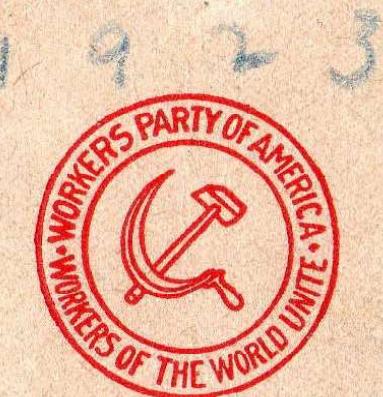


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“UNDERGROUND RADICALISM”

*An Open Letter to
EUGENE V. DEBS
and to All Honest Workers
Within the Socialist Party*

By
JOHN PEPPER



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CHAPTER I.

THE WORKING CLASS IN DANGER!

The New Offensive of the Capitalists.

With the close of the war, the capitalists began a general offensive against the workers. All along the line, wages were reduced. Hours of work were increased. Unemployment reached gigantic proportions. The employers' organizations grew mightier than ever. The open-shop drive became the "American Plan." The foreign-born workers, the great masses of the basic industries, were persecuted in every way. Mass-raids and mass-trials aimed to extirpate the Reds from this country.

It was not before the summer of 1922, that the working class began to defend itself. Not less than a million workers struck simultaneously in the coal mines, in the railroad shops, and in the textile mills. Through the concentrated use of power by the government and the shameful betrayal by the trade union leaders, the fight could not end in victory.

We are facing to-day a new and even more dangerous offensive of the capitalists against the workers.

The first offensive of the capitalists from 1920 to 1922, aimed to take advantage of the economic crisis and the wide-spread unemployment, in order to destroy the unions and to lower the standard of living of the workers.

The present new offensive of capital aims to prevent the workers from benefiting from the new prosperity, and the decrease in unemployment.

The capitalists and the capitalist government are making tremendous preparations. Daugherty declared openly that for the ruling Republican Party, the main issue at the presidential elections in 1924, will be the enforcement of law, the persecution of the Reds, and the open shop. Weeks, Secretary of War, another member of the Harding cabinet, declared that the United States needs a strong army, not only against the external enemy, but also against internal trouble and great strikes.

The biggest of the capitalists are becoming more and more the undisputed rulers of industry. The La Follette investigations showed that the Standard Oil Company has the monopoly in oil, in defiance of all laws. We see everywhere new trustification, and new mergers. In the steel industry, the Bethlehem-Lackawanna-Midvale steel merger has but recently consolidated forty-six companies. The merging of the Anaconda Copper Co. and the Chile Copper Co. is commented upon as follows by the Wall Street Journal: "It will put together the greatest copper-mining, smelting, refining and fabricating enterprise in the world, with the largest deposit of copper ore." In the packing industry the merger of Armour and Morris and Co. merged \$500,000,000 and 65,000 employees. The American Woolen Co., the trust of the woolen mills, and the Consolidated Textile Co., the trust of the cotton mills, have united their forces, and have secured thereby absolute control of the textile industry of this country.

Not only does the government tolerate this unheard of concentration of capital, but it even helps the process, and the best example of this is the plan to amalgamate all of the railroad lines into nineteen big systems. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, declared on January 24, 1923, "I advocate the rapid procedure of consolidation" (of the railroads).

Capitalist monopoly and the tariff law have raised the prices of all commodities. The cost of living is rising from day to day. And the government is the

accomplice in this process. While the Department of Justice calls for an injunction against the speculators in sugar, Hoover's Department of Commerce is in the conspiracy against the breakfast table of all workers. Due to the decrease in unemployment, the capitalists are forced to raise the wages. The steel workers, the textile workers, and the workers in the packing industries have received a mere pittance as wage-increase—10% to 12% as alms, from the immense profits.

The rise in the cost of living and the decrease in unemployment will make it necessary and possible for the workers to set up new demands for higher wages. In the building trades, where the prosperity is the greatest, the bosses are afraid of a general strike. One organization of 200,000 railroad workers is already demanding a wage increase. For the first time since the crushing of the great steel strike of 1919, we see in April, 1923, a spontaneous strike of steel workers in McKeesport.

The capitalists want to fight against the workers more energetically, and with greater armaments than in the first offensive. In the summer of 1922, they had paralyzed the labor unions by means of the Daugherty injunction. Now they are no longer content with mere emergency measures, but they want to pass direct laws for the extermination of the trade union movement. In the year 1920, they terrorized thousands of foreign-born workers through deportation or threat of deportation. Now they want to outlaw the millions of foreign-born workers of the basic industries by a whole series of oppressive laws. President Harding, Secretary of Labor Davis, and Senator Colt have spoken quite openly of the next plans of the capitalists against the foreign-born workers. They intend to register all foreign-born workers, to photograph them, and take their finger-prints, like criminals and prostitutes. Laws are being planned for taking away citizen papers from naturalized citizens who do not serve the capitalists humbly enough. Laws are

fabricated for deporting foreign-born workers who in any way participate in strike-meetings. A new immigration policy is being introduced which entails selection and contract-labor.*

The various Fascisti organizations are marshalling their forces. The Ku Klux Klan already has in many states more power than the official government. The example of Arkansas shows that not only negroes, but also white workers can be lynched with impunity.

The capitalist government of the United States has become just as centralized and as sinister as the former monarchy of the Czars. The bureaucracy has become an independent power. The number of civil service employees which in 1884 was 13,780, has grown to 597,482 in 1922. Never in its whole history did the United States have so large a standing army as at present, with 280,000 men and 17,000 officers. In addition, a National Guard of about 435,000 men. The Reserve Officers' Army Training Corps will train 5000 officers yearly. The Citizens' Military Training Camps will train this summer 30,400 men. The military training of civilians, according to the statement by Brigadier-General Lassiter, will comprise not less than three million men. The official slogan is: Preparedness, not only against the external, but also against the internal enemy—against the workers. Tens of thousands of students are being trained as officers every year. A part of the training is the propaganda for the open shop, and against the Reds. Plans are being laid for battalions of railway engineers, with the higher officials of the railroad systems as the officers. In the United States, the capitalists do not need a Mussolini, for the War and Navy Departments are themselves organizing Fascisti forces against the workers. Not a week goes by, but that some general or colonel makes

a propaganda speech against Bolshevism. But Bolshevism, in army-slang, stands for trade unions and strikes.

The working class is in danger!

The most powerful government in the world, the wealthiest capitalists of the earth, the most brutal bosses in existence have formed the united front to annihilate organized labor, to oppress the unorganized workers.

The Working Class Unprepared.

And facing these great dangers, the working class stands unprepared—split up.

On the industrial field the greatest part of the masses is unorganized. The labor organizations contain only skilled and part of the semi-skilled workers. The craft-unions set up artificial barriers between workers of the same industries. The capitalists utilize extensive propaganda for inciting hatred between native-born English-speaking workers and foreign-born workers, blind hatred between white and negro workers. The conservative and traitorous trade union leaders hinder the amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions, and they fail to organize the unorganized masses.

On the political field, there are numerous parties of the workers. The Socialist Party, which is forgetting all its revolutionary traditions. The Farmer-Labor Party with good militant elements, but without a clear program. The Proletarian Party with Communistic inclinations, but with an overemphasis of educational work, forgetting the importance of the political struggle. The Workers' Party which in the best sense of the word has developed into a Communist Party, which represents, not only the daily interests, but also the revolutionary future of the working class. Not one of these parties is today a mass organization.

* Concerning plans of the capitalist government against foreign-born workers, see the pamphlet by C. S. Ware, "The American Foreign-Born Worker." Published by the Workers' Party.

The working class of the United States presents this ominous picture: An opposition between unorganized and organized workers. Division between native and foreign-born workers. Hatred between white and negro workers. Dozens of craft-unions within each industry. Division between the American Federation of Labor, and the independent unions. Four working class parties. The millions of the workers belong to none of the working class parties, but are still adherents of the old capitalist parties.*

The capitalists are united as a class, and they have their supreme executive committee—the government. The working class is broken up into scores of divisions, and it is under the influence of traitorous labor leaders who block unification, and betray the cause of the workers. The only salvation of the workers lies in a mighty united front of all labor unions and all political parties of the working class. The craft unions must be amalgamated into industrial unions—only thus can the fight be waged on the industrial field. All labor unions and political working class parties must form a labor party. Only thus can the fight be waged on the political field. Might against might! Against the trusts, amalgamation! Against capitalistic parties, a Labor Party! Against the government of the bosses, the government of the workers!

The Workers' Party is the only one of all the labor organizations which has launched these slogans, and which has appealed with these slogans to all labor unions and working class parties.

The greatest hindrance to amalgamation and a Labor Party is the betrayal by the Socialist Party. The Gompers bureaucracy of the trade unions is at present weakening, and has no working-class ideology. The militant trade unionists would be able to overthrow

*) A clear and uniform picture on the situation of the labor movement in America is presented in Wm. Z. Foster's "The Bankruptcy of the American Labor Movement." Published by the Trade Union Educational League.

them, but the Socialist Party divides the militant elements by waging a most reactionary fight against amalgamation, and by hindering the formation of a real Labor Party.*

The official leadership of the Socialist Party is today the most reprehensible ally of the Gompers bureaucracy, the most stubborn opponent of the United Front, the worst calumniator of the Communists, the most deceitful slanderer of Soviet Russia, the open ally of bourgeois political leaders of the La Follette type.

We know that in the Socialist Party there are also honest leaders, as well as honest militant workers. We appeal to Eugene Debs as the most outstanding figure, and the representative of old revolutionary traditions of the Socialist Party, to all honest workers who are still in the Socialist Party, not to tolerate any longer the rule of Morris Hillquit and Victor Berger, no longer to be the tools, who unintentionally help the betrayal of the workers' cause. We appeal to Scott Nearing who had to concede that the Socialist Party belongs to the past, and the future belongs to the Workers Party.

We appeal to the hundreds of workers within the Socialist Party who through their protesting letters have forced the resignation of the editor of the N. Y. Call. The editor who has resigned from the N. Y. Call, has recounted that a member of the Socialist Party sent him a huge cross, after the articles defending the Russian Catholic priests, had appeared in the N. Y. Call. This pamphlet aims to be, in symbol, another huge cross which we send to Eugene Debs and to all honest workers, with the demand: "Stop the betrayal by the Socialist Party! Stop the destructive work of Morris Hillquit, Victor Berger, and Oneal!"

*) For the arguments in favor of a Labor Party and explanation of the betrayal by the Socialist Party, see the pamphlet by John Pepper, "For a Labor Party." Published by the Workers Party.

CHAPTER II.

“UNDERGROUND RADICALISM.”

Is “Underground” Unamerican?

The greatest accusation levelled against the Workers' Party and against the Communists has always been that they organize underground. Samuel Gompers and Morris Hillquit use this as an excuse against the united front with Communists. Even Eugene V. Debs condemns the Communists as underground radicals. He says the following: “I have been opposed to secret organizations all my life, and I do not mean to change my opinion about them at this late day. There is no good reason now in this country for an underground movement.” Then another declaration by Debs: “There are some of those fellows who seem to thrive on the romance of underground movements. They seem to think there is something new in all that... It seems to me that any underground radical movement in the United States is not only foolish, but suicidal.” *

We must consider two questions: 1. Is an underground secret organization something unheard of in America? 2. Did the Communists go underground because they were seeking romance?

The history of every revolution and even counter-revolution shows numberless examples of underground organizations. Those respectable church-goers who

*) The quotations are from David Karsner's book, “Talks with Debs in Terre Haute (and letters from Lindlahr).” This book by David Karsner and the other which he wrote on the life of Eugene Debs, contain valuable material, but do not give the right character-picture of Eugene Debs. Debs is not this Jesus Christ that Karsner makes of him. We do not believe that the greatest gesture in his life is, that when someone slaps him on one cheek, he turns the other. Debs can be, not only a great lover, but also a great hater, and if the workers of America had not always felt that Debs can hate capitalists and capitalism with all his heart, they would not love him. Debs has somewhat of the mildness of Jesus Christ, but he also has the revolutionary gesture of Jesus Christ in the Garden of Gethsamen, when he asked for the sword.

represent public opinion and who thunder against the underground Communist movement, forget that early Christianity was not only Communistic, but a strictly secret underground organization. They who laugh today at the underground Communist convention held among the sand-dunes of Bridgeman, Michigan, are the same who express adoration for those early Christians participating in the secret underground meetings of the Catacombs.

The Ku Klux Klan which, with such conviction, demands the extermination of the underground Communists, was organized in the sixties as an absolutely underground organization, and is today a much more secret and underground organization than the Communists have ever been.

The Daughters of the American Revolution who so historically and hysterically demand the suppression of the underground Communist activities, forget that the American revolution had very many underground activities. The Federal Convention, where the American government was founded, was a secret underground convention. Middle-class liberals and progressives who are admirers of the ideas of the great French revolution, forget that not only the French revolution, but also the German and Italian revolutionary movements had their secret underground middle-class organizations in the Carbonari and Burschenschaft.

The American Socialist Party, whose ideal and model is the German Social Democratic Party, forgets that the German Party had its heroic period at the time of the exception laws of Bismarck. And Bebel and the old Liebknecht wrote just as proudly of their underground activities, as Franz Mehring, the great historian of the German Social Democracy and Motteler, the “Red Field-Postmaster” of this illegal period.

The Socialists claim that they desire the victory of the working class, and forget that the Russian Bolsheviks, the only working class party which could lead the laboring masses to enduring victory, was for years

an underground party. And when the followers of the Proletarian Party, who are so proud of their Marxism, attack the underground, they forget that Karl Marx himself was a member of the underground "Bund der Kommunisten," before the revolution of '48.

Gompers, who has grown senile, not only in policy but also in memory, declares today that every underground organization is un-American, forgetting that the whole trade-union movement of the United States was for years an underground organization. We quote in this connection from "The History of Labour in the United States," by John R. Commons, the best book on the labor movement of this country, "'When the commercial interests,' said the National Labor Tribune of April 24, 1875, 'combine to exact the greatest share of profits of labor and give labor the least, even to the verge of starvation, when all attempts of labor to openly oppose and defeat the efforts of those combinations are made the pretext for still further oppression and persecution, it is time for the people to unite together for their individual and common safety. These considerations have prompted men in all trades to have recourse to secret organizations.'"

Patriots, conservatives, Socialist Party leaders, all sing in chorus the old song that Communism is un-American because an underground organization is un-American. At the Cleveland Labor Party Conference, Keating excused the non-seating of the Workers' Party delegates on the ground that the Workers' Party is an underground, un-American organization.

All these patriots are ridiculous in their ignorance of their own patriotic history. Nowhere in the world do we see so many underground political parties and organizations as in the United States. The old and new Ku Klux Klan! The story of the powerful, secret Know-Nothing Party of the fifties! The history of the Knights of Labor! The history of the beginning of the trade union movement! The history of the numerous farmers' grange organizations! All these

examples show that in the United States the underground political organizations were not merely small sects, but real great mass-organizations, sometimes numbering their membership in the millions. The underground form of organization is so far from being un-American, that Friedrich Luckwaldt, a German historian, one of the finest students of American history, writes the following in connection with the Know-Nothing Party, in his book, "History of the United States of America," Berlin, 1920: "Such secret societies have always attracted Americans powerfully. In no country have there been so many of them, so remarkable or influential."

All this talk about un-Americanism of underground is bunk, and only serves to cover up the mighty underground organizations of Wall Street, and the finely-spun web of secret employers' organizations. Professor Clarence Bonnett says the following, in his book, "Employers' Associations of the United States": "There is much that is confidential and secret about the associations. In the conflict one must not let one's opponent know in advance one's plans or proposed methods, nor one's real fighting strength, unless that is so great as to intimidate one's opponent. For this reason much of the work of the associations is conducted secretly. In some cases, lists of members are not made public because some of the employers fear that the unions may single them out and punish them. It also allows an employer apparently to be friendly to the union, because he dares not fight it openly, yet to fight it secretly. Then there are doubtful practices which the association engaging in them, does not wish to make public. **Illegal activities** are of the last sort." *

*) Concerning secret work of various employers' associations and open-shop organizations, and about secret activities of the government against the workers, rich material may be found in the very instructive book by Jay Lovestone, "Government Strike-Breaker." The book is a real **text-book** about the industrial and political events of the last year. Every worker who wants to be militant on the industrial or political field must read it. The book is published by the Workers' Party.

Underground Romance or Bitter Necessity?

The Communists went underground, not from romantic motives, but out of bitter necessity. The Communist Party of America was organized in 1919, as an open party, but brutal persecution drove it underground. The Act of October, 1918, providing for the expulsion of alien members of organizations which aim to overthrow the government by force, prepared the ground for the persecution of Communists. The hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee of the Sixty-Sixth Congress gave a good picture of the extent of the brutal persecutions. A. Mitchell Palmer, the Daugherty of Wilson, stated in his testimony that instructions sent out were: "Particular effort should be made to apprehend all officers of either of these two (Communist and Communist Labor) parties if they are aliens." Palmer had to make the following statement: "The committee has requested that I submit the statistics upon which the arrests were made through the cooperation of the Department of Labor and the Department of Justice. I therefore submit the following:

1) Number of warrants for alien anarchists issued from July, 1919, to January 1st, 1921	6,328
2) Number of alien anarchist warrants served same period.....	4,138
3) Number of alien anarchist warrants cancelled	2,919
4) Number of alien anarchists ordered deported	1,119
5) Number of alien anarchists deported.....	505

Faithfully yours,

A. Mitchell Palmer."

Another item of testimony by Palmer before the Committee of the Civil Appropriations bill for 1921: "In the latter part of January, 1920, our field reports

indicate that 52% of our work in the country was in connection with the so-called radical movement." On this occasion he said that 6,396 warrants were issued, and that the salaries of the Department of Justice men had been raised \$8 per day, and that over 40% of the yearly budget of the Department of Justice was spent in investigation of radicals.

These mass persecutions forced the Communist Party to organize underground to escape annihilation. The Communist Party of America was prompted to lead an underground existence for three years, not by romantic mystery or secret instructions from Moscow, but rather by the brutal, vindictive terror of the American government in the service of American capital. The Communists formed underground because they were opposed by the most formidable underground organization—the Department of Justice.

The reaction increased with the November elections of 1920, when the conservative wing of the Republican Party won, and the Harding-Daugherty-Hoover-Taft clique captured the administration. The individual states, making use of the various anti-syndicalist laws, suppressed the Communist movement everywhere. It is the worst example of capitalist hypocrisy when the government makes it legally impossible for the Communists to exist overground, and then turns round and blames the Communists for going underground.

Neither "Underground Radicalism," Nor Overground Opportunism.

However, it is a ridiculous superstition to believe that a Communist Party must always be underground. It is not an inherent feature of a Communist Party to be underground. In France, Germany, England, Czechoslovakia we have Communist Parties with hundreds of thousands of workers in their ranks, quite openly organized. It is only in the most backward countries, such as Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, Poland,

Hungary, Finnland, and in Italy which is plagued with Fascism, that the brutality of the government has condemned the Communist Parties to an underground existence.

The Communistic underground organization was not a means for hiding anything from the workers. It only served as a defense against the government—the enemy of the workers. The Communists said this clearly and emphatically, as far back as 1922, in their Labor-Day Manifesto: "The Communists are not a sinister, secret band of conspirators. Our aim, the liberation of workers, the abolition of wage slavery, working class control of industry, and state power, can only be achieved if the great masses of the workers stand with us.

"Workers' rule is only possible when the millions of workers support the Communist program. It is an essential feature of the Communist program to convince the majority of the workers of the truth of the ideas of Communism.

"We do not have a single point in our whole program which we wish to conceal from the millions of workers. In the first Communist program ever issued, the founders of scientific Communism, Marx and Engels, long ago declared: 'The Communists disdain to conceal their aims.'

"We have nothing to conceal from the workers. We once more appeal to the workers to look upon the persecution of the Communists as a matter concerning all workers as well.

"The Communists are today outlawed because the capitalists are planning to outlaw the whole working class. When William Z. Foster was forcibly run out of Colorado Adjutant-General Hamrock declared that he did so 'for the best interests of the State.' And he added: 'No law was consulted.'

"The capitalists break their own laws whenever their interests demand it. If the workers will not defend their advance guard, the persecuted Communists, then

the workers will have to get ready to have the whole working class face the same declaration from the Hamrocks, Hardings, Daughertys, Pershings—that the organized workers must be crushed 'for the best interests of the State'—and in this instance also 'no law will be consulted.'"

The opponents of the Communists (and even Communists, sometimes) forget that the important thing is the class-struggle, and not the form of organization. The theses of the Third World Congress of the Communist International on organizational structure of Communist Parties, say very definitely: "There can be no absolute, unchangeable form of organization for Communist Parties. The conditions of the Proletarian class-struggle are subject to a continuous process of change, and the organization of the vanguard of the working class should also continuously seek the proper form, according to these changes." The conditions of the class-struggle made it absolutely necessary for the Communists to exist as an underground organization during the years 1920—1922. But the change in conditions has made it possible, and therefore necessary, for the Communist Party to be dissolved as an underground organization. This was done in April, 1923. Today we no longer have an underground Communist Party in the United States. We only have the Communistic Workers' Party which fights openly for Communist principles. The Communists have dissolved the underground organization not because they are any less romantic now than in 1920, but because the conditions of the political struggle have greatly changed.

CHAPTER III.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT FROM 1920 TO 1923.

Two economic causes have produced a profound change in the political situation: 1. The industrial crisis which began in the middle of 1920. 2. The agricultural crisis.

The industrial crisis caused wide-spread unemployment and a general offensive of capitalists against workers. The laboring masses were becoming more radical.

The bankruptcy of the farmers became general in the post-war years, and made the farmer-masses politically more radical.

In other words, the class-struggle became more acute all along the line. On the one hand, farmers against capitalists and on the other, workers against bosses.

Farmers Versus Capitalists.

We will consider first of all the class-struggle within the bourgeoisie. The class-struggle between capitalists and farmers has weakened the forces of the bourgeoisie in their fight against the workers, and of course, also against the Communists. The more and more rebellious farmers hate the capitalists, and are entirely dissatisfied with the present Republican administration.

There are even Communists who think that the bourgeoisie is a unified reactionary mass, entirely consolidated against the working class. Of course, this is a great error. The working farmers, the tenant farm-

ers, the mortgage-farmers, even those who have private property, have class-interests altogether different from those of the capitalists.

Wherever the working farmers turn, they always find the capitalists as their economic exploiters in one way or another. There are the meat-packers, the mighty railroad systems, the milk trusts, the grain gamblers and cotton brokers, and the thousands of branches of the big banks. All that the farmer produces goes through the hands of the capitalist. All that he buys, he must buy from the capitalist. And the great extent of trustification during and after the war has made the monopoly of capital more unbearable. The monopoly of big capitalists became a monopoly of the biggest capitalists. There has not been as yet any period in American history in which the farmers have realized their dependence upon the capitalists more clearly than now. And never have the farmers rebelled as violently as now.

This rebellion assumed various forms. 1. More and more farmers abandoned their farms, to flock to the cities. In the last year there has been a real mass-flight of the bankrupt farmers from the ruined farms. The number of persons engaged in agriculture decreased from 12,386,000 in 1910, to 10,659,00 in 1920, according to the census of occupations, that is, within ten years, the decrease was 1,727,000. In 1922—according to the Department of Agriculture—two million persons left the farms for the cities. During this time some 880,000 individuals went from the cities to the farms. Therefore, the net decrease in a single year has been not less than 1,120,000. 2. The farmers attempt to organize co-operatives against the trusts and monopolies of middlemen. 3. They are organizing in various ways for the political struggle. The Non-Partisan League, the Agricultural Block in Congress, the La Follette group, the Insurgent Democrats, are but various political expressions of the farmers' rebellion. 4. Greater and greater

sections of the farmers realize that only an alliance with the workers against the common enemy, the capitalist class, can save them.

The political rebellion of the farmer robs the ruling class of its greatest reserve, the support of the thirty-one millions of the agricultural population. The economically exploited and politically oppressed farmers today want a radical democratization of government, administration, Congress, courts. The question of the primaries, the abolition of the rule of the supreme court, the elimination of the committee system in Congress, the guarantee of free speech and assemblage, play an ever greater role in political life. This opposition of the farmer-masses at present, makes it much more difficult to persecute Communists, than during the patriotic hurrah-psychology of the war and post-war period. La Follette and Borah are not any heroes. But in demanding political democracy for the farmers and the lower middle-class, they are also forced to take a stand for the liberation of the Communist and I. W. W. political prisoners, and against discriminatory Syndicalist laws.

The result of this class-struggle between capitalists and farmers is, that to-day, in 1923, the reactionary administration of Harding no longer has the unanimous backing of public opinion, to the extent that the reactionary Wilson administration had in 1920.

Can We Utilize the Conflicts within Capitalist Society?

There are Communists who believe that we lose our revolutionary virginity when we take advantage of the class-divisions within the bourgeoisie. They believe that the only way to wage the class struggle, is to consider capitalistic society as one solid reactionary camp which always confronts the workers in a closed phalanx. But this is pure nonsense, and not revolutionary Marxism. Marxists have always asserted that the

various divisions and conflicts within capitalistic society, must be used to the best advantage of the working class.

Ferdinand Lassalle, the famous German Socialist, once said that the bourgeoisie is a single reactionary mass. But it was Karl Marx who protested and polemized against this unscientific and superficial assertion. It was Karl Marx who pointed out in "Capital" that the utilization of the class struggle between industrial capital and big land owners in the forties, procured the important social concession of the ten-hour day for the English workers.

From Marx to Lenin, every real Marxist has practised the tactic of analyzing the various class-divisions within capitalistic society, and exploiting the class-conflicts within the ruling class, for the benefit of the working class. The tactic of Lenin during the entire Russian revolution, is a masterly application of this tactic. The whole Russian revolution from the internal political point of view, is but a proletarian utilization of the class-conflicts between the peasants on the one hand, and the big landowners and big capitalists on the other. Lenin's tactic was—alliance of workers with poor peasants, neutralization of the wealthy peasants, struggle against the big landowners and capitalists.

The main difference between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was exactly this question of the utilization of the conflicts among the various classes. The Mensheviks claimed: "It is a middle-class revolution, and therefore the working class should ally itself with the capitalists against the feudal land owners." The Bolsheviks said: "This is a proletarian revolution, and therefore the right tactic is an alliance between workers and peasants against big capital and big land owners." From the point of view of foreign politics, Lenin's entire tactic is again but a utilization of the differences among various capitalist imperialisms, for the benefit of the proletarian republic. The Peace of Brest-Litovsk was

but a utilization of the imperialism of Germany against the imperialism of the Allies. The commercial treaty with England was but using British imperialism against French finance-capital. The Treaty of Rapallo with Germany was but an attempt to play up Stinnes against Loucheur. The Sinclair Oil Concession in Sakhalien, is but a move to set American capitalism over against Japanese imperialism.

Workers and Bosses.

We will now consider the rebellion of the laboring masses. From the middle of 1920, until the summer of 1922, the American workers tolerated the offensive of the capitalists. But, with the beginning of prosperity and the decrease in unemployment, the workers started a defensive struggle. Three examples are characteristic of this. During the depression, the textile workers accepted without the slightest attempt at resistance a wage-decrease of 20% in 1921, and then a decrease of 22% together with an increase in hours, from 48 to 54 per week in January, 1922. The United Mine Workers tolerated a wage decrease of 30% for unorganized miners, and thereby made it possible for the bosses to launch an offensive in April, 1922, for decreasing the wages of the organized miners and putting an end to the closed shop. In 1921, the railroad union leaders accepted a wage-decrease with the declaration, "We cannot fight against the government."

But in the summer of 1922—a totally different picture. The textile workers, the miners and the railroad workers—not less than a million strong—simultaneously enter into a defensive struggle against capital. Never in the history of the American labor movement have such tremendous masses struck at once, for so long a time, and with so militant a spirit.

The solidarity of the working class was greatly strengthened by the capitalist offensive and the Daugherty injunction. Just the main symptoms of

this growing solidarity: 1. The growing Labor Party movement. 2. The extraordinary growth of the amalgamation movement of the Trade Union Educational League. 3. The idea of the general strike, which spontaneously swept along hundreds of trade unions, during the struggles of the summer.

Farmers and Workers Protect the Communists.

The rebellion of the farmers and the revolt of the workers turned the elections of November 7, 1922, into a disastrous defeat for the Harding administration. On the one hand, the Democrats as the official opposition Party made great gains, and on the other hand, the so-called progressive and radical elements within the ruling Republican Party were greatly strengthened.

The embitterment of the farmers and workers was still flowing in false channels, but the political field was being irrigated nevertheless. The embittered hostile sentiment of the farmers and workers today forms the best protection for all militant elements of the labor-movement, and is today the best defense for the Communists. In the year 1920, the government could annihilate the Communist Party—6390 members of the Communist Party were arrested. The persecution affected the whole rank and file. In 1922, however, the persecution affected only the leaders. Warrants were issued only against seventy-six leading Communists.

In 1920 all Communist trials without exception ended in conviction. In the trials against Ruthenberg, Gitlow, Jim Larkin, Winitzky, Ferguson, a jury of twelve brought in a unanimous verdict of guilty five times. In 1923, in the Foster trial, only six of the farmer-jury were for conviction, while six were for acquittal. In 1920 the Communists had to go underground in face of the persecutions of the capitalist government, because the farmer-masses were silent, because the work-

ing class was apathetic, and because the Communists were absolutely isolated within the working class. In 1923 the Communists have been able to dissolve the underground organization because the farmer-masses are in political rebellion and are seeking an alliance with the workers, while the working class itself is once more struggling, and looks with growing sympathy upon the Communists.

In 1920 it would not have been "statesmanlike wisdom" for the Communists not to organize underground. It would have been a miscomprehension of the most elementary revolutionary duties, for the Communists thus to reject the only possibility for propagating the Communist idea. In 1923, on the contrary, it would have been no "revolutionary radicalism," but rather naive sectarianism if the Communists had continued to remain underground, thereby reducing the possibilities of propagating the Communist idea.

Many honest workers in the trade unions or in the Socialist Party (and even Communists) have not realized that the vanguard of the working class had to organize underground in 1920, because that was demanded by the conditions of the proletarian class struggle of that time. And many Socialists (and even Communists) believe that it is an inconsistency when the vanguard of the working class in 1923 dissolves its underground organization because the conditions of the class struggle have changed.

No one can guarantee that in a later situation an eventual strengthening of the capitalist reaction will not again drive the Communists underground. It would be a revolutionary duty for Communists once more to go underground, to continue the fight for the working class.

A revolutionary Party never has absolute guarantees against persecution by the ruling class. Even today, Communists are being persecuted and imprisoned in the United States as in all countries of Europe. But, through political analysis, it is possible to deter-

mine the approximate limits of the persecution. And it is our duty to be elastic, and always to choose quickly that form of organization which is possible and useful, under given concrete conditions of the class struggle. The political analysis of the present situation shows us the following factors determining the persecution of Communists in the United States: 1. The question whether the class struggle between capitalists and farmers is or is not becoming more acute. The sharpening or moderation of the struggle depends on whether the industrial prosperity will be of long duration, whether the farmers will be able to transform their economic dissatisfaction into political action, and lastly, also on the general world-situation. 2. The second factor is the struggle of the working class. If the workers are apathetic, the Communists can be disorganized. If the working class struggles, the Communists can and will be persecuted it is true, but every persecution will only strengthen the sympathies of the workers for the Communists, and thereby strengthen the Communists themselves. 3. The third factor is the revolutionary Party itself. The Workers' Party must organize so that it can send deep roots into the working class. The purely geographical party-units are not enough. The Party must be anchored directly in the industries—through shop, trade, and trade-union branches. Furthermore, the Party must absorb broad sections of American-born workers, and not only foreign-born workers. Not only is this a political necessity, but it is the best guarantee against the destruction of the Party through wholesale deportation as in the year 1920. And last but not least, a good guarantee against disorganization of the Party is a systematic education which would destroy the prejudices against either underground or overground forms of organization. Communists must have elasticity, and should be neither confirmed adherents in principle, of "underground radicalism," or of overground opportunism.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LABOR SPY.

The Lie-Factory.

The Socialist Party does not want to struggle at all. It knows that the united front with the Workers' Party will force it to struggle. For this reason, it seeks various pretexts to reject the united front. One such pretext was that the Communists were underground. Now the Communists are no longer underground, and therefore the Socialist Party seeks new pretexts, its latest one being that there are spies in the Communist movement. It can no longer ride the hobby-horse of the underground, and consequently it is manufacturing a new hobby-horse—the undercover men.

The Socialist Party speaks against the Harding administration in polite and careful language. The Socialist Party has no word of criticism against the betrayal by the Gompers clique. But against the Workers' Party, the New York Call uses the most shameless language. Only a few examples:

The N. Y. Call writes on April 6, 1923:

"One objection we have to that dictatorship which our terrible local revolutionaries want, is that their dictation in the local unions cannot be differentiated from that attempted by Burns' agents."

N. Y. Call of April 7, 1923:

"The Department of Justice and the Burns Detective Agency understand this and for that reason both have played parts in directing and stimulating the Com-

unist movement in the United States. The French and other governments in Europe used to send their agents into the organizations of the force Anarchists for the same purpose. Communism is unwittingly first aid to capitalist reaction. But it can only be deflated by organizations of the working class exposing its insane activities and having nothing to do with its abortive ideas."

N. Y. Call of April 13, 1923:

"The Workers' Party continues to yawn for the "united front." Day by day and in every way this yelp splits the air. Why call for it when this "party" already has it? A mountain of evidence shows that it has a "united front" led by agents of the Department of Justice."

N. Y. Call of April 19, 1923:

"Many of us who are in touch with the Communist movement in this country.—R. M. Whitney, director of the American Defense Society. We thought that agents of the Department of Justice alone were directing this party, but we may be mistaken."

The calumniators who write in the N. Y. Call, know of course that with every word they utter, they are slapping truth in the face. We know well enough that, at times, spies make their appearance in the Communist movement. Stool-pigeons and detectives sometimes manage to win the confidence of honest workers. It is obvious that we must take every possible precaution against spies. But no one need despair about these unwelcome guests. In the Russian Bolshevik Party there was even a spy of the Czarist government in the Central Executive Committee, and yet the underground Bolsheviks were able to carry on remarkable revolutionary work. It is a generally known fact that every revolutionary movement contains spies. But it is ridiculous to believe that only an underground organization has them. And it is a deliberate lie to say that only Communists have undercover men in their ranks. The labor-spy is a general institution in the United

States, and we can emphatically say that not a single labor organization is so wary about spies, and has so few agents in its ranks, as the organization of the Communists.

Industrial Spying—A Large Industry.

Every active participant in the labor movement in America knows that all labor organizations are infested with spies of the Department of Justice, and with undercover men of the various detective agencies. The problem of the labor spy has a literature of its own. We wish to mention here a few facts presented in the pamphlet issued by the New Republic: "The Labor Spy, A Survey of Industrial Espionage," by Sidney Howard. In the introduction, the editors of the New Republic affirm: "That, the practice of industrial espionage is national in scope... Industrial spying is a large industry... It seems to have become something of a factor in American industry as a whole."

Robert W. Dunne says in the American Labor Year Book, 1921-22: "The espionage industry, like the advertising industry, has grown exceedingly in the past two decades. It has kept pace with progress in other lines of industry. Today it constitutes an industry in itself, with tens of thousands of employees, and fairly adequate profits for the employers. It is part and parcel of the economic system." (The N. Y. Call must know this book very well, for it writes about it as follows: "A veritable mine of useful information of the Socialist and labor movement throughout the world." But of course, everything which cannot be used as slander against the Communists, is useless for the N. Y. Call.)

The "invisible service," as the spy system was once called by the greatest detective agency, is nowhere in the world so large and mighty as here. The remarkable investigation of the Interchurch World Movement on the Steel Strike of 1919, says, concerning this: "No

other country in the world has such large, wide-spread, well-financed, strike-breaking corporations, making money out of 'labor trouble' as America. Their existence is an integral part of the industrial corporations policy of 'Not dealing with labor unions.' "

The labor-spy is the greatest pest of all trade-unions. Sidney Howard states in his survey: "The labor press of the last few years is filled with the records of spies discovered in unions and expelled from them. This is any part of the country where industry thrives. A chief of the Railroad Brotherhoods says that he has not often known: 'A unit large enough to be called a meeting and small enough to exclude a spy.' "

Often it is possible for the agents to capture entire trade unions. "In December, ten important officials of the labor unions of Akron, Ohio, were exposed as confessed and convicted spies."

Mr. Coach of Cleveland, leading industrial detective said, according to information of Sidney Howard, "I own every union in this town," which is to say that he controls the union executives." The president of the Ray Detective Agency of Boston made the statement that "the president, secretary, and treasurer of the local ice men's union were, until quite recently, all the employees of his agency."

The Sherman Service, Inc., the largest detective agency of this country published a book in 1917, telling all about its undercover activities. The book was too frank, and was therefore withdrawn. The book tells the following: "Our operatives have obtained positions of influence in the union, so that they can easily influence the affairs within the organization in the proper direction for the welfare of the client... We had been successful in splitting the union into three factions... Our operatives were successful in being able to take over virtually the entire management of the...union."

The American Labor Year Book, issued under the auspices of the Socialist Rand School, states: "The earliest records of labor unions in this country are full of stories of spies sent into the unions and into the shops to bear tales to the employer that would help him to weaken or defeat the union."

The history of every strike in America is likewise a history of undercover men. An outstanding example of this is the history of the great steel strike of 1919. The investigation by the Interchurch World Movement says concerning the role of the Department of Justice in the Steel strike: "During the war a number of able patriotic citizens, lawyers, etc., as officers in the army or as Federal officials under the Department of Justice, became acquainted with this widespread intimate connection between 'undercover' systems and Federal authorities and became seriously disquieted, partly because of the possibility that, in such a system, governmental power might be put at the mercy of mercenary and interested men, or might lead to the flagrant misuse of such influence in behalf of private ends. Since the armistice several of these ex-officials have publicly criticized the whole system, without visible reform resulting. During the steel strike the same system, a year after the armistice, was worked hard. The undoubtedly existence of a fractional percentage of "alien radicals" was capitalized, with Government assistance, in order to disorganize bodies of strikers whose loyalty was of unquestionable legal standing."

The spy system of the Department of Justice is not abolished, but on the contrary, is being continually extended. The budget of the Department of Justice was \$12,500,000 in 1921. In 1922, it was \$15,500,000, and for 1923, not less than \$18,364,000." (Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the State of the Finances for the first fiscal year ended June 30, 1922.)

The notorious Daugherty Injunction of the Summer of 1922, was issued on the basis of not less than 17,000

affidavits which the Department of Justice produced with the help of its army of undercover men.

Private spies work hand in hand with government spies. The report of the investigation of the steel strike says: "Two extensive labor-detective strike-breaking corporations, with offices in a dozen cities, had a hand in fighting the steel strike... The manager of the detective strike-breaking corporation, when interviewed, spoke fairly freely of his concern's views and activities. He had over five hundred "operatives" at work in the steel strike. Some of his operatives had been injected into the steel plants a year before. Many of his operatives had become officers of labor unions. He said that there was on the National Strike Committee a labor leader who took his money."

The labor-spy is found wherever there are militant workers, and wherever rebellious farmers organize. The "Non-Partisan Leader" exposed a spy once in the Non-Partisan League organization in Nebraska. The Socialist Party is today very proud that it has no spies. It would be very natural if the government had no spies in the Socialist Party, because the Socialist Party is no longer a militant organization. But the Socialist Party has spies nevertheless. The agreeable Morrow (K 97), the star witness in the Michigan trial against the Communists, was formerly member of the Socialist Party. Spolansky, the notorious special investigator for the Department of Justice, was also a member of the Socialist Party. Wolfe Lindenfeld, the hero of the Wall Street bomb affair, was also a member of the Socialist Party. Albert Bailin was a spy in the I. W. W., in the A. F. of L., the Socialist and the Communist Parties, the Chicago Fabian Club and the Non-Partisan League. Only professional slanderers such as the N. Y. Call and the Jewish Forward can assert that to have spies, is a Communist privilege. The investigation by the Interchurch World Movement says very clearly, "The 'operatives' make money by detecting 'unionism' one day, and 'bolshevism' the next."

Scores of detective agencies work side by side with the Department of Justice against the working class. They have hundreds of branches and thousands of agents. Wherever there are labor unions—there are also spies. Wherever there are militant workers—there are also spies. Sidney Howard says in his survey: "When the Commission on Industrial Relations examined the workers and employers of American industry, it found scarcely one who had not an admission to make or a story to tell of the workings of the industrial spy-system."

CHAPTER V.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY—TWO WINGS WITHOUT A BODY

Why is the Socialist Party not Militant?

Scott Nearing, one of the leaders of the Socialist Party, made a statement: The Socialist Party belongs to the past and the future belongs to the Workers' Party.

The Socialist Party had 104,822 members in 1919. In July, 1921, it had 5781 members.

The Socialist Party as an organization has collapsed.

The Socialist Party had a revolutionary ideology until the Indianapolis convention of 1912, but then the famous Article 2, Section VI, against direct action was adopted.

The Socialist Party as the bearer of a revolutionary ideology has collapsed.

At present the Socialist Party resolves itself into only two factors: First, Morris Hillquit, Victor Berger and their gang of leaders. Second, a revolutionary sentiment represented by Eugene Debs, and a fine culture represented by Scott Nearing.

Morris Hillquit, Victor Berger and their gang of leaders have the Party machinery completely in their power. The revolutionary sentiment which Eugene Debs can evoke from the masses is being shamelessly exploited by them. That craving of the worker for knowledge which Scott Nearing satisfies through his lectures and books, is being converted by the Socialist Party into nickels and dimes of vulgarity.

The Socialist Party is no real party. It has neither

an organization, nor masses, nor an ideology, nor a program, nor any campaigns or actions.

There is not a single question on which the Socialist Party as a whole has any opinion. On every actual question concerning the labor movement, the Socialist Party always has two opinions—the opinion of the right wing, and that of the left wing.

What is the right wing of the Socialist Party? It is something definite that one can actually put his hands on. It consists of half a dozen leaders and a few scores of their henchmen. It is a petty Tammany Hall.

What does the left wing consist of? It has no organization at all. It consists only of a vague sentiment. And it may be a paradox, but true nevertheless, that if the Socialist Party at present still has any successes, it is not due to the petty Tammany Hall of Morris Hillquit and Victor Berger, but to that vague revolutionary sentiment expressed by the veteran fighter, Eugene Debs.

The petty Tammany Hall of Hillquit and Berger is clumsy, helpless, and has until now brought only failure for the Socialist Party. Morris Hillquit may ridicule and jeer at the "idealist" Debs, but he himself, instead of exercising the tactics and strategy of a realistic political leader, has simply practised the tricks and deceptions of an average lawyer. Hillquit, as representative of the Socialist Party's Tammany Hall at the Cleveland Labor Party Conference, has completely destroyed the confidence of the masses in the Socialist Party. But Eugene Debs, without an organization, and without a press, but simply with a few meetings, was able to capture 40,000 votes for the Socialist candidate for Mayor in Chicago.

If a warrant should be issued against the Socialist Party as a whole, it would not be found anywhere. Only the right wing or the left wing would be found. But only against the left wing would the warrant take effect. For Morris Hillquit somehow knows how to fall sick at the right moment, while it is Eugene Debs who marches to prison.

A House Divided Against Itself

The working class of America is facing great struggles. It must protect itself against the open shop drive of the capitalists, against the political persecution of the capitalist government. Only through the unification of all the forces of the labor movement can a successful defensive be carried on. What is the position of the Socialist Party? Eugene Debs and Scott Nearing are for the united front. But the official Socialist Party and its whole press are against the united front with the revolutionary Workers' Party.

The labor unions are losing one strike after another. The masses of unskilled workers are unorganized. The form of the craft unions is antiquated. Debs is for industrial unions, and endorses the amalgamation campaign of the Trade Union Educational League. But the official Socialist Party supports the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy against amalgamation and against the "dangerous boring from within" policy of the Trade Union Educational League.

The official Socialist Party has only hatred and contempt for the Communists on trial at St. Joseph, Michigan. Debs, however, declared his solidarity with the persecuted revolutionaries.

The official Socialist Party organizes a systematic and shameless campaign of slander against Soviet Russia, and against the Bolsheviks. The basest lies of the capitalist press and of Czarist hirelings are good enough for the New York Call and the Forward to reprint, in defense of the counter-revolutionary clericals. Debs, on the contrary, expresses his enthusiasm for Soviet Russia, and says openly that the world will in the future erect monuments for the Bolsheviks, while the rank and file of the Socialist Party protests through hundreds of letters against the clericalism of the Socialist Party.

Debs and every self-respecting worker in the Socialist Party is for the formation of an independent class-

party of the workers. And yet, at the Cleveland Conference, the **official Socialist Party**—Hillquit, Berger and Oneal, made a common conspiracy with Johnston and Keating against the Labor Party, and for participation in the primaries of the old capitalist parties. Of course, a few months after the Cleveland Conference, Hillquit debates with Keating publicly. What irony! Hillquit for a Labor Party, and Keating against! The Socialist Party announces this debate as the "Big Battle of Giants." In reality it is a well-rehearsed act by two clowns. The slaps rang out loudly, but did not hurt. And everyone had the feeling that Hillquit could just as skillfully and with as much conviction, have spoken against the Labor Party as for it. For after all, the clown Hillquit is a lawyer.

Debs always speaks openly against the cowardly and treacherous trade union bureaucrats who, in the summer of 1922, betrayed the great strikes. The **official Socialist Party** and its entire press had not a word of criticism against the open betrayal.

The **official Socialist Party** and its press enthusiastically defended Ramsay MacDonald who dined and supped with royalty in fancy ball-costume. But the rank and file of the Socialist Party protested indignantly against this cynical stand.

The right wing of the Socialist Party is sinking lower and lower. In the year 1920, the Socialist Party sent a request for affiliation to the Communist International. In 1922, the Socialist Party joined the Second-and-a-Half International. In May, 1923, the Socialist Party will without a doubt join the Second International. But against this official betrayal, the left wing within the Socialist Party protests and demands the impossible—that the united Second and Second-and-a-Half Internationals should admit only such parties as reject the "Burgfrieden" policy of truce with the bourgeoisie. In the May convention of the Socialist Party, two resolutions will stand opposed to each other on this question.

Such is the image of the Socialist Party on every question in the labor movement—a right wing, a left wing, but no body.

Peddling the Drug of Anti-Bolshevism

The Socialist Party is at present in a tragic situation. The Socialist Party was at one time the political expression of the **revolutionary, semi-skilled and unskilled workers of the East Side**. The expulsion of the left wing in 1919 by the Tammany Hall of Hillquit, meant that the Socialist Party threw out the revolutionary workers. The Socialist Party no longer possesses the confidence of the semi-skilled or unskilled workers of the East Side. The Workers' Party has fallen heir to this confidence.

The leadership of the Socialist Party sees with consternation these masses who once supported them, now going over to the Workers' Party. The Socialist Party leaders are therefore now seeking a new basis, namely, the support of the **American labor aristocracy**.

The ideal of the Socialist Party leaders to-day is the German Social Democracy. They desire a large mass party. A party which compromises with the bourgeoisie. A party whose only activities are election campaigns and the capturing of Congressional seats. A party which has deep roots in the trade unions. A party of the labor aristocracy. That is the dream of Hillquit, Victor Berger, and Oneal. But they can never reach this ideal. They are like the child which runs towards the rainbow, and in the end breaks down from fatigue. They are running towards the rainbow of Scheidemannism, but they will never reach it. Hillquit will never be Scheidemann. Victor Berger will never be Fritz Ebert. Oneal will never be Kautsky. All the **material conditions** are lacking for the realization of this dream.

The German Social Democracy is deeply rooted in the trade unions. The Social Democrats were the founders of the trade unions in Germany. A personal union exists between the Social Democratic party-bureaucracy and the trade union bureaucracy. The American Socialist Party has an entirely different tradition. It has been **outside** the trade union movement. It has been an advocate of dual unionism. The

Socialist Party contains on the one hand an element of workers who have become petty bourgeois, and on the other hand some foreign-born workers with a revolutionary inclination.

But it has no elements of the native-born, American, English-speaking labor aristocracy.

The political and social situation has made it possible in Germany for the Social Democratic leaders as ministers or deputies to sell out the workers to the bourgeoisie. Naturally, the German Social Democracy had to win the confidence of the masses, through years of organization and political work before it could perpetrate this historical betrayal. In the United States to-day every possibility is lacking for a working class party to capture the presidency or positions in the Cabinet. And it is of course ridiculous for a party of workers which is striving to win the confidence of the masses to start off with compromise and betrayal. The German Social Democratic Party was already a mighty mass party when it completely betrayed the masses, whereas the American Socialist Party wants to become a mass party by means of selling out and betraying the masses.

The Socialist Party has lost, as a basis, the revolutionary, unskilled and foreign-born workers. It cannot win over as a basis the American labor aristocracy because all the necessary historical conditions to make that possible are lacking. Therefore, the leaders of the right wing have turned a somersault, and are now trying to gain the confidence of the trade union bureaucracy.

The whole official policy of the Socialist Party is but a desperate effort for gaining the favor of the conservative trade union bureaucracy. In order to win over Johnston, the Socialist Party has sabotaged the formation of a Labor Party. In order to win a friendly smile from Gompers, the Socialist Party betrays the idea of amalgamation. In order to sit at the same table with the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor, the Socialist Party has transformed its whole press into a lie-factory against

Soviet Russia. The mighty trade union leaders do not allow the Socialist Party to enter into the trade union movement through the front door, but they allow it to come in secretly by the delivery entrance, like a drug-peddler, with the single article which he still has—the drug of anti-Bolshevism. But this poor drug-peddler is having hard luck. He has himself become a dope-fiend. The class struggle is daily becoming sharper. We are going through revolutionary changes in American political life, and the Socialist Party has only one answer on every question—anti-Bolshevism, anti-Communism, counter-revolution.

CHAPTER VI.

UNITED FRONT, BUT SEPERATE ORGANIZATIONS.

The right wing of the Socialist Party does not want to hear of a united front with the Workers' Party. The left wing, on the contrary, says that the United Front should be realized through amalgamation of the Socialist Party with the Workers' Party. Eugene Debs has often made such declarations. Scott Nearing lectures on this theme. Upton Sinclair wrote an article for "The Worker," in which he says that we must have amalgamation, not only on the industrial field, but also on the political field. He declares that the Communists are bad boys because they have split the Socialist Party, instead of making it more radical by "boring from within." Finally, he charges that the Workers Party wants the United Front merely to "show up" the Socialist Party.

Distinctions between Political Parties and Trade Unions.

Upton Sinclair wishes, not only the amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions, but to make a hodge-podge on the political field, by amalgamation of the Socialist Party with the Workers Party.

Debs, Nearing, and Sinclair, and all other advocates of this proposition, do not see the great distinctions between trade unions and political parties.

The unions are organizations of the masses, built up to defend the elementary interests of the workers. They seek higher salaries, shorter hours of labor, and better conditions of work. Every worker, whether

reformist or revolutionary, Socialist or Communist, religious or atheist, can find a place in the same trade union, because all these political or ideological differences will not prevent them from fighting in common against the bosses, for a 20% increase in wages, or against the open shop.

But a political party has entirely different aims. If it is really a revolutionary working class party, it has a program for all phases of social life. A program, not only against the individual bosses, and trusts, but against the state power. A program for the transformation of the whole economic system. A program on the questions of family, marriage, religion, education. A political party is sound only when it has members who accept its entire political, economical and social program. Furthermore, members who are unified, not only on the program, but also on the methods of carrying it out—on tactics.

Distinctions Between Communists and Socialists

How could the Socialists and Communists form a common party to-day?

The Communists believe that we live in the age of the decadence of Capitalism. The adherents of the Second and Second-and-a-Half Internationals believe that capitalism can reconstruct itself.

The Communists believe that imperialism is a necessary phase in the development of capitalism. The Socialists believe that imperialism is only an accident and a misunderstanding, and that the capitalists could, with a little insight, prevent the dangers of imperialistic wars.

The Communists believe that the present world-crisis of capitalism must be taken advantage of, and that the working class must be led to victory, through the elimination of the capitalists, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Socialists believe that the working class is not ripe for rule, and that a coalition government must be formed with the bourgeoisie.

The Communists believe that the ruling class has

never in all history abdicated voluntarily, and that it is necessary to explain to the workers the role of force in history. The Socialists believe in pacifism, and in the allrightness of the ballot.

The Communists believe that when the workers are once in power, they must destroy the form of the capitalist state government, and must construct a new proletarian form of government—the Soviets.

The Communists believe that the trade unions should be militant organs, and should help the workers to live as human beings. The Socialist and trade union leaders allied with them, avoid every fight and helplessly tolerate the open-shop and Fascism.

The Communists believe that the labor movement can be healthy only when the impotent, senile and corrupt leaders are cast aside. The Socialists ally themselves with Gompers and with all treacherous \$25,000 a year labor leaders.

The Communists propose the United Front for all labor organizations against capitalists. The Socialist Victor Berger allies himself in Wisconsin with middle-class politicians, just as Scheidemann was minister of the Kaiser, just as Branting was minister of the King of Sweden, Vandervelde, minister of the King of Belgium, and the British labor leaders ministers to his British majesty.

Communists and Socialists—fire and water, revolution and opportunism, struggle and betrayal.

How can Eugene Debs or Upton Sinclair for a moment imagine that these two elements can live in the same party-organization?

Communist and Socialist workers can be together in one and the same trade union, because the task of the trade union is only a struggle for wages and hours of work. But Communists and Socialists can just as little be together in the same party-organization, as workers who are convinced that they should have higher wages and shorter hours of work, can be together in the same trade unions with workers who think that it is useless for them to have higher wages and shorter hours of work.

United Front—For Concrete Actions.

If that is all true, how can Communists and Socialists find a place in the same Labor Party? We believe it is possible to give a clear answer to this question. The Labor Party, as the classical example in England shows, is an organization which includes the trade unions and various political parties, in such a way, that every one of these parties retains its independence in ideology, propaganda, and organization. The Labor Party has a certain program of action. All members of this Labor Party are bound to fight for this program of action, but they have the right to agitate for their separate programs. They have the right to work on, for the enlargement of their separate party organization. And that which is true for the Labor Party is true for the whole United Front idea. We want the United Front with the Socialist Party, and with all labor organizations for quite concrete tasks. We have proposed the United Front, not for the whole revolutionary program of the Workers' Party, but on the following concrete slogans: 1. Amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions. 2. Protection of foreign-born workers. 3. The struggle for an International labor movement. 4. Recognition of Soviet Russia. 5. The removal of governmental obstacles. 6. A Labor Party.

All these slogans are not in contradiction to the program of the Socialist Party, if the Socialist Party really wishes to fight in the interests of the workers. They are not specifically revolutionary points of the Communist and proletarian revolution. They are merely demands which can be accepted by all who wish to fight at least for the immediate interests of the workers.

The amalgamation of the Workers' Party with the Socialist Party that Upton Sinclair proposes, is impossible because the difference in program and tactics are too great. The formation of the Labor Party or the formation of the United Front is possible because there are such immediate practical concrete demands

as can unite all workers in common actions. The amalgamation of the Workers' Party with the Socialist Party will not increase the might of the militant forces, but on the contrary, will weaken them. In a united party, the hands of the left wing elements would be tied. Hillquit's and Berger's Tammany Hall would prevent us Communists from agitating and carrying on propaganda, and thus it would be impossible for us to educate the workers to the right way of carrying on the class-struggle. Such a unified chop-suey Party will simply be incapable of action. The right wing will be in a continuous fight with the left wing, and even if certain betrayals of the right wing could be prevented, the extension of the left wing would thereby be made entirely impossible.

Who is Responsible for the Split?

The amalgamation of Communists and Socialists in the same Party will just as inevitably lead to a split as it led to a split in 1919. The Left Wing attempted in 1919 the method of "boring from within" the Socialist Party, but without success. The Right Wing simply excluded the Left Wing. We must quite emphatically reject the accusation of Sinclair that the Left Wing—the Communists—made the split in the Socialist Party. Exactly the reverse is true. It is remarkable that Upton Sinclair has so quickly forgotten the facts. The split in the Socialist Party began when the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, that is, the petty Tammany Hall of Berger and Hillquit, excluded the Michigan State Federation of the Socialist Party.

The second step, which rendered the split nationwide, was made once more by the present leadership of the Socialist Party. They feared that the Left Wing would win the elections to the National Executive Committee, and that thereby the Socialist Party would become more radical. They therefore simply excluded almost all the Foreign-language Federation of the Socialist Party, comprising not less than

40,000 members. The excluded Michigan State Federation and these Foreign-language Federations, together formed the Communist Party. But part of the Left Wing persistently remained in the Socialist Party, and attempted heroically through "boring from within" to make the party more radical. But Hillquit's and Berger's petty Tammany Hall took a third step to split the Socialist Party. As the rest of the Left Wing, under the leadership of John Reed, Gitlow, Larkin and Lore went to the September convention, they found Germer, Secretary of the Socialist Party, at the entrance to the hall, and with him a policeman as arch-angel with the flaming sword. Though they were elected as delegates, they were nevertheless driven out from the convention hall.

That is the true history of the split of the Left Wing. The Socialist Party leaders bear the guilt for this split.

The split in the Socialist Party was made by the same Hillquits and Victor Bergers who to-day sabotage amalgamation and the Labor Party. And the motives in 1919 were the same as to-day. These Right Wing leaders do not want to take part in the struggle, and they hate all those who wish to force them into the struggle. The Workers' Party wants to fight for the workers, and therefore it proposes the United Front. Upton Sinclair is mistaken when he thinks that we desire the United Front only in order to "show up" the Socialist Party leaders.

We want the United Front for the defense of the working-class. The capitalists and the capitalist government are beginning a new offensive against the working class. A new open shop drive! Increase of the cost of living! Strengthening of militarism! Fascisti organizations! New trustification! Exception laws against foreign-born workers! Against all these dangers, we want to organize the entire working class.

We are convinced that the daily betrayal by the Socialist Party is the most effective means for "showing up" these leaders. We do not need to strip the

fair maidens naked. They themselves are throwing off their clothing of principles, and the working class can see how ugly they really are, and how cankered by internal diseases. Upton Sinclair has written three remarkable books against bourgeois hypocrisy, the Brass Check against the capitalist press, the Profits of Religion against the churches, the Goose-Step against capitalist education. He should add to each one of these books a new chapter on the hypocrisy of the Socialist Party. The campaign of lies waged by the kept press, of the brand of the N. Y. Times and the N. Y. Herald, finds its replica in the N. Y. Call and the Forward. Socialism is to-day just as much a pretension for Hillquit's and Berger's Tammany Hall, as religion is for the churches and the clergy. The education which they pass out to the workers is just as untrue and hypocritical as the miseducation of Harvard and Yale.

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