

GE OBSERVATORY
ASSACHUSETTS

E MASS. (3)



255/1

"PHYSICA,"
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MS van The Workers Way to Freedom

*Is in stukjes door elkaar gedrukt en afgedrukt
in Livins klassiek
als brochure niet*

Dear Comrade

The matter as you propose it to me in your letter of March 1, is indeed a difficult one; lack of money is of course a most powerful impedance. I see your point and I think you are right, that it is better to cut the pamphlet ^{into} separate parts. Of course this has also its difficulties, because it was set up as one continuous line of thought. ~~We~~ ^{were} aware that ~~it~~ ^{for a short time} it was not and should not be a leaflet to rouse the reader to interest in a topic, but rather a small book, to be read at ease and thought over, to give the reader some fundamental ideas and make him critical to all these noisy slogans, ^{that} intend to draw him along by superficial appearances; ~~and~~ because the American workers, when their movement broadens and gets stronger, will be confronted with all these pitfalls of reformism, of easier ways, ~~of~~ class peace and good will, of violent appeals to give "the last stroke to dying capitalism", of so-called common sense etc, it was necessary to describe the former phases of working class movements, show their good reason and their deficiency - and so climb up to a view of the great class-struggles in future. Hence an introduction was necessary, first to state the simple reasons for communism, then to state ^{the} power and weakness of the ~~existing~~ opposing classes. If the book now is cut into its separate parts: trade-unionism, socialism, communism, revolution, ^{where is their relations are broken, and} where is the place for their fundamental common basis? [~~It~~ I think ~~it~~ ^{it} could be made ^{so that their minds are prepared to see things in their true dimensions} ~~in order, in such a way,~~ ~~that this~~ ~~the~~ practical form is given to your proposal: we ~~will~~ divide the booklet into three parts of nearly equal size (in the form of printing of Bakunin's Inevitability of Communism, the only this I have at hand, each would take then 20-24 pages) 1. Capitalism and labor movement (contains ~~the~~ ^{the} 3 first parts; the necessity of communism, the great power of capital, the chief ^{capacities} ~~resources~~ ^{and their growth} of the workers; then trade unionism; ~~The reader from~~ ^{from} the first parts will ~~see~~ ^{conceive} readily his own criticism to trade unionism). 2. Socialist and communist politics (cont^{ains} ^{the} parts on Socdem, on Russian Rev, on Comm. Party;

to see the rise and fall of what ^{during} (long years seemed the all promising road to freedom)
3. The big fight before us (cont. the ⁴ chapters on fascism, intell, revolution, councils ;
showing the increase, force of resistance of ^{modern} capitalism, the danger of state socialism, and the
basis of the workers revolution). Of course their beginning and end of each has to
be remodelled somewhat. [It is always a difficult matter, ~~when~~ ^{once that} the line of thought
is fixed, to change it, to break it off and to begin in an independent way anew.]
~~But~~ In this separation in 3 parts it could be done with least trouble. The general
title could be kept in this case ; and then ^{with} subtitles 1 ; 2 ; 3 as indicated above,
or something else, what would best represent the contents and awaken interest.

The Workers' Way to Freedom

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by J. Harper

1

Capitalism

Work is the basis of human existence. Nature produces everything ^{needed to the life of} ~~what is necessary to live for~~ beast and man. But it must be ^{sought} ~~searched~~ ^{won} ~~at the cost of~~ pains and labors, toil and trouble for and ^{with} ~~with~~ pains, ^{with} ~~with~~ labor.

This labor ^{has} ~~has~~ ^{assumed} many forms, from the hunting and root digging of the primitive savages ^{to} ~~to~~ modern industry and agriculture ^{by means of} ~~with~~ perfect machines and highly developed science. It shows ^{an uninterrupted} ~~a continuous~~ progress, ^{in that} ~~in that~~ labor is growing more efficient. Its productivity increases, i.e. the same product costs ^{(increasingly) ever} ~~continually~~ less labor. This increase was extremely rapid, ^{and is} ~~and is~~ ^{growing} ~~steadily~~ ^{growing} more so, in modern times.

increasingly?

What is the outcome of this tremendous progress? ^{Steady increase} of productivity means that ^{finally} ~~at last~~ an abundant ^{amount} ~~quantity~~ of all necessities for ^{all mankind} ~~the whole people~~ can be produced ^{at the cost of} ~~with~~ a moderate labor task for each. That the imperious demands of our bodily needs ^{no} ~~do not any longer~~ ^{the possibility of} ~~enslave us~~. It means (abundance, leisure and freedom for mankind).

This point has already been reached in modern times. It has been computed that ^{in order to} ~~with~~ ^{the best modern} ~~technical means~~ ^{ascertain} an easy middle class living for ^{every} ~~each~~ citizen in the United States ^{two or three} ~~two or three~~ ^{a day} ~~working-hours~~ ^(work daily) ~~during ten years~~ ^(would be sufficient).

Why then ^{is} ~~is~~ ^{misery and poverty} ~~misery and poverty~~ for the great masses? Why ^{instead of leisure} ~~the long exhausting hours of work~~? ^{Why} ~~Why~~ ^{often tyrannical} ~~sway~~ ⁱⁿ ~~stead of freedom~~? The answer is given by an examination of the capitalistic ^(production system).

Mainly ~~the~~ industry and transport works with large machines.
 Capitalism means private ownership in big industry. The big instruments of production cannot be owned by everybody separately; every ^{man} ~~body~~ could have ^{his} ~~own~~ ^{wheel-barrow} ~~own~~ ^{he cannot have his} ~~own~~ railway. Big ~~industry~~ industry could be owned ^{either} ~~by the whole people~~ ^{all} collectively, or by some few very rich people privately. ^{Big industry} ~~It~~ ^{out of} ~~arose~~ ^a ~~social~~ world of small ^{industry and small} producers: settlers, small farmers, craftsmen, ^{to whom} ~~for which~~ private ownership of their tools, their lots of land was a necessity. ^{in their work} Private business was the foundation of society. Then ^(private) ~~Out of~~ ^{than by technical progress} ~~small~~ ^{private} ~~business~~ ^{big} ~~business~~ developed.

How does capitalism work? The ~~the~~ ^{raw} ~~possessor~~ ^{worked in} of capital buys a factory, buys the machines, buys the ~~material~~ ^{own} material to be ~~worked in~~ ^{worked in} the machines. He hires poor people, who ~~own~~ ^{own} nothing ~~but~~ ^{but} the labor power of their body. He buys their labor power and ^{consumes this property} ~~he~~ ^{by having them} ~~with~~ ^{and the product (also his)} ~~his~~ ^{them} ~~machines~~ ^{being} ~~the~~ ^{them} ~~value~~ ^{the} of ~~his~~ ^{their} labor power, i.e. ~~what~~ ^{what} is necessary to produce this labor power anew, i.e. ~~what~~ ^{what} the value of the necessities ~~the~~ ^a ~~man~~ ^{needs} ~~wants~~ for his living. He sells the ~~produced~~ ^{exceeds} ~~goods~~ ^{is more than}. Now the value a man can produce during a week's work ~~is more than~~ ^{exceeds} the value of ~~what~~ ^{what} ~~he~~ ^{needs} ~~wants~~ for ~~his~~ ^{one week's} ~~living~~ ^{living} ~~this~~ ^{this} ~~week~~. The difference, the surplus value, is the capitalist's profit. This profit is ~~the~~ ^{aim,} ~~goal~~ ^{the goal}, the object, ^{taking the} the reason of his ~~trouble~~ ^{trouble} of producing goods.

Thus the capitalist class is exploiting the labor of the workers, its richest mine of wealth. Such an exploitation is not new. Always during the history of civilization the working masses ~~have been able to~~ ^{could} produce more than the necessities of their own life.

The surplus was taken from them by ^{the} ruling classes - kings, feudal lords, priests - ^{it was this surplus that} and formed ^{the} basis of ^{their masters} "civilization".
 Whilst ^{dire} necessity reigned in the homes of the ~~the~~ workers.
 This surplus, at first small, increased by the increased productivity of labor. Now it ^{has become} so large, that ^{through it} capital itself grows ~~by it~~ at an enormous rate. The whole capitalist class ^{and} all its attendants live ^{on} from this surplus, big finance taking ⁱⁿ the greatest share.

What ~~is the~~ share ^{falls to} of the workers themselves? They only get - ^{if they do} what is ^{just} the bare means of existence for them and their family. Hence they are doomed to remain havenots, to remain proletarians for ever.

Such is the economical structure of capitalism. ^{This} It is bad enough: ^{this tremendous gigantic} such ~~tremendous~~ power of mankind to produce abundance for every body, whilst ^{are} ~~each~~ and still the majority of the people ^{poor, with no hope of} ~~are~~ dependent, slaves of their work, without hope. But in reality it ^{is} ~~is~~ worse. ^{even} still.

Capitalism is competition of private enterprises. The weapon in competition is cheap production. Big machines with few workers produce the same goods at a smaller cost than small machines with many workers. The increase ⁱⁿ productivity ^{of the work} means substitution of machines for ~~costly~~ men. The whole history of capitalism is a turning out of workmen, made jobless ^{through} the perfection, the rationalization of machinery. They form the army of (unemployed) ^{that} ^{lead a life of starvation until one} ~~which~~ have to wait whether by an increase of production ^{provides them with} (they) may perhaps find work again.

Capitalism can only exist by extending continually its domain. For its increasing production it must seek ~~for~~ foreign markets. When the home

markets restrict their buying power, ~~still more eagerly~~ ^{all the more eagerly.} foreign markets are sought for. ~~The~~ ^{to} foreign continents are opened ^{to} the products of capitalism; (~~barbaric~~ ^{countries of} ~~lands~~ ^{tribes} as well as ^{empires of} ~~old~~ ^{old} civilization) are revolutionized. There ~~is~~ a fierce strife arises between capitalist groups and capitalist states over the domination of markets, of colonies, of foreign countries. Their oppos^{ing} interests break out into wars, where the mass of the people, the working class has to fight, to die, to be ~~crippled~~ ^{crippled} for ~~the~~ ^{the} (of the capitalist's profit interests). ~~The~~ ^{last} world war has ruined the economies of Europe; America ~~only~~ ^{entered} only at the last moment ~~into it~~. The next world war will ruin the economies of America and ^{of} the whole world.

^{There is no} Capitalism is production for profit. Of course it must produce goods that can be sold, ~~and in this way~~ ^{else for profit} it is at the same time production ^{with regard to} of the necessities for the life of mankind. But ~~its~~ ^{with regard to} purpose and ~~its~~ ^{with regard to} directing force it is production for profit. When the profit ceases or is doubtful the capitalist stops the production. ^{He is the master. He creates} ~~It provides~~ ^{It provides} the necessities for ~~the~~ ^{the} society, ^{Thus the providing for the needs of society,} ~~the~~ ^{every} first condition of life for ~~each~~ ^{every} community, is left to the profit hunger of private capitalists. That this ~~cannot be relied upon~~ ^{is an unreliable political affair} is shown by the crises. Periodically, ^{through} the inner laws of capitalism, a ~~time~~ ^{time} of prosperity, ^{when} ~~where~~ production ~~is increased~~ ^{expands} year by year, is followed by a breaking down, a depression, a crisis, ~~where~~ ^{when} the armies of the unemployed increase and the production is restricted. What a crisis means, the workers ~~may~~ ^{can} experience ~~now~~ ^{to day, now} that a world crisis reigns ^{is} ~~so heavy~~ ^{to an extent} ~~as never before,~~ ^{witnessed} ~~so long and deep that it~~ ^{looks as if} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~never~~ ^{never} ~~be able~~ ^{to recover from it.}

~~Now~~ Crisis and world war show that capitalism cannot master the mighty productive forces it has developed. Society is like a powerful motor car with a baby behind the wheel. Production is like a brainless monster, composed of mighty disjunctive parts ~~not~~ ~~the~~ ^{Directed (no)} by ~~no~~ common consciousness. Governments may try to make some regulations, to institute a leading superior power; but so long as profit is the basis and the moving force of the economic system, a real conscious order cannot exist.

For the working class ^{is this.} ~~this is~~ the situation. They see before them the big ^{of} production apparatus, the factories, the machines, — the products all of their own hands — idle and ~~at rest~~ ^{inactive.}. They themselves have hands to ~~work~~ ~~and~~ ~~they~~ ~~will~~ ~~eager~~ ~~to~~ ~~work~~, ~~and~~ ~~also~~ ~~are~~ ~~enforced~~ ~~to~~ ~~work~~ ~~and~~ ~~they~~ ~~are~~ ~~hungry~~ ~~and~~ ~~they~~ ~~badly~~ ~~in~~ ~~need~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~all~~ ~~necessaries~~ ~~of~~ ~~life~~. When they ~~set~~ ~~the~~ ~~production~~ ~~apparatus~~ ~~to~~ ~~work~~ ~~and~~ ~~go~~ ~~to~~ ~~work~~, they can produce all they ~~want~~ ^{need.}. But ~~it~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~allowed~~; the capitalist class is the master and prevents the workers to produce what society ~~wants~~ ~~requires~~.

~~There has been an analogous situation in history, on a smaller scale. In France, before the Great Revolution, a large part of the ~~soil~~ ~~belonged~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~Church~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~nobles~~; ~~and~~ ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~or~~ ~~badly~~ ~~worked~~; ~~the~~ ~~farmers~~ ~~wanted~~ ~~it~~, ~~and~~ ~~they~~ ~~lived~~ ~~in~~ ~~poverty~~, ~~because~~ ~~also~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~use~~ ~~of~~ ~~their~~ ~~own~~ ~~land~~ ~~they~~ ~~were~~ ~~restricted~~, ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~Revolution~~ ~~gave~~ ~~it~~ ~~to~~ ~~them~~, ~~and~~ ~~they~~ ~~produced~~ ~~an~~ ~~abundance~~ ~~of~~ ~~food~~, ~~which~~ ~~made~~ ~~it~~ ~~possible~~ ~~to~~ ~~France~~ ~~to~~ ~~sustain~~ ~~a~~ ~~twenty~~ ~~year~~ ~~war~~ ~~against~~ ~~the~~ ~~whole~~ ~~of~~ ~~Europe~~.~~

Can anybody believe that ~~forever~~ ~~the~~ ~~machines~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~workers~~ ~~can~~ ~~be~~ ~~kept~~ ~~separated~~? ~~and~~ ~~how~~ ~~only~~ ~~by~~ ~~a~~ ~~spell~~. A spell, ~~named~~ ~~the~~ ~~right~~ ~~of~~ ~~property~~. ~~And~~ ~~how~~ ~~are~~ ~~they~~ ~~kept~~ ~~separated~~?)

(It is clear ~~hence~~) that capitalism is a passing, temporary form of society. It had a beginning and it will have an end. In its beginning it was a new and necessary form of production: only by the eager competition of capital ~~and~~ ^{and} the ^{steady} accumulation of capital ^{out of} ~~from~~ the surplus value, the slow progress of the petty world of small producers could be accelerated to the world-conquering rapid ^{technical} progress of ^{to day} ~~techniques~~, ^{to the extent} ~~up to the point~~ that an abundant living for ~~the~~ all should be possible. But now capitalism ~~becomes~~ stands in the way of progress, it cannot master the economic powers it ^{has} ~~itself~~ generated, and ^{it} becomes a power of destruction and ~~to~~ regress. It ^{is bound to} ~~must~~ disappear.

Capitalism ~~itself~~ ^{is a} transitory form of production, which ^{points} ~~itself~~ to a ^{further a} ~~higher~~ higher form.

We call it private capitalism, private enterprise. But private is only the ^{juridical} ~~juristic~~ form of ^{ownership} ~~property~~, not the technical form of the labor process. ~~The~~ Labor is a collective process. In a big factory, or in a railway, a collectivity of men is working and ~~producing~~ ^{the} ~~production of~~ ~~big enterprises cannot be handled by a single~~ handling the complicated ~~of production apparatus~~. It is highly organized collective work; only by a ^{strict} ~~precise~~ adaptation of each member to the whole ^{an exact accurate} ~~a secure~~ ^{secured} ~~work~~ running and a high performance is ^{warranted}.

Correct
will define
rigid

But while the work is collective, the ownership is private. The ^{outcome} ~~result~~ of the collective labor is ^{seized} ~~taken~~ by the capitalist as his private property. The ^{juridical} ~~juristic~~ form is in straight contradiction to the technical form. In the ^{old modes of} ~~former~~ (small production and craft, ^{work and ownership were in harmony;} the worker owned his tools. ^{Whoever had to work with the technical implements, must also} ~~have them at his disposition~~. In ^{developed} ~~capitalism~~ this harmony ^{has been} ~~is~~ broken.

Can we restore the harmony by ^{old small craft?}
~~It is not possible to changing~~ the technical form back to the ~~juridical forms,~~
 That is impossible. a of centuries, and knowledge of modern society,
 (The result of progress (the high technique, the warranting coming richness
 for all mankind), cannot be abolished. The only possible means of removing
 the contradiction is ^{lead to} ~~adapting~~ the ^{juridical} juridical form to the technical reality.

The collectivity of workers, who use and handle the modern machinery
~~command and~~ should also possess them. Collective work implies collective ownership.

And since the ~~fact~~ factories and means of production of the whole
^{one of the whole world} country form a unity ^{and} must work together as one large ^{apparatus of} production
~~apparatus~~ ^{this should} ~~ownership~~ ^{be} be the property of the ~~whole~~
^{as a body} working people. This is the next ^{needed} form of production ^{indicated} (indicated
 and foretold by the contradictions of present ^{day} capitalism. ^{needed} ~~the~~ ^{production?} production?

✓ in meaning
 Whether there is a real difference in meaning between ~~and~~ these names ~~will~~ will be seen afterwards.

Defenders of capitalism will say that we have too easily dismissed
 the capitalist in the production process. For he has also a necessary
 function, ^{just as much} quite as well as the working ^{ers} man. He is the leader of ~~the~~
^{and consequently} ~~the~~ the ^{efficiency} efficiency
 production; by his command the unity and the organization of the
 collective process is secured. In petty capitalism this is certainly
 true; because the capitalist is the owner of the means of production
 he is at the same time the leader of the work. But in highly developed
 capitalism these two sides ^{have been} ~~are~~ separated. As the leader we find a
 director, and the owners are the shareholders. This leader ^{is} ~~is~~ ^{inconsistent} ~~is~~ ^{only} only
 in leading ^{difficult} the process of making profit; he has to direct matters in such
 a way, that the greatest profit (is made) for the owners. The ~~the~~ technical
production process of necessities is the simple duty of the workers, the
 engineers and the technical staff.

In the shareholders the juridical character of the capitalist ^{appears} ~~is isolated~~
 pure and simple. They have no function at all in the production process of

They are sitting at home, or at some country ^{place} ~~site~~ or in Key West or in a mountain hotel; they have ^{all} ~~nothing~~ to do ^{is} ~~than~~ to receive the dividends, ~~then~~ the divided-up surplus value, and to spend them. They are parasites of society; they have the same function ^{in society} as pests in agriculture. They ~~are the exponents of the~~ ^{critical illustration show us} ~~part played by~~ ^{real} private property in modern capitalism.

The ~~substitution of~~ Collective ownerships of the ~~production apparatus of~~ ^{means of} ~~their~~ ^{instead of} private ownership means in the first place the throwing off of these parasites. But it means more. ^{direct} ~~masters and owners of the products~~ ^{directed} ~~by~~ ^{means that the workers} ~~instead of being paid a salary as price of their labor power, are~~ ^{led and directed} ~~by~~ Collective ownership means the production ~~led and~~ managed by the workers themselves. Not for the sake of profit, but ^{provide simply} ~~to secure~~ the necessities of life. It is production for use, guided only by the ^{needs} ~~interests~~ of society, hence ^{clear} ~~directed~~ by ^{consciousness} of the result. By making use of the best technical means, ~~it provides~~ abundant wealth ^{will} ~~can~~ be produced for all. Instead of a society based on exploitation of the ~~poor~~ numerous poor by the ruling few ^{get real} ~~we have~~ a common wealth. The productive forces are dominated by man and used for his welfare. Then mankind ^{will have} ~~is~~ secured for ever ^{its} ~~the~~ life subsistence. ^{as Engels said} It is ^{the} ~~the~~ transition ^{from} of the reign of necessity into the reign of freedom.

It is the task of the working class to bring about the new society. For the workers, ^{the} capitalist system is a ~~curse~~ lifelong curse; hard work and a poor ~~life~~ ^{living} in times of prosperity, unemployment and pauperization in times of depression. Communism ^{means the prospect} ~~promises~~ of wealth, of freedom, of happiness to them. They must ^{desires} ~~wish~~ communism with all their heart. ^(It will take away their profit, the basis of their existence as capitalists.)

But the capitalist class hates communism. ^(The scientists of capitalism have given) ~~some~~ ^{brought forward} ~~dozen~~ ^{some dozen} reasons, why communism ^{will} ~~would~~ be a ^{disaster} ~~catastrophe~~, a calamity ~~of the world~~, the destruction of all civilization, the fall of mankind into deep barbarism. ^{So} ~~In~~ ^{the capitalists} ~~defending~~ ^{greedy} their profits ~~they~~ ~~have~~ the conviction that they defend human culture against barbarian hordes.

Thus the ~~struggle~~ ^{struggle} contest between capitalism and communism is a contest between the two opposi^{ing} ~~ing~~ classes. It is a ~~struggle~~ class-struggle between the capitalist class and the working class.

The workers will have to fight, if they ^{want to} ~~would~~ ^(have communism).

And ^{when they fight} they will be right; for the ~~historical~~ ^{imposed upon them by history, as their share in the} progress of mankind is with them. It is their ^{honorable} ~~historical~~ ^(great) ~~task~~, in the ~~great~~ ^{rising} history of the human race, to fight ~~the capitalist class~~, to vanquish and to beat down the capitalist class, ~~and to~~ ^{and} ~~in this~~ ^{and}

^(and in this) Social revolution, to establish communism.

~~What are the conditions of this fight, and how are~~ ^{At the present day} ~~we~~ ^{are} living ^{in the beginning of this} ~~in~~ ^{struggle} in the beginning of this ~~fight~~ ^{fight}. Hence it is ^{a matter of first} ~~of the~~ ^{its} ~~utmost~~ ^{importance} to inquire, what are ~~the~~ ^{its} conditions, and how it has to be fought.

The Power of the Classes

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10

The power of
capitalism

Let us first ^{consider} ~~look at~~ the adversary.

~~Enormous~~ The power of the capitalist class ^(Never in history is enormous) was there a ruling class with such a power.

This power ^{is} ~~is~~ ^{is} money power. All treasures of the world are theirs; ~~the old world~~ and modern capital, produced by the ceaseless toil of millions of workers, exceeds all the treasures of the old world. The surplus ^(is partly accumulated into more and new capital; partly it must value) ~~is~~ ^{is} to be spent by the capitalists. They buy servants for their personal attendance; cannot they buy also people to defend them, to ^{safeguard} ~~defend~~ their power and their dominating position? In capitalism everything can be bought for money; ~~the~~ muscles and brains ^{as well as} love and honor, have become market ^{goods} ~~things~~. Said Rockefeller, old John D: everybody can be bought, if you only know his price. The statement is not exactly true; but it shows a capitalist's view of the world.

The capitalists buy young proletarians to ^{form} ~~make~~ a fighting force. ^{In the same way} ~~just~~ as against strikes they buy Pinkertons, ^{and barracks} they may, in times of greater danger, organize big ^{armies} fighting ^{well fed and} ~~groups~~ of volunteers, provided with the best modern arms, ^{well paid,} to defend the sacred ^{capitalist} order. ~~the~~

But capitalism cannot be defended by brutal force ^{alone.} ~~only~~. Being itself the outcome of a high development of intellectual forces, it must be defended by intellectual forces in the first place. Behind the physical ^{fight} ~~struggle~~ in the class struggle stands the spiritual contest of ideas. Capitalists know that, often better than the workers ^{do} ~~know it~~. Hence they buy all the good brains, they can ^{get} ~~have~~, of course, ^(more often) by paying them accordingly, ^(for instance) ~~often~~ ^{often} ~~not always~~ in ^a ~~the~~ ^{coarse} ~~rough~~ open way; but indirectly, ^{by} ~~by~~ spending money for cultural aims. Numerous students of science ^{all} ~~over~~ the ^{whole} ~~whole~~ world ^{over} (have profited) in their researches from the "Rockefeller Foundation";

often

so the name Rockefeller ^{sounds well} has a ~~good sound~~ in the world of natural sciences, ^{where low is never heard of} (and it serves capitalism well). Capitalists ~~have~~ ^{have} founded universities all over America, where among other sciences also sociology ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~taught~~ ^{taught}, to demonstrate the impossibility ~~of~~ ^{of} and ~~wickedness~~ ^{the strictly} of communism. The young people ^{leave the universities} ~~are~~ ^{they} imbued with these ideas and know that high salaries and public honors await them if they do not deviate from the straight capitalist ^{path} way. The capitalists buy ^{the press,} papers, buy editors, buy all means of publicity, and in this way ~~dominate~~ ^{dominate} public opinion. Money reigns ^{over} the world, in the first place because it can buy all the brain power of the world.

+ the entire nation
the entire nation

It is an invisible spiritual despotism, by which ~~the world~~ ^{the world} is thinking just as the capitalist class will have them think.

Capitalist power, in the second place, is political power.

The State is the organization of the capitalist class, ~~not an organization~~ ^{Its task is to enable} of production as in socialism, ~~but an organization which enables~~ ^{to make} ~~the capitalists to produce~~ ^{to render possible} private production, ~~the separate business of~~ ^{to carry on their separate business} and

to ~~enable~~ ^{enable} the separate capitalists, by protecting them and regulating their intercourse. Government is the Executive Board of the capitalist class.

critic

The Government makes laws, to protect honest business men against thieves and murderers. Shall it not make laws too against strikers, who are more dangerous, and against red revolutionists who threaten the future of all business?

Behind the authority of law (stand) police and jail to enforce it. In ~~every~~ ^{every} strike, & in ~~every~~ ^{every} political demonstration, the workers find the police power against them, clubbing their heads, throwing them into jail, ^{for the benefit of} ~~to serve~~ (class and) the capitalists, to protect the capitalist's profit. ~~to~~ ^{gangs} ~~bands~~ of hired thugs are ~~legals~~ ^{sworn as deputy sheriffs, to give them} and given ~~to~~ ^{and given} in ~~given~~ ^{given} to them. And when the workers cannot be beaten down

in this way, militia and citizen guards are ~~used~~ ^{mobilized} against them.

~~The army~~ In each capitalist State ^{the army} is the strongest ~~of~~ force, in the service of the capitalist class, ^{because} for its contest with other capitalist states it ~~wants~~ ^{needs} the entire fighting power ^{of the whole country,} ^{all classes included.} ^{together} The army is a highly organized ~~body~~ ^{body}, bound by the strictest military discipline, provided ~~it~~ with the most cruel, refined and effective means of killing and destroying. ~~When~~ ^{if} it is used in political wars, where in the worst case the capitalist class ~~only~~ ^{suffers only} heavy losses, ~~should~~ ^{is} it not ~~be used~~ ^{then to} in case of revolution, ~~where the aim is to abolish, to~~ ^{capitalist class is threatened} ~~annihilate the~~ ^{menaced} capitalist class at all? ^{with complete loss of all their possessions?}

~~The~~ ^{Thus} State is the stronghold of capitalism. As a strongly organized power, over the whole ^{country} ~~realm~~ ^{realms} directed by ~~the~~ ^{one} ~~will~~ ^{will}, provided with ^{a heavily armed physical force} ~~strong arms~~, it protects the capitalist class.

Physical ~~force~~ ^{power}, however, is not sufficient to subdue a people or a class. How many strong governments ^{in history, though} well armed, have been ~~overrun~~ ^{overthrown} by rebellions! Spiritual forces in most cases are decisive above mere physical power. ~~Also~~ ^{in the long run it is more effectual} ~~in capitalism~~ ^{at the long run} the rule holds ^{good} that to fool people is more efficient than to beat them.

(good)

Capitalist power then, thirdly, consists in its intellectual power.

The ideas of a ruling class, ^{as a rule} ~~usually~~ ^{of} pervade the whole society.

^{in the main,} ^{chiefly} ^{certainly} The capitalist class could not buy guards and intellectuals, if these ~~did not~~ ^{fellows} ~~have in principle~~ ^{with it in common} the same ~~ideas and feelings.~~ ^{share its} ^{in common}

Capitalist government could not ~~dominate~~ ^{even} govern with ~~its~~ ^{power} its strong physical ~~power~~ ^{power}, if not the ~~people~~ ^{masses of the} ~~were~~ ^{were} filled with the same spirit as the government itself.

itself. How is it possible, that ⁱⁿ the mass of the people, even ⁱⁿ the working class, ~~is~~ ^{exists} ~~is~~ this capitalistic spirit ^{is current?} ~~is current?~~ ^{is current?}

Firstly by ~~tradition~~ ^{inheritance} and ~~descent~~ ^{descent}. ~~Capitalist thinking~~ ^{the frame of thought} (and ^{the} capitalist spirit) are nothing but the spirit and ~~thinking~~ ^{thinking} of the former middle classes, the petty producers. The idea of private property as a natural right, the belief that every ^{one} ~~body~~ can build his own fortune, ~~and~~ ^{and} that free competition ~~is~~ ^{guarantees} the best ^{result} for each, the ~~maxim~~ ^{maxim} that ~~each~~ ^{every one} has only to care for himself and let God care for all, ^{the conviction} (that thrift and industry are the virtues ^{which} that secure prosperity), that America (or what ^{ever may be} else is your nationality) is the best country and should be defended against other nations — all this is inherited from the ^{and the class} time of small business. ^{And this is the very creed} ~~But it is just what~~ (big business ^{wants} ~~to be believed by the masses~~ ^{to believe in}) as eternal truths.

The fathers ~~and~~ ^{or} grandfathers of the ~~proletarians~~ ^{proletarians} of to day were ~~also~~ ^{themselves} such small business men: small farmers, settlers, ^{even small capitalists, ridden down by competition;} craftsmen (either in America, or somewhere in Europe. They too have inherited these ideas, and in their youth ^(they found) ~~found~~ them ^{to be} true. ~~But then~~ ^{and for ever} ~~rapidly~~ ^{rapidly} changed society, ~~developed~~ ^{developed} big industry developed, ^{they became} proletarians. ~~for ever;~~ ^{however,} ~~but their mind~~ ^{their mind} their ideas could not change so rapidly ~~and~~ ^{and} clings to the old things.

Still, the school of life is powerful and ^{impresses the mind with} ~~expresses~~ (new ideas in line with the new real world. ^{however,} ~~But now,~~ the capitalist school comes into action. With all ^{possible} ~~means~~ the capitalist ideas are propagated and ^{artificially} enforced upon the minds. ~~At first~~ ⁱⁿ ~~at~~ the ^{actual} ~~real~~ school, ^(in the years when) ~~the~~ children's minds are fescible and impressible; afterwards, for the adults, ^{from} ~~in~~ the pulpit, in the daily ^{press} ~~papers~~, by the radio and the

~~way of thinking~~ ~~thoughts~~ ~~alive~~ ~~in the workers masses~~ ~~spread thinking~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~capitalistic~~ ~~that~~ ~~that~~
 movies. Their task is not only to ~~spread~~ keep ~~the~~ (capitalistic) ~~that~~
~~spread~~ ~~thinking~~, but still more to prevent them, ~~from~~ thinking. By filling
 their time and their mind with ~~fat~~ exciting ~~topics~~ ^{utilities} ~~and~~
 and killing every wish for serious reading and thinking they work as
 morphium for the mind.

May ~~it~~ ^{this} be called fooling the workers? The capitalist class is sincere
 in ~~that~~ ^{this propaganda}, it believes what it tries to urge ^{upon} the workers; it is their own
 middle class feeling and its highest wisdom. But capitalist wisdom is
~~foolishness~~ ^{foolness} ~~for~~ the workers. The workers have to foster the new ideas that are
 growing up out of the changing world, ^(they have to acquire) the knowledge of the evolution of
 labor ^{and} of the class struggle as the way to communism.

Thus the power of the capitalist class is more than their money ^{(and} ^{power)}
 their political power alone. The ^{small} small business men, the ~~farmers~~ ^{power)} who
 believe ^{that} ^{will} ~~they~~ ~~will~~ succeed by personal effort - as sometimes they do -
 are a part of ^{the} capitalist power. Every workman, who only cares for
 himself and not for the future of his class, every workman who only
 reads his capitalist paper and ^{finds his chief interest} ~~reads~~ ^{to look in} boxing matches,
~~by so doing~~ ^{by so doing} ~~is a part of the~~ contributes ^(by that) to the power of the capitalist class.

In the rapid development of technical and economic forms of
 production the mind of man is left behind. This mental backwardness
 of the working masses is the chief power of the capitalist class.

set forth

What power can the working class ^{set forth} ~~put~~ against it?

Firstly, the working class is the most numerous class in society. By the growth of industry it continually increased and still increases, whereas the number of independent businessmen ^{has} (relatively) decreased.

If (we will go into more details) (by means of statistical data), we have to consider that ^{these data} ~~they~~ (always relate to the past); ^{they} ~~but~~ ^{(however,} can show, ^{trend} ~~the direction~~ of the change in conditions. In all capitalist countries the general aspect is the same, but the degree of development is different. We will take Germany and the United States as specimen cases.

In Germany in 1907 among 25 million ~~somehow occupied~~ ~~there were~~ 5 million ^{were} independent (in 1882 they were also 5 million), and 16 million working for wage or salary (1882 10½ million). Among the latter we find 1½ million servants (1882 also 1½ million), 3 million technical employes or staff (1882 ^{only} 1 million) and 11½ million wage workers (1882 8 million). Among the independent business men 2 million were farmers, ½ million small craftsmen and shopkeepers, and only some hundred thousands ^{were} (real) capitalists. Of the whole population 22 percent lived on the land, 78 percent in the towns (1882 these figures were 32 and 68).

In the United States agriculture takes a more important place. ~~At~~ ^{The} ~~the~~ ^{town} ~~whole~~ population, in 1880 only 29 percent, had increased to 46% in 1910, and is certainly still higher now. Of course the rural population is not all agricultural; number of industries are located ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ the country. The number of persons occupied in agriculture was ^{nearly} (11 million in 1900, as well as in 1926; since the number of farms was 6 million there is a strong minority of employes among them. The number of wage workers in manufacturing industries increased from 5 million in 1900 to 9 or 10 million in 1925,

the number of salaried employees from 6 to 16 hundred thousand. If we add the people employed in mining, transport and construction trades we come to 19 millions of employed in ~~the~~ ^{the entire} industry. Compare ~~with~~ ^{to this} the number of non-agricultural enterprises: 300 000 factories, 1/2 million trade ^{enterprises} ~~business~~, nearly 2 million other small ^{enterprises} ~~business~~ - and we see how ~~large~~ far the number of dependent exploited ^{persons} ~~people~~ exceeds the number of independent ^{persons} ~~people~~. Another statistics gives for 1927 the total number of 27 million of wage workers, 8 million of salaried employees, whereas the total number of "gainfully occupied" persons (~~be~~ ^{therefore} all business men included) was 44 million in a ~~total~~ population of 118 million.

That here ^{also} big industry ~~is~~ grows more rapidly than small industry may be seen from the following figures. In 1914 the number of small, middle and big factories was 185 000, 82 000, 8 000; in 1925 these numbers were 55 000, 111 000, 20 000 (with an average of 3, of 21, of 330 workers). The workmen occupied in these three groups were in 1914: 560 000, 4 million, 2 1/2 million; in 1925 160 000, 2 1/3 million, 7 million. The change is manifest: the bulk of the industrial workers, ^{instead of in} ~~from~~ the middle sized factories is now ^{occupied in} ~~displaced to~~ the large factories, where several hundreds of men, ^{and} (even thousands are collected).

The figures show that in the United States ~~the working class is the most numerous class of the population~~
the working class is the most numerous class of the ~~population~~ ^{people}.
Only the farmers ~~and the salaried employees follow at some distance as important classes.~~ (The
and the salaried employees follow ^{at} some distance as important classes.)
capitalist class proper is ~~also~~ insignificant in number, the small and
middle class business men / the petty dealers, ~~the petty dealers~~
~~class~~ are ^{much} ~~not~~ less numerous than the ~~total~~ wage workers.

But number is not the only thing that counts. ~~Millions~~ ^A number of
millions, dispersed in widely separated homes all over the land, cannot
exert the same ~~power~~ ^{power} as ~~these~~ ^{the same number of} millions pressed together in the towns.

~~The~~ The big towns, the metropolises are the centres of economical, cultural
and political life. The millions of workers, forming the majorities in the
population of these centres, ^{assembled} ~~collected~~ into big class agglomerations,
must, ~~by this situation,~~ ^{with this state of affairs} be able to exert a strong social power.

In ancient Rome the proletarians were numerous also and strongly
concentrated. ~~Their~~ ^{They} social power however, was nothing, because they
~~did not work. They~~ ^{did not work} ~~but~~ ^{they} lived from public spends. With
the modern proletarians the matter is just ^{the reverse.} ~~opposite~~.

The second element of power for the working class is its importance
^{human} ~~in~~ ^{It is on} ~~that~~ ^{that} their work (society is founded). The capitalists ^{might} ~~could~~
be dismissed, ~~the~~ ^{might} ~~could~~ ^{dispensed with} the petty producers and dealers ~~could~~ be ~~dismissed~~
~~without impeding~~ ^{the} ~~production~~ ^{production} of life necessities, which mostly takes ^{place} ~~part~~ in
~~the~~ ^{the} big factories. But the working class cannot be ~~dismissed~~ ^{dispensed with}. With
its ^{essential} ~~necessary~~ fundamental rôle only the work of the farmers ~~class~~
^{can} ~~may~~ be compared.

The ^{workers} ~~working~~ class have ~~the~~ ^{their} hand on the production apparatus; They
manage it, they work it, they command it, ~~directly~~ they have
^{direct} ~~power~~ over it ~~directly~~. Not legally; legally they have to obey

the capitalist; and police ~~or~~ soldiers may come to enforce this legal right. But actually it is theirs; without them the living producing machinery is a dead carcas. ~~When~~ ^{if} they refuse to work, ~~when~~ ^{if} the whole working class refuses to work, society cannot exist. ~~It has~~ ^{It has} ~~than~~ ^{entire} it happened already that a general strike paralysed the ~~whole~~ ^{entire} economic and social life and ~~enforced~~ ^{(thereby) ~~wrangling~~ (unwilling)} the ruling class to make some important concessions. Then for a moment, like a flash of lightning, ~~appeared~~ ^{from} that mighty power of the proletarian class, its intimate ~~mutual~~ ^{was disclosed} connection with the production apparatus, ~~if possible~~ ^{is to be a living actual power,}

To be sure this if this possible power is to become a weighty a.p.

~~weighty~~ ^{weighty} condition is ~~supposed to be~~ ^{fulfilled} ~~granted~~ ^{Such a, united} ~~the unity~~ ^{is not possible,} of the whole class. ~~This power cannot appear~~ ^{as} if it is not sustained by a strong moral force. So the third element of proletarian power we find the solidarity, the spirit of unity, the organization. Solidarity is the bond that ~~ties~~ ^{unites the will of} all the separate ~~will~~ ^{individuals} into one common will, ~~and enables~~ ^{thus achieving} ~~it~~ ^{one} a mighty organized action.

a specifically

Is it right to speak here of a ^{specifically} ~~special~~ proletarian virtue? Does not capitalism itself practise organization and united action, ~~in~~ ^{its} the factories, in ~~their~~ ^{its} trusts, in ~~their~~ ^{its} armies? Here the ~~unity~~ ^{is based} ~~is based~~ ^(for common interests) upon command, upon fines, upon penalties. Certainly combined action ~~often~~ ^{in each class} must take place; but then ~~the true economic position~~ ^{always again} breaks through, ~~manifests itself~~ ^{is restored} that capitalists are competitors, and workers are comrades.

Capitalism is based on private business, private interests. The more eagerly the capitalist pursues his personal interests only, the better for his business. Hence a hard egoism is developed, that ~~ever again~~ ^{overthrows} ~~breaks through~~ ^{through} natural human sympathies. The

workers, on the other hand, cannot win anything by ^{to} egoism. So long as they ~~stand isolated~~ ^{are} ~~against~~ ^{individually} capital (they were powerless and miserable, and only by collective action ^{they could} win better conditions.

The more they pursue personal interests, the more they ^{are beaten down}; the more they ~~can~~ ^{develop} a mutual feeling ^{of fellowships}, mutual aid, self-sacrifice for the ~~ir~~ ^{class-}community, ^{it is} the ~~more~~ ^{better} for their interests.

When private property arose ^{at the dawn of civilization} men separated, to work each ^{on his} ~~at~~ ^{their own} lot, in order to develop the productivity of labor in mutual competition.

^{century long} In this ^{during long centuries,} development from small craft to ^{modern} big industry, ^{civilized} ~~and~~ ^{maintained} rose to a ^{sturdy} ~~strong~~ self-determination, ^{to independance,} ^{to} ~~personal~~ ^{confidence}, ^{in his own powers,} and ^{to strong feeling of} individualism.

~~But~~ ^{in service of} all his energies and faculties were awakened ^{But} ~~with~~ ^{cost of moral losses; ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~cruelty grew~~ ^{and}} his fighting powers. ^{at the same time} ~~egoism,~~ ^{and} distrust and ^{enmity} ~~friendship~~ against his fellow men. ~~Strong and sturdy.~~

enmity

~~But~~ Now the modern proletariat ^{is} ~~coming~~ ^{ing} up, ^{for the first time a class} ~~class of men~~ ^{without} ~~property~~, ^{hence} ~~without~~ ^{real} ~~interests~~ ^{one} ~~against~~ ^{the} ~~another.~~ Still ^{inherited from} endowed with the personal energies and faculties of their ancestors,

though at the first moment

~~often helplessly~~ ^{often helplessly} beaten down by the overwhelming ^{new} ~~power~~ ^{power} of capitalism — they are trained by the machine into the discipline of common

action. And their common interest against the employer first, then against the capitalist class, ^{which slept} ~~wakens~~ ^{as an inheritance of the} in them the feelings of brotherhood, ~~which slept~~ ^{in their hearts} ~~in~~ ^{prehistoric} times of tribal communism —

as in all human hearts,

the necessary condition and ^{for} ~~the~~ ^{the} guarantee ~~of~~ ^{for} a successful fight against capitalism, the dawn of the ~~prehistoric~~ ^{complete} brotherhood of future communism.

So the working class finds strength in its moral superiority over the capitalist class. But not less in its intellectual superiority. To the feeling is added the knowledge. ~~Certainly, the beginning is~~

x It shows how capitalism must break down through its own forces, by producing the proletarian class, by exploits the workers ~~by~~ driving them into revolt through its own collapses, the crises, and by increase their fight powers.

First comes the ^{truly} certainty, ~~(deed)~~ the action of solidarity, that springs spontaneously ~~from~~ the depth of emotion and passion. After that comes the insight,

~~is~~ ^{the} first form of class-consciousness, that here is an unavoidable conflict of opposing class-interests. With the deepening of knowledge the ways ^{is the case with} of action, ^{fighting} the conditions of fight are ^{more clearly} better seen, and, just as all science, ^{this insight} may lead future actions along the most efficient ways.

After their number, ^{their social importance}, ^{their moral force of solidarity} this ~~fact~~ knowledge is certainly ^{the} fourth element in the proletarian power. It is the science, ^{developed} ~~chiefly~~ ^{by} Marx and Engels, which explains ^{firstly, the course of history as the growth} ~~(the development)~~ of society from its primitive beginnings, through ^{feudalism and} capitalism to communism, based upon the development of labor and its productivity. And ^{explains} secondly it ~~shows~~ ^{and shows how} the structure of capitalist production, ^{and shows how capitalism must break down through} ~~its own forces,~~ ^{by producing the proletariat class,} ~~and by driving them into revolt~~ ^{by exploiting the workers,} ~~and by driving them into revolt through their own~~ ^{by driving them into revolt through their own} ~~increasing~~ ^{increasing} ~~their fighting powers.~~ ~~It is the science~~

7 collapses, the crises,

This science, ^(Marxism) ~~is~~ ^{is} a truly proletarian science. ~~It~~ ^{The} capitalist class rejects it; its scientists deny ~~its~~ ^{its} truth. Indeed, it is impossible for the capitalist class to accept it. No class can accept a theory ~~that~~ ^{that} proclaims its certain collapse and death; for, ~~it could not~~ ^{by accepting it} ~~fight~~ ^{it} with ~~its full force.~~ ^{full confidence and with} ~~its full force.~~ And to fight against annihilation is a primary instinct, in a class as well as in an organism.

The capitalist class cannot see beyond the horizon of capitalism. ^{it sees} So ~~(the~~ ^{the} growing concentration of capital, the growing power of big finance ^{the heavy crises and impending world wars,} ~~the rising~~ ^{fight,} ~~of~~ ^{and its} ~~of~~ ^{of} the proletarian ~~threat~~ ^{threat} ~~revolution~~ ^{revolution}, ~~it sees~~ ^{it sees} all phenomena, ~~without~~ ^{these} ~~investigating~~ ^{investigate} ~~any~~ ^{and not one} rational outcome; ~~it~~ ^{it} sees no sense in history, though its able ~~scientists~~ ^{scientists} ~~investigate~~ ^{investigate} every detail; it sees no light

7 strikes

in the future; uncertainty and mysticism fill ~~up~~ its mind. But it is determined to fight for its ~~domination~~ supremacy.

For the workers this science enlightens their ^{arduous course} ~~difficult way~~ to future. It ^{makes clear to} ~~explains~~ them their own life, their work, their poverty, their relation to the employers, to the other classes. It explains ^{to} them the reality of the world, as they experience it themselves, ~~is not~~ different from the capitalist teachings. Whereas the school of life impresses their mind with new ideas in line with the new real world, it is this science of society that moulds these ideas into a firm consistent knowledge. And so the workers acquire the wisdom they ~~need~~ ^{need} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ their fight for freedom.

If now we compare the classes, this is what we see. ^{(an aggregate ~~mass~~ of) (heavy)}

The capitalist power is enormous, oppressing. It is a ^(hard) reality.

The working ~~power~~ ^{class} has also strong elements of power; but ^{these} ~~they~~ are still imperfect, ^(rather expectation) ~~of~~ future than realities for ^{for the} ~~the~~ ^{By the innate forces of society themselves} ~~to~~ day. But they are growing. They are increasing. And this is a stronger reality than ^{any other!} ~~anything else~~. Just as the young sprouting plant is a stronger reality than ^(hard) ~~the~~ dead branch.

7 Hence the history of labor is a series of defeats.

~~My dear friend~~ The working class is the class of ^(the) future. All the forces of the real material world drive and help her. ^(They assure her victory) That is her strongest power. She is a vigorous plant, growing out of the soil of ^(the world's development) ~~her own~~ life itself. Capitalist power is a big tree, ^(rotten mouldering) ~~rotting~~ in its core. It will be a hard work ^{yet} ~~to~~ fell this tree.

1 mouldering

The power of the workers consists in elements, which ^(partly lie) outside, partly inside their own conscious strivings. Their number and their importance in society are results of ^{economic} ~~an~~ development ~~of~~ entirely

outside their will. They have to accept ~~them~~ and use them but they
cannot change them. ^{by special causes} If in some country ^{the} (economic development ^{by special causes} should)
take another course, should stagnate or decay, they ~~can~~ ^{would have} also ~~(to~~
accept it and ~~to~~ ^{make the best of it} ~~improve it~~ according to the possibilities.

Their moral and their intellectual power, however, consist of faculties
~~lying in~~ ^{within} themselves. ^{These faculties} They arise out of the praxis of their life, of their
fight; every victory, every defeat after an honest fight ^{(ending to}
raise their solidarity, ^{and} their insight. ~~They~~ ^{is a new experience,} ~~are~~
~~On the other hand~~ ^{the following} ~~may~~ ^{and} ~~be~~ ^{the following} ~~led~~ ^{may} ~~to~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{may} ~~development~~
of illusions ^{and} false sideways ^{may} (temporarily) darken their view and
narrow their feelings. ~~So they become new men and new women;~~
~~out of the old mankind, poor, downtrodden, anxious, hopeless,~~ ^{vindictive}
~~simple and content arises a new generation.~~ ^{of proud and determined fighters} As in every community
of men these faculties are ~~developed~~ strengthened by ~~the~~ mutual
intercourse, by praise and blame, by teaching and propaganda; they are
objects of real and devotion, ^{to to} ~~of~~ ^{thus} enthusiastic propagandists. ~~The~~
moral forces are ~~excited~~ ^{excited} and directed ^{to} ~~to~~ ^{ward} unity of action; ~~the~~ ^{thus} intellectual
forces are raised and directed to wisdom of action.

Unity and wisdom, ~~these~~ ^{these} are the great qualities ^{workers} ~~the~~ ~~working class~~
~~need~~ ^{They are the essentials of the working class power.} for victory. They are the outcome of all the struggles and
pains and sacrifices of the labor movement. ~~They are the~~ ~~to acquire~~
unity and wisdom ~~for~~ ^{this} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~purpose~~ and goal of every fight.
The test of every tactics and ^{every} ~~method~~ ^{made} of action ^{the} in (labor movement) is
this, whether the unity and the wisdom, i.e. whether the power of
the working class is increased by it.

Trade unionism.

How must the working class fight ^{in order} to win? This is the all important question ^{what tactics} that ^{face} them every day. What efficient means of action ^{can} it use to ^{conquer} power and ^{defeat} the enemy?

No science, no theory ^{could} tell them exactly what ~~they had~~ to do. ^{knew it themselves, intuitively, and they} But they ^{stood up} ~~themselves~~ to fight against misery and oppression. Spontaneously, ^{out, by sensing} by feeling ^{the possibilities} ~~the possibilities~~, they found their ~~own~~ ^{most} ways of action. And as capitalism grew and conquered the earth and increased its power, the power of the workers ^{also} ~~too~~ increased, ~~and~~ ^{new} modes of action, ^{wider} ~~larger~~ and more efficient, came up beside ~~the~~ old ones ~~or~~ instead of them. It is ^{evident} ~~clear~~ that with changing conditions the forms of action, the tactics of the class struggle have to change also.

Trade unionism is the primary form of labor movement in fixed capitalism. The isolated worker is powerless against the capitalistic employer. The union binds the workers together into a common action; the strike is their weapon. ~~In developed capitalism~~ Then the equality of powers is restored, or even ^{reversed} ~~disturbed~~ ^{to the other side} in the opposite way, so that the isolated ^{small} employer is ^{weak} ~~powerless~~ ^{over} against the mighty union. Hence in developed capitalism ~~the~~ trade unions and employers unions stand as fighting powers ^{one} ~~one~~ ^{the} against ~~one~~ another.

Trade unionism ^(came up first) in England, where industrial capitalism ~~developed first~~ ^{spread}. Afterwards it ~~extended~~ ^{spread} to other countries, as a natural companion of capitalist industry, ^{where} ~~when~~ ^{made its} this appeared ^{there}. ^{Among them} ~~These~~ America was in very special conditions. ^{In} From the beginning there was an immensity of free unoccupied land ^{all} ~~around~~ ^{open} ~~that could be~~ ^{for settlers} settled. So there was a shortness of workers in the towns, and high

wages and good conditions could easily be ~~obtained~~ obtained. The American Federation of Labor became a power in the country, and, generally, was able to uphold a ~~high~~ relatively high standard of living for the workers.

It is clear that in such conditions ^{the mind of} ~~the workers~~ ^{could not for} ~~at that time~~ ^(arise in) ~~the idea~~ of overthrowing capitalism, ^{Capitalism} offered them a sufficient and ^{fairly} ~~fairly~~ secure living. They did not feel ~~it~~ ^{themselves} as a separate class, ^{whose} ~~with~~ whose interests ^{were} (hostile to the existing order; they were part of it, they felt ~~to~~ ^{were conscious} of partaking ^{not partaking} ~~have part~~ in all the possibilities of an ascending capitalism in a new continent. There was room for millions and millions, ^(of people) coming partly from Europe; for these ^{increasing} ^{a rapidly} ~~millions~~ ^{of farmers} increasing industry was necessary, where, with ~~an~~ ^{workmen} energy and good luck, ~~workers~~ could rise to ^{free} ~~large~~ artisans, to small business men, even to rich capitalists. It is natural ^{here} that ~~the~~ ^{prevailed} ~~(a true capitalist)~~ ^{spirit} ~~was~~ ⁱⁿ the working class.

The same was the case in England, ~~the~~ ^{it was due to} Here ~~the~~ ~~was~~ ~~the~~ ~~reason~~ England's monopoly of world commerce, ^{and big industry,} ~~to~~ ^{the lack of competitors on} that brought the products of a strong industry to foreign markets, ^{to} and (the possession of rich colonies, which brought enormous wealth to England. The capitalist class had ^{no need} ~~no~~ to fight for its very ^{profits} ~~profits~~ and could allow ^{the workers} ~~a reasonable~~ ^{to} a reasonable living ⁱⁿ ^{change} for industrial peace. So here also the working class was imbued with ~~the~~ capitalist spirit.

(Of course first fighting was necessary
at the first
tyrant

Now this is entirely in harmony with the ^{innermost} ~~the~~ (character of trade unionism. Trade unionism is an action of the workers, which ~~does not~~ ^{does not} ^{exceed} ~~the limits of~~ ^{completely} ~~within~~ capitalism. Its aim is not to replace capitalism by another form of production; but to secure ~~the~~ good living conditions within capitalism. Its character is not revolutionary, but conservative. Certainly, ~~what~~ ~~the~~ ^{action} ~~trade union~~ ~~is~~ is class struggle.

to go beyond

also for distribution
of the product
a distribution
ratio quota
division

There is a class antagonism in capitalism; capitalists and workers have opposing interests. ^{on the question of conservation or subversion} Not only ~~in the course of the evolution~~ ^{with regard to the division} of capitalism, but also within capitalism itself, ~~with regard to the partition of the~~ ^{their profits, the} total product. The capitalists try to increase ~~the~~ surplus value as much as possible, by cutting down wages and increasing the hours of the intensity of labor. The workers try to increase their wages and to shorten their hours of work - their own ^{private} life ~~at themselves~~ begins where ^{he} ~~the~~ work for the ^{boss} capitalist is ~~done~~ ^{finished}. What a worker ~~wants~~ ^{needs in order} to live, the price of his labor power, is not a fixed quantity, though it must exceed a certain hunger minimum, and ^{it} is not paid ^{of his own free will} by the capitalists. So it is the object of a contest, a real class struggle. It is the task, the function of the trade unions to ~~make this fighting~~ ^{carry on the}.

It is thus that

^{It is thus that} ~~In this way~~ ^{trade} trade unions serve the interest of the workers. ~~They~~ are so far ~~a necessary member~~ in capitalist society. But they also serve the interest of ~~capitalist class~~ ^{the capitalist class} capitalism itself and of the capitalist class. By securing ^{the payment of} that ~~the labor power is paid~~ at its right value ~~they~~ are a regular ~~and indispensable~~ ^{for} member of capitalist society. Suppose ^{for} a moment ^{that} there were no trade unions; what would be the consequences? The employers, now ^{and each only thinks of his personal profit,} the strongest, could lower the wages, increase the hours of work, ^{at the cost of} ~~with~~ heavy ~~damages~~ ^{to} damages for the health, the strength, the ^{working} (capacity of the ^{laboring class} ~~working~~ class), ^{at a serious risk to} i.e. ~~with serious dangers~~ ^{at a serious risk to} for the future productivity of labor. Irregular strikes would ^{then} break out, continually and unexpectedly disturbing the course of production. Now the trade unions regulate the class struggle; by ~~the~~ tariff contracts with the employers unions they ^{guarantee} ~~secure~~ peace in industry and they ^{guard} ~~protect~~ the ~~capital~~ employers ^{against} ~~one of them~~ ^{attempting}.

unfair competition by underpaying his men. When the workers ^(the class has developed to ~~that~~ point, that they) will not let themselves be subdued, when they have a certain fighting force, then it is in the interest of the capitalist class, that this fighting ^{should be} ~~is~~ ^{led} into the regular ^{channel} bed of trade unionism. ^{This is ~~its~~ function in capitalism.} ~~That~~ capitalism is not complete, it ^{is not possible} without trade unionism.

+ its
true

This character of trade unionism must be ^{born in mind} ~~considered~~ if we ^{consider} ~~look at~~ ^{its} effect upon the workers. It tries to make capitalism endurable to the workers; and for this it must propagate the theory, that ^{by its action} capitalism can be made endurable ^{with} ~~by its action~~. ^(Sometimes, ^{up} to a certain point, it meets success with) Under ^{such} ~~the~~ circumstances, ^{as} mentioned above, ~~in~~ in England and the United States in the 19th century, ~~and~~ existing conditions ~~did~~ seemed to confirm this theory. So the workers ^{did} ~~had~~ believed in capitalism there.

These were, however, very special circumstances. ~~In other countries,~~ ^{many} When capitalism arose in ^{other} countries, when England's monopoly on foreign markets was broken by German, French, American, Japanese competition, when ⁱⁿ America all the land was occupied, and new millions of immigrants of a low ^{of} living standard flowed in, not ~~to~~ as settlers but as industrial workers, matters changed. ~~The~~ Sharp competition compelled the capitalists to strive for the highest profits possible. ~~The teachings of capitalism were opposite to the teachings of trade unionism.~~ They tried with all their ^{might} ~~power~~ to press down the life standard of the workers and to increase their exploitation.

Now the teachings of capitalism ^{was} ~~were~~ ^{indirect} ~~just~~ ^{opposite} ~~to~~ the teachings of trade unionism; they pointed ^{wards} to revolution. Of course ^{the practice of} trade unions ^{was} still necessary. ^{Very} ~~It was~~ ^{even more} ~~so~~ ^{necessary} than ever. ~~And~~ ^{very} against these ^{(attacks of the capitalist class.}

^{unions}
 They (had to wage a continuous and fierce fight, sometimes, in
 years of prosperity ^{years}, with some ^{positive} effect, but usually on the defensive,
 with the only success that they prevented a downfall. ^{were of}
~~yet~~ these ~~struggles~~ apparently fruitless struggles ~~were~~ of the utmost
~~greater~~ importance for the working class. Trade unionism was
 always the first training school in proletarian virtue, in
 solidarity, as the spirit of organized fighting. ~~It~~ It embodied
 the first form of proletarian organized power. ~~But~~ In the ^{early} ~~first~~
 English and American trade unionism this ^{virtue often} ~~standard~~ and degenerated
 into a narrow craft-corporationship, a true capitalistic state of
 mind. ^{It was different, however, where} ~~where~~, on the other hand, the workers had to fight for their
 very existence, where the utmost ^{efforts} ~~strain~~ strain of their unions
 could hardly uphold their standard of living, ^{where} and the full ~~power~~ ^{force}
 of an ^{active} ~~energetic~~ ^{fighting and} ~~expanding~~ capitalism ^{attacked} ~~fell upon~~ them. There
 they learned that ^{their aims must be widened; that} ~~only~~ ~~abolition~~ capitalism itself must be
 destroyed. ^{There} ~~so~~ they learned the wisdom that only the revolution
 can ~~save~~ ~~them~~ definitely.

That trade unionism
 is only one side
 of their fight;

So there ^{comes} ~~came~~ a ^{disparity} ~~disparity~~ between the working class and ~~the~~ trade-
 unionism. The working class ^{has} ~~had~~ to look beyond capitalism; trade-
 unionism lives entirely within capitalism and cannot look beyond.
 Trade unionism can only ^{represent} ~~occupy~~ a part, a necessary but narrow
 part ⁱⁿ of the class struggle. And now ~~independence~~ it develops
 sides which bring it ⁱⁿ conflict with the greater aims of the working class.

With the growth of capitalism and big industry the unions ^{too} ~~must~~
 grow ~~too~~. They become big corporations of hundred ^{of} thousands of members,
 extending over the whole country, having sections in every town and

every factory. Officials must be appointed, ^{presidents,} secretaries, ^{conduct} treasurers, ^{the affairs,} to manage the ~~own~~ finances, locally and centrally, ~~president to lead~~ ^{who} ~~the office~~. They are the leaders who negotiate with the capitalists and ^{by} this practice have acquired a special skill. The president of a union is a big man, as big as the capitalist employer himself, and he ~~speaks~~ ^{knows} ^{discusses} with him on equal terms ~~the~~ interests of his members. The officials are specialists in trade union work, ~~which~~ ^{which} the members, ~~themselves~~ ^{themselves} entirely occupied by their factory work, cannot ~~not~~ judge or direct themselves.

~~Such~~ ^{So} large ^{can a} corporation as a union is not simply an assembly of single workers; it becomes an organized body, like a living organism, with its own character, ^{its own policy,} its own mentality, ^{its own traditions,} ~~its own~~ ^{its own} ~~function.~~ It is a body with its own interests, apart from the interests of the working class. It has a will to live and to fight for its existence. If it should ^{come to pass,} ~~happen~~ that ^{it were no longer} ~~it were no longer~~ necessary ~~any more~~ for the workers, then ~~it~~ it would not simply disappear; its funds, its members ~~and~~ its officials, ^{its spirit,} ~~its~~ ^{these are} papers, ~~are~~ all ^{these are} realities that cannot disappear at once, but continue their existence as ~~elements~~ ^{the labor leaders} elements of the organization.

The union officials, ^{the labor leaders} are the bearers of the special union interests. ~~Originally~~ Originally workmen from the shop, they acquire, by a long practice at the head of the organization, a new social character. In each social group, once ~~that~~ it is big enough to form a special group, the ^{economic} ~~function~~ ^{function} in society, the ^{nature} ~~character~~ ^{nature} of its work, moulds and determines its social character, its mode of thinking and acting. Their function is entirely different from the workers', they do not work in factories, they are not exploited by the capitalist, ~~and~~ their existence is not threatened continually by unemployment. They sit in offices, in ~~rather~~ ^{fairly} fairly,

secure positions, they have to manage corporation affairs and to speak and discuss with employers and ~~with~~^{on} workers meetings. Of course they have to stand for the workers, and to defend their interests and wishes against the capitalist. This is, ~~the~~ however, not ~~so~~^{very} ~~much~~ different from the position of a lawyer who, appointed secretary of a ~~an~~ organization, will stand for its members and defend their interests ~~to the~~^{to the extent of his} full capacity.

There is a difference, surely. Because the labor leaders ~~come~~^{have} from the ranks of the working class ~~workers~~^{wage work}, they ~~know~~^{have} experienced themselves what ~~the~~^{the} exploitation means. They feel themselves members of the working class and ~~proletarian~~^{the} spirit often acts as a strong tradition in them. But the new reality of their life ~~is~~^{tends} ~~to~~^{continually} weaken this tradition. Economically they are not proletarians any more. They sit in conferences with capitalists, bargaining over ~~wages~~^{tariffs} and hours, putting interests against interests, just as ~~the~~^{the} ~~opposing~~^{and} interests of capitalist concerns are waged ~~against~~^{one} ~~one~~^{the} another. They ~~learn~~^{learn to} understand the capitalists' position just as well as the workers', they have ~~an~~^{an} eye for the needs of ~~the~~ industry; ~~they try to mediate. I cannot have~~ ~~they have nothing of~~ that elementary class feeling of the workers, But, as a rule, they ~~that~~^{weigh} ~~does not understand and~~^{weigh} capitalist interests ~~against~~^{over} their own, but will fight for their ~~interests~~^{proper}. So they get into conflict with the workers.

(Personal exceptions occur, of course. But, as a rule, they)

The labour leaders ~~in~~ⁱⁿ ~~the~~^{advanced} capitalism are numerous enough to form a special group or class with special class character and special class interests. ~~They~~ As representatives and leaders of the unions they embody the ~~character~~^(and the interests) of the unions ~~in~~ⁱⁿ them. The unions ~~are~~^{are} a necessary ~~member~~^{element} of capitalism; so the leaders feel as ~~necessary~~^{necessary} ~~members~~^{items} ~~part~~^{part}, as most useful citizens in capitalist society. The ~~condition~~^{class} task of the unions lies in the capitalist function of unions is to regulate ~~conflicts~~^{conflicts} and to secure industrial peace; so labor leaders ~~(see as their duty)~~^(see as their duty) to work for industrial peace and mediate in conflicts ~~(may)~~^(may) ~~(as citizens)~~^(as citizens).

entirely within capitalism; ~~and~~ so labor leaders do not look beyond capitalism. ~~Unions will do nothing for~~ The instinct of self-preservation, the will of the unions to live and to fight for existence is ^{embodied in} ~~in reality~~ the will of the labor leaders to fight for the existence of the union. ~~The~~ Their ^{own} existence is indissolubly connected with the existence of the unions. This is not meant in the petty sense, that they only think of their personal jobs when fighting for the union; it means that ^{primary necessities of life and social functions determine opinions.} ~~their~~ Their whole life is ~~is~~ concentrated in the unions, only here they have a task. So ~~for them the union is the only thing in existence~~

So the most important part of ~~society~~ the world, the most necessary organ of ~~the~~ society, the only source of security and power ^{is for them the union;} for the working class; hence it must be preserved and defended with all means.

Even when ^{the realities of society undermine} capitalist reality ^{does} attacks this position. And ^{so} the real capitalism ^{does} ~~undermines~~ ^{does} attacks it (as with its expansion the class conflicts become sharper).

The concentration of capital in mighty concerns and their connection with big finance ^{render} ~~make~~ the position of the capitalist employers much stronger against the workers. Powerful industry-magnates ~~are~~ ^{they} reigning as monarchs over large masses of ~~the~~ workers, ^{they} keep them in absolute subjection and do not allow "their" men to go into unions. Now and then the heavily exploited slaves break out in revolt, in a big strike. They hope to enforce better terms, shorter hours, more human conditions, ~~and~~ the right of organizing ^{ration}; union organizers come to aid them. But then the capitalist masters, ^{use} ~~use~~ their ^{social and political} ~~economic~~ power. The strikers are driven from their homes, they are shot by militia or by hired thugs, their spokesmen are ^{(and court-martialed),} ~~put~~ put into jail, their ^{relict} (actions are ^{inhibited} ~~hindered~~ by ^{court} ~~injunctions~~ injunctions, ~~the~~ public opinion is aroused against them, the capitalist press denounces their cause as disorder, murder and revolution). Then, after ~~two~~ months

~~financial~~
of standing firm and heroic suffering, exhausted by misery and dis-
appointment, unable to impress the capitalist steel ^{structure} ~~building~~, they have
to submit and to postpone their ^{more favourable} claims to a better opportunity.

In the trades where unions exist as mighty organizations, their
position is weakened by this ^{same} concentration of capital. The big funds they

~~have at their disposal~~ ~~to back up their unions~~ had collected for
strike support are insignificant ^(in comparison to) ~~against~~ the ~~power~~ money power of their
adversaries; a couple of lockouts may ^{(drain them) totally}. ~~Even~~ ^{No matter how} ~~hard~~ the
capitalist ^{employer} presses upon the workers, by cutting down their wages or intensifying
their labor, the union cannot wage a fight. When tariffs have to be renewed,
it feels ^{itself} the weaker party, because in a fight it cannot hope to win. It
has to accept the bad terms the capitalists offer; no skill in bargaining
~~avails~~. But now ~~they~~ ^{the} ~~trouble~~ with their members ^{begins} (The men ^{want to} fight;
they will not submit before ^{they have} ~~being~~ fought, and they have not much to ~~loose~~
by it. ~~However~~ ^{however} The leaders ^{have} much to loose: the financial power of the union,
perhaps ^{its} very existence. ~~over and over again~~ They try to avoid the fight, which they consider as