

pogroms by the Jews throughout America at which resolutions were passed asking the Allies to prevent a recurrence of these horrors. This is futile. As long as Poland continues to do the work Capitalism requires of her she will not be interfered with. If protests are of any use they should be directed against the real offender which in this instance is Capitalism and the only protest that can be effective is the organization of the economic might of the workers.

Protests against the pogroms in Russia under the Czar were of little use, even when backed by the hypocritical remonstrances of the great powers. When the Russian workers overthrew the Czar, the pogrom ceased. When the workers of the world rise in their might and overthrow Capitalism, pogroms, not only against the Jews but against the people's masses, will cease. As long as Capitalism remains pogroms, in one form or another, will continue, whether it be the massacre of the Jews by Gentiles, the lynching of the black man by his white brothers, the rape of subject peoples by Imperialism, or the murdering of the workers by the industrial overlords.

Bolshevism is the only guarantee to the peoples of the world against oppression. The rule of the workers, the establishment of Socialism, is the only method whereby the future of mankind can be safeguarded. All else is hypocrisy. So long as classes exist so long the world will welter in the tears and blood which have been its heritage throughout the ages.

Clear the Decks!

I

THE controversy on principles and tactics in the Socialist Party is coming to a head. It is coming to a head through the revolutionary upsurge of the membership and the decision of the moderate officials and counter-revolutionary bureaucracy in the party deciding to split the party in order to retain control.

Instead of meeting argument with argument, and facts with facts, the moderate petty bourgeois "Socialists" in the Party are answering the revolt of the membership with expulsions and with acts that throttle the will of the membership.

Branch after branch of Local New York, affiliated with the Left Wing, has been expelled; and now the National Executive Committee, in session at Chicago, expels the whole Socialist Party of the state of Michigan, with threats of other expulsions. This, clearly, is partly a criminal attempt to steal votes from Left Wing candidates, in order that the moderates may be "elected." It is, moreover, a desperate attempt to "isolate" the fires of revolutionary Socialism, lest they burn away all the fires of the moderates.

Nor are these actions isolated. They are proceeding upon a definite theory, formulated by that master strategist of the moderates, Morris Hillquit. In an article in the New York Call of May 21, "The Socialist Task and Outlook," Hillquit presents his attitude. The article is, on the one hand, a cleverly camouflaged plea for moderate Socialism disguised as "radical," and, on the other, a declaration of open war against the Left Wing. Hillquit insinuatingly adopts the "language" of the revolutionary Socialist; but every statement has a reservation—a sinister maneuver to mobilize indefinite revolutionary sentiment in the Party for the moderate representatives who are now speaking for—and misrepresenting—the Party. The whole performance, its subterfuge and "centrist" tendency, is exposed in the fact that, while he rejects the Berne International, Hillquit equally rejects the Communist International organized at Moscow, with which the real elements of revolutionary Socialism are now affiliating.

We shall, in a series of editorial articles, analyze the tendency of Hillquit's declaration. Let us now consider his declaration of war against the Left Wing.

Hillquit characterizes as "unfortunate" the controversy in the Party; he does not deny "the sound revolutionary impulse which animates the rank and file" of the Left Wing, but is against their tactics, and concludes:

It seems perfectly clear that, so long as this movement persists in the party, the latter's activity will be wholly taken up by mutual quarrels and recriminations. Neither "wing" will have any time for the propaganda of Socialism. There is, as far as I can see, but one remedy. It would be futile to preach reconciliation and union where antagonism runs so high. Let the Comrades on both sides do the next best thing. Let them separate, honestly, freely and without rancor. Let each side organize and work in its own way, and make such contribution to the Socialist movement in America as it can. Better a hundred times to have two numerically small Socialist organizations, each homogeneous and harmonious within itself, than to have one big party by dissensions and squabbles, an important colossus on feet of clay. The time for action is near. Let us clear the decks.

The Left Wing has depended upon propaganda. It has tried to formulate the revolutionary sentiments of the membership, to articulate their aspirations, to educate the members into a consistent and constructive proletarian class conception of Socialism. It has tried to affiliate the Socialist Party with the international revolution, with our comrades in Russia, Germany and Hungary, with the new Communist International, the heir of the revolutionary First International, betrayed and castrated by the "Socialism" of Morris Hillquit and the Second International.

The moderates in the Party have not met facts with facts and arguments with arguments. They have consistently refused to discuss the theory involved in the controversy between the right and the left, they have flouted the intelligence of the membership; and now, still dodging the fundamental issue in dispute, they resort to the brute force of expulsions and the indecency of stealing votes, in order to wreak their reactionary will upon the Party. They stigmatized the Left Wing as a secession movement, as working to split the party; but now, realizing that the Left Wing is conquering the Party for revolutionary Socialism, for the Bolshevik-Spartacan International, the moderates are adopting the policy they malignantly ascribed to the Left Wing—split the Party!

Every revolutionary Socialist in the Party is perfectly willing that the moderates should secede: let them secede and affiliate with the Labor Party, the radical trades-union policy of which is their policy. But this is not the intention of Hillquit, Lee, Germer & Co. On the contrary, they wish to retain control of the Party, even if it is necessary to expel the bulk of the membership. They want to erect a Chinese wall between the Left Wing and the Party members—they want to imprison us, in much the same way as Capitalism imprisoned the agitator. They want to retain control of the party press and party organization; they are adopting the same tactics that the Ebert-Scheidemann "Socialists" pursued against the minority in the Party—adopting the policy of expulsion and denunciation. They are social-gangsters and traitors to Socialism.

Why are these tactics necessary? If the majority of the membership is for moderate Socialism, why are the moderates disqualifying members from voting, stealing ballots in order to pile up a moderate "majority"? It is because they recognize that the majority is against them now, and if not now, will be against them in a few months. Nothing can crush the revolutionary upsurge in the Socialist Party! So the moderates adopt the tactics of brute force, of a desperate minority bent upon rule or ruin.

Clear the decks? Yes!

Revolutionary Socialism in the Party accepts the challenge. If in a minority, we are not afraid to organize a new party; we are not afraid to act precisely as the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans did: American Socialism shall be represented in the Communist International, it shall respond to the Bolshevik-Spartacan call for solidarity and action! Our comrades call—answer!

You cannot mix laborism and petty bourgeois "Socialism" with revolutionary Socialism. You cannot betray Socialism and yet claim to represent the proletarian revolution.

Clear the decks! Clear them—Clean.

But this clearing of the decks must be done by the membership. It must not be done by a few bureaucrats, acting as gangsters and betraying Socialism. We accept the challenge, but we refuse either to secede or be expelled from the Party by Hillquit, Germer, Stedman & Co. We refuse to allow the reactionary N. E. C. to sabotage the referendum vote. We refuse to allow the N. E. C. to anticipate the action of the Emergency National Convention of the Party. The membership referendum and the National Convention are the supreme expression of the Party: the N. E. C. cannot sabotage these in order to retain control for that "Socialism" which means a betrayal of Socialism. Let the moderates—the betrayers of Socialism—organize a new party or join the Labor Party.

We refuse to turn over the Socialist Party to the moderates. We shall not abandon the struggle to revolutionize the Party, for the bulk of the membership is overwhelmingly revolutionary. We shall reorganize the Party, we shall crush the moderates and the criers after the dead, we shall make the Party worthy of membership in that Communist International of the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans, of the Socialist Party of Italy, of revolutionary Socialism in all lands. We shall conquer the Party for revolutionary Socialism.

Clear the decks!

The slogan of the moderates is: Split the Party for moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism!

The slogan of the Left Wing is: Conquer the Party for revolutionary Socialism, for the Communist International!

Bolshevikjabs

JUDGING from the President's message to Congress the question which is now dividing the world is not whether half the population of Europe shall starve to death but whether the American public shall drink light wines and beer.

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This being the case it might be a good idea for Mr. Wilson to come home and thus save the further expense of keeping up a fashionable establishment in Paris. He has apparently decided that the French habit of wine drinking is a good one so there is no further need for his continued absence.

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Democracy, for which the world has been made safe, is now to be extended to industry according to the President's message. If it is going to be as costly as the first dose labor might be better off as it is now.

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Poland is living up to the best traditions of Capitalist "freedom" by celebrating her "liberation" with a pogrom against the Jews.

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This makes her a fit companion for the Society of Nations. When Russia indulged in this form of celebration she was admitted to the best circles but since she has stopped wholesale murders no civilized power will recognize her.

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Bryan says: "any mother with a drunken son" knows more than Wilson. We are not quite sure whether this is an argument for Suffrage or Prohibition. Perhaps it is just a statement of fact.

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"Lenin sues Kolchak for armistice" says Helsingfors. We suppose now that Finland has murdered all the workers she must do something to keep herself in the public eye and lying is as good a way as any other. But both Switzerland and Sweden have got a long start.

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"Allies allow easier payment in Saar terms," say the newspapers. Highway robbery by easy payments a specialty!

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Birds of a feather to flock together—Britain to recognize Kolchak "Government."

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"Indian's Loyalty To British Crown" says The Christian Science Monitor and The New York Tribune headline answers "Rebellious Mobs In India Beaten By Lack of Arms."

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"Bank of England May Renounce Profits" says the press: Bolshevism!

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The New York Times reports that Jews have been flogged and thrown into prison in Poland because they would not sign a statement making the Bolsheviks responsible for the pogroms. Perhaps this was how the Sisson documents were obtained.

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It appears from the Capitalist Press that the workers of Winnipeg are quite wrong in using the General Strike, a political weapon, to settle an industrial question. If we remember correctly when labor talks of using the General Strike to secure justice for Mooney the same press warns against the use of the General Strike, an industrial weapon, on a political question.

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The only thing as far as we can see that would make any intelligent person favor the League of Nations is the objections raised to it in the Senate.

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"Discharged Soldiers and Sailors, out of work, are dispersed by London police" says a headline which merely goes to show how safe democracy has been made. So safe in fact that nobody seems to be able to get it.

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Austrians urge early presentation of Peace Terms. On the assumption we suppose that even the reality is better than suspense.

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"It was also announced that the council of four had ratified the decision of the economic council to maintain the blockade against Germany until a regular government, based on a free and popular mandate, is set up," says a Paris dispatch. In other words Germany is to be starved to death and then given food.