

the police tried feebly to disperse the meeting one of us yelled out "Shakai-shugi Banzai!" (Long Live Socialism). Then the whole audience joined the cry spontaneously in one voice, throwing hands and hats into the air. The noise was tremendous and the police stood abashed for a time not knowing what to do. Hearing "Banzai" within the crowd outside joined in it and the noisy demonstration lasted fully an hour. It was indeed a victorious moment and I felt that my time to come out into the open had come!

On the tenth of December 1920 they met to celebrate the founding of the party. The meeting was suppressed which seems to have driven the movement underground. Of course the work will be slow but the members will come in in spite of all. Thus the illegal party will grow steadily as the oppression becomes severer and stricter than ever. It is already reported that the Tokio Government has increased the city police force from 7600 to 9270. Besides the gendarmes are enormously increased in number so that they can co-operate with the police beyond their regular duty of policing soldiers and ferreting out suspicious civilians. But our comrades are not idle. They have been organizing secretly. As they are not accustomed to underground work it seems that could not entirely conceal the traces of their meetings and meeting-places. The first meeting was held at a swell club in Tokio and the third meeting at the university graduates society where only graduates or friends of graduates are permitted to enter. Evidently many university graduates are participants of the secret meetings. This shows that our comrades now are developing many sides to the movement. It is reported that among those who met at the above-named society there were seventeen Japanese comrades, four Koreans, three Chinese and one from Formosa, altogether eleven foreigners. Most of the Koreans are extremists. The police have given out a rumor that the fourth meeting will be held at an

unknown place and that among those to be present will be Indians as well. One of the plans, as announced by the police, is the formation of an Asiatic Socialist Federation with headquarters either in China or Siberia, where freedom of speech and assembly are tolerated. We cannot mention names in order not to endanger the work of world-wide propaganda. But there are many comrades entirely unsuspected who are carrying on the work of organizing the Japanese proletariat and the Communist Party.

An editor of the Oriental Economist wrote me from Kamakura, near Tokio, on November 10th, on present-day conditions in Japan:

"The world situation is such that there must come a fundamental reconstruction. It is the only way to make the world worthwhile to work and live in. Japan too is at an impasse on all sides,—political, economic, social and religious, etc. A feeling of intense anxiety for the future is evident in all circles high and low in every sphere of society. Only the lack of power prevents the new ideas from cutting through this impasse. But this is only temporary. The world-wide revolutionary waves dashed and are dashing upon Japan. There is a popular suffrage movement but the popular sentiment of the masses goes beyond that movement and is beginning to demand a more radical solution than universal suffrage. If the ruling classes should realize the gravity of the situation and grant universal suffrage the present unsatisfactory condition may be prolonged for a little time: but judging from the reactionary policies of the Japanese Government we think that the future of Japan will never be peaceful again."

The above is a private communication but it was written in a country where sealed letters and communication between individuals are subject to the prying eyes of the authorities. We can read between the lines and understand that Japan of the present is ripe for the social revolution.

movement of all countries into the straight-jacket of the Russian formula of the class struggle is unsound in principle and unworkable in practice. It tends to disrupt the movement rather than unify it, to paralyze its actions rather than to stimulate."

"Unsound in practice!" Since when did Marxism expressing the principle that "the State can be nothing else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat", since when did it become unsound in principle? It is unsound in principle of your bourgeois servitude!

"Unworkable in practice!" Oh, Marx, to what depths your "student" has descended!

Not only does revolutionary Marxism tend to disrupt your counter-revolutionary movement but it has disrupted it already. What is left is a group of opportunists, renegades, counter-revolutionists and conscious agent provocateurs.

Not only does revolutionary Marxism, as expressed by the Comm. Intern. tend to paralyze your probourgeois actions, but it has already done so.

Instead of your disrupted, paralyzed movement—there is a highly centralized, unified, organic movement in the U. S.—the Comm. Party of America, which has unfurled the banner of the 3rd International, the living banner of Marxism!

"Again the Moscow International?"

Yes, Mr. Renegade, again and again—until the workers of America with their millstone mass action, will have converted you, your friends and bourgeois masters into meaningless dust, and by means of its iron broom—the dictatorship of the proletariat—has swept your whole gang into the same dust hole, as did our Russian comrades—the Bolsheviks.

## "Again The Moscow International"

Under the above title appeared two articles in the Nov. 15-16 issues of the N. Y. "Call"—organ of the Socialist (read Menshevik) Party of America. The article in question were written by (Menshevik) Hillquit.

What Hillquit is opposed to, among other things is the "imposition" by the Comm. International "upon the Socialist movement of the whole world the specific formula of the Russian Revolution—the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat!"

Instead of coming out openly with the statement that he is opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat—thus completely abjuring Marxism—instead of it, he is opposed to the same thing, which he calls "the specific formula of the Russian Revolution."

"There lies"—wrote Marx in 1875 in a private letter—"there lies between the capitalist and communist a society a period of revolutionary transformation of one into the other. This period has a corresponding political period of transition, during which the State can be nothing else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

Observe the continuity of the same idea, expressed by Lenin: "The White Guard of the bourgeois cannibals is indescribable. The victims of the working class are uncountable. Its best—Liebknecht and Luxemburg—it has lost."

The proletariat must suppress this at all costs! The Communist International calls the whole world proletariat to this fight of weapons against weapons! Fight against might!

"Down with the imperialist course of capitalism!"

"Success to the International Republic of Proletarian Councils."

Hillquit the "Marxist" no doubt will object to these Marxian statements, for he objects to a like statement expressed by the Exe. Comm. of the Comm. Intern., which he quotes and which reads as follows:

"Armed insurrection, the conquest of power, the establishment of a military dictatorship, the organization of a Soviet government—these are the only means through which the proletariat can change the present situation in Europe and in the whole world!"

Instead of the above revolutionary Marxian statement, Hillquit writes: "It is quite conceivable (to the bourgeois spongy Hillquit) that the Socialist revolution may assume different political forms in the different countries, not excluding even that of a simple majority rule of the working class functioning in a political democracy through the medium of some modified forms of a parliamentary regime."

What arrant nonsense! What a complete bourgeois servitude to substitute the Marxian idea that during the transitional period "the State can be nothing else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat"—to substitute it for a few Kautskian phrases about "majority rule" functioning in some form of a "political democracy", etc.!

The American sage may attempt to prove

his counter revolutionary conception by quoting Marx when he said in 1872:

"but we do not assert that the way to reach the goal is the same everywhere

"We know that the institutions, the manners and customs of the various countries must be considered, and we do not deny that there are countries like England and America, and, if I understood your arrangements better, I might even add, Holland, where the worker may obtain his object by peaceful means. But not in all countries is this the case."

Are conditions in America, Mr. Hillquit, in this year 1920 the same as those spoken of by Marx in 1872? "They are not." Right you are! But if conditions now are not the same as they have been then, why do keep on chewing the cud of the 1872 materialistic concept of history?

You are doing it for the reason that it serves your bourgeois-legalistic notions of 1920! In doing it you have renounced Marxism, severed your relations with the workers and gone over to the camp of the bourgeoisie.

This renegade, Hillquit; this betrayer of the workers; this negator of revolution is brazen enough to say that the "Socialists in every country are the best judges of the conditions and requirements of the class struggle in their country."

Imagine, if you can, Hillquit who said during the Albany trial: "The mass action we have in view is the legal organized action of large masses of the community." The Socialist Party of the U. S., has always consistently rejected the idea of a general strike for political purposes.\* It—the Moscow Intern.—means the foundation of a modern Intern. organization of Socialism, but with no greater powers than the old International possessed"—Imagine if you can this scoundrel as being one of the best judges of conditions and requirements of the class struggle in the U. S.!

Picture to yourself, if you will, Berger, who openly repudiated Marxism, as being another one of the best judges of conditions and requirements of the class struggle in the U. S.!

Think of it, if you will, a third one of the best judges of conditions and requirements of the class struggle in the U. S. to be the bourgeois darling—Stedman, who said in open court with reference to some communists: "they advocate the use of direct or mass action, as the primary or principal means of securing a change of destroying the 'Capitalist system' and the present form of government of the U. S., they still advocate the use of said direct or mass action... they are known as members of the Comm. Party... which has committed itself to the following program: Communism does not propose to capture the bourgeois parliamentary system, but to conquer and destroy it. As long as the bourgeois state prevails the capitalist class can baffle the will of the proletariat."

If this is Marxism, what is bourgeois spongy-ism? If this is socialism, what are the actions of a conscious bourgeois provocateur?

Listen to this, from the pen of the renegade, Hillquit: "But the attempt to force the socialist

## FOURTH STATEMENT ON UNITY PROCEEDINGS.

(Continued from page 5)

used, and that their "proofs" are either false or beside the point.

That our statement "purports to show that only 3048 paid dues in July", is not true; our statement plainly shows that in fact this figure represents the number of dues received by our National Office in July, 4835 dues reached the N. O. in August, and not 3867 as stated by the U. C. P. 8240 old-rate dues reached N. O. in October, and not 9373. The total number of dues reaching N. O. in October is 9659, and 90 percent of them were paid by the branches in September, that is before the decision of the Com. Intern. on unity was received in this country.

The July, Aug., Sept. and Oct. average for the whole 11th. subdistrict "C." (not only one branch) is 314, and not 358 as stated by the U. C. P.; and for the subdistrict "P" it is 306 not 390. This shows how much credence can be given to the U. C. P. statement, which they consider "proof" without any further evidence.

U. C. P. "gossip-mongers" have been going around in B. saying that our statement is claiming there 250 Russian members, while our average is only 75. The U. C. P. letter says that we are claiming 490 Ukr. members in D. while our average is only 387 for the whole district; the 128 Russ. in M. shows on our statement as only 105; the 149 Lith. in M., as only 75 for the whole subdistrict etc.

If the U. C. P. committee does not stop short of falsifying the figures taken from our statements, which we can check up plainly and indisputably, you can imagine how truthful their statements of our "actual membership" must be.

Further proof, conclusive and indisputable, that our statement was correct, is now furnished by the actual present membership figures represented in the recent district conventions of our Party. Taking into consideration the fact that within the last two months or so a number of our comrades have left for Russia, these figures absolutely substantiate the figures of our statement for July, August, September and October.

With this fact firmly established, the communications that passed between the two parties forth and back since our last statement of December 16, will plainly show that the U. C. P. was under a false pretext defying the decisions of the Com. Intern. and that the C. P. was insisting upon compliance with them, not merely on formal grounds, but because they were of the utmost importance for the future interests of the Communist Movement in America.

For the present the U. C. P. has frustrated all steps to unity; but they will not be able to defy the Com. Intern. indefinitely. We have definite information that further instructions from the Com. Intern. will be received in the near future, and we are sure that the U. C. P. will have to change its false position, and will have to agree to a joint unity convention on the basis of proportional representation.

P. R. A complete statement is being prepared containing all the letters and documents on unity, which will be sent out to the membership, in circular form. (Editor)