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German Workers Gain Victory in Struggle for Industrial Democracy

Bavaria In Control of Workers and Soldiers Council

Dispatches from Germany indicate that the struggle of the workers of that country to establish an industrial republic modeled on the lines of the Russian Soviet government, which was temporarily checked a few weeks ago when the uprising in which Liebknecht and Luxemburg were killed, was put down, is in full swing again.

According to these dispatches the shooting of the Bavarian premier, Kurt Eisner, was followed by the Workers and Soldiers' Council of that state taking over the government and establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The interesting phase of this dispatch is the clause which states that the Spartacists, Independent Socialists and Majority Socialists combined in establishing this dictatorship of the proletariat, indicating that the rank and file of the workers who have been supporting the Majority Socialists, are moving toward the left and making common cause with the Spartacists.

Other reports say that similar movement are underway in all the industrial sections of Germany and that the Spartacists have been successful in taking control of a number of the smaller states.

The hopeful sign about the present uprising is the admission which is made even by the capitalist press, that the Spartacists are stronger today than they were at the time of the revolt in Berlin.

The same dispatches that announce the victories of the German workers in the struggle for industrial democracy bring the news that the constituent assembly in session at Weimar has completed the draft of the proposed German constitution. This constitution would make Germany not an industrial democracy, but a capitalist democracy. The provisions of this constitution, while throwing a few scraps to the workers in the shape of provisions about hours of labor, minimum wages and other similar measures, which have appeared as part of the reform movement in every capitalist country, says nothing about changing the control of industry and the wage and profit system.

During the progress of events in Russia it was bitter experience which disillusioned the workers. They tried a coalition government and found their status was not altered a great deal, they tried the moderate Socialist government of Kerensky and it did nothing to change the status of either the workers or peasants. Then they placed the Bolsheviks in power and because the Bolsheviks have put into practice the measures which the workers and peasants desired, they have remained in firm control of the Soviet government.

The German workers are going through a similar process of disillusionment, only events are moving faster than in Russia.

It is no doubt due to the fact that the masses of the workers, following the decisions of the constituent assembly, see that there was no hope of the workers winning their freedom through the action of this assembly that is bringing these workers to the standard of the Spartacists. As their disillusionment continues the powers of the Spartacists will grow and it should not be long before Germany aligns itself with Russia and becomes the second industrial democracy.

Biased Senate Committee Intent Upon Making Case Against Russia

The Senate Judiciary Committee, which is conducting the investigation of the Russian workers' government, after giving many days to opponents of the Bolshevik government, who were permitted to freely pronounce their criticism, called as witnesses John Reed and Louise Bryant, who were in Russia during the great part of the revolutionary period. In place of these witnesses to disprove Russian affairs with the same freedom that was granted the opponents of the Soviet government, they were hedged about with instructions and rules and often limited to "yes" and "no" answers, when explanation was necessary for a complete understanding of the subject matter under discussion.

The flagrant injustice of the hearing took two forms: First, Miss Bryant was allowed to offer no testimony of her own, a privilege heretofore allowed to and over-encouraged in witnesses, and was silenced every time she attempted to speak. "Never mind

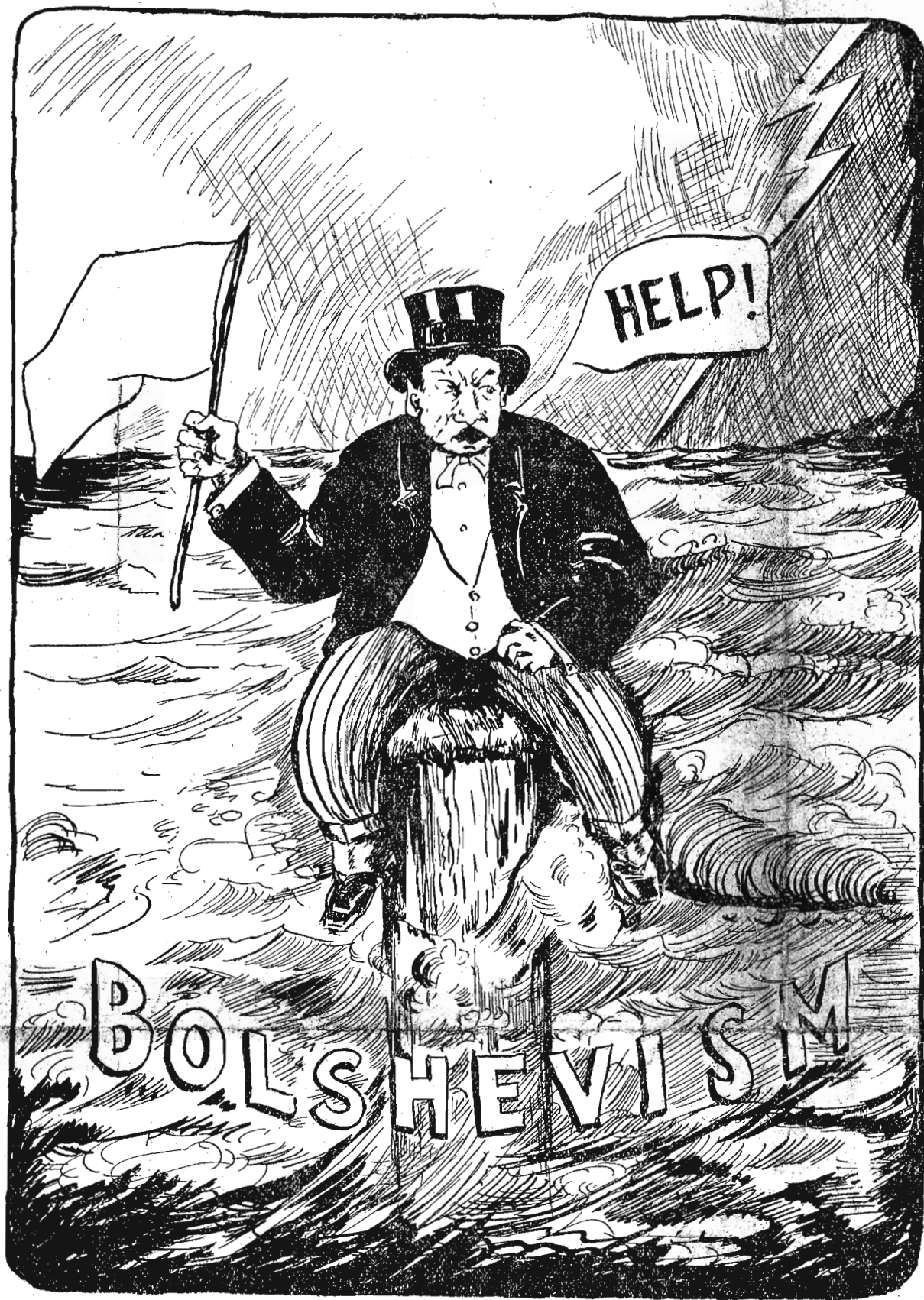
that, answer 'Yes' or 'No' to the question," was the phrase continually repeated throughout the proceedings. Second, the senators made every effort to trap Miss Bryant into unguarded replies. They skipped with astonishing briskness from point to point, throwing the attention of the audience into confusion.

Almost from the beginning Senators King, Nelson and Wolcott dropped the mask of common courtesy. They forced out the words, "Miss Bryant," with evident distaste. To them the witness was not a woman, but a prey, and they fell upon her with hungry teeth. The bovine Major Holm put his awkwardly phrased questions in rags. Even the stenographer joined in the badgering.

"Turn your face toward me when you speak," he rasped, "I got to take this down, you know."

He was seated alongside Miss Bryant, and her words were clearly audible to the back of the room.

Destination Withheld From American Soldier's in Expedition to Invade Russia



RISE—AND NO SAIL IN SIGHT

Swedish Toilers in Protest for American Political Prisoners

Politiken, the chief organ of the Swedish left wing Socialists, publishes a half-page manifesto calling on the party membership throughout the land to organize protest meetings against America's treatment of political and industrial prisoners. Through its underground channels Politiken has procured a mass of details of specific cases of imprisonment of American workers, according to a cable article by Bassett Digby in the Chicago Daily News.

The Swedish left Socialists are exhorted to do their utmost to cause the release of "American political prisoners."

Scott Nearing Free

After two days of deliberation the jury in the case of Scott Nearing brought in a verdict of "Not Guilty" so far as Nearing was concerned. At the same time the jury found the American Socialist Society, which controls the Rand School, guilty on two counts. The judge set aside the verdict so far as one of the counts was concerned and reserved decision on the other point. Attorneys for the society claim that the verdict against the society cannot stand in view of the verdict acquitting Nearing.

The victory in this case is particularly noteworthy, inasmuch as Nearing did not endeavor to hide his views or apologize for the statements made in "The Great Madness" for writing which he was indicted. On the stand, as shown by the evidence printed in the last issues of the "Socialist News," he did not only not retract what he said in his pamphlet, but he reasserted his views and proved the truth of his charges by evidence from the writings of the supporters of the present social system.

Nearing boldly challenged capitalism; the jury declared him not guilty of violating any law. It is the bold course that wins.

"I notice that wherever the Ohio Socialist is read an active member is produced. All hail to our paper and all party owned propaganda."—Herbert Knecht, Cambridge.

France Enslaves Russian Troops That Refuse to Fight Soviet Government

The correspondent of the New York Call, Paul Wallace Hanna, sends this interesting story of the treatment accorded Russian troops by the French government in the "war for democracy":

Between 30,000 and 40,000 Russian soldiers are held today in slavery by the Republic of France.

The crime of these slaves is that they refuse to make war against the Soviet Republic of Russia.

Every known method of coercion has been used by the Clemenceau government to break the will of these "obstinate" Russians whose steady reply to their persecutors is:

"We cannot make war on the Bolsheviks without knowing whether they are good or bad for Russia. Let us first return home and judge for ourselves."

These Russian slaves of France are at present engaged at hard work, and without compensation. Late reports show they are dying in great numbers of hardship, privation and the diseases caused by the unaccustomed African climate.

Some 25 leaders of the "rebellious" Russian soldiers are held in miserable confinement on an island near Bordeaux.

Friends of the Russians have made repeated appeals to Clemenceau for mercy, saying:

"Can't you see that this cruel policy will make Russia the eternal enemy of France?" Such appeals were contemptuously ignored.

Before the overthrow of the czar there were 25,000 Russian soldiers fighting against Germany on the French front. When news of the revolution reached them they joined in the general rejoicing of free men everywhere. They even committed the further offense of attempting to form soldiers' councils among themselves.

This conduct made them the objects of suspicion and hatred of the French authorities, by whom they were forthwith placed in virtual imprisonment.

With the fall of Kerenski, the sympathy of the Russian soldiers in France went over to the Soviet regime, and when the peace of Brest-Litovsk was concluded they immediately declared themselves neutrals in the world war and demanded that they be allowed to return home.

This demand the French government met with machine gun fire, in which large numbers of the Russians were killed or wounded.

Labor Begins Campaign To Repudiate Alliance

(Special Correspondence)

Chicago.—Radical elements in the American Federation of Labor have started a campaign to repudiate the Gompers-Hussell "American Alliance for Labor and Democracy" organized for the purpose of putting the Socialist Party out of business under cover of the war mania.

This anti-alliance movement has received its most recent impetus by the resignation of Frank P. Walsh from "The Alliance."

It now comes to light that this "Alliance of reactionary labor officials, and renegade and outcast Socialists, was subsidized directly by the Democratic administration through George Creel's bureau of public information. Its president is Samuel

Gompers, and its secretary Frank Morrison, mouthpieces of the tottering officialdom of the American Federation of Labor.

Its avowed purpose was to chloroform the revolutionary aspiration of America's toilers, through carrying on a "poison gas" attack on the Socialist Party with the slogan, "Fight Bolshevism."

Walsh's friends announce that he quit this government inspired labor-chloroforming organization, because he disagreed with its policies, especially its close co-operation with the National Civic Federation in its anti-labor agitation, the incitement of imperialistic sentiment against Russia and opposition to the Tom Mooney Defense movement.

During the whole of my stay at the front I observed the new Bolshevik methods of warfare. The Bolsheviks did not harm us, although on several occasions they could have shot us down as so many partridges. Once, while we were crossing a river, a man came forward from the Bolshevik side with a white flag and speaking in English he told us that we were being misled, that we ought to leave the Russian territory and the Russian people at peace. 'You have come here to fight, and not to fight you; we have done no harm to you; so go back to your homes.'

'There were also such instances: we are surrounded on all sides by the Bolsheviks, so that there is no way out of it. We are doomed, we think. But it is not so. They would keep us thus a day or two and then let us go free, unharmed. Only once they created us to a machine gun and field gun fire—and indeed, at that time, there was no way out of it. There are no trenches, because one cannot dig in the frozen ground. Everywhere are marshes, and one stands almost waist deep in water. We hid behind barricades made of logs. But, of course, it is a poor defense. When a shell strikes such a barricade nothing but splinters remain.'

'During this "meeting" I was wounded. I was sent to England and thence I came here.'

Chicago Paper Declares Archangel Expedition Failure

The Chicago Tribune of February 10 publishes a letter from its correspondent who has been in North Russia, dated Vard, Norway, Feb. 1 (by cable from Norvik, Feb. 8). The following excerpts from his letter are of great interest.

"After two months spent in investigating the conditions in North Russia, where American troops are serving under allied dictatorship, I can state the following facts:

"First—The North Russia allied expedition has developed into a pitiful failure. It has failed to inspire confidence and loyalty and give real assistance to Russia. It has become a cesspool of jealousy, hatred, mistakes and shattered illusions. The different allies distrust one another and the Russians distrust the entire expedition."

"Second—The American troops were put under an absolute imperialistic command, being handled in a way that was against every tradition of the army and country. They were put to doing a king's business and to do whatever task was assigned to them by the British. American men and their ideals of right and fairness were entirely submerged through the un-American leadership."

"Third—The entire expedition suffered from a complete lack of spiritual leadership. Instead of being an ordinary soldier's job, this expedition required sympathetic understanding. It always has been more political than military. The original leaders thought themselves to be great soldiers and great diplomats, but they proved to be neither."

"Fourth—The expedition has lacked spiritual significance. Europe's war-torn men, sent here from the French battle fields, failed to appreciate the great revolution or sympathize with the unrest and the new birth that Russia is going through. Most of the allied soldiers, especially since the signing of the armistice, hated the job, despite the Russians, and have no concern with the future of the country. The expedition, lacking this spiritual significance in men's minds, has become a mere fighting job to collect Russia's debt to Europe."

"Fifth—There is no enthusiasm even among the intelligent Russians in the north to assist the allies and fight the Bolsheviks. Everywhere there is a growing disgust against the expedition, especially against the British."

"Sixth—The beautiful faith of the Russians for America is breaking under the manhandling by our forces under the foreign command. The American forces have been led by an American colonel when they should have had a major general. Within our own forces we lacked the right leadership, permitting the Americans to be placed under the limited control of foreigners."

"I have come out of Russia to write this. The censorship that has crowded back into its hole in all of the world still wears the iron heel of war days in the north. The American public has been fed pretty stories of the gentle glories of this 'help Russia' expedition, but the facts are that a mess has been stewed up and has been kept for the cooks themselves."

(Continued on Page Two)

Savage Sentence Passed Upon National Officials

After several weeks of consideration Judge K. M. Landis denied the motion made by the defense in the case of Victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, J. L. Engdahl, Irving St. John Tucker and William Kruse. Following his usual course Judge Landis assumed a position of fairness during the trial and then imposed extreme sentences by giving each of the defendants twenty years on each count on which they were convicted.

It was evidently the intent of the prosecution to railroad the five men to prison at once, for the judge refused to permit the defendants to remain free on bail while the papers were prepared for the appeal to the higher court, and it was only by filing these papers at once that bail was permitted, and then it was made almost prohibitive. In order to temporary free the five prisoners it was necessary to schedule a half million dollars worth of property. The necessary amount of bail was secured, however, and the defendants will continue their work, limited, however, by the condition made by the judge of the appellate court, that they must not engage in such activities as those for which they were convicted. What this will mean in practice only experience can tell.

Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing of the American Socialist Movement

EDITOR'S NOTE: The world war has changed many things, among them the tactics of the working class movement of various countries. New ideas have come to the front and new tactics are being practiced. In printing this manifesto of the Left Wing Socialists we do so in the hope that it will stimulate discussion in the locals of the party and lead to the formation of clear-cut opinion as the future tactics of the Socialist Party of the United States. Such discussion and clarification of opinion must necessarily precede any possibility of building in this country a militant and effective Socialist movement.

INTRODUCTION

The members of the Socialist Party of America are entitled to an explanation for the issuance of this pamphlet by the Left Wing Group.

First of all, be it understood, we are not a secessionist movement, nor do we contemplate splitting the party. We are a very active and growing section of the Socialist Party which is attempting to reach the rank and file with our urgent message over the heads of the powers that be, who, through inertia or a lack of vision, cannot see the necessity for a critical analysis of the party's policies and tactics.

The daily press is closed to us; therefore we cannot adequately present our side of the case.

In the various discussions that arise wherever party members or delegates assemble, both sides grow too heated for calm, dispassionate judgment.

Therefore we have decided to issue our Manifesto and Program in pamphlet form, so that the rank and file may read and judge our case on its merits.

Comrades—and this is addressed exclusively to members of the party—the situation is such that a careful study of our position is absolutely imperative.

We come to you, the court of last resort, for judgment.

MANIFESTO

Prior to August, 1914, the nations of the world lived on a volcano. Violent eruptions from time to time gave warning of the cataclysm to come, but the diplomats and statesmen managed to localize the outbreaks, and the masses, slightly aroused, sank back into their accustomed lethargy with doubts and misgivings, and the subterranean fires continued to smoulder. Surely, the people reasoned, no one would be so mad as to precipitate a world war!

Besides, they trusted blindly—some in their statesmen, some in the cohesive power of Christianity, their common religion, and some in the growing strength of the International Socialist movement. Had not the German Social Democracy exchanged dramatic telegrams with the French Socialist Party, each pledging itself not to fight in case their governments declared war on each other? A general strike of workers led by these determined Socialists would quickly bring the governments to their senses!

So the workers reasoned, until the thunder-clap of Sarajevo and Austria's ultimatum to Serbia. Then, suddenly, the storm broke. Mobilization everywhere. Declarations of war. In three or four days Europe was in arms.

The present structure of society—Capitalism—with its pretensions to democracy on the one hand, and its commercial rivalries, armament races and standing armies on the other, all based on the exploitation of the working class and the division of the loaf, was cast into the furnace of the war. Two things only could issue from the flames; either international capitalist control, through a League of Nations, or Social Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Both of these forms are today contending for world power.

The Social Democracies of Europe, unable to meet the crisis, were themselves hurled into the conflagration, to be tempered or consumed by it.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

At first the question which agitated Socialists' minds all over the world was: Why have they failed? All sorts of extenuating circumstances were pleaded in their behalf—"defensive war," and "a low type of civilization menaces a higher type," and "Socialism must fight on the side of democracy," and "Socialism is not free from the virus of nationalism." All these excuses equally begged the question.

We know that great mass demonstrations were held in every European country by Socialists protesting against their governments' declarations of war, and mobilization for war. And we know too that these demonstrations were suddenly rendered impotent by the complete surrender of the Socialist parliamentary leaders and the official Socialist press. Why the sudden change of front? Why did the Socialist leaders in the parliaments of the future belligerents vote the war credits? Why did the official Socialist press in Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, etc., suddenly reverse its position and call for resistance to the invader? In short, why did the dominant Socialists support their governments? We shall attempt to answer these questions.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF "MODERN SOCIALISM"

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Social Democracies of Europe set out to "legislate Capitalism out of office." The class struggle was to be won in the capitalist legislatures. Step by step concessions were to be wrested from the state; the working class and the Socialist parties were to be strengthened by means of "constructive" reforms and social legislation; each concession would act as a rung in the ladder of Social Revolution, upon which the workers could climb step by step, until finally, some bright sunny morning, the peoples would awake to find the Co-Operative Commonwealth functioning without disorder, confusion or hitch on the ruins of the capitalist state.

But what happened? When a few legislative seats had been captured, the thunderous denunciations of the Socialist legislators suddenly ceased. No more

were the parliaments used as platforms from which the challenge of militant Socialism was flung to all corners of Europe. Another era had set in, the era of "constructive" social reform legislation. All powers to shape the policies and tactics of the Socialist parties were entrusted to the parliamentary leaders. And these lost sight of Socialism's original purpose; their goal became two-fold—"constructive reforms" and Cabinet portfolios, of the means to an end they made an end in itself. Moderate Socialism, in the hands of these parliamentary leaders, was now ready to share responsibility with the bourgeoisie in the control of the capitalist state, even to the extent of defending the bourgeoisie against the working class—as for instance during the first Briand Ministry in France, when the official party press was opened to a defense of the shooting of striking railway workers at the order of the Socialist-Bourgeois Coalition Cabinet.

"SAUSAGE SOCIALISM"

This situation was brought about by mixing pure scientific Socialism with bourgeois reforms and the democratic cant of the eighteenth century. The result was what Rosa Luxemburg called "Sausage Socialism." The Socialist parliamentarians forgot that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link. They emphasized petty bourgeois social reformism in order to attract tradesmen, shop-keepers and members of the professions, and of course the latter flocked to the Socialist movement in great numbers, seeking relief from the constant grinding between corporate capital and awakening labor.

The Socialist organizations actively competed for votes, on the basis of social reforms, with the bourgeois liberal political parties. And so they catered to the ignorance and prejudices of the workers, trading promises of immediate reforms for votes.

Dominant "moderate Socialism" forgot the teachings of the founders of scientific Socialism, forgot its function as a proletarian movement—"the most resolute and advanced section of the working class parties"—and permitted the bourgeois and self-seeking trade-union element to shape its policies and tactics.

This was the condition in which the Social Democracies of Europe found themselves at the outbreak of war in 1914. Demoralized and confused by the cross-currents within their own parties, vacillating and compromising with the bourgeois state, they fell an easy prey to social-patriotism and nationalism. This is the explanation of the failure of the Socialist movements of Europe in the crisis of 1914.

SPARTACIDES AND BOLSHEVISM

But revolutionary Socialism was not destined to lie inert for long. In Germany, Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin organized the Spartacus group. But their voices were drowned in the roar of cannon and the shrieks of the dying and the maimed.

Russia, however, was to be the first battle ground where "moderate" and revolutionary Socialism came to grips for the mastery of the state. The breakdown of the corrupt, bureaucratic czarist regime opened the flood-gates of revolution. Centuries of oppression had paved the way.

Three main contending parties attempted to ride into power on the revolutionary tide: the Cadets, the "moderate Socialists"—Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists—and the revolutionary Socialists—the Bolsheviks. The Cadets were first to be swept into power; but they tried to stem the still rising flood with a few abstract political ideals, and were soon carried away. The soldiers, workers and peasants could no longer be fooled by phrases. The Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists succeeded the Cadets. And now came the crucial test; would they, in accord with Marxian teachings make themselves the ruling class and sweep away the old conditions of production, and thus prepare the way for the Co-Operative Commonwealth? Or would they tinker with the old machinery and try to foist it on the masses as something just as good?

They did the latter, and proved for all time that "moderate Socialism" cannot be trusted.

The Socialists began to understand why dominant "moderate Socialism" had broken down. "Moderate Socialism" was not prepared to seize the power for the workers during a revolution. "Moderate Socialism" had a rigid formula—"Constructive" social-reform legislation within the capitalist state; and to that formula it clung. It believed that bourgeois democracy could be used as a means of constructing the Socialist order; therefore it must wait until the people, through a Constituent Assembly, should vote Socialism into existence. And in the meantime, it held that there must be established a government of coalition with the enemy, the bourgeoisie. As if, with all the means of controlling public opinion in the hands of the bourgeoisie, a Constituent Assembly could or would ever vote the Socialists into power!

Revolutionary Socialists hold, with the founders of scientific Socialism, that there are two dominant classes in society—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; that between these two classes a struggle must go on until the working class, through the seizure of the instruments of production and distribution, the abolition of the capitalist state, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, creates a Socialist order. Revolutionary Socialists do not propose to wait until the vast majority of the people vote them into power; but, "if the proletariat during its struggle with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by force of circumstances, to organize itself as a

class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and as such sweeps away by force the old conditions of production; then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."

Marx and Engels clearly explain the function of the Socialist movement. It is the "moderate Socialists," through intellectual gymnastics, evasions, misquotations and the tearing of sentences and phrases from their context, who make Marx and Engels sponsors for their perverted version of Socialism.

PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM

At the present moment the Socialist Party of America is agitated by several cross-currents, some local in their character, and some a reflex of cleavages within the European Socialist movements. Many see in this internal dissension merely an unimportant difference of opinion, or at most, dissatisfaction with the control of the party, and the desire to replace those who have misused it with better men.

We, however, maintain that there is a fundamental distinction in views concerning party policies and tactics. And we believe that this difference is so vast that from our standpoint a radical change in party policies and tactics is necessary.

This essential task is being shirked by our party leaders and officials generally. In view of the impending change in the tactics of organized labor in this country, we must hurry to readjust the Socialist movement to the new conditions or find ourselves left behind by the march of events.

Already there is formidable industrial unrest, a seething ferment of discontent, evidenced by inarticulate rumblings which presage striking occurrences. The transformation of industry from a war to a peace basis has thoroughly disorganized the economic structure. Thousands upon thousands of workers are being thrown out of work. Demobilized sailors and soldiers find themselves a drug on the labor market, unless they act as scabs and strike-breakers. Skilled mechanics, fighting desperately to maintain their war-wage and their industrial status, are forced to strike. Women, who during the war have been welcomed into industries hitherto closed to them, are struggling to keep their jobs. And to cap the climax, the capitalists, through their Chambers of Commerce and their Merchants' and Manufacturers' Associations, have resolved to take advantage of the situation to break down even the inadequate organizations labor has built up through generations of painful struggle.

The temper of the workers and the soldiers, after the sacrifices they have made in the war, is such that they will not endure the reactionary labor conditions so openly advocated by the master class. A series of labor struggles is bound to follow—indeed, is beginning now. Shall the Socialist Party continue to feed the workers with social-reform legislation at this critical period? Shall it approach the whole question from the standpoint of votes and the election of representatives to the legislature? Shall it emphasize the consumer's point of view, when Socialist principles teach that the worker is robbed at the point of production? Shall it talk about Cost of Living and taxation, when it should be explaining how the worker is robbed at his job?

There are many signs of the awakening of labor. The organized trade unions, against the definite commands of their leaders, are resorting to independent political action, in an effort to conserve what they have won and wrest new concessions from the master class. What shall be our attitude toward the awakening workers?

On the basis of the class struggle we shall go among them, impregnating them with revolutionary Socialism; we shall teach them solidarity; we shall teach them class-consciousness; we shall teach them the hopelessness of social reform; we shall teach them the meaning of Revolution. And the industrial unrest, the ferment of discontent, will compel them to listen!

CAPITALIST IMPERIALISM

Among the many problems immediately confronting us are those new questions springing from Capitalist-Imperialism, the final and decisive stage of Capitalism. How shall the Socialist Party meet these problems?

Imperialism is that stage of Capitalism in which the accumulated capital or surplus of a nation is too great for the home market to reinvest or absorb. The increased productivity of the working class, due to improved machinery and efficiency methods, and the mere subsistence wage which permits the worker to buy back only a small portion of what he produces, causes an ever-increasing accumulation of commodities, which in turn become capital and must be invested in further production. When Capitalism has reached the stage in which it imports raw materials from undeveloped countries and exports them again in the shape of manufactured products, it has reached its highest development.

This process is universal. Foreign markets, spheres of influence and protectorates, under the intensive development of capitalist industry and finance in turn become highly developed. They, too, seek the markets. National capitalist control, to save itself from ruin, breaks its national bonds and emerges full-grown as a capitalist League of Nations, with international armies and navies to maintain its supremacy.

The new situation the Socialist Party must meet. From now on the United States will no longer hold itself aloof, isolated and provincial. It is reaching out for new markets, new zones of influence, new protectorates; not alone, and not in competition with other capitalist nations, but in co-operation with them. They will divide the world among them. And the League of Nations will be the instrument through which they will work.

The master class of America will soon attempt to use organized labor for its imperialistic purposes. But a restless and discontented working class cannot pile up profits. Therefore in this country we may soon expect the master class, in true Bismarckian fashion, to grant factory laws, medical laws, old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, sick benefits, and the whole category of bourgeois reforms, so that the workers may be kept physically and mentally fit to produce the greatest profits at the greatest speed.

DANGER TO AMERICAN SOCIALISM

There is danger that the Socialist Party of America might make use of these purely bourgeois reforms to attract the workers' votes, by claiming that they have been won by Socialist political action; when, as a matter of fact, the object of these master class measures is to prevent the growing class consciousness of the workers, and to divert them from their revolutionary aim. By agitating for these reforms, therefore, the Socialist Party would be playing into the hands of our American imperialists.

On the basis of the class struggle, then, the Socialist Party of America must reorganize itself—must prepare to come to grips with the master class during the difficult period of capitalist readjustment now going on. This it can do only by teaching the working class the truth about present-day conditions; it must preach revolutionary industrial unionism, and urge the workers to turn their craft unions into industrial unions, the only form of labor organization which can cope with the power of great modern aggregations of capital. It must carry on its political campaigns, not merely as means of electing officials to political office, as in the past, but as a year-around educational campaign to arouse the workers to class conscious economic and political action, and to keep alive the burning ideal of revolution in the hearts of the people.

FOR NEW POLICIES AND TACTICS

We believe that the time has come for the Socialist Party of America to adopt the following course of action: To throw off its parliamentary opportunism and to stand squarely behind the Soviet Republic of Russia, the Spartacus group in Germany and the revolutionary working class movement in Europe. Thus it will be ready when the hour strikes in this country—and it will strike soon—to take the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle with the capitalist class, instead of obstructing its path with the palliative of parliamentary reforms and lead the workers forward to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the final phase of the class struggle necessary to the ushering in of the Co-Operative Commonwealth.

POLITICAL ACTION

Realizing that the vital difference between revolutionary Socialism and "moderate Socialism" lies in their varying conceptions of political action; and realizing too that on this point revolutionary Socialists are most misunderstood and misrepresented, we append a detailed explanation of the scientific Socialist conception of political action.

Since we assert with Marx that "the class struggle is essentially a political struggle," we can only accept his own oft repeated interpretation of that phrase. The class struggle, whether it manifest itself on the industrial field or in the direct struggle for government control, is essentially a struggle for the capture and destruction of the capitalist political state. This is a political act. In this broader view of the term "political," Marx includes revolutionary industrial action. In other words, the objective of Socialist industrial action is also "political," in the sense that it aims to undermine the state, which "is nothing less than a machine for the oppression of one class by another and that no less so in a democratic republic than under a monarchy."

PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS

Political action is also and more generally used to refer to participation in election campaigns for the immediate purpose of capturing legislative seats. In this sense also we urge the use of political action as a revolutionary weapon.

But both in the nature and the purpose of this form of political action, revolutionary Socialism and "moderate Socialism" are completely at odds.

We contend that such political action is a valuable means of propaganda; and further, that the capturing the political state, but—here is the vital point for the "moderate Socialist" goes no further—we hold that this capture of the political state is merely for the purpose of destroying it. The nature of Socialist parliamentary activity should be purely destructive.

"Moderate Socialism" aims to "simply lay hold of the ready-made machinery and wield it for its own purposes"—the attainment of Socialism. And so the "moderate" falls into the error of believing that parliamentary activity is constructive—that he can eventually legislate Socialism into existence.

This error leads to two dangerous practices: (1) making parliamentary activity an end in itself; and (2) making essentially destructive political action the instrument for constructing the Socialist order.

To avoid these dangers, and to strengthen labor's political arm, the Socialist ballot must be supported by the might of "the industrial organization of the working class." Only the economic organization of the working class can build the new society within the frame of the old.

REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

"Moderate Socialism" constantly overlooks this fact. We must continually remind the working class that Labor's economic organizations are naturally the school for Socialism. All political parties, and without exception, whatever their complexion may be, warm up the working class only for a season, transitorily.

Only through his industrial organization can the worker receive training in the control of production. It is by means of this weapon that the working class will eventually take over and hold the mines, mills and factories, not for the purpose of destroying them but for their permanent control and development. Thus, the only thing worth taking from capitalist society and keeping is the highly developed means of production and distribution—will be won for the working class by its Revolutionary Economic Organization.

Because of its constructive nature, our Economic Arm, unlike our Political Arm, may take "a little at a time." Our economic movement is not unlike a military movement. All means are used to win a war—infantry attacks, heavy and light artillery, bombardments, sieges, and guerilla fighting. In the industrial struggle the working class employs strikes, boycotts and the like. The political movement, however, has for its object only the storming of the political citadel of capitalist tyranny; therefore the Political Arm cannot compromise. Our political movement should be the essence and incarnation of our revolutionary aim. With Liebknecht we say, "To parliamentarize is to compromise, to log-roll, to sell out."

SYNDICALISM AND PARLIAMENTARISM

In characteristic utopian fashion the Syndicalists forget that the Social Revolution must in part grow "within the capitalist shell." They forget that the state, the engine of oppression employed by the capitalist class, must be destroyed through capture by the working class.

In equally characteristic utopian fashion, the "moderate Socialist," with his pure and simple, parliamentarism forgets that "because of its destructive object and because of its structure, which is arbitrary and determined by geographical lines, the Political Arm of Labor cannot be used as a means of taking away from the capitalists and holding for the working men the means of production."

Thus the utopian Syndicalist fails to utilize the political weapon; and the 20th Century Utopian Socialist misuses the political weapon and fails altogether to utilize the industrial weapon.

A combination of these two methods is necessary to the revolutionary Socialist movement, and this combination the Left Wing intends to effect.

PROGRAM

1. We stand for a uniform declaration of principles in all party platforms both local and national and the abolition of all social reform planks now contained in them.
2. The party must teach, propagate and agitate exclusively for the overthrow of capitalism, and the establishment of Socialism through a proletarian dictatorship.
3. The Socialist candidates elected to office shall adhere strictly to the above provisions.
4. Realizing that a political party cannot reorganize and reconstruct the industrial organizations of the working class and that that is the task of the economic organizations themselves, we demand that the party assist this process of reorganization by a propaganda for revolutionary and industrial unionism as part of its general activities. We believe it is the mission of the Socialist movement to encourage and assist the proletariat to adopt newer and more effective forms of organization and to stir it into newer and more revolutionary modes of action.
5. We demand that the official party press be party owned and controlled.
6. We demand that officially recognized educational institutions be party owned and controlled.
7. We demand that the party discard its obsolete literature and publish new literature in keeping with the politics and tactics above mentioned.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS

1. We demand that the National Executive Committee call an immediate emergency national convention for the purpose of reorganizing party policies and tactics to meet the present crisis.
2. We demand that the American Socialist Party shall not participate in the proposed Lausanne Conference engineered by "moderate Socialists" and social patriots.
3. We demand that the Socialist Party of America issue a call for an international congress of those groups of the Socialist movement that participated both in the Zimmerwald Conference in September, 1915, and the Kienthal Conference in 1916, and those groups that are in agreement with them today.
4. We demand the unequivocal endorsement of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.
5. We demand the unequivocal endorsement of the Spartacus Group of Germany.
6. We demand the unequivocal endorsement of the Left Wing movements of Europe.

Hungarian Socialist to Withdraw from Cabinet

Budapest, Hungary.—The Socialist Party of Hungary has asked the Council of Workingmen's Deputies to convene, because the Socialist members of the Hungarian cabinet declare themselves unwilling any longer to share the responsibility for the policy of the government. Among the reasons advanced by the Socialists for their present position is the fact that the government seems determined to suppress Bolshevism. The Socialist members declare themselves unwilling to support this move. It is regarded as likely that the workingmen's council will decide to request the Socialist ministers to leave the government.

CHICAGO PAPER DECLARES ARCHANGEL EXPEDITION FAILURE

(Continued from page one)

"America, whose ideals of honor are at stake and whose sons are being sacrificed, has the right to know the facts. In North Russia, the expedition has become a dismal comic opera. Here in the north, in a district that never was violently Bolshevik, where the allies had many friends at the start, and where, since the first days there have been unlimited opportunities to advance confidence and again respect, here with everything they can lay their hands on, the allies have failed utterly."

"Today, in Archangel, Murmansk, and the other cities of the district, there is growing dissatisfaction against the way the expedition has interfered in local Russian affairs."

Every phase of life within the district is controlled by the allies and dominated by them.

"The Russians, frankly resent this. They will tell you openly that they are not the outsiders, should determine the exact form of government and pick the leaders. Today if a Russian fails to follow his ideas and opinions of the allied leaders he is classed as a Bolshevik, with the possibilities of jail to keep him silent. Only such men as conform with the foreigners' ideas last in the local government."

"The foreign military are actually and undeniably interfering in local affairs. They are dominating every department, forcing their own ideas and judgments against the wishes of the North Russian provisional govern-

ment. Martial law has been established, placing the foreign military above the local authorities. All this reflected against the avowed motives of the allies."

"It is difficult to understand the question until the facts are grasped that the whole country is seeking with unrest. In this land there are a hundred and one pet theories, ideas and beliefs, all of the adherents striving to put forward their remedies. Then, into this boiling mass, is stuck a bayonet instead of a spoon, and this new outside foreign cook, whose receipts are not wanted, whose ability is questioned, whose sincerity is doubted, shouts, 'Try my brand of cooking you need it. Try it, or I'll stick you with a bayonet.'"

"This is exactly what has happened in North Russia. One particular outside nation forced their ideas of life, liberty, happiness, government, justice, censorship and everything, on the Russians and they have been imperialistic, old-fashioned, old-world ideas."

"Recently one of the sincerest Russian Revolutionists in Archangel, who gave years of his life to bring about the original revolution, said:

"The thousands of honest anti-Bolshevik radicals throughout Russia are fearing the course that the intervention may take more than they fear the Bolsheviks. We prefer the present Moscow government to the return of terrible reaction."

"The Americans were doing their fighting in small groups with, at the most their own platoon or company commanders over them, in certain instances, the tiny groups of Americans actually were under the British command. It simply didn't go. The hard feeling popped up and grew."

The same conditions prevailed with all the other members of the expedition and before long hatreds, jealousies, and distrusts were engendered, which was impossible to correct."

All the time the Americans felt they were doing a job for certain nations, helping to collect their debts and re-establish their commercial supremacy. Part of this trying condition was brought about through a lack of proper spiritual leadership in the high allied command and part through the lack of proper leadership within the American forces themselves. This put the whole expedition on a false basis and it was reflected through the leaders down to the lowest private."

"Large rumors came to them of a great British-Russian deal at certain points. Other rumors told of tremendous debts which Russia owed to Europe that must be collected. The avowed reason for the original entrance at Murmansk was the threat of the white Finns, under German leadership, to

turn the ice free ports of Murmansk and Petcheng, on the Murman coast, into German submarine bases.

"This was outlived when the expedition started to Archangel under the slogan of guarding the great war supplies about to fall into the German hands. Reaching Archangel, the foreign soldiers found no supplies. This old, hard ridden theory of guarding the supplies at Archangel lasted through hundreds of columns of propaganda, even long after the American troops had landed a month later."

"From the start the expedition lacked the thrill of the drive that a great, honest, stated purpose would have given. The majority hated the job and transferred their hate to the Russians. They had no concern for them and did not try to understand the tremendous question the country was facing to discover the solution. They carried on in a half-hearted way, riding roughshod over the feelings of the natives, and acting 'much more like conquerors than invited guests.'"

LOCAL GALION HAS SMOKER ,

A bill have been introduced in the House of Representatives by Cochran of Allen county, which given the county commissioners authority to refuse the Memorial halls of the state to anyone they deem undesirable. Locals and members should at once sent written protests to the state senators protesting against this discrimination which is in violation of the purpose of the Memorial Hall of the people, labor, and taking up the question and is making an issue of it in the senate. Local Lima has applied for a Debs date.

We emphatically protested against the attitude of the superintendent in clinging on the opposition to greater absurdity instead of adopting an attitude more conciliatory. We declared that we wouldn't allow a precedent to be established here that would in all probability be used in other districts to persecute and discriminate against

Local Cuyahoga Falls is again in line with the active locals of Ohio. As a result of Comrade Thurber Lewis' meetings there the comrades have paid their arrearsages, thus retaining the charter and are in action again. Comrade Secretary W. J. Moran orders a hundred "Soviets and the Bolsheviks."

Watch out, Ye Reds, for here we come
To make it hot as hell,
Democracy in danger is
Without us A. P. L.
AUGUST B. JAFFE.

My vocabulary is too poor, and I will therefore let the dear humanitarian talk:

(Cleveland Plain Dealer, Sept. 1, 1918): "Eugene V. Debs, found guilty yesterday by a federal jury, of obstructing justice, sympathy and disloyalty to the United States, deserves none. "A little further along the editorial says he belongs in prison and it is good news to every loyal son and daughter of the republic that he has been convicted. Don't you agree with me that these were golden words? Do you mean to say that some other motives were in the mind of the editor? I don't. I believe in the purity of soul of the noblest of the Nation."

If you think that making everybody work is the only crime the Bol-

Do not these words impress you as they impressed me? Why, that morning I cried like a child, I know you Socialists will say to me that he deserved to be killed. I know you will say that when he was in power, he had sent millions to Siberia, that other thousands died of torture inflicted upon them because these damned "dupes" had followed

There was once a vicar who was very fond of garden parties and motoring. There came an exceedingly fine summer, and he enjoyed himself extremely. But the farmers were dissatisfied with the weather, and asked him to pray for rain. He was in the difficult position of being able to do this with sincerity. The dry weather continued, and feeling became so strong in the district that at last he had to yield to it and, accordingly, at an evening service he offered the prayer for rain. "Send us, we beseech Thee, in this our necessity, such moderate rain and showers as shall may be sufficient to satisfy the earth to our comfort and to Thy honor." When he had reached that point in the prayer the thunderbolt struck the steeple and crashing through the roof, it opened the clerestory windows were lighted up by a blinding flash, and were shattered by a hail storm which drove in on the wings of the hurricane and drenched the congregation and the vicar. At the vicar's feet, a consistent sinner, he fell on his face and said, "O God, this is ridiculous! Now, why did I want to tell you this old tale? Well, for the last four years our governing classes, including our leading Imperialists, and our government, and our army and navy, and all have been praying very loudly for democracy and the collapse of thrones and arbitrary powers generally, and the answers they have received, first in Russia and now in Germany, may be said to have brought about just this sort of vicar."

pany in the old Third Regiment, and is now in France, sent home a letter from the battle front. The letter, published in the "Hamilton Journal," contains this language: "I think experience will make better men of all of us. It will at least make a peace advocate of every intelligent man who took part in the battle. It is horrible—there is nothing romantic about it. It is nothing more or less than Murder." Now for a bit of history. Some two years ago, when American militia regiments were being recruited for the Mexican war, the "Hamilton Journal," then edited by Charles Baker, then editing the "Hamilton Socialist," published some comments on the jingoistic spirit then prevailing, took a satirical fling or two at the youthful soldiers in the militia, and was marked in effect that way by the order. For this he was singled out while quietly standing as an unarmed spectator on the court house steps watching the militia evolution, and brutally assaulted by Captain Walzen and his three sergeants. He swore out a warrant for their arrest, but the bailiff was defied by the militiamen, with the backing of their superior officers, the adjutant general, and Governor of the State. Baker, for his boldness in demanding retribution for the law upon them, was arrested and hustled down to Cincinnati on charges of misusing the mails by publishing such "pacifist" statements, and was acquitted only after a long and expensive trial. The "Hamilton Journal," however, seems to have brought its revenge. Here is Walzen saying now what Baker said then, with only this difference: Baker could speak from education and reasoning, Walzen can speak only from bitter experience.—Miami Valley Socialist.

Stealing.—The regular occupation of an interstate carrier. They are legally stealing the products of the toiler.

They were not cases of military offenses which occurred in the war zone, Gen. Ansell told the committee. They were offenses committed in the United States by soldiers by whom who had "come back away from home."

"Even in times of peace," said Gen. Ansell, "the military code is very harshly with men in the service. They are not justified in piling on these shocking penalties. I do not believe

FIXING UP THE CRIPPLES

He told me: "The Government
is holding itself
RESPONSIBLE
For all WAR-CRIPPLES,
Every soldier or sailor
Who is wounded
Or Disabled
is going to be TRAINED
For a JOB
And SUPPORTED
Until he gets it.
We will not spare
ANY EXPENSE
We will give ANY KIND
OF TRAINING
That he can use.
And if he gets a job
And cannot hold it
We will train him some more
And keep on supporting him
For FIVE YEARS."
And I said: "That's FINE
And that's ONE IT
To the boys who have given
A leg or an arm
At the bidding
Of their country;
And I hope the EMPLOYER
Will be equally considerate
And give them the PAY
Of able-bodied men
And not USE them
To break down the standards
Of their fellow-workers.
But what are you doing
For the CRIPPLES
OF INDUSTRY?"
And he said: "We have
A bill in Congress
For giving them also
The benefits of training
For SELF-SUPPORT."
So I told him:
"That's BETTER STILL.
I'm glad to hear it.
And NOW
What are you doing
To help the ABLE-BODIED
Support themselves?"
And he answered: "I don't
UNDERSTAND YOU."
And I said: "I hear
There are lots of SOLDIERS
Back from the front
Who are sleeping
In ALLEY-WAYS
And wondering WHERE
They'll get their next MEAL.
And pretty soon
There'll be LOTS MORE
COMING BACK.
And lots of other workers
Are beginning
To HUNT for JOBS,
And the way our INDUSTRY
Is organized
There never can be
JOBS to GO ROUND
Because our workers
MAKE so much more stuff
Than they are allowed to use."
And he said: "I think
It will be something more than
GOVERNMENT KINDNESS
To settle that."
And I said: "I guess
You're RIGHT."
IT WILL.