only under the shield of the dictatorship of the proletariat; only when the working class has seized the state power, and organized its new, transitional state, can the ideal of industrial unionism constructing the new communist society be realized.

The Manifesto accepts proletarian dictatorship, but does not emphasize or clearly express its functions and its character. Its conception of the function of the "industrial organization" clearly indicates its lack of understanding. Moreover, the Manifesto does not mention the necessity of revolutionary mass action (although it is implied)—that mass action which is the basis of the new Socialist tactics, of the proletarian dictatorship. In this the Manifesto is contradictory: in one place it says the state will be captured by the capture of legislative seats; in another place it says: "revolutionary Socialists do not propose to wait until the vast majority of the people vote them into power." That is the policy of revolutionary Socialism, but this formulation is contradicted by other portions of the Manifesto, by other interpretations of political action. It must necessarily imply the acceptance of revolutionary mass action as the means for the conquest of power by the proletariat.

In its demand "that the Socialist Party of America issue a call for an international congress of those groups of the Socialist movement that participated both in the Zimmerwald Conference in September,

1915, and the Kienthal Conference in 1916, and of those groups that are in agreement with them to-day," the Manifesto seriously compromises its left wing attitude and its international policy. The Zimmerwald Conference was a "centre" conference, dominated by Karl Kautsky and the Independent Socialists of Germany, the left being compelled to withdraw and issue a declaration of its own; the Kienthal Conference was of a similar character. The Spartacans would not participate in an International harboring the Independents. Our international policy must be that only the Communist Party of Russia and the Communist Labor Party of Germany have the right to call an international Socialist Congress, that we shall participate only in an international in which participate these two groups, that the New International must be an uncompromising, aggressive, clear expression of revolutionary Socialism.

There are other criticisms that might be made, such as that the Manifesto should definitely repudiate the Labor Party: its whole tendency is against a Labor Party, but the repudiation should be explicit.

Our problems are great problems, and only by mutual criticism, by self-criticism, can we conquer. The party is in a state of transition, the left wing itself is only just developing; there is a great task of education and clarification ahead, in which all should participate. The Manifesto gives too many indications of different views and formulations having compromised with each other; the American left must have a clear theory and an uncompromising policy. Theory is itself a social force; and our theory must be in complete accord with Marxism and the proletarian revolution in Germany and in Russia, in accord with the developments of life itself. Then we shall conquer!

Bolshevikjabs

MR. HUNTINGTON, who has been a commercial attache in Russia, a kind of advance booking agent for Capitalism, is giving some very interesting information to the Senatorial Committee which is, or at any rate thinks it is, investigating Bolshevism. We cull the following from the *New York Times* report of the proceedings:

"In answer to a question as to whether or not a report were true that several Russian Grand Dukes had been thrown into a well and then bombarded with hand grenades by Russian Red Guards, Dr. Huntington said that he understood the report was correct. He said that his information came from an American business man of standing who was in the town at the time of the slaughter. *The bodies were afterward recovered.*"

If the hand grenades were part of the commerce to which Dr. Huntington was attached it is no wonder that this mission was unsuccessful and we would like to say that he should not be blamed for the failure as even the most ignorant and primitive people dislike buying bum goods twice.

While the investigation is going on and as there seems to be a difficulty in locating the Bolshevik money that has come into this country we would like to respectfully suggest that the committee cast an inquiring eye on the prohibitionists.

Tom Mooney's case, Frank Little's murder, the Bisbee deportations, the reduction of wages, the increase in unemployment, have all left the A. F. of L. cold, but prohibition is precipitating a labor revolt. The grim spectre of a general strike stalks behind the "drys." We should remember that these Bolsheviks are a desperate band and will turn to anything to accomplish their fell purpose. While we have been keeping strict watch on ferocious, dirty-looking, wild eyed, long haired foreigners, is it not quite possible that the sanctimonious looking gentlemen in the plug hats and shabby Alberts are the real agents of the Bolsheviks?

The indignation of the committee on learning that the Bolsheviks are not in favor of the freedom of the press is really heroic. Wait till it discovers Burleson's existence!

Now that deportations are becoming fashionable we hope that Congress will see the urgent necessity of speeding up the building of transports.

We have come to the conclusion that this is a foreign country. The strikers in Seattle are foreigners, the Butte miners are foreigners, the Patterson weavers are foreigners, the Lawrence workers are foreigners, the New York and Philadelphia clothing workers are foreigners. In fact all the 100 per centers seem to have died of the flue . . .

P. S.—The compositor says: "All but Indians are foreigners."

Is Japan's threatened war on China going to be "the last war?"

The Lawrence Strike — Impressions

By Richard Hansen

IN the general rush to cut wages the capitalists of Lawrence have kept abreast of their kind in the other towns of the country. The introduction of a 48 hour week—decided upon some time ago, but delayed on account of the war orders—could not be postponed any longer.

Government orders began to dwindle, the business of the Woolen Trust shank somewhat and the stream of boys coming home from "over there" and pouring into the mills made it impossible to retain the 54 hour week. The capitalists themselves proclaimed the 48 hour schedule, carefully representing it as a great and glorious achievement for the 600,000 working men and women of the textile industry throughout the country. But the capitalists meant wages should be cut accordingly and apparently it was agreed with the reactionary labor leader Golden that the workers should not have any say in the matter.

But it was not to be expected that the workers who had lived through the great struggle of 1912 would accept such a deal and they demanded that the present standard of wages be maintained—a standard by no means high, averaging only around \$16 a week. It is obvious that \$16 a week is a starvation wage in the full and sinister meaning of the word. The multimillionaires of the textile junkerdom know it, the city and state governments know it, as do the courts and the Federal government. Nevertheless all the power of the master class, the press and the legal machinery has been directed towards reducing the miserable pay envelopes of the textile slaves by the few cents represented in six hours pay.

The whole affair is piracy. And the industrial barons have acted like pirates. All their local hirelings have been mobilized, but this is not enough. Police squadrons have been imported from Boston, Cambridge, Lowell, Lynn and even across the state boundary from Manchester, N. H. Like the Cossack hordes of Czarist Russia they have been let loose upon the streets and sidewalks of Lawrence, clubbing down defenseless women and men peacefully marching in the picket lines. After being beaten the workers are arrested and dragged into court where the just magistrates impose heavy fines on the most flimsy evidence and framed up testimony.

The city government has refused to allow the strikers to parade in the streets. The other day the

Strike Committee itself was invaded by a half-dozen armed brutes and the secretary, Ime Kaplan, arrested on a trumped up charge, without even the formality of a warrant. It is hard to believe that any feudal despot ever had at his command a more irresponsible horde of mercenaries. No crime is too black for Capitalism, when it is determined upon crushing an "uprising" of the workers, though the demands of the strikers are so extremely modest and their behavior so considerate that no sane person could call it a riot much less an uprising.

Though the strikers' demands are so moderate their masters have determined that they shall not have the right to refuse to work for less than a starvation wage but must be driven back to the mills like sheep. Government experts, in the employ of the War Labor Board, have stated, after a careful and conservative investigation, that \$30 per week is the necessary minimum for a family of three to live in decency and it is generally assumed that an 8 hour day means a 44 hour week. The workers of Lawrence, however, have not asked for this minimum established by Government experts. They are asking scarcely half as much. All they insist upon is that the \$16. shall not be reduced. Nevertheless all the bestiality of Capitalism is turned loose upon them. . . .

Tens of thousands of men and women, who gave their brothers and sons to the army, who bought the so-called Liberty Bonds, who trustfully hoped for and expected a brighter future after the war are now spat upon, are ridden down by men on horseback, are railroaded to prison, are thrown into misery and want by their savage masters.

In the press and even by the elected officials the workers are reviled as foreigners and Bolsheviks. A week ago they resented this, they thought it was an insult, they protested at being called foreigners while thousands of them have citizen papers in their pockets and many are native born citizens. But they are quickly realizing that a citizen in name is often a foreigner in deed. They have started to think and they have discovered that even an American born worker is not a citizen, that they are all foreigners—foreigners in their own country—and that all workers

throughout the world are foreigners where Capitalism rules; the real citizens being only those who own the factories, mills, mines and land—the Woods, Morgans, Rockefellers. . . .

They are discovering that so far there is only one exception—Russia—where everyone who is capable and willing to work is a citizen, without discrimination, where the workers themselves decide how the industries shall be run and the conditions under which they shall work.

They are beginning to see that thus far only the Russian workers have conquered irrevocably, wrested the means of life from the clutches of the greedy capitalists. Germany and England are in process of being freed from the domination of Capitalism. Bolshevism is spreading. The working class has set out to conquer their own countries and make themselves citizens. And the workers of Lawrence are becoming proud of being called Bolsheviks.

The capitalist press has told them what they themselves did not know; that they were foreigners and Bolsheviks. This is the single truth among the thousands of lies that the capitalist press has spread about the Lawrence strike. This is the great lesson that the 30,000 workers are learning from the present struggle—the strike of "48-54." It is a good lesson for the proletariat of America, and the capitalists will be sorry for bringing it home to the workers and for keeping it firmly implanted in their minds by brutality and repression. The lesson will not be forgotten.

The time is not far distant when even "44-\$30" will appear as a modest demand even to the textile workers. The workers are learning to understand that Bolshevism is the only way out of the debacle created by Capitalism. They will ask for all they produce, they will make themselves real citizens of their country. They are becoming tired of being foreigners in their own lands and starving in the face of plenty.

The present strike in Lawrence will end in victory for the workers. The spirit of solidarity is admirable, the sympathy for them is general. And the victory will mean something more to the workers of Lawrence than "48-54." It will mean a lot of experience and the development of class consciousness which are so important for the final deliverance of the workers from the exploitation and oppression of Capitalism.

Three Socialist Strike Leaflets

"General Strike—Or?"

Leaflet issued by the Seattle Young People's Socialist League

THE profiteers have made millions out of the ships the workers built. Now they refuse these workers a living wage. They have forced thirty-thousand men to go on strike.

All the profiteering employers of Seattle are banded together in their Employers' Association. All have a common interest in driving the shipyard workers back to slave conditions and smashing their labor organization, the Metal Trades.

The allied bosses want to smash the shipyard workers now so that they can have free hand to smash the rest of the union men of Seattle later on.

These profiteers hate all unionism. They hate the longshorem, the street car men, the electrical workers, the men of the building trades, the restaurant workers and all others as much as they hate the Metal Trades organization that is conducting this strike.

They want to eat labor piece meal. First the shipyard workers, then the others. So they can make this an open shop town and cut wages.

Divide and conquer is the motto of the bosses. . . .

But we have a better motto. It is *together we win!*

If sixty thousand union men and women of Seattle go out on a general strike the bosses will cry for mercy. Capital is helpless without labor. The business interests cannot afford a general strike. And we cannot afford to see our shipyard brothers beaten, because our turn would come next.

A million workers on the Pacific Coast are ready to fall in line behind Seattle. We will show them a magnificent example of solidarity.

All together in the *General Strike*.

Together we win— By Solidarity.

"Strike."

Leaflet issued by the Y. P. S. L. of Seattle

It was you who made the wheels of industry hum. When the owners of the shipyards went away on pleasure tours the ships were produced just the same. But now that you have left the yards the wheels are

silent, the steel is rusting in the winter rain, spiders spin their webs from girder to girder, and no ships slide down the ways to carry the commerce of the world. All is silent in the yards. Your labor power has been withdrawn and a portion of the world stands still. Does not this make you realize your strength? Can you not see that it is the workers who produce the wealth of the world and it is to the workers that the wealth should belong? Then why not prepare to take that which is yours by right?

Strikers! The shipyard employers have confessed that they cannot properly manage industry. They say that they cannot conduct the yards efficiently enough to provide the workers with necessary food, clothing and shelter. They are failures. They admit it. But you strikers know you could properly run the yards because you have always run the yards. You know that you could shorten the hours, use more safeguards against accident and death, have more sanitary arrangements, give to every worker employed more of the necessities and luxuries of life, and still produce the ships that the world so sorely needs. You could manage the shipyards through an industrial organization. You could discipline yourselves by your own unions. You could select your own managers by competitive test from your own members. You could control your jobs and your own lives. You could work as free men instead of slaves. And you could produce the ships at far less expenditure of human labor energy than under the wasteful rule of the inefficient industrial masters. Accept the employers apology. They have failed. Prepare to take and control the industries, workers.

Strikers! The world is the workers for the taking, and the workers are the vast majority in society. Your interests are paramount to those of a small handful of useless, idle parasites who have the nerve to claim a title to the shipyards. When a majority of the workers stand together their mind, muscles and skill will create all the good things of life, and their class-conscious solidarity will allow them to keep all the good things for themselves. You have nothing to lose but your chains and you have a world to gain. Let this be your demand, strikers: *The world for the workers!*

"Russia Did It."

Leaflet issued by Local Seattle of the Socialist Party

Shipyard Workers—You left the shipyards to enforce your demands for higher wages. Without you your employers are helpless. Without you they cannot make one cent of profit—their whole system of robbery has collapsed.

The shipyards are idle; the toilers have withdrawn even though the owners of the yards are still there. Are your masters building ships? No. Without your labor power it would take all the shipyard employers of Seattle and Tacoma working eight hours a day the next thousand years to turn out one ship. Of what use are they in the shipyards?

It is you and you alone who build the ships; you create all the wealth of society today; you make possible the \$75,000 sable coats for millionaires' wives. It is you alone who can build the ships.

They can't build the ships. You can. Why don't you? There are the shipyards; more ships are urgently needed; you alone can build them. If the masters continue their dog-in-the-manger attitude, not able to build the ships themselves and not allowing the workers to, there is only one thing left for you to do.

Take over the management of the shipyards yourselves; make the shipyards your own; make the jobs your own; decide the working conditions yourselves; decide your wages yourselves.

In Russia the masters refused to give their slaves a living wage too. The Russian workers put aside the bosses and their tool, the Russian government, and took over industry in their own interests.

There is only one way out; a nation-wide general strike with its object the overthrow of the present rotten system which produces thousands of millionaires and millions of paupers each year.

The Russians have shown you the way out. What are you going to do about it? You are doomed to wage slavery till you die unless you wake up, realize that you and the boss have not one thing in common, that the employing class must be overthrown, and that you, the workers, must take over the control of your jobs, and through them, the control over your lives instead of offering yourselves up to the masters as a sacrifice six day a week, so that they may coin profits out of your sweat and toil.

A Soviet Republic for Britain!

Introduction

FELLOW workers of Britain, "The air of Europe is quivering with revolution!"

And not alone the air, but the whole land-owning and capital class of this country are quivering with fear at the unforeseen results of the European War. Immediately following the armistice the Prime Minister proclaimed the speedy dissolution of the Government, hoping that in the psychological moment of victory (?) and the resulting disturbance to the public mind, the capitalist class would snatch another victory at the polls. Obtaining a new lease of power they would be enabled to re-establish their system of society on the old basis.

Accordingly they proclaim themselves to be reconstructionists, as if, forsooth, it was some extraneous force that has disrupted their society and not the conscious, deliberate actions of the capitalist ruling class of Europe who, arming their workers to the teeth, let war loose upon their unhappy countries in the struggle for markets for their products and wealth for themselves.

Fellow-workers, what is the society that Mr. Lloyd George and the Coalition Government wish to reconstruct?

It is the capitalist system, the society that produces strikes and lock-outs, unemployment and poverty.

One thing alone can save them and that is the willingness of the workers of Britain to replenish their exhausted coffers.

Fellow workers! shall we sweat and toil for these men—to replace their worn-out machinery and to build up for them their neglected industries?

If so, then within a brief period we shall glut the markets, trade will decline, and unemployment and a beggarly State pittance will be our reward, whilst our masters will be living luxuriously on the wealth we have created for them.

Mr. Lloyd George makes certain glowing proposals, because of "this quivering revolutionary air." His promises of high wages, shorter hours, and increased production are shrieking absurdities. During the war we worked long hours and increased production, and the capitalist class promptly blew our products to smithereens, and called for more.

Judge, then, between the proposals of the Industrial Socialists or Communists and the economic fallacies and plausible rhetoric of Mr. Lloyd George and the Coalition ruling class. On the one hand lies an opportunity for the workers of Britain to emancipate themselves from all the evils that now threaten them, and to form a society of free men and women living in their own land and enjoying the fruits of their industry in comfort and leisure.

On the other hand—capitalist employment and all that it means to the working class—social degradation, poverty, and economic servitude.

Choose, then, fellow workers, the choice is here and now.

State, Guild and Industrial Socialism

The Socialists of Britain have three schools of thought. The State, the Guild, and the Industrial Socialists. The State and Guild Socialists base their ideas on the economics of the capitalist system. The Industrial Socialists frame their future society on the economics of Karl Marx.

The State Socialists declare that the State must control industry, that the private employer shall be eliminated or given a maximum of profit, and that the workers shall be suitably clothed, fed, and sheltered.

The Guild Socialists divide society into three categories, the State, the Consumer, and the Guilds. The latter are subdivided into Guilds of Industries, deciding their own conditions of labour and wages, whilst the prices of their products are fixed by consultation and agreement between themselves, the State and the consumer, the State acting as a sort of referee or arbitrator. The whole machinery of production and distribution is leased to the Guilds by the State, and part of their profits provide for its upkeep and administration, the remainder belongs to the Guild producing them.

Both State and Guild Socialists are putting the new wine of Socialism into old capitalist bottles. They declare that under Socialism goods will be produced for the market for profit, and wages will be paid to the workers. Profit and wages mean capital, whether owned by State or Guild or private capitalist.

Both State and Guild Socialists assume a clashing of interests between consumer and producer. Their minds are still in the class ruled capitalist system, with its strikes and lock-outs and the haggling of the markets. What do they mean by the State? They mean that the direction of the whole economic problem shall

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be in the hands of an over-bearing class of State officials living on the workers' backs.

The State and its administration for the bureaucratic class; industrial labour for the working class. That is the finality of State and Guild Socialism.

Industrial Socialism or Communism

The Industrial Socialists or Communists declare that in order to emancipate themselves the working class must abolish the entire capitalist system of production, distribution and exchange. With it will disappear the capitalist State and the division of society into classes. The new society will be a Co-operative Commonwealth, wherein the land and the means of production and distribution will be controlled by, and on behalf of, the whole of the people by the democratic vote of all its adult members. The production of goods will be for their use-value for consumption, and their distribution on the basis of social and economic equality.

These are the objectives of the Co-operative Commonwealth: Within industry to increase production in order to give ample leisure to all its members for the enjoyment of life, and to further their intellectual development.

Each adult member of the Co-operative Commonwealth functions as a co-controller of its society and as a co-worker in its industries.

The control of the Co-operative Commonwealth is by the democratic vote of its adult members.

The Parliamentary vote is not a democratic franchise. As a capitalist institution Parliament is purely a law-making machine to keep the working class in subjection and to adapt capitalist society to any new environment—or situation—brought about by one development of the capitalist mode of production. The working-class electors by their votes hand over complete power to their masters who are also in possession of the means of production. Accordingly, within Parliament, the capitalist class adjusts and controls capitalist society in its own interests. At the same time by softening the economic hardships inflicted on the workers by what it terms reform legislation, the workers are deceived into the belief that Parliament, by its remedial legislation will relieve them ultimately of all the social evils that capitalism inflicts upon them. However essential Parliament is to the capitalist class, it is unnecessary in a society where all men and women are socially and economically equal. Within the Co-operative Commonwealth there is no class to dominate and exploit.

A democratic franchise is a vote by which every holder has a direct control over the whole social order of production, distribution, and administration. Within the Co-operative Commonwealth, in place of a central legislating body whose legislation is administered by local bodies, the whole social order must be decentralised and local councils elected. These councils, linked together, formulate their demands which are executed by a central body under their direct control. In other words the Co-operative Commonwealth is a Republic of Soviets or Communal Councils.

The Communes in Britain would comprise areas approximating to the Parliamentary constituencies.

Every adult member of 21 years possess the vote on a residential qualification.

Each Commune elects a Communal Council to deal with its wants. Also each Commune elects one of its members to a Communal District Council whose area of administration is determined by dividing Britain into ten Communal Districts.

The members of each Communal District elect two representatives to an Executive Council.

Each Commune elects a representative to the Communal Congress.

Accordingly by direct Communal vote there results:

About 800 Communal Councils.
Ten District Councils.
One Executive Council.
One Communal Congress.

The functions of these Councils are as follows:
The Communal Councils are concerned with distribution.

The District Councils with supply.
The Central Executive with centralised production and supply, and also functions as the Executive of the Communal will as expressed by the Communal Congress.

The Communal Congress decides upon all matters, relative to the united Communes, that is all questions concerning the social and industrial relations of the members of the Co-operative Commonwealth and their relations with the inhabitants of other territories.

The detailed work of these Councils is concerned

with the sub-divisions into which the life of the Commune is divided.

These sub-divisions are:—

(a) The ordered demand of the Communes to satisfy their wants.

(b) The methods of production and distribution.

The Communal Councils form Departments of Supply, Labour, Public Health and Sanitation.

The Department of Supply is concerned with the distribution of food, clothing, house accommodation, fuel, light, water, and all the products of industry necessary to the life of the Communes.

This department is sub-divided into its essential divisions.

The Department of Labour is concerned with the distribution of the labour available in each Commune.

The Department of Public Health and Sanitation concerns itself with all methods for the preservation of public health.

The District Councils form corresponding departments, and in addition form Departments of Roads, Transport, and Communication.

The Central Executive forms Central Departments for the Production and Supply of all essentials to Communal life. These Central Departments form the link between the Industries and the Communes.

The actual working of these Councils would be somewhat on these lines: The Communal Departments of Distribution would affect the details through the Communal Depots to the members of the Commune. The supply to the depots from the Communal warehouses would be by requisition to the corresponding Communal Departments. The latter would obtain their supplies through the Communal District Supply Departments who would tabulate and submit their requirements from time to time to the Central Supply Departments.

The Central Departments would also tabulate the immediate and future wants of the Communes, and give the necessary orders to the various Communal Industries for a supply of their products. They would also act as Supply Departments to distribute raw material and labour to the industries as required.

Just as the great armies of militarist Europe have been supplied with the essentials from the centralised control of the munitions of war through the various departments and sub-divisions of Army Supply and Transport, in order that each unit of the armies shall be supplied with food, clothing, arms, etc., so will the men, women, and children of the Communes be supplied from the Communal Industries through the Communal Departments of Supply and Distribution—only with this difference that they will be supplied according to their expressed wants and not according to the will of bureaucrats and army generals.

The Methods of Production and Distribution

The next step is to discuss the second sub-division.

(b) The methods of production and distribution upon the basis of economic equality.

Let us turn for a moment to the capitalist system of the production of commodities. Raw material enters the factory and is operated upon by the labour of the workers with the aid of machinery. The resulting product is sold either directly to the consumer or usually to a middleman who disposes of the goods through the usual trade channels. The price of the commodity is determined by the value of the average socially necessary labour embodied in its reproduction, but usually fluctuates above or below that value according to demand and supply. The owner of capital determines his profit by the difference between the cost of production of his commodity and the price realised by its sale. He determines his cost of production as follows:

Cost of raw materials and depreciation of machinery and rent and repair of factory and administration expenses and cost of distribution, i. e., carriage, advertisements, etc., and wages paid to workers.

The difference is his profit or the surplus value extracted from his workers. For in this cost of production no new values are created in the first five items. These values have already been created by other labour. Therefore the only source of his profit is the difference between the price realised for his product and the price paid to his producing workers for the hire of their labour power. He can increase his profit therefore by three methods: 1st by increasing the length of the working day; 2nd by a reduction in wages; 3rd by increasing the productivity of his workers.

Within the Co-operative Commonwealth the rent of land and the extraction of surplus value is abolished. But the Communal Industries must still produce surplus products over and above those essential to the needs of the producing workers. Therefore it is possible at this period in Capitalist Society to

tain and if possible increase its productivity, and also to establish economic equality by the adoption of some simple method, whereby each Communal member can freely interpret his or her needs?

Turning again to Capitalist Society we find the greatest difficulty of the capitalist is to dispose of his products. This difficulty of finding markets is due to the enormous ratio between the surplus exchange value and of the products produced by the producing workers, and the exchange value paid to them as wages. In other words, not only are the producing workers unable to purchase but a small amount of the products of their labour, but the whole of capitalist society, with its millions of parasites, State officials, armies, navies, and non-producing wage workers, cannot absorb the product. Thereupon stagnation of trade and unemployment results until the glutted markets are relieved of the surplus.

Should anyone still be doubtful of the capabilities of man to produce under modern conditions, let him reflect upon the fact that for at least three years of the European War three-fourths of the populations of capitalist Europe, Great Britain, and America were engaged either as workers in the organized production of munitions of war or as combatants organized to consume them. Let him reflect upon the enormous masses of wealth produced by labour and literally thrown away in that mad struggle between the contesting ruling classes, and he will doubt no longer that within the Co-operative Commonwealth wealth can be made to flow like water!

Therefore, taking into consideration the productivity of man only as it is to-day, and also seeing that during the transitional period of the abolition of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism a definite standard of subsistence based on capitalist values and a definite number of working hours must be established, we are justified in stating that the following conditions could at once be adopted and would provide for the immediate needs of the whole population.

(1) A working day of six hours. i. e., 36 hours per week.

(2) A subsistence grant to all adults, represented in capitalistic values, of 7 pounds (\$34) per week.

And in addition a sliding scale of subsistence grants to the parents of children up to five, ten, and fifteen years respectively, and a subsistence grant to both sexes over fifteen and under 21 years of age.

The equalised standard of subsistence is reckoned in capitalist values for these reasons:

1st—It is essential that all individuals shall be able to gratify their wishes in realising the use value of the products of industry. Thus the progress of invention is unretarded and the human mind so varied in its likes and dislikes, is not compelled to adapt itself to some uncongenial environment of food, clothing and shelter, whose finality of horror is that determined by the capitalist class for the producers of their wealth. Accordingly it is necessary—at any rate during the transitional period—to fix a distributive value on the product, based on the cost of production in labour time from the source of the raw material to the finished product. Eliminating from this cost the expenses of transport and administration, the cost of production would be:—Raw materials and depreciation and repair of machinery, tools, etc., and factory and subsistence grant to workers of £7 per week of 36 hours labour.

2nd—The whole of the surplus products of the Communal Industries would be available to support those workers who will function as factors in distribution and the public services, the aged, infirm and sick, and the maintenance and education of the rising generation.

It must also be remembered that large numbers of non-producing workers, who do not function in production or distribution under capitalism, yet are fed, clothed and sheltered will, within Communism, be absorbed into its industrial life.

Taking all the foregoing factors into consideration, the production of the communal industries would be increased fourfold as compared with Capitalism, and the proposed subsistence grant of £7 per week would have a corresponding distributive value reckoned in capitalist terms of at least an income of £700 per annum to every adult member of the community.

Distribution of Currency Notes

The subsistence grants would be in distributive notes of decimal values or of the present monetary system. As already pointed out their use would enable each communal member to acquire any desired product, and also enable the Communal Industries to place a cost of production on their products. The cost of production value would also enable the Central Departments to arrange the necessary credits for the importation of goods of foreign origin and the exportation of certain surplus products of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The wives and mothers of families (who would also receive the subsistence grants of their children), the

aged, infirm and sick would receive these distributive notes from the Communal Note Department.

The adult workers would obtain them from these departments upon presentation of a voucher received from their units of industry.

These notes do not function as money. Under Communism, goods are not produced for sale, but for consumption, therefore the communal distributive notes do not represent exchange values but distributive values.

The Communal Industries

By industry is meant the entire work of the Commune essential to its existence.

Each unit of industry, factory, mine, workshop, agricultural district, fisheries, etc., would be managed in the communal interests by a workers' committee appointed by the workers within that unit.

Each division of industry appoints a Council elected by its workers for the following purposes:—

1st—To apportion the orders received from the Central Supply Departments amongst the units of that industry according to their capacity for production.

2nd—To requisition the necessary labour for each unit according to its requirements from the Central Labour Department, who in turn requisition the District Councils and in turn the Communes.

3rd—To safeguard the workers' lives and health.

4th—To manage the Industrial Colleges founded for education and research work, and invention in their industry.

The Proletarian Dictatorship

We turn from the discussion of the principles and methods of the Soviet Republic to an equally important subject, viz., the ways and means of getting it.

The present position of the working-class is as follows:—

Politically they are ruled by the mechanism of law and order established by Capitalist Society for that purpose.

Economically, owning neither land nor capital they market and accept the wages and conditions imposed by its fluctuations.

With the exception of certain "Labour" Members of Parliament, who take their seats and impotently await the proposals and legislation of their masters, with the exception of their Trade Union fights with the employing class (fought singly, and either beaten in detail or getting concessions granted which have not in any way interrupted capitalist progression), the working class has never yet, as a class, attempted the fight, not merely against the capitalist, but against the system that produces him.

With the downfall of the ruling classes of Russia and the Central Empires, their position to-day is even more perilous than at any time during the war. Obviously the Government could not prolong its existence for another two or three years, its plea of national necessity existing no longer. Yet the economic problems created by the war could not wait, and the possibility of a Parliamentary election occurring at a period when these problems had become acute has compelled the oligarchy to act even against the advice of some of its most faithful adherents.

They accordingly dissolved Parliament, and selecting their nominees under the label of Coalition, they calmly inform the working class that these protectors of the rights and liberties of democracy await their franchise!

Their objective is evident. By hook or crook the oligarchy is determined to control political power. In doing so it is compelled to show openly at last that Capitalist Society is governed and controlled by a small ring of very wealthy capitalists who govern through a Capitalist Dictatorship in the interests of capital and not by the democratic votes of the people of Britain.

Yet, in order to establish a Soviet Republic, it is essential for the working-class to possess the political control over society that will enable it to abolish the capitalist mode of production. In other words the working-class must become the ruling class, and through a period of time—the transitional period—sufficient to establish firmly social and economic equality, it must function as a Proletarian Dictatorship over the whole of society and bend it to its will.

At present, at any rate, the capture of Parliament is impossible, for the working-class have no Parliamentary organization and the oligarchy will use every method to delay its formation; nor can Industrial Socialists, if elected, do anything: completely under their domination, Parliament acts and reacts solely to the will of the oligarchy, who directed its legislation.

Also it has been shown that Parliament will not function within the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Accordingly, to bring about a Proletarian Dictatorship, the working-class must form its own political machine on the same basis upon which it will form the Co-operative Commonwealth, viz., the administration of industry.

There is another factor in the present situation.

Millions of the workers have been conscripted, and although regarded by their masters as future industrial workers, they are still organised as part of the capitalist military machine. As members of the working-class, they function in its political machinery, not as workers in industry, but as soldiers of the army.

Therefore, the methods to be adopted by the workers of Britain in their struggle for emancipation is that adopted by the revolutionary proletariat of Europe.

The Formation of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils

These Councils have two objectives. The first is to construct the machinery for the control of industry; the second is to function as the masters of society.

The Workers' Councils have their embryos in the Shop Steward Movement and the Industrial Unionists Societies.

They can be formed as follows:—

The workers in each industrial unit of workshop, mine, agricultural district, etc., form a Workers' Committee. From these committees and Socialist organizations and committees of unemployed workers of a locality, say a Parliamentary constituency, is formed a Workers' Council, and from this Council delegates are elected to a District Council and Industrial Executive.

The soldiers form their Councils similarly within their units. Wherever situated they consult with the Workers' Councils, and the methods and details for taking over the control of society are discussed and adopted.

Throughout the whole of industry, throughout the ranks of the armies, the workers perceive that the war has shaken the pillars of Capitalist Society to its foundations. Faced with the economic chaos resulting from the transference of State-controlled industries producing munitions of war, to the capitalist industry producing goods for the market, the working class already perceives in the near distance the spectre of poverty which will presently stalk through their ranks. The capitalist oligarchy seek to reorganize their system. Compelled by the exigencies of the war to centralize the control of industry, they have so developed the means of production that it threatens to overwhelm them: either through the lack of raw materials, as at present, or later on, through the immense mass of products they will throw on the markets.

What are their chief proposals to their workers? To return to the old methods of peasant holdings and allotments, thus chaining up the worker to a pitiful existence on the land, and incidentally providing cheap labor for the capitalist farmer, whilst within the industrial cities the glut on the markets is to be met by beggarly pittances of State relief to the unemployed worker.

These are the measures they propose at a time in the history of mankind when his knowledge of production can make wealth to flow like water!

Truly the capitalist class is bankrupt in intelligence and ideas. Their further control of society is inimical to its fullest welfare. As a ruling class they are obsolete. They must step aside and accept the new condition produced by the means of production.

The working class alone can solve the economic problem. In their ranks are the skill, technique, and ability for organization which shall cause the machinery of production to work smoothly for the benefit of every member of society. Prevented by their position as an exploited class from competing in the mad struggle for individual gain, they have not the lust for wealth and power which is so marked a trait of the capitalist class. Society is safe within their dictatorship. With the downfall of capitalism the necessity for exploiting new markets and new lands exists no longer. Thus the long series of wars and the conflicts of dynasties and peoples come to an end and mankind enters into a new and glorious era.

The capitalist class accuses the Communists of fomenting industrial discontent and class warfare. It is true, the Communists everywhere endeavour to show their fellow workers their true position in society. What the capitalists really desire is that they, as a class, should dominate society, whilst their passive, obedient wage-slaves produce their wealth and humbly receive the crumbs that fall from their tables.

Accordingly, they conspire to continue their domination. Meanwhile their press brazenly affirms that of all societies, capitalism alone is the best and the only possible.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their aims." They openly declare that only the abolition of Capitalism will end the poverty and degradation of the working class.

Workers and Soldiers of Britain: form your councils!

Let your watchwords be:
Social and economic equality! The land and the instruments of production for the people!

A Soviet Republic for Britain!
All power to the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils!

The Character of the Russian Revolution

THE first anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution of November 7, 1917, was celebrated universally in Russia. Prior to and during the course of the celebrations a flood of inquiries poured in to the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks) for information and suggestions concerning the character of the event and the phases that should be emphasized. The Bolshevik Revolution was an historical event of enormous importance, and its character still a matter of discussion. The Regional Committee, accordingly, worked out a summary of the points to emphasize in speaking and writing about that great proletarian event. *The Revolutionary Age* re-prints this document as of interest to all workers and Socialists:

1—An Historical Survey of the Bolshevik Revolution

A preliminary outline of the character of the Revolution of March, 1917: 1) characterize the activity of the first Provisional Government (Lvov-Milyukov) as well as the Coalition Government (Kerensky) as bourgeois in composition and policy, emphasizing the attempts of these governments to degrade the Revolution to their imperialistic aims—the great demonstration of May 2-3 against the imperialistic policy of the Government and Milyukov, and the offensive of July 1; discuss the international character of the Revolution as indicated in the declaration of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's Delegates, March 27, 1917, calling upon the international proletariat to struggle for peace and against Imperialism.

2) The land question and the labor question (peasantry and proletariat) were questions identified with general economic problems; emphasize the utter refusal of the Provisional Government to act on the demands of the workers and peasants—the bourgeois sabotaging production to starve the Revolution, the Government arresting land-committees of the peasants which seized the lands, etc.

3) The different parties in the March Revolution—the counter-revolutionary character of the bourgeois parties (Cadets, etc.), the treason of the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists who accepted the bourgeois government and a bourgeois policy; the revolutionary consistency of the Bolshevik policy, which on all issues pursued a revolutionary course.

4) The events of July, 1917, as marking a turning point in the development of the Russian Revolution—the offensive of July 1, to restore discipline in the army and placate the Allies; the mass demonstrations of July 16-17, the Government's use of troops and counter-revolutionary gangs against the workers, and the measures of repression used against the revolutionary masses; the reactionary sweep after July: the Moscow Conference, at which the bourgeois reaction and the counter-revolutionary generals dominated;

From the Moscow Pravda, October 28, 1918

the plot of Kornilov: the surrender of Riga to the Germans by Kornilov to frighten the Revolution, Kornilov's rebellion and his campaign against Petrograd; the Democratic Congress and the Preliminary Parliament—all these events were, on the one hand, an open organization and campaign of the counter-revolution against the workers and peasants, and, on the other, a growth toward the Revolution of November 7 under the slogan, "All power to the Soviets." During this critical period the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionary party were openly allied with the counter-revolution.

5) The November Revolution—the organization in Petrograd of the Military Revolutionary Committee; the uprising of the masses and the overthrow of the government of Kerensky; the sessions of the second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workmen, Peasants and Soldiers, and the heroic struggle of the workmen and soldiers against the counter-revolution.

6) The Congress decreeing all power to the Soviets; the organization of a revolutionary Government, the Council of People's Commissaires, the decrees giving the land to the peasants, on peace, and on workmen's control of industry; the struggle for peace (Brest-Litovsk negotiations); the Constituent Assembly, an organ of bourgeois power and against the workmen's and peasants' revolution, and its dissolution by the Council of People's Commissaires; the acceptance of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, as a means of securing a respite for reorganization, and the struggle of revolutionary propaganda against German Imperialism.

7) The November Revolution in the Ukraine and the Don, its defeat there owing to the bourgeois alliance with international Imperialism.

8) The *intelligentsia's* sabotage and its opposition to the proletarian revolution, proof of its being a petty bourgeois counter-revolutionary group chained to the interests of capitalist society.

9) The subsequent events and tactics of the left Social-Revolutionists (uprising in July, 1918) characterize them as a petty bourgeois party, and their tactics as counter-revolutionary. Intervention and the Czecho-Slovaks.

10) The fundamental decrees issued by the Soviet Government, measures to restore the country, place all power in the masses, and develop communist Socialism.

2—The Achievements of the November Revolution

1) The November (Bolshevik) Revolution is a Socialist Revolution which placed the land and the factories, and all state power, in the hands of the toilers. The substance of the Soviet decrees as Socialist

measures to realize the emancipation of the working class and realize communism. The organizations and institutions established through the November Revolution as means of realizing mass emancipation, and the contrast in the position of the toilers before and after the Bolshevik Revolution.

2) The basic principles of the Declaration of the Rights of the Toilers and the constitution of the Soviet Republic as expressing the movement for emancipation.

3—The Significance of the Bolshevik Revolution for the International Proletarian Movement

1) The November Revolution in Russia has been a stimulus to the workers in other nations, awakening them and putting before them the issue of the destruction of Capitalism and war as a immediate problem.

2) The Bolshevik Revolution prepared the way for the organization of the Third International, the International of Revolutionary Socialism, and this marks the beginning of the end of Capitalism and Imperialism.

3) The development of the proletarian revolution in the West and the oppositional, counter-revolutionary attitude of the imperialists of all countries toward Soviet Russia is convincing proof of the great influence of our Revolution on the workers of the world.

4—Our New Problems and the Conditions of their Realization

1) The main problem—organizing the defense of Soviet Russia against international Imperialism. It is necessary to form a mighty Red Army, and to organize aid for the workers of the West in their developing revolutionary act on against the imperialistic war and against Imperialism.

2) The conditions necessary to realize this fundamental task are, among others: completing the organization of the whole economic life on Socialist principles, unity of the workmen and poorer peasants, military training for all toilers, continuing the relentless struggle against the bourgeoisie and for an iron dictatorship of the proletariat.

3) Finally, it is necessary to point out that our ultimate goal—Communism—can be realized only on conditions that the international proletariat revolution shall triumph, or have begun to triumph.

Accordingly, all for the world Revolution!

In all their speeches the comrade-agitators must point out the influence of the imperialistic war on the origin and progress of the Bolshevik Revolution.

In proposing this plan to the comrade-agitators, the Regional Committee at the same time considers it necessary that the local organizations shall define the celebrations and the character of the slogans.

Soviet Russia Speaks to Britain

IN order to obtain the consent of the workers of Britain to the unwarranted act of aggression against us, your Government gives the following as their reasons for landing troops in our country:

1. That they have come to stamp out anarchy and restore order.

It is not true. Your Government and the French Government are themselves responsible for what disorder there is in Russia. Ever since the Revolution the agents of the French and British Governments have been conspiring with the counter-revolutionaries, giving them moral encouragement and financial assistance for the purpose of undermining the power of our Workmen's Government and to bring about its downfall. Your Government and the French Government are co-operating with the Czecho-Slovaks, who have blocked the access to our food supplies. The serious food shortage in our country is aggravating the disorganization. If there is disorder your Governments are responsible for it. Remember when a capitalist Government enters a country where there has been a revolution for the purpose of restoring "order," it always means that they intend to crush the Revolution. That is what the German Government did in Poland, in the Ukraine, in the Baltic Provinces, and in Finland. That is what your Government wants to do in Russia. They do not want to restore order. They want to restore the Czar.

2. That they have come to help the Russian people.

In the first place is it helping to bring war amongst a people already exhausted by war? We do not want war. We want peace. We want to be left alone to consolidate the gains of our Revolution, to reorganize

[A copy of a leaflet, printed in English, dropped over the British lines on the Vologda Front, by Bolshevik aeroplane. Like leaflets are also printed in French, Italian, Russian, and even Japanese.]

our social and economic life in such a manner to secure to the workers the products of their labor. Your Government is not helping to do this. It has sent you here to prevent our doing it. Your Government is co-operating with the Czecho-Slovaks, who are suppressing the workers wherever they go. In Samara the workers obtained an eight-hour day. It has been abolished. All working-class organizations, Trades Unions, and such like are suppressed. Wherever the Czecho-Slovaks go they suppress our Workmen's Councils, and establish in their stead an oligarchy of speculators, capitalists, and ex-Czar officers. Your Government will use you to do the same in North and Central Russia. If your Government wanted to help the Russian people it would recognize the Soviet Government of the Workers and Peasants and assist us to reorganize our railways and industries. We, in fact, invited your Government to enter into business relations with us that would have been to our mutual advantage. But your Government made no reply. No—your Government does not want to help the Russian people. It is helping to fasten the yoke of capitalism and Czarism on them again.

3. That the Allied invasion of Russia is welcomed by the Russian people.

It is not true. Who is welcoming your landing? A few starving peasants, whom your Government bribed with promises of food. These poor people are not glad to see you. They are only eager for the food

they hope you will bring. Who else is welcoming you? The ex-landlords of Russia, who are expecting you to restore to them the land, forests, and mines which are now the property of the whole Russian people. The Capitalists, who want you to overthrow our Workmen's Governments and compel us to become their wage slaves again. The chinovniks, the ex-officials of the Czarist Government, who want you to restore to them their soft jobs, to resume their old game of bribery and corruption for which Russia in the past was notorious. Yes, this crowd, with their hangers-on, are very pleased to see you here. They will flatter you and make a fuss of you; all the while they have a supreme contempt for you, for you are only working men whom they are using as their tools. The Russian commander at your head, General Gurko is a reactionary of the worst description. He was arrested by Kerensky for his monarchist propaganda. The agents of your Government helped him to escape. His only object in joining you is to use you to restore the Czar.

Comrades! Do not put your trust in this reactionary gang. Do not permit yourselves to be used as the tools of the enemies of liberty. Never let the shameful thing be said that the English workers permitted themselves to be used to crush the Russian Revolution.

Fellow workers! Be loyal to your class and refuse to do the dirty work of your masters.

(Signed) LENIN. President of the Council of Peoples' Commissaires.

(Signed) TCHITCHERIN. Peoples' Commissaire of Foreign Affairs.

The Holy Trinity of Capital

By Nicholas I. Hourwich

"**H**OLY TRINITY"—these are the three conferences now being held in Europe: in Paris, the "peace conference," the "international" social-patriotic congress at Berne, Switzerland, and the German National Assembly. To a certain extent an equality can be traced among these three parties: they compose an actual "trinity," for they have, as a matter of fact, gathered to work for a common cause—to save capitalist society and its "foundations" from the coming "red-Bolshevist" menace. The whole bourgeois world looks to them as its only salvation, but, alas, each one of them is destined to become a grave of all these hopes and strivings.

Take, for instance, one of the conferences—the Paris peace conference. Here is gathered the very "cream" and pride of the whole bourgeois diplomatic world—brilliant speakers whose hair has grown gray in the political struggle, adroit diplomats and learned professors. Great importance was attached to this conference. So many hopes were centered on it. With deep interest its sessions were anticipated. It really promised to become the "centre of the world's attention."

Now that it has gathered, great God, what bitter disappointment at the very beginning! With all the pomposity and solemnity attending it, with all the apparent importance of the questions under discussion, the sessions of the conference are pale, monotonous and gray, less interesting and provocative of a greater amount of yawning than even the sessions of the American Congress. . . . It seems as though the delegates themselves have no faith in the measures they are trying to carry into life.

They obviously feel that they are deciding matters without the presence of the "master" and that when this "master" shall become audible, all their plans and rainbow dreams will come to nought, hence the paleness and absence of fire in their speeches, and the wavering and uncertainty of their decisions. The Paris conference "has died before it reached maturity." It has not succeeded in diverting the attention of the peoples from that sole corner,—oasis on the earth's globe, where the fire of the hope of all toilers really burns,—the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic. Still less hope is there that the conference can carry out its main task—to strengthen the foundations of the decaying capitalist society, which is already creaking in all directions. . . .

And, as though in revenge for the fact that they have not succeeded in "astonishing the world" and "set fire to the waters," the representatives of all bourgeois powers now gathered in Paris have begun to quarrel among themselves over the straightening out of accounts, thereby still more increasing the universal hopelessness of the "international situation."

No less sadder and hopeless to the bourgeois eye—

though to the proletariat, fighting for its emancipation, more contemptible and repulsive—is the picture of the congress of the social-traitors of all countries now in session at Berne. This congress was called with the obvious and only purpose of strengthening the position

Withdraw from Berne!

Resolution adopted by the General Conference of the Central Executive Committees of the Russian, Lettish, Ukrainian, Esthonian and Lithuanian Federations of the American Socialist Party, February 9, 1919.

The so-called International Socialist Congress, apparently called upon the initiative of the social-patriotic "Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference," accepted by Camille Huysmans, secretary of the defunct International, and now in session at Berne, is a counter-revolutionary Congress of "Socialists" most of whom during the war supported their imperialistic government.

The Berne Congress has denied participation to the Communist Party of Russia (Bolshevik) and the Communist Labor Party of Germany (Spartacans), and is itself repudiated by these two organizations of revolutionary Socialism.

The Berne Congress, moreover, is repudiated by the Italian Socialist Party, the Swiss Socialist Party, and by revolutionary Socialism everywhere; it harbors elements violently opposed to the Bolsheviks; it favors a bourgeois League of Nations, instead of a Socialist League of revolutionary nations; it is promoting a fraudulent bourgeois democracy instead of the proletarian revolution; it favors a Wilson peace of phrases instead of a Lenin peace of revolutionary deeds; it is a vipers' nest of social-patriots and betrayers of Socialism.

The Socialist Party of the United States, by participating in this Congress of the great betrayal, stultifies itself; abandons the revolutionary implications of the St. Louis resolution on the war; and acts directly against the proletarian revolution in Russia and in Germany, and against the developing world revolution.

Be it therefore, resolved:

1.—That the Socialist Party shall refuse to participate in the Berne Congress; we demand the immediate withdrawal of the credentials issued to John M. Work, Algernon Lee and James Oneal.

2.—We demand that our party participate only in a Congress in which participate the Communist Party in Russia and the Communist Labor Party of Germany, who in their revolutionary deeds express the policy of real Socialism and the New International.

3.—We demand an immediate emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party to discuss these and other vital problems, and to draw the party together for the revolutionary struggle which is coming—which is here.

of social-patriotism and opportunism in all countries and of attempting to win back the lost confidence of the workers thus saving them from the "contamination" of Bolshevism. This congress had to enact a

"motion picture" of the confidence which the working masses and the Socialists are alleged to feel towards the gathering in session at Paris and its "child" the league of nations (which is to all appearances not destined to be born at all).

Instead, however, of the touching enactment of an act of "reconciliation of classes," the Berne conference began with quarrelling and the flinging of mutual accusations by these "Socialists of the home pot"—quarrelling and recriminations which only add a still greater degeneration of social-patriotism in the eyes of the working masses. True, all these "veterans" and "leaders" of the Second "International," becoming wiser, tried to "reconcile" matters and conclude temporarily some sort of a compromise. The vocabulary of these sham-internationalists, previously rich with such words as "enemy," "enemy country," changed over night to words more appropriate to the occasion, but the general picture remained unchanged. The reconciliation became a failure because the language of these Berne delegates is not that of International Socialism but the vulgar language of nationalism and patriotism. On all participants in this congress lies the mark of Cain, the mark of social-treason. . . .

With the same object of saving the German bourgeoisie and with it the world bourgeoisie from the growing proletarian wave the German National Assembly was gathered at Weimar. The German bourgeoisie and its henchmen succeeded in triumphing over the German working class. The national assembly is not dissolved. In it the German bourgeoisie will get back all its rights which were lost during the revolution. The working class in the person of the Central Executive Committee now holding sessions at Berlin, not only does not protest, but even with a touching thoughtfulness declares its readiness to lay down its authority to the "all national" institution,—thereby again giving proof to the correctness of our assumption that not every Soviet, but only Soviets sharing the view of the principle of dictatorship of the proletariat, is the real exponent of the interests of the workers in their fight for liberation.

All things show apparently the success of the German bourgeoisie. Here, on the Weimar national assembly the sad eye of the world bourgeoisie can rest. But, alas! even on the apparently calm German horizon oftener and oftener begins to flare up lightning announcing the coming of a storm. In this "new storm" the working class of Germany will correct all its past errors. And this "new storm" is not a good omen for the German bourgeoisie. . . .

The three "strategic points" of the world bourgeoisie—Paris, Berne and Weimar—with historical inevitableness are destined to become the three grave crosses in the cemetery of world capitalism.

The Bolsheviks Repudiate the Berne Congress

THE Central Committee of the Russian Communist (Bolshevik) Party in a manifesto on the proposal to call together an International Conference at Lausanne declares that the project cannot be considered even as an attempt to revive the Second International. The latter ceased to exist during the first days of August, 1914, when the representatives of the majority of nearly all the Socialist parties passed over into the ranks of their Imperialist Governments. The attempts made to revive this International, for which agitation has been carried on in all countries throughout the war, emanated from elements standing mid-way, which, whilst not recognizing openly Imperialist Socialism, nevertheless had no idea of creating a third revolutionary International. The attempts made to go back to the pre-war situation regarding the labor movement crashed against the Imperialist policy of the official parties which could not at that time admit the appearance of an attempt to restore the International, fearing, as they did, that this might tend to weaken the war policy of the Government and the working class working in unison. To counteract these attempts the Imperialist Socialist parties undertook to change the conditions of representation of the national sections in the old International. The last so-called inter-Allied conferences in the Entente countries made it clear that this change had been effected. Great Britain was represented by a motley organization in which the Socialist parties could play no direct role. Italy was represented by men whose party never before belonged to the International and whose presence compelled the absence of the official Italian Socialist Party. America was represented by Gompers representing associations which never had anything to do with the Socialists.

As against the International of traitors and coun-

ter-revolutionaries organizing themselves for the purpose of forming leagues against the proletarian revolutions the world over, the Communists of all countries must rapidly close their ranks around the third International—already, in fact, existing. This third International has nothing in common with the avowed Socialist Imperialists or with the pseudo-revolutionary Socialists, who in reality support the former when they refuse to break with them and who do not recoil

against participation in the conferences of falsely called Socialists. The Russian Communist (Bolshevik) Party refuses to take part in these conferences which abuse the name of Socialism. It invites all those who desire that the third Revolutionary International shall live to take the same line; the task of this third International being to hasten the conquest of power by the working class.

The Communist parties of Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, of White Russia, the Ukraine, Poland, and Holland are at one with the Russian Communist Party. The latter also regards as its associates the Spartacus group in Germany, the Communist Party of German Austria and other revolutionary proletarian elements of the countries in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire: the Left Social Democrats of Sweden, the Revolutionary Social Democracy of Switzerland and Italy, the followers of Maclean in England, of Debs in America, of Loriot in France. In their persons the third International which is at the head of the world Revolution already exists.

At the present moment when the Socialist Imperialists of the Entente, who formerly hurled the most violent accusations against Scheidemann, are about to unite with him and to break the power of Socialism in all countries, the Communist Party considers that unity for the World Revolution is an indispensable condition for its success. Its most dangerous enemy now is the Yellow International of the Socialist traitors—thanks to whom Capitalism still succeeds in keeping a considerable portion of the working class under its influence. For the conquest of power by the workers let us carry on an implacable struggle against those who are deceiving them—against the pseudo-Socialist traitors.

Mass Meeting

in

Grand Opera House

Corner of Dover and Washington Streets
Boston, Mass.

Sunday, February 16, 1919
at 2 P. M.

IME KAPLAN

General Secretary Lawrence Strike Committee,
and other prominent speakers

Auspices: Boston Local Socialist Party

ADMISSION FREE