

15. This clause demands the change of the programs of the organizations desiring to affiliate with the Third International in compliance with Communist principles.

Any other requirement would be illogical.

16. This clause lays down the principle that binding resolutions and directions of the Third International should be formulated only on general questions, leaving the local and national peculiarities to the solution of the respective national Communist parties.

This requirement is highly commendable, for otherwise instead of 21 points the Communist International would need 121 points to meet all the local exigencies of the various national organizations.

17. This clause demands the adoption of the name Communist Party by all former Socialist or Social-Democratic Parties if they desire to affiliate with the Third International.

The name is very essential in this case. The theory of the class struggle was expounded first by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels under the name of Communism. The Communist Manifesto has survived 70 years, and stands today as strong as ever. On the other hand, the various socialist parties with their endless demands, whether minimum or maximum, have undergone numerous changes and have succumbed to the temptations of the capitalist reformers and imperialists. Therefore, it is essential that the name "Communist" should supplant the discredited name "Socialist."

18. This clause demands that all the leading organs of the press of every party publish all the important documents of the Communist International, which is an obvious necessity.

19. This clause demands that extraordinary conventions be convened by the parties desiring to affiliate with the Third International, in order that the membership of these organizations may be acquainted with the resolutions adopted by the Second Congress.

This demand requires no comment.

20. In this clause the Third International insists that not less than two-thirds of the membership of

the central party institutions should consist of individuals who have made an open declaration of their adherence to the Communist principles prior to the Second Congress of the Third International. Exceptions are permitted only with the consent of the Executive Committee of the Third International which also reserves the right to make exceptions with regard to the representatives of the Center mentioned in clause 7.

These requirements sound somewhat bureaucratic. By the time a national party is ready to affiliate, the International may have had its Third Congress with perhaps different resolutions on certain points. Then again, the process of educating the leaders is as difficult as that of educating the general membership. Why should then the membership be penalized by objecting to its affiliation in case its executive committees have been slow in grasping the new principles. However, exceptions are permissible and naturally the Executive Committee will exercise its judgment in passing upon each concrete case.

21. Clause 21 stipulates that members who reject the above conditions and the theses of the Third International are liable to expulsion.

It would appear then that the American judges are demanding from the workers complete surrender to capital and loyalty to captains of industry. On the other hand, the Third International demands from its supporters loyalty to communism and to communist leaders. Time will show whose appeal will find stronger echo.

This clause makes the other clauses effective and consequently is indispensable.

The spirit of the above points is such as to compel every affiliated party to work for social revolution and to safeguard the unity of thought and action, things which were lacking in the Second International with its loose form of organization, and its incoherent tactics. As time goes on, the number of these points may be reduced, their working may become more polished, but we venture to say that their substance will stand.

## Patrioteering in Our Public Schools

By SCHMALHAUSEN

Patriotism is the primitive emotion of self-glorification erected into a sham philosophy of nationalism.

The State (meaning a political clique temporarily in control of the machinery of governmental repression and coercion) is assumed to be a mystic power, in every way superior to the collectivity which it is presumed to represent.

By a process of loose believing and thinking, we come to look upon the State as "ours." A madman's delusion!

The State belongs to those who own the wealth and industries of the nation. Then representatives occupy the strategic positions of legislative, executive and judicial control. The plain people occupy no such positions. The State is in no honest sense theirs.

It is easy to understand why the plutocratic citizenry encourage State-worship. Their interests, economic and psychologic, are inseparable from the

destiny of the State. In a very simple and literal sense, the patriotism of the plutocrats is the essence of real patriotism.

The plain people (the vast mass of the propertyless) have no "State." Their duty it is to share the burdens, not the privileges and the strategic positions, of the State. The only group in modern society which honestly typifies the consciousness-of-kind of the plain people is *The Class*.

The only reason why the State (usually referred to as the Nation) is not simply alluded to as the property of the Upper Class is because so straightforward a reference would at a stroke reveal the sinister division in modern society—the existence of classes in irreconcilable opposition.

As at present constituted (judged by the laws of Profit and Prestige), the Nation is the property and plaything of a manipulating class. That class attempts

to hide this truth from the common people by tabooing the specific and significant term, Class, and by popularizing the general and mystical designation, Nation (or State).

Our educational system, the plutocratic State in miniature, is charged with the duty of perpetuating the upper class mythology of nationalism. Nationalism is the pretence of unanimity and singleness of interest among the social classes. Nothing but pretence!

The most critical time for inculcating this sham conception of the State is, of course, during a period of war (or the preparation for war). The patriotism of the plutocratic State is then automatically instilled as the only loyalty of a law-abiding citizen.

Those who have a good eye for contradictions must be amused by the spectacle of an upper class and its hired employees straining every nerve to impart their brand of patriotism to a lower class that (for reasons never published by the upper class) is apparently in dire need of an allegiance that should be natural and spontaneous, but is somehow or other artificial and forced.

It is not difficult to explain why the intensest patriotism wells up naturally in the hearts of those who are especially privileged! Let us frankly acknowledge that the perfect patriot (in a society torn by class struggles) cannot be found among the proletariat.

The plutocracy as a whole yielded up its heart and soul (though not its income and control) to the patriotic requirements of the State. It never occurred to official spokesmen to inaugurate campaigns of patriotic enlightenment among those whose historic privilege it is to control the State. Campaigns of patriotic enlightenment seem to have been necessary only among that peculiarly detached section of society whose struggle for control has not yet brought the State within its grasp.

There is the perfect patriotism of the plutocrat (who controls the State and, therefore, enhances his class when he "fights" for the nation) and there is the perfect patriotism of the proletarian. This latter is a comparatively recent contribution to civilized values. In the course of the evolution of the State, it is destined to supplant the former. The patriotism which springs inevitably from the consciences of the plain people and attaches itself to ideals that promise a genuine amelioration of their hard lot is the kind of patriotism that will increasingly gain the attention of the mass of mankind. Every other kind of patriotism will be known for what it is: a species of self-destruction in behalf of irrelevant "ideals."

Our school system distinguished itself during the period of America's participation in the Great War by assassinating the patriotism of the proletariat and super-imposing the patriotism of the plutocracy. Unquestioning obedience to authority was the command of the ruling class. Those teachers whose intellectual attitude toward life did not permit so drastic a surrender to coercive patriotism were severely dealt with; persecution, suspension, dismissal, the spirit of the inquisition, a systematic reign of terror—these were the conventional methods and devices employed by an outraged plutocracy against the spokesmen of the new order.

The patrioteering in our public schools went so far as to jeopardize the whole historic underpinning of the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of religion, freedom peaceably to assemble and to petition for a redress of grievances. Teachers who held an "unpopular" point of view in relation to the war were dismissed. An attitude of mind, a theory of things, a hypothetical point of view in a hypothetical situation, a mere belief, any one of these was considered sufficient cause for dismissal.

Any teacher who, as part of his activities outside the class room, perpetrated the folly of writing in criticism of governmental authority or of educational authority was dismissed.

The patriotism of plutocracy thrives on the ignorance of its victims. It perverts the facts of history, because without such perversion its bloated myths would die of malnutrition. It caters to the most primitive instincts, because without such a prostitution of human nature its schemes of aggrandizement could not be realized. This is the brand of patriotism that is the arch foe of science and humane fellowship.

What is the plutocrats fear? Socialism! They haven't the courage to express it in so many words, because they know that the philosophy of Socialism has captured the allegiance of the greater portion of civilized mankind. They screen their opposition to radicalism in general behind the bogey of Bolshevism. Nothing could serve their reactionary purposes more adequately than this newly discovered opportunity to launch their attacks upon the critical-minded by screaming, Bolshevik!

Teachers have been terrified into an unholy silence. Their hearts beat in tune with the marvelous procession of an awakened proletariat. Unorganized, disorganized, timid and insecure, the radical teachers are in a desperate plight. The passionate truth locked within their souls cries out for liberation.

To whom shall the public schools belong? How much longer shall the younger generation be brought up on lies? How much longer before the common people appreciate the revolutionary function of education?

Verily, these are the momentous days that try one's soul.

Which shall it be: the patriotism of the plutocracy or the patriotism of the proletariat? No question can be more profoundly significant.

### 350,000 Tchech and Slovak Socialists Go with Moscow

The experiences of the Tchecho-Slovak workers with their "Socialist" Government during the past two years and the clarifying process which has been going on within the Socialist movement has led the Congress of the Socialist Party (Left) to join the Third International. The name of the party was changed to Communist, and the 21 conditions of affiliation were approved by a vote of 562 to 7. The party claims a membership of 350,000 and represents a powerful link in the revolutionary movement of Central Europe.

Tchech Socialism is not of recent origin. With Allied imperialism no longer able to give sufficient material support to their vassal states, with the government of the "Socialist" Tzar thoroughly discredited among the masses, the Tchecho-Slovak party of militant Socialism should be in a position to challenge the bourgeoisie for political supremacy in the not very distant future.