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Bourgeois Dictatorship in Local N. Y.

By J Lovestone

BOURGEOIS dictatorship in Local New York! Is it possible? Bourgeois in the Socialist Party? Nonsense!

Comrades, bitter though the pill may be, we must swallow it. Is the Bourgeois Dictatorship in Local New York a mushroom growth? Was it set up recently to fight the revolutionary elements in the Socialist Party, or has it been developed for years, only to appear in true colors in a serious party crisis? Yes, for years we have had a Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie in Local New York. But it was hidden. It was camouflaged. The present Left Wing crisis, however, has torn off the veil. The battle between the Left and Right for Party control has unmasked the bourgeois dictators of Local New York. Here, there is a deadly parallel with the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie in society. We have always had a Bourgeois Dictatorship in all capitalist countries, monarchies as well as free republics; but it took a world war to make evident to the working class the existence of such a dictatorship.

The writer uses the term "Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie" not because all those who are doing the dictating in Local New York belong to the Bourgeoisie. Many of them are workers. For that matter, many of those who suppress the working class are workers. Remember that scabs, thugs, police, and soldiers are in the main proletarian by birth and status! The term "Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie" is employed because the methods employed by the bureaucratic officialdom of Local New York, in its struggle against the mass of membership constituting the Left Wing, resemble, in many ways, the means employed by the bourgeoisie in its fight against the proletariat.

PARTY BUREAUCRATS AND CAPITALISTS

The Dictatorship of the Party Bureaucracy in Local New York resembles the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie in capitalist society, first, in the sense that the existence of both depends upon the perpetuation of present conditions. With the death of the capitalist system of production, through a Proletarian Dictatorship, comes the death of the Bourgeoisie as a ruling class. With the death of "Moderate Socialism," Right Wingism, in Local New York, through a victory of the Left Wing organization, comes the extinction of the Party bureaucracy. Without capitalist society, the bourgeois goes to the scrap heap. Without the continuance of the present reform tactics, the Local New York bureaucrat goes to the scrap heap. In a real Socialist (Communist) society, the bourgeois will have to go to work in order to live. In a real Socialist Party, the bureaucrat will have to go to work in order to live. Ignorance of the Proletariat is the food upon which capitalist rule thrives. Ignorance of the mass of the Party members is the food on which Socialist bureaucracy thrives. The bourgeoisie, through subsidizing and owning the educational institutions, make secure their dictatorship by spreading falsities and soporifics among the proletarians. The Party bureaucracy, through its privately owned and controlled institutions of learning, makes secure its dictatorship by misinforming the mass of Party members as to the science and philosophy of Socialism.

Bourgeois dictatorship has bloated the capitalist with the idea that he alone is fit to rule, that he alone is responsible, that the proletariat is unfit to rule, that the proletariat is irresponsible, and that the proletariat must be in the grip of bossism. The Party Bureaucracy has bloated Local New York's "leaders" of rank Socialist compromise with the idea that they alone are fit to rule, that they alone are responsible, that the mass of the Party members are not to be trusted and unfit to rule, that the mass of Party members are irresponsible, and that the mass of Party members must be in the grip of bossism.

Comrades, our fight is not against the capitalist as an individual. Our battle is against the condition breeding the capitalist—the private ownership of the means of production and exchange. Comrades, our fight is not against the Party bureaucrat as an individual. Our battle is against the condition breeding the Party bureaucrat—the policy of social reformism, of Socialist compromise.

EMPLOYMENT OF SHIBBOLETHS

We now come to the second element common to the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie and to the Party Bureaucracy. I have in mind the employment of shibboleths which blind the workers by their dazzling brilliancy.

When the bourgeoisie is confronted by the work-

Call for a National Conference of the Left Wing

Call for a National Conference of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party, issued by Local Boston, (Louis C. Frana, Secretary); Local Cleveland, (C. E. Ruttenberg, Secretary); and the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City, (Maximilian Cohen, Secretary).

The international situation and the crisis in the American Socialist Party; the sabotage the party bureaucracy has practised on the emergency national convention; the N. E. C. aligning our party with the social-patriots at Berne, with the Congress of the Great Betrayal; the necessity of reconstructing our policy in accord with revolutionary events,—all this, and more, makes it necessary that the revolutionary forces in the Socialist Party get together for counsel and action.

This call is therefore issued, for the holding of a National Conference of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party, to discuss:

1.—The crisis in the party, and action thereon; the conquest of the party for the party, for revolutionary Socialism.

2.—The New International; ways and means to prevent the party aligning itself with the "International" of the social-patriots, of the Ebert-Scheidemann gangsters, and the wavering centre; affiliation with the Bolshevik-Spartacan Communist International alone.

3.—The formulation of a declaration of principles and purposes of a national scope of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party.

4.—Forming some sort of a national council or bureau of the Left Wing for propaganda, securing of information and spreading information.

5.—To express and draw together the revolutionary forces in the party; to consider other means of furthering the cause of revolutionary Socialism.

This call is issued to locals of the Socialist Party, branches and Left Wing groups within the party. The test of admission, provisionally, will be acceptance of the Manifesto of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of Greater New York.

Left Wing locals are invited to send delegates officially. Where a local officially refuses to participate, branches or minority groups in the party accepting the principles of the Left Wing should send delegates.

Representation—one delegate for every 500 members. No local or group should send more than four delegates. Locals or minority groups with less than 500 members are entitled to one delegate.

The conference will be held starting Saturday, June 21, in New York City. Each delegate will be taxed \$25 for a central fund, out of which will be paid the expenses of all delegates.

Left Wing Locals and Branches, act! Send communications to Maximilian Cohen, 43 West 29th St., New York City.

ers' demand for a larger share of the products, it says: "We, the capitalists, have built up the industries through many years of hard, nerve-racking labor. If it were not for our brains there would be no large scale production and efficiency. We give you wages and thus keep you alive. If it were not for us, you would starve." When the Party bureaucrats are confronted by a demand of the mass of membership for a larger share of Party power, they say: "We, the leaders, the officials, have built up the Party through many years of hard work. If it were not for our skill and efficiency, there would be no Socialist Party. We made the Party and you should be thankful to us."

Should there be danger of the proletariat becoming class-conscious, then a patriotic revival is started—a war is declared. The bourgeois then prates of his friendship for the poor workingman, of his sacrifice for the fatherland, and of defense of country. He cries: "Labor must do its share. Save the country! Labor and capital must present a united front against the common enemy. Unity! Unity! Let us have unity!" Should there be a danger of the mass of the Party members becoming self-conscious, then campaigns for buildings, printing plants, and defense funds are set going. The

Party bureaucracy yelps from above: "Unity, Unity! At this time above all, unity! Let us have a united front against the common enemy! Let us rather fight capitalism than fight each other! Save the Party organization!"

The proletarians who become spokesmen for their class are branded by the Bourgeoisie as traitors, foreign agents, yellow dogs, spies, and Bolsheviks. The insurgents speaking for the revolting mass of Party membership are branded by the leaders of the Right as agents provocateurs, disrupters, lunatics and Anarchists.

The time comes when the workers are class-conscious enough to establish a Proletarian Dictatorship, and begin the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the building of the Communist order. Then the capitalists and their intellectual sycophants shed tears. They plead for democracy! They yelp: "Save democracy! Give every one a chance to decide the kind of government he wants. Vote! We don't believe in a dictatorship of any class! We want no class rule! We despise violence! We are all members of God's human family! Why look for new roads of freedom when we have a Congress, a Constitution, courts of justice, a President, and the ballot? Why not employ the regular channels of government to attain your goal?" The time comes when the mass of Party members become clear-headed and self-conscious enough to be systematically united, that is, organized for the realization of their will to revolutionize the Party. Then the Right Wing phalanx, accompanied by a horde of lying and ignorant educators, hurls anathemas. From the housetops they shout: "Why not use the regular Party channels? Why build a 'state within a state'—an organization within an organization? We have conventions! We have national, state, city central and executive committees! We have Branch meetings! Vote! Discuss! Let everyone have a right to his opinion! Be tolerant! Be fair! Be just! Be democratic! We are comrades after all!"

In the hey-day of bourgeois democracy the tyranny of the capitalist class is veiled by parliamentary forms. Behind these parliamentary forms is hidden the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie. The administrative section of the government, the Cabinet, is nothing less than the executive committee of the capitalist class. Bourgeois control of property and the means of life is given undivided attention and complete protection. Proletarians are disenfranchised! Their votes are either corrupted or destroyed. And eminent personalities vie with each other in dopping the working class with social narcotics! The press, the pulpit, and the law serve as a new holy trinity to club the workers into ignorance.

Yes, in the hey-day of Party democracy, in the hey-day of the use of regular Party channels, bossism serves as the lubricant of the Party machinery. Behind the regular democratic Party procedure, and legality hides the Dictatorship of the Party Bureaucracy. Witness the high-handed, wholesale "re-organization"—in reality, disruption—of Local New York by its regular Executive Committee! This same Executive Committee, created by the Central Committee, indefinitely adjourns the meetings of the Central Committee. The highest committees and officers are part and parcel of the Party Bureaucracy. Our Socialist Bureaucracy controls all Party property and all organs of propaganda and education. *The Call, The Forward*, and the Rand School are privately owned and controlled enterprises. The treasurers and lessees of most Branches are either part of the Bureaucracy or its subservient agents. The Socialist Bureaucracy gives its undivided attention to devising ways and plans of making most secure its hold on these means of Party life. Comrades are disenfranchised unconstitutionally! Witness the case of the Jewish Downtown Branch; of the 17th A. D.; of the 6th A. D.; of the re-organization of Local New York. Votes are declared void on the smallest technicality, and vague, conflicting instructions are issued. Party referendums are blocked or sabotaged. Our "Right" leaders vie with each other "visiting" Branches and wielding their "influence" most mercilessly. The mass of membership is given such anaesthetic

(Continued on page 6.)

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Murderers of the People

THE reported recognition of the Omsk Government under the dictator Kolchak by the Governments of England, France, Italy and the United States fittingly caps the hypocrisy, double-dealing and treachery which has characterized the policy of the capitalist governments toward Soviet Russia.

Ever since Soviet Russia, by Revolution, brought down in ruins the might of Hohenzollern Germany, the Allied Governments have openly assumed the imperialistic task of crushing human liberty in the world. Severely repressing the opposition at home, the Governments of England, France, Italy, Japan and the United States have insisted that the German and Austrian revolutions shall not be social revolutions, and have sent troops to attack the Russian Soviet Republic.

The European Governments openly proclaim that their object is to destroy the Soviet Government, and Bolshevism with it. The Government of the United States, through its mouth-piece, Woodrow Wilson, expresses vague humanitarian phrases full of noble sound, but dares not tell the truth about invasion in Russia.

As a matter of fact, the Associated Powers have been engaged, without a declaration of war, in murdering workers and peasants in cold blood, in order to make the world safe for the bloody regime of capitalism, which has watered the earth with the blood of the working class for a hundred years, and finished up with the gigantic holocaust of the Great War.

Immediately following the Proletarian Revolution, the excuse for hostility toward Soviet Russia was that the Germans were in control. The United States Government supported this view by the publication of a series of forged documents, which deceived no one. The fall of Imperial Germany completely destroyed this fabrication.

Then it was "to guard military stores and protect the rear of the Tchekho-Slovaks"—the Judas nation—and to "restore law and order." The United States Government deliberately incited the peoples of the world against Soviet Russia by publishing an "appeal to humanity" against the greatly exaggerated Red Terror—at the same time ignoring the horrible White Terror of the Tchekho-Slovaks in the Volga Valley, and of Mannerheim in Finland.

With phrases about "justice" and "self-determination" on their lips, the statesmen of the capitalist Powers sent armed troops to shoot down Russian workers and peasants defending their own proletarian government—the first Government of the People in the history of the world. While issuing lofty invitations to Prinkipo, the Allied and American Governments drew closer around Soviet Russia the iron ring of their blockade, dooming to death by starvation hundreds of thousands of women and children. Their soldiers co-operated with the Horvaths, the Semionovs, the renegades, the Black Hundreds attempting to restore Tsarism, the restorers of vodka, Cossack rule and pogroms.

While protesting against "Bolshevik propaganda," the agents of the Associated Powers in Russia corrupted officials, actively assisted the counter-revolution, and under cover of diplomatic immunity, plotted to overthrow the Government of the Russian People.

Now they recognize the "Government" of Kolchak; Kolchak the Tsarist, the man of black reputation under the old regime; Kolchak, the debaucher of Siberian peasants; Kolchak, who suppressed the last vestiges of democratic association; Kolchak, who forbade labor unions, even as the Tsar did; who arrested, jailed and massacred thousands upon

thousands of workers and peasants without trial; Kolchak, whose "death train" of Bolshevik prisoners is the horror of the whole world; Kolchak, who is repudiated by all liberty-loving men the world over, whatever their political opinions.

Today the capitalist press is screaming exultantly that the battered and starving armies of the Proletarian Republic are being pushed back on all fronts. Already in their columns is beginning to appear the fierce foreshadowing note of the great Revenge. If Capitalist Imperialism wins in Rus-

Don't Leave the Party!

Chicago, May 26, '19.

Comrade Cohen:

Thanks for your good letter. I expect the Right Wing to try the same tactics nationally as locally in New York. Gerber is here helping to steer the game. But they are losing and they know it—hence their panicky actions. The rarer they go, the harder they will fall. Have no fear whatever of the final outcome. We are sure to win. Ninety per cent of the present membership wants Revolutionary Socialism.

So sit tight. Keep your membership intact. Let no one quit. Let not a single member or Branch withdraw from the Party voluntarily. Wait till they are expelled. Stick. Help us with the national fight. It will take three months, but the Red Wins. Don't let anyone talk split. This Party is Ours and we are going to prove it.

Yours in Revolt,

L. E. KATTERFELD.

sia, there will follow a massacre that will make the punishment of the Paris Commune look like a picnic. The capitalist class the world over is licking its lips in anticipation.

It is the fault of the world's working class if Soviet Russia is made a shambles by the capitalist governments of the victorious Powers. It is our fault if our Comrades in Europe are stricken down by the murderers of the people!

The Still-Born City Convention

The State Executive Committee has declared that the City Committee exceeded its authority in calling a City Convention of the Party Branches of Greater New York, and declares that the Convention will be illegal. This action is taken to save the face of the Right Wingers, who withdrew from the City Committee as soon as they discovered that the Left Wing had a majority there. In the beginning the Right Wingers were just as anxious to call the City Convention as the Left Wingers. The Right Wing still imagined that it had a majority among the rank and file, and that the Left Wing Manifesto and Program could be disposed of in the Convention. But now the Right Wing knows that the majority of the membership is with us. So it persuades the State Executive Committee to declare the Convention illegal.

Simultaneously the Rand School has refused the use of People's House auditorium for the Convention.

These are the latest tactics of the Party bosses. They know that the referendum is going against them overwhelmingly, so they reorganize and expel Branches, and then throw out their votes. They know that the National Emergency Convention is going against them, so they disenfranchise the membership.

It will not work. We intend to put our candidates in office. We intend to hold the National Emergency Convention. And we herewith inform all comrades that the City Convention will be held, on the date agreed upon, according to the original plans. Instead of the People's House, we shall probably meet at Queen's County Labor Lyceum.

From all over the country a landslide Left Wing victory is moving down on Chicago. Expel as they will—reorganize as they will—they cannot reorganize and expel Branches as fast as they go Left Wing.

Panic-stricken, the Right Wing, through the mouth of Hillquit, calls for a split in the Party—the Right Wing, which accused us of wanting to split—in order to have the pitiful remnant of the movement they have wrecked.

They cannot save it. The Party is ours. Life itself is with the Left Wing!

Statistics of the Pink Terror

Many Comrades imagine that we are exaggerating the proportions and gravity of the ruthless campaign against the Left Wing inaugurated by Local New York's Executive Committee. For the benefit of these Comrades we publish the following list of Branches reorganized, in process of reorganization, and those to whom ballots have been denied, or whose vote has been thrown out:

English Branches.—1st A. D., 2d A. D., 3d-5th-10th A. D., 8th A. D., 17th A. D., 18th-20th A. D., 22d-23d A. D.

Foreign Branches.—1st Russian, 2d Russian, 20th Ukrainian, 2d Jewish, 52d Lithuanian, Estonian, Hungarian (Yorkville), Spanish, German-Hungarian, Italian 2d A. D., Jewish 2d A. D. Jewish 8th A. D.

The following new Branches have been refused charters:

5th Russian-Ukrainian of Russian Federation; 88th Ukrainian of Ukrainian Federation; new Hungarian Branch of Hungarian Federation.

Between three thousand and thirty-five hundred members of Local New York have no voice nor vote in Party affairs.

The State Executive Committee is "reorganizing" the entire State, which means, expelling all Left Wing Locals.

The First Russian Branch has been expelled from the Party, and the expulsion has been endorsed by the N. E. C.

The Right Wing, on the eve of counting the votes of the referendum on Party officials, thus disqualifies the Left Wing votes. On the eve of the Emergency National Convention, called at the instance of Left Wing Locals, the Right Wing takes action to prevent the attendance of delegates representing the vast majority of the Party membership.

After all the protests against the "illegality" of "an organization within an organization"; after the outcry that "the Party Constitution and by-laws provide adequate means for formulating new Party policies and tactics"—the officialdom of the Party deliberately violates its own rules and its own Constitution.

These are the methods of the capitalist political democratic State. It professes "democracy" until the popular masses undertake to exercise their prerogative; then it calls in the Courts to interpret, or the police to suppress.

We, of the Left Wing, were right in refusing to trust our Party "leaders". We of the Left Wing were right when we accused them of not being Socialists.

Left Wing Bogey

By Nicholas I. Hourwich

The successes of the "Left Wing" of the American Socialist Party begin evidently to frighten the official leaders of the Social Opportunists. From this fear spring the "radical measures" to which individual Party "leaders" and the Party machine resort in their struggle against the "seditious" elements within the Party; from this fear springs the haste with which, foreseeing the alarming possibility of defeat at the Emergency Convention, they expel from the Party or discredit the independent thinking members, and even whole "Left Wings".

The magnitude of the danger threatening the dominating Right Wing can be judged, for instance, from the fact that "Left Wing Sedition" has penetrated even such a bulwark of "respectable" Socialism as Milwaukee, guarded by the maestro and ideologue of American Social Opportunism, the "Socialist" Congressman, member of the National Executive Committee of the Party, Victor Berger.

The Milwaukee Leader, published in Milwaukee and edited by Berger—a "Socialist paper"—deems it even wise to devote to this "danger" a special editorial under the significant caption: "Do We Want Violence"?

This editorial is worth discussing, because it gives complete expression to the "philosophy" of the Right Wing, as well as to those weapons with which the latter is ready to arm itself in its struggle to crush and destroy the hated "Left Wing".

The central point of the editorial, as can be seen from the caption, is the question of "violence".

We shall not discuss here the scientific incorrectness of the term "violence". The main weight of the question, as it is put by the Left Wing, consists not in whether "violence" should or should not be used; but in the application of the revolutionary mass method of struggle. As can be gleaned from the text of the article, the term "violence" is used by the editorial writer of the Milwaukee Leader instead of the term "revolutionary method of struggle", and used deliberately—in the vein of the whole provocative character of the editorial. The more abstract, and therefore less definite expression "revolutionary method of struggle", might prove to be a harder task to classify under the articles of the "penal code" than the more concrete and definite—and therefore, more useful for the purposes of the Milwaukee "Socialist" prosecutor, Mr. Zabel—term "violence".

Berger's editorial proclaims first: "The Left Wingers want to use violence. Of course, they do not directly say so"—maliciously remarks the writer, with a look towards police headquarters. "Such things cannot very well be said openly. But if you read their writings you can come to no other conclusion. . . ."

"The Left Wingers want to incite a series of violent uprisings, using the methods of the Spartans of Germany as their model, hoping that each uprising will bring them a little nearer to the goal and

The I. W. W. and Bolshevism

By John Reed

THE May number of *One Big Union*, the I. W. W. monthly magazine, contains a number of surprising statements about Bolshevism, and the Bolsheviki, which show a complete misconception of the revolutionary Socialism and of what has happened in Russia.

For example, this:

"They (the Bolsheviki), captured the Government by force and put Bolsheviki into office in place of the officials of the old regime. The typical Bolshevik revolution is a political revolution by force. The exterior changes they make in the Government may be ever so conspicuous, but still they are not fundamental. These changes all fall within the outlines of the institution we call 'the state.'"

This is just what Bolshevik revolutions do not do—they do not merely "put Bolsheviki into office in place of the officials of the old regime." Their chief peculiarity—the essence of Bolshevism—lies in the fact that they hold, with Marx, that "the proletariat cannot lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and use it for its own purposes." They must destroy the capitalist state, and in order to eradicate it permanently—to destroy its roots—they must set up temporarily a Proletarian Dictatorship, to clear the path for the Industrial Commonwealth which is the aim of the I. W. W. The nature of the new "state" is entirely different from the old one. Its purpose is to abolish the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. How then can anyone say that the "changes" are not "fundamental?" Does not the I. W. W. hold that the capitalist state is merely the instrument by which the capitalist ownership of property is perpetuated and strengthened? Is not the proletarian conquest and destruction of the state a "fundamental change?"

It appears that the I. W. W. is still enamored of the idea that it can organize the workers 100% under capitalism. Apparently the Fellow Workers believe, in spite of what is happening to them now, that they can build up their "new society within the shell of the old" in the teeth of a hostile government. Can't they yet see that by some means the capitalist State must be destroyed, to make way for the building up of their new society?

Marxian Socialism demonstrates that the state—i. e. the institutions and class distinctions of society—are dictated by economic conditions; in other words, the capitalist state is the expression of the property relations of modern society. In order to alter these property relations, some power of the workers must be set up. When private property is abolished, the new economic conditions will give

that after a few outbreaks they will carry the day."

"But"—and here the writer dismisses the Spartacan tactics—"these methods have not succeeded even in Germany," to say nothing of America. The author evidently never realized that most, if not all, of the responsibility for the "failure" of the Spartacans in Germany must be ascribed to his spiritual and political partisans—the Scheidemanns!

The victory of the working class—in the opinion of the editorial writer—will be won not through a revolutionary struggle, but as a result of a "political success at the polls". In other words, this is the well known realization of Socialism . . . through voting at elections, through the "parliamentary majority". . . Evidently the author has not progressed, has forgotten nothing and learned nothing during the last few stormy years, though he states at the beginning that "nearly all Socialists are somewhat more radical than they were before the war". Apparently he even does not belong to these "nearly all".

However, the author shows some signs of swinging to the "Left"; a tribute, as it were, to the spirit of the times. Reluctantly, he is even ready to admit the possibility of application of "violence" during the period of the social reconstruction in this country. But Socialists on no account will be guilty of such "violence". They will patiently vote. . . "Violence" may be applied only as a result of "provocation" on the part of the "conservatives"—and even this "after we (i. e., the Socialists) become the majority".

But even in case of such "provocation on the part of the conservatives It is not the part of a political party to incite to violence. By its very nature and essence, a political party is an organization that uses peaceful, political methods. If violence should come, its natural way of coming would be by way of the unions, not the Party. . ."

However, there are still to be found Socialists who claim that a Socialist Party, by its nature and essence, differs from all other political parties in that it is a revolutionary party, and that its task is not to follow the tail of the unions, but to march forward, to lead the unions, lead the whole working class!

birth to the new social order, and the state will automatically cease to exist.

An illustration of this is to be seen in the new form of strikes—Seattle, Butte, Winnipeg—where the workers in control of industry find themselves threatened by the capitalist state, and are themselves compelled to set up their own rudimentary government, which undertakes policing, feeding, etc. This is Proletarian Dictatorship in embryo.

But the writer in *One Big Union* seems to believe that the Bolsheviki intend that the Proletarian Dictatorship shall endure indefinitely. This, in the face of constant reiteration of Lenin and other Bolshevik spokesmen, that as soon as capitalism is destroyed the Proletarian Dictatorship also vanishes, and gives way to the Industrial Order! How, in this day, after all the lessons of the Russian Revolution, can anyone be so ignorant as to talk this Anarcho-Menshevik twaddle!

Again we quote:

The Bolshevik revolution is the culmination of political socialism. The program of political socialism is a very general one. It is "the abolition of classes," "the abolition of capitalism," "the socialization of the means of production," "the establishment of a socialist republic," etc., expressions which we ourselves use. But the program of the political socialists is not well worked out on these most important points. They have left the details to chance at the last moment. As a consequence they find themselves without the proper industrial organs for taking over production, at the moment when they have captured political power. The Russians made a hasty experiment with soviets, but as late news inform us, these organs were unequal to the task of taking over production and distribution. The scheme is falling apart, and as a result Russia is partly returning to private ownership and control, partly turning over the work to the co-operative movement, partly resorting to direct government control, only a small part of production and distribution apparently being in control of the workers direct through their industrial organization, as we would have it. In short, the Bolshevik revolution in Russia has not resulted in Industrial Democracy, but in a makeshift or temporary arrangement without stability, without any pretense of a final solution. The limitations of political socialism have become plainly discernible. There are various other movements in Russia, each with their economic programs, but none of them would, as far as we can see, result in Industrial Democracy. With the experience of Bolshevism in Russia, we can again upon a basis of tangible facts reiterate our standpoint which we have so persistently repeated in years gone by, namely, that economic reconstruction of society cannot be accomplished by a government trying to order things with a high hand through laws and regulations, but has to be an organic growth from the bottom, through the industrial organization of the workers at the place of work. Russia will yet have to tackle the immense task of organizing the workers industrially, in order to obtain the necessary organs for taking over production. . . .

"Had the political Socialists not been so persistent in

All this revolutionary mission the Bergersonian editorial providentially entrusts to the unions (and of course, to the unions of the American Federation of Labor,—he recognizes no other unions). It is the more convenient, so that the failure of the Revolution and the shameful conduct of the Social-Patriots before and during the war, might be ascribed to these same unions, as is being done by one of Berger's comrades, Morris Hillquit, in his latest pronouncement.

After all this anti-revolutionary and counter-revolutionary absurdity, the author finally gives some practical advice to his readers regarding the "Left Wing".

In a nutshell his advice is, "For God's sake, don't deal with these seditious persons".

And this advice is given by the author of the editorial article in an open manner, frightening and playing up the basest, small-town "Hebrew fear" of his readers:

"If you are thinking of joining the Left Wing—by taking part in the formation of a Communist League or otherwise—we want you to know exactly what you are about. If you join the Left Wing, you thereby agree to take an active part in a bloody uprising in Milwaukee."

The added words, "in Milwaukee" (remember, this "bloody uprising" will take place precisely here in Milwaukee) are of special significance, and, as the readers can see for themselves, bear all the attributes of a provocative denunciation.

The picture is completed by flinging a delicate hint regarding the political honesty of the "Left Wing":

"We feel certain that our capitalist enemies have some of their paid spies in the Left Wing to urge the use of violent methods"

Already the late Comrade Mehring, in his famous letter to the Russian Bolsheviki, pointed out that one of the methods of the "Scheidemanns" in fighting the Independent Socialists and the Spartacans was the accusation that they were "paid agents of the Government," and provocateurs. It looks as if the methods of the "Scheidemanns" in all countries are alike.

ignoring industrial organization, had they not insisted on monopolizing the thought of the workers for their parliamentary schemes, the workers of their countries would not now be in such a terrible plight; they would not now be standing helpless, but would be able to carry on production without interruption."

Let us admit at the outset that there is a great deal of truth in the general accusation. It is valid to say that the Socialists generally have paid only too little attention to organizing on the industrial field, so that the workers can take over production. We will admit that we American Socialists have a great deal to learn from the I. W. W.; but the Russian Bolsheviki have not.

The writer says, "The Russians made a hasty experiment with Soviets. . . ." He apparently thinks that the Soviets of Workers' Deputies were organs created to take over production. After a year of almost incessant explanation about the Soviets and their functions, this Fellow Worker seems not to know that the Soviets are political organs, and have nothing to do with the management of production, which is left to the Councils of Workers' Control, based upon the Industrial Unions (of which five at least have adopted the I. W. W. preamble intact) and upon the Factory Shop Committees—Syndicalist organizations springing from the rank and file of the workers.

Already within the shell of the Soviet Government is being created (with the help and encouragement of the Government itself) the new Industrial Society. This consists of the Unions, the Councils of Workers' Control, the Peasants' Agricultural Committees, and is united in one central body, the Supreme Council of People's Economy—the frame-work of the pure Industrial Commonwealth, toward which, as Lenin points out, the Russian Revolution is irresistibly moving.

The writer points out that the organs of the Soviet Government "as late news inform us . . . were unequal to the task of taking over production and distribution." In the first place, where does the Fellow-worker get his "late news"? From the capitalist press? And in the second place, does he really imagine that Russian industry is backward because the Russian workers were unequal to the task of taking over production? Russian industry, he should know, was wrecked by the War—by the Tsarist and the Kerensky Governments; it was a bankrupt industry which the Bolsheviki took over. And since that time does he not understand that there has been war—both civil and foreign war—a desperate war of defense by a people starving and exhausted? Read the report recently published in *THE COMMUNIST*, entitled, "The Productivity of Russian Labor", by the Acting Commissar of Labor, and then say that the Russian workers' organizations were unfit to manage industry—with most of their fuel cut off, with most of their raw materials lacking, with decrepit machinery unrenewed for more than three years! And by the way, after years of propaganda in a politically democratic country, how large a section of the American working class has the I. W. W. organized?

The Fellow-Worker blames the Bolsheviki for not having built up the workers' economic organizations properly years before. Does he not know that all Unions were illegal under the Tsar, that propaganda and organization in Russia up to 1917 were punished most cruelly, that the workers were deliberately kept in the blackest ignorance? How could the Bolsheviki build up labor organizations before the Revolution?

But when the Revolution finally broke, it was the Bolsheviki who encouraged and forced labor organization. It was the Bolsheviki who introduced a carefully worked-out plan of Industrial Unionism into Russia, which, within three months, had more than two million dues-paying members—many more than the I. W. W.—and today has twelve million. However, when the Syndicalist Factory Shop Committees turned out to be the best form of revolutionary labor organization for the taking over of production, the Bolsheviki welcomed the Syndicalist form of organization. Bill Shatov was one of the leading builders of the Factory Shop Committee form of organization (although he was not, as one writer in *One Big Union* has it, the originator of Workers' Control).

We agree with the Fellow-Worker that Syndicalism has supplied the missing link in the problem of labor organization for the ~~time~~ action of the united working class. But we want to call his attention to the fact that the Syndicalists of Russia—and among them Shatov, Nelson and other former I. W. W. members in this country—are cooperating with the Bolsheviki, and have accepted the principle of Proletarian Dictatorship as the necessary characteristic of the transition-period between Capitalism and the Industrial Commonwealth. We want to point out that the Syndicalists of Eur-

(Continued on page 4).

Why Political Democracy Must Go

By John Reed

V.

THE formation of the Workingmen's Party marked the beginning of Socialism as a political force in the United States. The old distinctions of Internationalism and Lassalleism gave way to the native American conflict between Trade Unionism and Politics—which continued to sway the movement from one side to another until the last generation.

So far I have described the background of the movement in this country. With the Union Congress of 1876, Socialism entered upon the political arena in the struggle for power against the capitalist class.

A few sections locally entered political campaigns, and the resulting vote was so encouraging that others prepared to follow. Then came the nation-wide strikes of 1877, the activity of the sections in the strikes, the violence of the police, especially in Chicago, where a meeting of striking cabinet-makers was fired on. The National Executive Committee saw its opportunity, and ordered the sections to hold mass-meetings endorsing labor demands. The autumn elections in many parts of the country showed a large Socialist vote. Immediately a special convention of the Party was called to define its attitude toward politics.

This convention met in December 1877 and remodelled its Declaration of Principles to the effect that "political action is the natural function of the Party." However, owing to the influence of the Trade Unionists, it declared also that the Party "should maintain friendly relations with the trade unions and should promote their formation upon socialistic principles." The name was changed to Socialist Labor Party and a few years later, to Socialist Labor Party.

In the spring elections a curious paradox was observable. In localities where the Trade-Unionists were supreme, the candidates, who had been forced into politics by the Party policy, polled large votes because the unions supported them and worked for them; while in the districts where the pure Political Actionists predominated, the Labor vote went to the Greenbackers or the Republicans.

In the next national and state elections, the same phenomenon prevailed. The Chicago section, the most powerful in the country, elected four members to the legislature, who were influential enough to compel the appointment of an Industrial Commission, and the following year, secured four aldermen. In St. Louis, three Socialist candidates were elected to the legislature. But the drawbacks of the situation were made clear by the effects of the boom of 1879; prosperity drew the attention of labor away from politics, and the membership and vote of the Socialist Labor Party rapidly declined.

In 1880 the Political Actionists, in view of the diminishing Party vote, forced through a referendum to send delegates to the Greenback Convention in Chicago, and support the candidates of the Greenback Party. This compromise was passionately opposed by the Trade Unionists of Chicago, as well as by a group of revolutionary Socialists in New York, whose center was a handful of refugees from the German anti-Socialists laws.

Since the first campaign of the Workingmen's Party, the Trade Unionists had never abandoned their instinctive distrust of political action. In 1877-78, it is true, the election of candidates to municipal and state legislatures was of considerable agitational value. The state was not yet clearly defined as a direct instrument of capitalist exploitation; the Socialist legislators took it by surprise. But from then on gangs of armed thugs invaded the polling-places on election day; Socialist speakers were attacked; Socialist votes were torn up; and in Chicago, in 1879, the only Socialist alderman elected was deliberately refused his seat by the corrupt Democratic Council.

In 1879-80, as today, the lawless brutalities of the ruling class in nullifying the Socialist vote created a wide-spread disgust with political action. Already many workingmen's military organizations had sprung up to protect the Socialists from attack. The Political Actionists in control of the National Executive Committee repudiated these armed societies. The "deal" with the Greenback Party was the last straw for the Trade Union faction, which, with its growing system of labor organizations armed for defense, broke away from the Political Actionists, and in 1881 issued a call to "all revolutionists and armed workingmen's organizations in the country," pointing out the necessity of "getting ready to offer an armed resistance to the invasions by the capitalist class and capitalist legislatures."

In October of the same year a convention of Revolutionists met at Chicago, and formed the Revolutionary Socialist Party, which rejected all politi-

cal action and endorsed the so-called Black International, the anarchist International Working People's Association, declaring that it stood "ready to render armed resistance to encroachments upon the rights of workingmen." Before the referendum was completed, however, the Chicago section took part in one more municipal campaign, whose effect upon the Socialists was so disastrous that it destroyed the last vestige of faith in *even the agitational value of political campaigns*.

The Convention of 1883, at Pittsburgh, defined the two currents in the new organization; that led by Spies of Chicago, recognizing revolutionary trade unionism—and that led by Johann Most of New York, advocating pure revolutionary anarchism. A compromise between the two was reached, resulting in a philosophy of organization and action almost analogous to modern Syndicalism.

It was under the influence of this organization that the great labor upheaval of 1885-86 took place, centering around the Eight-hour strikes, and culminating in the Haymarket Bombs of the summer of 1886, which broke the Black International.

The provocation of the ruling class which resulted in the explosions (analogous to the San Francisco bomb cases and the recent Post Office bombs), demonstrate to what lengths the capitalists will go in order to wreck all efforts of the workers to free themselves. *It is impossible to capture the capitalist state for the workers by means of the ballot; this has been demonstrated again and again; and yet when Labor repudiates political action, it is met with fearful violence.* . . .

During this time the Socialist Labor Party had almost disappeared, not emerging until the Henry George Campaign of 1886 in New York, when the Socialists saw their opportunity to arouse the worker-masses to political action once more, the result of which, they thought, would be to win the new movement to Socialism. But the Henry George movement concentrated on Single Tax, and finally repudiated Socialism; so the Socialists threw their strength into the Progressive Labor Party, in New York. All over the country independent Labor Parties sprang up, and for a time the political results were astonishing. These Labor Parties elected no less than ten Congressmen, many legislators, judges, etc. Even in New York State, where the vote was small, the effect upon the legislature was such that a great quantity of labor legislation was enacted.

An attempt was made, in 1887, to combine these scattered parties into one national organization, which was accomplished by the Cincinnati Convention, wherein were included the Knights of Labor, the Farmers' Alliance, Greenbackers, etc. Here was launched the National Union Labor Party; but this turned out to be merely another "deal" with Greenbackism—the farmers (the small property holders) captured the organization, and the Socialists did not support it, nor did the industrial workers vote for it.

In 1888 began anew within the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party the old bitter fight between the Political Actionists and the Trade Unionists. In 1889 the Political Actionists on the National Executive Committee were replaced by Trade Unionists, and the Party placed itself behind the Eight-hour Movement, and promised support to the Unions. A minority of the sections revolted, organized their own machinery and declared for pure political action. This was known as the "Cincinnati Socialist Labor Party"; in 1897 it amalgamated with the Debs-Berger Social-Democracy of America, which was a combination of the political expression of the old American Railway Union, and the Populism of Berger. The new Party immediately plunged into politics.

In the meanwhile the Socialist Labor Party was passing through a rapid evolution in its relations to organized labor. The gradual consolidation of the craft-union, wage-conscious philosophy of the American Federation of Labor finally led to a battle in the old Central Labor Union of New York. The Socialist Labor Party set up an opposition body, the Central Labor Federation, which was refused a charter by the A. F. of L., and finally definitely expelled. Then, under the leadership of Daniel DeLeon, the Socialist Labor Party attempted to capture the Knights of Labor. Using the United Hebrew Trades as his instrument, DeLeon got control of District Assembly 49, and then ousted Powderly as President of the Knights, and elected Sovereign. But Sovereign played him false. Beaten in both of the great labor organizations, DeLeon started his own Socialist Labor Party organization, to compete with the two—the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

Indirectly this was the chief cause of the formation of the Socialist Party. A group in the Social-

ist Labor Party—called the "kangaroos"—were against the policy of combatting the labor organizations from without. They favored the policy of "boring from within." This meant to capture the A. F. of L.—at the time supreme—by working within the Unions to elect officials, and through them to dominate the membership.

In 1889 the "kangaroos" seceded from the Socialist Labor Party, and in 1900 they joined the Social Democracy—the new Party took the name of Socialist Party of America. In the campaign of 1900 the Socialist Party rolled up a vote of almost 90,000, while the Socialist Labor Party's vote dwindled.

With the foundation of the Socialist Party, the history of the Socialist Labor Party, as a movement of the workers at grips with the capitalists on the political field, comes to an end. Henceforth the Socialist Labor Party is identified with the development of a great Socialist theoretician, Daniel DeLeon. The last attempt of the Socialist Labor Party to annex the labor movement occurred in 1905-07, in connection with the I. W. W., and resulted once more in the secession of the S. L. P. and the formation of a rival organization.

In the light of recent history, when the relatively enormous Socialist vote has failed to influence seriously the make-up of capitalist legislature, it will be a surprise to many persons to read of the legislative victories of the small and strife-torn Socialist movements of early days—small as they were in comparison with the huge spread and power of the capitalist system. But capitalism had not yet consolidated its hold on the State; the independent ballot was still a power—although even forty years ago could be discerned the answer of the ruling class to any challenge of its hegemony on the political or industrial field—violence.

The political power of the working class increased slowly; the bourgeois dictatorship of society grew by leaps and bounds; today the citadel of great capitalism is impregnable to all assaults except the mass assault of the united working class.

[To be continued.]

I. W. W. and Bolshevism

(Continued from page 3)

have been profoundly influenced by the Russian Revolution, and that in Italy, for example, they are working hand in hand with the revolutionary Socialists.

If these articles in *One Big Union* are the real expression of the thought of the I. W. W. upon Bolshevism, then the I. W. W. has learned nothing and forgotten nothing. It cannot see any difference between the Bolsheviki and the Scheidemann Socialists. *It will not face the fact that the period of Social Revolution has come, and that the collapse of Capitalism will not wait until the working class is entirely organized according to the I. W. W. chart.*

The final gem of the collection is this:

"Economic reconstruction of society cannot be accomplished by a government trying to order things with a high hand through laws and regulations, but has to be an organic growth from the bottom, through the industrial organization of the workers at the place of work."

If the Fellow-Worker by this time has not discovered the essential characteristic of the Russian Revolution—its economic as well as its political side—namely, that it is "an organic growth from the bottom", then we don't know what to do with him. While the Fellow-worker is criticising the Proletarian Revolution in full swing, from the lofty point of view of an organization professedly not ready for revolution, Russia is tackling "the immense task of organizing the workers industrially, in order to obtain the necessary organs for taking over production." In Russia the workers are taking over production, and *there is no return to the capitalist system of ownership and control, however much of a halt may be necessary in the process.*

We of the Left Wing have learned our lessons from the War and the European Revolutions. We humbly admit our mistakes, and the fallacies inherent in political Socialism. We turn with more and more intense interest toward the industrial field, where the I. W. W. has gained priceless experience in a dramatic labor struggle lasting more than a decade. We are reaching toward you, Fellow-Workers.

But we demand that you, too, shall learn your lessons from events, and cease to repeat formulas which date back to the old world—before the War.

Left Wing Notes

THE Left Wing organization has decided to support the following nominee and asks all revolutionary Socialists to do likewise:
For Executive Secretary of Local New York: Maximilian Cohen.

The entire Michigan State organization has been expelled from the Party by the National Executive Committee, without a hearing, because of the action taken by the last State Convention in repudiating immediate demands in the Party platform.

The Cook County Socialist Party Convention of May 17-18 resulted in a clean sweep for the Left Wing. More than 400 votes out of about 650 secured the adoption of a statement of principles and a program definitely ensuring the revolutionary character of the new Chicago Socialist Party organization. Led by Seymour Stedman, the politicians and Right Wingers bolted the Convention, but carried with them less than 5% of the delegates. This victory is the most important won by the Left Wing so far. Details later.

According to reliable information from Chicago, Left Wing candidates for the National Executive Committee and International Delegates, and national referendums "B" and "D" are winning by an overwhelming majority of votes.

Following is the official count of Local Buffalo on the referendum vote for national officers:

For National Executive Committee:

Louis C. Fraina.....	259
Nicholas Hourwich.....	205
Franklin P. Brill.....	159
Edward I. Lindgren.....	150
Morris Hillquit.....	83

For International Delegate:

Johr Reed.....	307
Louis C. Fraina.....	285
C. E. Ruthenberg.....	271
Louis B. Boudin.....	153
I. E. Ferguson.....	67
Victor L. Berger.....	61

For International Secretary:

Kate Richards O'Hare.....	145
Morris Hillquit.....	80

Notice to All Branches of Locals New York, Kings, Queens, Richmond, Astoria, Bronx

At a meeting of the City Committee held on the 5th day of May it was decided to call a City Convention, and that the basis of representation shall be:

"One delegate for every 50 members in good standing or major fraction thereof; that branches shall elect delegates directly."

You are therefore requested to send out a call for the branches instructing them to elect delegates to the convention on the basis decided by the City committee.

The convention will be held on June 14th and 15th. Place of meeting to be announced later. (See editorial page). The order of business will be as follows:

- Consolidation of Locals into a Greater City Local.
- Taking action on Party Ownership of Press.
- Taking action on the Left Wing.

Taking up the question of the re-organization of branches in Local New York.

Send the names of the delegates elected and the branches they represent to the secretary at the Queens Labor Lyceum, Myrtle and Cypress Avenues, Ridgewood, L. I.

At the last meeting of the Left Wing caucus of the Central Committee, Local Bronx, Benj. Gitlow, H. Bourgin, A. Winick, Dr. Glouberman and Roman Bluegrass were endorsed as the candidates for the City Committee from Local Bronx.

The Yorkville German Branch bought three hundred tickets to the 17th A. D. Branch Left Wing ball; one hundred they put away for mementos, one hundred they tore up, and the remaining hundred they distributed to those who were to go to the ball.

At the meeting of the Central Committee of Local Bronx on Saturday evening, a Right Winger moved to recall all Left Wing delegates to the Executive Committee. Immediately afterward another Right Winger moved the previous question. In the debate, Braunstein and Dr. Friedman stated that the Rights wanted to split the Party immediately. Although the Rights were in a majority at this time, the previous question was defeated. An hour later another previous question motion was defeated. At eleven-thirty a roll-call vote on the motion was taken, which was defeated by 43 Left Wing votes against 34 Right Wing votes.

Help Your Comrades!

At least one hundred workers who participated in the Cleveland May Day Demonstration have been railroaded to prison. So far as the ten, fifteen or thirty days that comrades must serve in the workhouse, those who are outside cannot help them. But we can see to it that not a single man or woman remains in the workhouse to work out the fine and costs which are part of all the sentences.

Under the unjust laws now existing, a man or woman who is poor and cannot pay fine and costs must remain in the workhouse to work out the fine and costs at the rate of sixty cents per day. In other words every sentence which includes a fine of \$25.00 and costs means that the prisoner will have to serve fifty or sixty additional days to work out that part of his or her sentence.

This must not be. The fines must be paid. In addition, the families of some of those who are in prison will be in need before their sentences expire. We must help them. They must not suffer. *Send donations to C. E. Ruthenberg, 1222 Prospect Ave., Cleveland.*

17th A. D. Notes, 1538 Madison Avenue.

Thursday, May 29. Discussion meeting on the Left Wing Manifesto. Topic, "Dictatorship of the Proletariat".

Friday, May 30. Lecture, "The American Kaiser Socialists". Prominent Left Wing speaker. Admission free.

Saturday, May 31. Concert and dance. A professional singer has offered to give her services gratis for the occasion. A violinist and pianist of high standing will help make the affair a success.

In addition to its scheduled activities the 17th A. D. is arranging a class in public speaking under Harry Engles. There will be no charge. Applicants may register with Irving Dolgin at headquarters.

A chorus is being organized. Singers wanted! The Hiking Club is to have its first outing Sunday, June 1st. Watch for announcement.

The Esthonian Branch, Local New York, has received the following letter from the Executive Committee:

Dear Comrade:
 I am instructed to inform you that your branch, the Esthonian Branch, was at the last meeting of the Executive Committee suspended from the Party, and is therefore no longer an integral part of Local New York.

The reason for the suspension is that your branch is officially affiliated with the "Left Wing."

I have notified the National office of the Party of the suspension of your branch, so that they can notify the Federation of the fact that you are no longer a branch of the Party, and not entitled to any rights and privileges in the Party.

Hoping that your branch will see the error, and repudiate the "Left Wing" organization and return to the Party, we are

Yours for the Cause,
 LOCAL NEW YORK, SOCIALIST PARTY,
 EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
 JULIUS GERBER,
Executive Secretary

The following Branches have joined the Left Wing:

4th A. D., Kings; Branch 2, 18th A. D., Kings; German Language Group, Kings; Lithuanian Branch 19, Kings; Lithuanian Branch 82, New York.

MINUTES OF SPECIAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING, MAY 25th 1919.

Manhattan Lyceum.
 Present about 800 members
 Executive Secretary called meeting to order and called for nominations for chairman.
 Comrade Karl Brodeky elected chairman.
 Comrade Ed. Lindgren elected vice-chairman.
 Minutes of previous membership meeting adopted with corrections.
 Minutes City Committee read for action.
 Moved to take up the last City Committee's minutes seriatim; carried.

Pamphlets submitted by Russian Federation accepted.
 Book offered by Martens "Year of Proletarian Dictatorship," accepted.

Matter of meeting group in Brooklyn for conference; concurred with.
 City Committee not to meet them.
 Russian interpreter Askunczic.

Motion made to accept members who filed application cards which Ex. Comm. hadn't acted on as yet; defeated.

Matter of Preliminary Conference at Buffalo.
 Comrade Cohen reported that Brahtin of Cleveland, Fraina of Boston and Hourwich and Cohen of New York participated.

Decided that conference be held in New York on June 21st.

That representation be one delegate for every 500 members or part thereof, and no local shall have more than four.
 Twenty-five dollars per capita tax for each delegate to go to central fund to defray expenses of delegation.

That language federations shall be entitled to one fraternal delegate from Central Executive Committee of that body provided such central body has also accepted Left Wing Manifesto and Program; carried.

Order of business read and accepted with one amendment to wit: That a Committee on Economic Organizations be elected; carried.

On motion it was decided that representation be one delegate for every five hundred or part thereof with no maximum limitation.

In case credentials committee decided otherwise those delegates receiving highest vote are to be seated.

Each language federation shall have one delegate with vote.

Comrade Larkin addressed the meeting and made an appeal for funds.

Total collected in cash \$234.56, besides pledges for several hundred dollars.

An appeal for Zucker Defense Fund, and a collection of \$22.83 was made.

Motion carried that THE COMMUNIST issue an appeal for funds for the striking shoe workers of Brooklyn.

Motion to refer nominations of delegates to National Left Wing Conference back to Locals; defeated.

The following candidates were elected as delegates to the National Left Wing Conference:

Larkin, Wolfe, Reed, Cohen, Lindgren, MacAlpine, Hourwich, Gitlow, Paul, Zucker, Karl Brodsky, Watson. Alternates: Lovestone Hiltzik and Fannie Horovitz.

Delegate to Chicago, Larkin.
 Meeting adjourned.

The Telescope

We understand that on account of the expulsion of numerous Branches from Local New York, receipts from due stamps are coming in very slowly. Simultaneously, *The Socialist* seems to have suspended publication.

The National Executive Committee's Americanization campaign is proceeding side by side with the National Security League's. Every time the Immigration authorities deport a bunch of "alien agitators", the National Executive Committee expels a foreign Branch.

We are waiting with ill-concealed impatience for the Centrists to reply to Comrade Hillquit's bull of excommunication.

It is reported that at the last meeting of the Executive Committee of Local New York, there were so many Branches to expel that the Executive Committee inadvertently expelled itself, and was forced to appeal to the N. E. C. for reinstatement.

At the special meeting of the Call Association the other night it was decided to take a "strong position" against the Left Wing. We suppose that means we will be denounced along with Zapata and Burleson.

An incident of the Cleveland May Day brutalities deserves to be recorded. When the police and gangsters raided Socialist headquarters, they tore down all the pictures from the walls except a portrait of Karl Marx. Asked why they spared that particular picture, one of the thugs replied: "Well, he looked like a respectable old bird. How did we know he wasn't Abraham Lincoln's father, or somebody like that?"

Appeal for Funds for The N. Y. Communist

COMRADES: The Left Wing is in need of funds for the issuance of its paper; we have no dues paying membership and are solely dependent upon the voluntary contributions of comrades for our support. If you think our movement is necessary, if you feel that we must have public expression, you must come to our support. In the present crisis, more than ever before, we must keep in the field, our paper must be published. WE NEED FUNDS.

Tear off and mail to MAXIMILIAN COHEN, 43 WEST 29th STREET, N. Y. C.

I hereby subscribed the sum of _____ each week for the support of THE N. Y. COMMUNIST.

Name _____ Address _____
 Branch _____ Local _____

Capitalism Appeals to God

(From a Swiss Bourgeois Newspaper of Zurich)

Translated by F. Blumer

We publish the article below not because we agree with any of the ideas put forward, but because it illustrates something of the real conditions in Switzerland. The news that filters through the capitalist press from Europe is vague, indefinite and in the main misleading. The situation in Switzerland has received practically no publicity, yet it is obvious from the tone of this article that revolution is imminent.

It is also interesting to note the reactions of the "good" bourgeois to the conditions they have so strenuously supported in the past, now that those conditions are about to bear their logical fruit. They appeal to the workers not to allow their wrath to break before the continued provocations of the capitalist class. They seek refuge in truth, kindness, and nobility now that the workers are rising to power, but they never evoked these virtues on behalf of the millions of the proletariat who have been beaten, starved, degraded and murdered throughout the ages.

In the face of the rising might of the proletariat they cry loudly to the virtues that today echo only as a mockery in the ears of the workers of the world.

THE inner developments of Switzerland have of late reached a stage which are disconcerting to all who are conscious of their responsibility for what is happening and will happen in the future. Those of us who are awake and not blind must be aware of the fact that we are facing civil war. To this fact we must give the widest publicity, so that the catastrophe will not take us by surprise as did the world-war, also expected by many and yet most surprising to all of us. The fear, otherwise justified, of "painting the devil on the wall," shall no longer deter us from shouting, with all the strength of our lungs: "Wake up, all of you, from your long sleep, and ask yourselves whether or not you want civil war!"

If we allow things to go on as they have been going, civil war will come. At present it is the bourgeoisie which unconsciously—and sometimes we regretfully confess consciously—is precipitating the crisis. The incessant repetition of calling the military forces to arms, for no better reason than bourgeois ghost fright; the insistent circulation of fantastic rumors; a reaction whose fierce idiocy reminds us of the most abhorrent past; the incapacity of our still existing system to understand the needs of the hour; the reign of a predatory system in our economic life, which at present, after the termination of the war, still holds prices up at an unattainable height, in spite of large stocks of supplies, just in order to make still more war profits—all these and many other conditions have created a feeling among the workers, of which a great number of us, in our old insolence of power, have no proper conception.

If these people do sense something of the feelings of the masses, they draw wrong conclusions and only intensify these feelings. Correspondingly the feeling of bitterness grows among the workers, and with it the inclination to conquer force with force, which in turn seems to give reaction a moral justification.

A tremendous tension has been created, and a spark will suffice to bring about the terrific explosion of civil war. And it seems that the spark may at any minute fall into this accumulated heap of explosive matter. The workers at this hour do not want a readjustment by violence, and a large section of the bourgeoisie leans towards peaceful settlement; but in the end the accumulated forces do not ask our will, they act according to their own law. You that sleep and you that have been duped, can you not see what is going to happen if present conditions are allowed to continue?

What then must be done? Shall we preach peace and good-will to men in the habitual mediating way? Shall we ask that both sides give up some of their demands in order to make everything well again (as if it had ever been well)?

No, this was never our way. For us it is clear that the gigantic struggle between the old and the new worlds must be fought out. Bad as it may be if this happens in a violent and bloody way, it will be worse if the decision is fearfully avoided. We also expect peace only with the victory of the new world.

The question now is whether blood and fire are necessary to bring about this victory. We think not. The struggle can be fought in another way, if we expect it to bring the greatest amount of welfare and the least amount of misfortune.

But then what must be done?

We think that from the side of the bourgeoisie the following is necessary:

(1) It must give up immediately the dictating policy which it at present uses, and endeavor to come to a loyal, trustful understanding with the Socialist proletariat.

(2) For this purpose it must make immediate political changes, bring new men to the responsible posts. Any delay is a crime.

(3) It must take hurriedly in hand those social reforms which are recognized as necessary, so that the workers may have proof of its serious and honest intentions. No further time must be lost!

(4) Bourgeois who recognize the seriousness of the situation must energetically raise their voices whenever possible to enforce these reforms. All the forces of our people must be concentrated on this one goal. If we can solve this problem in an exemplary way, we will have given great service not only to ourselves but to the world; but if we refuse to solve it we forfeit our moral right to existence, and merely add one more sad spectacle to the many others that the world is witnessing today. Where are the churches, the schools, the political associations? All religious talk, all aspirations of knowledge, all patriotism become a sneer and a lie if before this problem we are unable to raise ourselves to the position where we can act impartially.

As regards the proletariat we think that it can help to solve the problem in the following way:

(1) It ought to try every non-violent possibility and not play with the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and similar violent thoughts—as far as this is not injurious to the necessity of a new form of democracy and freedom.

(2) It ought not to allow itself to be drawn, through provocations from the side of the bourgeoisie, no matter how grave, into anything that does not grow out of the necessity of its own course. Its strength lies in repose.

(3) It ought to formulate a new, simple and popular program of the minimum demands that it has to make and insist upon their immediate

realization, and this without renouncing the struggle to reach the final goal.

(4) It ought not to give up its faith in the ultimate truths it stands for, nor, in spite of all disappointments, the belief in good-will as a basis for meeting those who outwardly belong to the other camp. This good will is actually there, but does not find the means of expression. Help it along.

To both camps we wish to say:

(1) Remember that after a bloody conflict the victor as well as the conquered will be utterly ruined. The struggle once started, will grow tremendously, and the blood-seed once sown will bring harvest after harvest of its hateful curse.

(2) Try to wage the necessary class war differently from the way now being done, not with the weapons of hate, meanness and lies, but in a truthful and chivalrous fashion, considering that a bad struggle will ruin your own cause.

(3) Take a stand at once against the criminal actions of a certain press, and remember that you of the bourgeoisie have also an inflammatory press, and a most evil one. Take a stand against this Hydra or its flaming breath will set our land on fire.

Once more we say that the decisive struggle between the old and new order of things we cannot and will not prevent. But we can and should free it from the forces of Hell. We call upon all of you who are thus capable. We call upon truthfulness, nobility, kindness, understanding, cheerful sacrifice. We shout this with all the strength we have at our disposal, in staggering consciousness of the gravity of the hour. We call in the name of God, who wishes civil war as little as any other war, we call in the name of Christ to whom the bulk of our people are confessed, and who wishes to bring about reconciliation through forces of a higher order.

Anyone reading this is forthwith made responsible. There is no fate that reigns over us. We still can rise towards the summit instead of tumbling down the abyss. Wake up!

Bourgeois Dictatorship in Local N. Y.

(Continued from page 1)

phraseology as "ethically unjustifiable and tactically suicidal." Our Party press, rostrums, and constitution form a new holy trinity for making the mass of membership take "one step forward, two steps backward."

BUTTRERING THE DICTATORSHIP

Now for the third deadly parallel. The capitalist class has many means enabling it to baffle the will of the masses and to thwart their purpose. So has the Party Bureaucracy.

Witness the powerful press, ever watchful of the interests of the Bourgeoisie. This monster makes and unmakes public opinion, wins political campaigns, lynches labor champions, imprisons its class foes, and sends millions to untimely graves. The capitalist educational institutions are no less the expression of capitalist class interests. Science is perverted, philosophy is turned into cracked truth, thousands of highly trained defenders of capitalism are turned out annually from the universities, ignorance among the masses is sanctified, and revolutionary men and movements are banished. So are all other means of shaping and determining the opinions of the masses under complete bourgeois mastery.

The bourgeois dictatorship has full economic power. It owns the land, the homes, and all the means of production and exchange. From on high the bourgeois dictators dole out to the meek laborers their weekly crumbs. The bourgeoisie is steadily growing richer and the proletariat poorer.

To even question the absolute control of military power by the bourgeois dictators is treason. The police, the army, the navy, the state Cossacks, the thugs, the courts and sundry species of justice dispensers most adequately buttress the Bourgeois Dictatorship.

The Party Bureaucracy finds itself no less fortunate. It owns a press which is constantly growing more powerful and influential. This reactionary Socialist press debauches the ideals for which revolutionary comrades have gone to jail, by appealing to the bourgeoisie for money, and by arranging meetings ostensibly to assist their liberation, but in reality to fill its own coffers. This press, controlled by those highest in the councils of the Party Bureaucracy, and at the direct behest of this Socialist bureaucracy, blocks the revolutionary masses in the Party by refusing them public-

ity. Witness *The Call's* attitude toward Left Wing advertisements and towards "re-organized"—rather massacred—branches. This press, obedient to the dictates of the Party Bureaucracy, makes and unmakes the standing of Party members. Ever on guard to prolong the life of the Party Bureaucracy, the privately owned, Jeffersonian-Socialist-Democratic press blinds the comrades as to the nature of the struggles of the revolutionary Socialists in Europe. Recall its attitude toward the Bolsheviks when their success appeared improbable! Remember *The Call's* notorious editorial on the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg by Herr Von Scheidemann, whom the Party Bureaucracy once brought to America to assist their work of stifling revolutionary Socialism here.

The Party's educational institutions are no less the expression of the interest of the Dictatorship of the Bureaucrats. The Rand School, in the main owned and controlled by the Party Bureaucracy, and organized into "an organization within an organization"—the American Socialist Society in the American Socialist Party—teaches, under the name of Socialism, a travesty and a misrepresentation of the principles of scientific Socialism, as expounded by Marx, Engels, Labriola, Dietzen, Lenin, Liebknecht, etc. This same Rand School annually turns out many defenders of the Party Bureaucracy. It spreads petty-bourgeois, pacifist, and hence counter-revolutionary, notions of the class struggle. This "Socialist" school of Social Science does not dare to give non-perverted courses in Marxism, for fear that this would entail inviting comrades not in the good graces of the Party Bureaucracy to be teachers. Thus is ignorance sanctified among the Party rank and file, and so are revolutionary currents shut off from the Party.

The Dictatorship of the Party Bureaucracy has full economic power. The Branch treasurers and lessees are either part and parcel of the Bureaucracy, or at least subject to its dictates. The Party buildings, printing presses, books, due stamps, furniture, and other property are subject to titles and mortgages held by the Socialist Bureaucracy. The Bureaucrats' ownership and control of Party property have been growing greater, and the rank and file's ownership and control of Party property have been growing smaller.

(Continued on page 3).

A Picture of Soviet Russia

By Maxim Litvinov

[Extracts from two letters on the situation in Russia, addressed by M. Litvinov, former Russian Plenipotentiary in London, to an American correspondent at the end of January and the middle of December last. The January letter is printed first.

These letters are printed because, although several months old, they give a picture of Soviet Russia which makes impossible the conditions described by this week's news dispatches.]

SINCE my last letter a good deal has changed. The authority of the Soviets has extended in every direction. The Lettish Communists have firmly established themselves in Finland, the Lithuanian Communists have occupied the greater part of Lithuania, and the Ukrainian Communists have captured almost all the big towns with the exception of Kiev, such as Kharkov, Poltava, Ekaterinoslav, Tchernigov, etc. The Petlurians are important and may sell themselves at any moment to the Entente, just as they previously sold themselves to Germany. The Estonians alone have had bad luck. They did not possess sufficient forces to retain the districts which they had recaptured, while the Russian Soviets refrained from sending troops there in order not to provoke Finland to war. Measures, however, have been taken to prevent the Estonian and Finnish White Guards from proceeding beyond the present front. In the East, after the capture of Orenburg and Ufa, we are expecting the fall of Zlatoust. The defeat at Perm, which has been so much exaggerated abroad, was scarcely noticed in Russia. There, as in Fothome, it was a case of treachery on the part of the commanders. In the South, General Krasnov is idling his time away. In Siberia the workers and peasants do not cease to rebel.

The committee of the Constituent Assembly proposed to the Soviet Government an alliance for joint action against Kolchak. Tchernov, who had fled from Kolchak to Ufa, has received permission to return to Moscow. The Mensheviki, too, have re-emerged, but continue to chant their dirges. A new conspiracy of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries has been detected, but it is of a local character. Lenin is trying to unite all the Socialist parties which recognize the Soviet regime, but down below, among the masses, the Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries inspire great distrust.

The army continues to grow, and in a couple of months will amount to several millions.

Thanks to imports from Ukraine, the food situation at Moscow has lost its acuteness, but there is little fuel, and the people are suffering exceedingly from cold. At Petrograd even the food situation is bad. The reports about disturbances are lies.

The Allied blockade is condemning the country to starvation and cold. The Scandinavian countries have broken with us very unwillingly, yielding to the pressure of the Allies who presented them with an ultimatum. Owing to this rupture, we are unable to import from Denmark vegetable seeds to the amount of 40,000,000 roubles which we had bought there and paid for in cash. We cannot import agricultural implements and machines from Sweden; and the British have forbidden them to export even paper to Russia. A large quantity of flax bought by the Swedes in Russia and conveyed from Petrograd in Russian bottoms was seized by the British at Reval and taken to British ports. We are being strangled and deprived of the possibility of bettering the internal conditions, and yet it is we who are made responsible for the consequences. Neutral countries are being forced to boycott us, and then the fact is used as proof of our wickedness.

The decisive factors in the situation at present are: (1) the complete collapse of the counter-revolution and the disappearance of opposition inside the country, and (2) the formation of a large, efficient, and well-disciplined new army. Whatever view one may take of the activity of the Extraordinary Commissions (for Fighting the Counter-Revolution, Speculation, and Sabotage), they are entitled to the credit of having succeeded, within a short time, in clearing Russia of all the most active counter-revolutionary and conspiring elements. This has been achieved not so much by physical extermination, as by the intimidation of the bourgeoisie. The capitalists, monarchists, and Social-Revolutionaries of the Right, choosing the better part of valor, have, for the most part, sought safety in flight, choosing the Ukraine, Finland, and foreign countries as the fields for their intrigues. In Russia itself, apart from small riots which sporadically break out in isolated villages in connection with the mobilization, or under the influence of the agitation of reactionaries from outside, there have of late been no conspiracies and no rebellions. These have been speedily and peaceably coped with for the most part. The most important revolt during the last three months was the action of some 500 sailors in Petrograd, but that bore more the charac-

ter of a protest demonstration. The ring-leaders were shot at the instance of the demonstrators themselves.

The Left Socialist Revolutionaries who, up to the time of the German Revolution, had been indulging in lachrymose complaints about the "Brest noose," have now calmed down and for the most part fused with the Communist party in virtue of a decision of their central committee. The Menshevik Central Committee is appealing for the support of the Soviet Government and for a fight against the counter-revolution, though it repeats, to save appearances, the helpless twaddle about the Constituent Assembly. Even the Jewish Bund is, individually and collectively, migrating into our camp. Of the Internationalists and the "Novaya Zhizn" group scarcely anything need be said. They have for a long time past been working conscientiously in Soviet institutions. Gorky and Andreyeva (his wife) have unreservedly joined us, confining their criticisms to the little details of the big machine.

As for the villagers, their frame of mind is best illustrated by the recent congress of the Poverty Committees of the Union of Northern Communes, which was attended, beyond expectation, by no fewer than 16,000 delegates. A suggestion to form a model regiment of 4,000 from among the members of the congress was met by the immediate offer to enroll on the part of 6,000 delegates. Altogether, the formation of the Poverty Committees in the villages has proved a successful measure. These committees are waging a successful battle with the village vultures and the rich who had contrived to entrench themselves in the village Soviets of the old type. But the rich peasants, too, are hostile, not so much to the Soviet Government as to the collection of taxes.

Mobilization is proceeding almost everywhere pretty successfully. The peasants gather at the various centres without any compulsion whatsoever. The idea of the necessity of actively protecting the People's Government is striking deep roots.

The food supply has greatly improved, but is still defective, partly on account of the difficulties of transport, but also in part owing to the dishonesty of the above-mentioned elements. Bread, however, is supplied to the towns pretty regularly, while other articles of consumption, such as tea, sugar, butter, etc., are distributed only now and then, when sufficient quantities reach the towns. In the corn-growing provinces, the number of which has of late considerably increased, thanks to the clearing-out of the Czecho-Slovaks from the Volga, the peasants supply the elevators with sufficient quantities of grain, but the further transport to the capitals still leaves much to be desired. Illicit self-provisioning has been suppressed, yet the rich bourgeoisie still contrives to obtain absolutely everything for money. All the restaurants have been closed, and in their place public kitchens have been opened where the population can get coupon dinners, far from luxurious and not always satisfying. Their number is still insufficient, and queues, unfortunately, are not of rare occurrence. The shops, too, are almost all closed or nationalized, and all articles, as well as foodstuffs, are distributed by the food committees among the district centres, whence they are delivered to the house committees. Prices are fixed for everything, and are, comparatively speaking, not high. Bread, for instance, is sold at Moscow at 60 kopecks (1s. 3d. at pre-war rates) a pound, while the bourgeoisie pays, by buying from illegal traders, 10 roubles (£1 at pre-war rates) a pound. The same ratio between the fixed and free prices holds good in the case of all other articles.

In all, the Commissariats' constructive work is being carried on feverishly, but naturally the practical administration is considerably behind the leg-

islation. Perfect public order reigns in both capitals, and all reports of brigandage and murder in the streets are absolute fabrications. In Moscow the streets are full of people up to midnight. Not only the common inhabitants, but also the People's Commissars go about in the night without any escort and without fear of attack.

Moscow is absolutely calm. In the processions in connection with the celebration of the Bolshevik Revolution almost the entire population took part. Even the bourgeoisie exhibits no sign of hostility or mischief-making. If it had not been for the secret hopes of the overthrow of the Soviets by the Allied armies, the bourgeoisie would have already reconciled itself to the new regime, and would have adapted itself to it. What is causing complaints is not the regime itself, but the corruption of individual officials, of which I spoke before. This, indeed, is our chief evil at present. It is the legacy of the Tsar's regime, intensified by the war and the increased cost of living caused by it. As such, it is no longer a specific Russian evil, but is well-nigh international, being rife in all countries of Western Europe, especially in Germany. Of course, this and other defects of the new regime can and will be eliminated, and, in spite of the gigantic difficulties in their way, the Soviets have, in the course of twelve months, carried out constructive work of colossal dimensions. The activity of the Commissariat of Public Instruction is evoking the admiration even of the bourgeoisie, more particularly the provision of hot breakfast for all children in the schools. The theatres are working as before, and even the former Court actors and actresses have remained at their posts, being highly satisfied with the large measure of autonomy granted to them.

Factories can only be restarted according as raw material and fuel become available. The economic reconstruction is hampered, to a large extent, by the militarization of the country. Having created a large army and carrying on a war at so many fronts, we are obliged, in a measure, to restore to its place of honor the old principle, "Everything for the war." Instead of using the available rolling stock for the conveyance of raw material and foodstuffs, we are obliged to employ it for the transport of troops, food, and war material to the fronts. If you add to this the severe blockade by the Allies, who do not allow even neutral countries to supply us with the means of production, which they are prepared to exchange for our surplus stock of raw material, you will understand that it is not the weakness of the Soviet regime, but our desire to restore healthy economic conditions in Russia, which has prompted our offer of peace to the Allies . . .

We are going to repeat it once again, and, if it is refused, there will be nothing left for us to do but throw upon the Allied Governments the responsibility for the colossal bloodshed and the devastation of Russia which will inevitably result from their further intervention. Knowing as I do the feeling of the masses, I can confidently predict that in case the Allies or the White Guards supported by them should attempt to advance against Central Russia, they will not find any bourgeoisie left there; it will be exterminated to a man. Even now the Government finds it very difficult to restrain the popular wrath against the foreign and native bourgeoisie—the wrath caused by the rupture of diplomatic relations by the neutral Powers, which have decided on this step mainly under the pressure of the Allied ultimata. However, the Soviet regime places its chief hope upon the working class in the Allied countries, which, it expects, will ultimately realize the real aims and objects of the intervention, which has now lost its former pretext of fighting the Germans. . . .

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The Geneology of Right-Wingism

By John Everett

"MODERATE SOCIALISM"—Menshevism—Right Wingism—is the bastard off-spring of the *Communist Manifesto* and the Darwinian Theory.

The "moderate" or "constructive" Socialist has for half a century advocated a type of social evolution which shall slowly, and in an orderly manner, transform Capitalism into the Socialist Commonwealth by slow and almost imperceptible degrees. Basing their argument upon the proposition that Socialism is inevitable, and that in modern "democratic" states social change must be accomplished through the parliamentary system, the "moderate" Socialist arrives at the fascinating conclusion that all we have to do is to keep on passing laws—cunningly framed, of course, by Socialist politicians—that will, little by little, whittle away the capitalist system until it finally disappears beneath a mountain of statutes, constitutional amendments, city ordinances, and all the other by-products of the bourgeois "democratic" state.

In accordance with this program, the Right Wingers have created all that imposing array of "immediate demands" and "transitional programs," which call for laws establishing Unemployment Insurance, Accident, Death and Sickness Insurance, the Eight Hour Day, Abolition of Child Labor, Decrease of Armaments and—incongruously enough—Repudiation of National Debts!

These, of course, are not Socialist demands. They are petit bourgeois reforms. They enlist the active support of small property owners, little tradesmen, government employees, and adventurous professional men, the latter consisting largely of lawyers. During the last ten years, the old-line capitalist parties have seized upon many of these "Socialist" demands and planks in the "transitional programs," and put them into more or less effective operation.

In face of this, the "constructive Socialist" proudly insists that the capitalist class is digging its own grave, and that the "stealing" of "Socialist" demands by the capitalist parties demonstrates the truth of the proposition that social evolution must proceed upon moderate and constructive lines.

The "intellectuals" among the "moderates" appeal, among other things, to biology to support their theories; they quote Darwin's "Origin of Species" in proof that they are right.

The history of that book is extremely significant. It was first published in 1859, and shortly afterward was welcomed by the bourgeoisie of the world with great enthusiasm.

Only the dogmas of orthodox religion stood in

the way; but astute ministers of the Church quickly accommodated the story of the Creation of Darwinism, by explaining that the Bible really did not mean what it said, but quite the contrary.

At that time capitalism had just triumphed. It had secured almost undisputed control of the State, it was in its competitive heaven of adulteration and exploitation, its income from domestic and foreign markets was piling up fabulous wealth, and "everything was for the best in the best of all possible worlds." It was very much to the bourgeois interest that *no violent convulsion should upset credit or impede the normal flow of industrial production*. At the same time, the victors in the competitive struggle naturally dominated in industry, politics and social life, and having won "success" through competition, believed very earnestly in the virtue of competition and its corollary, Laissez Faire. It was the zenith of the Manchester School.

Darwin showed that the most intense struggle for survival runs through all forms of life—that struggle is the fundamental law of all life forms. And he showed that out of the struggle for existence, mercilessly waged in a "nature red in tooth and claw with ravin," had emerged types and species which had survived by reason of their fitness alone.

Coincident with this, he showed that the development of species from a common ancestry had been an infinitely long process, achieved by the unceasing accumulation of minute advantages inherited and developed by countless generations. And, looking over a world plunged in the misery of relentless competition for mere survival, he sighed from a great heart over the prospect of its endless continuation, with all its sufferings and triumphs.

Could any philosophy fit more completely the requirements of a system of exploitation and competition more merciless than any which ever plagued mankind? Could any philosophy so happily justify the horrors of the capitalist system? Above all, here was scientific justification of the desire of the property-owning class for a stable social system, free from those revolutionary movements which so sadly upset the very basis of capitalist production and profit!

Capitalism and Darwinism went hand in hand. They were the moulders of social thought. Only a few magnificently independent thinkers, like Marx, Bakunin, Kropotkin, could break the mould, and run into new and freer forms.

In this social mould, then, lie the foundations of "moderate, constructive Socialism"—the creed which dominated the Second International in 1914,

and collapsed at the first beat of the war drums—the "Socialism" so admirably represented by Krensky in Russia, Ebert and Scheidemann in Germany, busy butchering the proletariat in the interests of international capitalism; and by the Right Wing in America.

As a matter of fact, the "moderate Socialist" had long before the war ceased to be a Socialist. He was a fool, deluded by half-baked economic theories, by an antiquated school of biology; he rushed headlong, not into the Socialist Commonwealth, but into the impossible servility of State Capitalism.

To this day, as he wanders uncertainly among the ruins of capitalism, the "Socialist intellectual" has not discovered that biological science has completely abandoned the Darwinian idea of the evolution of species by slow and age-long processes, as being not in conformity with observed facts. The "moderate Socialist" has not kept pace with the development of biology. He does not know the cataclysmic theories demonstrated by the modern biologists such as Mendel, De Vries, and others. These observers have discovered that sometimes species are produced almost overnight. Others have shown that for the survival of large numbers of species, the factor of "mutual aid" is as important as is individual victory for other forms of life in the cruder forms of the struggle for existence. In brief, the "evolutionary" theory of Darwin has been profoundly modified by the "cataclysmic" factor. The discovery of the nature of protoplasm by Dr. MacDougal, announced on April 28th in the *New York Times*, with its corollary of the possibility of creating new species from the ovaries of plants by the injection of certain chemicals, completely destroys the time-factor in the Darwinian theory of organic evolution.

It is significant of the utter break-down of the "constructive intellectual Socialist" school of thought, that the "cataclysmic" theory in biology and chemistry was developed at about the same time that European Labor Movement began to break away from the leadership of the "orderly evolutionists," and resort to drastic forms of direct action under the stimulus of syndicalism, industrialism, and other cataclysmic methods of social progress.

The bankruptcy of the "orderly evolutionary" philosophy of Darwinism today is no less complete than the bankruptcy of "orderly evolutionary" Socialism, confronted with the living fact of the Social Cataclysm.

Bourgeois Dictatorship in Local N. Y.

(Continued from page 6)

In their fight to stem the tidal wave of the Left Wing, the Socialist-Bourgeois dictators have not hesitated to use police and thug power. Remember that the removal of furniture in the 17th A. D. succeeded under police supervision summoned by the Honorable Alderman Calman. Remember that the last official meeting of Local New York's Central Committee was adorned with the assistance of a Police Captain. Remember that a Murmansk Victory Arch Alderman hit a Left Wing spokesman at a Central Committee meeting! The Socialist Bureaucracy, exploits its control of the Party judicial power most brutally. Workers who show thorough class-consciousness are not permitted to join the Party, and reactionaries are rushed in. Vicious, unfounded charges are preferred against Left Wing spokesmen, and the stage is set for rendering them "swift" justice. The dictatorship of the Socialist-Bourgeoisie through its control of the Party courts, ruthlessly sabotages all efforts of the rank and file to discipline and bring justice to the Right Wing officials, Congressmen, and Aldermen for their utter disregard and continuous violation of Party rules and principles.

SOCIALIST PARTY AND BOURGEOIS SOCIETY.

Comrades! "The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and use it for its own purposes." The bourgeois dictatorship, whether it be cossack or republican, can't be altered by our most sincere desires. The bureaucratic, arbitrary, geographic nature of the State must be discarded. The right to determine the form and nature of society must be the right only of those who do socially necessary work. Not the amount of wealth amassed, but the degree of social usefulness is to be the criterion of social standing in the Communist Society!

Comrades! The Socialist Party as at present organized and managed, can't over-night become a revolutionary Party. The dictatorship of the Socialist-Bourgeoisie cannot be destroyed by means of

the most vociferous resolutioning. The arbitrary, bureaucratic, legal technique of our Party constitution must be discarded. The amount of wealth and the social position attained in capitalist society are no longer to be criteria of Party standing. A real Socialist Party's aim will be the spreading of revolutionary propaganda, and not the mere holding of office in bourgeois legislatures. The reborn Socialist Party must base its tactics on science, and not on twentieth century Utopian-pacifist humanitarianism. Our members must all be trained in the principles of scientific Socialism. Education must supplant fantasy. The class basis must be our only basis in our attitude and policy toward all problems of capitalism.

THE TASK BEFORE US.

Comrades! The Revolution will never come through the good graces of the High Magistrates of capitalism! Nor will Communism be attained through worshipping the fetish of a political majority with capitalism intact! The Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie will never be undermined by parliamentary victories! The class struggle will never be won in the temples of Bourgeois Justice! Only revolutionary mass action organized into a Proletarian Dictatorship can sweep away the Bourgeois tyranny and inaugurate Communism! The Bourgeoisie must be expropriated. The capitalist must be ousted from power. All counter-revolutionary efforts of the Bourgeoisie must be ruthlessly suppressed. Sabotage of industry by Bourgeois leaders must be crushed at all cost. To lighten all this pain of the transition period between capitalism and Communism, the Proletarian Dictatorship must be set up.

Yes. Thus only will the workers learn to control industry and production and to manage the affairs of society. The victory of the proletariat will be attained through a world-wide federation of Soviets!

Comrades! The Socialist Party of A will

never become a proletarian organization through the good graces of the high bureaucrats of the Right Wing. Nor will the lessons of the Bolshevik and Spartacan Revolutions be learned by the American working class as long as the ownership and control of the Socialist Party by the Right Wing Bureaucrats remains intact. The Dictatorship of the Socialist Party Bourgeoisie will never be undermined by useless resolutioning, and purposeless, indefinite discussion. The struggle of the mass of the membership against the Socialist Party Bureaucracy will never be won in the domains of Party legal technique. Only revolutionary mass effort galvanized into a Left Wing organization can sweep away the tyranny of the Right Wing Bureaucracy and bring to birth an uncompromising Socialist Party, worthy of union with the Bolsheviks and Spartacans. The Socialist Bureaucracy must be uprooted. The Right Wing terrorists must be ousted from Party control. All attempts of the Right Wing directors to hinder the realization of the will of the mass of membership must be decisively defeated. Sabotage of Party life by the Right Wing chiefs must be stopped at all cost. In the transition period between petty-bourgeois and Communist policies and tactics, many pernicious influences and perilous situations will be encountered. To overcome all these difficulties, the Left Wing organization must be built and supported.

Thus only will the rank and file learn to control and manage the affairs of the Socialist Party. The victory of the revolutionary elements of the Socialist Party, i. e., of the Left Wing, will be attained only through the systematically united efforts of uncompromising Socialists the country over.

Left Wing Speakers, Attention!

The outdoor speaking season is upon us. Many branches will hold open air meetings, and requests for speakers are so numerous that we cannot supply the demand. We urge all those who are capable of speaking to send in their names and addresses to the secretary, 43 W. 29th St., and state what dates they are willing to give.