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The American Counterparts of Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske.

The recent statement of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, in which it openly repudiates the Communist International should be final convincing proof of where the Socialist Party stands in the international revolutionary proletarian movement. It is a party of Eberts, Scheidemanns and Noskes, who, if they ever get the opportunity, will prove to be the same willing butchers and hangmen of the workers for their capitalist masters, as the Majority "Socialists" of Germany.

The fact that the National Executive Committee (and Debs) categorically rejected all the conditions for affiliation laid down by the Communist International means nothing at all. These conditions were never intended for such a party as the Socialist Party of America. How could a party definitely committed to a policy of social-patriotism, opportunism and compromise—a party which openly rejected the principles and tactics of Communism—even seriously consider any of the 21 points laid down in the conditions? These 21 points presuppose an agreement on fundamentals at least. As far as fundamentals are concerned the Socialist Party and the Communist International are as far removed as the North and South poles.

The answer is, that the Socialist Party did not seriously consider any of the twenty-one points which it so hypocritically denounced. Like its referendum for affiliation with reservations, this statement is intended to continue the deception in the minds of the workers here, and the revolutionary movement abroad, that the Socialist Party of America is a party of the "Centre" and not of the "Right".

It is this attempt to masquerade as a party of the "Centre", and this only, which is responsible for the statement of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

Naturally, at a time when the Socialist movement of the world is veering sharply to the Left, as evidenced by the split in the Independents of Germany, the major part of whom went over to the Communist International, and the prospect of the same thing happening to the Socialist Party of France next month, as well as the affiliation of revolutionary Socialist parties elsewhere—the Socialist Party of America finds it convenient to masquerade as a "Centre" party rather than reveal itself in its true colors, the American counterparts of Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske.

In other words by pretending to disagree with the "conditions" "imposed" by the Communist International, they hope to distract attention from the real truth—that they disagree fundamentally with its principles and tactics.

But this Hillquitian trick will fool nobody anymore. As far as the revolutionary movement abroad is concerned the S. P., like the Longuetists of France and the Kautskians of Germany will soon find themselves thrown into the arms of the Majority Socialists of Germany, the Brantings of Sweden, and the Vanderveldes of Belgium. The Communist International was never fooled by Hillquit's cheap sophistry. As long ago as 1917 Lenin branded Hillquit for what he is. Even in the conditions of affiliation (which the N. E. C. "conveniently" omitted in its statement when quoting from it, the Communist International stated that it was intolerable that such men as Hillquit among others should belong to the Communist International.

As for the class-conscious workers in this country, they are growing more and

more disillusioned every day. And the Communist Party will leave no stone unturned to complete this task—before the Hillquits and Bergers get opportunity to play the executioners of the working class in the period of revolution.

Letting the Cat Out of the Bag

It is very seldom that a far-sighted and class-conscious capitalist ever lets the cat out of the bag so unceremoniously as does Paul M. Warburg, former Vice Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, in an article in Times Nov. 14th. In this article, entitled, "Europe On The Brink", the author, who has just returned from a European tour of investigation sets down his impressions and analysis of post-war European conditions in very plain terms. As the title of his article implies, he sees that Europe is on the brink of revolution and he sees that nothing can stop it except the union of "progressive capital and constructive labor". And then he proceeds to let the cat out of the bag in the following manner:

"It is the union of these two constructive factions that may be hoped to save what will prove worth preserving of our old society. Of these two, however, constructive organized labor in Europe has shown itself quicker to recognize its duties and opportunities. Constructive organized labor has found ways to get together across national lines, and it has shown the courage and vision to think and act both nationally and internationally at the same time. IT IS CONSERVATIVE ORGANIZED LABOR IN ITS VARIOUS FORMS—LET US MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT—THAT HAS SO FAR STEMMED THE TIDE OF BOLSHEVISM IN EUROPE. IT IS ON THE SANITY AND SAGACITY OF THE LEADERS OF CONSERVATIVE LABOR MORE THAN ON ANY OTHER FACTOR THAT EUROPE'S HOPES MUST REST TO-DAY." (Italics ours, editor).

Exactly. For once we agree wholeheartedly with this capitalist spokesman. This is the lesson that the Communist International and its affiliated parties are trying to drive home. This is exactly the basis for the aggressive and ceaseless campaign of the Communists against all "the various forms" of organized betrayal of the working class aspirations in Europe and America. Against the "Socialist" parties of the Second International and the "Centre", as well as against the Yellow Amsterdam Trade Union International.

This has been the ceaseless cry of the Communists to the workers everywhere. That the leaders of the "various forms" of conservative labor organizations (in which are included the yellow Socialist parties) are the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. That conservative labor is the greater obstacle to revolution. That we must win over the organized labor masses and crush their old labor leaders before we can hope to accomplish the proletarian revolution.

In all the struggles of the Left Wing or Communist parties against their opponents of the "Right" and "Centre", our opponents have never failed to raise the deceitful cry—"Why do you fight us? You are splitting the working class movement. Let us stay united and fight the capitalists who are our common enemies!"

Our answer has always been: "You are the bulwark of capitalism. You stand between the revolutionary movement and its goal! You are the agents of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement. We can never hope to win the victory over the capitalists until we first expel you from the ranks of the workers".

What Warburg has admitted about Europe is equally true of America. "Conservative organized labor in its various forms" (The A. F. of L., the Socialist parties, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Railroad Brotherhoods etc.) has done more to rehabilitate capitalism in America than the "enlightened capitalists" themselves.

These organizations declared a truce with the government during the war and made America's participation in the world war possible. They became strong links in the chain of governmental machinery to bleed and oppress the workers.

After the war, these same agencies made the transition from a war basis to a peace basis in this country possible for the capitalist class. They strengthened capitalism and permitted the post-war era of black reaction, by connivance, betrayal provocations and silence.

If anything, conservative organized labor (including the "Socialists") is more reactionary in America than in Europe. The Gompers, the Hillquits, the Hillmans, Schlossbergs, the Schlesingers, are all birds of one feather. They are all the servile tools of American Imperialism, the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class". The order of business which history has set before the Communist Party is—discrediting and expelling these labor fakers, social patriots, opportunists, social pacifists and yellow syndicalists from the ranks of the labor movement as the indispensable condition for the victory of the American proletariat—the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of a Soviet Government in America.

The Yellow Leaders of the I. W. W.

There can be no doubt by this time that the referendum for affiliation to the Communist International in the I. W. W. has been defeated.

This is quite evident even before the vote on the referendum has been announced. It can be observed in certain acts of commission on the part of the yellow leaders of the I. W. W. during the last few weeks.

The first act of commission was the expulsion of the editor of "Solidarity" for showing too much "sympathy" with Communist propaganda.

Their second act of commission, was to reverse their former decision to expel the Philadelphia Local of Longshoremen who had loaded ammunition for General Wrangel.

Their third act of omission, was the failure to remove or discipline John Sandgren for his vicious, counter-revolutionary attacks upon the Communist International and its affiliated organizations both here and abroad.

Never have leaders of a so-called revolutionary organization fallen as low as the present leaders of the I. W. W.. They have proven themselves to be short-sighted, incompetent, vacillating and reactionary. They seem to be in a muddle and do not know how to extricate themselves. On the one hand they pretend to be a labor organization pure and simple. Whenever the cry of Communism is raised they fall back on that hoary old fraudulent cry. On the other hand, when an incident such as "Philadelphia" comes up, they pretend that they are a revolutionary organization of the advanced-guard of the workers of America.

These yellow leaders have been vacillating between these two contradictory and wholly irreconcilable points of view as suits their opportunistic policies, which consists mainly in humbugging the "wobblies" of the East that they are a revolutionary organization.

When they found out, through the voting on the referendum, that the Communists, though they raised the most noise, were in a comfortable minority, the yellow leaders became emboldened and forget their first scare. What will happen after all the votes are in and they find that the Communists are overwhelmingly defeated, can be easily conjectured without any sever strain on the imagination. We predict that the slogan of these yellow leaders will be the slogan of the reactionary N. E. C. of the Socialist Party last year—*expulsion*.

But, we predict, the yellow and vacillating leaders of the I. W. W. are reckoning without their host. The vast majority of the rank and file of the proletariat in the I. W. W. are revolutionary and class-conscious, though not yet Communist. This referendum is no real test insofar as the membership are concerned. The issue of affiliation to Third International has been deliberately confused by these leaders. The defeat of the present referendum is absolute.

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