

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE THE INTERNATIONALIST

WEEKLY OF THE LEFT WING SOCIALISTS

No. 1, Vol. I.

Published by the
Socialist Propaganda League of America

Boston, Mass., Jan. 6, 1917

One Dollar a Year; Six Mos. 50c;
Canadian, \$1.50

Box 23, Roxbury Sta.

OUR MANIFESTO

(For "The Internationalist")

"We are at the dawn of a new era, the day is big with the content of social eruptions, economic and political strikes, revolutions."

THIS is the source and justification of our action, our League and our paper.

Those who cannot see the new day will stand aside, will continue in old forms moved by old ideals, will mummy in capitalist legality and morals, and will be crushed under the iron heel of Imperialism.

We are at the dawn of a new era; but this era may turn out to be an era of new slavery, of absolute control of monopolistic financial interests over the working class, a new period of Industrial Feudalism, if we do not arise to an ever growing action, if we fail to put all of our energies, the full economic power of our class to influence the development of tendencies, which manifest themselves in the present world war.

Standing on the solid ground of the economic conception of history, we reject the mechanical point of view. "That things will work out all right by themselves." We know that our will and our action form part, and a most important part, of economic development; and while we are fully convinced that we never can act against history, the failure to act when conditions are ripe, may result in a period of barbarism and bloodshed, such as only an outgrown class can inflict upon its victims.

Those who are convinced that a Socialist organization of society is within the possibilities of our present economic developments, is within our reach, should get active, should support this movement full-hearted with life and soul.

Those who have confidence in their own class and see that the capitalist class can only maintain itself by brutal force, of which the world war is an episode, must understand that the old party tactics are a thing of the past, are obsolete. The result of clinging to the old systems is that the party is dead and the only chance to come to life again, is in a fundamental reorganization.

We want to reorganize from the bottom up, we want to criticize, to arouse the feeling and thinking of the rank and file, so as to become still more dissatisfied with actual conditions. We want to illustrate our opinions on every day facts, which will often mean that we also have to criticize persons. Although our criticism will be only for the cause and therefore impersonal; even if it hurts personal feelings, we will not stop critics for personal considerations.

We would like to stay and work inside the party, as long as we can have full rights of criticism, which is considered the only chance to get new life in the dead body.

There can be no discussion whether our party is really dead, unless we should apply a standard of life that is unworthy for a movement that has to conquer the world. Benson admits it in saying that the party membership is "cut to pieces," the "spirit of the party badly riddled," "profoundly discouraged," etc. William E. Bohn emphasizes it in the Sunday Call in stating that "a good share of life went out of the party" and that, while the party machinery was centralized, "we progressed rapidly backwards" and "the national organization has remained dead." An editorial in the International Review suggests that probably not one in a hundred "vote-once-in-four-years" socialists knows what real Socialism is.

Not whether the party is wrong will be the question before the house, but how it can get to life again, how it can regain touch with the working class, how it can become what it should be: the leader in the front line of fighting, the eye and the heart

and the brains of the workers in their class struggle.

The very fact that we are dead proves that we failed to recognize the changes in modern society. We did not realize in time that under the new form of absolute control by big monopolistic interests in the period of Imperialism, we have to use methods of fighting in accordance with the situation.

The Money Trust does not grant reforms because you talk skillfully in Congress, because you use such valuable arguments, and it becomes ever so more absurd to try to use one part of the bourgeoisie against another, to "play politics" against the one reactionary enemy.

Our arguments should expose the lies and the unscrupulous methods of our foes, and thereby arouse the workers to action. Mass action cannot be invented, cannot be put into effect by leaders, it grows out of conditions; it will grow, it has grown already and we can help to give it a reasonable goal, a more efficient form, a stronger and better organization, but only if we participate in the fight.

Not if we stand by idly when our fellow-workers revolt single-handed against the oil trust, steel trust or other big interest; not if we allow one group after another to be beaten into submission, not if we fail to show a united uncompromising front against all militarism and imperialism under whatever pretext.

Comrades of the Socialist party and outside of the party, get active, join the Propaganda League, support The Internationalist, weekly of the Left Wing, and participate in every class-conscious mass action on the Industrial as well as on the Political field, which will be the very best education to yourself and to others, and which will develop methods, tactics and organization, the only form of organization that can be fundamentally democratic. Help to build up the Social Democracy. S. J. R.

Industrial Democracy

A FRIEND writes to say that he has read the "Manifesto" and agrees "in the main" with what we say. But he has observed that one phrase we use "is common in the literature of radicalism," and would like to know what we mean by "industrial democracy."

By industrial democracy we mean the democratic organization and administration of all the industries by which the people live, in such a manner as to ensure control by the workers employed in them. There is not now, nor can there be industrial democracy while the workers employed in them have nothing to say about what the industries shall do, how the doing shall be regulated, and what shall be done with the product of their joint labor.

No democracy in industry can exist with private monopoly of the tools (machinery) of industry. Industry privately owned means industry with private appropriation of all values over and above what is necessary for the reproduction of labor power. It is this appropriation that keeps the producer poor and makes the parasite rich. The Industrial Democracy will recognize the immutable theory of value, which is:

Labor is the Substance of, and Socially Necessary Labor-Time the Measure of, Value.

We have seen Henry Ford written about as an "industrial democrat." But his Detroit plant is not an "industrial democracy." Industrial Democracy will "let the workers in," or the workers will "put themselves in," as owners of the industry.

Again, by industrial democracy we mean an organization of labor that will be complete enough, powerful enough, efficient enough, on the economic field and in the political arena, to make the sum total of the workers' wages equal to the sum total of the values they create.

MANIFESTO

of the

Socialist Propaganda League of America

(Adopted at a meeting held in the City of Boston, November 26, 1916.)

IT IS MANIFEST to every thinking class conscious worker that the present terrific struggle for world power is waged by the capitalist classes to secure a greater share in the exploitation of labor. It is a matter of paramount importance that we, as Socialists, apprehend the basic conditions underlying the strife, and that we prepare to meet the consequences to the world's workers that will issue from it. This address to American Socialists and the working class generally is directed to such an understanding.

The war opens a new era of great conflicts, impelled by the new form of absolutism—the rule of the monarchs of money and the subjugation of a more or less independent class of small capitalists. It means also a more aggressive policy towards labor. The proof of this appears in the United States, where the action of government in appropriating a larger portion of the public revenue to militaristic purposes than any other country, in a so-called time of peace, is accompanied by the massing of material capitals amounting to Eight Billions of dollars in a single Board, to "fight labor." War, with the American republic co-operating, thus becomes the highest form of exploitation by the capitalist class.

In the confusion arising from false issues of the capitalist class, put forward to mislead the workers, we must ever be on our guard against the crafty apologists of wrong posing as friends of labor. When we are told that we must produce more if we would get more, we know the advice is a bit of special pleading in the interest of those who live without producing. When we are told that we need compulsory arbitration or anti-strike laws, we know that such laws not only fail but are a denial of the working class right to develop all its powers to gain emancipation. When we are told that we must be patriots, which, when interpreted by the capitalist class, means readiness to serve in wars to kill our fellow men and defend the property interests of the owning class, as the President of the United States has said, we know that the proletariat is a propertyless class with no country to defend and no fatherland to fight for. This advice from the President—servant of big capital—is not less erroneous and is certainly more dangerous, when given under the name of Socialism, advocating a bourgeois citizens' army or military defense of capitalist interests. We strongly denounce all brands of social patriots and social imperialists as opposed to the interests of the working class. Instead of nationalism we must do all in our power to promote the true internationalism of labor.

To the thoughtful observer it must be apparent that the elements of wealth production in our present society have outgrown the bourgeois forms of existing nations in which they are restricted. The centralization of production, as well as of capital and the monied interests, the close relation of big business and trusts with financial capital—all these developments put great capital not only at the head of industry and production, as the dominating power, but also in controlling influence over the political life and activities of the people. All groups and classes of the people in every so-called civil-

ized nation are dependent upon the all-powerful financial interests of each nation. There is no difference in this respect between "darkest" Russia, with its autocratic form of government, and "enlightened" United States, with its "democratic" institutions that are distinguished by the denial of free speech and organization and shooting by militia and "company thugs," for examples of which we do not forget Calumet and Ludlow.

In the demoniac chase for markets where national capital may be invested, for the acquisition or retention of colonies and the expansion of spheres of influence, capitalist power divides the universe for exploitation among a few groups of nations, and these are bent on world-control, even at the cost of exterminating each other, as well as their smaller and dependent associates in crime.

It is this higher phase of capitalist development—making futile the policies of free trade, free competition, and the hopes of social reformers—that compels the governments of the larger nations to provide military resources of increasing magnitude to fight for a leading position in the world scramble for supremacy. In this race for world leadership we see Germany and England, France and Italy, Austro-Hungary and Russia, the United States and Japan. The triumph of neither of them can be achieved without the destruction, immediate or impending, of them all.

The Dawn of a New Era.

Section Two Comrades and Fellow Workers: The time is passed when our national Socialist parties, bound by old forms and moved by old ideals, can proceed with its old propaganda within the confines of capitalist legality and morals, and expect within these limits to advance the cause of industrial democracy. We are at the dawn of a new era; the day is big with the content of social eruptions, economic and political strikes, revolutions. It is an era in which the class conflict approaches its climax. The struggle, in all its variations, develops and intensifies from the new policies of imperialism; that is, from the encroachments of the capitalist class using the mailed fist of political governments.

In the class war, all constitutional rights and prerogatives of the people are ignored or abolished, and the capitalist class, abominating Liberty and supported by guns, meets the working class with the armed power of the capitalist state. When the workers seek shelter in constitutional guarantees and essay to use these rights for the betterment of their conditions, they too often find that rights and guarantees are mere "scraps of paper." The capitalist class, with political governments and judicial courts conniving, will tolerate no interference with their class schemes for world domination. Meanwhile the condition of the working class becomes steadily worse and the future less secure. With the cost of essential necessities of life rising to higher and prohibitive levels, the average workman is in constant fear of hunger, and with sickness and disease ever haunting him, has now reached the stage of habitual privation.

Urge of the Cause

EVERY movement which contains in its program elements of such great import as those confronting the Socialist Propaganda League of America, calls for the exercise of clear judgment. Foresight is better than hindsight, and the constructive method is to be preferred to a "throw of the dice."

We are starting on a great adventure for the working class—of which we are a part—an adventure for winning the country and the world for DEMOCRACY IN INDUSTRY.

The very enormity of the crime committed in the name of capitalist "civilization," bringing in its wake the collapse of our old ideals and tactics, inspires us to the venture and is the justification of our acts.

Up to the hour of going to press with this, the initial number of The Internationalist, the Left Wing-ers who are responsible for launching the League feel that they are not called upon to offer apology or explanation for their acts. Explanation is found in the catastrophe that has overtaken us, not wholly as a surprise but, in great part, as the necessary result of premeditated reaction, reform preachments, and hot-house political action.

As the original league men and women have counselled together for a year and a half, so it is proposed that the Left Wing socialists the country over, shall take counsel for the upbuilding of the greater movement, the Socialist Propaganda League of America, the League of Reds.

Undaunted by world wars and unmoved by imperialist threats, let us advance the standard of undiluted Socialism, leaving to the reform philosophers and social patriots their impatient interpretation of the world, and, in full consciousness, apply ourselves to the task of altering it.

The struggle calls for clear thinking to elucidate difficult problems; it demands unity of purpose in mass actions; it insists upon high courage and rare devotion; in brief, as Comrade Anton Pénnekoek says:

"Theory must now go hand in hand with practice, theory which transforms blind acts to conscious ones and spreads light over the path."

Comrades, the movement is not ours, it is humanity's. All that we ask is the privilege of sharing with you the service to which all are summoned, to respond to the urge of the time and the Cause.

THE THEORY OF VALUE

No value is created except by labor. Wages never vary materially from what is necessary for the reproduction of labor power. Deducting their sum from the total new value created gives the sum of profit. The latter is, therefore, a definite quantity, not necessarily for any particular year, but for the approximate average of a number of years. The total profit compared to the total wages may be less, but cannot be more, than the total surplus value compared to the total wages. Thus prices are ruled by the law of value.

The theory of value, elaborated by the earlier classics and perfected by Marx, teaches that labor is the substance of, and socially necessary labor-time the measure of, value. This immutable theory of value is the foundation of the entire science of economics.—Herman Cahn, Author of "Capital Today."

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