No. 1, Vol. I.

Published by the Socialist Propaganda League of America

Boston, Mass., Jan. 6, 1917

One Dollar a Year; Six Mos. 50c; Canadian, \$1.50

Box 23, Roxbury Sta.

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."

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

will stand aside, will continue in old the situation. forms moved by old ideals, will mum-Heel of Imperialism.

trol of monopolistic financial inter- the one reactionary enemy. ests over the working class, a new period of Industrial Feudalism, if we lies and the unscrupulous methods of do not arise to an ever growing ac-our foes, and thereby arouse the tion, if we fail to put all of our ener- workers to action. Mass action cangies, the full aconomic power of our not be invented, cannot be put into class to influence the development of effect by leaders, it grows out of contendencies, which manifest them ditions; it will grow, it has grown selves in the present world war.

Standing on the solid ground of the economic conception of history, a stronger and better organization, we reject the mechanical point of but only if we participate in the fight. 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 Tesalt 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 dustrial as well as on the Political 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.

bottom up, we want to criticise, 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 criticise persons. Although our criticism will be only for the cause and therefore impersonal; even if it hurts personal feelings, we will not mocracy while the workers employed stop critics for personal considerations.

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

There can be no discussion whether to conquer the world. Benson admits it in saying that the party membership is "cut to pieces," the "spirit that keeps the producer poor and 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 cen-"we progressed rapidly tralized, 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

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 ers' wages equal to the sum total of line of fighting, the eye and the heart | the values they create.

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 meth-Those who cannot see the new day ods of fighting in accordance with

The Money Trust does not grant ify in capitalist legality and morals, reforms because you talk skillfully and will be crushed under the Iron in Congress, because you use such valuable arguments, and it becomes We are at the dawn of a new era; ever so more absurd to try to use but this era may turn out to be an one part of the bourgeoisie against era of new slavery, of absolute con- another, to "play politics" against

> Our arguments should expose the already and we can help to give it a reasonable goal, a more efficient form,

> 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 "Whitever" 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 Infield, which will be the very best eduation 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

FRIEND writes to say that he has read the "Manifesto" and agrees "in the main" with what we say. But he has observed We want to reorganize from the 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 auministration of all the industries by which the people live, in sucn a manner as to ensure control by the workers employed in them. There is not now, nor can there be industrial dein them have nothing to say about what the industries shall do, how the doing shall be regulated, and what

No democracy in industry can exist with private monopoly of the tools (machinery) of industry. Inour party is really dead, unless we dustry privately owned means indusshould apply a standard of life that try with private appropriation of is unworthy for a movement that has all values over and above what is necessary for the reproduction of labor power. It is this appropriation 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 work-

MANIFEST

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 gaverphism 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 antistrike 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 contralization of production, as well as of capital and the monied interests, the close relation of big business and trusts with financial capitalall 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 allpowerful 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 Lud-

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 Comrades and Fellow Workers: The time is passed when our national Socialist parties, bound by old forms and moved by old ideals, can pro-

ceed 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 necessaries 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

VERY 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 taunching 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 Airerica, the league of

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 Pennekoek 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 yours, 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 he less, but cannot be more, than the total surplus value compared to the togyages. 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,"

Why not save half a dollar by taking advantage of this clubbing offer? INTERNATIONAL

SOCIALIST REVIEW \$1.00 THE INTERNATIONALIST

\$1.00 Both mailed to your for \$1.50. Send orders to "The Internationalist," Box 23, Roxbury Sta., Boston, Mass

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 justifled.—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 compatible with the stern and unthe Socialist propaganda so attractive-eliminating whatever may give offense to bourgeois sensibilitiesthat 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 cast them.

"There is also a disposition on the part of some to join hands with reacprogram. No possible good can come will turn to ashes on the lips. from any kind of a political alliance,

breeding craft unions should we com- gravitation."

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 wardheeling politicians to attain their

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

"Socialism must be organized, 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 indusrepresentations which are not at all trial unionism. Each industry must when two ask the same thing it is not be organized in its entirety, embrac- always and necessarily the same compromising principles of a revolu- ing all the workers, and all working thing they ask. State ownership and tionary party. They seek to make together in the interest of all, in the the state under the absolutistic contrue spirit of solidarity, thus laying trol of Big Interests is the absolute the foundation and developing the superstructure of the new system within the old, from which it is evolving, and systematically fitting the therefore, is more than worthless unworkers, step by step, to assume entire control of the productive forces ganization in mass action. In fact our party as well as to those who when the hour strikes for the impend-

tion and the economic power with and protected and controlled by the tionary trade-unionists in local emer- which it is clothed, and without the organized power of the workers in a HIS was said by the radical gencies and in certain temporary industrial co-operative training, dis-militant mass action. situations to effect some specific cipline and efficiency which are its purpose, which may or may not be corollaries, the fruit of any political in harmony with our revolutionary victories the workers may achieve

"With the workers efficiently orexpress or implied, with trade-unions ganized industrially, bound together or the leaders of trade unions who by the common tie of their enlightare opposed to Socialism and only ened self-interest, they will just as to join the Socialist Propaganda turn to it for use in some reactionary naturally and inevitably express their League of America. Any such "mass class" still say their prayers and take economic solidarity in political terms action" as that we would regard as "the toll." "Not for all the votes of the and cast a united vote for the party a calamity. We want Socialists in the American Federation of Labor and of their class as the forces of nature League just as fast as Socialists its labor-dividing and corruption- express obedience to the laws of understand the League's purposes

STATE SOCIALISM

izer of conditions, of methods ism to further its own interests. period of intense developments and a temporary war measure. Those must keep pace in our minds, let we who read European capitalist papers lag behind on our action

tial parts of our Socialist conceptions. Under the growing influence italism. of the workers one industry after anpected, and the shock we would re- terests of capital! ceive from this resistance compelled an ultimate effort on our part to over- lieve, as the "Call" did, that this is flection we have decided to confer each others' bodies. Not for freedom, come it.

crease our votes, but it was also nec- the Morgans, etc., are backing down essary to develop our power and our under threat of the railway workers. organization for the ultimate over- It is a farse policy to advance the ilthrow of the capitalist government. | lusion that the so-called eight-hour And as this final struggle was to re- law was a victory, when as a matter sult from an attempt of the siling of fact it was a defeat. Morgan and class to resist the natural develop- his friends are more powerful than ment of our increasing parliamen- ever and will continue so as long as tary influence, it was but logical that railroad workers entrust their inthe workers sould be on the defen- terests in the hands of leaders such ance of their formal organizations.

ception has been overthrown by facts: lowed under state control, with the the violence and injustice of our ad-Not only must we recognize that our military forces and the military law versaries. And, unless truth be a ideas about political democracy have to enslave and, if necessary, kill the mockery and justice a hollow lie, we to be revised, and that capturing workers. government by increasing our votes is rather ridiculous—since the influ- feller "National" City Bank in one accomplish will be none the less radence of parliaments has been graduar- of its recent pamphlets gives statis- ical from being the result of pacific New England, over the big setback

CAABITAL is the great revolution enemy class demanding State Capital

and of thought. We live in a And this is by no means merely know that the far-seeing capitalists Only a few years ago for most of all over the world already plan for us and not more than a couple of a more intimate relation between indozen years ago for practically all dustry and government, and no doubt of us, the government ownership of the greatest share of the world mar-things get all muddled up; witness industries was one of the most essen- ket and world power will go to those A. M. Simons' somewhat timid prorations most efficient in state cap-

But we need not go to Europe. One other was to be wrested from private of our own capitalist papers has a owners into state management, and standing phrase, "Unorganized Amerso the new society would be built ica," and all of our financial papers within the old. To some of our advocate more efficiency in this line. friends this was about the limit of The most surprising fact in this contheir vision. To the workers this nection is that the railway capitalists because it is change and because it state socialism had to be supplemented themselves are no longer seriously by parliamentary action, so as to get opposed to state ownership of the nothing more nor less than a dethe state industries under democratic railroads. Railway capital means thronement of reason. It would not control. But to the more revolution- Big Interests, it means the Money surprise us if a lot of reasons were ary characters at that time it was Trust, the highest and most devel evident that the process of demo-oped form of capitalism. Try and will think they are thinking about cratizing state management would imagine the true significance of the the "Manifesto," when in reality they not be an entirely peaceable process. chief representatives of these rail-When the working classes would be way interests actually threatening to near to getting a majority in parlia- leave the railways to the government ment it was foreseen that resistance if the latter should care to interfere the days that are coming we shall from the ruling class might be ex- in any way that would affect the in-

Now don't be absurd enough to bea result of the increased power of the Therefore, we had not only to in- workers, that the railway interests,

sive and stand for the "ermattungs" as they now have. But their constrategy of Kautsky and others. ception of state capitalism has Everything had to be sacrificed to changed. They realize that it is keep the existing organizations in necessary for their interests as a good trim for this expected reaction- whole to have state owned railroads. There are three ways ope nto you: ary attack of the capitalist class, in They know that this is indispensable the hope of delivering a final knock- to compete with Europe; they know out. And this attack was expected that it is necessary to successfully either against the right to organize carry on a future war, and they see or against general suffrage. Even that it is the most efficient way to the world war found the leaders con-crush future labor revolts. State cerned foremost about the mainten- railways mean to them, as state railways mean in German, that a strike Now look how completely this con- is a crime and organization only al-

This is the reason why the Rockly reduced—but we actually see our tics showing that the United States measures.—Abraham Lincoln (1856). for Socialism in the recent national

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 the modern tool for producing wealth, a new feudal class of knights of money and monopoly is about to organize and Rent, Interest and Profit have been brutalize their slaves. What has beto help us along?

No, most ussuredly not.

We are advocates of state owner- | themselves. ship, 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 reverse of state ownership under the democratic control of the workers. Our demand for state ownership, less supplemented by democratic orany demand of any importance in the imperialistic period of capitalism is "Without such economic organiza- without effect, unless it is conquered

Socialist Brahmins

T IS not our expectation, nor our Socialist party will rush en masse 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 interlectual "lights" of the majority who regard themselves as the custodians of the party and the censors of Socialist thought and Socialist acts. of the reasons why we did not send revised and rubber-stamped was a a proceeding, in view of the fact that rich. "change" is written all over it. Most of the majority "lights" are opposed to change. When they favor it, posal 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 may shock or alarm somebody, that is dethroned among certain folk who are merely the victims of certain ner-

vous reactions. Now it is quite clear to us that in have use for a distinguishing and inof 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 constitution of things related to their privileges.

The Brahmins, then, are those who ppose all change, except perhaps that of jumping from the frying-pan into the fire, and advocate letting-italone. All right, go to it, Brahmins! 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 will be in the majority after a while, and then the revolution which we will

LEFT WING JABS

What Is-What Isn't

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 machine, is socialized; only when abolished; only when private appromachinery of industry depends upon of us. the intelligent action of the workers

These Be Your Patriots

VERY corrupt office-seeker, every corrupt office-holder, every conscience lacking moneygrubber, every cornerer and monopo list 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 in the way of progress, every one of 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

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 hope, that the members of the the working people themselves"

Phillips lives in the heart of the working people, while the "upper

Common Poverty

TT 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 overdome by the cohorts of robbery and repression, they will continue to be the "Manifesto" to Milwaukee to be the victims of common poverty imposed upon them by the system that conviction of the uselessness of such makes producers poor and parasites

About Platforms

N 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

N THE European war you have a result of "national patriotisms." offensive name for our opponents of The victims of it tearing at each oththe kind we have in mind. Upon re-lers' throats and shooting lead into upon them the quite dignified title nor culture, nor civilization, but for the continued domination of the polit. ical and economic overhead groups concerned in maintaining tyranny based on economic servitude of the producers of wealth. Work-workwork as you never worked before, "fine literary taste," and so forth. for the Socialist Propaganda League And they oppose all change in the of America and The International Brotherhod.

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 bor-unless removed for cause. der had been engaged in a fight with trained troops a general carnage would have been the result. He says: "The guardsmen would never have ship of the League, irrespective of known what hit them!" That ought location. to "hit" you boys in the memorizing section of your brain-pans.

Vanquished? Not We!

TERE has been quite a lot of hysterical "hooraying," especially in certain quarters in

election. But nobody knows as well UNICIPAL markets, municipal as the shouters that the "hooray" is gas, municipal ice boxes, none made for the ears of the ignorant. ing are those who are fully paid up The Socialist Propaganda League of to date. 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 snuffers on the sun! Not by counting noses can come of our conceptions of only a priation of wealth produced socially you measure this movement, but drilled, equipped and the place to few years ago? Is it not our duty, ends; and the ending of robbery, the only by what is swelling in the hearts then, to oppose this state ownership, abolition of the instruments of rob- and being understanded in the brains, now that our enemies seem anxious bery, and the socialization of the of the people-your people and all

"Speaking of Patriotism"

The smug and sanctimonious patforeners" 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 swamps of selfishness and death, may who contrives to put legal obstacles have had a lookout from the hilltops of justice and seen the slowly rising them dubs himself a "patriot"; and sun of human brotherhood. Weary of cringing to brutal power in the where hope has died and manhood is crushed, they find themselves in a state of society that (though showing) betterment in minor respects) treats and massacres in the industrial field, last four years I have had many disand 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

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

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 Republic. Then Simons took another colossal evidence of the certain 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 Na-

Referendum.

three (3) per cent of the member-

Finance.

The national dues for membership in the League shall te 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 stand-

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 riots for profit cannot understand why 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 about life, may have risen from the 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" countries from which they come, 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 them with bigotry, contempt, violence in Socialist campaigns.. During the cussions 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 think ing 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 shot in the Call, where he proposes a political movement similar to the labor party of England. We presume that is intended to show how thoroughly tired he is of "expediency."

PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION WILL ABOLISH CLASSS

"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 tional Treasurer shall be elected by existence of class antagonisms, and the National Committee from their of classes generally, and will thereby own body. They shall serve one year have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

"In place of the old bourgeois so-A referendum may be initiated by ciety, 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

Published by the Socialist Propaganda League of America

Alfred S. Edwards

Press Committee: S. J. Rutgers Howard A. Gibbs J. D. Williams F. Rosin A. S. Zartarian

Subscription-One year, \$1.00; Six months, 50 cents; Three months, 25 cents.

Bundle Rates-10 copies one year to one address, \$7.50; orders for bundles of a single issue, any number, One cent each, delivered free.

Office-2107 Washington St., Boston, Mass.; Mail address-Box 23, Roxbury, Mass .

BOSTON, JAN. 6, 1917



GENERAL OFFICE INFORMATION

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

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 wil 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?

question "What can I do?" Indeed any wages you would demand. The we do not have to listen very hard, exporting capitalists loan money to for the letters coming every day are the European nations at from 5 to audible with a demand from those 7 per cent. In marketing the bonds ing system and the proletarianism who have passed the stage of "pas- they reduce the price to the borrowsive expectation," and want to know ers from 2 to 5 per cent below par. not proceed from them. Their poliwhat is to be done. They see the Of course they send not a dollar to tical and even their economic action dawn of a new period for Socialism Europe. The money they loan is is vitiated by the recognition of their and desire to share in the work of spent here in America. They get it crafts us a property. They make their preparation for it. Of primary im- back directly by making, very often, fight against the capitalist enemy in portance, then, is the organizational a hundred per cent profit. Never, in terms of that property, and thus in effort we are to make. In respect to the history of the world, was there terms of the present system. As if organization, anything submitted in such easy graft—not a half or a quar- it were possible to upset a system in this number of The Internationalist ter of the chance. But measured by terms of the legal and political is to be regarded as operative only the food and clothing it will buy, your notions on which that system actually until such time as the members of the wages are lower than before the war itself depends!-Austin Lewis. League by their mass action, in con-began. vention or through the referendum, Stretch out your hands, you slug-GET THEM BOTH FOR THE YEAR ments likely to arise in the League's

development. scheme the old state organizations, men who corner and gamble in food, state secretaries and state committhey are all getting THEIRS. Now tees. Every branch or group of the for God's sake, you wage slaves, put Internationalist and the International League will be related to the General up some sort of fight and get YOURS. Social Review at the clubbing (as the constitution says the "National") Office. There, we didn't intend starting a revision of the docu- New York from a munitions town in check or money order for \$1.50 and ment right now; but why not? And Pennsylvania some time ago and beagain why? Why should we say "national committee," or "national sec- Broadway. He brought in his friends retary," or "national treasurer?" by the carload and spent his money Why should we not, in an organization on them. His tips to waiters were of "internationalists" say "general FIFTY DOLLAR BILLS. Did you committee," and "general secretary," and "general treasurer?" But let these matters be left with the gen- You've got to help yourselves. Don't eral membership when the body is ready to act.

under the caption "What can I do?' is this: First, get together five persons in your community who unreservedly endorse the League and or- in new equipment last year. Then go ganize a local assembly or branch.

with the general office.

Third, send your order for sub cards of The Internationalist, now the boss. Three years ago there 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, pinch of salt. If you have to plug tracts more value fro mit than he after several months of denying their ability to pay more wages to railroad workers, have made during the with your feet. Strike and get a 20 sums of value from which are heaped year a net income of \$1,098,000,000? per cent increase in wages and then One billion and ninety-eight millions next month strike again and get anof dollars profit for the year! Of other 20 per cent. It can be done. It course it makes your "patriotic" is being done. Let everybody do it capitalist production and the produc-

think about it.

AS TÓ OUR PAPER

HIS, 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

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")

out of the war. Of this over \$4,000,-000,000 have been secured through door on you. direct trade with Europe. The remainder they have made through the Stiffen up your backs. Stir your slugenormous rise of prices at home. If CAN almost hear the Left you, you great mass of American Wingers throughout the working people, were industrially or-United States asking the ganized today you could get almost

shall change it. The constitution gards, and get some of this graft. printed elsewhere is put forth by the Tens of millions of you don't get food National Committee with that under- enough to keep flesh on your miserstanding; it is a trial document, made able bones. There has just been built, as short and as free from technical- on a single fashionable street of New ities as possible. Look it over, consid- York City, eighteen apartment houses er it carefully and decide whether its for the upper middle class. These form and its contents will, in your eighteen apartment houses include at judgment, be equal to the require- least six hundred luxurious apart-Note that it excludes from our the corporation lawyers, the middle-This nation is lousy with money. A gan to drop his coin up and down ever SEE A FIFTY DOLLAR BILL? Nobody else is going to help you. wait until next year. Get a bunch of live men together in the place What we really started out to say where you work and get busy. Find ities must be omitted, except when out how much profits the corporation you work for paid out in interest on its bonds, in profits on its stock and all of you to your boss with one hand Second, if you endorse the League in your pocket and the other stretched but do not know of others, join as a toward the money drawer and say Member-at-large affiliated directly 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 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 up a hole in your shoe with a piece of an old shirt it is because you think breast swell with pride when you everywhere in every shop and depart- tion of capital are both explained. ment store and laundry. The capital-

ist despises you, everybody despises you, because you despise yourself. If UR American capitalists have, you come home next Saturday night so far, made \$25,000,000,000 without an increase in pay your wife and your children ought to lock the

Now's the day and now's the hour gish 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 existwhich is to destroy it obviously does

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 pubments, each renting from \$1500 to lication that has stood four-square \$4000 a year. The upper middle class, 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 rate of \$1.50. No commissions will be new-rich multimillionaire came into allowed on this clubbing offer. Send 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. Personalthey 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 expaid for; and in the ultimate analysis this surplus-value forms those up the constantly increasing masses of capital in the hands of the possessing classes. Thus the genesis of -Frederick Engels.

Reaction and Revolutionary Ideals.

The years immediately behind us

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 develope 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

Must Change With the Times-or Perish. What, then, can be the duty of Section 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

italist industry the possessing class appropriates increasing wealth while the producing mass can not, with the wages received, provide for themselves and their dependents the necessaries of life. Therefore, we urge the workers, in America and all other countries, to organize in their respective industries in such a manner as to ensure for themselves a material reduction in their working time, a corresponding increase in their share of the social wealth, the expansion of their class power, in order that they become efficient workers for the final overthrow of capitalism and the organization of a co-operative commonwealth. Finally, we adopt and recommend:

1. Instead of a form of labor organization on the economic field that conserves the interests of capitalist exploiters and of industrial democracy, INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, i. e., MASS ORGANIZATION AND ACTION ON THE INDUSTRIAL FIELD.

2. Instead of pure and simple electioneering for getting votes and herrgeois parliamentary reform, RE-COGNITION OF PARLIAMENTARY ACTION AS A PART OF THE GEN-ERAL MASS ACTION, IN WHICH ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES SUP-PORT THIS ACTION BY ADVOCAT-ING FREE SPEECH AND THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE AND BY ACTING AS SPOKESMEN OF THE WORKING CLASS, UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE WORKING CLASS ORGANIZA-TION, AGAINST THE PLUTOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND CAPITALIST REPRESENTATIVES.

3. Instead of a divided struggle of the workers on the industrial and political fields, co-operation leading to UN-DIVIDED MASS ACTION ON BOTH, TO ADVANCE REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES BY EDUCATION, AND MANIFESTING AS AN ORGANIZED EXPRESSION OF WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY FOR THE ULTIMATE: TRIUMPH OF SUCH PRINCIPLES.

4. Instead of surrendering to imperialism, THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALL OUR POWERS TO OPPOSE MILI-TARISM, OFFENSIVE OR DEFEN-SIVE, AND PROMOTE THE INTER-NATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF "LABOR."

5. By mass action we mean: Action by the workers in collective organization for protest and demand on both the economic and political fields, for exercising the power of the strike, opposing anti-strike legislation, refusing military service to maintain capitalism, holding public meetings and demonstrations, and opposing all capitalist class means of repressing the rise of industrial democracy. In mass actio nwe see the only means for the development of a new form of organized democracy in which the rank and file will control.

6. The Socialist Propaganda League of America endorses the position of the Left Wing Socialists of Europe and pledges itself to work in harmony with them for the upbuilding of the Third International, and in the United States for reorganization of the Socialist Party of this country.

SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE OF AMERICA C. W. Fitzgerald, Secretary A. S. Edwards, Asst. Sec'y. Office: 2107 Washington St., Roxbury Sta., Box 23.

Boston, Mass., Jan. 1, 1917.

Second Edition—Revised.

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.....

SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE OF AMERICA, BOX 23, ROXBURY STA., BOSTON, MASS.
For the amount enclosed, \$ please send me
sub cards for "The Internationalist" as
follows: Yearly Six months
One year, \$1.00; Six months 50 cents.
Name
Street No
P. O State
SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE OF AMERICA, BOX 23, ROXBURY STA., BOSTON, MASS.
For the amount enclosed, \$ please send me
Name Street No.

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

such as it has never experienced in overthrow of imperialism and the all its history. The collapse of the victory of the proletariat over the Internationale due to the world war bourgeoisie. It will at the same time is not simply a surrender of interna- be the struggle for Socialism, for the ional sentiment before the power of emancipation of the proletariat. intensified nationalism. It is at the Therefore with the present world war same time a collapse of tactics, of there also dawns a new period for methods of fighting, of the entire Socialism. system which has been incorporated into the social-democracy and the bearings must be taken anew. Lack working class movement during the of clear socialistic insight was one of last few decades.

forence. Comrade Pannekoek has long

been regarded as one of the clearest

thinkers in the movement.-Editor.

which, during the early rise of capit—it knew neither imperialism nor its alism, were of great service to the own tactics. The fight against improletariat, failed in the face of the perialism, this most recent and most new imperialistic development. Out- powerful form of capitalism, made wardly this was apparent in the in-demands upon the highest spiritual creasing impotency of the parliament and material, moral and organizaand the labor union movement, spirit- tional, qualities of the proletariat. It ually in the substitution of tradition could not succumb to stupid, impotent and declamation for clear insight and desperation; but it was not enough militant tactics, in stultification of that it break out into spontaneous actactics and the forms of organiza- tions against the unbearable prestion, in the transformation of the sure. If these are to lead anywhere revolutionary theory of Marxism and to gain new stages on the climb into a doctrine of passive expecta- to power it is necessary that they be

IMPERIALIST DEVELOPMENT

was developing into imperialism, was theory which transforms blind acts to establishing new aims for itself and conscious ones and spreads light over was energetically arming for the the path. struggle for world supremacy, this development of the majority of the Social Democracy remained unobagainst imperialism.

tory of the working class movement, new struggle.

With the world war we have en- An immense number of new questhe period of its intensive extension question of imperialism, its economic

PROLETARIAN VICTORY

of which former struggles and methgrapple with imperialism. This struggle for indispensable rights and liberties, for the most urgent re-TE ARE standing in the midst against reaction and the oppression forms, often for mere life itself, tarism and colonial policies. of a catastrophe of the of the employing class, against war working class movement, and poverty, can only end with the

For the new struggle our spiritual The knowledge and the tactics the proletariat when the war began inspired with spiritual clarity in regard to the aims, the possibilities and the meaning of such actions. Theory During the period when capitalism must go hand in hand with practice,

THE NEW SOLUTION

"Material force can only be broken served. It allowed itself to be fooled by material force. But even theory by the dream of immediate social re-becomes material force when it takes by war conditions and who have held also the open imperialism which has forms and did nothing to increase the hold on the masses." (Marx.) The fast to internationalism and the class become the mere agent of the bourpower of the proletariat to fight germs of this theory, this new spirit-struggle. In this their weapon will geoisie, and that social patriotism of Hence the present catastrophe does the spiritual defeat of the former the theoreticians of Socialism as the disputable antagonisms and would not mean only that the proletariat practice of imperialism and mass ac-method to explain the past and the rob the proletariat of the sharpest was too weak to prevent the outbreak tion. Now the world war has brought of war. It means that the methods much new insight and has shaken of the era of the second Internation- minds out of the sleep of tradition. ale were not capable of increasing Now is the time to gather together the spiritual and material power of everything in the way of new ideas, the reletariat to the necessary ex- new solutions, new propositions, to ent of preventing the power of the rul- is spect them, to prove them, to claring classes. Therefore the world war ify them by means of discussion and must be a turning point in the his-thus to make them of service in the

tered into a new period of capitalism, tions lie before us. First of all the tween nationalities and huge destruc- its effect upon politics, government

questions of proletarian tactics, the lness. They are not capable of post-In great mass struggles, alongside significance and possibilities of parlia-ponement. Even during the war and

mentarianism, of mass actions, of after its conclusion they form the cds are merely child's play, they must labor union tactics, reforms and im- most important and immediate vital mediate demands, the significance and questions for the working class of all the future role of organization; also nations. the questions of nationalism, of mili-

Upon many of these questions the old Socialism had settled answers, formulae have gone by the board. In the old rules and ideas of the preimperialistic era the proletariat can find no guides for its actions under new conditions. Nor can the socialfirm foot hold. They have in the great majority surrendered to imperialism; the conscious, active or the chief causes of the weakness of passive, support of war policies by the party and labor union representatives has dug too deep to make possible a simple return to the old prebellum point of view.

OUR SPIRITUAL WEAPONS This support of imperialism in its astrous errors. most important and vital phrases make of the social-democracy a tool practice to be adopted at this time. of imperialism and those who want to see it a weapon of revolution no unity imperialism, the chief enemy of the is possible any longer.

lems of offering solutions, of form- relentless struggle against all the ulating the proper direction for the elements of the former social-demonew struggle, falls to those who have cracy, which would bind the prolnot allowed themselves to be misled etariat to the chariot of imperialism; ual weapon, were already at hand in be Marxism. Marxism, regarded by all shades which would gloss over unpresent and in their hands degraded weapons in its struggle against immore and more into a dry doctrine perialism. The reconstitution of the of mechanical fatalism, again is to Third Internationale will only be come into its birthright as a theory made possible by an absolute break of revolutionary acts. "The philos- with social-patriotism. weapon of Socialism.

patriotism. Added to these are the more discuss them in peace and quiet- Socialism.

Hnton Pannekoek

in "Uorbote"

WORKERS' CHIEF ENEMY

Not merely the important question, which everywhere is the kernel of the which had already crystallized into object of struggle, whether and how formulae-but with the collapse of the proletariat can emerge, hasten the second Internationale even its the end of the war and influence the terms of peace. At the conclusion of the war the immense economic shattering of the world will first be felt den. in its entirety, when, with the condition of general exhaustion, lack of democratic parties furnish it with a capital and unemployment industry ette Roland-Holst, and others did all must be organized anew, when the they could to spread this insight fearful debts of all nations necessi- among the masses and establish a tate colossal taxes and state social- mental understanding which is the ism, the militarization of agricultural only possible organization of real gursuits, as the only way out of the fighting masses. financial difficulties. Then the prob-

There lies the greatest task of our characterizes these working class or- journal: by discussion and elucidation morally and physically, as to rout of the class movement. Fr. Rosin. ganizations, no matter how strongly of these questions it will support the they subscribe to the old socialist material struggle of the proletariat solutions and combat the most inti-against imperialism. As an organ of mate effects of imperialism. For in discussion and elucidation it is at the this way they come into conflict with same time an organ of battle-the the necessarily revolutionary aims of publisher and the contributors to the the proletariat and are themselves journal have the common will to give forced into a difficult crisis of their battle, the same point of view in reown. Between those who would gard to these chief questions of the

First of all the struggle against proletariat. But this struggle is The task of elucidating those problonly made possible by a simultaneous

ophers have interpreted the world in With this knowledge we stand upon a number of differing ways: the real the same ground as the left wing of necessity is to alter it." As a live the Zimmerwald Conference. The revolutionary method this sort of principles put forth by this group of Marxism again becomes the most international socialists as their aim solid principle, the sharpest spiritual our journal will support by theoretical work; by the most intense struggle There is no more pressing task against social patriotism, by merciby force over the entire earth, accom- roots, its connection with the export than this elucidation of the new less analysis of the errors of the old panied by embittered struggles be- of capital, procuring of raw material, problems. For it is a life and death revisionism and the radical socialism question for the proletariat-and to pave the way for the new Intertion of capital and men; a period and bureaucracy, its spiritual power hence for the entire development of nationale. If the proletariat recogtherefore, of the heaviest oppression upon the bourgeoisie. Then those humanity—that it should see its way nizes the weaknesses and mistakes of and suffering for the working classes. questions which relate to the prol- clear and bright before leading to the old points of view, the practical But the masses are thereby driven etariat, the causes of their weakness, new heights. And there are no ques- collapse of which it is now suffering to aspiration; they must raise them- their psychology and the phenomena tions of the future whose solution from, it will gain the foresight for selves if they are not to be com- of social-imperialism and social- can be postponed until we can once the new struggle and the new

another. No great political achieve- and their funds. their yast numbers and their economic power. Revolutionary Socialists saw it long

rule of imperialism mass-action (unceasingly repeated demonstrations, parades, strikes) must be the principal means of strife of the working class, if it does not want to be degraded to the level of beasts of bur-

Our comrades, Anton Pannekoek, Karl Radek, Rosa Luxemburg, Henri-

But such mass-action means the beleb must be met with or without ginning of the great final battle, "La this task the members of the League theory; but then the lack of theoret- Lutte Finale," which is a long period must do what Marx told the Comical insight will entail the most dis- of extremely acute class war, where the working class will be defeated must participate in every mass movemany times until it grows so strong ment and represent in it the future

ent upon the great banks whose in- | the ruling classes and conquer thehterests are imperative for the trust stronghold-the state.

magnates as well as for landed pro- In face of this situation the labor prietors and middle classes. There is bureaucracy filled with awe the no possibility for the representatives working class into avoiding actual of labor to achieve concessions by fight, for fear a defeat should imskillfully playing one group against peril the legal labor organizations

ment can be accomplished by labor | So the working class is now direpresentatives unless the masses vided, powerless, despised. One part back it up by the whole weight of of it-the majority of the skilled and organized aristocrats of labor-goes along with the bureaucratic labor leaders. Another part, disgusted and ago. They conceived that under the discouraged, falls in dull indifference. Only the third part-mostly consisting of unskilled laborers—is moved by misery, class instinct and revolutionary sentiment and faces the situation as it really is.

The aspirations of this third part are the beginning of the self-deliverance of the working class.

But even this fighting part of the proletariat does not have a clear understanding of the nature of imperialism nor of the effective means and methods of fighting it. To bring this understanding and insight—that is the task of the Socialist Propaganda League of America. To perform munists of his time to do: They

NOW FIX YOUR ATTENTION HERE!

We assume that every live Left Wing Socialist in the United States who receives this paper, is equally interested with us in making the year 1917 memorable in the history of uncompromising Socialism, and holds himself and herself ready, as a good soldier in the Revolu-

tion, to outdo all previous efforts by building the sub list.

WHAT THE BOOSTER SAYS-MAKE YOUR RESPONSE BIG WITH PROMISE FOR THE WHOLE YEAR.

WHY YOU NEED OUR PAPER

There is at present in America no English periodical published oftener than once a month that is outspoken in advocacy of industrial and political action. Nothing but the veriest of lip service is given to anything but vote chasing and fawning upon the dominant labor union leaders by the average periodical of the Socialist movement in this country.

A clear conception of present tendencies in capitalist society is lacking; failing to comprehend the essential facts, they are in a poor position to teach. A strong tendency has set in for governmental ownership and control of industry. The capitalists see in this a chance for a more efficient and purposeful extension of their power and prolongation of their class domination. We see the majority in control of the Socialist movement learning nothing from the events that occur with everaccelerating speed, and which plainly indicate that reformistic tactics are of no avail against the juggernaut of Imperialism. The tecnique of industry is to be developed beyond anything now obtaining; markets are to be sought and all the means at the disposal of the capitalist class are to be invoked for the successful conquest of a constantly shrinking world marketrelatively speaking as compared to the ability to supply. Compulsory military service, greater military appropriations, conscription of labor-all will be invoked unless labor is aroused against a nationalistic competition for the marketing of labor's

This picture is not overdrawn. A ballot box counting of noses wil not settle such mighty problems. The marshaling of labor's hosts is the imperative duty of the hour. The foregoing reasons are sufficient to justify the launching of The Internationalist. We need your help in the enterprise. WHAT THE PAPER NEEDS FROM YOU.

First-Your subscription at \$1.00 a year.

Second-A regular contribution to the Sustainers' Fund, either weekly or monthly.

Third—A donation to the paper.

Fourth-A loan to be repaid in definite amounts at regular intervals.

Fifth-Your enlistment in our bundle brigade to distribute The Internationalist and insure a big circulation. Whrite "Business Manager" for plan "A" and "B" on this.

Sixth-Your active support in getting subscribers for the

Seventh-We want agents to look after definite territory, who will be paid regular and uniform commissions.

We realize that no individual can respond to our call in the seven ways, but all can help in some way. Select the way to help that you are qualified for, financially or otherwise, and Boost With a Will! We are out for 10,000 subscribers by July 1st. Shall we have them?

Make checks and MoneyOrders payable to Louis Velleman,

Self-Deliverance of the Masses

HE last days of the year were | selves. No saviour will come from the world. Children and ninnies were their own midst can accomplish their rejoicing over the birth of a saviour. deliverance.

it is futile and silly to expect a de-the great founder of the science of formally established labor organizaliverer from far-off heavenly spheres. Socialism, and that was the theory The working class must take its de- and practice of the glorious First the interests of the skilled and en- the workers can be successful unless liverance into its own hands. It International. must fight for its existence upon pain of being crushed by economic exploitation and political oppression.

Ever since private property appeared and human society was subdivided in classes, intolerable hardships have compelled the toilers to fight their oppressors and exploiters.

Marx did not invent the classes nor the class struggle. He only investigated these phenomena in our modern capitalistic society. He revealed the essence of capitalism and ment. studied the nature of the combatting classes under that system.

toiling class, a contrast that does not depend upon the will of either side but depends upon the historically decan not be removed but by an irreconcilable struggle of the proletaunited efforts of the workers them- up strong organizations (economic ferent organized trades, so that the

marked by chimes of bells heaven nor from the upper classes; and great jubilation all over no great leader or hero from out of

The working class should know that | That is the doctrine of Karl Marx,

It remained also the theory of the Second International: The principal part of the programs (preambles) of all existing Socialist and social democratic parties is built upon these conceptions of Marx. But the practice of all great parties of the Second International gradually deviated from this clear conception.

Why? Not because of the will of some leaders, but again as the result of the economic and historic develop-

In 1871 the great struggle of the bourgeoisie for political power was But he did not content himself with finished. After 82 years of revolutionhis theoretical discoveries; he turned ary wars the consolidation of the them into practical action. He not great national states of Central Euonly stated "Capital comes out of rope was accomplished and the bourunpaid labor," but he also called out: geoisie, i. e., the personification of "Proletarians of all countries unite to capital, became master of these naoverthrow the capitalistic system of tional states and established its parproduction." And as he theoretically liamentary form of government as demonstrated that there is and in- the most suitable means of taking evitably must be a deadly contrast care of the interests of all groups between the owning class and the of the upper as well as of the middle classes.

So even the working class, or at least the upper layers of the workveloped conditions of production, he ing class of all Central Europe, got ment of the last two decades. showed that practically this contrast some political rights and liberties: a certain amount of freedom of speech, press and coalition. And it was a wise rians against the capitalists. And policy for the working class to use creases the number of unskilled this struggle must be waged by the these rights and liberties by building laborers and badly mixes up the dif-

and political) with the purpose of im- power and significance of the trade proving the economic, social and pol- unions is constantly diminishing although the absolute numbers of their itical conditions of the workers. By so doing the labor organizations all membership may be growing. over the capitalistic world achieved the most remarkable results.

Why then did the Second International fail and collapse?

Firstly: Because its legal method tion but also the political government of action was conducive to overesti- of all capitalistic countries, makes it mation of the importance of the impossible to keep the traditional separation between economic and poitions and considered mainly or solely itical action. No economic strife of franchised aristocracy of the working it involves the whole working class class, leaving the great mass of unskilled laborers to their fate.

Secondly: The peaceful and legal method of action rendered it necessary that most of the actual "fighting" was not done by the organized The following named perworkers themselves, but was left to small groups of "labor leaders," parliamentary representatives and union for same. officers, who day by day doing their petty work in their respective departments, inevitably turned to bureaucrats. They gradually lost sight of the real goal of the labor movement, viz., the overthrow of the capitalistic society, and looked only for immediate practical achievements within that society by accommodation of the labor movement to their respective national capitalisms.

Thirdly: Neither the bureaucrats of the labor movement, who were wholly absorbed in their narrow every day work, nor the organized masses whose action practically consists only in the electioneering of their "leaders," noticed the great change of situation accomplished by the economic and political develop-

What are these changes? Firstly: The development of the technic of production constantly in-

and so turns to political action. Thirdly: Under the domination of financial capital practically all groups of the possessing classes are depend-

Name.

Secondly: The combination of all

important industries in the hands of

a few all-powerful trusts, practically

controlling not only the entire produc-

sons have subscribed for your paper and have paid

"THE INTERNATIONALIST"

Box 23, Roxbury Station Boston, Mass.

Address.

Subscribers rates: 12 mos., \$1.00; 6 mos., 50 cts; 3 mos., 25 cts. Ten to one address for a year, \$7.50.

		mos.	mos.	mos.
				
				ļ
				·
		`		
	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,			ļ
Collected by	Remittance \$		i	