

Split the Party!

THE situation in the Socialist Party of Local New York has become a real scandal, a menace to our integrity and a challenge to the party throughout the country.

A group of bureaucrats, drunk with power, clinging desperately to that moderate Socialist policy which is the worst enemy of the militant proletariat, is not only determined to split the party, but are actually accomplishing their sinister purpose. They are accomplishing this purpose by means of intrigue, by usurpation of authority, by using the tactics of gangsters.

The situation in Local New York is no longer a local issue, but national in scope. These are the facts:

The revolutionary comrades in New York, in order to articulate the revolutionary sentiments of the membership, in order to align the party with the Bolshevik-Spartacan policy and practice and the new Communist International, organized as the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City. They issued a Manifesto and Program, which has been adopted by local after local of the party, and which is in accord with the policy and practice of the new Communist International. Every branch in the Socialist Party of New York City which adopted the Manifesto elected delegates to a City Committee of the Left Wing. The purpose of this Committee was to unify the revolutionary forces in the struggle against the reactionary bureaucracy; *it was not a dues paying organization*: this is a deliberate lie circulated by the moderates. Local Queens affiliated as a whole with the Left Wing; Local Bronx, at a general membership meeting, adopted the Manifesto and Program. The Left Wing threatened to conquer the party for revolutionary Socialism—its avowed and legitimate purpose.

The moderates, equally of the Right Wing and the Centre, at first sneered at this mass movement of the militant membership. Then fear caught them by the hair, as they realized the tremendous strength being acquired by the Left Wing. Unable to answer the arguments of the revolutionary Socialists, they resorted to terrorism.

At a meeting of the State Committee of New York, a motion was adopted to expel any local or branch of the party affiliating with the Left Wing. It was decided to put this to a referendum vote of the membership. But before even the referendum was issued, much less the decision known, the bureaucrats of Local New York, about to lose their majority in the Central Committee, determined to act immediately. Meetings of the Central Committee were suspended, and the Executive Committee proceeded to "re-organize" the local. This is now being done with whole branches and thousands of members being "reorganized" out of the party—expelled.

Not only are branches being "re-organized" out of the party, but the ballots of the left wing branches are being thrown out—the ballots on an Emergency National Convention, and on candidates for the National Executive Committee and for International Delegates. By this action, Left Wing candidates are to be deprived of perhaps 2000 votes—unless the general membership of the party acts to rebuke and defeat this deliberate, contemptible means of retaining the moderates in power.

These tactics are abominable. They are used calculatingly and insolently to defeat the will of the membership. Thousands of party members are being disfranchised, in order to defeat the Left Wing candidates, in order to assure success for the referendum to expell all locals and branches who affiliate with the Left Wing.

The moderates claim that the Left Wing represents only a small clique in the party: why, then, not allow the membership to make its decision through the referendum? Why disfranchise the revolutionary Socialists? Why steal votes away from the Left Wing candidates? These desperate tactics are understandable only on the theory that the moderates feel that the revolutionary Socialists are a majority, that they will meet defeat in the referendum votes and revolutionary Socialism conquer the party.

In spite of the corrupt tactics of the moderates of the Right Wing, who try to muddy the situation by bringing in all sorts of irrelevant issues, the controversy in the Socialist Party of Local New York is definite: it is a controversy between moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism, which collapsed during the war and which is directly counter-revolutionary, and that revolutionary Socialism which accepts the experience of Bolshevik-Spartacan practice, which accepts the new Communist International, and which alone is in accord with the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the tasks of the epoch of the final struggle against Capitalism into which the world has definitely emerged.

The moderates in New York City are deliberately sabotaging revolutionary Socialism. They are sabotaging the Russian Soviet Republic and the Bolsheviks,

who realize that only the international proletarian revolution can save the Workmen's and Peasants' Republic and who are placing their faith in the revolutionary Left Wing of every Socialist Party in the world. The Left Wing is the only real ally of the Russian Soviet Republic—of Socialism.

This is the issue which emerges stark and clear in the situation prevailing in Local New York.

It is an issue which affects the whole future of the American Socialist Party. It is an issue which affects the part that American Socialism will play in the international revolutionary movement. It is an issue that cannot be dodged, but which requires the militant action of the militant membership of the whole party.

There must be an emphatic protest. Local after local of the party should protest against the expulsions in New York City, should protest against the treachery and chicanery which have become the last line of defense of the moderates.

Branches of the Party must not be expelled until the membership speaks, every member of the party must have the right to affect decisions.

Votes must not be stolen from revolutionary candidates in order to assure the supremacy of the moderates who are directing the party straight to disaster.

This struggle is a struggle which is being waged in the whole party. The bulk of the membership is revolutionary, but its will is being baffled and misrepresented by desperate bureaucrats. Let the membership assert itself! Let the national party rebuke sternly and uncompromisingly the official chicanery, insolence and criminal practices of the moderates of the Right Wing of Local New York!

The Russian Revolution has issued a challenge to the proletariat and the Socialism of the world. Life itself is emphasizing this challenge. The most important task of the militant Socialist at this moment is to re-organize the Socialist movement in accord with revolutionary experience, to cleanse the movement of moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism, of that "Socialism" which consciously and unconsciously is the enemy of the proletariat and the revolution.

The slogan of the moderates is: Split the party for moderate Socialism!

The slogan of the Left Wing is: Conquer the party for revolutionary Socialism—for the Communist International!

Call for a National Conference of the Left Wing

Call for a National Conference of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party, issued by Local Boston, (Louis C. Fraina, Secretary), Local Cleveland, (C. E. Ruthenberg, Secretary) and the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party of New York City.

The international situation and the crisis in the American Socialist Party; the sabotage the party bureaucracy has practiced on the emergency national convention; the N. E. C. aligning our party with the social-patriots at Berne, with the Congress of the Great Betrayal; the necessity of reconstructing our policy in accord with revolutionary events,—all this, and more, makes it necessary that the revolutionary forces in the Socialist Party get together for counsel and action.

This call is therefore issued for the holding of a National Conference of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party, to discuss:

1.—The crisis in the party, and action thereon; the conquest of the party for the party, for revolutionary Socialism.

2.—The New International; ways and means to prevent the party aligning itself with the "International" of the social-patriots, of the Ebert-Scheidemann gangsters, and the wavering centre; affiliation with the Bolshevik-Spartacan International alone.

3.—The formulation of a declaration of principles and purposes of a national scope of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party.

4.—Forming some sort of a national council or bureau of the Left Wing, for propaganda, securing of information and spreading information.

5.—To express and draw together the revolutionary forces in the party; to consider other means of furthering the cause of revolutionary Socialism.

This call is issued to locals of the Socialist Party, branches and Left Wing groups within the party. The test of admission, provisionally, will be acceptance of the Manifesto of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of Greater New York.

Left Wing locals are invited to send delegates officially. Where a local officially refuses to participate, branches or minority groups in the party accepting the principles of the Left Wing should send delegates.

Representation—one delegate for every 500 members. No local or group should send more than four delegates. Locals, branches or groups of less than 500 are entitled to one delegate.

The conference will be held starting Saturday, June 21, at some central city to be decided after the distribution of delegates is considered.

Left Wing Locals and Branches, act! Send communications to Maximilian Cohen, 43 West 29th Street, New York City.

Bolshevikjabs

WE still hold to our opinion that the Allies are up against a hopeless job. If they ease down the terms so that Ebert and Scheidemann can sign without losing their jobs, then Clemenceau will surely lose his.

Bolshevism in Germany if the terms are insisted upon, Bolshevism in France if the terms are not insisted upon, Bolshevism throughout the world if a new war is started to make the Germans sign.

Pitting platitudes against peoples and machine guns against ideas results in Bolshevism no matter what the university text books say.

Mayor Hylan offers tents to the New Yorkers instead of houses and get away with it, while poor Marie Antoinette lost her head for suggesting cake as a substitute for bread to the Parisians. Which merely goes to show how foolish Marie Antoinette was for not being a member of Tammany Hall.

The terrors of Bolshevism are aptly illustrated by a comparison of the attitudes of Mike Hylan, former judge, now Mayor of New York, and Bill Shatov, former I. W. W. organizer, now Commissaire of Petrograd, towards the housing problem. Shatov, the Bolshevik, gives the people of Petrograd room and bath in the vacant palaces. Hylan, the Democrat, puts the people of New York on the street where they can get a bath every time it rains. Let's stamp out Bolshevism.

American labor is being offered fine things by President Wilson—in words. The world is appalled at Wilson's words on peace now become deeds. Labor—watch out!

The A. F. of L. national bureaucracy is against a general strike to release Eugene V. Debs and other class war prisoners. Why should they favor it? It will never become necessary to pull a general strike in order to release Sammy the Gomp from prison.

But isn't it time that the militant workers in the A. F. of L. released Samuel from his job?

"Leninism in Winnipeg," say the press reports. Lenin, apparently, is omnipresent and omnipotent. Is it Leninism or just proletarian consciousness of class?

Or are Leninism and proletarian consciousness of class the same thing?

The Master is in Paris, but the "Master's voice" is still being heard by Congress.

Former President Taft urges the "square deal" as an antidote to the I. W. W. Aren't most prison cells square?

The sign of Capitalism is not the square deal, but the double-cross.

The Peace Conference refuses to publish the full text of the peace treaty. Is it, then, still more terrible than the summary?

All this talk condemning the Peace Conference for sabotaging "open diplomacy" is unjust. The diplomats at the Conference are gentlemen: since when do gentlemen wash their dirty linen in public?

The new Congress already has more than 1200 bills to consider. The overwhelming majority of these concern property rights. They speak of democracy—but what time has the worker to consider all this legislation? Bourgeois legislation is the noose that strangles democracy—and the worker.

Ole Hanson, the bourgeois demi-god of Seattle, is still inciting to murder and riot against the I. W. W.'s, Bolsheviks, and Socialists.

And radicals are still being imprisoned on fraudulent charges of doing the things that "Oily" Hanson is actually perpetrating.

The gangster tactics of Ebert, Scheidemann & Co. are being burlesqued by the Right Wing in Local New York. But the New York "Socialist" gangsters are furious that they can't use machine guns against our revolutionary comrades.

Do the moderates still believe that you can't crush an ideal by force?

The Left is right!