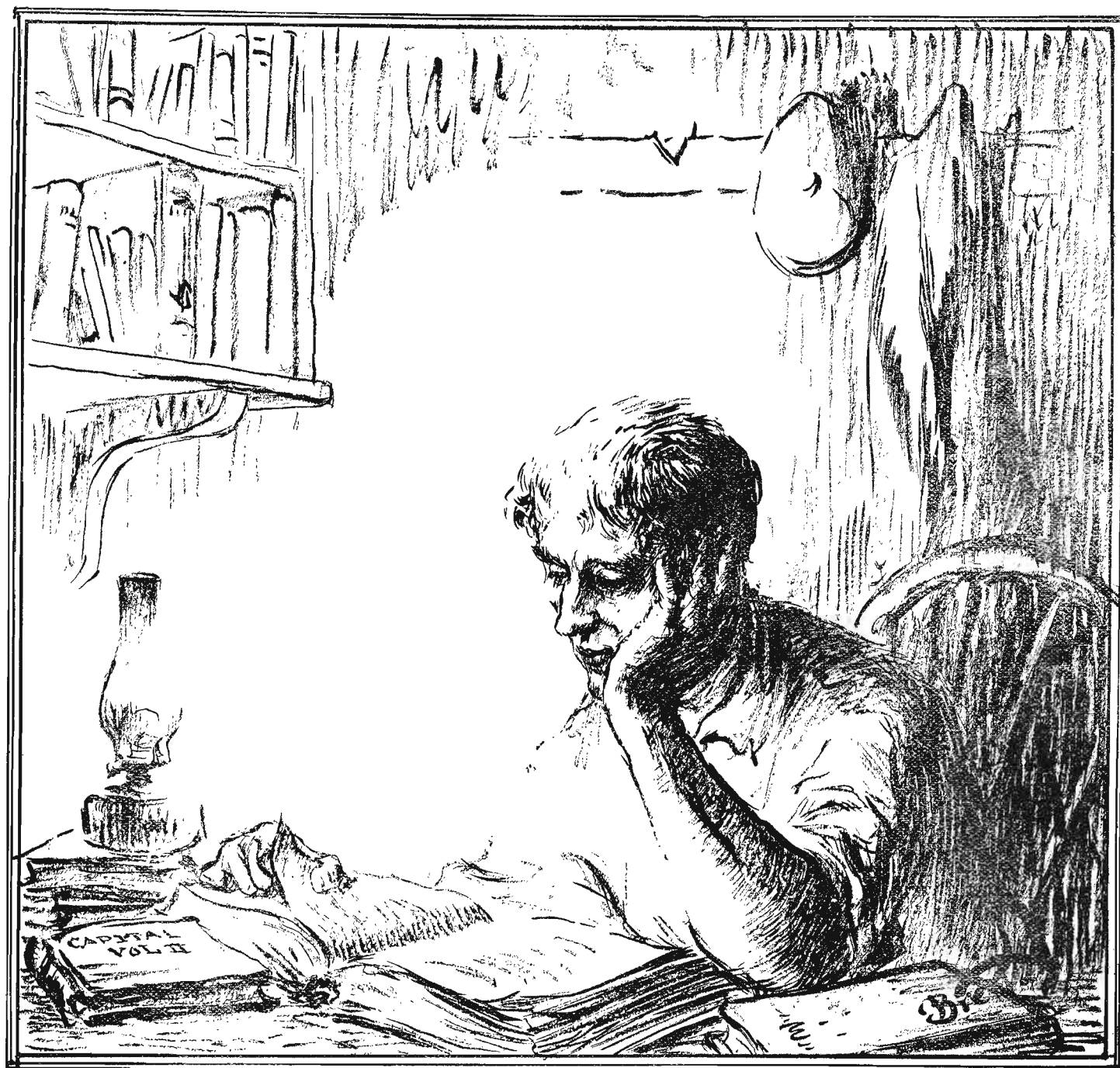




# THE PROLETARIAN



THE FUTURE PREMIER

# THE EDITOR'S CORNER

## Medical Relief for Soviet Russia

In every country directly touched by the great war, hunger, disease and privation have taken their terrible toll. In most instances, the capitalist nations have come to the aid of the suffering. With Russia, however, it has been otherwise. Despite the hardships suffered by the Russian people during the war, despite the indescribable suffering that is going on there now, the capitalist governments of the world have rendered no assistance. On the contrary, they have placed every possible obstacle in the way of the Russian people helping themselves. The criminal blockade of Russia by the Allied Powers has condemned millions of men, women and children to suffer the ravages of starvation and disease. In spite of the fact that the Russian government has at its disposal millions of dollars in gold, it has been prevented by the brutal Allied blockade from purchasing even the simplest medicines. Because of the iron ring the capitalists have placed about Russia, surgical operations are being performed with the crudest of tools. Isaac McBride, who has recently returned from Soviet Russia, tells of seeing Red soldiers forced to suffer the agony of having limbs amputated with an ordinary carpenter's saw, and this without anesthetics to dull the pain. Our Russian comrades have learned how to suffer, and even in the face of these terrible conditions, their first thought is of the workers in other lands.

This situation has grown more critical, and the Soviet government has found it necessary to appeal for help. They make their appeal to those from whom they have a right to expect assistance. Directly to the workers of the world they have called for help, and the workers are answering. In Italy, England, and even in the United States, the workers have responded. Shiploads of medical supplies have been sent to Russia through neutral ports. The Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee of America has already sent two shiploads of supplies. How long will it be before we American workers have another shipload to our credit?

The Russian revolution is the greatest event in the history of the world's workers, AND IT MUST NOT FAIL. If the workers should lose their grip in Russia now, the world revolution would be set back at least half a century. We American workers must see to it that they do not fail because of any lack of help from us. Regardless of party affiliation, regardless of tactical differences, the Russian workers have a right to our unqualified support. They have suffered untold miseries for the emancipation of the workers. Can we do less?

Send contributions to Dr. Wm. Mendelson, secretary of the Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee, 362 De Kalb Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Leisure is more of an end and more worth having than business.—Aristotle.

Some have narrowed their minds, and so fettered them with the chains of antiquity that not only do they refuse to speak save as the ancients spake, but they refuse to think save as the ancients thought.—Savonarola.

## Where Iron Is, There Is The Fatherland

Huebsch, Inc. New York

Gradually, as the fever of the war passes away, information substantiating the theories held by socialists is coming to light. We have always, as socialists, taken the position that "the workers have no country." One of the most serious obstacles that we have to overcome with our propaganda is the patriotism instilled into the minds of the workers.

The extent to which the capitalists themselves are activated by patriotism is shown by this pamphlet, "Where Iron Is, There Is the Fatherland." The far-reaching control of the French Government by the Steel Combine is amply established, and one is driven to the conclusion that the De Wendell family, the heads of the Steel Trust of France, are, in fact, the government. Like an octopus the Steel Combine stretched its tentacles all through the governing machinery, and in reading this book one realizes the truth of Marx's statement that the State is the executive committee of the capitalist class.

Because of the facts contained in the book it is well worth the short time necessary for its perusal, and it should be in the arsenal of every socialist propagandist.

It is unfortunate that someone has not performed a like service in gathering the data on the similar control of the American Government.

(We have a supply of this pamphlet on hand and will be pleased to mail your copy upon receipt of fifty cents.)

The law in its majestic equality forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets and to steal bread.—Anatole France.

The actual miracle of the universe is the Invariableness of Law. Under like conditions a like result must follow, and upon this rock is the faith of the Scientists built.—Alexander Humboldt in "The Cosmos."

## The Proletarian

Published Monthly at  
174 Michigan Avenue  
Detroit, Michigan

The Proletarian is the official paper of the Proletarian Party of America.

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

No advertising matter accepted.  
Make checks and money orders payable to The Proletarian.

# THE PROLETARIAN

Vol. III

OCTOBER, 1920

No. 1

## American Political Parties

By John Keracher

Political parties represent class interests; they may not always agree, however, in methods, nor do they always represent the same phase of class interests.

In "democratic" countries like the United States, the major parties, while representing the capitalist class as a whole, serve the particular interest of some powerful group of capitalists as against the special interests of other capitalist groups. To the superficial observer this is not apparent at first glance, as these parties cling tenaciously to their claim of "representing all the people."

The slogan "Government of the people, for the people, and by the people," no matter how hypocritical, must be upheld by them at all costs. The rule of the majority is the basis upon which all "democratic" government rests. While "rule by the people" is pleasing to the ear, it obscures the fact that the "people" are divided into hostile classes with conflicting economic interests. Although, under our election system, the personnel of the government is in the main chosen by popular vote, it in fact represents the interests of the propertied minority.

It is not our purpose, however, to elaborate the shortcomings of bourgeois democracy, and the parties that espouse its virtues, but rather to examine the present status and tendencies of those parties that frankly avow their class aims and claim to represent the best interests of the American working class.

First, let us take the newly-formed Farmer-Labor Party. This organization represents roughly the political sentiment of the progressive element within the old-line labor unions. Its program is similar to that of the Socialist Party prior to 1914—with the familiar string of reforms and palliatives. Being a party of reformism it does not claim to be socialist, and should be classed as a party of bourgeois-liberalism, and as such a supporter of the present social order.

Let us now turn our attention to the Socialist Party, an organization of incurable opportunism. While proclaiming itself the champion of the exploited proletarians, it resorts to all kinds of opportunism to catch the support of bourgeois liberals; and while proclaiming internationalism and revolution, practices a liberal bourgeois policy and helps to uphold capitalism with reform propaganda of all sorts. The infamous action of the officialdom of this party in expelling nearly 50 per cent of the membership in the spring of 1919 because they showed revolutionary tendencies, brought out clearly its counter-revolutionary nature.

Of the expelled elements three parties have been formed, whose proletarian character and revolutionary tendencies are undeniable. We will try to trace the development of these parties, and to inquire into the points of tactical differences that keep them divided.

The conference of the "Left Wing" of the Socialist Party called to meet in New York City June 21st, 1919, saw the first division in the ranks of those who split into the three parties referred to.

Within the Left Wing Conference itself there were irreconcilable differences of opinion on tactics. The majority of the Conference held to the absurd position of "capturing the Socialist Party for revolutionary socialism," in spite of the fact that those elements that had revolutionary inclinations were already expelled or "suspended." The delegates from the expelled Socialist Party of Michigan had come almost direct from their Emergency State Convention instructed to urge the Conference to join them in the calling of a National Convention to launch a revolutionary party for the purpose of giving expression to the needs of the American proletariat in their struggle for the conquest of state power.

Apart from the fact that the different elements within the Conference could not agree upon a united plan of action in relation to the formation of a new party, there were other strong evidences of dis-unity. The range of opinions expressed varied from reformism to insurrection.

The extreme reformistic and parliamentary opportunistic character of the Socialist Party, from which these groups come, had brought them to the opposite extreme. "Revolutionary mass action" was the new-found all-saving tactic; everything else was relegated to the background. Those who had the temerity to even speak of using parliamentary action were immediately sneered down as "Mensheviks." It required quite an effort to even retain mention of parliament in the program adopted by the Conference.

The marked leaning toward industrial unionism took the form of abusing the A. F. of L. and eulogizing the I. W. W. The reactionary tendencies of the latter organization were glossed over, and those of the A. F. of L. exposed. The Conference was quite incapable of taking a broad view of the labor movement as a whole, and the need for contact with, and the making Communists of, the rank and file of organized labor as such.

The I. W. W. was to be captured. The Socialist Party was to be "captured for revolutionary socialism". In fact "capturing" was the order of the day.

The Michigan group and the Russian delegation, after failing to get the Conference to abandon its capturing policy, withdrew entirely. These two groups then issued a joint call for the organizing of the Communist Party.

The Michigan group of delegates, not being in accord with the strong anti-parliamentary tendencies of the Russians, with whom they acted, agreed to submit to the nature of the call issued by the majority of those present, the understanding being that they would be given an opportunity to fight out the question of tactics on the floor of the National Convention. This decision proved to be a wise choice, as it allowed the Michigan group (included delegates from Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, etc.) to measure their strength and submit their policy and program to the Communist convention as a whole.

The caucus and steam roller methods of the now famous September (1919) Convention, made it impossible for this group of delegates (approximately one fifth of those present) to fully discuss on the floor the principles they upheld. The principles laid down by this group were not refuted then nor since.

After the convention, through the columns of this publication and otherwise, we continued to advocate the use of parliamentary action as a phase of political action; continued to organize and conduct study classes on the writings of Marx and Engels, and continued to carry on revolutionary propaganda, consistent with the economic and social development of America. This led to the separation of the whole group from the Communist Party, thru the action of their Central Executive Committee.

The subsequent developments that have taken place in the movement in this country, especially since the January raids, have driven the Communist parties to their logical outcome, the completion of the route they were traveling—the entire abandonment of parliamentary action.

No one can very well accuse organizations propagating things these organizations do, of not being revolutionary. Theoretically, without a doubt, they are revolutionary. The I. W. W. ignores political action and aims to abolish capitalism, so it too is revolutionary in theory. But when we come to observe more closely the application of their tactics, we find that the I. W. W. program implies the direct seizure of industry, trusting, no doubt, that the armed forces of the State will be so disaffected that they will refuse to interfere with the new "Industrial Republic." a la I. W. W.

The Communist parties do not make the mistake of aiming to abolish the State out of hand, but rather its bourgeois form. They see the need for maintaining proletarian state power. But how to get that power—here in the United States of America—that is the problem before us.

Open contact with the masses, propagandizing the name, principles and objects of the party in their midst, is the most practical way of rallying the support of the working class. It is obvious that this can be done more advantageously through participation in the parliamentary struggle.

To throw away this powerful social weapon and hide from the masses may be revolutionary, but according to the Third International it is unsound. It was not the use of bourgeois parliaments that was the trouble with the Second International, but the bourgeois manner of using these parliaments. Silvia Pankhurst and her anti-parliamentary followers in England acquainted Lenin with the factional disputes in the British movement, and we quote from his reply as follows (letter on another page): "I am personally convinced that a refusal to take part in parliamentary elections would be a mistake on the part of the revolutionary workers of England. . . ." Further on, after pointing out the nature of the bourgeois parliaments, he says, "We Russians have gone through two great revolutions in the twentieth century, and we know well the value which parliamentarism may have, and indeed has, in revolutionary times, in general, and during the actual revolution in particular."

The "unity" that has recently been achieved between the Communist Party and The Communist Labor Party, has not altered the general tactical

position but has, if anything, widened it, and driven them further from the masses of the American proletariat. Only a few thousands are left in the two Communist parties remaining, with scarcely a vestige of the English-speaking elements left within their ranks.

We may be wrong about it, but it appears to us that those parties that cannot hold the English-speaking elements that started out in their midst, are entirely incapable of reaching the broad masses of English-speaking workers in this country. The American proletarians must form the vanguard of the revolutionary forces here. The "Michigan Group" is now The Proletarian Party of America (see program on another page). This Party is carrying on propaganda and education in harmony with the principles of the Third International, and invites all class conscious groups that understand and accept its program to affiliate.

The collapse of the Second International and the Russian Revolution has brought about an entire realignment of forces and reconsideration of tactics. The Socialist Labor Party (the oldest party claiming to represent exclusively the proletariat) has not been exempt from interior troubles. Many of their members who were expelled for repudiating the "official view" of things, met in Chicago recently, and organized, under the name of "The Industrial Socialist League". The body of their declaration of principles is a good indictment of capitalism, but the usual S. L. P. weakness creeps in towards the end.

These comrades still think that the future state of society will be a big industrial union. They say, "With the growth and development of The Socialist Industrial Union alongside of the workers control of the State, then the repressive functions of the State become unnecessary, and government of men is gradually replaced by The Socialist Industrial Union, with its administration of things."

It does not seem possible for the ranks of the movement to divide much further, yet it is better that this should happen than to have a loose unity of heterogeneous elements with no definite line of advance. The stern logic of events, and the social forces at work will prove not only the fallacy of opportunism, but also the impossibility of controlling the present form of the State in the interests of the proletariat. In the meantime the masses must be reached, therefore, the party whose program and policy is in harmony with the revolutionary development of the proletariat in this country is the party that will hold the field and be able to function when the revolutionary crisis arises.

J. K.

We note by the daily papers that the street car men of Dublin went on strike to attend mass for MacSwiney's soul. Is this a new form of Mass Action?

Bad books are the rank weeds of literature which extract nourishment from the corn and choke it. They monopolize the time, money and attention which really belong to good books and their noble aims; they are written merely with a view to making money or procuring places. They are not only useless, but they do positive harm.—Arthur Schopenhauer.

# A Note On Unity

By Murray Murphy

Not a few time-honored proverbs have proved misleading when indiscriminately acted upon. The working class, for example, has so often been urged to "unite" that considerable confusion has resulted. "In unity there is strength," we are told, and "united we stand, divided we fall." Perfervid socialist orators have even quoted scripture to the effect that "A house divided against itself cannot stand," and have approved the revolutionary fathers who said, "We must all hang together or we'll all hang separately."

The point of this argument has always been that the workers should unite their forces rather than split into small, quarreling groups, so that united they might attain their ends. In this way speakers campaigning for the Committee of 48 last spring snickered at the divisions in the socialist ranks. "There are four socialist parties," they said, "what chance have they?" But when the much-heralded liberal convention was held, it, too, split into small groups,—the Labor group, the Single Taxers, and the original Committee of 48 itself. Well-informed socialists had predicted the split,—and why? Why could not all these "radicals" unite and accomplish something?

The trouble lies in a misunderstanding of the word "unity." There are two kinds of unity,—the unity of the plum pudding and the unity of an organic body. The plum pudding is united by a tin baking dish, and consists of a variety of different ingredients thrown together in a mass; the unity of an organism is shown in the fact that every part is related to every other, and all belong together for the performance of a definite function. The unity of the Committee of 48 was of the plum pudding variety, and the same was true of the Socialist Party before the expulsions in 1919—good for hash and nothing else.

To put it in a less figurative way, one may say that the unity of mere organization is not enough; there must also be a unity of ideas. If men and women

unite in a party but are not united in what they want that party to do, then there is no real unity. Such a party is indeed a "house divided against itself." It does not need to split into groups in order to fail as an organization; it is already split, and in such a state of affairs mere formal unity is a source of danger. When the authors of the Communist Manifesto said, "Workers of the World, Unite," they meant that proletarians of all countries should unite on the principles they had themselves expounded, the principles of Marxian Socialism. Any other kind of unity is a travesty on the word,—a delusion and a snare.

The splitting up of the Socialist Party into several smaller parties is not, therefore, cause for worry. It is, on the contrary, a good sign,—a sign of health. It means that the rank and file are beginning to think, and refuse longer to be led. They may be thinking wrong, but at least they are thinking; they are no longer asleep. This splitting up process is taking place in every European country, and we may be glad that the American proletariat is also mature enough to bestir itself in a conscious effort to get on its feet.

The Proletarian Party is "another socialist party," but it has the advantage over previous socialist parties in being a product of American conditions, not an artificially transplanted movement with tactics and propaganda adapted only to European countries. Again, the Proletarian Party, recognizing the immaturity of the American working class in contrast to the highly developed state of American capitalism, emphasizes class-conscious educational activity as a major part of its program,—a further advantage over other socialist and communist parties in this country. Finally, the Proletarian Party is characterized by genuine unity,—the unity of understanding,—and as the workers of the United States become better informed, the Proletarian Party will grow, and complete working-class unity will become a possibility.

## Lenin to Pankhurst

The following letter was written by Lenin to Sylvia Pankhurst in reply to a letter from her explaining the various divisions in the English movement and asking his advice especially in regard to parliamentary action.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

Dear Comrade, I received your letter of July 16 only yesterday, and am much obliged for your information on England, and shall try to fulfill your request and answer your questions. I do not doubt for a moment that many workers belonging to the best, and sincerely revolutionary representatives of the proletariat are opposed to Parliamentarism and all participation in Parliamentary work. This is a phenomenon the more natural, the older capitalist culture and bourgeois democracy are in a given country, since the bourgeoisie in all Parliamentary countries have learned to perfection the art of hypocrisy, and knows how to deceive the people by a thousand and one means, how to palm off bourgeois Parliamentarism as "democracy in general," or "pure democracy", and so forth, how to conceal skillfully the innumerable traces which connect

Parliament with the Stock Exchange and the capitalists, how to make use of the corrupt newspaper press, and how to make effective use in every possible way of the power of money and the power of capital.

There can be no doubt that the Communist International and the Communist parties of individual countries would make an irreparable mistake if they were to antagonise the workers who are in favor of the Soviet authority but are opposed to participation in Parliamentary work. Speaking theoretically, on the broadest basis, one can say that this programme, that is, to fight for Soviet power, for the Soviet Republic, is calculated, and, indeed, ought, to unite at present all sincere and honest revolutionaries in working class ranks.

Very many workers who are anarchists are now becoming sincere advocates of the power of the Soviets, and this being so, it is clear that they are our best comrades and friends, that they are the best revolu-

tionaries who are the enemies of Marxism through a misunderstanding, or, rather, in consequence of the fact that the predominant official Socialism of the Second International (1889-1914) had betrayed Marxism, had fallen into opportunism, had distorted the revolutionary teachings of Marx in general, and his teachings concerning the lessons of the Commune of 1871 in particular. I wrote about it in detail in my book, "State and Revolution," and therefore I shall not dwell now on this subject.

What is to be done in a country where Communists who are such by conviction and readiness to carry on revolutionary work, who are sincere adherents of the Soviet Power ("Soviet System," as non-Russians sometimes say), cannot unite owing to the divergence of views on the question of parliamentary action? I should be inclined to regard such a difference as unessential at the present day, since the fight for Soviet Power is the political struggle of the Proletariat in its highest, most conscious, and most revolutionary form. It is better to be with revolutionary workers, mistaken on a subordinate question than with official Social Democrats who are not sincere, not steady revolutionists, who do not want, or are incapable to carry on, revolutionary work among the working masses, but pursue the right policy on this subordinate question. The question of parliamentarism is certainly a subordinate question at present. In my opinion Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were right when they advocated participation in the elections to the German bourgeois Parliament, to the Constituent National Assembly, at the January Conference, 1919, of the Spartacists in Berlin against the views of the majority. But of course they were still more in the right when they preferred to remain in the Communist Party, committing a subordinate mistake, than to go hand in hand with the representatives of Socialism of the Right, like Scheidemann and his party, or with those flunkies, doctrinaires, cowards, tacit aiders and abettors of the bourgeois and reformists in practice, such as Kautsky, Haase, and Daumig, and the whole party of German Independents.

I am personally convinced that a refusal to take part in Parliamentary elections would be a mistake on the part of the revolutionary workers of England, but it is better to commit this mistake than to retard the formation of a large working-class Communist Party in England out of the groups and elements enumerated by you, who sympathise with Bolshevism and are sincere advocates of a Soviet Republic.

A close contact with the masses of workers and the ability constantly to agitate among them, to take part in every strike and to respond to every move of the masses—such is the important thing for a Communist Party, especially in a country like England where hitherto (as has been the case, for the rest, with all the Imperialist countries) the Socialist and, generally, the labor movement embraced, for the most part, only the small upper crust of the workers, the representatives of labor aristocracy, who are hopelessly, thoroughly corrupted by Reformism and permeated by bourgeois and Imperialist prejudices. There can be no question of a serious Communist labor movement without a fight against this crust, without the destruction of its authority amongst the masses, without proper enlightenment of the masses as to its thorough bourgeois rottenness. This is true not only of England but also of France, America and Germany.

Those revolutionary workers who are making Par-

liamentarism the butt of their attacks are perfectly right in so far as they express by these attacks their antagonistic attitude towards bourgeois Parliamentarism and bourgeois Democracy.

The power of the Soviets—the Soviet Republic—this is what the proletarian revolution is substituting in the place of bourgeois Democracy; this is the form of transition from Capitalism to Socialism, the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. A criticism of Parliamentarism is not only legitimate and necessary as the argumentative justification of the passage to the system of Soviets, but is also perfectly correct as the expression of the consciousness of the historical relativity and limitation of Parliamentarism and its connection with Capitalism, of its progressive character as compared with mediaevalism, and of its reactionary character as compared with Soviet Power.

But the critics of Parliamentarism in Europe and America are very often, when they belong to Anarchists and Syndicalists, wrong in so far as they reject all participation in elections and Parliamentary activity. This simply shows a lack of revolutionary experience. We, Russians, have gone through two great revolutions in the twentieth century, and we know well the value which Parliamentarism may have, and indeed has, in revolutionary times, in general, and during the actual revolution in particular.

Bourgeois Parliamentarism must be abolished and replaced by Soviet institutions. This is certain. It is also certain now, after the experience of Russia, Hungary, Germany, and other countries, that this will undoubtedly occur during the Proletarian revolution. Hence, it is the absolute duty of every worker who wants to be a revolutionary in practice, systematically to prepare the minds of the working class for this change, and to explain to them in advance the meaning of Soviet Power, and to carry on a propaganda and agitation in favor of it. But we, Russians, carried on this work while remaining in the parliamentary arena. Our representatives were able to carry on a revolutionary and republican propaganda even in the Tsarist and landlord's sham Duma. In the same way, Soviet propaganda can and must be carried on in bourgeois parliaments inside their walls. Perhaps it is not an easy thing to do at once in this or other Parliamentary countries, but that is a question by itself. What must be aimed at is to get the revolutionary workers of all countries to adopt this correct policy, and if the Labor Party is really revolutionary, if it is really a LABOR Party, that is connected with the masses, with the majority of those who toil, with the lower layers of the proletariat, and not with its upper crust only; if it is really a PARTY, that is a strongly consolidated organization of the revolutionary advance guard, capable of carrying on the revolutionary work among the masses, then such a party will also be able, no doubt, to keep its Parliamentarians under its control and turn them into real revolutionary propagandists, such as Karl Liebknecht was, and not allow them to become opportunists who corrupt the proletariat by bourgeois methods, bourgeois habits, bourgeois ideas and bourgeois lack of ideas. If such a thing cannot be achieved in England at once, and if the advocates of Soviet Power cannot be united owing to these differences about parliamentarism, and these differences only, I should consider the immediate formation of two Communist parties advocating the passage from bourgeois Parliamentarism to Soviet Power as a useful step in advance, as a step to complete unity. One of such

parties may reject and the other accept participation in bourgeois Parliamentarism—such a difference is at present so unimportant that it would be best not to split over it. But even the simultaneous existence of these two parties would be enormous progress in comparison with the present situation, and would in all probability form a step towards an early victory of Communism.

The Soviet Power in Russia is proving in the actual practice of nearly two years that the dictatorship of the proletariat is possible even in a peasant country and is capable, by forming a strong army (the best proof of organization and order), of maintaining itself

under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty. But the Soviet Power has achieved more. It has already attained a moral victory all over the world, since everywhere the working class, though it only gets to know particles of mendacious reports about it, are already in favor of the Soviets. The proletariat of all the world already realises that this power is the power of those who toil, that it alone saves from capitalism, from the yoke of capitalism, from wars among Imperialists, and leads to permanent peace. Hence, it is possible that individual Soviet Republics are defeated by the Imperialists, but it is impossible to vanquish the world-wide Soviet movement of the proletariat.

## Soviet Russia

Altho it is not yet three years since the Bolsheviks took control of the political affairs of Russia, they have surmounted almost overwhelming obstacles and steered the proletarian ship of state thru the dangerous shallows of capitalist diplomacy, with its secret alliances and democratic intrigues.

The Soviet Government, tho harassed on all sides, has courageously held out while the gallant Red Armies have cleared from the soil of Russia most of the reactionary forces, which, backed morally and materially by world capitalism, have sought to engulf and again enslave the masses of the Russian people.

Against the imperialism of the capitalist powers, against their policy of conquest, subjugation, and exploitation, Red Russia has firmly stood as a bulwark, thwarting their underhand schemes and designs of further conquest. It is not only as a negation of capitalist imperialism, but as a tower of strength, a beacon light that they stand forth a source of hope and inspiration to the oppressed and exploited toilers of the whole world—a guide and example to the revolutionary elements that form the vanguard of the proletariat in every capitalist nation.

What are the achievements of these three years of Soviet rule? There are so many that it is not possible for us to record any but the most important. First, after paying tribute to their indomitable courage, we must recognize their patient faith in the revolutionary potentialities of the workers of other lands.

Now let us observe their foreign policy. From the very first it has been a veritable nightmare to capitalist imperialism, and a ray of light to the subject nations of the East. A policy that because of its genuineness and practicability, contrasts strongly with that of the Entente, with its "world democracy" and its late lamented Creel-Wilson fourteen points.

This policy is not merely one of "self" determination of governments set up and fostered from without, but one of self-determination of the masses of the people themselves within those nations. The ruled and robbed peoples of Persia, Egypt, Asia Minor, Afghanistan and India, the so-called backward races, are turning their eyes hopefully toward Russia, and in the case of two nations, Afghanistan and Armenia, working agreements have been formed.

Over a year ago a revolution took place in Afghanistan which put an end to the pro-British government and established relations with Russia. The British

were obliged to recognize the complete independence of Afghanistan. A few months later the Afghans sent a mission to Moscow, where a treaty was entered into and Russian representatives sent to Kabul. Delegates from every revolutionary organization in the East have from time to time made their way to Moscow, thus bringing into contact with Red Russia the struggling organizations of Korea, Japan, China, India, and the revolutionary movement of the Orient in general.

Armenia has made terms putting her foreign policy in line with that of Russia, and opened certain provinces for the advance of a Red Army to form a junction with revolutionary forces of the Turks, who, no longer under the yoke of Germany, are seeking to prevent Britain, France, and their reactionary tool, Greece, from fastening their imperial tenacles around the body of the Turkish race.

The combating of the imperialistic policy of dismemberment of nations and the creation of buffer states upon lines of military expediency has shown that the Soviet officials are more than a match for the diplomats of capitalism. Self-determination of peoples upon ethnological lines is such a powerful policy that in the negotiations that have taken place between the representatives of the Soviet and Great Britain, we find Lloyd George has been forced to consider their viewpoint, and make use lately in his speeches of ethnological arguments.

Previous to the war, French imperialists sunk deep into the life of the Russian nation. They loaned money to the Czarist Government and formed an alliance with that reactionary power, so that in the event of war, hordes of Russian cannon fodder could be hurled against their enemy, Germany.

Since France cannot longer depend upon Russian armies to fight her battles, and is haunted by the nightmare of a German imperial resurrection, or worse still, a Red Germany working hand in hand with Russia, she is obliged to resort to an economic strangle-hold upon her prostrate foe and to support with money and arms made-in-Paris buffer states.

Poland at present furnishes a fine example of one of these imperial Entente pups on the war path. The Polish republic was created by France, financed by the French and its diplomacy, or rather its lack of diplomacy, controlled from Paris. It is small wonder, therefore that the Polish ruling class saw visions of imperial power. With no regard for ethnological lines, the Danzig corridor, the invasions of Lithuania and the Ukraine, they certainly have been riding for a fall.

In direct contrast to these methods, let us observe the nature of the Russian offensive. Wherever the Red armies operate, the destruction of cities and non-combatant populations is carefully avoided. This is because Russia is not waging war of conquest, despite the charges of bourgeois writers and alleged socialists.

In the recent offensive against Warsaw, instead of bombarding the city and killing women and children, as is customary with "civilized" armies, they dropped from airplanes into the streets of Warsaw thousands of leaflets, telling the people of facts that were being withheld by their bourgeois officials. Thus the Russians clearly demonstrated that they were not warring upon the masses, but upon the reactionary Polish ruling class, which is playing the imperialistic game of France.

England, together with her allies, adorns the Soviet power; yet her foreign policy is far from being identical with that of France. Her experience in backing counter-revolutionary forces, internal business conditions and the growing militancy of the labor movement, forces her to seek some sort of settlement with Russia, or to temporize, hoping that the proletarian dictatorship will fall.

England's recent offer to act as a disinterested third party in the negotiations between Russia and Poland has been met in a masterly fashion by the Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs. In his reply to the note of the British government, Tchitcherin called attention to England's many acts of aggression and politely but firmly declined to consider England as a disinterested and friendly nation, and reasserted Russia's willingness to conclude peace with the Polish people, as they have already done in the case of Esthonia, Lithuania, and Georgia. He likewise renewed Russia's offer to conclude peace with the Allied Powers and all other nations. On the whole, the Soviet officials have been more than a match for the diplomats of the capitalist Powers.

As to Russia's military situation, all the world knows of the achievements of the Red Armies. Their recent reverses in Poland and their failure to take Warsaw, was due chiefly to the disinclination of the Red forces to fire upon the workers of the cities, particularly Warsaw, where there are strong Communist elements ready to join with the Bolsheviki, as soon as the military yoke that is now holding them down is broken.

During the second week in August the revolutionary workers were so active that the Polish Government had to shoot many and place troops in the working class section of the capital.

While engaged in their titanic struggle against world imperialism, burdened with the heaviest home problems that any government of modern times has had to face, and suffering patiently with the masses, the hunger and privations brought on by the Allies' Blockade, the men at the head of Soviet affairs, especially Lenin himself, have taken time to go into the most important theoretical discussions of revolutionary tactics, the functions of the State and the form it must assume during the transition period between capitalism and communism.

These latter aspects of the Russian Revolution, because of their great significance for us, require much space and special consideration. Elsewhere in this issue we deal with this subject, and will devote more space to these important matters in future issues. In conclusion we do not hesitate to state that we are still, as formerly, in complete accord with Bolsheviki policy and principles as far as we have been able to observe and comprehend them. With due allowance for the different conditions here, we will continue to propagate a like policy for the solution of the problems confronting the American proletariat.

## Those Opportunistic Bolsheviks

"The Bolshevik leaders are opportunists." In these days it requires no little courage to set oneself up as a critic of Lenin, Radek, Zinoviev, Trotsky, et al., and when so bold an assertion is made by "A. K." in an article in the official paper of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, we must at least grant that he is indeed a brave man. Lest our readers may not have heard of the Socialist Party of Great Britain and the Standard it is only fair to introduce them. For many years this organization had been one of the all too few non-reformistic Socialist parties in existence. In the current issue of the Standard they modestly tell what they have done: "During the sixteen years through which we have run our journal . . . we have come through with unsmirched banner and untarnished record. . . . We have no occasion to alter one word of the Declaration of Principles. . . . We have held our course without deviation, true to every clause, every statement, every affirmation under which our journal was launched." Surely such a party—perfect in its very inception and free from the taint of error for so long a time—is a competent critic of these Bolshevik upstarts!

"The Bolshevik leaders are opportunists. They start out with a definite programme and policy but

change it completely when they find the world's workers do not support them." To support this charge "A. K." offers the following "evidence": 1. Having denounced Kautsky, Henderson, Longuet, and other leaders of the Second International, Lenin and Zinoviev now advise the British Communists to co-operate with the Labor Party. 2. "After spending much ink and eloquence in denouncing parliamentary action, Lenin now tells us that it is necessary in modern capitalist countries." 3. "After all the attempts of Lenin to show that Marx and Engels believed in the smashing and not using of the state power, Trotsky tells us in 'A Paradise for the Workers' that we have got to get control of the state power and use it instead of abolishing it." 4. "Radek . . . denounced parliamentary action, but in a recent letter . . . he completely changes round and supports parliamentary action." 5. "Lenin now supports parliamentary action (in Germany) and the winning of the masses in defiance of all his previous advice and his praise of the Spartacan minority action."

"All this," says A. K., "demonstrates the absence of any principle and simply the desire to veer with changing winds."



Now if it were not for the fact that the Socialist Party of Great Britain has in years past done excellent work in the field of socialist education and propaganda, and is therefore held in esteem by many socialists in this country, such charges could be dismissed as being merely the silly mouthings of some irresponsible anti-Bolshevik. Nor can we charitably dismiss "A. K." as one who is ignorant of the facts. Both he and the S. P. G. B. have access to full information on these points, more so than we. Their attack on the Bolshevik results from their unwillingness to admit that the Russian revolution has proven the S. P. G. B. program to be hopelessly inadequate.

In order to support his charge that the Bolshevik leaders are opportunists, "A. K." attempts to prove that they have changed their position in regard to participation in bourgeois parliaments. To do this he has had to resort to half-truths, and in some cases to deliberate falsehood. Let us take up his five principal statements and examine them in detail.

1. It is true that while Lenin has bitterly denounced the reactionary leaders of the Second International, he has also advised the newly-formed Communist Party in England to work with the Labor Party. But in doing so he has retracted not one word of his previous criticism of Henderson, Thomas, Clynes, and other reactionary politicians. In fact, he insists that such criticism shall be one of the main activities of the Communists, and his entire attitude on the British situation remains unchanged. 2. It should be noted that no proof is offered to support the charge that Lenin denounced parliamentary action, and for the very simple reason that no such proof exists. It is a matter of record that on the day before the Soviet revolution of September, 1917, the Bolsheviks were engaged in drawing up their list of candidates for the Constituent Assembly (which was a purely bourgeois parliament), and that on the day following the November (1917) revolution they actually took part in the elections to this same body. It should also be noted that although he urges the British communists to use parliamentary action, Lenin by no means endorses the policy of the S. P. G. B., which is essentially the same as that of Kautsky, minus reforms. Communists enter bourgeois parliaments not to "capture" them but to discredit and weaken them. 3. To say that Lenin attempted to show that Marx and Engels urged the destruction of the state power is sheer nonsense. Lenin, like Marx and Engels, has shown the necessity of destroying the power of the bourgeois state and establishing in its place the proletarian state. On this point all advocates of a gradual transition into Socialism by way of pure democracy, "growing into Socialism," disagree with the Bolsheviks. As an adherent of this policy, the S. P. G. B. rightfully belongs in the Yellow International alongside Kautsky, Henderson, and Hillquit. 4. The charge is that Karl Radek denounced parliamentary action in his pamphlet "The Development of Socialism from Science into Action." This pamphlet was written in September, 1918, and appeared in the August (1919) issue of the Class Struggle. In it Radek describes the rise of parliamentary opportunism and how in European countries reformism took the place of revolutionary socialism. He shows that actual experience demonstrated to the workers the fallacy of expecting a gradual transition into communism through the action of bourgeois parliaments. This,

however, cannot be taken as a denunciation of parliamentary action, for Radek describes the various ways in which revolutionists may make good use of parliaments during the period of agitation and preparation. In the above mentioned article he says: "Modern democracy is the camouflage of the autocracy of capital. As the feeble proletariat is interested in free speech, in free voting, in order to collect its forces, we have recognized Democracy as a way to Socialism; that means that it was necessary for us to enjoy, participate freely in the affairs of state, in order to mobilize the masses for Socialism." 5. It is entirely correct to say that Lenin advises parliamentary action in Germany. But to say that he praised minority action on the part of the Spartacans is untrue. For one thing, the Spartacans in their program insisted that a revolution could be accomplished only with the conscious participation of the majority of the German workers; they were opposed to minority action; the one criticism offered by Lenin was his statement that the Spartacans were in error when they decided not to participate in the elections to the German National Assembly. "We are not Blanquists," said Lenin, "We do not stand for seizure of power by the minority."

Summing up the arguments of "A. K.," we can arrive at but one conclusion: Knowing well enough that the workers have not the opportunity of reading the great mass of literature on the Russian situation, he takes advantage of their ignorance and deliberately distorts the facts to serve his own ends. In so brief an article it is impossible to deal fully with the entire question of parliamentarism, and we have contented ourselves with showing that the charge that the Bolshevik leaders have denounced parliamentary action to be groundless. On the other hand, we are averse to giving any support to the pure-and-simple parliamentarians of the S. P. G. B. type. On another page of this issue the reader will find an article by Lenin, which will prove helpful in understanding the attitude of the Third International in regard to participation in bourgeois parliaments.

A. J. M.

## Announcement!

We are able to announce several features for the next issue of The Proletarian. We will carry in that issue the balance of "A Retrospect," by Frederick Engels, being the introduction to Marx's "Class Struggles in France." The first installment of this article was in the January-February Proletarian and is of particular value to those who care to investigate the Marxian position on parliamentary action.

The first installment of a six-thousand word review of the controversy between Lenin and Kautsky will also appear in the November issue. This should be of real value to all of our readers. We think that it is the first comprehensive summing up of the debate which has taken place between these two international leaders. Get your orders in for bundles of this issue early.

The hinting and intimating manner of writing that was formerly in use on subjects of this kind produced skepticism, but not conviction. It is necessary to be bold. Some people can be reasoned into sense; others must be shocked into it. Say a bold thing that will stagger them and they will begin to think.—Thos. Paine.

# International Notes

By John Keracher

**Great Britain** The real pulse-beat of capitalism is always to be found in that center of world imperialism, England. Any crisis of real significance soon manifests itself in Britain's diplomatic circles, pulsates through her "public opinion" and press, or find its expression in partisan clashes on the floor of "the mother of Parliaments," the British House of Commons.

When the Soviet forces through rapid advances came within striking distance of the Polish capital, the rulers of Western Europe became alarmed. The French were the first to act, pledging their moral and material support to their imperial protege, Poland. The British government, for various reasons, not the least of which is the particularly cautious and crafty methods of her officials of the Lloyd George type, and a home policy that an aggressive labor movement compels it to pursue, made no such pledges of support.

During this crisis the British labor movement took a creditable stand, by creating a Council of Action. The National Labor Conference meeting at Central Hall, Westminster, gave instructions to this Council to "take whatever action might be needed at any moment to enforce a pacific policy towards Russia, the withdrawal of naval forces operating as a blockading influence, the recognition of the Soviet Government and the resumption of trade relations." While this Council, with local councils in all industrial centers, has for its main purpose the prevention of war, it is pledged to remain in session until a definite peace is obtained between Russia and Great Britain.

Whatever we may think of the reactionary Labor leaders and Lloyd George's charge of "sledgehammering at an open door," the fact that the stand was taken and the apparent unity of the British proletariat behind the action is of great significance. This extra-parliamentary political act is fraught with revolutionary possibilities, and must have been a distasteful tactic to the parliamentary opportunists who were forced in the crisis to resort to such action. The Manchester Guardian comments as follows: "More and more the imperfections of our present system of representation and the machine of Government are coming to be felt. Labor, on its actual voting strength at the general election, ought to have nearly three times its present representation in the House of Commons. . . . The House is not fairly representative of the country, and the Government is not adequately controlled by the House. This is not democratic government in any sense; it is a veiled oligarchy which pays no more heed to the wishes of the country than it thinks its own ultimate safety demands, and in the hands of a clever manipulator like the present Prime Minister becomes something not very unlike a Government by one man. . . . Whoever has got power must have responsibility, and if the Council of Action should ever prove itself stronger than the Government it would in turn become the Government."

In the negotiations that have taken place between the British and Russian Governments a threatened break occurred over the question of leaving the Polish workers armed. The British note issued by the Premier from Lucerne, and published in the London

papers, was forwarded to Russia by Kameneff. In this note the Soviet Government is called an oligarchy, and is accused of interfering with the interior affairs of Poland. Tchitcherin, in a lengthy reply, completely turns the tables upon the Allied governments, pointing out their oligarchic nature in contrast to that of Russia. The note is too long to give here in full, but the following quotations will suffice to show the attitude and sincere desire of the Soviet government for peace. "We note especially that these governments, which have so often accused the Russian Government of interfering in the internal affairs of other States, have, in this communication, issued a piece of propaganda directed against our institutions, which constitutes an act of interference in Russian affairs sufficient to justify corresponding action by us.

"The desire of the Workers and Peasants' Government for peace is, however, so paramount that, in spite of the natural resentment that must be caused by the above communication, the Soviet Government has decided not to insist upon this point, but fully to meet the wishes of the British and Italian Governments; and in spite of their unusual action, it still hopes to establish permanent relations of peace and good-will with them as soon as possible. . . . Seeing that the British Government declares peace through Eastern Europe to be its aim, we can point to the fact that the workers in Poland have for a long time been the one force steadfastly opposed to the Polish Government's policy, and have in repeated resolutions demanded peace with Russia. If, nevertheless, the British Government so forcibly opposes strengthening this fundamental pillar of peace, it clearly shows with what distrust it regards the workers. If the British Government, indeed, thinks that workers must be by nature animated with the doctrines of Bolshevism, such a point of view will undoubtedly be welcomed by those who look forward to the spreading of Bolshevism in Britain. . . . In view, nevertheless, of our earnest desire to attain the important results for the world's welfare and peace arising from peace with Great Britain, we are willing to inform the British Government that the Russian Government has resolved to make a concession on this point. It will not insist upon the clause referring to the arming in Poland of the workers' civic militia, thus securing full agreement with Great Britain as to all the terms of peace with Poland. . . . As the British Government has launched against the Soviet regime the strange accusation of being an oligarchy, it is impossible for us not to point out that all the States which have a form of Government different from ours are themselves obviously true oligarchies, since in their countries the fruits of a whole nation's production are seized by a privileged few. While in Soviet Russia the whole nation works for the whole nation's benefit; under the rule of those whom the British and Italian Note describes as a free Government, the immense majority toil for the privileged few.

"This is the obviously real and true oligarchy. We need only recall Sir Leo Chiozza Money's calculation of the distribution of British income in 1914: 1,250,000 rich people received 585,000,000 pounds,

3,750,000 received 245,000,000 pounds, and 38,000,000 poor received 880,000,000 pounds.

"As to real participation in political power, we ask which form of Government gives more of such to the great masses of the nation; the parliamentary form, under which the incoherent masses give their support once in many years to firmly established political parties, either directly representing the above oligarchy or strongly influenced by it; or the Soviet form, under which the workers in their work places form permanent local units, in whose hands rests the control of the whole Soviet fabric, built up by delegations of the local Soviets, and under which, moreover, the whole administration is in the hands of the local Soviets."

The receipt of this note by Britain was followed by a telegram sent by the Labor movement's Council of Action to Lloyd George and Kameneff, the Soviet representative. In the telegram the Council said: "The Council of Action, having urged the Russian Government to withdraw the one declared outstanding point objected to by the British Government, notes with satisfaction the Soviet Government's decision, which, in the Council's opinion, removes all difficulties in the way of Russo-Polish peace. The Council now urges the British Government to publish the full terms upon which they will make peace with Russia, and also urges the Russian Government to do the same."

Under the apparent unity between the Allied Powers, there is a struggle on over the spoils of the Great War. France is far from satisfied with "Perfidious Albion", and her attitude on the Russo-Polish situation, and on her general diplomatic policy. "The Living Age" for August 28, says: "The struggle between France and England for economic control of the Danube Valley has recently been made prominent by the action of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French Senate, recommending that the exchange of treaty ratification with Austria be postponed until the indemnity question has been settled. This is said to signify an intention on the part of the French Government directly to acquire control of the Austrian Railway system. French capitalists are reported to have already negotiated for a lease of the Hungarian government railways. England was first in the field and has acquired a practical monopoly of the Danube River lines."

While imperial expansion is involving the British government in a mess of trouble abroad, conditions at home are far from tranquil. The "Irish Republic" is a veritable hornet's nest. The Sinn Feiners have set up their own courts in opposition to those already in existence, and they seem to be working successfully, much to the chagrin of the official Government. To meet this "lawless" system of Irish Law, a new Coercion Act is being prepared. Terrence MacSwiney, Sinn Fein Mayor of Cork, is doing a spectacular hunger strike in a London jail. The Government claims to have absolute proof that he was involved with the "Irish Republican Army" in the murder of policemen in Ireland. Throughout this Irish nationalistic struggle there are flashes here and there of the general class war that is raging in different forms in European countries. Officers of British regiments lead their men through Irish towns, pillaging and attacking, especially the creameries of the co-operative societies. The capitalist Government of Britain is certainly having a stormy time.

**Turkey** On June 4, the Soviet Commissioner of Foreign Affairs sent to the leader of the Turkish Nationalists an outline of the principles upon which Soviet policy towards Turkey is based. The principal points are: Complete independence of Turkey, with control of all territory where Turkish population predominates; independence for Arabia and Syria. In the following parts of the old Turkish Empire, Armenia, Kurdistan, Batum, and Eastern Thrace, the people themselves, including refugees and exiles from these parts, to determine their political allegiance, if any, by popular vote. Further, those territories that border upon the Black Sea to have control of the Dardanelles. All spheres of imperialistic foreign influence to be abolished.

The present unrest throughout Mesopotamia is due in a great measure to the changed policy in British administration. When the British occupied Bagdad in 1917, Jews, Armenians, Kurds, and Arabs that had suffered under Turkish rule rejoiced, thinking that better conditions were in store for them. Time has proven to those subjects that one form of imperialism is a poor cure for another. The British have turned over the administration to Indian officials, and garrisoned the country with Indian troops. An English officer commenting on this policy says: "In the eyes of the Arab the troops of the Indian Empire are inferior in race to themselves. Were only Mohammedan troops used it would not be so bad, but the Arab follower of the Prophet will not tolerate the Hindu, . . . he is taxed for an administration in which he has no share, and the policy of which is hateful to him. These conditions make rebellion inevitable."

Smyrna and Thrace, which are admittedly Turkish, have been handed over to Greece. The whole Mohammedan world is in revolt against the treatment accorded Turkey and its former provinces. One writer says: "Within a few weeks 20,000 Indians, including some Hindus, have walked out of the British Empire, as a protest against the Turkish Treaty."

The growing influence of Soviet Russia in Mesopotamia is not due alone to their sincere principles of self-determination of all peoples, but is as much due to the policy of the British imperialists.

**Italy** For the second time this year wage workers in Italy have seized control of the factories in which they labor. This is rather a peculiar phenomenon, and at first sight implied revolution, but on closer observation it turns out to be but a drastic measure in a wage dispute.

In the early spring, the Italian government was carrying on a campaign for greater production. An industrial dispute arose at Turin, which resulted in the workers seizing and operating some of the factories. The employers had threatened a lock-out and this was their answer, the seizure and operation of the factories. The Government was put in a peculiar position—the workers were conforming to the call for more production, the employers were the obstructionists.

A settlement was arrived at, and like all settlements between capital and labor, it was nothing more than a temporary compromise. Evidently their consciousness of power has inspired the Italian workers to further action. A few days ago, reports came to hand, stating that 500 factories had been seized by the workers in the chief industrial centers, such as Genoa, Milan, Naples, and other cities. Later, estates

in Sicily were seized by the peasants. This extensive seizure of industries and land, and the armed preparations made by the workers to maintain occupation, gives rise to a revolutionary situation. The Minister of Labor, Arturo Labriola, has made efforts to arrive at a settlement with the men, who are holding out and preparing for a long siege.

This syndicalist method of fighting the class war, if revolution is aimed at, is doomed to failure. The State, to all appearances, remains intact and, naturally, the armed forces are at the disposal of the Government, and if an actual clash takes place, it is likely to go hard with the workers. Of course, we are in no position to know what amount of disaffection there is in the army. The proletariat can only be successful, in the event of civil war, if the armed forces of the nation in sufficient number join them. To us it looks as if "the wagon is before the horse." State power is the first step to emancipation. The class that controls the State can do what it desires with the industries.

For some time back the Italian Government has been confronted with an immense army of jobless workers. To keep them quiet, large numbers have been put to work on bridge and road building, and other forms of public work; emigration has been encouraged, and various other methods tried to solve the problem of surplus population.

Another feature in the Italian struggle is the fact that the raw materials for the factories, iron, coal, oil, are imported, and on account of this shortage, the employers had threatened to close down some of the works which have now been seized by the workers. The railroad workers have been co-operating by delivering all the raw material possible to the factories and the dock-workers at Genoa have taken possession of the docks.

Premier Giolitti and other Government officials are taking an attitude of non-interference, with the hope that the project will collapse for lack of raw material and a market for the product. It looks as if capitalism in Italy is in a bad way. The Government, no doubt, realizing this, is afraid to take the responsibility of taking over and operating the industries and it is certain that it will not assist the workers. The lesson for the Italian workers will be the need for getting control of the State, for with the Government in the hands of the capitalists, they will have no difficulty in sabotaging the efforts of the workers to operate the industries.

## Casting Shadows Before

When the Ebert government shot down the workers in the streets of Berlin, it was a surprise to most people, although there had been many indications that they were quite capable of that kind of action, and were not to be trusted by the workers.

In America we have our Scheidemanns and Eberts, who are easily identified by their actions. Beginning with the expulsion of masses from the Socialist Party, the reactionary element in control of that organization have continuously shown their counter-revolutionary character. However, they had to come to Detroit to definitely place themselves outside of the consideration of all self-respecting members of the working class. In their attempt to steal the House of the

Masses from the really revolutionary elements in Detroit, they have shown themselves to be devoid of all revolutionary honor.

The House of the Masses was purchased by the class-conscious workers of Detroit more than two years ago, with money raised by the sale of bonds. The comrades contributing the money were then members of the Socialist Party of America, holding membership in the Michigan organization. The Socialist Party of Michigan, as is well known, was the first group expelled by the National Executive Committee, because it threatened the control of the reactionaries. A group of "yellow" socialists afterwards organized into what was called the "Socialist Party of Michigan." Within the membership of this rump organization there were very few who had furnished any money for the purchase of the House of the Masses. In fact, they supplied less than five hundred dollars of twenty thousand.

Nevertheless, this group of interlopers, styling themselves the Workers' Educational Association, (the fraternal corporation that owns The House of the Masses) started suit in the courts of Detroit to gain possession of the building.

Their claim to ownership has been overruled by the courts, and they are not now able to justify themselves even on the grounds that they had a legal right to the property according to bourgeois law. The thing that is most important, however, and betrays clearly their contemptible character, is their attempt to prejudice the court on the grounds that the defendants were Communists. We quote the fifth article of their bill of complaint:

"That on or about to-wit, the 27th day of May, A. D. 1919, the defendants and their associates and agents, who are now in possession and control of the property of the plaintiff, were expelled from the Socialist Party of United States because among other things, they advocate the use of direct or mass action, as the primary and principal means of securing a change or destroying the 'capitalist system' and the present form of government of the United States; that the said defendants and their associates and agents still advocate the use of said direct or mass action, and that they are known and style themselves as 'Communists,' and 'Members of the Communist Party.' That the Communist Party has committed itself to the program as set forth in its manifesto and program, on page 9 in the following language: 'Communism does not propose to capture the bourgeois parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it. As long as the bourgeois state prevails the capitalist class can baffle the will of the proletariat.' How like a prosecuting attorney! In fact, in the drafting of this bill of complaint Mister Stedman takes his place alongside of his 'Socialist Comrade' of Milwaukee who prosecuted workers on the basis of the Communist Manifesto of 1848. When the capitalist class loses Attorney-General Palmer they need not look farther than that well-known "socialist," Seymour Stedman, to find his successor.

And then, as though to show the depths of depravity to which a human being may sink, they proceed in the following paragraph to lick the hand of the capitalist class. We quote as follows: "That the socialist party is a political party, and that its principal program commits its members to the use of the ballot and political action as the primary means and method of changing or modifying our present political and industrial conditions." Fortunately, they were spurned with the boot from the foot of the throne.

Not entirely satisfied with the contemptible exhibition in the bill of complaint, Mister Stedman found it necessary to carry his efforts at incrimination into the cross-examination of the witnesses of the defense. Efforts were made to convince the court that the defendants were advocates of illegal action.

The testimony of one of the witnesses for the Socialist Party, an ex-minister, recalled vividly to our mind a saying that "if you want anyone to do you a

low, dirty, mean, contemptible trick, get a Christian."

Efforts are being made to print the full story of this trial so that the workers may know the facts. One thing is certain, Mister Stedman and his colleagues have cast their shadow before them, and given an indication of what is to be expected of them. It will be well for the workers to have the facts so that he and his kind will be remembered in the days to come.

## The Marxian Law of Value

To induce a working man to read a book is one of the most difficult feats to accomplish, and, if it is to read a treatise, or an article on economics, then the task becomes well nigh impossible. It is, therefore, with a devil-may-take-care spirit that I write upon the subject. I doubt very much whether the articles will be read, but am egotistical enough to believe that a perusal of these articles will be of some help and benefit, if not of pleasure. At any rate, I shall have had the pleasure of passing an idle hour or two in writing, which is much more satisfying than going to a movie.

Of course, economics cannot be discussed without at the same time discussing the law of value, and while the law of value is rather a hackneyed subject, I shall venture to write about certain passages of the law which are seldom touched upon, and, what is more to be regretted, very little understood.

The law of value, as taught by Marx, and accepted in proletarian circles, is as follows: "The value of a commodity is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor it takes to reproduce it." Every Socialist is familiar with this definition, but every Socialist is not familiar with what is accomplished by the law, and how important a part it plays in the whole science of political economy. The law of value not only teaches us how to determine the value of a commodity, but the Marxian analysis of the law elucidates and makes clear all economic phenomena which make their appearance in capitalistic society, and which, at times, are so confusing to bourgeois economists.

The phrase "All commodities exchange at their value" shares equal familiarity with the law of value. However, it is not contradicting Marx to say, that commodities do not exchange at their value, nor do the prices of commodities even fluctuate around their value; in fact, they oscillate around something entirely different, and yet it is perfectly true, that commodities do exchange at their value. Can there be anything more paradoxical than this? When Protagoras, the Greek philosopher, laid down the proposition that "contradictory assertions are equally true" he did nothing more than to state a fact which is now generally accepted.

The majority of persons are of opinion, that is, those who have any opinion on the subject at all, that the purpose of the Marxian law of value is to explain the various prices of individual commodities. Even the great Boehm-Bawerk, the ablest of Marx's critics, in utter astonishment asks the question, "What is the purpose of a law of value, if it is not to explain why certain commodities exchange at certain prices?" Boehm-Bawerk is not satisfied to learn that the total price of all commodities is equal to their total value, and because the price of an individual pair of pants

does not conform to its value, he wrote a book about the great contradiction in the Marxian law of value, and the bankruptcy of Marxism, when in reality the contradiction is in capitalistic production, and not in the law itself. But more of that later. Boehm-Bawerk has the privilege, of course, of demanding anything he desires of the law of value, and although the law does explain prices, it is of much greater significance than that. A significance which cannot be comprehended by bourgeois economists.

For approximately fifty years previous to 1859 the leading men of science and philosophy had reached the conclusion that things were not static, a state of mental development which the average bourgeois economist has not reached. The biologists, for instance, realized that species were mutable. Buffon, St. Hilaire, Lamarck, Erasmus Darwin, and Goethe, Lyell and Spencer, concerned themselves with this problem. But the why and wherefore of the mutability of species was a secret of nature which these men could not fathom. Then came Darwin with his "Origin of Species", which laid bare the method. "Natural Selection", or as Herbert Spencer called it, "the survival of the fittest," was the key which unlocked the mystery, and laid bare before our eyes the *modus operandi* of nature. It gave us an insight into, and was the means of understanding, biology. Without it the biologists would be still groping in the dark. All that was possible to be done previously was to gather facts and data, the significance of which could not be understood. There was nothing to guide the biologists in their work, nothing to signify what it all meant, and no one knew what it was all about.

And so with the science of political economy. While the Marxian law of value does not explain everything (just as natural selection or the survival of the fittest, does not give us a satisfactory explanation of why a certain individual has a red nose) the law of value does give us the key which makes possible a comprehension of economic phenomena. Without this law there would be no science of political economy, and there could be none. All that possibly could be done would be to gather data and facts with no rule to interpret them.

The law of value transformed political economy from a most dismal study to a very interesting and entertaining one. Facts and data which seemed incomprehensible at once became translucent. An understanding and analysis of the law readily explains the whole economic structure, and gives an insight into the very vitals of our social life. The moment the law was applied and used, the explaining of prices, which our sciolistic friend, Boehm-Bawerk, could not comprehend, became a mere detail, an insignificant, inconse-

quential incidental. More important questions crowded to the front, and were solved. For instance, "Where do profits come from," found its solution in the analysis of the law. Prices were satisfactorily explained, and in the only way they could be explained, but the law of value is much wider in its scope and applicability, something which men who believe that political economy is merely a subdivision of the science of psychology, cannot be expected to understand.

The question which confounded all political economists was the great problem of how an average rate of profit was formed. And right here, where the Marxian law of value achieved its greatest victory, is the point where it is attacked the most, in fact, the only point where it is attacked, not because it does not satisfactorily explain how and why an average rate of profit is formed, but because, forsooth, in explaining the phenomena the law of value contradicts itself. The critics never seem to comprehend that the contradictions which are exposed in applying the process of an analysis of this phenomena, are simply contradictions inherent in capitalist production, and not contained in the law of value. Like all idealistic philosophers, these

men believe that the further they get from the facts the nearer they are to the truth.

"The falling tendency of the rate of profit," a phenomena noticed by political economists, is another one of those inexplicable things which the Good Lord in his wisdom did not deign mankind to comprehend, but the moment the Marxian law of value was applied to the problem, it yielded its secret without difficulty. But our critics do not even mention this, probably for the reason that they have not delved into the third volume of Marx far enough. In articles to follow we shall apply the law to this phenomena, and for those who are rational, will be proof positive of the correctness and validity of the law.

The Marxian law of value gives us a rational explanation of all economic phenomena. It explains and makes pellucid the whole economic science. It acts as the guide which leads us through the labyrinth of facts, and shows us their whys and wherefores. Marx, like Darwin, has colligated all phenomena of the science and put them into one comprehensive whole. With his law of value, Marx has done for political economy what Darwin did with natural selection for biology.

## Manifesto and Program

The following Manifesto and Program was adopted by the organization convention of the Proletarian Party held in the city of Detroit June 27th and 28th. It is to be indorsed by a referendum vote of the membership before becoming the official manifesto of the party.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

The climax of the world war was the breaking down of the social order that gave it birth, a breakdown that has marked definitely the commencement of a new era in the struggle of the world's workers to throw off the shackles of an age-long slavery. This new era is the period of action, in which the exploited masses have not only thrown down the gage of battle, but have actually triumphed over the ruling classes in one great country—Russia.

The victories of the workers of Hungary and other countries of Central Europe, although short-lived, have demonstrated, as has the Russian Revolution, that the way out of capitalism lies through revolutionary political action, and that there is no middle course possible in this struggle. Either the political power must remain in the hands of the master class or be taken over completely by the proletariat.

In this world struggle for power, the American proletariat must align itself with the revolutionary workers of other countries to give battle to world capitalism. Its first duty, however, is to conquer the capitalist class of this country.

The preparation for this inevitable contest involves not only the organizing of the American working class with this aim in view, but its training for the difficult task of conquering and administering the political power. The emancipation of the working class is not the action of a minority; such a momentous change as that from capitalism to communism requires the conscious participation of the great masses.

Hitherto, no organization has appeared in the United States to express the revolutionary requirements of the proletariat of this land. Prior to the success of the working class of Russia, the dominant organization here expressed but the lightest kind of parliamentary opportunism, which found its equally reactionary complement in anti-political industrial unionism. This has recently been followed by a period of revolutionary impatience, marked by efforts to transport bodily the tactics applicable to the European situation into the essentially different conditions now prevailing here.

Due to this lack of understanding of, and indifference to, American conditions, much confusion has resulted. Recently the movement has divided into factional warring camps, and is still far from having an understanding of the historical and economic background out of which American capitalism has developed, and consequently lacks a program adaptable thereto.

Conscious of the stupendous task of education and propaganda necessary to arouse the American working class from

its apathy, and to break down the perverted notions of liberty and democracy inculcated into the minds of the masses through bourgeois schooling, press and pulpit, the Proletarian Party enters the field of political action and calls upon the workers to organize for the conquest of the state power on the basis of the following program:

The class struggle was a fact in history before capitalism was ever known; it is the logical and inevitable outcome of the social development of a certain period. It was not invented. It evolved! Simultaneously with the division of society into classes there arose a special instrument of coercion in the hands of the ruling class to enable it to maintain its supremacy over the subject classes. The history of chattel slavery, feudal serfdom and wage slavery is proof of the correctness of the Marxian definition of the State—AN INSTRUMENT BY WHICH ONE CLASS ENSLAVES ANOTHER.

The pretense of democracy under capitalism enables the ruling class to impose its will upon the workers. The control of the means of information has a strong tendency to keep alive the belief in so-called popular government, even though the proletariat is conscious of its deplorable condition. The "freedom" of capitalist countries is merely the freedom of the capitalist class to maintain an iron dictatorship over the masses; the government of each capitalist country is merely a part of the dictatorship of the world's capitalist class over the international proletariat. Bourgeois democracy spells slavery for the workers. "The possessing class rules directly through universal suffrage."

The working class is led to attribute its misery to individualistic rather than social causes, as the idea of individual responsibility is one of the reflexes and attributes of the present system of wealth production and distribution. The capitalist class dictatorship is not to be explained on the basis of inherent depravity on the part of the capitalists, but by the economics of the capitalist system of wealth production.

Labor power under capitalism functions as a commodity, offered for sale on the open market. Owing to capitalist ownership of the means of wealth production, the workers are forced to sell their labor power at a price which gives them only a bare subsistence, while the ever-growing surplus product, made possible by the increasing division of labor and the development of machinery, serves to enrich further the master class. Through machine improvement and efficiency methods, the margin between the workers' wages and the value of the wealth they produce increases enormously and, therefore, the relative condition of the working class continues to sink lower and lower.

"The anomaly of starvation in the midst of plenty, a distinctive feature of capitalist society, becomes more and more

apparent to the workers; and the capitalists themselves, overpowered by the forces of production they have perfected but are no longer able to control; suffocated by the enormous mass of wealth they can no longer consume; and faced by the ever-increasing army of the unemployed, will be compelled to give way to the economic and human forces around them."

In this crisis the only class that can take over the management of society is the working class, the class which must emancipate itself by overthrowing the capitalists. This can be done only through the capture of the political state.

When the proletariat attains power and establishes its class dictatorship over the rest of society, it too must organize a special repressive force representing the interest of a vast majority of the entire population. The institution of bourgeois democracy will be replaced by a proletarian democracy based upon the direct power of the proletariat. This new form of government is not disguised, nor does it pretend to represent all the people; it represents the working class, the immense majority. The experience of the Paris Commune of 1871 taught the proletariat that it cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made machinery of the capitalist state and wield it for its own purposes; a new kind of state machinery arose in Russia, known today as the Soviet. The proletarian government replaces the army and police of the capitalist state with the armed citizenry, and is sufficiently elastic to at all times represent accurately the degree of development of the proletariat. With the institution of this new form of government the proletariat is able to suppress counter revolution, oppose the forces of the proletarian nation to the encroachments of the imperialistic capitalist nations, and proceed with the transformation of industry from a capitalist to a communist basis.

Thus the dictatorship of the proletariat, unlike capitalist government, with its false democracy, is not intended as a permanent condition, but as a transitory institution, bridging the gap between capitalism and communism.

To act as a vanguard and guide to the American proletariat in the fulfillment of its historic mission—self-emancipation—is the aim of the Proletarian Party of America.

### Theoretical Principles

The three principles of scientific socialism—the Class Struggle, the Labor Theory of Value, and Historic Materialism—are the irrefutable basis for, and the starting point of, all useful proletarian philosophy, politics, aims, propaganda, organization and tactics.

The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is evident to all the world, manifesting daily more acute forms.

The Labor Theory of Value is disputed only by bourgeois economists, whose flimsy doctrines are upheld through the bald compulsion of the ruling class. There can be no refutation of the proposition that articles of commerce are given value by the socially necessary labor needed to produce them. Neither can there be refutation of the oft demonstrated fact that laborers produce a surplus over and above what they receive in wages—a fact that plainly shows the exploitation taking place—a fact, the concealment of which, is in the interest only of those who profit by this exploitation.

The Materialistic Conception of History is the Marxian principle that material conditions determine all social institutions—all governments, religions, ideas, beliefs, laws. This discovery explains how capitalism grew up, and why capitalists try to remain in power; and this is why capitalist learning hates and fears the teaching of historic materialism. But the proletariat uses it as the key to history, and by its means understands the present social system, thus enabling it to fulfill its historic mission, secure its own emancipation and build a new society.

In accordance with the above, therefor, the Proletarian Party sets forth the following propositions as a general guide to action:

1. Like other social systems, capitalism has served a useful function in history, namely, that of developing the machinery of production and preparing the way for the proletariat to establish communism. It has now served that purpose, and, because of its inherent contradictions and dependence on class rule, its continued existence is a menace to civilization and fraught with wretchedness and peril to the entire proletariat. Its abolition, therefor, is an economic and social necessity.

2. A political change of real benefit to the workers is unattainable so long as capitalism remains in power. Furthermore, experience has shown that if the workers are capable of bringing sufficient pressure to bear upon the capitalist state to force it to yield any substantial portion of its power against its will, they have sufficient power to compel the capitulation of that state. Still further, history proves that "liberal" or reform

parties have at all times served as the final bulwark of the oppressors against the revolutionary oppressed. The Proletarian Party, therefor, leaves all reform agitation to the organizations and groups that consider the present social order worth reforming. Owing to the fact that the present system of wage slavery is in the interests of the capitalist class, the workers must realize the futility of expecting betterments from it, or from political parties representing its interests. The emancipation of the workers can come only through the workers themselves. All bargaining with capitalist politicians, all opportunistic support of "honest" or "good" men, opposed to communist principles, is therefor the height of folly, and must be regarded as treason to the proletariat.

3. The workers are exploited as a class, not necessarily as individuals, and as a class they are exploited as producers, not as consumers. Hence all bourgeois promises of cheap food, for example, as a reduction of the "high cost of living," is mere camouflage, calculated to deceive the workers. "Lowering of prices" is the bourgeois notion of cheapness to get a cheap working class! Not by lowering prices, but by abolishing exploitation will the misery of the proletariat be brought to an end.

During the last few years a great deal of ink and breath has been wasted on "profit-sharing," co-operative societies, purchase of stock by employes, etc. These plans are loudly advocated by employers and capitalist apologists as being "fair" and "liberal" to the hardworking laborers; in reality they are shrewd schemes to placate the workers in a time of growing discontent—siren lullabys to put them to sleep while exploitation goes on apace. In the same category is all "social welfare" work, and other such charitable flim-flams, intended to make pauperized laborers grateful to the very persons who hold them in slavery. The Proletarian Party calls on all intelligent workers to spurn the crumbs that capitalist duplicity offers them.

4. The working class will achieve its emancipation only when it acquires the power to do so. To unite efficiently for this purpose the workers must understand their class position and their class interests. Constant and intensive education of the workers is, therefor, the first and most essential immediate task.

5. Efficient proletarian organization must include both the industrial and the agricultural proletariat, not merely because it is tactically advantageous, but because both belong to the exploited class, both are vitally interested in the project of emancipation. The Proletarian Party realizes the necessity of an agrarian as well as an industrial program, and of propaganda among rural laborers and impoverished farmers. The rural proletariat is hereby called to the standard of the class conscious workers of America and of the world.

6. Our propaganda attitude toward present-day institutions and social phenomena shall be to explain, criticize and attack, if necessary, without exception, each and every one of these institutions that prop up, apologize for, or defend the capitalist class in its privileged position. In this respect, religion as a social phenomena and the church as an institution shall be explained in the light of the materialistic conception of history. This attitude is necessary to uproot superstitious ideas that are used to befuddle the minds of the masses, and to rid them of their capitalist ideology.

7. The Proletarian Party recognizes the truth of Marx's statement that the class struggle takes in each country the form of a national struggle. It will, therefore, devote itself primarily to the class struggle here, under the economic, social and political conditions that now exist or may arise in the United States. It will utilize the regime of American political democracy for its organization against capitalism and will nominate candidates for political office and engage in other forms of parliamentary activity wherever and whenever this activity can be used as means of reaching the workers with its revolutionary propaganda. The main advantage in securing political office in the bourgeois legislatures is that of using such position as a forum from which to speak over the heads of the representatives of capitalism to the masses of the working people.

8. Although the class struggle is carried on most intensively within the confines of the individual capitalist nations, nevertheless the proletariat of every land must ally itself internationally with the proletariat of all others. In relation to this matter, the Proletarian Party will establish and maintain relations with the revolutionary groups of all other nations, and ally itself directly with the Third International.

9. "The working men have no country." The interests of the world proletariat are identical in every land. The workers, therefore, who join the Proletarian Party will not be misled into supporting the imperialistic schemes of the American bourgeoisie, as instanced, among other examples, by American interference in Mexico, and they will recognize the true character

of all capitalist wars as due to conflict between economic interests of competing capitalistic nations or alliances.

10. The Proletarian Party will co-operate where possible in the everyday struggles of the workers against the exploiting class, to sharpen their understanding of the class struggle, to utilize these occasions for education and propaganda, and to direct the workers toward the revolutionary act of abolishing the wage system. It should be realized, however, that the strike in itself has its limitations, for "in its merely economic action capital is the stronger side" and "the capitalist can wait longer than labor in case of interrupted production." We shall thoroughly analyze the historic development of labor unionism.

11. The Proletarian Party of America affirms, as did the communists of 1848, that it has "no interest separate and apart from the proletariat as a whole." It points out to the American workers that their interests are the common interests of the entire world proletariat, regardless of sex, government, color, nationality or country. The Proletarian Party always represents these common interests and constitutes "the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties" on this continent, in that it is based on a clear knowledge of the driving forces in history and the ultimate outcome of present social movements.

### Party Activity and Organization

The Proletarian Party, in carrying out its revolutionary principles, shall engage in the following lines of action:

1. The Party shall carry on intensive propaganda among the industrial proletariat and, in addition, propaganda adapted to the agrarian proletarians and poorer farmers.

2. The Party shall systematically organize study classes in order that the workers may best be fitted to work for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of the communist society.

3. Candidates shall be nominated for public office, election campaigns being utilized for propaganda purposes. Candidates elected shall be subject absolutely to party control.

4. The Party shall maintain a centralized lecture bureau and supervise, control and assist in the work of all speakers, teachers and organizers engaged in Party work.

5. The Party shall sell no literature for propaganda purposes not in keeping with its principles, either nationally or through local or branch organizations.

6. There shall be a Party owned and controlled press.

7. There shall be standardization in methods of organization, accounts, reports, etc., from the lowest local unit to the national organization, in the interest of efficiency.

### Tactics

In attaining its program, and in its program, tactics and general party activities the Proletarian Party holds that "it behooves Marxists to resort to special emergency tactics, for Marxists do not consider personalities, but merely objective facts, masses and classes." Marxism demands of us the most exact objective analysis of the relations of classes and the concrete peculiarities of each historic moment. This necessitates the adaptation of correct methods to American conditions, for Marxian teachings are not a dogma, but a guide to action.

The subject of tactics requires special attention at this time, owing, first, to a widespread misconception of the nature of world changes that have lately taken place, and, secondly, to the recent growth of conflicting and anti-Marxian theories, in which every conceivable tactic, no matter how absurd, finds ample justification. It is of greatest importance to the proletariat that correct tactics be formulated and followed, else not only will needless trouble result, but indefinite postponement of proletarian success as well.

The Proletarian Party advocates the tactics of revolutionary political action by the working class—meaning those actions taken to secure control of the state power in order to establish a proletarian state and transform the social system. This action includes the agitation carried on to arouse the workers, education to enlighten them and organization to marshal them for the conquest of state power.

For the present this action must proceed chiefly through parliamentary channels, through the use of the machinery of political democracy. However, we must not confine ourselves to mere parliamentary procedure, nor lose sight of the value of extra-parliamentary action of the proletariat when inspired and guided by a correct understanding of the needs of the working class. As Engels says, "Universal suffrage is the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It never can and never will be anything but that in the modern state, but that is sufficient. On the day when the thermometer reaches the boiling point amongst the workers, they, as well as the capitalists, will know what to do." It is the task of the Proletarian Party to direct the masses into the channels of planful political action, in order

to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class.

To successfully carry out political action of any kind, education of the proletariat—"the most practical form of revolutionary activity" at this time—is necessary. We must get the majority of the workers on our side. "We do not stand for a seizure of power by a minority." The workers must be taught sound communist principles, and when it becomes necessary, the new circumstances will breed new politics. "As conditions have changed for warfare," says Engels, "so not less for the class struggle. The period of sudden onslaughts, of revolutions carried out by small conscious minorities, at the head of unconscious masses, is passed. Where the question involves the complete transformation of the social organization, there the masses themselves have already grasped what the struggle is all about and what they are to stand for. This is what the history of the last fifty years has taught us. But in order that the masses may understand what is to be done, long and persistent work is needed and it is just this work that we are now doing, and that, too, with a success that drives our opponents to despair."

The best guarantee of sound action, in any crisis, will be the knowledge possessed by the class conscious wage workers. In highly developed capitalist countries like the United States, the social revolution, whatever the circumstances, requires the aroused and intelligent interest of the great mass of the workers. Well organized, alert and insistent—such a working class will be able to dominate the situation in spite of all that may happen. It is impossible to have the right kind of mass movement before we have control of the minds and will of the masses.

### Platform

The Proletarian Party has for its immediate aim the dictatorship of the proletariat, with all political power in the hands of the working class; for its ultimate aim the communist society, based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means of wealth production.

### The Task Before Us

Just as the Communist Manifesto of 1848 was a challenge hurled to the capitalist world by the proletariat upon its first firm step into the arena of class conflicts, the manifesto of the Communist International re-echoes the old call. Today it comes not so much as a challenge as a call to action, compelling us to review the present aspects of the proletarian struggle in this country in its relation to the general revolutionary developments elsewhere.

In European countries the class struggle has again and again taken the form of open civil war. From such a struggle the workers of Russia have victoriously emerged. These open conflicts have caused the most advanced sections of the working class in countries outside of the actual scene of action to assist these workers engaged in this struggle by opposing the assistance rendered to counter-revolutionary forces by their home governments. This opposition has taken various forms and has expressed the awakening consciousness of the oppressed workers.

In this relation we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the masses of this country are still in the grip of ignorance and reaction. The major portion of organized labor is dominated by the most narrow and conservative policies, and is therefore easily preyed upon by a hierarchy of reactionary leaders that is openly allied with the corrupt representatives of the exploiting class. With such conditions existing, it is obvious that effective participation by the workers of America in the world struggle of the proletariat cannot take place until the present ideology is broken down and replaced with the ideology of conscious revolt against the wage system.

It is therefore necessary that the American workers break with the past; they must abandon the empty ideology of lip-liberty and repudiate the leaders who have cunningly led them into the mire of prolonged negotiation, dickering and bargaining with the master class, and adopt a policy of action in keeping with working class progress in other countries.

To the attainment of this end the Proletarian Party of America pledges itself. It will bring to bear its understanding of the social forces and economic laws that operate in and through present-day society; it will carry its full share of the burden in the field of revolutionary propaganda and will patiently and painstakingly labor in the field of proletarian education to awaken the masses and develop their latent powers. It will endeavor to give expression to the requirements of the workers and to marshal them for the performance of their part in the historic mission of the proletariat—self emancipation.

Workers of America, the Proletarian Party calls you to action! The Third International calls the world's workers to the final conflict!