workers into an independent political party, entirely separate from the Progressive (or Liberal) Party of the time, for the purpose of obtaining universal and direct suffrage. But Lassalle was deluded by his erroneous idea of the state; he produced income figures to show that it really consisted of the vast mass of the workers. He contended that when the workers obtained the suffrage they would then control the state and be able to provide state help for the productive co-operative societies which, he argued, should be the distant aim of the workers in order to get out of their enslaved condition. To this end the workers should struggle, organizing a German Workingmens Association for the sole immediate purpose of obtaining universal suffrage. He argued that every attempt by the workers to improve their conditions, even by the existing co-operative societies, was doomed to failure because the workers' condition was determined by an iron law of wages against which there was no defense while the privileged classes controlled the state. The art of success, he *urged*, depends upon concentrating all forces at all times upon a single point, and, for the workers, this point was universal suffrage. Lassalle was familiar with the history of the Chartist agitation, and what he was really doing was transferring that agitation to German soil. From Lassalle's correspondence with Marx and others he apparently held the view that the programme he proposed was the limit that could be expected to bring workers together in a united movement in view of their backward understanding, and that any suggestions of fundamental social change would fall on deaf ears. On the whole it seems clear that Lassalle himself believed, in line with the principles of the Communist Manifesto, that common ownership of the means of production was the only real solution to the workers problems, but that the workers required consderable practical experience before they could understand this, and be prepared to work for it. On the other hand he vastly overestimated the appeal of his own proposed programme, expecting it to sweep through Germany like a tornado.

The workers' committee had also appealed for advice to Rodbertus who urged that, as the workers were denied free migration or free choice of a trade, a plank should be included in their programme demanding this freedom.

Lassalle's ultimate object was the abolition of commodity production, but the policy he proposed left this condition untouched. Though he aimed at social production, the policy he followed was individual association through co-operative production associations based on state credit: the state was to grant credit only to those workmen who proposed starting such associations. Had his policy been successful it would only have resulted in the competition of the co-operative associations with capitalist organizations in the same industry, and the question of profit and loss would have the same significance for them as for ordinary capitalist concerns. The truth of this has been apparent in the operation of co-operative societies since his time.

Lassalle had actually borrowed ideas from Proudhon, who in turn had borrowed from Louis Blanc. Blanc wanted state aid and state supervision of the co-operatives, Proudhon wanted independence for the co-operatives, whilst Lassalle wanted the co-operatives to be financed by the state, but to be free of state interference, although they were to pay interest to the state.

GILMAC, S.P.G.B.

(to be continued)

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"Spartacus"

(Continued from page 11)

sort of politics as does the P.V.D.A." And we might add, so does the Republican Party. In the Southern States it is the Republican Party which is reputed to be "liberal" and "progressive" as opposed to the reactionary Democratics who fight so bitterly against integration.

"But," he argues, "would the writer mean a new party? If so he should study the history of several new parties, which have been founded in the course of the last ten years. Parties, who had to do better than the old ones. These parties went, if they gained power the same way as the old ones or, if they stayed powerless, they withered up, fruitless in empty balderdash."

To this we can answer that we have been and are still completely unaware of any European political party other than the S. P. of Great Britain and the recently formed Socialist Party of Ireland or small groups on the Continent which have ever been organized for the purpose of introducing a class-less, wage-less, money-less society and nothing short of this. The "Socialist" and "Communist" organizations of Europe, despite their newness, their oldness or their particular designation have never attempted or demanded anything other than the operation of capitalist welfare states whether of the Eastern or Western variety.

He then goes on to suggest that we might mean a majority of industrial workers organized in workers' councils and "asserting (themselves) in the battle . . ." But he feels he is possibly wrong on this point and that we have been entirely too vague. His feeling on our vagueness, however, immediately disappears, and, wagging a stern revolutionary finger in our direction he sums up this part of his case by informing us that since we advocate "that the management of the political state has to be controlled so that the armed troops can be used, for the writer's desired