

# WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

# THE INTERNATIONALIST

WEEKLY OF THE LEFT WING SOCIALISTS

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## OUR MANIFESTO

(For "The Internationalist")

"We are at the dawn of a new era, the day is big with the content of social eruptions, economic and political strikes, revolutions."

THIS is the source and justification of our action, our League and our paper.

Those who cannot see the new day will stand aside, will continue in old forms moved by old ideals, will mummy in capitalist legality and morals, and will be crushed under the Iron Heel of Imperialism.

We are at the dawn of a new era; but this era may turn out to be an era of new slavery, of absolute control of monopolistic financial interests over the working class, a new period of Industrial Feudalism, if we do not arise to an ever growing action, if we fail to put all of our energies, the full economic power of our class to influence the development of tendencies, which manifest themselves in the present world war.

Standing on the solid ground of the economic conception of history, we reject the mechanical point of view. "That things will work out all right by themselves." We know that our will and our action form part, and a most important part, of economic development; and while we are fully convinced that we never can act against history, the failure to act when conditions are ripe, may result in a period of barbarism and bloodshed, such as only an outgrown class can inflict upon its victims.

Those who are convinced that a Socialist organization of society is within the possibilities of our present economic developments, is within our reach, should get active, should support this movement full-hearted with life and soul.

Those who have confidence in their own class and see that the capitalist class can only maintain itself by brutal force, of which the world war is an episode, must understand that the old party tactics are a thing of the past, are obsolete. The result of clinging to the old systems is that the party is dead and the only chance to come to life again, is in a fundamental reorganization.

We want to reorganize from the bottom up, we want to criticize, to arouse the feeling and thinking of the rank and file, so as to become still more dissatisfied with actual conditions. We want to illustrate our opinions on every day facts, which will often mean that we also have to criticize persons. Although our criticism will be only for the cause and therefore impersonal; even if it hurts personal feelings, we will not stop critics for personal considerations.

We would like to stay and work inside the party, as long as we can have full rights of criticism, which is considered the only chance to get new life in the dead body.

There can be no discussion whether our party is really dead, unless we should apply a standard of life that is unworthy for a movement that has to conquer the world. Benson admits it in saying that the party membership is "cut to pieces," the "spirit of the party badly riddled," "profoundly discouraged," etc. William E. Bohn emphasizes it in the Sunday Call in stating that "a good share of life went out of the party" and that, while the party machinery was centralized, "we progressed rapidly backwards" and "the national organization has remained dead." An editorial in the International Review suggests that probably not one in a hundred "vote-once-in-four-years" socialists" knows what real Socialism is.

Not whether the party is wrong will be the question before the house, but how it can get to life again, how it can regain touch with the working class, how it can become what it should be: the leader in the front line of fighting, the eye and the heart

and the brains of the workers in their class struggle.

The very fact that we are dead proves that we failed to recognize the changes in modern society. We did not realize in time that under the new form of absolute control by big monopolistic interests in the period of Imperialism, we have to use methods of fighting in accordance with the situation.

The Money Trust does not grant reforms because you talk skillfully in Congress, because you use such valuable arguments, and it becomes ever so more absurd to try to use one part of the bourgeoisie against another, to "play politics" against the one reactionary enemy.

Our arguments should expose the lies and the unscrupulous methods of our foes, and thereby arouse the workers to action. Mass action cannot be invented, cannot be put into effect by leaders, it grows out of conditions; it will grow, it has grown already and we can help to give it a reasonable goal, a more efficient form, a stronger and better organization, but only if we participate in the fight.

Not if we stand by idly when our fellow-workers revolt single-handed against the oil trust, steel trust or other big interest; not if we allow one group after another to be beaten into submission, not if we fail to show a united uncompromising front against all militarism and imperialism under whatever pretext.

Comrades of the Socialist party and outside of the party, get active, join the Propaganda League, support The Internationalist, weekly of the Left Wing, and participate in every class-conscious mass action on the Industrial as well as on the Political field, which will be the very best education to yourself and to others, and which will develop methods, tactics and organization, the only form of organization that can be fundamentally democratic. Help to build up the Social Democracy. S. J. R.

### Industrial Democracy

A FRIEND writes to say that he has read the "Manifesto" and agrees "in the main" with what we say. But he has observed that one phrase we use "is common in the literature of radicalism," and would like to know what we mean by "industrial democracy."

By industrial democracy we mean the democratic organization and administration of all the industries by which the people live, in such a manner as to ensure control by the workers employed in them. There is not now, nor can there be industrial democracy while the workers employed in them have nothing to say about what the industries shall do, how the doing shall be regulated, and what shall be done with the product of their joint labor.

No democracy in industry can exist with private monopoly of the tools (machinery) of industry. Industry privately owned means industry with private appropriation of all values over and above what is necessary for the reproduction of labor power. It is this appropriation that keeps the producer poor and makes the parasite rich. The Industrial Democracy will recognize the immutable theory of value, which is: Labor is the Substance of, and Socially Necessary Labor-Time the Measure of, Value.

We have seen Henry Ford written about as an "industrial democrat." But his Detroit plant is not an "industrial democracy." Industrial Democracy will "let the workers in," or the workers will "put themselves in," as owners of the industry.

Again, by industrial democracy we mean an organization of labor that will be complete enough, powerful enough, efficient enough, on the economic field and in the political arena, to make the sum total of the workers' wages equal to the sum total of the values they create.

## MANIFESTO

of the

## Socialist Propaganda League of America

(Adopted at a meeting held in the City of Boston, November 26, 1916.)

IT IS MANIFEST to every thinking class conscious worker that the present terrific struggle for world power is waged by the capitalist classes to secure a greater share in the exploitation of labor. It is a matter of paramount importance that we, as Socialists, apprehend the basic conditions underlying the strife, and that we prepare to meet the consequences to the world's workers that will issue from it. This address to American Socialists and the working class generally is directed to such an understanding.

The war opens a new era of great conflicts, impelled by the new form of absolutism—the rule of the monarchs of money and the subjugation of a more or less independent class of small capitalists. It means also a more aggressive policy towards labor. The proof of this appears in the United States, where the action of government in appropriating a larger portion of the public revenue to militaristic purposes than any other country, in a so-called time of peace, is accompanied by the massing of material capitals amounting to Eight Billions of dollars in a single Board, to "fight labor." War, with the American republic co-operating, thus becomes the highest form of exploitation by the capitalist class.

In the confusion arising from false issues of the capitalist class, put forward to mislead the workers, we must ever be on our guard against the crafty apologists of wrong posing as friends of labor. When we are told that we must produce more if we would get more, we know the advice is a bit of special pleading in the interest of those who live without producing. When we are told that we need compulsory arbitration or anti-strike laws, we know that such laws not only fail but are a denial of the working class right to develop all its powers to gain emancipation. When we are told that we must be patriots, which, when interpreted by the capitalist class, means readiness to serve in wars to kill our fellow men and defend the property interests of the owning class, as the President of the United States has said, we know that the proletariat is a propertyless class with no country to defend and no fatherland to fight for. This advice from the President—servant of big capital—is not less erroneous and is certainly more dangerous, when given under the name of Socialism, advocating a bourgeois citizens' army or military defense of capitalist interests. We strongly denounce all brands of social patriots and social imperialists as opposed to the interests of the working class. Instead of nationalism we must do all in our power to promote the true internationalism of labor.

To the thoughtful observer it must be apparent that the elements of wealth production in our present society have outgrown the bourgeois forms of existing nations in which they are restricted. The centralization of production, as well as of capital and the monied interests, the close relation of big business and trusts with financial capital—all these developments put great capital not only at the head of industry and production, as the dominating power; but also in controlling influence over the political life and activities of the people. All groups and classes of the people in every so-called civil-

ized nation are dependent upon the all-powerful financial interests of each nation. There is no difference in this respect between "darkest" Russia, with its autocratic form of government, and "enlightened" United States, with its "democratic" institutions that are distinguished by the denial of free speech and organization and shooting by militia and "company thugs," for examples of which we do not forget Calumet and Ludlow.

In the demoniac chase for markets where national capital may be invested, for the acquisition or retention of colonies and the expansion of spheres of influence, capitalist power divides the universe for exploitation among a few groups of nations, and these are bent on world-control, even at the cost of exterminating each other, as well as their smaller and dependent associates in crime.

It is this higher phase of capitalist development—making futile the policies of free trade, free competition, and the hopes of social reformers—that compels the governments of the larger nations to provide military resources of increasing magnitude to fight for a leading position in the world scramble for supremacy. In this race for world leadership we see Germany and England, France and Italy, Austro-Hungary and Russia, the United States and Japan. The triumph of neither of them can be achieved without the destruction, immediate or impending, of them all.

### The Dawn of a New Era.

Section Two Comrades and Fellow Workers: The time is passed when our national Socialist parties, bound by old forms and moved by old ideals, can proceed with its old propaganda within the confines of capitalist legality and morals, and expect within these limits to advance the cause of industrial democracy. We are at the dawn of a new era; the day is big with the content of social eruptions, economic and political strikes, revolutions. It is an era in which the class conflict approaches its climax. The struggle, in all its variations, develops and intensifies from the new policies of imperialism; that is, from the encroachments of the capitalist class using the mailed fist of political governments.

In the class war, all constitutional rights and prerogatives of the people are ignored or abolished, and the capitalist class, abominating Liberty and supported by guns, meets the working class with the armed power of the capitalist state. When the workers seek shelter in constitutional guarantees and essay to use these rights for the betterment of their conditions, they too often find that rights and guarantees are mere "scraps of paper." The capitalist class, with political governments and judicial courts conniving, will tolerate no interference with their class schemes for world domination. Meanwhile the condition of the working class becomes steadily worse and the future less secure. With the cost of essential necessities of life rising to higher and prohibitive levels, the average workman is in constant fear of hunger, and with sickness and disease ever haunting him, has now reached the stage of habitual privation.

### Urge of the Cause

EVERY movement which contains in its program elements of such great import as those confronting the Socialist Propaganda League of America, calls for the exercise of clear judgment. Foresight is better than hindsight, and the constructive method is to be preferred to a "throw of the dice."

We are starting on a great adventure for the working class—of which we are a part—an adventure for winning the country and the world for DEMOCRACY IN INDUSTRY.

The very enormity of the crime committed in the name of capitalist "civilization," bringing in its wake the collapse of our old ideals and tactics, inspires us to the venture and is the justification of our acts.

Up to the hour of going to press with this, the initial number of The Internationalist, the Left Wingers who are responsible for launching the League feel that they are not called upon to offer apology or explanation for their acts. Explanation is found in the catastrophe that has overtaken us, not wholly as a surprise but, in great part, as the necessary result of premeditated reaction, reform preachments, and hot-nouse political action.

As the original league men and women have counselled together for a year and a half, so it is proposed that the Left Wing socialists the country over, shall take counsel for the upbuilding of the greater movement, the Socialist Propaganda League of America, the League of Reds.

Undaunted by world wars and unmoved by imperialist threats, let us advance the standard of undiluted Socialism, leaving to the reform philosophers and social patriots their impatient interpretation of the world, and, in full consciousness, apply ourselves to the task of altering it.

The struggle calls for clear thinking to elucidate difficult problems; it demands unity of purpose in mass actions; it insists upon high courage and rare devotion; in brief, as Comrade Anton Pénnekoek says:

"Theory must now go hand in hand with practice, theory which transforms blind acts to conscious ones and spreads light over the path."

Comrades, the movement is not ours, it is humanity's. All that we ask is the privilege of sharing with you the service to which all are summoned, to respond to the urge of the time and the Cause

### THE THEORY OF VALUE

No value is created except by labor. Wages never vary materially from what is necessary for the reproduction of labor power. Deducting their sum from the total new value created gives the sum of profit. The latter is, therefore, a definite quantity, not necessarily for any particular year, but for the approximate average of a number of years. The total profit compared to the total wages may be less, but cannot be more, than the total surplus value compared to the total wages. Thus prices are ruled by the law of value.

The theory of value, elaborated by the earlier classics and perfected by Marx, teaches that labor is the substance of, and socially necessary labor-time the measure of, value. This immutable theory of value is the foundation of the entire science of economics.—Herman Cahn, Author of "Capital Today."

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### DANGER AHEAD

Note.—The article that follows was written by Comrade Eugene V. Debs in 1911 and published in the "International Socialist Review." It is almost prophetic in its forecast and as a warning to the "get votes" folks. Its reprinting at this time is justified.—Editor.

"To my mind the working class character and the revolutionary integrity of the Socialist party are of first importance. All the votes of the people would do us no good if our party ceased to be a revolutionary party, or came to be only incidentally so, while yielding more and more to the pressure to modify the principles and program of the party for the sake of swelling the vote and hastening the day of its expected triumph.

"The ruth is that we have not a few members who regard vote-getting as of supreme importance, no matter by what method the votes may be secured, and this leads them to hold out inducements and make representations which are not at all compatible with the stern and uncompromising principles of a revolutionary party. They seek to make the Socialist propaganda so attractive—eliminating whatever may give offense to bourgeois sensibilities—that it serves as a bait for votes, rather than as a means of education, and votes thus secured do not properly belong to us and do injustice to our party as well as to those who cast them.

"There is also a disposition on the part of some to join hands with reactionary trade-unionists in local emergencies and in certain temporary situations to effect some specific purpose, which may or may not be in harmony with our revolutionary program. No possible good can come from any kind of a political alliance, express or implied, with trade-unions or the leaders of trade unions who are opposed to Socialism and only turn to it for use in some reactionary policy.

"Not for all the votes of the American Federation of Labor and its labor-dividing and corruption-breeding craft unions should we com-

promise one jot of our revolutionary principles; and if we do, we shall be visited with the contempt we deserve by all real Socialists, who will scorn to remain in a party professing to be a revolutionary party of the working class while employing the crooked and disreputable methods of ward-heeling politicians to attain their ends.

"Voting for Socialism is not Socialism any more than a menu is a meal.

"Socialism must be organized, drilled, equipped and the place to begin is in the industries where the workers are employed. Their economic power has got to be developed through efficient organization, or their political power, even if it could be developed, would but react upon them, thwart their plans, blast their hopes, and all but destroy them.

"Such organization to be effective must be expressed in terms of industrial unionism. Each industry must be organized in its entirety, embracing all the workers, and all working together in the interest of all, in the true spirit of solidarity, thus laying the foundation and developing the superstructure of the new system within the old, from which it is evolving, and systematically fitting the workers, step by step, to assume entire control of the productive forces when the hour strikes for the impending organic change.

"Without such economic organization and the economic power with which it is clothed, and without the industrial co-operative training, discipline and efficiency which are its corollaries, the fruit of any political victories the workers may achieve will turn to ashes on the lips.

"With the workers efficiently organized industrially, bound together by the common tie of their enlightened self-interest, they will just as naturally and inevitably express their economic solidarity in political terms and cast a united vote for the party of their class as the forces of nature express obedience to the laws of gravitation."

### STATE SOCIALISM

CAPITAL is the great revolutionizer of conditions, of methods and of thought. We live in a period of intense developments and must keep pace in our minds, let we lag behind on our action.

Only a few years ago for most of us and not more than a couple of dozen years ago for practically all of us, the government ownership of industries was one of the most essential parts of our Socialist conceptions. Under the growing influence of the workers one industry after another was to be wrested from private owners into state management, and so the new society would be built within the old. To some of our friends this was about the limit of their vision. To the workers this state socialism had to be supplemented by parliamentary action, so as to get the state industries under democratic control. But to the more revolutionary characters at that time it was evident that the process of democratizing state management would not be an entirely peaceable process. When the working classes would be near to getting a majority in parliament it was foreseen that resistance from the ruling class might be expected, and the shock we would receive from this resistance compelled an ultimate effort on our part to overcome it.

Therefore, we had not only to increase our votes, but it was also necessary to develop our power and our organization for the ultimate overthrow of the capitalist government. And as this final struggle was to result from an attempt of the ruling class to resist the natural development of our increasing parliamentary influence, it was but logical that the workers should be on the defensive and stand for the "ermattungs" strategy of Kautsky and others. Everything had to be sacrificed to keep the existing organizations in good trim for this expected reactionary attack of the capitalist class, in the hope of delivering a final knockout. And this attack was expected either against the right to organize or against general suffrage. Even the world war found the leaders concerned foremost about the maintenance of their formal organizations.

Now look how completely this conception has been overthrown by facts: Not only must we recognize that our ideas about political democracy have to be revised, and that capturing government by increasing our votes is rather ridiculous—since the influence of parliaments has been gradually reduced—but we actually see our

enemy class demanding State Capitalism to further its own interests.

And this is by no means merely a temporary war measure. Those who read European capitalist papers know that the far-seeing capitalists all over the world already plan for a more intimate relation between industry and government, and no doubt the greatest share of the world market and world power will go to those nations most efficient in state capitalism.

But we need not go to Europe. One of our own capitalist papers has a standing phrase, "Unorganized America," and all of our financial papers advocate more efficiency in this line. The most surprising fact in this connection is that the railway capitalists themselves are no longer seriously opposed to state ownership of the railroads. Railway capital means Big Interests, it means the Money Trust, the highest and most developed form of capitalism. Try and imagine the true significance of the chief representatives of these railway interests actually threatening to leave the railways to the government if the latter should care to interfere in any way that would affect the interests of capital!

Now don't be absurd enough to believe, as the "Call" did, that this is a result of the increased power of the workers, that the railway interests, the Morgans, etc., are backing down under threat of the railway workers. It is a false policy to advance the illusion that the so-called eight-hour law was a victory, when as a matter of fact it was a defeat. Morgan and his friends are more powerful than ever and will continue so as long as railroad workers entrust their interests in the hands of leaders such as they now have. But their conception of state capitalism has changed. They realize that it is necessary for their interests as a whole to have state owned railroads. They know that this is indispensable to compete with Europe; they know that it is necessary to successfully carry on a future war, and they see that it is the most efficient way to crush future labor revolts. State railways mean to them, as state railways mean in German, that a strike is a crime and organization only allowed under state control, with the military forces and the military law to enslave and, if necessary, kill the workers.

This is the reason why the Rockefeller "National" City Bank in one of its recent pamphlets gives statistics showing that the United States

is the only big nation without state management of railways, and this is the reason why the railway magnates show a willingness to "capitulate" to the workers on the issue of state railways. What an amazing lack of insight in a paper of a Socialist party to see in this change of attitude of the capitalists a victory for labor! It is the beginning of a certain and crushing defeat unless the workers themselves decide to act before it is too late.

State capitalism is the highest form of capitalism, the form in which a new feudal class of knights of money and monopoly is about to organize and brutalize their slaves. What has become of our conceptions of only a few years ago? Is it not our duty, then, to oppose this state ownership, now that our enemies seem anxious to help us along?

No, most assuredly not.

We are advocates of state ownership, notwithstanding the changed attitude of our enemies. It is not even a disadvantage that our demands, as such, prove to be in the line of capitalist development. But when two ask the same thing it is not always and necessarily the same thing they ask. State ownership and the state under the absolutistic control of Big Interests is the absolute reverse of state ownership under the democratic control of the workers. Our demand for state ownership, therefore, is more than worthless unless supplemented by democratic organization in mass action. In fact any demand of any importance in the imperialistic period of capitalism is without effect, unless it is conquered and protected and controlled by the organized power of the workers in a militant mass action.

S. J. R.

### Socialist Brahmins

IT IS not our expectation, nor our hope, that the members of the Socialist party will rush en masse to join the Socialist Propaganda League of America. Any such "mass action" as that we would regard as a calamity. We want Socialists in the League just as fast as Socialists understand the League's purposes and respond unreservedly to its call. But we do expect the distribution of our "Manifesto" and of "The Internationalist" to be followed with the opposition of the more or less intellectual "lights" of the majority who regard themselves as the custodians of the party and the censors of Socialist thought and Socialist acts. One of the reasons why we did not send the "Manifesto" to Milwaukee was a conviction of the uselessness of such a proceeding, in view of the fact that "change" is written all over it. Most of the majority "lights" are opposed to change. When they favor it, things get all muddled up; witness A. M. Simons' somewhat timid proposal for a new party patterned after the labor party of England. (See N. Y. "Call," Dec. 17.)

We readily admit that changes proposed for no particular reason, and without reference to particular ends, are changes that should be opposed. But a stolid opposition to all change because it is change and because it may shock or alarm somebody, that is nothing more nor less than a de-thronement of reason. It would not surprise us if a lot of reasons were de-throned among certain folk who will think they are thinking about the "Manifesto," when in reality they are merely the victims of certain nervous reactions.

Now it is quite clear to us that in the days that are coming we shall have use for a distinguishing and inoffensive name for our opponents of the kind we have in mind. Upon reflection we have decided to confer upon them the quite dignified title of Socialist Party Brahmins.

Brahmin is the name of the highest Hindu caste. They consider themselves custodians of all the higher culture of India and are "specialists" who pride themselves on their "fine literary taste," and so forth. And they oppose all change in the constitution of things related to their privileges.

The Brahmins, then, are those who oppose all change, except perhaps that of jumping from the frying-pan into the fire, and advocate letting-it-alone. All right, go to it, Brahmins! There are three ways open to you: Stand pat, muddle things up, or quit being silly and join the Socialist Propaganda League of America.

### Make Converts Every Day

We will make converts day by day; we will grow strong by calmness and moderation; we will grow strong by the violence and injustice of our adversaries. And, unless truth be a mockery and justice a hollow lie, we will be in the majority after a while, and then the revolution which we will accomplish will be none the less radical from being the result of pacific measures.—Abraham Lincoln (1856).

### LEFT WING JABS

#### What Is—What Isn't

MUNICIPAL markets, municipal gas, municipal ice boxes, none of these things, nor all of them combined, is Socialism.

Government railroads, government telegraph, government lighthouses, none of these is Socialism.

We will have Socialism only when the modern tool for producing wealth, the machine, is socialized; only when Rent, Interest and Profit have been abolished; only when private appropriation of wealth produced socially ends; and the ending of robbery, the abolition of the instruments of robbery, and the socialization of the machinery of industry depends upon the intelligent action of the workers themselves.

#### These Be Your Patriots

EVERY corrupt office-seeker, every corrupt office-holder, every conscience lacking money-grubber, every cornerer and monopolist of the people's food for profit, every pious apologist for theft and brutality, every "friend of labor" who will do anything but get off labor's back, and every low-down politician who contrives to put legal obstacles in the way of progress, every one of them dubs himself a "patriot"; and if you have an opinion different from theirs, every one of them will say that you are a traitor to the country.

#### Workers Must Do It

THIS was said by the radical Wendell Phillips: "No reform, moral or intellectual, ever came from the upper class of society. Each and all came from the protest of the martyr and victim. The emancipation of the working people must be by the working people themselves." Phillips lives in the heart of the working people, while the "upper class" still say their prayers and take "the toll."

#### Common Poverty

IT IS a fact worthy of notice that the system which results in common property for some of the people also produces common poverty for the rest of the people. That is the sort of "democracy" we have. And until the workers get over their brain poverty, and organize their power in a manner incapable of being overborne by the cohorts of robbery and repression, they will continue to be the victims of common poverty imposed upon them by the system that makes producers poor and parasites rich.

#### About Platforms

IN THE national campaign of 1912 we had a platform that was tempting to political pilferers. It offered a lot of political goods that could be stolen and incorporated ready-made into the platform of an "independent" political platform "to get votes." Four years later, in the campaign of last year, we did no better. The majority stuck to the old lumber pile. Not only that, but "to get votes" there was included in the document in 1916 the astonishing proposal (the swallowing of it did not astonish the majority) that a certain measure of industrial activity and control (for profit?) should remain with the individual!

#### The European Spectacle

IN THE European war you have a colossal evidence of the certain result of "national patriotisms." The victims of it tearing at each others' throats and shooting lead into each others' bodies. Not for freedom, nor culture, nor civilization, but for the continued domination of the political and economic overhead groups concerned in maintaining tyranny based on economic servitude of the producers of wealth. Work—work—work as you never worked before, for the Socialist Propaganda League of America and The International Brotherhood.

#### Does This "Hit" You?

MEMBERS of the militia of the entire country now know the value that the professional soldier puts upon their services. Leonard Wood, professional soldier, and a general of the army, has given it out that if the "guards" sent to the border had been engaged in a fight with trained troops a general carnage would have been the result. He says: "The guardsmen would never have known what hit them!" That ought to "hit" you boys in the memorizing section of your brain-pans.

#### Vanquished? Not We!

THERE has been quite a lot of hysterical "hooraying," especially in certain quarters in New England, over the big setback for Socialism in the recent national

election. But nobody knows as well as the shouters that the "hooray" is made for the ears of the ignorant. The Socialist Propaganda League of America, as representative of the militant internationalists of the world, serves notice on that bunch that their exultant yelp will soon be changed to a cry of distress. Vanquished? Not we! Socialism dead? Shades of Jim Connolly, Socialist-Irish martyr! Go put snufflers on the sun! Not by counting noses can you measure this movement, but only by what is swelling in the hearts and being understood in the brains, of the people—your people and all of us.

#### "Speaking of Patriotism"

The smug and sanctimonious patriots for profit cannot understand why "foreners" who come here from all the countries of Europe do not immediately become patriots too, and join in the national service to the Mazuma. It is beyond their power of understanding that some of these "foreners" may have convictions about life, may have risen from the swamps of selfishness and death, may have had a lookout from the hilltops of justice and seen the slowly rising sun of human brotherhood. Wary of cringing to brutal power in the countries from which they come, where hope has died and manhood is crushed, they find themselves in a state of society that (though showing betterment in minor respects) treats them with bigotry, contempt, violence and massacres in the industrial field, and where the rankest crimes committed against labor are passed over with fruitless inquiries or excused as "the sort of treatment they deserve." Why should anybody wonder that the "foreners" are not suddenly transformed into "national" patriots.

### CONSTITUTION

of the Socialist Propaganda League of America

#### Name.

The name of this organization shall be "The Socialist Propaganda League of America."

#### Object.

The S. P. L. A. declares emphatically and will work uncompromisingly in the economic and political fields for industrial revolution to establish industrial democracy by the mass action of the working class. It also declares that the international unity of the workers is imperative and, therefore, works to bring about that unity, regardless of all barriers, territorial or racial.

#### Membership.

All class conscious working men and women who approve the revolutionary purpose and program of this League and will sever their connection with capitalist parties or organizations maintained for the purpose of perpetuating the capitalist system of industry, are eligible to membership. Five or more shall constitute a local group or branch of the League. There shall be members-at-large, affiliated with the national office, of those residing where no local organization exists.

#### Organization.

There shall be local Branches and a National Committee of seven. The National Committee shall be elected by a general membership vote. The National Committee shall be charged with carrying out the decisions of the League, supervise its affairs and shall serve for one year or until their successors are elected.

All acts of general importance shall be decided by referendum vote.

#### Propaganda.

The propaganda of the League shall be carried on by the publication of a weekly paper, "The Internationalist," owned and controlled by the organization, by pamphlets and books, and by meetings and agitation among the working class.

There shall be a Press Committee of five or more who shall be elected by the National Committee.

National Secretary and National Treasurer.

A National Secretary and a National Treasurer shall be elected by the National Committee from their own body. They shall serve one year unless removed for cause.

#### Referendum.

A referendum may be initiated by three (3) per cent of the membership of the League, irrespective of location.

#### Finance.

The national dues for membership in the League shall be five (5) cents a month, 60 cents a year, to be paid directly or through branch officers to the National Secretary.

Members-at-large shall pay ten (10) cents a month.

Checks drawn by the National

Treasurer shall be countersigned by the National Secretary.

Members in Good Standing. Only members in good standing may serve on the National Committee or vote on branch affairs or national referenda. Members in good standing are those who are fully paid up to date.

Charters. Charters shall be issued to branch organizations free of charge.

Amendments. Alterations or amendments to this constitution shall be by a referendum vote of the members.

### A Socialist's Lament

Readers of The Internationalist will be interested in the following mournful outburst from Comrade A. M. Simons. Notice how nicely it confirms the things said by the Socialist Propaganda League "before the deluge." Well, Simons, old man, cheer up! Let us work for Socialism to the last ditch. Read the lamentation of a Socialist:

"One reason for the decline (of the party vote) is suggested by the fact that three days after election the Socialist press and national headquarters was still claiming 1,200,000 votes. Everyone who had access to the news reports knew before the decision had been made between Wilson and Hughes that the Socialist vote had dropped. There was a time when the Socialist party tried to educate its followers, rather than "fake" election returns. There was a time when the party was not so eager to sell its soul for votes.

"For nearly 20 years I have been a close observer of our participation in Socialist campaigns. During the last four years I have had many discussions on campaign tactics. Not once have I heard the old familiar question: "Is this right?" "Is this in accord with the principles of Socialism?" But over and over I have heard: "Will this catch the Poles?" "Will that land the Germans?" or "Will the other scare the little taxpayer?" Once upon a time almost every Socialist speech ended with "Don't vote for our candidates unless you agree with Socialism!" Then our vote grew. Now we practice expediency and our vote declines.

"With sorrow that comes with the destruction of one's dearest ideal, I say that in many a city the Socialist organization is today little more than an organized appetite for office—a socialist Tammany exploiting the devotion of its members for the benefit of a little circle of perfectly honest but perfectly incompetent and selfish politicians, who still persist in thinking themselves idealists.

"I have collected the names of nearly 50 people who have filled the highest unpaid positions in our party, who have been candidates for office when election was hopeless—writers, speakers, organizers—the type of men and women who gave up what the world called careers to devote their lives to what they believed to be one fight worth fighting, and all these today are leaving the movement in the principles of which they still believe. Others are refusing to work within the organization."

Then after more in the same tone, he continues: "I am sure that if the Socialists of this country come to know the truth they will push the well-meaning politicians to one side and work out a movement which will be the political expression of American labor."

The foregoing lamentation, faithful in its narration of facts it must be admitted, was printed in the New Republic. Then Simons took another shot in the Call, where he proposes a political movement similar to the labor party of England. We presume that it is intended to show how thoroughly tired he is of "expediency."

### PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

#### WILL ABOLISH CLASSES

"Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest 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, as 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.

"In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

—Communist Manifesto.

All communications for the editor, the secretary of the League, or The Internationalist, should be addressed Box 23, Roxbury Sta., Boston, Mass. Make checks and money orders payable to Louis Velleman, treasurer.

The Internationalist

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Alfred S. Edwards Editor
Press Committee: S. J. Rutgers, Howard A. Gibbs, J. D. Williams, F. Rosin, A. S. Zartarian

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BOSTON, JAN. 6, 1917



GENERAL OFFICE INFORMATION

The office of The Internationalist is at 2107 Washington St., Boston, Mass.

The mail address is Box 23, Roxbury Sta., Boston, Mass. To this address all correspondence for the League and the paper should be sent.

The following comrades will serve as the National Committee until their successors are chosen: Simon Bergis, C. W. Fitzgerald, J. Francis Mullen, J. A. Perry, Louis Velleman, John D. Williams, A. S. Zartarian.

The committee has chosen as secretary C. W. Fitzgerald and for assistant secretary Alfred S. Edwards (who is serving as office editor), and for treasurer Louis Velleman. To the last named all checks and money orders, covering subscriptions, contributions to "sustaining fund," or donations, should be made payable.

What Can I Do?

WE CAN almost hear the Left Wingers throughout the United States asking the question "What can I do?" Indeed we do not have to listen very hard, for the letters coming every day are audible with a demand from those who have passed the stage of "passive expectation," and want to know what is to be done. They see the dawn of a new period for Socialism and desire to share in the work of preparation for it. Of primary importance, then, is the organizational effort we are to make. In respect to organization, anything submitted in this number of The Internationalist is to be regarded as operative only until such time as the members of the League by their mass action, in convention or through the referendum, shall change it. The constitution printed elsewhere is put forth by the National Committee with that understanding; it is a trial document, made as short and as free from technicalities as possible. Look it over, consider it carefully and decide whether its form and its contents will, in your judgment, be equal to the requirements likely to arise in the League's development.

Note that it excludes from our scheme the old state organizations, state secretaries and state committees. Every branch or group of the League will be related to the General (as the constitution says the "National") Office. There, we didn't intend starting a revision of the document right now; but why not? And again why? Why should we say "national committee," or "national secretary," or "national treasurer?" Why should we not, in an organization of "internationalists" say "general committee," and "general secretary," and "general treasurer?" But let these matters be left with the general membership when the body is ready to act.

What we really started out to say under the caption "What can I do?" is this: First, get together five persons in your community who unreservedly endorse the League and organize a local assembly or branch.

Second, if you endorse the League but do not know of others, join as a Member-at-large affiliated directly with the general office.

Third, send your order for sub cards of The Internationalist, now printed and ready to forward the same day your order is received.

N. B.—Preliminary to taking action read the constitution of the League in another part of the paper.

Isn't it refreshing to you to know that the railroads of the country, after several months of denying their ability to pay more wages to railroad workers, have made during the year a net income of \$1,098,000,000? One billion and ninety-eight millions of dollars profit for the year! Of course it makes your "patriotic" breast swell with pride when you think about it.

AS TO OUR PAPER

THIS, the initial and trial number of "The Internationalist," is sent forth to the Socialists and working class of the country in response to a "hurry-up" call received since the 29th of November from more than a dozen states and three Canadian provinces. The insistent demand of Left Wing socialists for action beginning with the new year, the need for wide-spread distribution of the "Manifesto of the Socialist Propaganda League of America," and the urgency for quick action in securing a subscription list at the earliest time possible, these considerations combine to speed up the venture and induce us to issue the paper sooner than a month ago was intended.

In doing this we are putting into the hands of the comrades the means by which they can do practical work in making known the purposes of the League and extending its influence. With the paper in evidence, the canvass for subscribers will be helped and the organizational work promoted. We confidently expect that every Socialist who realizes conditions and is not closing his eyes to facts will forthwith get on the job of mailing subscriptions for "The Internationalist." That is the near-end job, necessary to the development we are looking for. The year's subscription is \$1.00; six months, 50 cents; three months, 25 cents. Send short-time subs if you must; make them long-time ones if you can. Send orders with money to Box 23, Roxbury Sta., Boston, Mass.

Comrades, "it is up to you." We are fully aware of the imperfections in this number; but come along with your suggestions and criticisms. Above all get the subs and we'll all "get there" together. The continuous publication of the paper weekly depends upon revolutionary Socialists, upon those who want the Revolution so much that they have to work for it. And we'll bank on their ability and energy to make good. The next issue of the paper will go to press as soon as your response with subscribers meets the situation.

And remember this: We are just beginning the fight!

Slaves! Reach Out Your Hands! Open Your Mouths! Eat!

By FRANK BOHN. (For "The Internationalist")

OUR American capitalists have, so far, made \$25,000,000,000 out of the war. Of this over \$4,000,000,000 have been secured through direct trade with Europe. The remainder they have made through the enormous rise of prices at home. If you, you great mass of American working people, were industrially organized today you could get almost any wages you would demand. The exporting capitalists loan money to the European nations at from 5 to 7 per cent. In marketing the bonds they reduce the price to the borrowers from 2 to 5 per cent below par. Of course they send not a dollar to Europe. The money they loan is spent here in America. They get it back directly by making, very often, a hundred per cent profit. Never, in the history of the world, was there such easy graft—not a half or a quarter of the chance. But measured by the food and clothing it will buy, your wages are lower than before the war began.

Stretch out your hands, you slugs, and get some of this graft. Tens of millions of you don't get food enough to keep flesh on your miserable bones. There has just been built, on a single fashionable street of New York City, eighteen apartment houses for the upper middle class. These eighteen apartment houses include at least six hundred luxurious apartments, each renting from \$1500 to \$4000 a year. The upper middle class, the corporation lawyers, the middlemen who corner and gamble in food, they are all getting THEIRS. Now for God's sake, you wage slaves, put up some sort of fight and get YOURS. This nation is lousy with money. A new-rich multimillionaire came into New York from a munitions town in Pennsylvania some time ago and began to drop his coin up and down Broadway. He brought in his friends by the carload and spent his money on them. His tips to waiters were FIFTY DOLLAR BILLS. Did you ever SEE A FIFTY DOLLAR BILL?

Nobody else is going to help you. You've got to help yourselves. Don't wait until next year. Get a bunch of live men together in the place where you work and get busy. Find out how much profits the corporation you work for paid out in interest on its bonds, in profits on its stock and in new equipment last year. Then go all of you to your boss with one hand in your pocket and the other stretched toward the money drawer and say that you want more. Stand around in the shop and don't do a tap till you get more. You've got the drop on the boss. Three years ago there were not enough jobs to go round. Now there are not enough slaves to fill the jobs.

If under the conditions which we have described you don't have butter on your baked potatoes then you don't deserve butter. You deserve a pinch of salt. If you have to plug up a hole in your shoe with a piece of an old shirt it is because you think with your feet. Strike and get a 20 per cent increase in wages and then next month strike again and get another 20 per cent. It can be done. It is being done. Let everybody do it everywhere in every shop and department store and laundry. The capitalist

despises you, everybody despises you, because you despise yourself. If you come home next Saturday night without an increase in pay your wife and your children ought to lock the door on you.

Now's the day and now's the hour. Stiffen up your backs. Stir your sluggish blood. Reach out your hands and take. Open your mouths. Eat!

CRAFT UNIONISM NOT REVOLUTIONARY

The unions have not made any revolutionary attack upon the existing system and the proletarianism which is to destroy it obviously does not proceed from them. Their political and even their economic action is vitiated by the recognition of their crafts as a property. They make their fight against the capitalist enemy in terms of that property, and thus in terms of the present system. As if it were possible to upset a system in terms of the legal and political notions on which that system actually itself depends!—Austin Lewis.

GET THEM BOTH FOR THE YEAR

If you have The Internationalist (weekly) and The International Socialist Review (monthly) come to your address for the year, you will miss nothing worth knowing about the Left Wing movement in the United States and the development of the Socialist Propaganda League of America. The "Review" is the one publication that has stood four-square to all the suggestions and influences of compromise during the years that are behind us. We have arranged with the publishers to offer both The Internationalist and the International Socialist Review at the clubbing rate of \$1.50. No commissions will be allowed on this clubbing offer. Send check or money order for \$1.50 and both publications will be sent to your address for a year.

THE OPEN FORUM

It is intended that The Internationalist shall have as one of its features an "Open Forum" from which no Socialist who has something of value and interest to say shall be excluded. We want all questions of real importance discussed freely. Personalities must be omitted, except when they serve to aid the cause and elucidate principles. Letters must be brief and none should exceed five hundred words. Writers must sign their own names. The decision as to what is valuable and interesting will be made by the Press Committee. "The Open Forum" may be expected in the next number of the paper.—Editor.

Unpaid Labor Is Surplus Value

The appropriations of unpaid labor is the basis of the capitalist mode of production and of the exploitation of the worker that occurs under it; even if the capitalist buys the labor-power of his laborer at its full value as a commodity on the market, he yet extracts more value from it than he paid for; and in the ultimate analysis this surplus-value forms those sums of value from which are heaped up the constantly increasing masses of capital in the hands of the possessing classes. Thus the genesis of capitalist production and the production of capital are both explained. —Frederick Engels.

Reaction and Revolutionary Ideals.

Three The years immediately behind us Section are marked by inaction and reaction in the Socialist party. A true revolutionary spirit and action has never been less in evidence among party leaders than during the period of the war. But before that calamity befel us we were subjected to a flood of reformistic phrasemongering, muddling municipalism, boring trade unions from within, captivating the American Federation of Labor, cramming the capitalist moral code down the necks of revolutionists to get middle-class votes, instead of staying on our own job with a consistent propaganda for revolutionary ideals. The four years of reformistic preaching and preparation for chronicling the rise of "socialist" votes to millions in 1916 have proven abortive, while almost none of the rosey predictions of political leaders have materialized. Still, with a strange fatuity, they cling to old forms and discredited methods, blind to the fact: First, That the organization we have is not adapted to develop political power and the principal function of the Socialist movement is to participate in the class struggle in such a way, that the workers are educated to realize that their industrial power must back up a political or general class fight, in which the masses are to gain such a degree of organization and understanding, that they can disorganize the political supremacy of capitalism and substitute the organization of the working class, by the exercise of their own influence on uncompromising Socialist principles. Is it not high time for a thorough reorganization of the party?

Our Socialist parties still fix their hopes on winning seats in congresses and parliaments, although the real and fixed location of government has been transferred to money exchanges and banking institutions of the money kings. Sacrificing principles of international brotherhood, they are fighting in wars, not for the solidarity and independence of the workers of all nations, but for the aggrandizement of their respective national capitals.

Failing to give support to the mass action of the workers on the industrial field, as evinced at Lawrence, McKees Rocks, the Mesaba Range, and elsewhere in the United States, and similarly in Germany, England and Belgium, the reformers have also failed by constant appeals to legality to crystallize the revolutionary sentiment on the political field.

Must Change With the Times—or Perish.

Section What, then, can be the duty of Four present-day Socialists, except to recognize the collapse of the old and resolutely set to work building the new alongside the industrial evolution and complying with the requirements of the modern and intensified class struggle? It is high time for Socialists to abolish obsolete tactics, abandon middle-class ideals, put away the will-o'-the-wisps of reform, and proclaim a working class program conforming with and equal to the demands of industrial and commercial development. The times change; we must change with them—or perish.

The new aggressive policy of the capitalist class, which we call imperialism, has for its primary object the appropriation of a bigger share of the general surplus values. Under the operation of this feature of cap-

Fraternally submitted

SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE OF AMERICA

C. W. Fitzgerald, Secretary
A. S. Edwards, Asst. Sec'y.
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I hereby agree to contribute the sum of \$..... per month for ..... months to sustain The Internationalist during the period of its establishment. Find first payment enclosed.....

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THE MATERIALIST

CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

"The materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final cause of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in men's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the mode of production and exchange. They are to be sought not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch."—Frederick Engels.

