

Editorial Page of The Communist

MONUMENTAL HYPOCRISY.

The application of the Socialist Party for admission to the Third International, coming at a time when that organization had just filed a brief at Albany repudiating everything that the Third International stands for, is as extreme an act of hypocrisy as could be imagined.

No organization calling itself "Socialist", with the possible exception of the German Majority Socialist with which the Socialist Party of the United States is now in the same class, has ever gone farther in repudiating even those principles which Moderate Socialists accept, as the Socialist Party has gone in the Albany trial.

Its brief is an argument for respectability. It believes in the use of the ballot only to achieve its aims. What it once said about "united class conscious political and industrial action against the common enemy" is declared to mean a general strike only if the capitalists attempt to steal its victory after it has won at the election. The obligation of its elected officials to the provisions binding its legislative representatives to vote against military appropriations are declared to be meaningless words having no binding force. It makes a case for the patriotism of its members and declares that it never sought to hamper the government in the prosecution of the war, the St. Louis program to the contrary notwithstanding.

The repudiation of the St. Louis program is particularly significant. The claim of the party to international standing and for admission to the Third International has always been based upon its stand during war. The St. Louis program was its great asset for recognition as a "left" party. While using this program to maintain its prestige internationally it repudiates it to gain respectability nationally.

Undoubtedly the attorneys who made the apology and interpretation of the St. Louis program in the Albany brief correctly reflected the opinion of the present leadership and most of the membership of the party. They were never for the St. Louis program. In action they sabotaged it from the beginning. The membership that forced this program down their throats are in the Communist and Communist Labor Party, or in jail because they carried out the program in action.

Hillquit and Lee helped to write the program, but it did not reflect their wishes. They were coerced into acceptance by the knowledge that the militant and overwhelming majority of the St. Louis convention were for a program of aggressive action against the war. Berger carried a program of his own around in his pocket for several days and accepted the one adopted only when it became apparent that he would only be able to muster his corporal's guard from Milwaukee for it. The dynamic part of the St. Louis program was taken from the manifesto of the Socialist Propaganda League, which Trotzky helped to prepare while in this country.

The announcement of the application of the Socialist Party to the Third International came on the day that the Communist Party of America organized the Pan-American Bureau of the Third International, to which the application will no doubt be referred. The chances that the Socialist Party will ever be admitted to the Third International are about as good as the chances that it will ever do anything else but betray the working class of this country in its struggle for emancipation.

WE ARE ILLEGAL ONCE MORE.

There has now been added to the declaration of the Secretary of the Department of Labor and of the courts of the State of New Jersey a similar decision from the courts of the State of New York as to the illegality of the Communist Party of America.

The latter decision was rendered in the verdict in the case of Harry Winitzky, formerly Executive Secretary of the Communist Party of Greater New York. Winitzky was charged with being a member and helping to organize the Communist Party. The verdict was therefore a direct expression on the question of the relation of the Communist Party to the laws of the state and will be used as a precedent in other cases.

Except in so far as it involves the freedom of a member of the party and one who was an active worker for our cause, the decision has no particular meaning to the party organization. The fact that we are declared an illegal organization will not change our principles. We will continue to advocate the same ideas after all the courts in the United States have declared us illegal that we advocate before. The decisions of these instruments for oppression to safeguard the capitalist system will not change our program. Since they are instruments of class oppression it would be remarkable if

they rendered any other decision than they have.

The work of the party is to quickly complete the work of adapting itself to the new condition of "illegality" and then to carry on its work of propaganda and education in such an aggressive fashion that it will quickly build up such a powerful organization of the workers that it can laugh at the decision of the capitalist courts as to its legality or illegality. It is not right or justice that determines what is legal or illegal, but power.

When we have the power we will be as quick and unhesitating in declaring the capitalist and capitalism illegal as the capitalists have been in declaring our propaganda against them "illegal".

BOLSHEVISM "FAILING".

Two kinds of propaganda are being carried on by the capitalist press in an effort to save the face of the statesmen who are about to make peace with Soviet Russia.

The first is made up of articles showing how much the Communists of Russia have modified their ideas and indicating that Communism has failed in that country, and a second class of articles showing that conditions in Russia are really not so bad as they have been pictured by the capitalist press.

Unfortunately for the authors of this propaganda these articles quite frequently contradict each other. Thus we have the statement that Communism has failed to contrast to a report of the Moscow election showing that ninety-three per cent of the voters cast their ballots for Communist candidates. And in another instance the failure of Communism is illustrated by the fact that the number of peasants who own land and those who own small parcels of land has greatly increased as have the number who own livestock, while the large holdings of land and livestock have decreased.

The figures and facts presented seem to indicate that in place of Communists having failed in carrying out their program they have been remarkably successful.

Very likely when the capitalists are thoroughly beaten and their system wiped out under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, they will assure us that after all Communism was what they always wanted and the whole struggle was a mistake.

THE REVOLUTION IN 1922.

The New York Times publishes "startling disclosures" made public by the "United Americans", which is a new breed formed to "preserve the Constitution of the United States with the representative form of government and the individual right of possession which the Constitution provides" — in other words an organization of exploiters to pre-

serve exploitation. These "startling disclosures" consist of a lot of weird figures about the strength of the 'Red' movement in the United States and much money supposed to have been received from the Soviet Government of Russia, and assurance that these "Reds" are planning the social revolution in the United States to begin in New York in 1922.

It is with the latter statement that we are concerned. Like the effort of the capitalists to destroy the Communist movement by imprisonments and deportation, it shows an utter inability on their part to estimate what is taking place in society. To them the movement toward the Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a scheme devised by some great men, and the date for execution of this plan can be definitely set and the plan executed at the given moment.

Communism is not a scheme which can be put into effect at a date set two years in advance. Such a view of the Communist Movement could only exist in the minds of such abysmally ignorant people as make up the National Committee of "United American" and such as rule the Department of Justice of the United States Government. Communism is an analysis of social forces and a plan of action in the crisis which the conflict of classes will precipitate. For the Communists to say two years from now we will overthrow the present government of the United States and establish a Soviet Government and the Dictatorship of the proletariat would be silly. What the Communists do say is that the conflict between the working class and capitalist class will grow increasingly bitter and that this conflict, together with the disintegration of the capitalist system which is already reflected in the financial situation and the trade difficulties which this is causing, will precipitate a crisis in which the masses of the workers will take revolutionary action. In this crisis, which might come in six months and may not come for six years, the Communists will take the leadership and direct the struggle to overthrow the present government of the capitalists and establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The ignorance of the capitalists and their supporters has its advantages. If they understood that they were dealing with social forces in place of schemes of an individual or a group, they might be shrewd enough to adapt themselves to the development of these forces and thus prolong the lease of life of their class. As it is, they try to wipe out the authors of the scheme they fear and thus actually help to develop the forces that will bring about their undoing.