

THE SOCIALIST

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5 Cents

China and Foreign Imperialism

K WANTUNG and Karafuto (the southern part of Sakhalin Island) in 1905, Korea in 1910, Manchukuo in the years 1931 to 1933 have been taken over in Japan's gradual encroachments on Chinese territory. As the result of Japan's present large-scale operations, it is apparent that the five northern provinces of Chahar, Suiyuan, Shansi, Hopeh and Shantung, and complete domination of China are her immediate aims in the event of victory.

Capitalism has been developing rapidly in Japan, and at a greater pace since the World War of 1914-18. As a growing capitalism demands markets, sources of raw materials and profitable investments, and cheap labor-power to exploit, and as Japan is in need of the above with the possible exception of cheap and plentiful labor-power, it is natural that Japan should look to foreign fields. China fulfills the above requirements plus the added advantage of location — she is Japan's next door neighbor.

The other large nations of Europe have been following a similar course in Africa, India, the West and East Indies, etc., so Japan has much precedence and experience to draw upon.

China itself has long been a profitable field of trade, investment and exploitation for the capitalist class of many foreign countries. At the port of Shanghai, the principal trading center in China, for years foreign powers have been supervising the Chinese maritime customs, under the direction of a Britisher, Sir Frederick Maze, as Inspector General.

[... This service, technically a branch of the Chinese Government, has been largely administered by foreign officials, since much of its income has been pledged for payment of China's foreign debts. *The New York Times*. November 27, 1937.]

So foreign intervention and exploitation in China is an old story. The main difference, in the case of Japan, is the size and scope of the military operations involved, and the fact that Japan has not cloaked her economic motives, except occasionally with statements like this:

... The Chinese people must recognize that Japanese troops are China's real friends. They now are sacrificing themselves to rescue the 400,000,000 Chinese from the Nanking Government's anti-Japanese policy. *The New York Times*, November 27, 1937.

As to the extent of foreign penetration in China an article in the *New York Times* of Sunday, September 5, 1937, entitled *Foreign Stakes Hit in China*, by Eliot Janeway, contains some extremely useful information on this subject. He states that so far as control of China is concerned:

... each of the powers aspiring to world empire has engaged in this struggle. Its present status is reflected in nearly \$4,000,-

000,000 of investments in every type of business enterprise throughout China — railways, utilities, factories, mines, banks, land and shipping.

Since the World War, Japan, Britain and France have been the principal concessionaires in China.

The struggle of foreign capital in China has therefore narrowed down to a race between Japan and the remaining Western powers. In dollar value Japan's trade and investments run far ahead of those of any other country. In 1930, before Japan's real attempt at penetration began, her investments in China totalled nearly \$1,500,000,000. The last seven years have seen this figure doubled.

... British investments in China, until the revival of lending in 1934, were usually estimated at \$1,250,000,000. Of this sum, \$500,000,000 is invested in every type of enterprise in the Shanghai area alone. The focal point of the British network in China is the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, virtually the Chinese agent for the Bank of England. Closely affiliated with it is the British and Chinese Corporation, which administers the bulk of Britain's railroad investments.

French investments in China are an offshoot from France's Indo-Chinese colony to the South. A French railroad connects Indo-China with the Chinese Province of Yunnan. The sponsors of this line control the Banque Franco-Chinoise pour le Commerce et L'Industrie, which, like the British and Chinese Corporation, cooperates with the official China Development Finance Corporation. The same group has important utility investments in Shanghai.

The article states that the Danes and Norwegians are mainly concerned with shipping and that the United States investments in China total about \$200,000,000, and have been stationary for some time; and that since 1929, "German exports to China trebled, passing Britain's and standing third behind those of the United States and Japan." And further, that:

... In December, 1936, a German steel syndicate organized by Otto Wolff and including Krupp, lent the Chinese Railway Administration 40,000,000 Chinese dollars; part of this loan was to be applied to the modernization of the Peiping-Hankow line which the Japanese seized last month.

On the other hand, a native capitalist class has been growing in China, particularly during the past 20 to 30 years. They wish to develop China industrially and make her a first class power under their own auspices. That is, they want to exploit the raw materials and labor-power of the Chinese workers, for their own profit, without foreign interference, especially that of Japan. Their interests are served by the Nationalist Party of China, of which Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is the administrative and military leader. For some years the Nationalists have been modernizing their armed forces so that foreign invasion,

especially Japanese, could be thwarted. In this, it seems, that they have not been very successful.

Due to the conflict of the material interests of many of the capitalist powers in China, many students of foreign affairs thought that an international war might grow out of the Japanese invasion. To date it has not, and from the course of present events this does not seem very likely.

Without any definite facts to guide us, it appears that there may be some agreement or understanding between the United States, the European Powers and Japan, as to the latter's recognition of the sanctity of the others' property rights, investments and trading interests when or if Japan assumes virtual control in China. This could be the main reason why Japan has not been hindered in her operations. Such reasoning would continue along these lines: Japan will hasten the economic development of China, and will share with the other capitalist countries the benefits arising therefrom.

Whether this is the case or not the question arises as to the attitude of the international working class toward the whole situation. In the event that an international conflict should arise from the present Sino-Japanese war, the extreme importance of this question should be apparent.

Among many liberals, radicals and members of so-called working class parties, sympathy is with poor, defenseless China, and much condemnation is heaped upon the heads of the Japanese "Huns" and "Fascists." The Communist Party is very busy prating about "fascist Japanese imperialism," etc.

Japanese domination of China may prove troublesome to Russia. Actual Russian investments in China up to the year 1931, were only about \$300,000,000; Russia's interest in Japanese expansion in China, however, arises from another source. It arises from the fear of Japanese domination, not alone of China, but also of the Pacific. With Russia's own industrial and economic development, the Pacific becomes increasingly important. Her only practicable port in this ocean, Vladivostok, is imperilled by Japanese domination of North China. The Chinese Eastern Railway, which was jointly owned by both the Russians and the Chinese, has passed into the hands of the Japanese. This was accomplished several years ago. This was Russia's short cut to the port of Vladivostok, cutting almost straight across the northern half of Manchuria, now Japanese territory. While the Russians still have control of another railroad line running to their Pacific port, this line is "A tortuous line, zigzagging northward, eastward, and then southward again all the way around Manchuria, via the Amur River" Without control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, however, the other line is too precarious. William Philip Simms, Foreign Editor of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, dealing with this question, points out correctly.

At the first sign of trouble, Japan could cut this railway and seal up Vladivostok before Russia could make a move. Japanese newspapers openly suggest the possibility of Russia admitting Vladivostok's helplessness and ceding that port to Japan. *New York World-Telegram*, June 29, 1933.

For reasons not germane to this article, Russia is not prepared to challenge Japanese domination in China, but as usual the Communist Parties in other countries are following the instructions of, and working in the interests of, the Russian foreign department. In thus hewing to the party line of the Communist International, the Communist Party of the United States, (as elsewhere) is indirectly serving the interests of the capitalist class, for if the material interests of American stockholders, etc., demand American intervention in China, the "fight against Japanese Fascism" will prove useful propaganda for the capitalist class.

The Socialist does not condone or condemn Japan's invasion of China. He understands the economic causes of modern wars and the real reasons both sides are engaged in the armed struggle. He also realizes that it makes little difference if the Chinese Worker, or any worker, is exploited by a Chinese, Japanese, French or British capitalist. In the International Settlement of Shanghai this fact is proven. There you will find the Chinese workers exploited by the capitalists of several nations. The Socialist also understands that the gainer of capitalist wars is the victorious capitalist class. The World War of 1914-18 should be conclusive evidence of this.

As a consequence we call upon the workers to take an interest in the system of society in which they live, and to understand how it works, how they are exploited and what the causes of modern wars really are. When any worker has done this, he will not be taken in by emotional appeals to support a capitalist war, whether it comes from the capitalist class or their representatives, or from so-called revolutionary or working class sources.

—B. C.



Labor's Magna Charta

LEST the worker fail to properly appreciate the untold blessings that are being rained down upon him by an ever-solicitous State, Senator Robert F. Wagner, in an address to the National Conference of Social Work on May 24, offered a timely reminder. He declared the Labor Relations Act the Magna Charta for the worker, raising him from "economic slavery in many large industries" to the status of a "free man" with the right to organize and bargain collectively. (*The New York Times*, May 25, 1937).

He did not explain that the economic slavery of the worker arises out of the compulsion put upon him by the conditions of capitalism to sell his labor power in order to exist. The worker is a wage slave not because he has not sufficient bargaining power but because, being propertyless, he must sell the only commodity he possesses — labor power. Collective bargaining, while an aid to the worker in getting a better price for his commodity, cannot raise him out of his slavery. That can only be accomplished by the abolition of the system which is based on the ownership of the means of living by the capitalist class and the consequent enslavement of the propertyless working class.—R.S.

The Futility of Reform

PART III.

Education and the Workers

FREE Education has been a measure around which much legislation has been centered. It might appear that the wealthy have been much concerned with the education and culture of the toiling masses, in order to satisfy the workers' thirst for knowledge. But a closer examination proves otherwise.

The three "R's" became necessary knowledge for efficient workers in the early period of capitalism. At the present stage of capitalist production with its extremely large and complicated technique for the production and distribution of commodities, the standard of education is very high for large sections of the working class. Modern industry demands engineers of all kinds, civil, electrical, metallurgical, chemical, etc.; also men trained in many branches of science, such as biology, chemistry, physics and bacteriology. Modern trade and commerce demands artists, writers and statisticians; bookkeepers, typists and stenographers. The increasing governmental bureaus (national, state, county and municipal) employ almost five million workers, who at least, must have an elementary school education and many thousands, a college education. Even the relatively simple jobs such as delivering packages, require the ability to read and write. Modern capitalism has also created the need for countless lawyers, doctors, dentists, architects and teachers for educational institutions. Today, there is an overabundance of educated workers and as a result many of them are unemployed. This condition tends to lower the salaries of those employed to levels not far removed from the less educated or unskilled workers. At any rate capitalism's need is realized. There are a sufficient number of educated workers to aid in the process of wealth production and the process of surplus-value creation for the benefit of the capitalist class.

Education serves another useful function for the ruling class. It acts as an agent for capitalist propaganda, serving to spread patriotic and religious ideas. It is true, however, that the same education can and will be used by the working class for the purpose of spreading Socialist propaganda.

Disease Recognizes No Class Distinctions

Legislation which is passed avowedly to protect the "public health" is another much vaunted piece of disinterestedness on the part of the ruling class. The validity of this alleged disinterestedness can be easily measured in the light of the following statement in the *New York Sun*, (11.5.36):

Health work in the slums is insurance for the health of better sections of the city, in the opinion of T. Raymond St. John, president of the Board of Directors of Judson Health Center, who made public today the annual report of the Center, showing 45,000 services given during the year. (*Italics ours*).

Of a same piece is the "charity" of the capitalists in this field, that of "community health." Mr. Clarence Francis,

president of the General Foods Corporation and chairman of the commerce and industry committee of the United Hospital Campaign, declared in a radio broadcast, reported in the *New York Times* of November 18, 1937:

Today's business men know that the business community must help the civic community," he said. "This is true especially as regards community health."

Discussing the service of the voluntary hospitals, Mr. Francis said: "When such organizations carry heavy financial burdens caring for men, women and children who cannot pay for their care, *they directly serve the firms and corporations of the business community by maintaining the health of the civic community.* (*Italics ours*).

With the businessman's usual eye to "smart spending" he further points out:

It is money well spent. It is the best investment in the world. It means happiness and restored health to thousands and continued health protection for you." (*Italics ours*).

The "altruism" which leads to such reforms as sanitation, free hospital clinics, health insurance, etc., is apparently based in part on the fact that disease knows no class distinctions.

Perhaps no better illustration can be brought to indicate the class interest underlying reforms than an editorial in the *New York Post*, (3.13.36) headed: "If We Can't Be Humane, Let's Be Selfish." Pleading the case of the building service workers who were on strike at the time, it says:

Like most people in New York—workers or tenants or business men—we've been sympathetic toward the building strikers. But let's turn from humane considerations for the moment and look at the situation from a strictly business standpoint.

... There are two considerations here — the effect of these low wages and bad working conditions on business and their effect on the health and tax costs of the city.

... A higher level of wages means a higher level of turnover, brisker business in the stores, more orders for the factories, more tenants for buildings, fewer foreclosures, fewer evictions, a higher level of values of all kinds.

... From the selfish standpoint, too, there is the health angle. Our most beautiful apartment houses are only a stone's throw from slums. If elevator operators and building employees haven't enough to live decently nor enough to eat nor enough money to clothe themselves properly, *they're going to fall prey to sickness and they're going to bring the same sickness and disease into the wealthiest sections of the city.*

Sub-standard wages ultimately mean higher taxes for hospitalizing and caring for the indigent sick and aged, higher taxes to pay the cost of the truancy and the crime that inevitably go with poverty. (*Italics ours*).

On the basis of the evidence presented, the fact must stand out that the very nature of capitalism compels the capitalist class to introduce and support reforms, in order to serve their class interests.

Socialism is the Only Solution

But what of the workers? They, too, support reforms in the hope that their problems will be solved thereby. As was pointed out in the beginning, the only way in which

these problems can be solved is by removing their common cause. In other words, the means of production must be transferred from the hands of a section of the community, into the hands of society as a whole. Such a system of society, based on the common ownership of the means of production, is called Socialism.

Why then should workers interest themselves in reforms? Why continue to struggle for these futile stop-gaps? Can the workers not learn from past history in this country and other parts of the world? Despite all the reforms enacted have their problems been solved? Have poverty and insecurity vanished from our midst? A glance around us quickly reveals the fact that far from being solved, the problems in many cases have been intensified. Larger numbers of workers are now affected. For many they have passed from a temporary to a permanent condition.

Many of those who are active in seeking reforms, have admitted that capitalism nullifies in the long run all attempts to reform it for the benefit of the working class. The following quotation from the *American Freeman*, (12.15.32) a periodical which supported the reformist Socialist Party of America in the 1932 elections, stated:

Let us remember that in Australia you have witnessed *every legislative reform conceived by man put into operation. These reforms have helped them not at all, as they find themselves in the same position as the balance of the world.* By reforms I mean those measures that have looked to helping the working class, while at the same time protecting the capitalist class in their right to take profit from industry. *Reforms have failed.* There is nothing left but social revolution and when I speak of revolution I mean changing our industrial system so that no man can profit at the expense of the man who works. (*Italics ours*).

Not only does the present condition of the working class demonstrate the futility of reforms but the fact that the cry for more reforms is ever present, clinches the point. The cancer it has set out to remove, continues to exist, more malignant than ever.

—S. F.

(To Be Concluded)

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Solidarity in China!

WE LEARN of a demonstration of capitalist international solidarity from the following dispatch:

SHANGHAI, Sept. 14 (UP).—United States Marines went into action in company with British police and soldiers today to quell a riot of 1000 striking workers at the Chinese Fou Fong flour mill, in the International Settlement.

The workers demanded a month's salary in advance because of war conditions and attacked the mill when the management refused their demand. Twenty-five strikers were admitted to hospitals suffering from scalp wounds and tear gas.

The mill is on the south shore of Soochow Creek at the northern end of the United States Marines defense sector, where the line held by the Marines connects with the British lines. It is within twenty yards of the Chinese-Japanese battle area across the creek, in Chapie.

When it was a question of dealing with the working class there was no need to await instructions from Washington or London. No "exchange of views" or "diplomatic

notes" preceded the movement of the armed forces of Great Britain and the United States. The Chinese owners of the mill needed help in dealing with their workers but they did not have to appeal to the League of Nations. The means were at hand and they knew they could rely on them.

The interests of the national groups of capitalists do clash but they have a common interest when confronted by a recalcitrant working class.

This incident should help dispell the generally accepted idea that the struggle in China against Japan is in the interest of the "Chinese people" who are acting in "unity."

We learn that China has her property owning class and also a propertyless working class whose interests clash despite the fact that an invading army is but a few yards away.

In this struggle, the owners to protect their property, are as ruthless and brutal toward their own countrymen as the hated invaders.

"Unity" of "peoples" is a myth and a snare to beguile the workers into fighting their masters' battles. The Chinese workers in common with workers everywhere must some day learn this fact.

—K.

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A Reaction to Action

ALMOST seven months have elapsed since the C.I.O. called the strike against the "little steel" companies. The early part of the strike was accomplished by much disorder with workers killed and wounded in clashes with the authorities. According to the *New York Times* of October 3, 1937, there were "sixteen dead, 300 injured." In spite of the sacrifices and the response of thousands of workers to the strike call, the opposition of the steelmasters has proved too strong for the strikers.

At the same time it is ironic, to say the least, that the efforts of the workers to improve their conditions should redound to the benefit of the owners. In the same news item mentioned above, it is stated:

The strike, officially, goes on. But the companies say that that tells only part of the story.

"We are making steel now at less cost than ever before," said a man high in the Republic Steel Corporation, a spearhead of the C.I.O. campaign.

"The strike taught us some lessons. We know how to make steel more efficiently. Yes, there are still some men on strike. But we don't need them."

No benefits have been gained by the workers, but the owners profited from the experiences of the strike.

Does this mean that the workers should not engage in union activity and struggles on the economic field? By no means! This phase of the class struggle must be carried on as long as capitalism lasts. But it does mean this. The working class must understand the nature and limitations of this part of the class struggle; they must learn to organize on the political field, to capture the powers of government, for the higher and final phase of the class struggle; not for the purpose of placing restrictions or limitations on their exploitation, but in order to abolish it and introduce Socialism.

—K.

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That Word Socialism!

THE word Socialism has become a household word. As capitalism spreads over the surface of the globe, it carries with it the conditions that produce "social problems" and to be sure, interminable discussion, as to how to deal with these problems. Wherever discussion of economic, political and social problems takes place the word Socialism, is introduced sooner or later.

Unfortunately, like so many other words that are commonly used, the popular usage of the word Socialism is rivalled only by its equally common misunderstanding. Socialism means all things to all men. Confusion as to its correct meaning runs high.

There are two principle causes responsible for this confusion. Emanating from two seemingly opposed sources, they both help to produce the same effect.

The first cause of confusion has for its sources, the avowedly anti-Socialist school of thought, whose members in the main are all those whose primary interest lies in the retention and perpetuation of capitalism. The backbone of this group is the capitalist class itself. Its ownership and control of almost the entire machinery for disseminating knowledge, i.e., the press, radio, educational system, etc., explains to a considerable extent the ability of this class to accomplish this end. As Socialism is the challenge to their class domination, they must perforce distort or misrepresent its meaning.

The source of the second cause of confusion is the alleged working class movement, wherein is to be found a conglomeration of groups and parties, ranging from those who claim to be Socialist, to those to whom the word Socialism is anathema.

Let us name some of the many misconceptions of Socialism that are current today. They represent a long list of which the following are outstanding. To the opponents of Socialism, "dividing up," "the community of women," "equality," "regimentation," etc., all pass as definitions of Socialism. On the other hand, within the so-called working class movement, Socialism means, "Government or State ownership," "Soviet," "a Workers and Farmers government," "the Industrial Republic," etc.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the outcome of this condition should affect the workers in several ways. In the

first place the numerous conceptions of Socialism naturally lead to considerable confusion of ideas and also result in dividing the workers into various groups and parties, hostile to each other. They also lead to a great misuse of energy by continuous bickerings and schisms among so-called working class parties or groups. Worse still is the effect this has upon those workers who are outside of the various working class parties but who are just beginning to seek a solution to their problems. The general confusion leads to their discouragement and apathy.

To all those workers who are really seeking a solution to their problems we repeat what we have stated for many years. The answer lies in the careful examination of the material conditions out of which these problems arise. These material conditions can be summed up in one word: Capitalism.

Socialism, both as an objective as well as a system of thought, is but the reflex of the social system in which we live. Socialism and its principles are but the reduction of the facts of capitalism into several generalizations. These generalizations must be correct statements of fact. If they fail in this test, the test of fact, then they are worthless. We refer you, therefore, to our Declaration of Principles on page 8, and we challenge you also to show their incorrectness.

As a consequence, the Workers Socialist Party maintains that the only solution to the poverty, misery and insecurity of the working class lies in the establishment of Socialism. But to us, Socialism or Communism from the scientific viewpoint, has one meaning, and one meaning only; the establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means of production by and in the interest of the whole of society.



Party Activities and Directory

Local New York

SEC'Y, R. SCHWARTZ, 5 SYLVAN PLACE, NEW YORK CITY.

Monday:—Class on Principles of Socialism, at Local Headquarters, every Monday at 8:30 P. M.

Friday:—Local Business Meeting, at Local Headquarters, every First and Third Thursday of Month.

Local Boston

SEC'Y, E. RAB, 12 HAYWARD PLACE, BOSTON, MASS.

Sunday:—Forum on Current Events, at Local Headquarters, every Sunday at 8 P. M.

Tuesday:—Study Class. Text-book, *Wage-Labor and Capital*. Held at 1165 Blue Hill Ave., Dorchester, every Tuesday at 8 P. M.

Thursday:—Study Class. Text-book, *Anti-Duehring*, at Local Headquarters, every Thursday at 8 P. M.

Saturday:—Youth Movement meets at 198 Walnut Ave., Roxbury, every Saturday night.

Saturday:—Tours through Museum of Fine Arts. *Social Customs Through the Ages*. Every Third Saturday of month. Particulars from Secretary.

Local Los Angeles

SEC'Y, H. DYER, 330 W. COVINA BLVD., BALDWIN PARK, CALIF.

Mr. Crusoe and His Man Friday

The following short story was written by one A. M. Morwatt and appeared in the Toronto Daily Star, on August 27, 1936. It is an excellent satire on Capitalism.

"ONE of the most distressing things about Friday's character," said the Mad Hatter, "was his carping attitude towards the dole which Mr. Crusoe allowed him out of the pure goodness of heart."

"Imagine a man on relief objecting to anything," snapped the March Hare. "What was the fellow kicking about anyway?"

"Like Oliver Twist," replied the Mad Hatter, "the objectionable creature wanted more. 'Good Master Crusoe,' he used to say, 'my hovel is falling to pieces, my wife and I are half starving and my children are developing rickets from lack of milk. Now you, master, have an abundance of bricks and lumber and a fine herd of cows, couldn't you let me build myself a small house and give me an extra quart of milk a day?'"

'Friday,' said his master earnestly, 'I would if I could, but it just isn't possible. So for both our sakes, do let's talk about less painful subjects. Have you attended the opera lately?'

'Blast the opera!' said Friday rudely. 'You aren't using your lumber and bricks yourself, you aren't drinking the milk yourself. I know for a fact you can't sell them. You must be just wasting them, while I am starving.'

'Not wasting them,' replied his master in a pained voice. 'Don't please say wasting, Friday. Your choice of words is most unfortunate. What I am doing is restoring economic equilibrium by reducing the supply of milk and building materials till it equals the demand.'

'My hat!' cried Friday. 'There's plenty of demand. My family will supply the demand if you'll supply the supply.'

* * *

'When an intelligent person like a banker speaks of demand, Friday, please remember he means effective demand, that is a demand backed by money, and as I said before neither you nor your family have any money. So do let's talk about art or music.'

'I don't want to talk about art or music,' grumbled Friday, 'and if money is the trouble, why haven't I got any?'

'The reason you haven't got any money,' said Mr. Crusoe blandly, 'is that you haven't got anything that I want to buy from you. The island, Friday, has always been run on the Acquisitive Principle. Now when you run an island, or for that matter a Dominion or an Empire, on the Acquisitive Principle, the few acquire and the many don't. In our rough island story, it has just so happened that I did the necessary acquiring and you didn't with the happy result that I own the island and all it contains, and you own nothing.'

'Then if you own everything,' said Friday, 'why can't you allow me that extra quart of milk? Goodness knows you have enough of it!'

'I've told you just now,' snapped Mr. Crusoe, 'You've no money because you own nothing — at least nothing that I care to buy. You don't imagine that I covet that loin cloth you're wearing, do you?'

'No,' said Friday, 'I don't suppose you do, but wouldn't you care to buy my labor. I have a lot of strength and skilled craftsmanship to sell.'

'My dear man,' said Crusoe, 'your suggestion is really laughable. Don't you realize that at the present time I have a super-abundance of everything I require to satisfy my material wants. Have the courage to look the facts in the face and you will see that I have more houses than I can live in, more food and drink than I can consume, a large wardrobe, and as the auctioneers say, other articles too numerous to mention.'

'No, Friday, you must be reasonable. At the present time your skill and strength are decidedly a fifth wheel to our economic coach. I don't require them. You're just a drone in our island hive and a dashed expensive drone at that. If you don't mind me saying so, I think you were most inconsiderate to marry and have a family that required my support. The sooner you get it into your head that you are a confounded nuisance and learn to starve quietly and behave with proper humility, the better the Acquisitive Principle will work.'

'If I'm no use to anyone,' cried Friday, looking very downcast, 'I can't see why you bother to give me my dole. Why don't you let me starve quickly instead of slowly?'

'That's not an unreasonable question,' said his master approvingly, and some very eminent economists have argued with great force and cogency that that is the proper thing to do. Unfortunately, there are unsurmountable objections.'

'You surprise me,' said Friday with a nasty sneer, 'I wouldn't have thought you would have seen any.'

'Yes,' continued his master, 'the objections are insurmountable. To begin with, the time must come when I, having consumed my immense supplies of food, drink, and clothing, will need your services again, and it would be very disagreeable, if when that time came, you and your family were dead and I had to do my own work. In addition to that, it should not be forgotten that the savages on the mainland also run their affairs on the Acquisitive Principle. Between you and me, Friday, I live in constant dread that they may endeavor to acquire my island from me. If that day should ever come it is pleasant to feel that you and your sons, even if they have rickets, will spring to arms and die in defense of me and our Island Heritage.'

'Where do you get this "OUR" stuff?' growled Friday, 'I'll be shot if I defend your Island.'

'You'll be shot if you don't,' said his master grimly. 'Besides, where's your sense of gratitude for the dole I've been giving you all these years?'

Workers Socialist Party vs. Independent Communist Labor League

ON Sunday, October 3rd, a debate was held with the Independent Communist Labor League, (formerly, the Communist Party Opposition or Lovestone Group). The debate took place at the headquarters of our Local Boston, 12 Hayward Place, Boston. The I.C.L.L. was represented by a Mr. Mautner, while the W.S.P. spokesman was Comrade I. Rab. The subject debated was "Whose Principles Are Correct: Workers Socialist Party or Independent Communist Labor League?"

Mr. Mautner, in his main talk laid down the major tenets of his organization. In doing so, he said that the I.C.L.L. was concerned with the tactics and strategy for setting the masses in motion. He quoted Frederick Engels to show that "a great national movement, no matter what its form, is the real starting point of working class development," pointing to the 400,000 members of the Auto Workers Union as an example of such a movement, adding, "Some were formerly Ku Kluxers and members of the Black Legion, now they are good workers for the cause of labor." This union activity, he continued, led to a formation of a Labor Party, "something totally new." He further went on to say, "We expect to be in opposition to the Labor Party in the future, but now the problem is to break the workers from their old ideology."

Mr. Mautner spoke of reforms, recognizing that such measures help bolster up the capitalist system, but claiming, however, that fighting for reforms has value in that it teaches the working class the need for political action.

In dealing with Russia, Mr. Mautner described the situation there as a "Proletarian State" where the Russians are engaged in "Socialist construction." However, current history forces him to note "bureaucratic distortions existing there." Despite this, he claimed the Soviet state is organized exclusively for the workers, pointing out, however, that the new socialist economy in Russia had not yet developed a new terminology, therefore, "wages" really means "certificates." "The workers receive according to their deeds."

Mr. Mautner concluded by maintaining that a Labor Party program in America would lead to a Marxist program.

Comrade Rab, in his main talk analyzed the differences in principles between the two organizations. He listed the four main differences as follows: (1) The value of parliamentary activity; (2) The question of reforms; (3) The question of trade unionism; (4) The analysis of Soviet Russia.

In dealing with the first, Comrade Rab stated briefly the Party's position on parliamentary action, concluding this point by showing that the I.C.L.L. maintained that the revolutionary act comes about with the smashing of the existing state; that it must be an armed uprising led by a matured vanguard, a position contrary and opposed to that of the W.S.P. which defined the revolutionary act as the

seizure of political power by a class conscious majority of the proletariat.

Discussing reforms, Comrade Rab maintained that the only way the workers can improve their lot is by the establishment of Socialism. He showed that the I.C.L.L., on the other hand, supports a "struggle for daily aims based on the existing stage of understanding."

On the trade union question, he brought out that although the economic organization of the workers is very necessary in order that they sell their labor-power to the best advantage, unions have many limitations and weaknesses. Unions must depend upon numbers rather than on understanding. They cannot, in the long run, alter the downward trend of working class conditions. They are concerned primarily with the wages and hours problems rather than with overthrowing capitalism.

In dealing with the Russian question, Comrade Rab denied the existence of a Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Soviet Russia as accepted by the I.C.L.L. He pointed out, among other things, that the U.S.S.R. is going through a period of capitalist development and showed that the social relations of a capitalist economy exist there.

Mr. Mautner opened his rebuttal by asking Comrade Rab where there was surplus-value in Russia. Next, he denounced the use of the ballot saying, "When a Socialist Party advocates the ballot it breaks away from the principles of Socialism." "Marx stood for the smashing of the state." He insisted "what the workers need is a revolution based on soviets."

Comrade Rab in his rebuttal answered the questions raised by Mr. Mautner. Dealing with the question of "surplus-value in Russia," he defined surplus-value as the wealth that is extracted from the workers through the wages system. In Russia they have all the relationships of capital and wage labor and therefore, surplus-value. The existence of inheritance and income taxes, a banking system, laws pertaining to investments and interest, together with workers living on the barest of subsistence alongside of another group living in luxury—all go to describe surplus-value production or capitalism in Russia.

On the question of political action, Comrade Rab showed that the Socialist working class does not smash the state, pointing out also that Marx in no place advocated the smashing of the state, but on the contrary advocated its capture so that the workers could, "lop off its repressive features and transform it into an agent of emancipation."

Dealing with the Labor Party he showed its many weaknesses, how it was used for class collaboration, reforming and administering capitalism, and therefore against Socialist principles.

In conclusion, he called for a united front for Socialism.

According to the arrangements for the debate, the question period took place between the main talks and the rebuttals. Most of the questions dealt with the experiences of the British Labor Party.

The Light of Knowledge

"THE light of knowledge makes man the master of nature," said Joseph Dietzgen, and with its assistance he is able in the summer to produce the ice of winter and in the winter the fruits and flowers of summer; but one may ask, notwithstanding his mastery of Nature, what use is he making of the "light of knowledge" in this 20th century?

Man has antagonized nature to such a degree that a bounteous supply of all the necessary human requirements in the form of food, clothing and housing accommodation are a scientific possibility. Yet we have millions on a diet which breeds malnutrition and an early death, we have untold millions wearing rags and the cast-off clothing of others and there is a world-wide shortage of dwelling houses such as was never known before. Due to man's conquest of nature he has developed the productive forces to such a high pitch of perfection that it becomes necessary to sabotage production; thus we have the insane paradox of curtailing production while striving to produce more. Could there be a greater indictment of capitalism?

The Department of Agriculture in the United States Government, is seriously contemplating throwing 25 million acres of grain land out of cultivation in 1938. An act of sabotage which means a possible shrinkage in the 1938 crop of grain of somewhere in the region of 300 million bushels. It is a wonderful picture when looked at through working class eyes. The object in this form of absurdity is of course to keep up the price of grain, which means that the higher the price of grain the more must the poor pay for bread. It also means unemployment to the extent of the amount of labor power required to handle 25 million acres of grain land, and it will also mean further unemployment in other lines of industry which are dependent on that which farmers and farm laborers buy. A case of keep up the price and destroy the market.

From these acts of sabotage one could judge that "the light of knowledge" does not shine very bright among so-called bourgeois statesmen. Reason informs us that grain is a food and therefore should be grown to eat; but bourgeois economists tell us that grain is grown to gamble with in the domain of profit for some, which also includes the domain of loss for the mass. An absurdity supported by the mass.

There is a definite reason for the concrete existence of the insane paradox. The starving of scores of thousands of human beings while tons upon tons of food are destroyed is absolutely essential, likewise the extreme poverty and degradation of millions of the working class is necessary. It is necessary because the system of economics in vogue is based on the private ownership of the means whereby all exist, it is necessary because goods are produced for sale at a profit to the owners and not for the use of all. So long as the working class allows and supports this asinine process of private ownership in the means and instruments of produc-

The Workers Socialist Party *Its Object and Declaration of Principles*

OBJECT: The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

The Workers Socialist Party holds:—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railroads, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone all wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation for the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE WORKERS SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the workers of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labor, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those who agree with the above principles and who desire membership in the Party, should apply to the Secretary of the nearest Local.

tion and distribution, it must suffer while the ruling class prospers.

"The light of knowledge" informs us that when the working class can see that light in large enough numbers they will destroy a system of human relations which at best can only perpetuate slavery, and a form of slavery far more degrading than bond or chattel slavery. It rests with the working class as a whole to decide whether it wishes to remain the drudge of a parasitic class or become free men and women.

—C.C.H., Canada.