Section

The Internationalist

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GENERAL OFFICE INFORMATION

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

The mail address is Box 23, Roxbury Sta., Boston, Mass. To this address all correspondence for the League and the paper should be sent.

The following comrades wil serve as the National Committee until their successors are chosen: Simon Bergis, C. W. Fitzgerald, J. Francis Mullen, J. A. Perry, Louis Velleman, John D. Williams, A. S. Zartarian.

The committee has chosen as secretary C. W. Fitzgerald and for assistant secretary Alfred S. Edwards (who is serving as office editor), and for treasurer Louis Velleman. To the last named all checks and money orders, covering subscriptions, contributions to "sustaining fund," or donations, out of the war. Of this over \$4,000,should be made payable.

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

retary," or "national treasurer?" by the carload and spent his money of "internationalists" say "general FIFTY DOLLAR BILLS. Did you committee," and "general secretary," ever SEE A FIFTY DOLLAR BILL?

is this: First, get together five per- you work for paid out in interest on sons in your community who unre- its bonds, in profits on its stock and ganize a local assembly or branch.

with the general office.

Third, send your order for sub cards of The Internationalist, now the boss. Three years ago there printed and ready to forward the were not enough jobs to go round. same day your order is received.

N. B .- Preliminary to taking ac- fill the jobs. tion read the constitution of the League in another part of the paper.

that the railroads of the country, pinch of salt. If you have to plug tracts more value fro mit than he after several months of denying their up a hole in your shoe with a piece paid for; and in the ultimate analy-ability to pay more wages to rail- of an old shirt it is because you think sis this surplus-value forms those road workers, have made during the with your feet. Strike and get a 20 sums of value from which are heaped year a net income of \$1,098,000,000? per cent increase in wages and then up the constantly increasing masses One billion and ninety-eight millions next month strike again and get an- of capital in the hands of the posof dollars profit for the year! Of other 20 per cent. It can be done. It sessing classes. Thus the genesis of course it makes your "patriotic" is being done. Let everybody do it capitalist production and the producbreast swell with pride when you everywhere in every shop and depart- tion of capital are both explained.

AS TÓ OUR PAPER

FIT HIS, the initial and trial number of "The Internationalist," is sent forth to the Socialists and working class of the country in response to a "hurry-up" call received since the 29th of November from more than a dozen states and three Canadian provinces. The insistent demand of Left Wing socialists for action beginning with the new year, the need for wide-spread distribution of the "Manifesto of the Socialist Propaganda League of America," and the urgency for quick action in securing a subscription list at the earliest time possible, these considerations combine to speed up the venture and induce us to issue the paper sooner than a month ago was intended.

In doing this we are putting into the hands of the comrades the means by which they can do practical work in making known the purposes of the League and extending its influence. With the paper in evidence, the canvass for subscribers will be helped and the organizational work promoted. We confidently expect that every Socialist who realizes conditions and is not closing his eyes to facts will forthwith get on the job of mailing subscriptions for "The Internationalist." That is the near-end job, necessary to the development we are looking for. The year's subscription is \$1.00; six months, 50 cents; three months, 25 cents. Send short-time subs if you must; make them long-time ones if you can. Send orders with money to Box 23, Roxbury Sta., Boston, Mass.

Comrades, "it is up to you." We are fully aware of the imperfections in this number; but come along with your suggestions and criticisms. Above all get the subs and we'll all "get there" together. The continuous publication of the paper weekly depends upon revolutionary Socialists, upon those who want the Revolution so much that they have to work for it. And we'll bank on their ability and energy to make good. The next issue of the paper will go to press as soon as your response with subscribers meets the situation.

And remember this: We are just beginning the fight!

Slaves! Reach Out Your Hands! Open Your Mouths! Eat!

By FRANK BOHN.

(For "The Internationalist") 000,000 have been secured through door on you. direct trade with Europe. The remainder they have made through the Stiffen up your backs. Stir your slug-Wingers throughout the Working people, were industrially or-United States asking the ganized today you could get almost CRAFT UNIONISM

printed elsewhere is put forth by the Tens of millions of you don't get food (weekly) and The International So-National Committee with that under- enough to keep flesh on your miser- cialist Review (monthly) come to your standing; it is a trial document, made able bones. There has just been built, address for the year, you will miss as short and as free from technical- on a single fashionable street of New ities as possible. Look it over, consid- York City, eighteen apartment houses Left Wing movement in the United er it carefully and decide whether its for the upper middle class. These States and the development of the form and its contents will, in your eighteen apartment houses include at Socialist Propaganda League of Amjudgment, be equal to the require- least six hundred luxurious apart- erica. The "Review" is the one pubments likely to arise in the League's ments, each renting from \$1500 to lication that has stood four-square Note that it excludes from our the corporation lawyers, the middle- of compromise during the years that scheme the old state organizations, men who corner and gamble in food, are behind us. We have arranged state secretaries and state commit- they are all getting THEIRS. Now with the publishers to offer both The Every branch or group of the for God's sake, you wage slaves, put Internationalist and the International League will be related to the General up some sort of fight and get YOURS. Social Review at the clubbing (as the constitution says the "Na- This nation is lousy with money. A rate of \$1.50. No commissions will be tional") Office. There, we didn't in- new-rich multimillionaire came into allowed on this clubbing offer. Send tend starting a revision of the docu- New York from a munitions town in check or money order for \$1.50 and ment right now; but why not? And Pennsylvania some time ago and be- both publications will be sent to your again why? Why should we say "na- gan to drop his coin up and down address for a year. tional committee," or "national sec- Broadway. He brought in his friends Why should we not, in an organization on them. His tips to waiters were and "general treasurer?" But let Nobody else is going to help you. these matters be left with the gen- You've got to help yourselves. Don't eral membership when the body is wait until next year. Get a bunch We want all questions of real imof live men together in the place What we really started out to say where you work and get busy. Find ities must be omitted, except when under the caption "What can I do?" out how much profits the corporation they serve to aid the cause and elucservedly endorse the League and or- in new equipment last year. Then go all of you to your boss with one hand Second, if you endorse the League in your pocket and the other stretched valuable and interesting will be made but do not know of others, join as a toward the money drawer and say by the Press Committee. "The Open Member-at-large affiliated directly that you want more. Stand around Forum" may be expected in the next in the shop and don't do a tap till you get more. You've got the drop on Now there are not enough slaves to is the basis of the capitalist mode of

have described you don't have butter if the capitalist buys the labor-power on your baked potatoes then you of his laborer at its full value as a Isn't it refreshing to you to know don't deserve butter. You deserve a commodity on the market, he yet exment store and laundry. The capital-

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

Now's the day and now's the hour

NOT REVOLUTIONARY The unions have not made any for the letters coming every day are the European nations at from 5 to revolutionary attack upon the exist-

> If you have The Internationalist nothing worth knowing about the \$4000 a year. The upper middle class, to all the suggestions and influences

THE OPEN FORUM

It is intended that The Internationalist shall have as one of its features an "Open Forum" from which no Socialist who has something of value and interest to say shall be excluded. portance discussed freely. Personalidate principles. Letters must be brief and none' should exceed five hundred words. Writers must sign their own names. The decision as to what is number of the paper.-Editor.

Unpaid Labor Is Surplus Value The appropriations of unpaid labor production and of the exploitation of If under the conditions which we the worker that occurs under it; even -Frederick Engels.

Reaction and Revolutionary Ideals. The years immediately behind us Three

are marked by inaction and re-

action in the Socialist party. A true revolutionary spirit and action has never been less in evidence ; among party leaders than during the period of the war. But before that calamity befel us we were subjected to a flood of reformistic phrasemongering, muddling municipalism, boring trade unions from within, captivating the American Federation of Labor, cramming the capitalist moral code down the necks of revolutionists to get middle-class votes, instead of staying on our own job with a consistent propaganda for revolutionary ideals. The four years of reformistic preaching and preparation for chronicling the rise of "socialist" votes to millions in 1916 have proven abortive, while almost none of the rosey predictions of political leaders have materialized. Still, with a strange fatuity, they cling to old forms and discredited methods, blind to the fact: First, That the organization we have is not adapted to develope political power and the principal function of the Socialist movement is to participate in the class struggle in such a way, that the workers are educated to realize that their industrial power must back up a political or general class fight, in which the masses are to gain such a degree of organization and understanding, that they can disorganize the political supremacy of capitalism and substitute the organization of the working class, by the exercise of their own influence on uncompromising Socialist principles. Is it not high time for a thorough reorganization of the party?

Our Socialist parties still fix their hopes on winning seats in congresses and parliaments, although the real and fixed location of government has been transferred to money exchanges and banking institutions of the money kings. Sacrificing principles of international brotherhood, they are fighting in wars, not for the solidarity and independence of the workers of all nations, but for the aggrandizement of their respective national capitals.

Failing to give support to the mass action of the workers on the industrial field, as evinced at Lawrence, McKees Rocks, the Mesaba Range, and elsewhere in the United States, and similarly in Germany, England and Belgium, the reformers have also failed by constant appeals to legality to crystallize the revolutionary sentiment on the political

Must Change With the Times—or Perish. Section What, then, can be the duty of present-day Socialists, except to recognize the collapse of the old and resolutely set to work building the new alongside the industrial evolution and complying with the requirements of the modern and intensified class struggle? It is high time for Socialists to abolish obsolete tactics, abandon middle-class ideals, put away the will-o'-the-wisps of reform, and proclaim a working class program conforming with and equal to the demands of industrial and commercial development. The times change; we must change with them—or perish.

The new aggressive policy of the capitalist class, which we call imperialism, has for its primary object the appropriation of a bigger share of the general surplus values. Under the operation of this feature of cap-Fraternally submitted

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE OF AMERICA

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

I hereby agree to contribute the sum of \$.... per month for per month for months to sustain The Internationalist during the period of its establishment. Find first payment enclosed.....

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SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE OF AMERICA,

THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

"The materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final cause of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in men's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the mode of production and exchange. They are to be sought not in the philosophy, but, in the economics of each particular epoch."-Frederick Engels.