

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of Events in Europe

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You Who Are Out—Act!

By Louis C. Fraina
Essex County Jail, Newark, N. J.

I HAVE received a flaming appeal from a comrade of ours—an appeal to issue a call to action to you who are out, to rally to the cause of your comrades who are in prison. This is the appeal:

"Oh, Fraina, are we not cowards to stand by limply like this when our strongest men and women are behind bars which we could break?"

"Are we not hypocrites to assemble on Sunday afternoons, as if to enjoy ourselves, listen to a few speeches, and pass a few innocent resolutions?"

"We do not take it seriously. Wake us up! Speak to us from your cell!"

"Why don't our comrades appeal to us, the mass for whom they were imprisoned?"

"We do not realize the awfulness of it all. Why do you men let us forget our mission? Appeal to us! We would be base indeed if the voices of our celled comrades cannot wake us from this lethargy."

I am urged, and I shall speak.

I shall not speak for myself. My term ends in a few days; it was a very short term. I shall speak of my comrades who are serving long terms in prisons that cannot break their spirits or degrade them, but which do torture them. I shall speak, moreover, not of them and for them principally, but of and for the Cause for which they are imprisoned.

For our imprisoned comrades are not the least fortunate. They do not envy the physical liberty of men and women who are intellectually in thrall to Capitalism. The iron bars of their cells, of their prisons, cannot imprison their ideals, their minds; and while the mind is free, one is supreme and may mock at governments and at iron bars, mock even while the body is being broken. They suffer, but their ideals come first. They desire liberation, because, after all, they may then contribute more than they are contributing now.

The imprisonment of our comrades is testimony to the brutality and class character of the government; but it is equally testimony to the lack of power of Socialism. Karl Liebknecht goes out in the streets of Berlin urging *armed revolt* against the old Imperial government—four and one-half years in prison; Eugene Debs *speaks* against the war and in favor of the Bolsheviks—ten years in prison! The Italian Socialist Serrati is convicted of high treason—eighteen months in prison; but, for the most trivial offenses, scores of our comrades are serving three and five, ten and twenty-year terms. The savagery of the American government in its attitude to political criminals has been unparalleled. But the "clemency" of the German, French, Italian and British governments is a consequence not of their being less savage, but of the power and consciousness of the proletariat. The American government is as savage as it is because it believes the proletariat will not protest in action against tyranny and reaction. Acquiescence invites repression. . . .

Your comrades are in prison. In a world trampling upon ideals, they maintain their ideals; at a time when the majority are thinking in terms of the military struggle, they think in terms of the proletarian class struggle. Apparently reaction is all conquering, omnipotent; but the tens and hundreds of men and women who are now in iron cells, and whose spirit sings in joy at the onward sweep of the Revolution—these

men and women mock at the temporary triumph of reaction; they are symbols of the action and ideals latent in the masses which, once acquiring full expression, will crush the reaction. They are augurs of the Revolution.

Your comrades are in prison. They are there because they could not let the flame of freedom die. They are there as a protest against the democracy of words and the tyranny of deeds. They are there that the proletariat may awaken to consciousness; that the soldier may not offer up life in the service of death; that the world may cease being a shambles; that the mother may not weep for her son and the sweetheart for her lover. They are in prison that liberty may prevail; they are deprived of life, that life may conquer death.

Your comrades are in prison. They are in prison, above all, that Socialism may conquer—that the mass of the people may cease being pariahs, and the world smile in the joy of life, instead of agonize in the sorrow of death.

Your comrades are in prison—for you, men, and for you, women. Are you out there for *them*? . . .

I know that you are with your comrades in prison. I know that you are striving to liberate them, that you are eager to welcome them home—to life and the great struggle. But my pen stops; my eyes look straight ahead—there are the iron bars of my cell; six feet beyond are still more iron bars; then come the windows, barred with iron; and outside is the prison wall. The keepers are bawling out orders. . . . In another cell is Roger Baldwin, in another Ralph Cheyney; other comrades in other cells, in this one prison alone. And—but how many prisons are there in this free nation of ours? . . .

Are you doing all that could be done for your imprisoned comrades? I have no right to ask this in the name of myself, but have I not the right to ask in the name of tens and hundreds of imprisoned men and women—Comrades all?

The anguished appeal of our young comrade is lofty and intense—is it true?

I know that it is an impatient appeal—that it is the flaming appeal, naive perhaps, of the ardent spirit of youth—impetuous, irrepresible, eager for the moon. It is all that. But is not the spirit of Revolution the spirit of youth? Are we not apt to become *too* impatient, to accept routine for action, to get into a state of mind bordering on lethargy? The complacency must be shocked out of us. I have been guilty myself; I was bordering on lethargy, my other imprisoned comrades becoming a memory, when this appeal flamed through me and restored my spirit. Are not you, O comrade, perhaps equally guilty? The impatient, irrepresible, hasty spirit of ardent youth is the spirit of Revolution—Germinal.

The indictment of our young comrade is too sweeping. I admit that. Meetings are necessary; resolutions are necessary. Aggressive agitation is itself an act of Revolution. For many lonely years the revolutionary activity of the Bolsheviks was limited in this way. But we are apt to do that which the Bolsheviks

never did—accept the means for the goal, forget that agitation is simply a preparation for creative action. Youth is apt to repudiate the necessity for the hard, grim work of preparation; but is not experience apt to grow cold, calculating and obstructive, losing the first line flush of revolutionary ardor?

Will the time for action never come? That is the query of your imprisoned comrades. They have a right to ask. Their imprisonment in itself, contributes nothing to the Revolution; it is a magnificent gesture, and nothing more, *unless it inspires you to action and you use their imprisonment to arouse the action of the masses*. The ideals of the individual are a source of Revolution only as they become mass ideals.

Our activity might become still larger and more intense—not one of you, I believe, will dispute this. But that is not the issue. It is not the lack of propaganda, but the *character* of this propaganda that is at issue. And, I must confess, the propaganda for our imprisoned comrades is in general a bourgeois liberal propaganda. It is not revolutionary agitation. It is not directed toward *action*. Expressing indignation, indulging in protests—that accomplishes very little. Our imprisoned comrades, their ideals and their action must be made an issue of the proletarian class struggle; the bourgeois liberal attitude is worse than impotent, it promotes reaction. This issue and all other issues, must be met by an intensive, aggressive agitation for revolutionary mass action. The party must revolutionize its policy and agitation.

The official party policy in general is largely bourgeois liberal—not the implacable policy of revolutionary Socialism. We must learn, we must acquire the new spirit of the Revolution; we must reconstruct and reorganize. We must devote ourselves anew to the revolutionary class struggle.

"Are we not cowards to stand by limply like this when our strongest men and women are behind bars which we could break?"

You could break the iron bars of our prisons—and of Capitalism. We could, you and I, and the masses; we intend to—but do we, really and seriously, *flamingly*, or is it simply an intention? Is it a *resolve instinct in immediate action*, or is it simply an ideal for the days to come?

Your imprisoned comrades call upon you to act—not for them, but for the revolutionary struggle. They depend upon this struggle. They will this struggle—necessary and relentless, beautiful and inspiring.

We must dare. We must issue the revolutionary challenge uncompromisingly. There are your imprisoned comrades; more—indefinitely more—there is Russia and our own crisis; there is the international proletarian revolution—all insist upon action. We must flame out in challenge to Capitalism, but also to our own complacency, to our own inaction, to our own policy of hesitation. Fearless and aggressive in all things; scorning timidity and consequences.

We must dare, you and I, comrades. We must act, creatively and dynamically.

Break the iron bars, O comrades—the iron bars of our prisons, of your fears and prejudices, of moderate "Socialism," of Capitalism!

Break—and then we shall build anew, finely and humanly.

The Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of Events in Europe.

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The Left Wing

ON other pages we print the Manifesto and Program of the newly formed Left Wing of the Socialist Party and also the Program of the Chicago Communist Propaganda League, while on the back page we have the Program of the Portland, Ore. Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors. All these documents are expressive of the present tendency in the Socialist and Labor movements of America, a tendency which is the reflex of the march of the Socialist and Labor movements of the world, and more particularly of Europe.

Europe is aflame with revolt, and, the bourgeois press to the contrary notwithstanding, this revolt is the spontaneous uprising of the masses themselves. In various places, as for instance England, Scotland and Ireland, the revolt is as much directed against the old time leaders and the old methods of narrow parochial and craft organizations as against anything else. The bourgeois press rejoices that the strikes in Britain are in many instances called in defiance of the old leaders, but if it was in any sense competent of judging the significance of this very fact its rejoicings would soon turn to wailings. The common people are awakening, they are moving forward, and those who would be leaders must lead in actuality or get out of the way. . . .

Space does not permit us to deal with these programs in this issue, but we invite criticism, particularly of the Left Wing Manifesto and Program. It is desired that Socialist Locals and Branches shall take this document under consideration and, if able to agree upon the basic principles enunciated therein, endorse it. Several Branches and Locals have already done so, though it is not offered as the final word but merely as a basis from which to work.

The *Revolutionary Age* will be glad to receive these endorsements until such time (within a few days) as other arrangements have been made.

"Freedom Only in Russia"

THE New York *Times* becoming very much annoyed at learning that "Russia is the only place where men and women can be free," delivers itself as follows:

When a man, speaking in an American city, excites the applause of numerous auditors by telling them that "Russia is the only place where men and women can be free," the fact raises a good many rather serious questions.

The first of them—Why did he make a statement at once so stupid and so false?—is easily answered. The speaker was James Larkin, who is himself as much of a Bolshevik as he can find time to be in the moments when he doesn't have to be a Sinn Feiner and an exponent of what in this country is called the I. W. W. But this statement was made in Boston, and it is difficult to understand the existence there of more than a small handful of out-and-out lunatics that are desirous to have the only sort of freedom now existing in Russia. It is the freedom of a small class to kill and steal, and the freedom of everybody else to be murdered and robbed.

Of course Mr. Larkin would not put the case exactly that way but no other way suggested itself to him so he abstained from what he knew or felt would be the dangers of definition. Mr. Larkin has been credited with ability of a kind and with moving eloquence. That he prefers America to Russia as a place in which to do his preaching:

The first of them, it would seem to us, is not so easily answered from the point of view of the *Times* as that paper appears to think, especially if we look at the examples Larkin cited in support of his statement: that public meetings are continually being broken up by organized mobs, that men and women are frequently lynched for daring to disagree with official opinions, that returned soldiers and sailors are prevented from meeting for the purpose of organizing, that soldiers and sailors who have suffered in the trenches of the Western front are left penniless on the streets of New York. All the abuse that the *Times* can heap on Larkin does not change the facts of the case, the facts that America has imposed sentences, on men and women for expressing their political convictions, which far outdo Imperial Germany or Czarist Russia, that gangs of amateur spies have been turned loose on the country, that men on trial for political offenses have been hampered in obtaining the defense that even the bourgeois courts state is their right.

If the *Times* dared take these facts into consideration in could not dismiss the subject so easily nor would it find anything to wonder at that Larkin's speech was applauded by over 3,000 citizens of Boston. We would suggest that the *Times* ignore these things which it does not understand, that it pursue its policy of letting sleeping dogs lie, but in case our advice falls on deaf ears we would like to inform the *Times* that Larkin is a Socialist, was one of the founders of the industrial movement in Great Britain and is the leader of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, the largest industrial union in the world. It naturally follows that he is a Bolshevik, in as much as he is a part of the movement of which the Bolsheviks are the expression in Russia, it also follows that he is in sympathy with the I. W. W., which is the American expression of the industrial union movement, but in Ireland he is known as a Socialist and Labor man and is not affiliated with the Sinn Fein, which is a purely political movement. The Irish working class movement sympathizes with Ireland's demand for independence and is always found in the forefront of the fight, but whereas Sinn Fein aims at the establishment of an Irish Republic, the Irish Socialist and Labor movement aims at the establishment of a Workers Republic in Ireland.

48—54!

LAWRENCE, Massachusetts, is a typical New England mill town, a town of squalid poverty and business prosperity. Silhouetted against the evening sky it shows the grim outline of tall, unlovely factory buildings, accompanied by giant chimneys belching forth smoke, and the long monotonous lines of tenement buildings. A dirty station pitched in the midst of the confusion of a railroad freight yard greets the traveller. An irregular plot of brown lifeless grass opens into a street of business bustle, a street composed of new flashy buildings—the architecture of industrial riches—and gaudy stores, of unexpected vacant spaces covered with odds and ends of discarded building material and of tall irregular telegraph poles.

Stretching away from the common, a plot of grass and trees of some beauty, runs a long straggling street offshot with little streets lined with the hideously regular modern dwellings of the toilers in industry. Such is Lawrence, the scene of one of the bitterest industrial battles of recent years and always the scene of the grim never-ceasing class struggle. And her little streets, her wooden dwellings, her broken pavements, her grim factories, her lifeless grass plots are the scars of that struggle.

We had read in the Boston papers that the class struggle had again flared in open revolt, that the strikers were assaulting scabs, that disorder was so rife that the city fathers, always solicitous of the welfare of their children, had been forced to import police from surrounding towns, that mounted police were riding down the workers on the sidewalks of the city, that the foreign workers were holding up the town,

so we decided to visit our brethren and see for ourselves what was happening.

We arrived about noon and found in the main streets of the town people going about their usual business. Everything seemed peaceful and no outward signs told of anything unusual, except that we did observe an unusual number of police ostentatiously parading up and down.

Making our way to the headquarters of the strikers we found the Strike Committee engaged in deliberations presided over by Sam Bramhall, an old-time Socialist rebel of English extraction, a member of the Carpenters' Union. The hall was filled with men and women representing thirty-one nationalities, the delegates from different mills. Business was proceeding in an orderly and systematic manner as we entered. The doorkeeper, recognizing one of us, informed our comrade, Ime Kaplan, that Jim Larkin was in the hall.

A motion was immediately made that the regular order of business be suspended and that Larkin be asked to address the delegates. It was carried enthusiastically and Larkin stepped forward. He explained that being in the vicinity he felt it his duty to come amongst them and find out what the position was so that the outside world of labor might become acquainted with the details of the struggle, for, needless to say, the principle they were fighting for was accepted by the whole of the international labor movement, namely the right of the worker to dispose of his own life. He regretted that their imagination had not carried them as far in the field of practical demands as their fellow workers in other industries. "You should not only ask for a shorter working day" he said "but an increased wage and the right to participate in the management of the industry." He assured them that the eyes of the whole working class of America was centered on Lawrence, but that in saying this he did not mean to include the so-called labor leaders. He promised that their story should get the fullest publicity and the cooperation of the best minds of the American labor movement. He, with others, would place themselves unreservedly at their service.

The writer, when called upon, acting under instructions from the editorial board of *The Revolutionary Age*, placed the columns of this paper at their disposal and informed the Strike Committee that John Reed would, if necessary, attend to the publicity. P. F. Cosgrove, a member of the Marine Firemen's Union and an active New England Socialist told them that the keynote of their success was solidarity.

After the session closed we adjourned to the home of the secretary of the Strike Committee, Ime Kaplan. Kaplan, is a young man, a worker in the higher paid section of the Textile trade whose ability has been recognized by the Central Labor Union of Lawrence, which body engaged him to organize the present movement. He appeared to be a whole-souled enthusiast, yet with a practical grip of the details of the industry and possessing a personal knowledge of his fellow workers and their needs; and, as always follows with this type of man, a class conscious Socialist concerned not with his own interest but with the interests and uplift of his fellows. Of course the usual denunciations are being poured on his head. Assisting the Strike Committee in a legal way is Tom Connolly, a Socialist lawyer of Boston, a live wire by all appearances.

Thirty-five thousand men and women are already on strike, ninety per cent of the mills are closed and the remainder crippled. The workers are demanding a forty-eight hour week and the same pay as they received for fifty-four hours. Though the employers claim that they have granted since 1912, an eighty seven per cent increase on that standard the workers say that the cost of living has increased in the same period one hundred and thirty-two per cent. As one of the Strike Committee put it: "We are textile workers. What do we know of balance sheets and dividends? We know that we can barely pay our grocery

ills and we have come to the conclusion it is better to starve idle than to starve working."

The Strike Committee has issued a statement which we quote in part as follows:

The textile workers of Lawrence are on strike to secure a 48 hour week with 54 hour pay. The 8 hour day has been won by practically all the skilled workers of the country without a reduction in total wages. It has been recognized by the National War Labor Board as an efficiency standard even under the necessities of war production. It has resulted in increased production wherever put into operation under favorable conditions. Textile workers need the 8 hour day even more than other workers because their work is mostly monotonous machine work. To accept the 48 hour week without the 54 hour pay would prevent them from earning money which they sorely need for their families as soon as the mills become busy enough to need them.

To those who argue that the workers could strike for higher wages when the mills do become busier, we answer that the workers will not be in so good a condition to strike after the period of unemployment which we are facing, as they are right now. To accept merely a 48 hour week now, when we are in a strong position to endure the difficulties of striking, is to use our strength for nothing and to waste it without securing a real betterment of our condition.

That the real struggle of the Lawrence workers is a struggle for a living wages may be realized from the following facts: The 31st Annual Report of the Statistics of Manufactures for Massachusetts reports that in 1916, 70% of the adult male wage earners in the cotton industry of the state and 63% of the adult male wage earners in the woolen industry earned less than \$15 per week and that 54% of these cotton workers and 47% of these woolen workers received less than \$13 per week.

Taking the American Woolen Company as a representative corporation in the textile industry and we have the following facts presented by Amos Pinchot in his open letter to Claude Kitchin of Aug. 10, 1918, urging heavier taxes on excess war profits. The pre-war average annual net earnings (i. e. for the years 1911, 1912, 1913) of the American Woolen Co. were \$1,754,793. The net earnings of this company in 1917 are reported as \$13,883,156. If we deduct 50% of this total to cover war taxes, contributions and all other possible war time expenditures, there remains still over six millions of excess profits which the workers of Lawrence have helped to produce.

Under these conditions it may readily be seen that the strike is really a protest against unemployment and the denial of work to those who need it to buy bread for their children. Today from 50% to 75% of the mill workers of Lawrence are idle or on part time with greatly reduced incomes. Without going into the question as to the exact source of the blame for this condition, the fact remains that thousands of workers are denied the opportunity to sell their labor power, when the cost of living is unusually high. If we were chattel slaves, food, clothing, shelter and work would be provided. As wage earners we are the victims of the most cruel form of sabotage which modern society can impose. We know that the world needs immense quantities of woolen and cotton goods. We know that the raw material and the labor is available to produce these goods. We protest against an economic system and against economic conditions which allows this kind of treatment of the workers. We believe that it is unnecessary and we plan to unite the workers of Lawrence into one large local union in order that we may have the power to win a living wage and the right to be considered and consulted in the vital affairs of the industry of which we are a part.

The real cause of the present condition of the textile workers, from North Carolina to the Canadian border, is in our opinion, that the organization functioning in this industry is unsuited to the development of the industry. It might have been suitable in the early days of the hand loom period but it is not fitted to cope with the highly centralized factory and machine production of the present day. The so-called leaders of the textile unions are one-eyed men in a kingdom of the blind. They have less than twelve per cent of the workers in this industry organized, they have neither capacity or vision and so long as they can get sufficient dues collected from the brow-beaten workers to pay their office expenses and provide them with fat salaries these leaders (moryah) are perfectly satisfied with the present order of things.

Steps must be taken immediately to get this industry organized on a proper basis. That is the task facing the revolutionary working class movement of this country. The workers are ready. All that is required are teachers and financial backing. The field is un-

tilled but the harvest will be worthy of the laborers. A conference should be called in Boston or some other central point, the militant rebels in the industry should be invited to such a conference and plans should be formulated to take up this essential work.

Comrades who are interested and who can give themselves or their money for this purpose should immediately communicate with this paper.

An Open Letter to Katherine Breshkovskaya

This open letter to Catherine Breshkovskaya, "the grandmother of the Russian Revolution," is written by a Russian woman, who has already reached an age when the women of the working class are old, the age of 57. She has suffered in Russia for opposing the regime of the Czar. In Russia she was a member of the working class, in America she still belongs to that class, and although she is not one of the leaders, still she knows whereof she speaks.

Breshkovskaya is entitled to her opinion regarding the Bolsheviks and the Soviet Government, but if she still loves Russia, the Russia for which she suffered, she must not allow herself to be made a tool of those interests who would restore the Czar, return the land to the land barons and the factories to the industrial barons.

SOME months ago I wrote you an open letter which was published in the American-Russian Socialist papers. Many events have happened since then—Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht—two of the loftiest of the human species—have been killed by an irresponsible mob who had been incited to action by such traitors as Scheidemann, Ebert and his like.

My first letter was written with some hope and faith in your honesty and intellect. Today, again, you are being used as a tool by the ambition and power-craving representatives of Capitalism, in their wild desire to poison the minds of the American workers against the grand and glorious Soviet Republic. Hence I must use more plain language in this letter to you.

I see that you came via Siberia. That means that the invaders at Vladivostok gave you a free hand to advocate the suppression and murder of the majority of the Russian population—65 per cent of whom are workers and peasants.

You dare to say that all the lies and slander of the Capitalist Press are true and that even peasants are killed by "these murderous Bolsheviks." To explain, just as the whole humanity is divided into two classes—the oppressors and the oppressed, so are the Russian peasants divided into two factions, viz:—the plain working peasants—the majority—and the so-called "fists"—the rural usurers—who are hated even worse than the lords. No wonder those "fists" were killed as they were the "Shylocks" of Russian peasantry. Most of the peasants had to buy grain from Christmas until the next year's crop was to hand. Having no money to pay for same they borrowed the grain from the local usurers. The peasant debtors were compelled to guarantee their loan by some document pledging themselves to return the grain at extensively high interest or do some work in lieu of same. For one bushel of rye a poor woman had to scythe about one and a half acres in the summertime or work daily for 14 or 16 hours per day for the miserable amount of 20c. Of course the usurer charged for his grain twice as much as the regular dealer

in the city did. If the debtor could not comply with his pledge then the "fist" or usurer came with the policemen and the last poor cow or anything that might be found in the house was taken away in spite of the prayers and crying of the women and children.

Now, Catherine Breshkovskaya, don't you know that the children of the Russian peasants were dying by the millions under the age of five years? Don't you know, old woman, that the babies were fed on rye bread which the mothers chewed with salt, then took this masticated bread and tied it into a small rag thus making a kind of nipple for the babies to suck and thus be enabled to leave them to go to work in the fields? Don't you know that the Russian peasant mothers gave birth to dozens of children, and that they crossed themselves and thanked God when their babies died, believing that God had mercy with those little things and took them back to his paradise? You know all this Catherine Breshkovskaya, but still you are coming to America and begging that they send troops over to Russia to return the lands and factories to the big land-owners and bourgeoisie, taking from the mass of the Russian people what they have produced through countless ages by the sweat of their brows and under conditions which meant sacrifice of hope, comfort and even life, and at last after centuries of sweating, bleeding and dying those ignorant, helpless martyrs of their masters have awakened and have taken control of Russia in the interests of the whole of the people and not for the few parasites who have lived and enjoyed on the suffering and agony of the Russian people.

In my first letter I explained to you what is meant by the class struggle, but it appears that you have got so old that you cannot understand. Oh, you would understand though if you and your like, Kropotkin, Plekhanov, and others would be compelled like myself, to run like mad when I hear the factory whistle being afraid that I might lose my job if I should happen to be late. You too could understand like myself—a woman of 57 years—that to be able to merely exist I have to beg from the owner the privilege of selling my labor power at so much per day, crawl and cringe for the opportunity to work or I must starve. You old blind people would understand if you had to dye your hair and paint your cheeks and deck out your body for the sake of earning your daily bread, as the old folks in America have to do. They must have a job or starve and to be able to be exploited by some "kind-hearted" master they must look youthful and ensure to the master that they can stand the terrible grind of industrialism. But you Madame Breshkovskaya have successfully evaded the ranks of the proletarians and been always able to get enough money for your adventures, even to these last days when you are well subsidized by reactionary forces to enable you to reach America and poison the minds of the people with your sobbing and crying—a clever actress playing her last game.

But what is the use of such hypocrisy? The masters of the world are using you to gain their ends. The overthrow of the Soviet administration in Russia means the introduction of Capitalism in its stead and the horrors, and slums, and the filth and disease which are its concomitants.

However your sobbing and crying and appeals cannot stem the tide of Social evolution. It is now simply a question between the capitalists of the world and the workers. The former are desirous of intervention in Russia so that they can draw big dividends from their invested capital, the latter, the workers, must oppose them if they wish to survive as a happy and healthy people.

The international working class stands in your way. Mark you! The workers of the whole world are realizing that they have to do just the same as was done in Russia, that is—take all that they have produced during centuries and therefore belongs to them and them only, and then force the parasites and usurers, your friends, to go to work or to die. What is useless and rotten must vanish—this law of nature you ought to know, you intellectual servants of parasites.

MARY NICOLAEFF.

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Manifesto and Program of the Left

Introduction

THE members of the Socialist Party of America are entitled to an explanation for the issuance of this pamphlet by the Left Wing Group.

First of all, be it understood, we are not a secessionist movement, nor do we contemplate splitting the party. We are a very active and growing section of the Socialist Party which is attempting to reach the rank and file with our urgent message over the heads of the powers that be, who, through inertia or a lack of vision, cannot see the necessity for a critical analysis of the party's policies and tactics.

The daily press is closed to us; therefore we cannot adequately present our side of the case.

In the various discussions that arise wherever party members or delegates assemble, both sides grow too heated for calm, dispassionate judgment.

Therefore we have decided to issue our Manifesto and Program in pamphlet form, so that the rank and file may read and judge our case on its merits.

Our comrades—and this is addressed exclusively to the members of the party—the situation is such that a careful study of our position is absolutely imperative. Naturally, we come to you, the court of last resort, for our judgment.

Manifesto

Prior to August, 1914, the nations of the world stood on a volcano. Violent eruptions from time to time gave warning of the cataclysm to come, but the diplomats and statesmen managed to localize the outbreaks, and the masses, slightly aroused, sank back to their accustomed lethargy with doubts and misgivings, and the subterranean fires continued to smoulder. Surely, the people reasoned, no one would do so mad as to precipitate a world war!

Besides, they trusted blindly—some in their statesmen, some in the cohesive power of Christianity, their common religion, and some in the growing strength of the international Socialist movement. Had not the German Social Democracy exchanged dramatic telegrams with the French Socialist Party, each pledging itself not to fight in case their governments declared war on each other? A general strike of workers led by these determined Socialists would quickly bring a government to their senses!

So the workers reasoned, until the thunder-clap of Sarajevo and Austria's ultimatum to Serbia. Then, suddenly, the storm broke. Mobilization everywhere. Declarations of war. In three or four days Europe was in arms.

The present structure of society—Capitalism—with its pretensions to democracy on the one hand, and its commercial rivalries, armament rings and standing armies on the other, all based on the exploitation of the working class and the division of the loot, was cast into the furnace of the war. Two things only could issue from the flames: either international capitalist control, through a League of Nations, or Social Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Both of these forms are today contending for world-power.

The Social Democracies of Europe, unable to meet the crisis, were themselves hurled into the conflagration, to be tempered or consumed by it.

The collapse of the Second International

At first the question which agitated Socialists' minds all over the world was: why have they failed? All sorts of extenuating circumstances were pleaded in their behalf—"defensive war," and "a low type of civilization menaces a higher type," and "Socialism must fight on the side of democracy," and "Socialism is not free from the virus of nationalism." All these excuses equally begged the question.

We know that great mass-demonstrations were held in every European country by Socialists protesting against their governments' declarations of war, and mobilization for war. And we know too that these demonstrations were suddenly rendered impotent by the complete surrender of the Socialist parliamentary and the official Socialist press. Why the sud-

den change of front? Why did the Socialist leaders in the parliaments of the future belligerents vote the war credits? Why did the official Socialist press in Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, etc. suddenly reverse its position and call for resistance to the invader? In short, why did the dominant Socialists support their governments?

We shall attempt to answer these questions.

The Development of "Modern Socialism"

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Social Democracies of Europe set out to "legislate Capitalism out of office." The class struggle was to be won in the capitalist legislatures. Step by step concessions were to be wrested from the state; the working class and the Socialist parties were to be strengthened by means of "constructive" reforms and social legislation; each concession would act as a rung in the ladder of Social Revolution, upon which the workers could climb step by step, until finally, some bright sunny morning, the peoples would awake to find the Cooperative Commonwealth functioning without disorder, confusion or hitch on the ruins of the capitalist state.

But what happened? When a few legislative seats had been captured, the thunderous denunciations of the Socialist legislators suddenly ceased. No more were the parliaments used as platforms from which the challenge of militant Socialism was flung to all corners of Europe. Another era had set in, the era of "constructive" social reform legislation. All powers to shape the policies and tactics of the Socialist parties were entrusted to the parliamentary leaders. And these lost sight of Socialism's original purpose; their goal became two-fold—"constructive reforms" and *Cabinet portfolios of the means to an end they made an end in itself*. Moderate Socialism, in the hands of these parliamentary leaders, was now ready to share responsibility with the bourgeoisie in the control of the capitalist state, even to the extent of *defending the bourgeoisie against the working class*—as for instance during the first Briand Ministry in France, when the official party press was opened to a defense of the shooting of striking railway-workers at the order of the Socialist-Bourgeois Coalition Cabinet.

"Sausage Socialism"

This situation was brought about by mixing pure scientific Socialism with bourgeois reforms and the democratic cant of the eighteenth century. The result was what Rosa Luxemburg called "sausage Socialism." The Socialist parliamentarians forgot that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link. They emphasized petty bourgeois social reformism in order to attract tradesmen, shop-keepers and members of the professions, and of course the latter flocked to the Socialist movement in great numbers, seeking relief from the constant grinding between corporate capital and awakening labor.

The Socialist organizations actively competed for votes, on the basis of social reforms, with the bourgeois liberal political parties. And so they catered to the ignorance and prejudices of the workers, trading promises of immediate reforms for votes.

Dominant "moderate Socialism" forgot the teachings of the founders of scientific Socialism, forgot its function as a proletarian movement—"the most resolute and advanced section of the working class parties"—and permitted the bourgeois and self-seeking trade-union element to shape its policies and tactics.

This was the condition in which the Social Democracies of Europe found themselves at the outbreak of war in 1914. Demoralized and confused by the cross-currents within their own parties, vacillating and compromising with the bourgeois state, they fell an easy prey to social-patriotism and nationalism.

This is the explanation of the failure of the Socialist movements of Europe in the crisis of 1914.

Sparticoides and Bolsheviki

But revolutionary Socialism was not destined to lie inert for long. In Germany, Karl Liebknecht,

Franz Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin organized the Spartacus Group. But their voices were drowned in the roar of cannon and the shrieks of the dying and the maimed.

Russia, however, was to be the first battleground where "moderate" and revolutionary Socialism came to grips for the mastery of the state. The breaking of the corrupt, bureaucratic Czarist regime opened the flood-gates of Revolution. Centuries of oppression had paved the way.

Three main contending parties attempted to ride into power on the revolutionary tide: the Cadets, the "moderate Socialists"—Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists—and the revolutionary Socialists—the Bolsheviki. The Cadets were first to be swept into power; but they tried to stem the still rising flood with a few abstract political ideals, and were soon carried away. The soldiers, workers and peasants could no longer be fooled by phrases. The Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries succeeded the Cadets. And now came the crucial test; would they, in accordance with Marxian teachings make themselves the ruling class and sweep away the old conditions of production and thus prepare the way for the Cooperative Commonwealth? Or would they tinker with the old machinery and try to foist it on the masses as something just as good?

They did the latter, and proved for all time that "moderate Socialism" cannot be trusted.

The Socialists began to understand why dominant "moderate Socialism" had broken down. "Moderate Socialism" was not prepared to seize the power from the workers during a revolution. "Moderate Socialism" had a rigid formula—"Constructive" social reform legislation within the capitalist state; and to that formula it clung. It believed that bourgeois democracy could be used as a means of constructing the Socialist order; therefore it must wait until the people, through a Constituent Assembly, should bring Socialism into existence. And in the meantime, it held that there must be established a Government Coalition with the enemy, the bourgeoisie. As it held with all the means of controlling public opinion in the hands of the bourgeoisie, a Constituent Assembly could or would ever vote the Socialists into power.

Revolutionary Socialists hold, with the founders of scientific Socialism, that there are two dominant classes in society—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. That between these two classes a struggle must go on until the working class, through the seizure of the instruments of production and distribution, the abolition of the capitalist state, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, creates a Socialist order. Revolutionary Socialists do not propose to wait until the vast majority of the people vote into power; but, "if the proletariat during its struggle with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and if such sweeps away by force the old conditions of production; then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."

Marx and Engels clearly explain the function of the Socialist movement. It is the "moderate Socialists," through intellectual gymnastics, evasions, misquotations and the tearing of sentences and phrases from their context, who make Marx and Engels sponsors for their perverted version of Socialism.

Problems of American Socialism

At the present moment the Socialist Party of America is agitated by several cross-currents, some local in their character, and some a reflex of cleavages in the European Socialist movements. Many see in internal dissension merely an unimportant difference of opinion, or at most, dissatisfied faction with the rest of the party, and the desire to replace those who misused it with better men.

We, however, maintain that there is a fundar-

Wing of the American Socialist Movement

distinction in views concerning party policies and tactics. And we believe that this difference is so vast that from our standpoint a radical change in party policies and tactics is necessary.

This essential task is being shirked by our party leaders and officials generally. In view of the impending change in the tactics of organized labor in this country, we must hurry to readjust the Socialist movement to the new conditions or find ourselves left behind by the march of events.

Already there is formidable industrial unrest, a seething ferment of discontent, evidenced by inarticulate rumblings which presage striking occurrences. The transformation of industry from a war to a peace basis has thoroughly disorganized the economic structure. Thousands upon thousands of workers are being thrown out of work. Demobilized sailors and soldiers find themselves a drug on the labor market, unless they act as scabs and strike-breakers. Skilled mechanics, fighting desperately to maintain their war-wage and their industrial status, are forced to strike. Women, who during the war have been welcomed into industries hitherto closed to them, are struggling to keep their jobs. And to cap the climax, the capitalists, through their Chambers of Commerce and their Merchants' and Manufacturers' Associations, have resolved to take advantage of the situation to break down even the inadequate organizations labor has built up through generations of painful struggle.

The temper of the workers and the soldiers, after the sacrifices they have made in the war, is such that they will not endure the reactionary labor conditions so openly advocated by the master-class. A series of labor struggles is bound to follow—indeed, is beginning now. Shall the Socialist Party continue to feed the workers with social reform legislation at this critical period? Shall it approach the whole question from the standpoint of votes and the election of representatives to the legislature? Shall it emphasize the consumer's point of view, when Socialist principles teach that the worker is robbed at the point of production? Shall it talk about Cost of Living and taxation, when it should be explaining how the worker is robbed at his job?

There are many signs of the awakening of Labor. The organized Trade Unions, against the definite commands of their leaders, are resorting to independent political action, in an effort to conserve what they have won and wrest new concessions from the master-class. What shall be our attitude toward the awakening workers?

On the basis of the class struggle we shall go among them, impregnating them with revolutionary Socialism; we shall teach them solidarity; we shall teach them class-consciousness; we shall teach them the hopelessness of social reform; we shall teach them the meaning of Revolution. And the industrial unrest, the ferment of discontent, will compel them to listen!

Capitalist Imperialism

Among the many problems immediately confronting us are those new questions springing from Capitalist-Imperialism, the final and decisive stage of Capitalism. How shall the Socialist Party meet these problems?

Imperialism is that stage of Capitalism in which the accumulated capital or surplus of a nation is too great for the home market to reinvest or absorb. The increased productivity of the working class, due to improved machinery and efficiency methods, and the mere subsistence wage which permits the worker to buy back only a small portion of what he produces, causes an ever-increasing accumulation of commodities, which in turn become capital and must be invested in further production. When Capitalism has reached the stage in which it imports raw materials from undeveloped countries and exports them again in the shape of manufactured products, it has reached its highest development.

This process is universal. Foreign markets, spheres of influence and protectorates, under the intensive development of capitalist industry and finance in turn

become highly developed. They, too, seek for markets. National capitalist control, to save itself from ruin, breaks its national bonds and emerges full-grown as a capitalist League of Nations, with international armies and navies to maintain its supremacy.

The new situation the Socialist Party must meet. From now on the United States will no longer hold itself aloof, isolated and provincial. It is reaching out for new markets, new zones of influence, new protectorates; not alone, and not in competition with other capitalist nations, but in cooperation with them. They will divide the world among them. And the League of Nations will be the instrument through which they will work.

The master-class of America will soon attempt to use organized labor for its imperialistic purposes, but a restless and discontented working class cannot pile up profits. Therefore in this country we may soon expect the master-class, in true Bismarkian fashion, to grant factory laws, medical laws, old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, sick benefits, and the whole category of bourgeois reforms, so that the workers may be kept physically and mentally fit to produce the greatest profits at the greatest speed.

Dangers to American Socialism

There is danger that the Socialist Party of America might make use of these purely bourgeois reforms to attract the workers' votes, by claiming that they are victories for Socialism, and that they have been won by Socialist political action; when, as a matter of fact, the object of these master-class measures is to prevent the growing class-consciousness of the workers, and to divert them from their revolutionary aim. By agitating for these reforms, therefore, the Socialist Party would be playing into the hands of our American imperialists.

On the basis of the class struggle, then, the Socialist Party of America must reorganize itself—must prepare to come to grips with the master-class during the difficult period of capitalist readjustment now going on. This it can do only by teaching the working class the truth about present-day conditions; it must preach revolutionary industrial unionism, and urge the workers to turn their craft unions into industrial unions, the only form of labor organization which can cope with the power of great modern aggregations of capital. It must carry on its political campaigns, not merely as means of electing officials to political office, as in the past, but as a year-around educational campaign to arouse the workers to class conscious economic and political action, and to keep alive the burning ideal of revolution in the hearts of the people.

For New Policies and Tactics

We believe that the time has come for the Socialist Party of America to adopt the following course of action: to throw off its parliamentary opportunism and to stand squarely behind the Soviet Republic of Russia, the Spartacus Group in Germany, and the revolutionary working class movement in Europe. Thus it will be ready when the hour strikes in this country—and it will strike soon—to take the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle with the capitalist class, instead of obstructing its path with the palliative of parliamentary reforms and lead the workers forward to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the final phase of the class struggle, necessary to the ushering in of the Cooperative Commonwealth.

Political Action

Realizing that the vital difference between revolutionary Socialism and "moderate Socialism" lies in their varying conceptions of political action, and realizing too that on this point revolutionary Socialists are most misunderstood and misrepresented, we append a detailed explanation of the scientific Socialist conception of political action.

Since we assert with Marx, that "the class struggle is essentially a political struggle," we can only accept his own oft repeated interpretation of that phrase. The class struggle, whether it manifest itself on the

industrial field or in the direct struggle for governmental control, is essentially a struggle for the capture and destruction of the capitalist political state. This is a political act. In this broader view of the term "political," Marx includes revolutionary industrial action. In other words, the objective of Socialist industrial action is also "political," in the sense that it aims to undermine the state, which "is nothing less than a machine for the oppression of one class by another and that no less so in a democratic republic than under a monarchy."

Participation in Elections

Political action is also and more generally used to refer to participation in election campaigns for the immediate purpose of capturing legislative seats. In this sense also we urge the use of political action as a revolutionary weapon.

But both in the nature and the purpose of this form of political action, revolutionary Socialism and "moderate Socialism" are completely at odds.

We contend that such political action is a valuable means of propaganda; and further, that the capture of legislative seats is an effective means of capturing the political state, but—and here is the vital point for the "moderate Socialist"—goes no further—we hold that this capture of the political state is merely for the purpose of destroying it. The nature of Socialist parliamentary activity should be purely destructive.

"Moderate Socialism" aims to "simply lay hold of the ready-made machinery and wield it for its own purposes"—the attainment of Socialism. And so the "moderate" falls into the error of believing that parliamentary activity is constructive,—that he can eventually legislate Socialism into existence.

This error leads to two dangerous practices: (1), making parliamentary activity an end in itself; and (2), making essentially destructive political action the instrument for constructing the Socialist order. To avoid these dangers, and to strengthen Labor's political arm, the Socialist ballot must be supported by the might of "the industrial organization of the working class." Only the economic organization of the working class can build the new society within the frame of the old.

Revolutionary Industrial Unionism

"Moderate Socialism" constantly overlooks this fact. We must continually remind the working class that *Labor's economic organizations are naturally the school for Socialism. All political parties, and without exception, whatever their complexion may be, warm up the working class only for a season, transiently.*

Only through his industrial organization can the worker receive training in the control of production. It is by means of this weapon that the working class will eventually take over and hold the mines, mills and factories, not for the purpose of destroying them but for their permanent control and development. Thus, the only thing worth taking from capitalist society and keeping the highly developed means of production and distribution—will be won for the working class by its *Revolutionary Economic Organization*.

Because of its constructive nature, our Economic Arm, unlike our Political Arm, may take "a little at a time." Our economic movement is not unlike a military movement. All means are used to win a war—infantry attacks, heavy and light artillery, bombardments, sieges, and guerilla fighting. In the industrial struggle the working class employs strikes, boycotts and the like. The political movement, however, has for its object only the storming of the political citadel of capitalist tyranny; therefore the Political Arm cannot compromise. Our political movement should be the essence and incarnation of our revolutionary aim. With Liebknecht we say, "to parliamentarize is to compromise, to log-roll, to sell out."

Syndicalism and Parliamentarism

In characteristic utopian fashion the Syndicalists

(Continued on page 6.)

The Chicago Communist Propaganda League

A GROUP of Socialist party officials and active party members came together for consultation as to ways and means for giving the American Socialist movement a revolutionary character, in harmony with all the significance of November 7th, the most glorious date in all history. At the hour of that little meeting bedlam reigned in the streets of Chicago by premature celebration of peace. The calling of this meeting during the mass tumult of November 7th is prophetic of the revolutionary vision which brought these comrades together. On that day the seething proletariat ruled Chicago by sheer force of numbers. One thing alone was needed to give this mass expression identity with the proletarian uprisings of Europe—one thing: the revolutionary idea!

The Communist Propaganda League is an organization for the propagation of the revolutionary idea. The civilization of tomorrow is with the unorganized masses who greeted the news of peace and revolution in Germany with what may safely be described as the greatest spontaneous expression of mass sentiment ever witnessed in America. To give direction and inspiration to the advancing and irresistible army of the proletariat is the mission to which this League is dedicated.

PROGRAM

We speak as members of the Socialist Party to other Socialists, primarily in the interests of the party itself, fundamentally in the interest of a truly revolutionary proletarian movement in the United States.

Those who have organized this League, in common with like-minded Socialists throughout the country, are imbued with the thought that the Socialist Party, as it at present functions, falls short of its possibilities in giving leadership and unity to the revolutionary proletarian elements in the United States.

There are certain well-defined lines of criticism of Socialist Party tactics and principles which have long been familiar to all thoughtful American Socialists: that the party proceeds on a too narrow understanding of political action for a party of revolution; that its programs and platforms have been reformist and petty bourgeois in character, instead of being definitely directed toward the goal of social revolution; that the party has failed to achieve unity with the revolutionary movement on the industrial field; that the party organization of itself is too cumbersome for quick response to new situations and opportunities for propaganda; that the stand against proletarian participation in imperialistic wars has not gone the full length of its own logic; that there has been compromising reservation in accepting the international leadership of the Bolsheviks of Russia; and, generally that the modes

of Socialist functioning have not taken sufficiently into account the mass action of the proletariat which alone can bring revolution, but instead there has been blind reliance on balloting and pure parliamentarism as the weapons of revolution—a reliance which the experience of the past two years makes particularly empty.

Converting these different criticisms into affirmative propositions, we present the following program as the immediate basis of our activities:

1. Alliance and cooperation only with revolutionary Socialist and labor elements in international affairs, such as the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Russia.
2. Socialist propaganda only on the basis of the

Oral Note

The Plenipotentiary of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Below we reprint from the "Pravda" as an extremely curious historical document, the "oral note" of the representatives of the Russian Soviet government, which was addressed to the "Imperial government of Germany" a short time (about two weeks) before the German revolution.

THE plenipotentiary representation of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic respectfully submits to the ministry of Foreign Affairs the following:

"Repeatedly the attention of the plenipotentiary representatives has been called to the desirability of publishing in a German translation the decrees and the most important laws of the Soviet Republic. This caused the plenipotentiary representatives of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic to undertake the publication of the laws of the Soviet Republic in German. Representatives of the ministry of Foreign Affairs were informed of this intention, and it was approved by them. Through the ministry of Foreign Affairs was received the paper necessary for the publication. The translation is already being printed in the Pass and Garleb printing, Berlin, W., 57 Bulow Strasse, 66.

"Yesterday two officials of the criminal police came to the printing plant and demanded, on the basis of the decision of the chief command of the district, the arrest of everything that has already been printed and the destruction of the composition. The printers declared that they have guaranteed that the printing of this matter will be stopped, and the criminal police merely sealed and locked up all the printed and set up material."

Bringing this to the attention of the ministry of Foreign Affairs, the plenipotentiary mission requests it to take appropriate steps and to inform the mission of the results.

Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Movement

(Continued from page five)

and the abolition of all social reform planks now contained in them.

2. The party must teach, propagate and agitate exclusively for the overthrow of Capitalism, and the establishment of Socialism through a Proletarian Dictatorship.

3. The Socialist candidates elected to office shall adhere strictly to the above provisions.

4. Realizing that a political party cannot reorganize and reconstruct the industrial organizations of the working class and that that is the task of the economic organizations themselves, we demand that the party assist this process of reorganization by a propaganda for revolutionary and industrial unionism as part of its general activities. We believe it is the mission of the Socialist movement to encourage and assist the proletariat to adopt newer and more effective forms of organization and to stir it into newer and more revolutionary modes of action.

5. We demand that the official party press be party owned and controlled.

6. We demand that officially recognized educational institutions be party owned and controlled.

revolutionary class struggle; a Socialist movement built only on revolutionary proletarian adherents. An end of petty bourgeois reformism as the basis of Socialist Party activity.

3. Party policies and platforms free from hypocrisies and "planks" to catch votes; platforms only as statements of revolutionary aims.

4. Furtherance of such changes in political forms as are in line with the needs of proletarian-controlled industries, not of political changes based on bourgeois "democracy."

5. Identification of the Socialist Party with class-conscious industrial unionism.

6. Unity of all kinds of proletarian action and protest forming part of the revolutionary class struggle. Political action to include political strikes and demonstrations, and to be in cooperation with industrial mass action.

7. No compromising with any groups not inherently committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as Labor parties, People's Council, Non-partisan Leagues, Municipal Ownership Leagues, and the like.

8. The proletariat to be organized to oppose all wars of imperialism, though declared for "defense of country" or for "democracy", and to carry this opposition to the extent of refusal of service under conscription, and to general strikes. The workers to engage only in wars of proletarian revolution and to wars to repel attacks against proletarian governments.

9. A sense of realism as to the limited possibilities of the ballot as a weapon of revolution or fights for "justice" in capitalist courts, and dependence primarily on mass power and the mass action of the proletariat.

10. Centralized party organization, corresponding to the highly centralized imperialist control to be overthrown.

a. Organization for quick action and immediate response to new situations by having a National Executive Committee composed of paid party officials and propagandists with offices in the National Headquarters.

b. Definite and easy control by the party membership of all party officials.

c. Control by the party organization of all Socialists elected to public offices.

d. Control by the party membership, through the regular executive committees, of all official party publications; not by independent special committees of trustees.

e. Establishment of a Central Lecture Bureau, and of a Press and Information Bureau.

f. Standardization of party platforms, propaganda, dues, and methods of organization.

7. We demand that the party discard its obsolete literature and publish new literature in keeping with the policies and tactics above mentioned.

Immediate Demands

1. We demand that the National Executive Committee call an immediate emergency national convention for the purpose of reorganizing party policies and tactics to meet the present crisis.

2. We demand that the American Socialist Party shall not participate in the proposed Lausanne Conference engineered by "moderate Socialists" and social patriots.

3. We demand that the Socialist Party of America issue a call for an international congress of those groups of the Socialist movement that participated both in the Zimmerwald Conference in September 1915, and the Kienthal Conference in 1916, and the groups that are in agreement with them today.

4. We demand the unequivocal endorsement of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

5. We demand the unequivocal indorsement of Spartacus Group of Germany.

6. We demand the unequivocal endorsement of Left Wing movements of Europe.

forget that the Social Revolution must in part grow "within the capitalist shell." They forget that the state, the engine of oppression employed by the capitalist class, must be destroyed through capture by the working class.

In equally characteristic utopian fashion, the "moderate Socialist," with his pure and simple parliamentarism forgets that "because of its destructive object and because of its structure, which is arbitrary and determined by geographical lines, the Political Arm of Labor cannot be used as a means of taking away from the capitalists and holding for the workingmen the means of production."

Thus the utopian Syndicalist fails to utilize the political weapon; and the 20th Century Utopian Socialist misuses the political weapon and fails altogether to utilize the industrial weapon.

A combination of these two methods is necessary to the revolutionary Socialist movement, and this combination the Left Wing intends to effect.

Program

1. We stand for a uniform declaration of principles in all party platforms both local and national

Britain and Russia

By Douglas Young

[Mr. Young, as the British Consul, was in sole charge of British interests in Archangel from December, 1917, until the military occupation on August 2, 1918.]

DURING my eleven year's service under the Foreign Office in parts ranging from the Equator to the Arctic Circle, I have seen how the direction of foreign affairs is the close preserve of an exclusive class bureaucracy; and how matters vitally affecting international relations are decided by officials, often of minor rank, who, for the most part, have no first-hand knowledge of the countries on which they are experimenting, and who ignore, if they do not actually resent, any suggestions or advice from "outsiders" who happen to possess such knowledge. The plea of "State Secrecy" is used by this bureaucracy to conceal its blunders, which often involve the lives of thousands of the people. Our diplomatic representation abroad is also the exclusive preserve of a caste, the members of which in most cases do not even speak the language of the country in which they reside, and who gather their knowledge within the four walls of their Chancellories or in the Court or aristocratic circles which they exclusively frequent.

In my three years' service as British Consul at Archangel during the war, I have seen the money of the British taxpayer squandered with the most cynical indifference by a similar bureaucracy established by other departments.

The British Government played a dirty, double game with the Soviet Government in Russia. First they gave a solemn assurance, which was published over my name in the Archangel Press, that they had no annexationist intentions and that they would not interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. This was accepted by myself and by every man who read it, and who was not concerned with the niceties of diplomatic quibbling, as meaning that the British Government intended no military action against the Soviet Government. Then they stabbed that Government in the back by forcing a landing of Allied troops at Archangel under a specious pretext.

So far from the Soviet Government having violated the sanctity of the British Embassy at Petrograd, the Embassy no longer existed, as its personnel had ignominiously fled the country some months previously, and official representatives of the British Admiralty and War Office were abusing diplomatic privilege—to which, in fact, they had no claim—to organize, in conjunction with Russian counter-revolutionaries, under cover of the Embassy building, a plot to overthrow the Soviet *de facto* authorities in Archangel and elsewhere.

The British Government having completely failed to understand the cause and significance of the Russian Revolution and the ideals and aims of the Soviet Government, proceeded to suppress any news or any expression of opinion which did not coincide with their preconceived ideas, and was therefore calculated to expose that blunder; and, further, they proceeded to misrepresent and blacken every action of the Soviet Government, giving either deliberately untrue or evasive replies to the few independent members of all parties who have tried by questions in Parliament to extract the truth, though there is, of course, always the possibility that Ministers have not been allowed by their officials to know what was going on.

The Archangel expedition, considered only as a military enterprise, and apart from questions of morality or political expediency, is already admitted even by its militarist sponsors to be an even greater fiasco than might have been anticipated. It is actually in danger of being thrown out into the White Sea, leaving the civil population of Archangel to the vengeance of the Bolsheviks. And this failure is due primarily to the fact that our naive authorities grossly underestimated not only the moral force but also the military power of the Soviet Government, apparently believing that in its stronghold at Moscow, 700 miles from Archangel, the walls of Bolshevism would fall to the ground at the approach from the White Sea of a few "brass-hats" and a nondescript force of a few hundred men "scraped together."

I have seen in Archangel a British general acting toward the Russian population in their own country as despotically as any Czar and conducting himself as scandalously as any of the Russian generals of the old regime who were a common subject of superior criticism on the part of British residents in Russia. One can only conclude from this that the war against Prussian militarism has created a Whitehall militarism little better than the Potsdam variety, and a British bureaucracy perhaps less corrupt, but hardly less incompetent than that of St. Petersburg.

Whitehall is the district in London where the British War Office, Admiralty, Foreign Office, etc. are situated.

The Height of Impudence

Place—Lawrence, Mass., February 5th, the Year of Our Lord 1919.

Personae—Peter Carr, City Commissioner and one hundred thousand citizens—mostly wage-slaves.

STRIKE of thirty-five thousand of the wage slaves to demand the same monotonous conditions of existence, same miserable housing conditions, same beggarly mess of pottage, same sense destroying moving pictures, same character destroying pool parlors and saloons, same tin chapel bell ringing and attendance thereat, same old drab, soul-destroying hymn singing, pulpit punching, meek and humble, obey your masters, praise the lord, order yourselves humbly before your betters, order of things, with this one exception that these daring rebels on strike who comprise 31 different nationalities had the audacity to ask for a shorter working week by 6 hours, so that they might get a little more fresh air in their lungs and a larger measure of recreation and a few hours more of the warmth of the sun. In a moment of reason they have the audacity to think they have the right to parade through the city which they built by their slave labor.

So humbly, like the submissive slaves that they are, they approach with that humility which only the working class seems to possess, the nonentity Peter Carr, not Carr, High Commissioner of the City of Lawrence, Mass., the modern Pooh Bah, and beg to ask His All-Highness to permit them to show their weakened and overwrought frames to the public, but Peter in that unctuous, rigidly, righteous manner, which so well becomes to him, not caring to offend the aesthetic soul of his masters, the capitalist owners of the mills of Lawrence, in a letter which he had neither the ability to formulate nor the penmanship to indite, replies in His autocratic Prussian manner and says:

"No, I forbid! I, the great Peter Carr, forbid you to so assemble, for you 35,000 slaves who don't want to work . . . (egregious fool, what these thirty-five thousand want is to work that they may eat), but Peter says that the assembling of these 35,000 would intimidate those who do want to work! Such is Peter Carr and the vile bunch of political grafters and capitalist mill owners and mouth patriots and profiteers who control that city.

Another reason he says why they shall not parade is because these thirty-five thousand slaves are foreigners, Bolsheviks, enemies of democracy, in fact an all round bad lot. Yet, a few months ago, Peter and a few political thugs were boosting the loyalty of these same thirty-five thousand foreigners, and how each of them had bought liberty bonds, paying fifty-fifters for \$45. or \$47. so that they and their children may eat.

Over five thousand of the sons of these fathers or their relatives went to France to fight for democracy and the right to parade in their own city of Lawrence. The bones of many of these sons and relatives of the thirty-five thousand strikers when the fields of Flanders, while Peter Carr who left Ireland a few years ago for Ireland's good and who, it is alleged on good authority, is not as yet a citizen of America and therefore not a citizen of the city of Lawrence, Mass., refuses these workers the right to parade. We understand that this matter is now before the courts as to whether he is a citizen or not, and if not he has no legal right to hold the position of City Commissioner and therefore no legal right to permit or forbid a parade, but whether a citizen or not, matters not to our purpose.

If this unintelligent prehistoric minded creature is allowed to interfere with the liberty of 35 thousand useful men and women it is full time that instead of

I hate "Bolshevism"—a product of reaction working upon national war-weariness and popular discontent. But I am convinced that the policy or absence of policy—of the British Government as regards Russia is responsible for having strengthened "Bolshevism" by forcing the Soviet Government to adopt cruel and inexcusable measures for its self-preservation, and incidentally for placing Russia still more under the heel of Germany and for slamming the door in Russia in our own faces against British political and commercial influence in that country. I believe that Bolshevik propaganda has had as much to do with the sudden collapse of Germany as our military operations. And I am afraid that, at the moment the most urgent problems of domestic reconstruction are awaiting settlement at home, we shall fritter away our strength and resource in a vain attempt to restore order in the Russian Colossus; and that if we do this we shall sooner or later provoke an outbreak of Bolshevism in the United Kingdom, thus realising the aim of the extreme Russian Bolsheviks of spreading their ideas throughout Western Europe.

Russia cannot be invaded and conquered by a few thousand men. The distances are enormous; the difficulties are great; the Bolsheviks are strong and are growing stronger. It is not a question of "restoring order" in Murman or the Crimea. It is a question at least of penetrating to Moscow. That means war on a large scale—it may be years of war. It means the sacrifice of thousands of lives and millions of money, with heaven knows what purpose or result. There cannot be limited intervention. If it continues it must be on a large scale—with all the consequences that implies.

There is another alternative. I believe that if a delegation, composed not of bureaucrats or militarists but of broad-minded representatives of all British political parties, were to meet a Soviet delegation in a neutral country an understanding might be swiftly reached after a few hours' deliberation. And I believe that that understanding might be acceptable alike to our extreme Socialists and to British capitalists whose sole interests in Russia seem to be to get their money back and to secure a field for making more.

M. Litvinoff is reported to be in Stockholm offering to open negotiations. It is for British public opinion to see that the opportunity for retrieving a ghastly blunder and for removing a stain on our national honor is not missed.

fighting for democracy in France they should fight for democracy at home. The citizens of Lawrence ought to insist that Peter Carr should be relegated to that obscurity which he so well adorned and from which he should never have emerged. This slave minded creature that might at one time have been a man and who bears an Irish name, is a type of Irishman that brings the Irish name and tradition into contempt. We hope that every citizen, with a sense of decency will mark their disapprobation of this Junker Carr, not Carr, by demanding his recall and that at once. And further that the punishment may fit the crime, we suggest that Peter Carr be given a job at some useful labor in the mills and that he be compelled to attend night school that there he may learn the meaning of citizenship and its responsibilities. As a means to that end he be compelled to write out every day (that is to say when he has learned to read and write) the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, so that when he rises to a position where he is worthy of citizenship and fitted to resume the responsibility of City Commissioner he may be able to write his own reply to a request from his fellow citizens without having to call in the assistance of the Chamber of Commerce and the capitalists of Lawrence. In the meantime, while he does usurp the position of Commissioner for the good name and credit of Lawrence, Peter Carr ought to be compelled to learn how to write his own name legibly.

So we give our modern Pooh Bah, Peter Carr, City Commissioner of Lawrence, the loud Ha! Ha! reminding him that when he is dead and forgotten, the men who are now leading the strike and the strikers will be held in honor by the future citizens of Lawrence, Mass.

JIM LARRIN

The Birth of the American Soviet

Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors of Portland, Oregon

Declaration of Principles

THE Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors declares that society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone wealth is produced.

In this society there is an antagonism of interests manifesting itself in a struggle between the master class and the working class, which struggle can only be abolished by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class by the conversion of the means of production and distribution, now held by the master class, into the common property of society, and their democratic control by all of society.

In the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve emancipation, therefore the emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class itself. We can never expect the master class to introduce any measures that will be of slightest benefit to the working class.

The machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, therefore the workers must organize consciously for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into an instrument of emancipation.

The ruling class today is absolutely incapable of longer conducting the industrial affairs of the nation in a manner conducive to the welfare of the people. Every act of its official spokesmen in the congress, the senate of the United States and the various state legislatures proves its utter inability to deal with the problems confronting it. Industry has reached such a point of development that the forces of production have come into violent conflict with the existing relations of production, therefore a period of revolution must ensue in which these relations must be burst asunder.

The working class must organize into a class organization for the purpose of waging unceasing warfare against the capitalist class and its instrument of oppression by any action that has for its object the overthrow of the political state of the master class and the substitution therefore of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The purpose of the Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors is to organize all members of the working class into one organization and train them in the

The following Declaration of Principles and Form of Organization of the Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors of Portland, Ore. and vicinity have been forwarded to us for publication. We feel that this is one of the most important underpinnings of the American workers and is in line with the attitude of their European brothers, even in those countries where the Social Revolution is not yet definitely in action. We sincerely hope that the movement will be taken up throughout America by the returned soldiers and sailors in cooperation with their brothers in the labor movement. The action of the industrial barons of this country regarding the returned soldiers and sailors certainly shows the necessity for this work and we hope that these councils will remain true to their purpose and will not degenerate into mutual admiration societies which can be exploited by the politicians, as has been the case with previous organizations of veteran soldiers and sailors.

Our advice to such organizations would be to immediately link themselves into a nationwide group and federate with similar European and Canadian organizations. The Revolutionary Age will be glad to place its columns at the disposal of such organizations or of individual soldiers and sailors who wish to voice their demands. "He has rights who dares maintain them."



Drawn for The Herald, London, England

By Will Dyson

Vested Interests: "Ah, the dear fellow, he footed that other Bill so nicely, surely he won't mind footing this one for us!"

principles of mass action in order that we may realize that accumulation of energy, that concentration of force and continuity of resistance necessary to strike the final blow against the capitalist class.

Form of Organization

1. The Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors shall be composed of all men and women employed in industry or who in any manner whatsoever contribute to the social welfare, except those who employ the labor of others. This includes all who work for wages, women who are engaged in housekeeping, discharged soldiers and sailors; in fact all the working class, employed or unemployed.

2. No craft or industrial division shall be recognized by the Council, but existing organizations may send delegates to the Council, the basis of representation being one delegate for every one hundred members in good standing, or major fraction thereof, providing such organization endorses the Declaration of Principles of the Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors. The representation of the Soldiers and Sailors shall be upon the same basis as the representation of the Workers.

3. The Council shall have the following officers, elected for a period of six months, but subject to recall at any time by a majority vote of delegates, and the terms of office shall expire on the 31st of December and the 30th of June:—a president, vice-president, recording secretary, secretary-treasurer, sergeant at arms and reading clerk.

4. The president shall preside at all meetings and be ex-officio member of all committees, except where a committee is elected to investigate the official acts of the president. The vice-president shall be present at all meetings, and act as chairman in case of absence of the president. The recording secretary shall keep a record of the minutes of every meeting and permit any member of the Council to examine them upon request. The secretary-treasurer shall have charge of all funds and keep an accurate account of receipts and expenditures. The sergeant at arms shall take care of the door and admit only bona-fide members of the Council at any business meeting. The reading clerk shall read the minutes of the previous meeting, communications, etc. In case of absence of sergeant at arms or reading clerk, the president shall appoint members to take their places.

5. All checks must be signed by the secretary-treasurer, the president and vice-president. All money must be deposited in a reliable bank.

6. Robert's Rules of Order shall be observed at all meetings.

7. This shall be the only rules of order observed by the Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors,

as we do not recognize bourgeois formulas and consider a detailed constitution an impediment to revolutionary action.

8. Any member of this Council who denounces the declaration of principles will be immediately expelled upon competent proof, without the formality of a trial. In case the expelled member desires a trial it shall be granted.

9. Sufficient working committees shall be elected, subject to the desires of the Council.

10. This document shall be amended at any time, subject to majority vote of the Central Executive Committee.