

Clear the Decks!

THE struggle in the Socialist Party, between moderate Socialism and revolutionary Socialism, has assumed a character making a split not alone inevitable, but necessary.

Action that is necessary cannot be evaded. The integrity of a movement is more important than the unity of a party. The unity of a party is a means to an end; and when the end itself is jeopardized by this unity, the unity must be broken.

There is a tendency to attach too much importance to the expulsions perpetrated by the N. E. C. of the Socialist Party. These acts constitute treachery, of a particularly mean variety. But that is not the issue. The issue is much more fundamental, and the fundamental aspects must be emphasized: the issue comprised in *the impossibility of reconciling revolutionary proletarian Socialism with moderate petty bourgeois Socialism.*

The N. E. C. and the reactionary party bureaucracy generally are animated, not by individual malignancy (this is there) but fundamentally by their particular conception of Socialism, which is not in any sense in accord with fundamental Socialism. They are conserving the Party *as it was*,—an expression of middle class "Socialism" and A. F. of L. Laborism. They represent the social tendency comprised in social-reformism and trades-union activity, which, while dominating the Socialist movement until now, is directly contrary to the actual facts of the proletarian class struggle in its revolutionary implications.

It is against this non-Socialist tendency, and not simply against the Party bureaucracy, that the Left Wing (and revolutionary Socialism in the whole world) is in revolt.

The tendency of the Left Wing is that of the militant proletariat, an expression of the mass struggle of the proletariat.—a struggle not alone against the dominant Capitalism, but equally against the smaller capitalists, the middle class and the privileged "aristocracy of labor" of the dominant trades-unionism.

There is no compromise conceivable on this fundamental issue. An issue of a treacherous bureaucracy, an issue of momentary disputes in tactics,—these can be compromised on the basis of "unity of the Party." But an issue that goes to the heart of Socialism and the proletarian class struggle, an issue that means the conquest of Capitalism by Socialism or the annihilation of Socialism by Capitalism,—this issue excludes compromise. To compromise on this issue is to compromise fundamental Socialism.

Facts are facts.

The elements represented by the dominant bureaucracy in the Socialist Party are not elements of Socialism; they are elements that should affiliate with the Labor Party. Revolutionary Socialism cannot compromise and unite with these non-Socialist elements; *and by their campaign of terror and expulsion, these moderate elements recognize that they cannot compromise or unite with the Socialism of the Left Wing—of the Communist International.*

If the moderates retain control of the Socialist Party, they will expel all revolutionary elements; if the Left Wing gets control of the Party, it will transform the Party into a Party of revolutionary Socialism, of the Communist International. The Left Wing will brook no compromise.

The unity of the Party is broken. It was necessary to break this unity to promote revo-

lutionary Socialism. The issue was forced by the moderates in control of the Party machinery; but the Left Wing accepts the challenge.

Unity! *Of whom and for whom? Of moderate Socialism for State Capitalism; or of revolutionary Socialism for the Communist conquest of power?*

Unity! The moderates constituted unity their litany, until the upsurge of revolutionary Socialism in the Socialist Party compelled them to recognize that their salvation was to break the unity of the Party,—which was accomplished, treacherously and impudently.

But this broken unity becomes the condition for the emergence of a revolutionary Socialist movement. It means the easier conquest, if not of the machinery of the Socialist Party, *of the revolutionary masses* in the Party.

The Left Wing has conquered the Socialist Party. That is indisputable. Equally indisputable is it that the moderates may, through police power, control the Emergency National Convention on August 30, refusing to admit the delegates of suspended states and locals. In that event, the Left Wing will constitute its own Convention and organize a new Communist Party of revolutionary Socialism.

Should the Left Wing capture the Party Convention, it will proceed immediately to reorganize the Socialist Party on the basis of a Communist Party. This implies not simply the adoption of resolutions; it means not simply a transformation in words, *but in deeds.* The moderates, under these circumstances, will secede; and we shall hasten their secession by the implacability of our policy.

It is necessary to clear the decks. Conquer the Socialist Party *for a Communist Party of revolutionary Socialism!*

Debs in Prison

Much has been written of the liberal treatment which Debs received at the hands of the authorities since his incarceration. But this liberality apparently ceased with his transfer to Atlanta Jail. Since then no news has been received of his treatment and his comrades have been living under a false impression.

Whatever may have been his fate in Moundville Jail, a brutal autocracy has since seen to it that Debs suffers all the rigors of prison discipline. In Atlanta Jail, 'Gene Debs,—the pulsing heart of the American Socialist movement—now grown old and bent in the physical body with years of service in the cause of the oppressed masses of America—and the world, is condemned to work in the clothing factory during the hours of sunlight. From 5 o'clock in the evening until 7 in the morning Debs, in whose soul is the freedom of the lashing sea, of the rushing wind as it sweeps the plains, is locked in a narrow cell, like a beast in a cage. For twenty minutes each day he is allowed to exercise out of doors, for twenty minutes each day he may tramp the prison yard and "gaze upon that little tent of blue that prisoners call the sky."

He is prohibited from reading any Socialist or radical literature, he may not receive any packages and he is permitted to send only one short note each week to his family.

This is Capitalism's answer to Socialism. Let Socialism answer Capitalism.

Bolshevikjabs

CHINA refuses to sign the Peace Terms— which merely proves that all the money we have spent on missionaries failed to corrupt the heathen. * * *

"And it is much more than a treaty of peace with Germany" says President Wilson in speaking of the Peace Terms. We would have put it the other way round and said: "It is much *less* than a treaty of peace with Germany—it is a declaration of war." * * *

General Smuts' protest which accompanied his signature shows at least that he learned something from his visit to Hungary. * * *

We suppose that the signing of the document in Versailles means that we can now proceed with the other 22 wars in peace. * * *

There is an important omission in the newspaper accounts of the ceremonies at Versailles. The entire press forgot to mention that the Bolsheviki were not present. * * *

Their absence must not, however, be taken as indicative of a lack of interest on their part. It was merely due to the fact that they felt confident that the Big Four would do the job to their entire satisfaction. * * *

How well their expectations have been fulfilled is proved by the fact that they intend to make the Peace Treaty their chief means of propaganda. * * *

Lenin is quoted as saying that he regards the document as a masterpiece, while Trotzky is of the opinion that a comparison of the propaganda values of the Paris document with those of the one signed at Brest-Litovsk conclusively prove that in this field the Allies are immeasurably ahead of the Germans. * * *

"After Brest-Litovsk" says the Russian war minister, "we swung Hungary into line and we were enabled to make the first definite impression on Germany herself. With the Versailles treaty as a basis we expect to swing the rest of the world into line and complete the conversion of Germany to the principles of Bolshevism." * * *

It is reported in London that, as spokesman for the Monarchs' Union, King George has objected to the document on the ground that it gives the revolutionists altogether too much propaganda material. The Mikado has also lodged a formal protest on the ground that the League of Nations has usurped his Divine Right. * * *

On the other hand Samuel Gompers expressed himself as entirely indifferent, saying that if the A. F. of L. could survive Atlantic City it certainly was proof against any propaganda written in Versailles. * * *

The Lusk Committee took a more serious view of the matter and, while stating that Versailles was outside its jurisdiction, informed our correspondent that it had the subject under consideration and would probably seize the document if it entered through the port of New York and thus prevent its distribution in America. * * *

William English Walling was one of the few people entirely satisfied. He said that he knew all along that democracy could be relied upon.