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Proletarian Dictatorship

A Speech by Nicolai Lenin

Translated by J. Wilenkin

THOUGH the last Moscow Soviet Congress came to the conclusion that the main task of the Russian Soviet Government is the creation of a rigid organization together with a strengthening of discipline, the majority of the workers do not consider the application of compulsion and dictation necessary to the realization of these decisions. The presumption that the transition from capitalism to Socialism will be possible without compulsion and dictation, is Utopian and senseless. The Marxian theory most emphatically refutes all such petty-bourgeois, democratic, anarchistic nonsense. The development of Russia during the year 1917-18, has irrefutably confirmed the Marxian conception, and only those who are very stupid or who wilfully pervert the truth, can fail to comprehend this. Either the dictatorship of Kornilov or the dictatorship of the proletariat; there can be no other way thanks to the tremendous "tempo" of development in Russia and the sudden transitions due to the disorganization created by the war.

There are two causes which make dictatorship imperative during the transition period from capitalism to Socialism—and the dictatorship aims in two directions. The proletariat cannot conquer without suppressing the ruling classes, who are not willing to renounce their privileges, and who will endeavor to overthrow the hated power of the proletariat. On the other hand, no great revolution, and above all no Socialist revolution, is possible without civil war—even if no exterior war is fought. It does not require much mental exertion to understand that various elements, mostly those connected with the petty bourgeoisie, cannot but reveal themselves in their true light by robbery, speculation, bribery, etc., and time and an iron hand are required to suppress these things.

In all great revolutions the people have instinctively understood the true state of affairs, and acted without mercy against the burglars, who were often shot out of hand. The misfortune of former revolutions was that the enthusiasm, which is necessary for the realization of these measures, was of short duration. This enthusiasm animated masses only for a short time, because the workers played a relatively unimportant part in former revolutions. The proletariat is able, if it is numerically strong, disciplined and class-conscious, to attract the majority of the laboring and exploited masses and thus retain power long enough to effectively suppress all exploiters and all elements of decay. This supports the historic experience which Marx recapitulated in a brief but drastic formula: "the proletarian dictatorship."

That the Russian revolution trod the right path in order to fulfill the historic mission of the workers is proven by the triumph which has been attained by all the peoples of Russia, through the Soviet power. The Soviet power is the organization of the proletarian dictatorship, the vanguard of the class which is creating a new democracy and induc-

ing millions, nay tens of millions, of the laboring and exploited masses to participate independently in the affairs of the state—to administer the state. These masses learn through their own experiences to select the most reliable leaders among the disciplined and conscious vanguard of the proletariat.

But "dictatorship" is a word which should not be used merely as a hollow sound. Dictatorship means iron might, a revolutionary, energetic power, inexorable in the suppression of exploiters, as well as the slum-proletariat (hoodlums). Hitherto the proletarian dictatorship has not been steadfast enough. It must not be forgotten that the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie combat the Soviet power in two different ways: in the first place, by overt methods of conspiracy, Kornilovist riots, lies in the press of the Cadets, Mensheviks and Right-Social-Revolutionaries; and in the second place, by concealed means such as the utilization of all the decaying elements in order to augment bribery, lack of discipline, and chaos. The nearer the complete suppression of bourgeois power approaches, the greater becomes the petty bourgeois, anarchistic

stand that these courts are the organs of the power of the laborers and poorer peasants, a means of education and discipline.

The consciousness, that the main foes of the Russian revolution are hunger and unemployment did not sufficiently penetrate the minds of the masses, still less, the knowledge that each one who violates the discipline necessary during the process of labor, is causing hunger and unemployment and must be adequately punished; must be indicated before the people and unrelentingly punished. The petty bourgeois tendencies, which must be energetically combated, are due, to lack of understanding and to the circumstance that petty bourgeois relations still influence many who say to themselves: "As for me the rest may perish."

This combat between proletarian discipline and petty bourgeois tendencies appears in its most drastic form in the railroad problem. . . . (After pointing out the necessity of introducing dictatorial discipline in the railroad administration, Lenin sums up the question of personal dictatorship showing that not only was it necessary in former revolutions, but also that it does not conflict with the Soviet power.)

If we are not anarchists, we have thus to recognize the need of compulsion during the transition from capitalism to Socialism. The form of compulsion is determined by the degree of development of the predominant revolutionary class—is determined by that which was inherited from a long reactionary war, and by the armed power of resistance of the bourgeoisie. The difference between proletarian and bourgeois dictatorship lies in the fact that the former is directed against the exploiting minority in the interest of the exploited majority—each individual reform is promoted not only by the laboring and exploited classes but also through their organizations (as for instance the Soviet).

In the special case, which is determined by the modern situation, we must state that each large individual industry, i. e., the basis of production and the foundation of Socialism, requires strong unity of will, determining the labor of hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands. This has always been acknowledged by students of Socialism as the first condition, and this can be created only by the subjection of the will of thousands to the will of one individual. This subjection may assume the mild form of management, if great class consciousness and discipline prevails in the ranks of the working class, or it will have to assume the sterner form of dictation if discipline is lax. But in each case absolute subjection is necessary. In the railroad concerns it is twofold, threefold as important.

The transition from one political problem to another, which seems to be entirely different, distinguishes the present-day period, and whereas this transition cannot avoid shocks and vacillations, the highest perfection of the vanguard of the proletariat is its iron discipline.

New York State Locals and Language Branches, Attention!

The first meeting of the Provisional Left Wing State Caucus was held in Albany, June 8th. The foundation of a State-wide organization was laid; in view of the expulsion tactics of our officialdom it behooves every Left Wing Local and Branch throughout the State to affiliate itself with the Provisional State Caucus so that we can all act in harmony.

Take this question up at the next Central Committee meeting of your Local or Branch and elect a delegate to Syracuse.

Minutes of previous meeting sent on request. Don't forget!

Provisional Left Wing State Caucus meets in Syracuse, July 4th.

All communications and credentials should be sent to

MAXIMILIAN COHEN, Secretary
Provisional Left Wing Caucus
43 W. 29th St., N. Y. C.

menace. These elements cannot be fought solely by means of agitation; the application of compulsion becomes necessary. The more the administration of society, and not the suppression of the bourgeoisie, becomes the chief activity of the Soviets, the more the People's Tribunals—not lynching courts—must serve as the means of compulsion.

The revolutionary masses have already taken the initial steps in the right direction by the creation of the People's Tribunals. But they are not yet strong enough; they have not yet liberated themselves sufficiently from the spirit of the bourgeoisie. The people are not yet conscious enough to under-

Friday, June 20th

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MONSTER MASS MEETING

FRIDAY, 8 O'CLOCK—MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

TO PROTEST THE RAID ON THE SOVIET BUREAU

COMRADE L. C. A. K. MARTENS WILL BE THE PRINCIPAL
SPEAKER. OTHER SPEAKERS TO BE ANNOUNCED

Under the auspices of The Russian Socialist Federation

Madison Square Garden

Madison Square Garden

The New York COMMUNIST

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Comrade John Reed has been granted a few weeks' leave in order to finish his book, "Kornilov to Brest-Litovsk" which is announced to appear in September. He will continue to contribute to the paper during his absence.

Greetings

IN the name of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party, Local Greater New York, *The Communist* extends greetings to the delegates to the National Left Wing Conference, the representatives of the revolutionary spirit of the working masses of America. All over the earth the workers are rising to greet the new dawn which is already bright in the eastern sky. In Russia and Hungary, the workers are building the new society of the Socialist Commonwealth, constructing Socialist order out of the chaos of Capitalism. In Germany the Spartacides are waging a desperate conflict for the conquest of power, and throughout the old world the class conscious workers are marshalling their forces for the final assault on the citadel of Capitalism.

These great changes have produced much that is glorious and heroic, great Comrades have made the final sacrifice in the struggle, and the hearts of Socialists the world over beat with new enthusiasm, our Comrades have been tried and not found wanting. But much that clouds the sky of our hopes has also happened. Reaction has found a ready response in certain sections of our movement, and what we had hitherto been disposed to believe was merely a difference of ways and means of accomplishing a common object, has developed into a breach so wide that machine guns and rifle bullets have become the arbiters of the dispute. In our ranks were many whom we felt would falter in the decisive hour, but few dreamt that we were harboring within our bosoms the vipers of bourgeois reaction.

As a result of the developments of the struggle the movement, whose solidarity was our boast, has been split in fragments. But our task admits of no regrets, we must profit from the experiences of those in action. It is because of these developments and because we are determined to learn the lessons they teach, that you are to gather in convention. On you devolves the task of rebuilding the Socialist movement in America, rebuilding it not on the sands of political and industrial opportunism, but on the solid rock of revolutionary Socialism. The task is no easy one, yours is not to pull down the old structure, it has fallen of its own innate decay, but to construct the new.

On your actions, and above all on the actions of the men and women in whose names you speak, depends the immediate future of our movement. The eyes of our European Comrades are often turned towards America, they are watching us in this crisis. We know that you will be worthy of the task and the hour.

Mob Government

THE committee which is at present wasting the money of the people of New York State in what purports to be an investigation of Bolshevism, distinguished itself on June 12, by a brutal raid on the offices of Comrade Martens, the representative in this country of the Russian Soviet Government. The raid was conducted by the State constabulary, headed by one, Archibald E. Stevenson, who apparently derives his power from the fact that he is secretary of the Union League Club, and the rumor that he is about to be given a job with the investigating committee.

The offices were thoroughly ransacked, most of the papers seized without anyone being allowed to make a record, and much wanton damage done, while Comrade Martens and members of his staff were dragged before the committee and subjected to a grilling behind closed doors, even being denied counsel. Finding that these brutal tactics were not as popular as was imagined, the committee has taken refuge in a denial of responsibility, though the fact that it proceeded to grill the men arrested clearly proves that the raid was carried out by its directions.

While it is true that Russia is not recognized by the government of the United States, yet beyond doubt Comrade Martens has a semi-official status in this country. On being appointed to his present office he notified the Federal Government of his presence and his mission here. These facts would be sufficient, under any government carried on with respect for the observance of capitalist "legality," to protect Comrade Martens from interference from any source other than the Federal Government. Yet this committee, which is at best only an official State investigating body, assumes the functions of the national government. If every private individual, who happens to have sufficient moneyed influence behind him, is to be allowed to usurp governmental powers, then even the laws of capitalist governments are broken down and the country is handed over to the rule of the mob.

Bourgeois democracy rests upon the fiction that the government is the organized will of the people, functioning through duly appointed representatives. Under the laws, which it has set up for its own safety, the right of the individual to a certain modicum of security from indiscriminate violence is guaranteed. Socialists have had ample demonstration that, in these days of tottering capitalism, even the pretense of these guarantees has been swept aside. The average worker has yet to learn the true nature of bourgeois government. Archibald E. Stevenson and the Lusk investigating committee are contributing to his education.

Recognizing "Russia"

AFTER over two years of iniquitous intrigue the capitalist powers of the world have finally decided on a more or less open policy towards Russia. And their decision is in line with their previous intrigues: the most reactionary elements in Russia are to be accorded what virtually amounts to recognition, and are to receive, openly and officially, all the help that the present temper of the world's workers will allow. This action by the Associated Powers is a fitting conclusion to one of the blackest chapters in the history of the world—the story of the great Powers' attempt to strangle the struggling worker masses of Russia.

It is needless to recount here the outstanding points in this foul story: Brest Litovsk and the subsequent German invasion; the Allied invasion; the secret attempts, made under cover of diplomatic immunity, to foster the counter-revolution; the attempt to cut off Petrograd and starve its population to death; the food blockade to accomplish the starvation of the whole country; the attempted destruction of the crops of the Ukraine for the same purpose; the Siberian death train; the wholesale sabotage of the machinery of production; the forgery of documents to mislead the outside workers into the belief that Bolshevism was a foul and vicious tyranny. . . . All these and countless other incidents are stamped on the hearts of the class conscious workers of all lands in letters of living fire. And now comes the recognition of Kolchak's bloody regime, and the promise of added strength to the hand that wields the iron-tipped knout against the bared backs of the Russian workers and peasants.

In their letter proposing the step the Associated Powers still use the same idealistic language which characterized their announcement of intervention. Then they disavowed any desire to "interfere in the internal affairs of Russia," and proceeded to interfere as fast as troops could be shipped into the country; now they use the self-same expression while throwing support to the only elements which still conform to the worst traditions of Czarist rule. "The Allied and Associated Governments now wish to declare formally that the object of their policy is to restore peace within Russia by enabling the Russian people to resume control of their own affairs through the instrumentality of a freely elected Constituent Assembly. . . . they wish to be assured that those whom they are prepared to assist stand for the civil and religious liberty of all Russian citizens and will make no attempt to reintroduce the regime which the revolution has destroyed. . . ." So the miserable farce of democratic aims continues, and in his reply Kolchak, with the blood of the Russian workers and peasants still dripping from his bayonets, with the ink on his ukases, forbidding the workers to organize under penalty of death, not yet dry, uses the same language. ". . . I shall not retain that power one day longer than required by

the interest of the country. . . . my first thought at the moment when the Bolsheviki are definitely crushed will be to fix the date for the elections to the Constituent Assembly. . . . Russia cannot now and cannot in the future ever be anything but a democratic State where all questions involving modifications of the territorial frontiers and of external relations must be ratified by a representative body which is the national expression of the people's sovereignty. . . . the Government affirms the equality before the law of all citizens without any special privilege. All shall receive, without distinction of origin or religion, the protection of the State and of the law."

With this reply the great Powers express themselves satisfied, and money, food and munitions of war are to be furnished, that the bloody work of making Russia safe for capitalism may go on.

The recognition accorded Kolchak has not come as a surprise to that section of the workers which understands the forces at work. Capitalist-Imperialism could not do other than oppose Bolshevism. The success of Bolshevism in Russia, or in any country, spells the doom of the present system of society, and the men who are assembled at Paris are commissioned to see that, whatever else may happen, capitalism survives. It was for this reason that the Associated Powers first undertook the invasion of Russia under cover of assisting the Czecho-Slovaks to leave the country and take the field against Germany on the Western front. Invasion has been a hopeless failure.

The German advance into Russia after Brest-Litovsk broke down much of the disagreement that must necessarily arise during the first days of the transition period from capitalism to Socialism; the Allied invasion swept away the remaining dissensions, and united the whole population solidly against external aggression. For over a year Bolshevik Russia has been hemmed in by a ring of foreign bayonets, while famine clutched at its throat, but to a man the Russian workers and peasants, often with no other weapons than their bare hands, rose to the defense of the revolution and thrust back the invaders. All the time crying out the glad tidings of their new freedom to their comrade workers of other lands.

Checked in their efforts to overthrow the Bolsheviki by a military invasion the great powers resorted to the dark ways of diplomacy, but here too the workers' Government outwitted them. Every proposal, made to disrupt the workers' force was answered with appalling frankness, often replies, over the heads of the governments, to the peoples of the Allied countries. And then the Allies began their policy of waiting until starvation would do its work, waiting, with but enough military activity to draw men from the fields, lest they reap new crops and balk starvation. But again the Bolsheviki conquered; the workers of the Allied countries had heard the voice of Russia and become restless, and louder and louder grew the demand to withdraw the troops and let Russia carve her own destiny, until finally the very troops became "corrupted."

Clearly in face of these difficulties it was impossible for the great powers to continue their schemes. But Russia must not be allowed to survive in her present state. And so Kolchak is singled out to be the instrument of Allied reaction. It is the last desperate attempt of bankrupt Capitalism to save itself.

The treatment accorded Russia was to be the acid test of the good will of the Allied nations, according to Mr. Wilson. But the good will of nations matters little these days, and Russia is fated to be more than the test of good will. Russia is the acid test of the success or failure of the world social revolution. In their ability to deal with Russia lay the future of the capitalist nations of the world. The story of the past two years is the black stain of the acid test of good will. The recognition of Kolchak is the admission of the failure of the Allied schemes to defeat Bolshevism.

News About Kolchak

Admiral Kolchak has, apparently, adopted the strategy which was used by the Czecho-Slovaks about a year ago, when they started a westward movement on their way to France. It has been established beyond doubt that Kolchak is continuing his successful march on Moscow. . . . in an eastward direction. The workers and peasants of Russia seem to be eager to help him along. According to the latest information, they are doing their best to show their appreciation of his noble effort to save Russia from the tyranny of a very small minority of its population—the workers and peasants—by considerably reducing his burden of men and guns, making it easier for him to hasten on toward Vladivostok. The correspondents report persistent rumors in Siberia, to the effect that Kolchak on his way to Moscow, intends to visit New York, where he will be entertained by the Union League Club. It is also said, that he will stop off at Tokio to receive the order of "The Knights of Democracy" from the Mikado.

A Reply to a Non-Partisan League Farmer

By Jay Lovestone

(Continued from last week.)

V. Have we not in North Dakota a Soviet of Farmers?

No! This question deals with the differences between the Soviet and the bourgeois parliamentary state. First of all, your "Soviets" are based on the ponderous apparatus of universal suffrage. A genuine Soviet replies immediately on such organic groups as shop, factory, mill and so forth. Second: Your "Soviet" has no serious guarantees of immediate and direct relation between elected and electors. Thirdly: Your "Soviet" is chosen by an amorphous mass of electors who entrust full power to others for a year or so. In the genuine Soviet however, the Soviet electors remain always united by the conditions of their work and their existence. The Soviet delegate is always before the workers' eyes. And he can be ordered, censured, removed and replaced at any moment. In a real Soviet the representatives are directly concerned with industries. Here the right to vote is no privilege or charity, but a right only of a laboring citizen. Under the Soviet rule no agent of a capitalist political party drives any one to the ballot box. Because the Soviet voter must join a workers' organization, there can be no mass of indifferent voters as under parliamentary democracy.

Aside from the above it must be remembered that a Soviet represents only the industrial and the agricultural populations. It does not allow the exploiters, owners of farms for speculative purposes, for example, representation. The North Dakota "Soviet" is based on a union of all classes, big bourgeois, little bourgeois and workingmen. The arbitrary, geographical nature of the bourgeois state is still retained by your "Soviet." Did not the bulk of your "Soviet" voters go to the Republican Party in the last Congressional elections?

But how long ago was it that the Non-Partisan League farm owners, controlling your "Soviets" were dickering with the I. W. W. farm laborers, the agricultural proletariat, about the wages to be paid the latter? Are these industrial workers allowed by your "Soviet"? It is not true that the agricultural proletariat, the farm-hands, are unable to participate in the voting for your "Soviet" because of their lack of proper residential qualifications? No, you have no "Soviet". In a real Soviet only the agricultural and the industrial laborers rule and rule. Yours is a political organization controlled by farm owners and not by farm laborers.

The Socialists of North Dakota, who have become the backbone of the Non-Partisan (class peace) League have, like "moderate Socialists" the world over, a middle-class conception of the State. This conception arises from the latest tendencies in capitalism. The smaller capitalists are being pressed hard by centralized capital and by the men rising from the ranks and the wage working class. Your North Dakota farmers are pressed by the large trust companies on one side and by the agricultural proletariat on the other. Therefore your North Dakota "Soviet" is "socializing" many enterprises to help the farm owners. The middle class bases its hopes on an extension of state activities. By the intellectual proletariat, another section of the middle class, the extension of state activities is especially welcomed, for many new official jobs are opened up. To get these jobs, examinations must be passed. And who can pass them better than the intellectual proletariat? Thus the entire middle class sees in the state a glorified institution—a means of saving the world! The middle class ideal state is a state which controls industry and rewards each according to his "ability". The tragic phase of this state and municipal ownership is that it is heralded as Socialism in practise.

The middle class is anxious "to ape the luxuries of the rich, consequently their social demands aim at incomes. Whereas, the demand of the wage-laborer is for the social control of wealth created by labor in order to achieve economic freedom." But a careful examination of the various state enterprises definitely shows that they do not make for the economic freedom of the laborer, but that they rather strengthen capitalism and class rule. The growing industrial unrest compels all property interests to more and more rely on the state. "Public order" must be maintained. In "society's" name the state must crush strikes. The capitalist class contends that the state represents society in order to hide the class nature of the state. The Left Wing holds that reform nostrums are means of misleading the American proletariat. The bourgeoisie fear a class conscious proletariat and hence they strive to confuse the workers. National and municipal control are inherent in the higher stage of capitalism. Municipal and state ownership are as much "steps" toward Socialism as the general trend towards concentration and centralization of

capital is. Because our ruling class was menaced by a foreign ruling class, America adopted many such measures of "Socialism."

With America's entry into the war, state enterprise was nursed to a gigantic size. Today the American bourgeoisie is compelled to extend state control because it desires to hold the markets it has won during the war. What is more, industrial unrest must be curbed and the workers must be disciplined. The nominal wages may rise but only at the expense of the proletariat being tyrannized by the official bureaucrats. Whatever freedom the working class had, is fast disappearing. And the proletariat's social position is being lowered.

An extension of state control means a further extension of bourgeois control of the press and educational institutions.

The interests of the bourgeoisie manifesting themselves in these, mold the laborer's political ideas. To make still more secure the bourgeois control of the state, the working-class, though at great disadvantage, is never allowed to decide really important measures in capitalist society. Was the American working-class given a chance by its democracy to pass upon the declaration of war, financing of the war, conscription, the Espionage Act? No! Though the American capitalist class was very well equipped to win such a test, yet, these matters were too vital to capitalism to even take the least chance with interference of their realization.

Capitalism is in its death throes. Its inherent contradictions have become a fetter on the system of production. It is for this reason that in the last decade or two capitalism is relying ever more on the state. State control really means a better organized capitalism, and it is the last effort of the bourgeois class to stave off its downfall.

VI. Shall We Refuse a Baby's Cry for Food Because It Can't Eat Meat?

This question touches the heart of the social reform controversy. It deals with the so-called "immediate demands."

At the outset let us look into the why and wherefore of capitalist reforms. It must be kept in mind that when one speaks of reforms, he is well aware of the fact that the capitalist system is not yet overthrown, and that the "reforms" are to be granted by capitalists. Why do capitalists grant reforms?

There are two reasons. First, in order to stifle the ever-increasing class-consciousness of the workers. To the capitalist class, as to others, an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. By granting certain "improvements" in the immediate conditions of the workers, the capitalist hides the class nature of the present system of production. By apparently being kind to the worker, the capitalist hides the conflict of interests and promotes the proletariat's belief in the brotherhood of labor and capital. Thus the spirit of independent class action by the proletariat is dampened. Reflect for a moment over the effect of the "Welfare Bureau," of profit-sharing, and other immediate "reforms" on the employees. The extensive social reform program of Germany played no small part in cementing the proletariat's loyalty to the kaiser. The heralded "constructive reforms" fought for by the Social-Democratic Party are to a great extent responsible for the blood-shed in Germany today. Moderate Socialism in Germany, as everywhere, ascribed to bureaucratic petty bourgeois reforms a creative revolutionary value. The effect of these reform campaigns has been to drape the proletariat as to the class nature of the state and bourgeois democracy. The German proletariat was misled as to the nature of the Communist order. And today Germany is not a land of soviets but a bloody bourgeois republic!

There is another reason for the capitalists' granting "improvements" in the workers' conditions. The only use the capitalist has for the proletariat is exploitation. But to be capable of exploitation a laborer must exist. He must do more than that. He must live. A broken-down worker is inefficient.

On the whole, the bourgeoisie are not as stupid as some of our twentieth-century utopian Socialists believe. Their investigators have made extensive studies proving that efficiency can be increased by shorter hours, and "improvements" in working conditions. The improved methods of production and business organization intensify the degree of exploitation. Hence, capitalism can well stand "reform"—or change of tactics in its exploitation of the working-class.

All Left Wing Branches are requested to postpone business meetings, street meetings, lectures, etc., and support Friday's Madison Square meeting.

"Shall we fight for or against these 'immediate improvements?'" asks the moderate "Socialist." From this we are led straight to the object of a revolutionary Socialist political party. What is the purpose of a class-conscious proletarian party? Its object should be none other than to always hold before the working masses the ideal of revolution, the ideal of a new society—a Communist society. A Socialist Party should broaden the activity of the proletariat into class activity, and should always point out the nature of capitalism. The Socialists should not wage campaigns for the transformation of the state or for the enlarging of its functions. A Socialist political party must always be on guard against the seduction of the proletariat by the state activities in his "benefit." The parliamentary campaign and the legislature offer us a means of expressing our class interests, and of exposing bourgeois class interests.

The policy of the Left Wing, or revolutionary Socialism, is neither to oppose or to propose these "immediate demands," these "social reforms"—this whole gamut of "beneficial state activities or state capitalism." The social reform of state capitalism is today a fact to which Socialism must adjust itself.

The Left Wing does not intend to abandon the immediate struggle. To the Left Wing the immediate demands that arise serve as the dynamo of all action. By means of them we generate revolutionary currents amongst the proletariat. By aggressively engaging in this struggle the revolutionary sparks latent in the proletariat can be fanned into revolutionary fires against the bourgeoisie. We employ this struggle as a means of promoting the final struggle.

An analysis of the immediate problems confronting the American working class will help us clarify this matter. Let us analyze the attitudes of revolutionary and petty bourgeois Socialism towards them. First, let us take the unemployment problem. The tide of unemployment is rising. Shall we say to the capitalist class "Get out!" and presto—there will be no unemployment?

The Left Wing holds that unemployment—rather disemployment—is an inherent characteristic of capitalism. As long as capitalism exists there will be disemployment. The problem cannot be "solved" as long as capitalism is intact. Unlike the petty-bourgeois Right Wing Socialism, the Left Wing believes that not even the capitalist state, that miracle-organ, that God of Right Wing Socialism, can "solve" this problem. Therefore the Left Wing disdains petitioning the President, as the official organ of Right Wingism, *The Call*, has done. We will not petition even a fourteen-point capitalist champion for the establishment of Government Employment Bureaus. What more dangerous weapon against the proletariat could be given the bourgeois government than control of employment. What chance would a labor spokesman, a hounded "agitator," have of getting a job? Perhaps this accounts for J. P. Morgan's generosity in contributing thousands of dollars for the maintenance of these "public" employment bureaus! Fail to "solve" this "problem" of capitalism; reactionary, utopian Socialism agitates for unemployment insurance. Has insurance ever done away with unemployment anywhere? No! Not even in Germany where the "Socialists" now have a majority!

But cannot anything at all be done to combat the immediate distress of unemployment? Yes. The Left Wing has a plan of action in meeting this immediate demand. And in this struggle the Left Wing sees a means of promoting the final struggle. Suppose there are today two million unemployed in America. Shall we invest our energy in several tons of paper (petitions)? Shall we appeal for the votes of "all liberty loving citizens" and promise them a "solution" by insurance? No! The Left Wing would show the why and the wherefore of unemployment. The Left Wing would take advantage of this crisis of capitalism and spread revolutionary propaganda amongst the unemployed. It would not stop there. The Left Wing would propose and work for a country-wide strike for shorter hours so that fewer workers might be disemployed.

Is this an abandonment of the immediate struggle? Why waste energy in attempting to solve the insoluble, the contradictions of capitalism. Why misdirect the efforts of the working-class when splendid opportunity is offered to lead them into revolutionary channels? Is this demanding all or nothing? Is such a policy as outlined above based on the notion of "damn the immediate benefits and the worse the better?"

(To Be Continued.)

Why Political Democracy Must Go

By John Reed

VIII

IN a previous article I attempted to show the economic interests behind the Constitution of the United States, and the deliberate expedients employed by the Colonial ruling class to create a government which would obstruct the will of the majority of the people. Let us now briefly see how the machinery operates.

Contrary to general belief, the American political democracy is not one of the most advanced democratic governments of the world, but one of the most backward. To indicate a few points in which it lags behind other governments: The President is elected for four years, and cannot be removed except for serious cause, by impeachment; but the Premiers of England, France and Italy, retire when their Party loses power. The Cabinet of the United States Government is not responsible to anyone, and can only be removed by the President, who appoints it; the Cabinets of England, France and Italy are responsible to the parliaments, and fall with the Premier. Laws passed by Congress may be declared invalid by the Supreme Court; but laws passed by the British Parliament cannot be reviewed by any court, and can only be changed at the ballot-box. In the United States the form of Government is rigidly fixed by the Constitution, which moreover eternally guarantees the sacredness of property—nor can this Constitution be altered except by an overwhelming majority, which practically makes impossible any profound economic change by law; while in England no such bar exists to Revolution by law.

However, these apparent differences in degree of political democracy are not so important as they seem. In all political democratic countries today, under the capitalist system, "the State power is more and more turned into an organ of Capital's mastery over Labor—a public force organized for social enslavement, an engine of class despotism." In the United States, however, the methods by which the great capitalists control the State are more apparent to the observer than elsewhere; although here, too, the masses of the people are more blinded by the "democratic" ideology in which political concepts are phrased, and by what a great Frenchman called "the illusion of the ballot-box."

It must be admitted that the Constitution has been broadened during the last century—that more and more "democracy" has been introduced into our Government; such amendments as the Income Tax and the Direct Election of Senators testify to this tendency. Also the evolution of the State constitutions, removing franchise restrictions; and the acts of Congress and the State legislatures, fixing the control and hastening the democratization of the electoral machinery—all these signify that larger and larger masses of citizens theoretically participate in the Government. But these "democratic" advances exactly correspond with the growth of the Invisible Government—the autocracy of finance—which progressively nullifies the power of the political ballot.

Political democratic ideals grew out of the theory that men were born free and equal; that their interests were ostensibly equal interests, resulting from freedom of opportunity—and that it was the conflict of these equal but diversified property rights—especially their geographical diversity—which made it possible to construct a government representing all and satisfying the great majority. Such conditions existed to a greater degree in the American Colonies, with their hinterland of undeveloped continent, and their lack of any indigenous aristocracy, than in other parts of the world, and the Declaration of Independence was the expression of these sentiments.

But even at the time of the War of Independence, the capitalist system was well developed, and the Constitution, eleven years later, embodied the clear class-consciousness of the Colonial capitalists, rendered palatable by "democratic" idealistic phraseology.

Madison had warned the Convention to take into account the new and changing forms in which property would manifest itself in the future. In the next century the industrial era brought into existence wholly new forms of property; and, moreover, changed both the relations of men to one another, and the relations of men to their Government. The ownership of the tools of production and the means of distribution by a few, reduced the mass of mankind to dependence upon these few for all the necessities of life.

Now the State is the expression of the relations of classes—property-relations—in society. The American Government, particularly, was formed to protect property; and since as time went on more and more wealth was concentrated in the hands of the few great capitalists, the Government protected and fostered this capitalist property more and more. The mass of mankind became dependent upon the

will of the industrial autocrats for their very existence. When they combined and demanded a larger share of the product of their labor, this constituted an attack upon private property, and the Government was called in to suppress them. Important illustrations of this are the calling in of Federal troops during the Pullman strike in 1895; the use of injunctions in industrial disputes, in some cases forbidding strikes—and in one important instance, even forbidding the workers to stop working for a corporation; the manipulation of laws directed against the great corporations—such as the Sherman Anti-Trust Law—so as to turn it against the working class—as in the case of labor boycotts (see the case of the Danbury Hatters); and finally, the interpretation of laws by the Courts.

After all this innovation, unique among political democracies, has turned out to be the easiest and most successful expedient for thwarting the will of the masses, and defending the political power of the capitalist class. Founded with the ostensible purpose of interpreting the Constitution, the Supreme Court has extended its powers of "interpretation" until it has become, in fact, a legislative body in itself; and being composed largely of eminent corporation lawyers, it represents the most reactionary property interests. For instance, it declared unconstitutional a law passed by the New York State Legislature forbidding bakery employees to work more than ten hours a day—on the ground that this statute infringed the rights and liberties of manufacturers as citizens under the Constitution. It declared the Income Tax Law unconstitutional, and more recently the Child Labor Law—both because they were attacks upon "property" and "liberty." On the other hand, in spite of the Constitutional provision specifically forbidding Congress to make any law "abridging the freedom of speech," the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of Eugene V. Debs and Kate Richards O'Hare for expressing their opinions upon political questions.

The Federal judiciary has been the supreme authority in the Government, even dominating Congress—except when Congress fell into the hands of a new dominant class. For instance, in 1866, Congress passed the famous "reconstruction" acts, some of which were clearly unconstitutional. Congress had then been captured by the Northern Republicans, the new powerful great capitalists, under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens, the iron manufacturer of Pennsylvania. In passing these acts, Congress warned the Supreme Court not to lay its hands on them; and the Supreme Court obeyed.

In other cases the capitalists have used the President against Congress. In 1864, Lincoln, and the most far-seeing of the great industrial capitalists of the North, determined to abolish slavery—both as a military measure against the South and as a way of destroying the economic competition of slave-labor. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution was about to be submitted to the States for ratification, against a very determined opposition. It was seen that one more state was necessary for the ratification, and three votes were needed in Congress to admit Nevada into the Union. Lincoln did not hesitate to bribe three Congressmen by appointing them to Federal offices.

In 1906, the revolt of the small property owners against the headlong career of great capitalist trustification and monopolization had reached a stage when the small property owners had got control of Congress and placed on the statute books the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. The Supreme Court, after its experience with popular wrath awakened by the rejection of the Income Tax Law in 1905, did not dare to declare the Sherman Law unconstitutional. Here was a clear case of political democracy at work—the will of the majority. Blocked in its plan of absorbing the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company by this law, the great financiers who were forming the United States Steel Corporation deliberately precipitated the Panic of 1907. President Roosevelt was forced to beg for mercy from the great capitalists, who consented to stop the panic on condition of being permitted to proceed with their plans. In 1907-08, then, the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company was "absorbed," in direct violation of the law. In 1909, the Senate demanded that the Attorney-General inform it whether he had instituted proceedings against the Steel Trust and if not, why not. President Roosevelt directed the Attorney-General not to answer the Senate; and further declared that the Cabinet was responsible to himself alone.

In spite of the will of the vast majority of voters in the country, expressed in the election of Wilson, and the passage of the Sherman and the Clayton Acts, the aggregation of vast groups of capital has gone on apace, untouched by the law; or when the great combinations have been forced to dissolve—

such as the Standard Oil—they have done so in appearance only, and the result has been, as everyone knows, merely to strengthen their monopolistic hold upon the resources of the country.

The war completed the abject surrender of the Government to the great financiers. The country—the voting majority of small property owners—elected the Democratic administration in 1916, primarily because "it had kept us out of war." But by the spring of 1917, the United States Government was at war. It had been clearly proven for almost two years that the forces which were pushing the country toward war were the great munitions interests, the bankers who had floated Allied loans, and the imperialist corporations anxious share in the redistribution of foreign markets. The United States was by this time, through the action of private bankers, heavily involved in the Allied cause; the Allied blockade had cut off German commerce, and a vast trade had opened up with England, France and Russia. Allied defeat would have proven disastrous to Wall Street, which, at the very moment that the Allied strength wavered, plunged America into the struggle.

Never had there appeared so clearly the almost complete control of the press and all agencies of publicity by the capitalist class; with one voice they bayed for blood-shed, repeating unanimously every rumor of German "atrocities." German propagandists here were outlawed; British and French propagandists bought, corrupted, threatened, pleaded without hindrance. Congressmen who dared to oppose war in the interest of their constituents were lashed with a bitter fury by press and pulpit and the President. I was at that time in Washington, lobbying against the war and against conscription. Three-fourths of the Congressmen admitted to me that they did not want war, that their constituents were against it; but almost all of them were terrified of the Chambers of Commerce (the business men, bankers, etc.) of their districts, and dared not brook the wrath of the great newspapers.

And when once the country had gathered way toward the great decision, and conscription had been passed, the great capitalists delivered their ultimatum to the cowering Government in Washington. The Anti-Trust legislation must be suspended; the bankers and business men themselves must run the war. Hence we had the amazing spectacle of the Council of National Defense, made up of speculators, manufacturers and merchants, awarding Government Contracts at outrageous prices in the morning, and in the evening accepting these same contracts as private individuals. But not only this: all through the country, Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade formed organizations of armed detectives and police, composed of business men and bankers, who used the power delegated to them by the Department of Justice to wage the class war against the Labor Movement. And an arbitrary War Labor Board legislated in all differences between capital and labor, whose decisions were binding and backed by the power of the Federal Government. The workers were forced to obey these decisions or forced into the army; the great corporations; most of them, either refused to obey decisions they did not like, or like the manufacturers of Bridgeport, Conn., took advantage of the war-situation to destroy the defenses of organized labor.

Advocates of parliamentary action often point to the mass of labor-legislation passed by Congress and the state legislatures,—such as eight-hour law, workmen's compensation statutes, minimum wage regulations and factory laws in general. Like the increase in political "democracy," the increase in industrial "democracy" is also in exact ratio to the growth of knowledge among the great labor-employers that the more labor is protected, the more efficient it is; and the more it can produce, and the more it can be exploited. The speeding-up of machinery consequent upon mechanical perfection and scientific management now make it possible to exploit labor more thoroughly in eight hours, than in twelve hours. Lord Leverhulme, the English employer, now advocates the Six-Hour Day, because it is productive of larger profits for the manufacturer than the Eight-Hour Day. . . .

But when the capitalist does not feel it to his interest to obey the law, he does not obey it; and the State backs him up in his disobedience. For example, in Colorado there has been an eight-hour law on the Statute-books for twenty years or more; and yet, in 1913, that law was deliberately broken in the coal-mines of the state, and had been for ten years. All attempts of the men themselves to organize for its enforcement were frustrated by armed force. The unions were smashed by armed thugs, who killed and deported miners at will. At election time the ballot-boxes were placed on company ground, guarded by armed hirelings of the

Left Wing Notes

At the State Convention of the Socialist Party of Minnesota, held June 8, at Minneapolis, it was decided to form a permanent organization of the Left Wing in the State. A motion condemning the action of the N. E. C. in suspending the seven language federations and expelling the State organization of Michigan was carried with instructions to the delegates to have their locals and branches second the Cleveland resolution, demanding that the question of expulsion be submitted to a membership referendum.

It was also decided to form a Left Wing State Executive Committee of five, and to elect seven delegates to the National Emergency Convention of the Party. Two delegates were elected to represent the State at large, at the National Left Wing Conference and it was decided that locals desiring to send delegates could do so. Comrades Gordon and Thompson were elected.

The convention went on record as believing that "the best way to strengthen the Left Wing movement is to teach the philosophy and economics of Socialism. Reformism can no longer draw any support from an apparent contradiction between Marxism and the facts of industrial development. Marxism has been completely vindicated by the war and its outcome. The Left Wing movement will grow in proportion to its success in making this truth known."

The Massachusetts Socialist Party State Conference held on May 30 to June 2, resulted in a clean sweep for the Left Wing. Two delegates, Comrades Marion Sproute and John J. Ballam, were elected to represent the State at the National Left Wing Conference. Comrade Louis C. Fraina is the delegate from Local Boston. About 20 delegates, out of over 200, bolted and formed another convention when the Left Wing Program was adopted. Debs, Haywood, Mooney and all other political prisoners were greeted in a resolution. Resolutions protesting against intervention in Russia, and the reign of terror in Finland were carried; as were resolutions greeting the Winnipeg workers, endorsing the Third International, expressing solidarity with the expelled Comrades and urging the formation of Shop Committees for spreading Socialist propaganda.

The Convention also resolved "That it is our sense that *The Revolutionary Age* become the central organ of the National Left Wing of the Socialist Party. That we recommend to Local Boston to turn over *The Revolutionary Age* to the Left Wing Conference, June 21, for its disposal."

The 3rd, 5th and 10 A. D. (unreorganized) holds its business meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday. Discussion meetings on alternate Mondays. The House Committee meets every Wednesday. The class in "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" meets every Friday evening.

All Comrades who still have subscription lists should send them in immediately. We need the money!
MAXIMILIAN COHEN.

Left Wing Organizers, Attention!

The Communist in future will run a column of official Left Wing Socialist News. Organizers and secretaries should send in notices of the branch business meetings, street meetings and all other branch activities. The list for the week following our date of issue should reach this office not later than Tuesday. Thus the list of meetings for the week beginning Monday should be in this office on the preceding Tuesday.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Friday, June 20, 8 o'clock at Rutgers Square, 2nd A. D.

Wednesday, June 25, 8 o'clock at 110th Street and 5th Avenue, 17th A. D.

Friday, June 27, 8 o'clock at 106th Street and Madison Avenue, 17th A. D.

NOTICE

All Left Wing Branches in Kings, Queens, Manhattan and Bronx: Out-of-town speakers will be here during and after the National Left Wing Conference and it is advisable for all branches wishing to hold mass-meetings to make arrangements and get dates. Communicate with secretary.

Comrade L. E. Katterfeld will be open for three mass-meetings, week of June 23rd until June 29th. Locals or branches wishing to engage him communicate immediately with secretary. Comrade Katterfeld would also like to speak up-state for a few meetings. Buffalo, Syracuse, Utica, Rochester, etc. take notice.

On the referendum to elect international delegates of the Socialist Party, Texas, Pennsylvania, Oregon, Ohio and the District of Columbia give the following returns:

John Reed, 4312; Louis C. Fraina, 3364; C. E. Ruthenberg, 3256; A. Wagenknecht, 2515; I. E. Ferguson, 2039. These are all Left Wing candidates. The moderates: Victor Berger, 1123; A. Germer, 1053; Algernon Lee, 438; John M. Work, 473; Seymour Stedman, 829; A. Shiplacoff, 674; James O'Neal, 365.

The full returns are, from the District of Columbia and 15 states—Texas, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Florida, Rhode Island, Maine, Kentucky, Arkansas, Minnesota, Michigan and Massachusetts:

John Reed, 11,911; Louis C. Fraina, 10,441; A. Wagenknecht, 7,938; C. E. Ruthenberg, 7,779; I. E. Ferguson, 4,577; Victor Berger, 2,262; A. Germer, 1,961; Seymour Stedman, 1,618; A. Shiplacoff, 1,337; James O'Neal, 1,143; Algernon Lee, 1,003; John M. Work, 920.

In 14 of these states (Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia not in) the vote on International Secretary is: Kate Richards O'Hare, 7,137; Morris Hillquit, 2,422.

The vote in Local Buffalo, New York (expelled for being Left Wing) on international delegates is:

John Reed, 307; Louis C. Fraina, 285; C. E. Ruthenberg, 271; I. E. Ferguson, 67; Victor Berger, 61; Kate O'Hare gets 145 votes and Morris Hillquit 80.

For National Executive Committee in District One—three states, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, the vote is: Louis C. Fraina, 3,130; N. I. Hourwich, 2,544; E. Lindgren, 1,472; L. Lore, 940; Morris Hillquit, 838; James O'Neal, 688; A. Shiplacoff, 319. Local Buffalo for N. E. C. votes: L. C. Fraina, 259; N. I. Hourwich, 205; E. Lindgren, 150; Morris Hillquit, 83.

These are partial results, indicating a Left Wing sweep, that a reactionary N. E. C. is trying to sabotage for the moderates.

WHEREAS, the National Executive Committee at its last regular meeting arbitrarily, and without a fair trial, as provided by our constitution, suspended from the Party the Language Federations who endorsed the program of the Left Wing; and

WHEREAS, the State Committee of the Socialist Party of the State of New York, at its last meeting voted to submit to a referendum of the membership the question whether or not the Party should permit within its ranks an organization known as the Left Wing; and

WHEREAS, the State Office has arbitrarily denied the membership of the Party a free expression, by referendum, of their opinion on this question, and has arbitrarily and contrary to the National and State Constitutions of the Party rescinded the action of the State Committee by failing to submit such referendum to the membership; and

WHEREAS, at a secret caucus of the Right Wing membership of the Executive Committee of Local Bronx, to which ALL members of said committee expressing adherence to a policy contrary to the pleasure and wishes of this self-constituted group, were excluded, voted to expel from membership in the Party any Branch of Local Bronx, which indicated by its vote on the "Left Wing and Alternate Program Referendum" a tendency to favor the Left Wing program; and

WHEREAS, the Executive Secretary of Local Bronx, has privately and publicly expressed her intention of prostituting Party machinery to further the ends of this designing group, despite the fact that she is the servant of the Party and the further fact, that at a general Party meeting and by and with the endorsement of the Central Committee, it was voted that this referendum be held; and

WHEREAS, it is apparent from the foregoing that the membership of the Socialist Party of Local Bronx, will be denied the right, as provided by the National and State constitutions and the by-laws of Local Bronx, to a free expression of opinion; and

WHEREAS, it is the desire of Branch 5th Assembly District, Local Bronx, to exert its influence and best endeavors to maintain as long as possible harmony in the ranks of the Party in the hope of formulating a program acceptable to a majority of the membership and in that way prevent a split, be it

RESOLVED, that we of Branch 5th Assembly District, at a regular meeting held June 10th, 1919, at our headquarters, 1304 Southern Boulevard, at which were present members representing all shades of opinion, express our indignation and contempt for the course pursued by the aforementioned designing individuals, branding their conduct as a prostitution of the Party machinery and as high-handed, dishonest and corrupt; and be it further

RESOLVED, that this resolution be sent to the Local Secretary with a request that it be read to the Executive and Central Committees at their next meeting, and that the delegates of this branch to the Central Committee should present a copy of same to the said Committee at its next meeting.

coal companies, and no one allowed to vote who did not vote right. If anyone voted the wrong ticket, or was found by the company spies to be talking organization or any other heresy, he lost his job, was ousted from his house (company property) and run out of the town (which was also built on company property). And when at last the miners struck, the State Government sent the militia to break the strike, and this militia, the official police of the State, set fire to the strikers' tent colony and burned women and children to death. The strikers' leaders were tried for murder; the gunmen and militiamen went free.

In San Francisco, the Chamber of Commerce determined to crush Organized Labor on the Pacific Coast. Someone planted a bomb which exploded in the Preparedness Parade, killing and wounding many people. Tom Mooney, his wife, Israel Weinberg and a few other men active in the labor movement were arrested, and on perjured evidence Tom Mooney was sentenced to death. Before he could be hanged it was discovered that the whole business was a frame-up, that the evidence had been manufactured by the District Attorney in collusion with the Chamber of Commerce. The President's Investigating Commission recommended freedom or a new trial for Mooney. But the Governor of California, at the instigation of the Chamber of Commerce, simply commuted Mooney's sentence to life imprisonment. And there he lies, a life prisoner though innocent; while such is the power of the California capitalists, that Hiram Johnson, Senator from California, does not dare raise his voice to free Tom Mooney.

So with the Bisbee deportations of 1917, when the Phelps-Dodge Copper Company of Arizona, by

means of armed thugs, drove out of town into the desert several hundred striking workmen, and the Government dared not punish them. And so with the persecutions and prosecutions of the I. W. W.—the open, bare-faced, shameless crushing of a great labor organization by the capitalist class. . . .

As the class-conscious workers develop political strength, the capitalist parties sink their differences and combine against them; they falsify the ballot; they use the police and the engines of the State to prevent the workers' voting; they gerrymander political districts, so that the majority of the voters get the minority of representatives. The conditions of labor in the United States cause hundreds of thousands of workers to drift from place to place in order to find work—and these workers cannot vote, because of residential qualifications. Poll taxes bar others. The disabilities of aliens, and the difficulties of naturalization—especially at present—disenfranchise thousands more. The anti-syndicalist laws for natives, and the deportation laws for aliens, still further compel silence from all who hold anti-capitalist political and economic opinions.

But after all, the most effective way in which the workers' vote is influenced is by making use of the economic relation between the worker and the employer. The worker is dependent upon the capitalist for his very life—his job. If he does not do as he is told, the worker is deprived of his job, and forced to join the floating army of the unemployed upon which capitalism rests. Now the worker, however high his wages, is squeezed by rent and the cost of living until he is upon the verge of starvation anyway. The shortest illness, the least stoppage of work, force him over the edge into

abject poverty. Burdened with a family, the worker cannot afford to quit work; he cannot afford to hold opinions contrary to the boss; he cannot even afford to exercise a vote against his boss's politics.

In Lima, Ohio, a few years ago, there was a municipal election pending. The population of Lima is largely supported by two factories, and the workers were about to elect a Socialist administration. The owners of the two factories thereupon issued a statement to the effect that if the Socialists won, the factories would move away. This would have brought disaster upon the workers, many of whom owned their own homes and had families to support. The Socialist administration was not elected. . . .

In 1916, a Preparedness Parade was held in New York City, which had a great effect upon Congress, because of its size. When the reasons for this mass-demonstration came to be analyzed, however, it was found that most of the workers who marched were forced to do so or lose their jobs. The same phenomenon was more clearly shown throughout the country in the subscriptions to Liberty Loans and the contribution to the Red Cross and other semi-private efforts. The workers had to pay

or be fired, and in some states these financial campaigns were accompanied by terrorization and intimidation at the point of a gun. Thus the workers were forced to support the political measures of the ruling class by their very dependence upon this ruling class. In an earlier article I have described how the political power was taken away from the elected officials of the working class Party by the State Councils of National Defense, and how the legislators elected by the Soc-

(Continued on

Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program

THE manuscript published herewith—the accompanying letter to Bracke as well as the criticism of the proposed platform—was sent in 1875, shortly before the Gotha fusion congress, to Bracke, to be further communicated to Geib, Auer, Bebel, and Liebknecht, and later on to be returned to Marx. Since the Halle convention put the discussion of the Gotha program on the party's order of business, I would consider myself guilty of wrongful suppression were I still longer to withhold from the public this important document—perhaps the most important document bearing on this discussion.

But the manuscript has also another, and still more far-reaching significance. Here, for the first time, is clearly and definitely set forth the attitude of Marx on the course followed by Lassalle since his entrance upon the agitation, both in relation to Lassalle's economic principles and to his tactics.

The relentless vigor with which the proposed platform is analyzed, the inexorableness with which the results arrived at are pronounced and the weak points of the platform exposed—all this can no longer offend now, after fifteen years. Specific Lassalleans exist nowadays only in foreign parts, like isolated ruins, and the Gotha platform was given up in Halle by its own makers as altogether inadequate.

Nevertheless, wherever it was not essential to the subject, I have omitted some severe expressions and opinions concerning some individuals, and indicated the omissions by asterisks. Marx himself would have done so had he published the manuscript now. The occasional vehemence of his language was provoked by two circumstances. In the first place, Marx and I were more intimately connected with the German movement than with any other; hence the decidedly backward step evidenced in this platform was particularly calculated to excite us. But in the second place, we were then, hardly two years after the Congress of the International at the Hague, involved in a most severe conflict with Bakunin and his Anarchists, who held us responsible for everything that transpired in the Labor Movement of Germany; we therefore had to expect that the secret fatherhood of this platform would also be ascribed to us. These considerations have passed away, and with them has passed the necessity for the passages in question.

Likewise some passages are merely indicated by asterisks, owing to considerations having to do with the press laws. Where a milder expression had to be chosen it is enclosed in brackets. Otherwise, the publication is faithful to the letter.

FREDERICK ENGELS.

London, January 6, 1891.

MARX'S LETTER TO BRACKE
London, May 5, 1875.

Dear Bracke:

After reading them you will be so kind as to communicate to Geib, Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht, the subjoined critical comments on the fusion platform. I am over-worked and compelled to work beyond the limits prescribed by my physician. It was therefore by no means a "pleasure" for me to write such a tape-worm. But it was necessary, so that the party friends, for whom this communication is intended, may not misinterpret the steps to be taken by me later on

It is indispensable, since outside of Germany the notion—altogether erroneous, but fostered by the enemies of our party—is entertained that we secretly from here direct the movement of the so-called Eisenach party. For instance, in a recent Russian publication, Bakunin makes me . . . responsible for all the platform declarations, etc., of that party

Aside from this it is my duty not to recognize, even by a diplomatic silence, a platform that is in my opinion altogether objectionable and demoralizing to the party.

Every real advance step of the movement is more important than a dozen platforms. If therefore, it was impossible—and the circumstances of the time did not permit it—to advance beyond the Eisenach platform, then you should have simply concluded an agreement for action against the common enemy. But when you formulate platforms of principles (instead of postponing this work until such time as you have become prepared for it through continued common action), then you establish landmarks by which all the world gauge the height of the party movement. The chiefs of the Lassalleans came to you because the conditions forced them. Had you declared to them from the outset that you would not enter on any dickerings in principles, then they would have been obliged to content themselves with a program for action, or a plan of organization for common action. Instead of this, you allow them to come armed with credentials as binding: and surrender at discretion to those who To cap the climax, they before the compromise con-

gress, while our own party holds its convention *post festum* Everybody knows how pleased the workmen are with the bare fact of a union, but you are mistaken if you believe that this momentary success is not bought too dearly.

Besides the platform is good for nothing, even irrespective of the canonization of the Lassallean articles of faith

With best greetings, Yours,
KARL MARX.

COMMENTS ON THE PLATFORM OF THE GERMAN LABOR PARTY

I. Labor is the source of all wealth and of all civilization, and since useful labor is possible only in and through society, the proceeds (Ertrag) of labor belong, unabridged and in equal right, to all the members of society.

First part of the paragraph: "Labor is the source of all wealth and of all civilization."

Labor is not the source of all wealth. Nature is just as much the source of use-values (and these certainly form the material elements of wealth) as labor, which is itself only the expression of a natural force, human labor-power. The above phrase is to be found in every child's primer and is correct in so far as it is assumed that labor starts out equipped with the requisite materials and means.

But a Socialist platform should not let such middle class phrases pass, and permit, by silence, the conditions that alone give sense thereto to be suppressed. And in so far as man stands toward Nature—the first source of all the means and objects of labor—in the relation of proprietor, in so far as he treats Nature as belonging to him, his labor becomes the source of use-values, hence also of wealth. The capitalists have very good reasons for imputing to labor supernatural creative powers, because from the nature-imposed necessity of labor it follows that the man who possesses no property but his labor power must, under all conditions of society and civilization, be the slave of those other men who have made themselves the possessors of the material conditions for labor. He can work only with their permission, hence live only with their permission.

But let us take the sentence as it runs, or rather limps. What should we have expected as the conclusion? Plainly this:

"Since labor is the source of all wealth, no one in society can acquire wealth except as the product of labor. Therefore, if he does not work himself,

he lives upon the labor of others, and also acquires his share of civilization at the expense of others' labor."

Instead of this, another sentence is attached by means of the phrase "and since," in order to draw a conclusion from this latter sentence, and not from the former.

Second part of the paragraph: Useful labor is possible only in and through society."

According to the first proposition labor was the source of all wealth and civilization; hence no society was possible without labor. Now we learn, on the contrary, that no "useful" labor is possible without society.

It would have been as sensible to say that only in society can useless and even publicly injurious labor become a branch of industry, that only in society can men live in idleness, etc., etc.—in short, to copy the whole of Rousseau.

And what is "useful" labor? Plainly, only the labor that produces the desired serviceable effect. A savage—a man is a savage after he has ceased to be an ape—a savage who kills an animal with a stone, who gathers fruits, etc., does "useful labor."

Thirdly, the conclusion: "And since useful labor is possible only in and through society—the proceeds of labor belong unabridged, in equal right, to all the members of society."

A beautiful conclusion! If useful labor is possible only in and through society, then the proceeds of labor belong to society—and the individual laborer receives only so much as is not necessary for the maintenance of the "pre-requisite" of labor—society.

Indeed this has been the regular claim made by the champions of each succeeding social system. First come the claims of the government and all that hangs thereby, since it is the social organ for the maintenance of the social order; next come the claims of the various sorts of private property, for the various sorts of private property are the foundations of society, etc. It is plain, such hollow phrase can be turned and twisted at will.

The first and the second part of the paragraph can have any sensible connection only in the following form:

"Labor can become the source of wealth and civilization only as social labor," or, what amounts to the same thing, "only in and through society."

This proposition is indisputably correct, for even if isolated labor (its material pre-requisites presupposed) can create use-values, yet it can produce neither wealth nor civilization.

And just as indisputable is this other statement: "In measure that labor is developed socially, and thereby becomes the source of wealth and civilization, are developed also poverty and degradation on the side of the laborer, wealth and civilization on the side of the non-laborer."

This is the law of all history up till now. Therefore, instead of talking in general terms about "labor" and "society," it should have been clearly pointed out how, under present capitalist society, the conditions, material and otherwise, are at last produced, which enable, and indeed compel, the laborers to break through that social curse.

But, in fact, the entire paragraph—faulty both in style and contents—appears here only in order to inscribe the Lassallean catchword of the "unabridged proceeds of labor" as the watchword on the flag of the party. I shall come back later to the "proceeds of labor," the "equal right," etc., as the same thing recurs in somewhat different form. (To be continued.)

NATIONAL LEFT WING CONFERENCE
to be held
JUNE 21—22—23
AT MANHATTAN LYCEUM
66 East 4th Street
ADMISSION BY PARTY CARD AND INVITATION CARD ONLY
Apply to Maximilian Cohen, 43 W. 29th St.

LEFT WING EXCURSION
Saturday, July 12th
At 2:30 P. M.
From Market Street Pier to "Bear Mountain"
Under the auspices of
First and Second Assembly Districts,
Left Wing Section Socialist Party
ON THE S. S. "SIVIUS"
Ticket, incl. Tax 25c
On day of Excursion \$1.00

LEFT WING PICNIC
Sunday, August 24th, 1919,
at
EASTERN BOULEVARD PARK
Eastern Boulevard and Fort Schuyler
Road, Westchester, Bronx, N. Y.
Oriental Dances by Miss Katayama and Troupe.
Other attractions to be announced later.
A Red Picnic—A Great Time—For a Red Cause. Men, Women and Children of the Working Class. Come and enjoy yourselves!
Picnic starts 10 A. M.
Arranged by the Left Wing Members of Bronx
Admission 30c in advance—5c at gate

Left Wing Mass Meeting
SUNDAY, JUNE 22, at 8 P. M.
At Manhattan Lyceum
66 E. 4th Street
Admission Free

MASS PROTEST MEETING IN NEWARK
TO PROTEST THE CLOSING of the PORTS TO DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
Thursday, June 26, 1919
At Kruger's Auditorium, Belmont Ave. and Morton St., Newark, N. J.
Auspices SOCIALIST PARTY BRANCHES
Speakers in English, Russian, Ukrainian and Polish

The Pink Terror

VII. Secret Diplomacy in the 4th A. D.

AFTER having "re-organized" the local to such an extent that the sale of dues stamps was barely sufficient to provide cigars for Executive Committee meetings, the semi-comrades who foregather at the People's House decided at a secret meeting, held in the furnace-room of that building, that the time for "re-organizations" has gone, at least as far as Local New York was concerned.

One of the leading Pink Terrorists from Kings, clutching a bomb in the shape of a sheaf of "re-organization" letters, reported that the work was not meeting with much success in Brooklyn. Branches steadfastly refusing to be "re-organized," expelled or suspended and even jeering at the divine right of the State Committee in the persons of the "committee of three." Reports from the seat of The Terror in the Bronx, which is sometimes called The Chamber of Horrors, also frowned on "re-organization" as an outworn tactic.

"But" said the High Chief Proletarian "something must be done." This weighty contribution to the discussion was received with much nodding of heads. Seeing which the speaker lost his temper and cried angrily: "Nodding your heads will accomplish nothing. The Left Wing is sweeping the State and unless we can cope with the situation, we will all have to go to work in future." Such a dread possibility startled the semi-comrades into activity. Suggestion after suggestion was made and rejected until an ex-Assemblyman, who on account of his political experience was listened to with great attention, suggested that all semblance of hostility be dropped towards the insurgents yet unre-organized, while the "loyal" members are approached secretly and when sufficient strength is mustered in any one branch, that branch carry out "re-organization" on its own initiative.

Semi-comrade Karlin immediately volunteered to try this plan in his Branch, the 4th A. D. It appears that Karlin has been very active in this Branch since the beginning of the year, having got himself elected to the Central Committee when it was found that the machine was ~~not~~ ⁱⁿ the shoggan. Plans were immediately laid and Karlin, after much hand-shaking hurried from the meeting. His first act was to send a letter to the financial secretary of the Branch asking him to call at his (Karlin's) law office. This the financial secretary refused to do, suspecting that Karlin was going to try and convince him that political democracy

was alright, by showing that under proletarian dictatorship lawyers would starve to death.

Nothing daunted by his first failure Karlin induced a young comrade, who incidentally was eleven months in arrears with his dues, to send out post-cards calling for a secret caucus at Karlin's office on May 23. Conscience-stricken at his act this youngster remained away from the meeting, but several semi-comrades attended. One such was Eva Glutt, who had been so broken-hearted by the defeat of both Karlin and London at the last elections that she had remained away from the Branch meetings since last November.

In the musty law office it was decided to expel two of the "most anarchistic" members of the Branch, one of whom was the organizer, and to "re-organize" the Branch at the coming Friday meeting. Lacking the pretext that the Branch had joined the Left Wing, another "illegality" was concocted: favoring the City Committee's call for a City Convention the City Committee's call for a City Convention.

Getting wind of what was happening the Branch officials sent out a call for attendance at the Branch meeting on the ground that "a few unscrupulous members are trying to disrupt the Branch." *The Call* also carried a notice to this effect, apparently mistaking it for semi-comrade Gerber's usual sophistry. The members of the secret caucus, however, were very much alarmed, nearly coming to blows, it is said, over who caused the "leak." At a hurried gathering before the meeting they decided to call off the "re-organization" and to bear with the "most anarchistic" members for a while longer.

When the meeting opened and the letter from the City Committee was read Karlin leaped to his feet and in his best legal manner warned the Branch members that acceptance of the City Committee's call was illegal, as *the State Committee might at any moment declare the proposed convention illegal*. Finding that the Branch was disposed to disregard the warning, the members of the secret caucus decided to "instruct" the delegates. So much for the illegality of the City Committee!

As the hour grew late, Karlin and the members of the secret caucus became openly elated: the secret was still theirs. But alas, under new business the financial secretary unfolded the details of the

plot, and moved a resolution condemning Karlin's actions.

Caught pink-handed, the plotters admitted the charge but tried to make it appear that the whole affair was merely a joke. Semi-comrade Glutt then arose to the defense. She said that she had received a letter signed "comrade" calling her to Karlin's office, and, thinking that ill had befallen their leader, hastened round to the financial secretary to ask his advice. He told her to go. She went and found a few comrades. They had an enjoyable time and discussed matters in general. Naturally she had enquired about the Branch and asked whether matters were "alright." She was told that the Branch was "all Left" and on hearing this distressing news was going to resign but Karlin advised her to wait as the Branch would eventually be "re-organized." But there was no caucus, and no plot to "re-organize" the Branch!

This naive recital threw the Branch members into roars of laughter. Karlin then arose and said the whole affair was a joke, but if the Branch was not disposed to regard it so, then let them go ahead and condemn his twenty long years of service: "Shoot if you will this old grey head . . ."

A motion was made, at the conclusion of his harangue, to withdraw all officers of the Branch who were involved in the secret caucus. This meant Karlin's removal as a delegate to the Central Committee. He rushed up to the maker of the motion, demanding to know "What crime have I committed?" So threatening was his attitude that the comrades rushed up to prevent him from breaking his well-known principles, which are opposed to violence. After about 15 minutes chaos, order was restored. In spite of the filibuster kept up by Karlin and other conspirators, the motion was finally carried. At a subsequent meeting Utrecht was elected delegate to the Central Committee, but when he attempted to attend the special Central Committee on June 11, he was refused admittance.

On Friday Karlin's heroic but futile attempt to capture the Branch for the Right Wing was rewarded by nominating him for the bench from the 6th A. D., without the knowledge of the 4th A. D. It is hoped that if sufficient Right Wing lawyers can be elected to judeships in the fall, they will be able to "soak" the prominent Left Wingers for sufficient "stretches" to enable the Party to be made safe for the Pink, and, in exceptional cases, the light Red semi-comrades.

Why Political Democracy Must Go

(Continued from page 5)

the Cleveland Aldermen, etc.) were deprived of their seats in the most cynical manner by the capitalists, and thus Socialist political action was completely nullified.

But all this is nothing to the indirect influence exerted upon the people by the capitalist control of the churches, the schools and the press. During the war we have seen very clearly the relation between the great capitalists and the churches and schools. The capitalists give the money which supports the church and pays the minister; which endows the largest universities and pays the professors. In some cases, during the war, the State Councils of Defense threatened ministers who dared to preach against the war; others lost their positions. The same thing is true, in a more glaring degree, of the teachers in schools and universities. The pressure of the capitalist endowments, the Boards of Directors of Churches and the Overseers of the Universities and Schools, forced teachers and ministers to keep silence, or drove them helpless into a hostile world, where for all practical purposes a complete black-list existed. And since the War has ended, this process of driving out economic and political heretics still goes on, though with increased vigor, under cover of the cry of "Bolshevism." In the public schools and the State Universities, also, the same action takes place, and with even more speed and brutality, owing to the capitalist control of the political machinery. This is supplemented, in cases where it is awkward or inadvisable to invoke the law, by lynchings and mob-violence provoked by Chambers of Commerce and National Security Leagues, and by deliberately falsified "investigations," whose object is to misrepresent the Labor Movement in such way as to set the Governmental machinery in motion.

The press is a still more powerful weapon. The role of newspapers, and especially of the popular magazines, has of late years been concentrated in the hands of the great capitalistic interests, who

are content even to lose money so long as they control the avenues of public expression. News is practically a monopoly of one great press association, which expresses clearly and faithfully the great capitalist point of view. Editors and reporters who do not conform to this view are discharged and boycotted; a black-list exists.

In this way news is practically denied to the labor press. The advertisers are leagued not to advertise in radical papers, so as to make it impossible for them to do more than exist. And to cap the climax, the Postmaster-General may exclude from the mails any publication which he sees fit, without giving any reason; thus entailing immense and often insupportable damage upon the publication and its backers, and preventing the discussion of political and economic questions.

There are those who say, "This is not the fault of political democracy. It is an abuse of democracy, which, if remedied, would permit the free exercise of the ballot to conquer political power." Let it be admitted that these conditions are unusual, and that in normal times there would be more freedom of expression to the Labor Movement. But that is just the point—in abnormal times political democracy breaks down, and it is always abnormal times when the capitalist class fears that the workers may conquer political power. The open suppression of the political power of the workers is simply an indication of what goes on successfully all the time.

Property is power. Property is political power. Only the abolition of property will ensure the working of real democracy, and only the dictatorship of the proletariat can abolish property.

A majority in Congress and the Supreme Court, without the dictatorship of the proletariat, will not give the workers power. The capitalist class does not control the State because it has a majority in Congress. It has a majority in Congress, because it controls the machinery of the State, under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The industrial era has brought with it a new kind of political action, the action of the masses on the economic field, strikes, demonstrations, insurrections. This form of action is well known to us, it is well-established, and even legal. When workers want a raise of wages or a decrease of hours, they

do not go to the ballot-box. They go on strike. The pity is that they do not see that this, too, is the way to gain control of the State—a political act—and that this is the only way.

The only power which the capitalist power cannot oppose is the organized and unified action of the proletarian mass.

The Telescope

THE *Call* has discovered that the Left Wing is composed of a bunch of bankers, trust magnates, and corporation directors masquerading in the overalls of the proletarian. Now we are getting at the real reason for the suspension of the seven federations—they are suspected of being capitalists!

Pathetic Figures, No. 3: Julius Gerber counting the proceeds from the sale of dues stamps.

The Society of the Commonwealth Center, an organization within the disorganization, which controls the so-called People's House, has accomplished another victory for the good old democratic principles, which we hear so much about in *The Call*, of free speech and free assemblage by refusing the auditorium to the City Convention.

"The Socialist is not stating Right Wing principles" says that organ in its last issue. But we don't blame it; the Right Wing has no principles, or for that matter principals either, consequently it would be hard for *The Socialist* to state nothing.

But we don't want to be hard on *The Socialist* and we will say that, outside of *The Call*, it comes as near stating nothing as is humanly possible.

"Let the dead past bury its dead" says *The Socialist*. We suppose this is not notice that the Right Wing office-holders are going into the funeral business.

We suggest that they make it a co-operative concern.

\$5,000 For Revolutionary Socialism

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has decided to exterminate the revolutionary elements in the party by expelling them.

It is following the bourgeois tactics of Local New York, the committee that smashed the Party locally by expelling 22 branches.

The State Executive Committee of New York has appointed a committee of three (!) with full power to expell any local that becomes Bolshevik and adopts tne Left Wing Program: Locals Queens, Rochester, Buffalo, Utica and Kings are about to be expelled. Bronx is to be re-organized.

The Party is going left. The revolution against reaction has assumed gigantic proportions. The membership is determined in its support of uncompromising revolutionary principles.

Morris Hillquit wants the decks cleared. He asks for a split in the Party. He repudiates the Third International.

Beaten by the membership the old leaders of the National Executive Committee disregard the Party referendums. It declares the votes of the rank and file void.

The N. E. C. repudiates the Third International, the International of the Bolsheviki, after the Party members by an overwhelming majority have voted to affiliate and participate.

Repudiate these brutal, disruptive and unprincipled tactics.

Rally now to the support of Socialism in America.

Help the Left Wing carry on its fight for revolutionary principles.

The Left Wing carries on the fight for the rank and file.

It carries on the fight for the 40,000 members of the seven foreign federations of the Party that have been expelled because they were FOREIGNERS and BOLSHEVIKS.

THE LEFT WING PUBLISHES

The New York Communist

the paper that in America enunciates the communist principles and whole heartedly supports the Bolsheviki of Russia and the Spartacans of Germany.

The Left Wing is being attacked now on all sides by the reactionaries in the party, by the New York Call, by the capitalist press and by the Government.

MONEY HAS BEEN SPENT AND MORE IS NEEDED.

To wipe out our debt, to continue the publication of The New York Communist and to continue to carry on this important fight we appeal for \$5,000.

SHOW THE RIGHTS WHERE OUR MONEY COMES FROM!

Send contributions to

MAXIMILIAN COHEN, 43 W. 29th St., at once

\$5,000 for a united party on revolutionary principles—a solid front against capitalism—victory for the working class.