

since Russia was economically an undeveloped country, it was premature to make a proletarian revolution in Russia and historically impossible to realize Socialism.

Moderate Socialism in Germany also acted against the proletarian revolution. It offered a capitalist parliamentary republic as against proletarian dictatorship.

The issue in Germany could not be obscured. Germany was a fully developed nation industrially, its economic conditions were mature for the introduction of Socialism. But Moderate Socialists still rejected the revolutionary task.

There is a common policy that characterizes moderate Socialism; that is, its conception of the state. Out of the conception that the bourgeois parliamentary state is the basis for the introduction of Socialism developed a directly counter-revolutionary policy.

Communism rejects this conception of the state. It rejects the idea of class reconciliation and the parliamentary conquest of Capitalism. The Communist Party alone is capable of mobilizing the proletariat for the revolutionary mass struggle to conquer the power of the state. The Communist Party, realizes that it is necessary to develop separate organs of working class political power by means of which to crush the resistance of Capitalism and establish the Communist Commonwealth.

#### AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

Socialism in the United States, prior to the appearance of the Socialist Labor Party, was a movement of isolated and indefinite protest. It was the sport of middle class movements, while itself split by Socialist and Anarchist factions.

The Socialist Labor Party, after casting off the non-Socialist elements, developed as a consistent party of revolutionary Socialism. Particularly, the S. L. P. realized the importance of imparting a Socialist character and consciousness to the unions. The Socialist Labor Party, together with the experience of the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union, developed the theory and practice of Industrial Unionism.

The struggle of the Socialist Labor Party against the old unionism developed a secession from the party of elements who considered protecting the reactionary A. F. of L., Federation of Labor more important than revolutionary Socialism. These, together with bourgeois and agrarian radicals, organized the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party was a party of Moderate Socialism. Its policy was that of government ownership of industry, not the proletarian conquest of power. It maintained that the middle class and the lesser capitalists are necessary in the Socialist struggle against Capitalism. The Socialist Party asserted in substance: Socialism is a struggle of all the people against the trusts, making the realization of Socialism depend upon the "unity of the common people", the workers, the small capitalists and investors, the professions. In short the official policy of the Socialist Party was to attain Socialism by means of capitalist democracy.

The Socialist Party stultified proletarian political action by limiting it to elections and participation in legislative reform activity. The party favored reactionary trades unionism as against revolutionary industrial unionism.

The Socialist Labor Party developed a purely theoretical activity, of real value, but was isolated from the masses. The Socialist Party attained a considerable membership, but largely of a petty bourgeois character. The war brought in new industrial proletarian elements but the party still isolated itself from revolutionary theory and practice. The proletarian masses in the

Socialist Party required simply the opportunity to develop a revolutionary proletarian policy.

The Socialist Party under the impulse of its proletarian membership adopted a militant declaration against the war. But the officials of the party sabotaged this declaration. The "official" policy of the party on the war was that of liberal pacifism. The Party bureaucracy united with the People's Council which propagandized a Wilson peace. The 1918 party platform accepted the Wilson "fourteen points" as adopted by the pro-war Interallied Labor and Socialist Conference.

The war and the proletarian revolution in Russia sharpened the antagonism between the party policy and the revolutionary proletarian temper in the party. Revolt broke loose. The Socialist Party was crushed. The Communist Party is the response to this revolt and to the call of the Communist International.

#### COMMUNIST PARTY PROBLEMS.

The United States is now a world power. It is developing a centralized, autocratic federal government, acquiring financial and military reserves for aggression and wars of conquest. Imperialism now consciously dominates the national policy.

The war strengthened American Capitalism, instead of weakening it as in Europe. But the collapse of Capitalism in other countries will play upon and affect events in this country. Feverishly, American capitalism is developing a brutal campaign of terrorism. It is utterly incompetent on the problems of reconstruction that press down upon society. Its "reconstruction" program aims simply to develop power for aggression and plunder in the markets of the world. While this is not the moment of actual revolution, it is a moment of struggles pregnant with revolution.

Strikes are developing, verging on revolutionary action, and in which the suggestion of proletarian dictatorship is apparent. The striker-workers try to usurp functions of industry and of government, as in the Seattle and Winnipeg general strikes.

A minor phase of proletarian unrest is the trade unions organizing a Labor Party, in an effort to conserve what they have secured as a privileged caste. A Labor Party is not the instrument of aggressive working class struggle; it can not break the power of the capitalists and the profit-system of oppression and misery, since it accepts private property and the "rights of capital." The practice of a Labor Party is in general the practice of the Socialist Party — co-operation with bourgeois "progressives" and reforming Capitalism on the basis of the capitalist parliamentary state. Laborism is as much a danger to the proletariat as moderate petty bourgeois Socialism, — the two being expressions of an identical social tendency and policy. There can be no compromise either with Laborism or reactionary Socialism.

But there is a more vital tendency, the tendency of the workers to start mass strikes, — strikes which are equally a revolt against the bureaucracy of the unions and the capitalists. The Communist Party will endeavor to broaden and deepen these strikes making them general and militant, developing the general political strike.

The Communist Party of its action the mass struggles of the proletariat, engaging directly in these struggles and emphasizing their revolutionary implications.

#### POLITICAL ACTION.

The proletarian class struggle is essentially a political struggle. It is a political strug-

ge in the sense that its objective is political, — overthrow of the political organization upon which capitalist exploitation depends, and the introduction of a proletarian state power. The objective is the conquest by the proletariat of the power of the state.

Communism does not propose to "capture" the bourgeois parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it. As long as the bourgeois state prevails, the capitalist class can baffle the will of the proletariat.

In those countries in which historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against Capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a workers' revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. The use of parliamentarism, however, is only of secondary importance.

But within this process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the capitalist class has at its command in order to gain its end, all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of working class rule, multiplied by the wonders of capitalist technique — lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery. To the demand of the Proletariat that it shall be content to yield itself to the artificial rules devised by its mortal enemy but not observed by the enemy it to make a mockery of the proletarian struggle for power, a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of working class power.

The parliamentarism of the Communist Party performs a service in mobilizing the proletariat against Capitalism, emphasizing the political character of the class struggle.

The conquest of the power of the state is accomplished by the mass power of the proletariat. Political mass strikes are a vital factor in developing this mass power, preparing the working class for the conquest of Capitalism. The power of the proletariat lies fundamentally in its control of the industrial process. The mobilizing of this control against capitalism means the initial form of the revolutionary mass action that will conquer the power of the state.

#### UNIONISM AND MASS ACTION.

The older unionism was based on the craft divisions of small industry. The unions consisted primarily of skilled workers, whose skill is itself a form of property. The unions were not organs of the militant class struggle. Today the dominant unionism is actually a bulwark of Capitalism, merging in Imperialism and accepting State Capitalism.

The concentration of industry and the development of the machine process expropriated large numbers of the skilled workers of their skill; but the unions still maintained the ideology of property contract and caste. Deprived of actual power, by the ineffectiveness of its localized strikes as against large scale industry, trades unionism resorts to dickers with the bourgeois state and accepts imperialistic State Capitalism to maintain its privileges as against the unskilled industrial proletariat.

The concentration of industry produces the industrial proletariat — the machine workers. This proletariat, massed in the basic industry, constitutes the militant basis of the class struggle. Deprived of skill and craft divisions, the old petty isolated strike is useless to these workers.

These facts of industrial concentration developed the concept of industrial unionism among the organized workers, and mass action among the unorganized.

Mass action is the proletarian response to the facts of modern industry, and the forms it imposes upon the proletarian class struggle. Mass action develops as the spontaneous