

A Theory of Communist Effervescence

by ozhaawashko animikii

"Nothing is 'real' which does not sustain itself in existence, in a life-and-death struggle with the situations and conditions of its existence. The struggle may be blind or even unconscious, as in inorganic matter; it may be conscious and concerted, such as the struggle of mankind with its own conditions and with those of nature. Reality is the constantly renewed result of the process of existence — the process, conscious or unconscious in which 'that which is' becomes 'other than itself'"
- Herbert Marcuse, Reason and Revolution

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In 1912 some co-founder-of-sociology type guy named Emile Durkheim published a book titled "The Elementary Forms of Religious Life." Inspired by the discovery of single-celled life, Durkheim wanted to investigate the simplest aspects of religions. He believed that only these forms which were simplest in nature would be the ones that had persisted since the genesis of religion (and therefore provide some insight into how religion actually functions). What followed was a theory chock-full of colonial-ass assumptions, yet a theory which would also become one of Durkheim's most important contributions.

The concept which Durkheim put forward as the source of religious life is called collective effervescence. It is necessarily social, and recognizable as the "bubbly" joy or warmth that we feel in intense social situations. Durkheim's study was of course centered almost exclusively around religious formations, but he also dedicated a portion of the book to studying the effects of alcohol. Collective effervescence can be found not only in religious gatherings but also at the bar with your friends, during musical performances, sporting events, really any social gathering. But it is not always a given. The necessary conditions for collective effervescence include a socially produced excess of (for lack of a better term) psychic energy.

Other theorists might call this socially-cultivated psychic energy desire or libido, but we'll return to that later. We still need to get to the heart of Durkheim's work first, which was to explain the seemingly irrational behaviors and beliefs which nonetheless had a massive impact in shaping human development: "if collective life awakens religious thought on reaching a certain degree of intensity, it is because it brings about a state of effervescence which changes the conditions of psychic activity. Vital energies are over-excited, passions more active, sensations stronger; there are even some which are produced only at this moment." Durkheim would go on to say that there is nothing illogical about it, that "collective consciousness is the highest form of the psychic life."

To feel collective effervescence is to be caught up in something greater than oneself, to lose yourself in it to some degree or another. And it is precisely this phenomenon which has enabled religions and other mass social movements to make such a massive and lasting impression on the history of humanity: "for our definition of the sacred is that it is something over and above the real...a man does not recognize himself; he feels transformed and consequently transforms the environment which surrounds him."

Any social system that is going to stand the test of time can only be produced and sustain itself through something akin to collective effervescence. This is where we now diverge quite sharply from Durkheim's theory and the conclusions he drew. We're talking not just about religions but the state and its political parties, non-governmental organizations, even capitalism as a whole.

What is specifically meant by collective effervescence here is not necessarily that warm "bubbly" feeling Durkheim described. There is still

always an excess of so-called psychic energy flowing from each participant into the collective, but the social..
 .atmosphere(?) that acts on the collective in turn can also be joyless, even downright hostile. What is the social atmosphere of a funeral? of a mass shooting? of living on this boiling pot of a planet as our slumlords gradually turn up the heat and dump trillions of tons of carbon into the atmosphere to make something called a "prophet"? Human action and energy sustains all of these situations, and each situation, large or small, affects us in turn. The social systems that we sustain SHOULD enrich us in turn, but others are parasitic or predatory instead. Such social formations should die (or be put to death), and as quickly as possible, but this brings us to a new problem. What if we don't always know which social systems we are sustaining through our actions? Something as simple as buying a chocolate bar could be sustaining slavery halfway around the world.

To get any more mileage out of this theory of collective effervescence, we'll need to combine it with something mentioned earlier. Enter desire, or what Freud's dumb ass once called polymorphous libido or polymorphous perversity. The psychic energy which Durkheim theorized runs through our every action, every word, every thought. "It is at work everywhere, functioning smoothly at times, at other times in fits and starts. It breathes, it heats, it eats. It shits and fucks. What a mistake to have ever said *the* id." Not all collective effervescence is the same, but the desire which forms it has an inherently revolutionary potential. The bubbly feeling shared by a gaggle of country boys as they crack Coors Lights and racist jokes is not aiding in anyone's liberation, but helping to maintain white supremacy. Given the right situation though, even those racist assholes carry the potential to rip apart the same social systems that helped form them.

Every so-called "apolitical" form of collective effervescence has the potential to be appropriated by white supremacy and capitalism. What we need instead is to build an explicitly political form of collective effervescence, a communist and anticolonial effervescence. It is one thing for white people and BIPOC to know that their future and their freedom are inextricably linked with each others'. It is another thing entirely to FEEL it. To know, bodily, that at least in this moment, you are carving a path to liberation together. This is what the theory of communist effervescence is for. Short of seeing someone [this clause extremely redacted for everyone's safety] a squad car, it can be very difficult for me to feel collective effervescence with white people at all, let alone a specifically political form of it. If you are a white-bodied person reading this, how do you know that BIPOC around you see you as someone fighting for their freedom as well? What can you do, and how hard do you have to fight, for them to actually feel the rhythm of their own liberation tied up with yours?

Some might discard it as “mob mentality” or herd thinking, but to do so would be a stupid mistake. **There is no human force greater than the collective expression of our desire:** a force strong enough to blow the locks and destroy even the most deeply entrenched human-built systems, because it’s what enabled people to build those systems in the first place. Collective effervescence is the glue that holds social movements together. A glue we’re typically unconscious or barely conscious of, but without it any form of organizing is fated for the dustbin of history. And it should hopefully go without saying that relying on alcohol for more than a tiny portion of this effervescence would be a recipe for disaster. A collective effervescence strong enough to crush the forces of

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Socialist Mad Libs

by Karl Marx, edited for comedy by Patrick Morath

Excerpt from The Manifesto of the Communist Party by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

In what relation do the _____ (noun) stand to the proletarians as a whole? The Communists do not form a separate _____ (noun) opposed to the other working-class parties. They have no interests _____ (adjective) and _____ (adjective) from those of the proletariat as a whole. They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to _____ (verb) and _____ (verb) the proletarian movement. The Communists are _____ (adjective) from the other working-class parties by this only:

1. In the _____ (adjective) struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and _____ (verb) to the front the common _____ (noun) of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality.
2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the _____ (adjective) class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere _____ (verb) the interests of the movement as a whole.

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most _____ (adjective) and _____ (adjective) section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which _____ (verb) all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly _____ (verb) the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate _____ (adjective) results of the proletarian movement. The _____ (adjective) aim of the Communists is the same as that of all other proletarian parties: _____ (verb) of the proletariat into a class, _____ (verb) of the bourgeois supremacy, _____ (verb) of political power by the proletariat. The theoretical _____ (noun) of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer. They merely express, in general terms, actual _____ (noun) springing from an existing class _____ (noun), from a historical movement going on under our very _____ (noun). The abolition of existing property relations is not at all a distinctive feature of communism. All property relations in the _____ (noun) have continually been subject to _____ (adjective) change consequent upon the change in historical _____ (noun).

Combat Bourgeois Ideas in the Party

By Mao Zedong

Our conference has been a success, and Premier Chou has made a fine summing-up.

It is now clear that since the movements against the "three evils" and the "five evils" two kinds of mistake which are different in nature have been found in the Party. One kind is of an ordinary nature, for instance, the "five excesses", mistakes which anyone can make and which may crop up at any time; the "five excesses" may also turn into the "five deficiencies". The other kind is mistakes of principle, such as the tendency towards capitalism. This kind is a reflection of bourgeois ideas within the Party and a matter of stand that is contrary to Marxism-Leninism.

The movements against the "three evils" and the "five evils" dealt heavy blows to bourgeois ideas inside the Party. But at the time only bourgeois ideas related to corruption and waste got a good thrashing, while those manifesting themselves in questions concerning the Party line were not dealt with. The latter are to be found not only in our financial and economic work but also in political and judicial, cultural and educational and other fields, and among comrades in the localities as well as at the national level.

Mistakes in our financial and economic work have been severely criticized ever since last December when Comrade Po I-po came out with his new tax system entailing "equality between public and private enterprises" [1] and also at the present conference. That system, if allowed to develop, would have led inevitably to capitalism, in contravention of Marxism-Leninism and the Party's general line for the transition period.

What will the transition period lead to, socialism or capitalism? The Party's general line prescribes transition to socialism. This requires a period of struggle of considerable length. Unlike that of Chang Tzu-shan, [2] the mistake made in the new tax system involves a question of ideology and a departure from the Party's general line. We must unfold a struggle in the Party against bourgeois ideas. Ideologically, the Party membership falls into three categories: some comrades are firm and unwavering and are Marxist-Leninist in their

thinking; quite a number are essentially Marxist-Leninist but infected with non-Marxist-Leninist ideas; and a small number are no good, their thinking is non-Marxist-Leninist. In criticizing Po I-po's erroneous ideas, some say his mistake stems from petty-bourgeois individualism; that's not quite right. He should be criticized mainly for his bourgeois ideas, which are favorable to capitalism and harmful to socialism. Only such criticism is correct. "Left" opportunist mistakes, as we said before, are a reflection of petty-bourgeois fanaticism within the Party; they occurred in times when we broke with the bourgeoisie. On the three occasions when we have co-operated with the bourgeoisie, namely, in the first period of co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan and in the present period, it has been bourgeois ideology that has influenced a number of people in the Party, and they have vacillated. That was how Po I-po came to make his mistake.

Po I-po's mistake is not an isolated case. Such mistakes are found not only at the national level but also at those of the greater administrative areas and the provinces and municipalities. Each greater administrative area, each province and municipality, should call a meeting to review its work in the light of the resolution of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee and of the summing-up of the present conference, so as to educate the cadres.

Recently I made a trip to Wuhan and Nanking and learned a lot, which was very helpful. Practically nothing comes to my ear in Peking, and therefore I shall go on tour from time to time. The central leading organ is a factory which turns out ideas as its products. If it does not know what is going on at the lower levels, gets no raw material or has no semi-processed products to work on, how can it turn out any products? Sometimes finished products are turned out by the localities, and the central leading organ need only popularize them throughout the country. For instance, take the movements against the old and new "three evils". [3] Both were initiated

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capitalism will require sober thought, and the combined desire of Black and Indigenous peoples, of queer and trans people, of the disabled, of communists, of all those tired of living in the mosaic of concentration camps Capital has built to sequester us. Only a truly intersectional communist effervescence can build enough strength to wipe the slate clean and build new life on this Earth - free of the capitalist class that would sooner see us die for their prophet.

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in the localities. The departments under the central authorities issue directives arbitrarily. The products from these departments ought to be top grade, but actually they are inferior in quality and there are large numbers of completely worthless rejects. Leading organs in the greater administrative areas and the provinces and municipalities are local factories for turning out ideas, and their products should be top grade too.

Po I-po's mistake is a manifestation of bourgeois ideas. It benefits capitalism and harms socialism and semi-socialism and runs counter to the resolution of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee.

On whom should we rely? On the working class, or on the bourgeoisie? The resolution of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee made it clear long ago: "We must wholeheartedly rely on the working class." The resolution also says that in the rehabilitation and development of production the following must be the rule: the production of state industry comes first, that of private industry second and handicraft production third. The emphasis is on industry, and first of all on heavy industry, which is owned by the state. Of the five sectors of our present-day economy, the state-owned economy is the leading sector. Capitalist industry and commerce must be gradually guided towards state capitalism.

The resolution of the Second Plenary Session says that the livelihood of the workers and other working people is to improve on the basis of increased production. People with bourgeois ideas pay no attention to this point, and Po I-po is typical in this respect. We must lay emphasis on the development of production, but consideration must be given to both the development of production and the improvement of the people's livelihood. Something must be done for their material well-being, but neither too much nor nothing at all. At present there are quite a few cadres who ignore the people's livelihood and couldn't care less about their sufferings. There was a regiment in Kweichow Province which occupied large tracts of peasant farmland. That was a serious encroachment on the people's interests. It is wrong to ignore the people's livelihood, but the emphasis must be laid on production and construction.

The question of utilizing, restricting and transforming the capitalist sector of the economy was also made quite clear at the Second Plenary Session. The resolution it adopted says that the private capitalist economy must not be allowed to expand uncurbed but should be restricted from several directions -- in the scope of its operations, by tax policy and by market prices and working conditions. The relationship of the socialist economy to the capitalist economy is that of the leader to the led. Restriction versus opposition to restriction is the main form of class struggle in the new-democratic state. Now the new tax system talks about "equality between public and private enterprises"; that is at variance with the line which makes the state-owned economy the leading sector.

As for the co-operative transformation of individual farming and handicrafts, the resolution of the Second Plenary Session puts it clearly:

Such co-operatives are collective economic organizations of the working people, based on private ownership and under the direction of the state power led by the proletariat. The fact that the Chinese people are culturally backward and have no tradition in organizing co-operatives makes it quite difficult for us to promote and develop the co-operative movement, but co-operatives can and must be organized and they must be promoted and developed. If we had only a state-owned economy and no co-operative economy, it would be impossible for us to lead the individual economy of the working people step by step towards collectivization, impossible

to develop from the new-democratic state to the socialist state of the future and impossible to consolidate the leadership of the proletariat in the state power.

This resolution was adopted in March 1949, but quite a few comrades have failed to take note of it and what is no longer news strikes them as novel. In his article "Strengthen the Party's Political Work in the Rural Areas", Po I-po said that the individual peasants' road to collectivization through mutual aid and co-operation "is sheer fantasy, because the present mutual-aid teams, based as they are on the individual economy, cannot develop gradually into collective farms, still less can such a road lead to the collectivization of agriculture as a whole". This runs counter to the Party's resolution.

There are now two united fronts, two alliances. One is the alliance of the working class and the peasants; this is the foundation. The other is the alliance of the working class and the national bourgeoisie. As the peasants are labourers and not exploiters, the alliance of the working class and the peasants is a long-term one. Nevertheless, there are contradictions between the working class and the peasants. We should guide the peasants step by step from individual ownership to collective ownership in accordance with the voluntary principle. In the future there will also be contradictions, between state ownership and collective ownership. These contradictions are all non-antagonistic. On the other hand, the contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie are antagonistic.

The bourgeoisie is sure to corrode people and aim its sugar-coated bullets at them. Its sugar-coated bullets are of two kinds, material and spiritual. A spiritual one hit its target, Po I-po. He made his mistake because he succumbed to the influence of bourgeois ideas. The editorial preaching the new tax system was applauded by the bourgeoisie, and Po I-po was pleased. Before the new tax system was initiated, he solicited suggestions from the bourgeoisie and reached a gentleman's agreement with them, but he failed to report to the Central Committee. The Ministry of Commerce and the Federation of Supply and Marketing Co-operatives objected at the time, and the Ministry of Light Industry was dissatisfied too. Of the 1,100,000 cadres and employees working in the financial, economic and trade fields, the overwhelming majority are good and only a small number are not. Those who are not fall into two categories: counter-revolutionaries, who should be weeded out; and revolutionaries, including Party members and non-Party personnel, who have made mistakes and who should therefore be remolded through criticism and education.

To ensure the triumph of the cause of socialism, we must combat erroneous Right opportunist tendencies, that is, bourgeois ideas, throughout the Party, and first of all in the leading bodies of the Party, government, army and mass organizations at the national level and at those of the greater administrative areas and the provinces and municipalities. The greater administrative areas and the provinces and municipalities should call meetings in due time with the participation of secretaries of prefectural Party committees and commissioners of prefectures [4] to unfold criticism and discussion and to clarify the question of the socialist road versus the capitalist road.

To ensure the triumph of the cause of socialism, we must exercise collective leadership and oppose decentralism and subjectivism.

At present we must combat subjectivism, not only in the form of rash advance but also in the form of conservatism. In the days of the new-democratic revolution both Right and "Left" subjectivist mistakes occurred. Chen Tu-hsiu and Chang Kuo-tao made Right mistakes and Wang Ming first "Left" mistakes and then Right ones. The rectification movement in Yen'an concentrated its efforts on combating dogmatism and opposed empiricism in passing. Both dogmatism and empiricism are forms of subjectivism. No revolution can triumph unless theory is integrated with practice. The problem was solved in that rectification movement. We were right in adopting the policy of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient. This time

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HELP WANTED: RACE TRAITORS INQUIRE WITHIN

by ozhaawashko animikii

"to become revolutionary is to become like the sun. the sun whose holy power is both creation and destruction. BECOME LIKE THE SUN. the sun is queer and sacred, and its name is communism."
- Émilie Carrière-Bouchard

PRAISE THE SUN

So the planet is boiling. And the same source of energy that all life depends on could also be the one that cooks us to death. But what can we actually blame the sun for? From 93 million miles away, this ball of fire still manages to bathe our planet in an incomprehensible amount of energy: 44 QUADRILLION WATTS every year. It never stops, never rests, and expects nothing in return. There may be nothing more communist than the sun.

The sun is revolutionary. Meting out both destruction and creation wherever it can reach. So no, the sun is not to blame. We can even learn from the sun to help us fight our real enemy: this godforsaken atmosphere. The air is thick not only with the trillions of tons of excess carbon and other pollutants, but also with an endless wall of bullshit that people tell themselves, and each other. The so-called Overton Window can't come close to describing the actual problem. Even Mark Fisher's term Capitalist Realism falls just a little short. The most insidious part of this atmosphere is that all-pervasive compulsion to pretend that letting things go on as they have been isn't actively fucking killing us all.

Any bullshit will do, and there are entire industries devoted to pumping out new senseless bullshit to keep us distracted, but one in particular deserves special attention: the White Bullshit Industrial Complex. There is a FUCKTON of money in supplying white people with some new little kernel of bullshit to add to the wall between them and any genuine sense of reality. And worse: 10 more Charlie Kirks could suddenly have their lives devoted to opening a new all-genders restroom in a cemetery near you, and this industry would likely only get bigger.

So what can we learn from the sun? It's not enough to shine a light on these clouds of white bullshit, what we need is destruction. There's little point in focusing too hard on any individual businesses and creators that deal in white bullshit, we need to destroy the material base they've built upon and rely on: "white people". To crack a hole in this accursed sky we need to abolish race itself.

KILL THE COLONIZER, SAVE THE MAN

In Philosynoir's video "On Anti-(W)hiteness", they describe the primary thesis of the video as "why anti-whiteness is good (and needed)" from the perspective of race abolition." Early on in this discussion comes a distinction between white preservationists and race abolitionists. A preservationist is someone who is trying to make whiteness and/or being white into something "not bad": to save some shred of its essence, some tiny piece as inherently good, or at least innocent. Unfortunately there is no such shred, and no such piece. Another critical part of this argument involves the assertion that racism predates race. Race as a concept was created to justify exploitation and the violence inherent to that exploitation. There is nothing about whiteness to be saved. This tool of racism and colonialism needs to be unmade, which is what race abolitionists are trying to do. Reading directly from Noel Ignatiev's posthumously published book "Treason to Whiteness is Loyalty to Humanity," they define a traitor to the white race as "someone who is nominally classified as white but who defies white rules so strenuously as to jeopardize his or her ability to draw upon the privilege of whiteness."

Make no mistake: destroying whiteness will require making white-bodied people extremely uncomfortable. Dąbrowski's Theory of Positive Disintegration would assert that even some of our worst struggles with anxiety, depression (and other intensely

negative emotions) can be beneficial, IF and only if we can recognize that they're socially caused and not just something internal to ourselves. Unfortunately they do have to actually want for themselves to exit white supremacy. You will have to pull out all the stops, use every tool at your disposal, and hold other white peoples' hands under the faucet until they finally begin to realize that their attachment to whiteness is what's actually causing their distress. Destruction AND creation: we have to destroy the unconscious and unchallenged white-bodied perception of the world, but also help them regulate themselves and develop in a way that is NOT returning to white supremacy. For more on this creative component, see the nearby article on communist effervescence.

Race isn't going to abolish itself. Even if it takes generations, we still have to do the work ourselves. The remainder of this article will serve as an announcement of sorts on how we can go about doing that work: On or before January 1st, 2026, the Library Biskaabiiyaang will be opened. Biskaabiiyaang is Ojibwe for "returning to ourselves." At first this org will be little more than an alumni association for the Biskaabiiyaang Collective student org on campus, but the intention is to grow it into a fully fledged literary society.

This collective will always be Indigenous-led, but its primary goal is to turn white-bodied persons into weapons-of-cracker-destruction. Or more accurately: to help them turn themselves into antiracist and anticolonial leaders. This collective cannot practice what Paulo Freire would call the banking model of education, in which your heads are an empty space for us to fill with whatever we want. Instead this process must be at least somewhat self-directed by white-bodied people. There are far too many topics for any one person to cover everything, so one of our first tasks is to help you find one or more places to specialize in.

If not before, by January 1st we will have our first group readings planned. Only articles at first, but soon book chapters and hopefully not long after some of us will have chosen our first full-length book to read together. To those interested in joining: know that you will be expected to write something (hopefully several things). Everyone living on (or visiting) the Keweenaw Peninsula will always have access to the published work of this collective for free, but we also need to begin building a mutual aid fund of our own, to ensure Black and Indigenous peoples can afford to live and are supported in kind for helping white-bodied people deal with breaking whiteness.

One day it will be truly unthinkable that anyone could ever share a planet with capitalists, with landlords, with cops. Help us drag that day closer. Help us crack the sky.

the unrelenting and thoroughgoing criticism of Po I-po is designed to help those who have erred correct their mistakes and to ensure the victorious advance of socialism. In the present period of the socialist revolution subjectivism is still in evidence. Rash advance and conservatism both disregard the actual state of affairs, both are subjectivist. The revolution and construction cannot succeed unless subjectivism is overcome. In the days of the democratic revolution rectification served to correct the error of subjectivism and in consequence the whole Party was united, including both the comrades who had adhered to the correct line and those who had made mistakes. From Yen-an they set out for different war theaters, and the whole Party, pulling its weight as one man, went on to win nation-wide victory. Today, the cadres are more mature and their political level is higher, and it is hoped that it will not take long for them basically to overcome subjectivism in their task of leadership and bring the subjective into correspondence with the objective through their efforts.

The solution of all these problems hinges on strengthening collective leadership and opposing decentralism. We have all along opposed decentralism. The directive issued by the Central Committee to its bureaus and the army commanders on February 2, 1941 stipulated that all circular telegrams, declarations and inner-Party directives bearing on the country as a whole must have the prior approval of the Central Committee. In May, the Central Committee issued a directive calling for unified external propaganda by the various base areas. On July 1 of the same year, on the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Party, the Central Committee issued its decision on strengthening Party spirit with the emphasis on combating decentralism. In 1948 the Central Committee issued more directives to the same effect. It issued a directive on setting up a system of reports on January 7 and a supplementary directive in March. The Political Bureau met in September and adopted a resolution on rules governing reports to and requests for instructions from the Central Committee. On September 20, the Central Committee made a decision on strengthening the Party committee system. On March 10, 1953 the Central Committee adopted a decision on strengthening its leadership over the work of the government in order to avert the danger of government departments drifting away from its leadership.

Centralization and decentralization are in constant contradiction with each other. Decentralism has grown since we moved into the cities. To resolve this contradiction all the principal and important issues must first be discussed and decided on by the Party committee before its decisions are referred to the government for implementation. For instance, such important decisions as the erection of the Monument to the Heroes of the People in Tien An Men Square and the demolition of Peking's city walls were made by the Central Committee and carried out by the government. Matters of secondary importance can be left to the leading Party groups in government departments. It just won't do for the Central Committee to monopolize everything. Combating decentralism will win maximum popular approval because most comrades in the Party care about collective leadership. Party members fall into three categories in their attitude towards collective leadership. Those in the first category care about collective leadership. Those in the second do not care so much, maintaining that the Party committees had better leave them alone, but they don't mind being supervised. "Better leave me alone" reveals a lack of Party spirit, while "don't mind being supervised" shows some measure of Party spirit. We must seize on this "don't mind being supervised" and help such comrades by education and persuasion to overcome their lack of Party spirit. Otherwise, each ministry would go its own way and the Central Committee could not supervise the ministries, the ministers could not supervise the department and bureau heads, and the division heads could not supervise the section chiefs -- no one, in short, could supervise anyone. In consequence, independent kingdoms would proliferate and hundreds of feudal princes would emerge. Those in the third category are only a handful. They

flatly reject collective leadership and always prefer to be left alone. The decision on strengthening Party spirit puts the stress on the strict observance of discipline under democratic centralism, in other words, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the individual to the organization, the lower level to the higher level and the entire Party to the Central Committee (a case of subordinating the majority to the minority, as this minority represents the majority). Opinions are welcome, but to undermine Party unity would be a most shameful thing. It is reliance on the political experience and wisdom of the collective that can guarantee the correct leadership of the Party and the state and the unshakable unity of the ranks of the Party.

At this conference Liu Shao-chi said he had made mistakes of a sort, and Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping said he too had made some mistakes. Whoever makes a mistake must make a self-criticism, and everybody without exception must put himself under the Party's supervision and the leadership of Party committees at various levels. This is a prime requirement for fulfilling the Party's tasks. Throughout the country there are quite a number of people who thrive on anarchy, and Po I-po is one such person. To some extent he has been corrupted both politically and ideologically and it is absolutely necessary to criticize him.

One final point. We must foster modesty, willingness to learn and perseverance.

We must have perseverance. In the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, for instance, we hit U.S. imperialism where it hurt and struck fear into its heart. This was an asset, an important factor, in our country's construction. What was of the utmost importance was that our armed forces were thus steeled, the fighters displaying velour and the commanders resourcefulness. True, we suffered casualties and incurred a cost; we paid a price. But we had absolutely no fear of sacrifice; once we set our mind on doing something, we saw it through. When Hu Tsung-nan attacked the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, we did not pull out although we had only one county seat left, and we thought nothing of it when we had to live on the leaves of the trees. This is the kind of fortitude we must have.

We must study and must not become conceited or look down on others. Goose eggs don't think much of chicken eggs and the ferrous metals don't think much of rare metals -- such a disdainful attitude is not scientific. Although China is a big country and ours is a big Party, there is no reason to look down on small countries or small parties. We must always be ready to learn from the people of fraternal countries and maintain a genuine internationalist spirit. In our foreign trade some people are arrogant and overweening, and this is wrong. Education must be conducted in the whole Party, and particularly among people working abroad. We must study hard and work hard so as basically to accomplish socialist industrialization and socialist transformation in fifteen years or a little longer. By then our country will have become strong, yet wee should still be modest and should always be ready to learn.

There are several regulations which were adopted at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee but not written into its resolution. The first is a ban on birthday celebrations. Birthday celebrations don't beget longevity. The important thing is to do our work well. The second is a ban on gifts, at least in the Party. The third is to keep toasts to a minimum. Toasts may be allowed on certain occasions. The fourth is to keep applause to a minimum. There should be no ban and no pouring of cold water on the masses who applaud out of enthusiasm. The fifth is a ban on naming places after persons. The sixth is a ban on placing Chinese comrades on a par with Marx, Engels, Lenin or Stalin. Our relationship to them is one of pupils to teachers and that is how it should be. Observance of these regulations is true modesty.

In short, we must remain modest, be willing to learn, retain our perseverance and adhere to the system of collective leadership so as to achieve socialist transformation and attain victory for socialism.

Roberts' Replies to a Scurrilous Article in the Mining Journal

by W.J. Roberts, reprinted from the June 19, 1908 issue of The Wage Slave, Hancock, MI

It is the laboring millions that produce, with their brains, sweat and muscle, all the wealth that society enjoys. Yet we life in a strange civilization in which all those who produce that wealth continually life on the verge of want and poverty, while those who toil not, neither do they spin, revel in elegance and luxury past language to describe. This wealth is extracted from those who produce it by the most heartless methods, the results of which is indelibly stamped on our civilization by a whole calendar of crimes of every conceivable kind.

A class of people have come into existence who not only recognize the on indisputable fact that "Labor creates all wealth" but also go farther by stating another fact just as indisputable, "That all wealth belongs to those who produce it." These two simple yet axiomatic truths, once recognized by society at large, are so revolutionary that it would create a new foundation upon which only can the highest ideals of humanity ever be realized.

The people, calling the attention of their fellow mortals to these self evident truths are called socialists.

The whole network of our present civilization is so arranged as to cover up or obscure these truths. To this end, multitudes of politicians, lawyers, preachers, professors, and newspapers are employed directly or indirectly to obscure the real truth and substitute a lot of hocus pocus philosophy, theology, pretense, cunning, and sophistry to keep humanity from learning the natural and wholesome truth.

Nature has a way of balancing her books that has nothing to do with man made laws, nor pries made theology. In the last analysis her dictum is supreme. When things reach extremes, the immutable laws of the universe start the pendulum going the other way; in our social affairs, as well as in the material realm. And the material is always found to do the work. Nature always has abundant material to do her work whether in the cosmos or among humanity.

The socialists are working in line with natural law, in consequence of which we hold the keys of the future. The capitalists realizing that the socialists are right, and that they have the mental light which is capable of showing the rotten and putrefying condition of capitalistic society, seek by and every means at their command to keep the socialists from spreading the truth about things so that the capitalist class can continue to disgorge and rob earths toiling millions out of their natural heritage.

Instead of using the shotgun themselves to carry on the robbery, a collection of individuals known as police squads, pinkerton thugs, militias, armies and navies.

The only system that requires such an array of murderers is a system founded upon robbery of the most brazen and high-handed nature.

The thunders of thew hierarchy and judiciary were hurled at Galileo in his day; but the world was round, and went around just the same.

The free-booters of our present civilization, with their lackeys and parasites, may hurl anathemas at the socialists try to cut off free speech to keep their mouths closed; give arbitrary authority to political pets to censor the truth from going through the post office; use the policeman's club to knock out the best brains of the nation; use pinkerton thugs to murder the best manhood, but all such contemptible methods as concentrated and conscienceless capitalism alone can use, will be found to be of no avail. This rotten decaying system cannot be bolstered up. Nature has decreed a new heaven and a new earth, and a reign of social justice wherein mankind shall enjoy an equivalent for the full fruits of their labor.

I have drawn the above prelude to show the motives which are actuating political intrigue from Washington to Ishpeming. And to show in local affairs the reasons why scurrilous and lying articles appear in such papers as the

Mining Journal; why such people as Rutledge, Kaminen, Nieme, Skytta, Salstrom, et al. Use temperance and religion as a blanket or an excuse, while at the bottom they are but puppets and checkers in the hands of politicians, who in turn are but the representatives of our most workshopful steel trust.

These shrewd and cunning tools are used directly or indirectly to sophisticate, divide, and humbug the people out of their American freedom. These are the real anarchists, who have the brazen effrontery; lack of conscience; and overplus of gall to carry on such a program while talking patriotism, Stars, and Stripes, etc.

Before I went into public office I knew from observation on the outside that things were far from what they ought to be. I did not anticipate that they were nearly as bad as they really are.

By close scrutiny and untiring attention to detail, I have discovered the means by which these base scoundrels conspire together to fleece the public out of their rights. I have been so close upon the heels of these shysters that I have been in a position to divine their inner secrets and motives. Because of my knowledge of their tactics and constant exposure of their methods I have become an undesirable citizen, being constantly hounded by these hirelings on any and every pretext they could possible trump up. Their papers have thundered to the rankest falsehood, their politicians, even to the pulpit, have maligned and slandered without any foundation for such, except that I constantly refused to be controlled by them, or let them deceive the public if I could prevent it.

The inner circle of politicians, commonly called the machine, know full well that their program is not safe when such men as Roberts can't speak in public, or write through the public press; so they try by every means to paint me before the public in the blackest hues; hoping thereby to raise such a wall of prejudice in the minds of the public as will be calculated to destroy any influence I may haven in enlightening the masses about the underhand methods by which they deceive the public, In this matter they are not altogether unsuccessful, as with their combined circulation and constant bickering, the public only hearing chiefly one side of the matter, and led to believe that side which is constantly prated in their ears. However I have been before this community since my early boyhood days with a clean record that stand me in good stead; and successful exposed the rottenness that exists in high places.

Saturday night June 6th was a meeting held in Kosky's Hall which was said to be a peoples meeting. I attended this meeting because I knew there was a movement on foot by the inside circle to disrupt the Finnish Socialists. One object of socialism is to unite the working class of all nations, and so wherever the interest of the working class are involved the socialist can always be found.

There was a goodly gathering of about 400 people at the hall. I stood at the extreme rear of the hall, on chairs with some others, and very closely watched the proceedings of the meeting for about two hours.

It did not take very long for a close observer to see the real purpose of the meeting, The leaders, who are tools of the local machine to work the Finns into line, were the only ones who were allowed to do any talking. Many others tried to get the floor, but of no avail. In order to settle the dispute out the floor, the chairman finally consented to take down names in their order, and afterwards disregarded it, and went right along giving the privileges to the same special few who had occupied it all the time previously, and who were the cause of the dispute.

They made the pretense of talking about a picnic, but in a shorty time the picnic was lost sight of and all you could hear was socialism, anarchism, red flag, etc. The socialists were being betrayed by these hireling scoundrels, but the socialists were not allowed to have a

CONTINUED FROM ROBERTS’ REPLIES...

work to say in their own defense. That is the argument of cowards and cut-throats, they know we speak the truth, so their only hope is in silencing us, and branding us with a log of bad names that belong to themselves.

On act of the meeting was sufficient to thoroughly convince me of the real purpose for which it was called; a vote was called for, with hands up, on the red flag and the American flag. I readily saw that that was a subtly laid scheme of the pinkertonians to pick out the socialists and thereby carry out the threat mentioned in the Mining Journal editorial of the last week.

A Finn shift boss from section 16 mine was one of the chief speakers of the evening, he occupied the floor five or six times, sometimes at considerable length. A great deal of the balance of the talking was done by the chairman himself; and strange to say that was the very man, who did his best to prevent me from speaking at a meeting to which the Finnish people had invited me.

After watching the procedure for some length of time, at last I grew weary and started for home. In the hallway I met a young Finn that I knew well and who spoke good English, so I asked hi about the nature of the meeting. He informed me that it was supposed to be a people’s meeting, but that he could not get top nor bottom of it. Of course I could readily see why he was so puzzled about the affair, the leaders had purposely done this to fool the people and to have some excuse to talk and work against the socialists. So what the meeting was called for, and what it turned out to be, did not jibe. It was rank hypocrisy.

I asked the young man that I met in hallway if it was an open meeting in which anyone had a right to talk, and he informed that it was; so I went back in the hall again, and waited for an opportunity to speak. There being quite a number of the younger Finnish people present who understood English, and who could in turn translate to the rest, I knew if I could obtain the floor for just a few minutes, I could expose the designs of those scheming pinkertons.

I advanced to the front to where there were some men standing and politely asked the chairman if this was a people’s meeting, or exclusively for Finns. The answer I got was, sit down; sit down. To which I replied I would if he could answer my question: at the same time stating that if it was a people’s meeting as I had heard it was, I would like to have an opportunity to speak for a few minutes, but, if it was an exclusively Finnish meeting I would gladly retire. Instead of letting the chairman answer the question, J. Parka Niemi, jumped to his feet from the audience, in an incendiary manner, and began a tirade of abuse against me. His insulting remarks and inflammatory manner brought the whole audience to their feel and some of Niemi’s type began to shout, “put him out” while some of the rest ran for an officer. I explained to officer Collins that there was no cause for alarm on my part as I had simply asked for an opportunity to speak in case that this was a people’s meeting, and that I had no intent to disturb the meeting if it was for Finns only. The man who was really the cause of the disturbance was J. Parka Niemi, who is a reporter here for a daily Finnish newspaper. This is the same man who was driven out of Ironwood because of the continual disturbances he made there. He is the man who, for months, has been circulating all kinds of lies about me through the columns of his paper/ The whole purpose of which is for political reasons; printing that stuff in a foreign language, in a mean and underhand way. That rot and lies had been circulating through their paper for some time before I found it out. I was finally informed about by a Finnish gentleman who has known be well for years, and told me it was sham that such lies were allowed to be circulated. That was about the time of the election so it is very easy to divine the purpose. It is bad enough to face an English press that is hired by the powers that be, and who have neither conscience not scruples about what they print as long as it has the political effect upon the minds of the people. But how to reach such puppets as Niemi and Salstrom who use their respective foreign, Swedish and Finnish press to libel respectable people for political purposes and stretch their purse strings, is really difficult to tell.

Such disturbance as there was at the meeting came entirely from the pinkertonian side of it. And was caused chiefly by the very same man who the

Mining Journal so nicely and considerately said they had interviewed. They was the man who furnished and colored the information to suit their purposes. They are all parts of the Press Bureau that have sold themselves out body and soul to the steel trust.

At the meeting whole the socialists were flayed unmercifully, they were prevented from saying anything in their own defense. They flayed the socialists much on the same order as a bug brute might flog a helpless individual tied to a post; the moral plane would be about the same.

When I have sent articles to the Mining Journal that wee not particularly injurious to their game they would print them but then I sent in something that exposed the inner plottings they were refused. But when a slimy sleuth like Niemi comes along with a bunch of fabrications to blacken the eyes of Ex-Mayor Roberts, the columns are thrown wide open to him and their reportorial and editorial staff to help him.

Niemi has sworn vengeance on all socialists, and with the representatives of the steel trust behind him, he feels [big].

He knows that Roberts is a socialist with plenty of sand and conviction and a hard worker for the part, so it is readily seen why Niemi runs to the columns of the Mining Journal and with their assistance pours out the vials of their loving kindness upon him.

We thank them all however that in their efforts to falsify and malign, they have given us an opportunity to tell the truth, and expose to the public the real anarchists, those who are a festering sore in the body politic. Those who prostitute such brains and powers as they have, to sell their fellowmen into slavery, that is equally as galling to the intelligence of our present wage slaves as chattel slavery was to the black slaves of the south. In a comparatively short time however the trust regime will not have need for such an array of contemptible parasites as the dirty work will have been done, then they will be dumped out on the scrap pile with the rest of the useless machinery. The world is marching on to better things, and in the new civilization that is just slightly over the way, if we have a criminal class, they will be composed of just such as as we have enumerated above, but then when there will be no more need for such men, we will give them every opportunity to reform and go to work with the rest of humanity at an honorable occupation, And since the incentives to crime will have been removed by changing the basis of the system, no doubt we will be able to appeal very easily to their better instincts, and help them forget the sins that is in them instead of the very worst, as is the rule of our present civilization.

Capitalism with its own inherent weakness and rotten foundations is doomed, in, what, in history, may be termed the near future. No amount of pinkerton props, prostituted journalism, preaching parasites, or self made judiciary can save the tottering structure.

It is nature’s decree and not man’s, so get ready brother for the new era. Instead of setting yourself, in your blindness and stupidity against the forces of nature, study, read, and learn to cooperate with nature and your fellows, to make the birth as painless as possible. It is only the ignorant that try to stamp out socialism, whether they come out of our colleges or not. A great many ignoramuses are yearly tuned out of college. It is the studious and thinking man that understands the course of natural law.

The socialists are students of sociology, political economy and natural law, as a consequence we understand the futility of war, competition and reaction. We look upon the other fellow in his frenzy as one beating the air because of his ignorance. Every once in a whole these wind chasers jump on our toes and then your hear from us. Otherwise we are peacefully occupied in doing our best, by organization and education, to get the minds of the people ready for the inevitable change, and a better civilization.

In conclusion let me quote the works of Wagner, “Be men, speak the speech of honor.” An hour of plain dealing does more for the salvation of the world than years of duplicity.

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Keweenaw Socialists Quarterly is an anti-capitalist quarterly publication bringing academic literature, meaningful discussion, visual art, poetry, and prose to the people of the Keweenaw. This publication seeks to advocate for the liberation of workers, indigenous peoples, and all other minorities in the Keweenaw peninsula and throughout the world.

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