

The S. P. L. A. and Industrial Action

THE essential of the principles and tactics as advocated by the Socialist Propaganda League can be formulated in short as: "The overthrow of the capitalist system by mass action of the workers." **Mass action** to be: organized, democratic action of large groups of class conscious workers.

Class conscious because the action has to be towards victory of the workers.

Democratic because we only believe in action under control of the many and not of a few leaders. We believe in action of the masses directly and not in strong men policy, even when advocated under the name of direct action.

Organized because only a concerted action in a definite direction constitutes power and because only organized action can produce the elements for a new society.

The most effective and basic mass

action, no doubt, is the industrial action, and this form of action therefore has our unrestricted and fullest support. We also recognize, however, the importance of other forms of mass action: demonstrations based on a local grouping of workers including unorganized and non-industrial proletarians and even middle class sympathizers, general protests through series of meetings and demonstrations, etc.

We furthermore look upon the present State as the organized instrument of the capitalist class to keep the workers in submission and therefore consider it important to fight particularly those manifestations of the State that are most in the way of the emancipation of the working class.

Although the capitalist State is based on the economic power of the capitalists and has to fall when the economic power is lost, it is not less true that the capitalist State backs up that economic

power and that the economic power would break down very quickly if not protected by the organization and instruments of power of the State. The fight to change or to overcome or to disorganize the instruments of the State: militarism, police, courts, laws, churches, schools, corruption, intimidation, charity, is considered an important issue in the class struggle. Political action is a part of this fight, but can be only effective when backed up by mass action.

We do not want to wait until the capitalist State dies by lack of economic power, we want to take a hand in its downfall and to hasten the process. We expect that it will be possible to overcome the capitalist State before the industrial unions are so strong that they can take possession of the industries in defiance of the tremendous instruments of power of the modern Imperialistic State.

You cannot fight an enemy without

fighting his instruments of power, you cannot fight an army without fighting and annihilating its guns, its aeroplanes and submarines. Although it is true that these are "only" dead instruments worthless if not "backed up" by man power, it would be a rather dangerous tactic to fight the men only and leave the instruments of destruction unmolested, on the ground that they will become harmless as soon as we have captured the men that handle them.

We believe in a general class fight against our masters in the factories and against their powerful instruments organized in the modern State. This unity of action constitutes our general or political class fight, of which parliamentarism is only a part, the importance of which decreases with the growing impotence of Parliament, but which on the other hand can have a special interest in the fight for free speech during periods of utmost reaction and war.

Lenin on the War

IN justifying the position of the extremists as opposed to the provisional government, Lenin writes in the Pravda:

"The provisional government is in favor of continuing the same war that was started by the bloody Czar. It is in favor of maintaining the secret treaties without consulting the will of the people and without publishing their contents.

"We are opposed to all this.

"We advise all peoples without exception to put an end to the war without annexations, that is, to conclude a real democratic peace, giving freedom to all nations without exception. We want to make it clear to the people, that in order to get such a peace, it is necessary to lodge power exclusively in the hands of the Councils of Workers, Peasants, Soldiers and other delegates.

"For, as long as the power is in the hands of Capitalists and big land owners, the carrying on of the war depends upon the ruling class and all promises of a peace without annexations remain promises, the distrust of the working masses is inevitable, which means continuation of the war.

"It has been asked: if in Russia the power would be in the hands of the Councils of Soldiers and Workers, but such a revolution is not accomplished in Germany, a revolution namely which not only overthrows Wilhelm, but also the German Big Capitalists and Junkers—what will be our position under such circumstances?

"Our answer is: The power in the hands of the Councils of Workers and Soldiers means the power in the hands of the masses of the working class, the workers and peasants. And these groups indeed have no interest in annexations; not only in words but in fact do they denounce aggression, they actually refuse to build a power for the defense of capitalist profits.

"Under such conditions we accept the slogan of a revolutionary war against the capitalists of whatever country, for

such a war would mean in reality a war against the interests of Capital in general, and not a war in favor of the Capitalists of a particular country.

"It has been asked: How can we hasten the cause of peace in practice since it is impossible to end the war by simply putting the bayonets into the earth?

"Our answer is: it is impossible to end the war simply by the refusal of one of the warring countries to continue fighting. The direct practical method to end the war (unless of course by a victory of the revolutionary workers over the Capitalists) can be no

other than the fraternization of the soldiers at the front.

"What is required is our quick, energetic, general encouragement of all efforts at fraternizing of soldiers of both warring groups at the front."

This was written before the desperate Russian offensive put an end to the successful and, to the bourgeois of both groups, equally hateful fraternization at the eastern front. Rather than have the war end in democracy in the way outlined by Lenin, the rulers of the world ordered their Russian confederates to sacrifice anew the workers and peasants in a hopeless offensive.

Terrorizing the Workers

Ten thousand charges against 166 I. W. W.ers certainly means a record and to ask \$1,625,000—bail shows how valuable these workers are even to the capitalists. No doubt, the army of class-conscious workers appreciates the fighters in their cause higher than the enemy does and will go to the limit to back up the defence. Send money!

The Washington Administration is rushing a committee to Arizona, to investigate whether the I. W. W. is replacing the A. F. L. organization in the mining field, and what can stop this calamity. Certainly there could be no more definite condemnation of the tactics of the A. F. L.

The President has declared in a memorandum that he is very much interested in the labor situation in the mountain region and on the Pacific Coast, and that he is desirous of seeking some kind of a working arrangement arrived at for the future, particularly during the period of the war, on a basis that will be fair to all parties. He, therefore, sends a committee of personal representatives to lend sympathetic counsel and said to the State Government in the development of a better understanding between laborers and employers.

Even the New York Times has to admit the charge of German gold against the I. W. W. is purely an invention. "Contrary to general belief, no direct connection has been shown thus far between the leaders of the conspiracy and the German corruption fund." The noble soul adds, however, that this led to the belief that the full scope of the conspiracy's operations has not yet been revealed. There evidently will have to follow confiscation of a couple of tons more paper and documents to construct a proper frame-up.

The New York Times makes another important discovery: "So far as yet determined there was no single controlling head. A group of some size, the evidence indicates has directed the propaganda and the outrages.

That is exactly the trouble. If they could only take a few leaders in jail or pay them a bribe, but what about a conspiracy embracing all the members and sympathizers of the I. W. W., the membership of which grew tenfold under the oppression.

Senator Walsh of Montana, after a thorough investigation, has discovered—the Preamble of the I. W. W. And he decrees "that there is no place in the American system for such an organization either in peace or in war."

The American Golden Heel

THE Pravda, the paper of Lenin and the Left Wing Socialists in Russia, published the following disclosure about the ill-fated Russian offensive in July:

"On June 27th a meeting was held in the Russian headquarters attended by Brussilov and other Russian generals, Minister Terestchenko, the American Senator Root, the British Ambassador Buchanan and the American General Scott.

"The decision for an offensive was only taken under strong pressure of President Wilson, who had fixed as the ultimate date July 1st, threatening to cut off financial negotiations in case of refusal.

"As the economic future of Russia greatly depends upon the financial support of the United States, the Russians were forced to agree to an offensive, after which decision Root, in accordance with instructions from Wilson, paid five million dollars to Minister of War Kerensky."

"American money kings are trying to put their golden heel on the neck of the Russian workers" we wrote in our issue of June 2nd, and we warned that there was not much time to lose if we wanted to prevent our plutocrats crushing the Russian revolution. Sooner than we could expect and through the direct action of "our" Government, young revolutionary Russia was secretly strangled and the rope was paid, for by the taxes of American workers, supposedly in control of this democratic republic.