

How "Socialist" Party Has "Developed"

By I. AMTER

At last we know whether the socialist party is going. "Thirty-six educators have issued a call to join the socialists. Appeal for formation of progressive party." This is the goal of the socialist party, section of the socialist labor international. A party of liberals, to put themselves at the "head of the liberal forces of the country."

Who and what are the liberals? They are the intellectuals, who interpret the struggles of the working class in the terms of emotion and petty-bourgeois interests. They are that section of the population which is being crowded economically and hardly finds a place in society.

Is there a place for them in American capitalist society? There is. Among these thirty-six men are men who help capitalism to develop more rapidly in the United States; but the majority of them are men and women who are unable to interpret the struggle that is taking place, who cannot reconcile it with their conception of ethics, and, in that some of them are teachers of religion, decry a number of the baser manifestations of the struggle.

"Industrial Peace."

These liberals are advocates of industrial peace. Why should in this age of reason, when "Intellect has taken the place of force," as Matthew Woll would put it, why should in this day, force play any part in human relations? The worker wants peace, the employer wants peace; let them sit down around the table with the motto that industrial peace is the better method, a "give and take" policy, as has been instituted in the settlement of the coal situation in Colorado, and the class struggle will be eliminated.

This method eliminates nothing; it merely beclouds the issue for a short time, but the class struggle goes on none the less. Phrases will not stop the workers from struggling. Economic determinism will not keep the employers from forgetting industrial peace, when the question of profits and control arises. The liberal phantasy will not aid the intellectuals in solving the question. The struggle goes on—and intellectualism will be swept aside.

Prepare for War.

Despite the proposals of industrial peace, the war industry is working at top speed. "America has the most formidable war gas producing industry in the world," so reports a renowned chemist. Surely this industry is not intended for the destruction of the American workers! Surely it is not intended for the destruction of the working class of another nation, which has arrived at the stage of industrial peace between the workers and the capitalist class! Mondism in England is "established." The British workers no longer hate or fear the British capitalists. All is honey and roses—and the war industry will close down.

This is the product of the propaganda of the intellectuals—the socialists who have "abolished" the class struggle! This is the vain position of the petty-bourgeoisie, which is being shoved to the wall. In despair of its position, it clamors for peace, for it dare not take the position of the working class, and it cannot entice more than a shred of recognition from the capitalist class. The intellectual who sees himself predestined to take over the leadership of society!

Will this class arrive at the signal position occupied by the leadership of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, all of whom, including MacDonald, are intellectuals? It will not. The MacDonalds became the heirs of the mass movement created by the Kerr Hardies, the movement that led to the formation and development of the Labor

Party of Great Britain. The development of capitalism in Great Britain required sagacious leaders of the working class, who could swing the Labor Party from its labor and struggle trend to support of capitalist policies. The movement for struggle was tamed, and the Labor Party became respectable.

The Intellectuals.

In the United States there is no mass movement of the workers as yet in strongly organized form. The form of organization and of struggle is as yet the trade union in the United States, and it is fighting a fight for economic improvements. The intellectuals play little part in these struggles. The brutal rise of American capitalism, in sharp struggle with imperialisms that are declining and are fighting for their very existence, demands of American capitalism the application of rigid measures against the working class, which the intellectuals cannot ease.

There may be one. Woll, but there cannot be many Wolls in the labor movement in the United States, for the organization of the workers, which means the organization of the unorganized, has taken the form of a determined struggle against the resolve of the employers to make America an open-shop country. Although the company union idea is

growing and more millions of workers are being embraced in it, the experiences of the workers who have been in company unions are tending to explode the entire idea. While growing, the ground-work is decaying. The intellectual who is an exponent of industrial peace, and therefore of the company union, sees the flower bloom—and rot.

Illusions.

The socialist supports industrial peace—and, following in the wake of the League of Nations, spreads the illusion that the League will bring about the area of international peace. Yet in the name of the League of Nations, the world is near to international disaster. In the name of the League of Nations, the colonial peoples are being exploited as never before. It is a more refined method—and yet it is more brutal. Iraq, India, Egypt, Nicaragua, the Philippines, Liberia—all of them present the same aspects. There is no industrial and no international peace, for we are living in the era of imperialist wars and the social revolution!

Has then the socialist—that is the intellectual—an enduring place in American capitalist society? His role will soon be spent. It is not unlikely that the socialist party, now transforming itself into an intellectual, liberal, progressive party,

eliminating the struggle, and acting as the "peace-bringing" agent of the capitalist class among the workers, will thrive for a while in the United States. But this development will be of short duration.

Unemployment of millions—for the second year—rationalization, which means the pauperization and impoverishment of millions (the number of children working in the factories of the country is not decreasing but increasing), the industrialization of agriculture, the fear of old age, the expansion of industry with the diminishing scope of foreign markets, the intensification of competition with foreign countries, whose imperialist life depends on foreign markets for goods and capital—all of these conditions present no possibility of industrial or international peace.

Mass Struggle.

The American liberal and intellectual—the American socialist—has "developed" into what he essentially is—but too late. The struggle is too far advanced for the capitalist to be able to make much use of him. War and industrial and political strife are the order of the day. True, masses of workers are not consciously in this struggle.

The strike of the miners, textile workers and needle trades workers; the spontaneous strike of the auto workers and the Canton steel workers, indicate that the oppressive and threatening conditions no longer appeal to the workers. Struggle is in the air—and instead of acting as pacifier—the American intellectual, liberal—called "socialist"—falls into the category of third capitalist party, created by the petty-bourgeoisie, for the purpose not of smoothing industrial and political differences between the classes but of aiding the capitalist in exploiting and crushing the workers.

"Socialist" Treachery.

This is demonstrated in all the struggles mentioned. The role of the socialist party has amply proven this contention. The statement of the Reading, Pennsylvania, socialist party that if a strike should occur in that city, the socialist administration will "give the employers better protection than they have ever had before," is brilliant indication of it. This is the analysis of the "development" of the socialists in America.

So be it. This eliminates the socialists from militant participation in the struggle—except as a counter-revolutionary element. It clearly opens the eyes of the workers fighting for elementary demands to the role of the socialist party. Norman Thomas—yes, even that former worker, Jim Maurer—may shake hands with John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Mellon. All of them: wish industrial peace—the peace of the graveyard, while the workers will struggle in the streets for bread.

Fighting Communists.

The coming winter will demonstrate the truth of these assertions. Unemployed workers will demand work. Children will be hungry. Workers in the factories and mills will fight for a little more, which will be denied them. Impelled by the growing competition with intense American rationalization, the capitalists of Europe will oppress their workers still more. This will react on America and produce a condition of sharper struggle. The socialist will play his true role—all flamboyant colors will be laid aside. A third capitalist party with the pious face and garb of the Reverend Thomas and professors of religion of the universities will be in the field—while the workers will recognize that, despite all professions, the struggle is here and must be fought out—and their leaders will not be the emaciated, castrated black-robed socialist party, but the fighting, red-garbed Communists.

CANTON STEEL STRIKE

BY I. AMTER.

(Continued.)

The government is seemingly highly interested in the strike. Settlement of the strike, however, will not be so easy for the company or the government. Chipping and grinding is very hard and dirty work. Americans refuse to do it. The work is done almost exclusively by foreigners—and in Canton primarily by Spaniards, Greeks and Italians. In Massillon, South Slavs, Bulgarians and Rumanians predominate. The work is of such a character that owing to the tool the worker uses—350 lbs of air pressure in it,—the hands swell up the first few weeks and resting the tool on the knee causes great pain.

Strategic Situation.

Scabs therefore are difficult to procure. Men come and go, for they cannot do the work—and the handling of the tool is dangerous. It is stated that one of the scabs did not hold the tool properly and it flew into the air. The result was almost a panic.

The Canton strike may be the beginning of a big movement throughout the steel industry. Even though the strategic situation of the men made their walk-out easy, the spirit that dominates the men indicates that it is not the consciousness that they can control the further production, but the fact that a spirit of militancy has entered them. They have been fooled three times, they are hard workers, and when they saw that the company through the superintendent did not keep faith, they felt that the only thing to do was to strike.

What was it that impelled the men immediately to organize? They met, elected their strike committee and proceeded to picket the mill. They issued leaflets, putting forth their demands and calling on the men in Massillon in the chipping and grinding departments to come out. They appealed to the men throughout the plant to cooperate. They performed all the maneuvers that trained fighters would go through.

Lessons of Strike.

What lesson must we learn from the strike—which is still on with full force, despite the terrorism of

the police? One important lesson and that is that despite unemployment, wage cuts, terrorism, the workers are beginning to fight back. Spontaneous movements are taking place. Some of these movements are occurring in very important plants. Unquestionably, the Central Alloy Steel is turning out material for the War Department. Commercial airplanes are also eventually come under the jurisdiction of the War Department.

In any case, Communists must be alert: spontaneous movements have their advantages and drawbacks. Spontaneous movements may be led by agents provocateurs. They may be inspired by honest men with honest motives. Spontaneous movements, without any organization, are not the best of movements. But out of these movements, if the Communists are on the job, widespread movements may develop. This is the period of restlessness on the part of the workers. Miners, textile workers, needle trades workers, steel workers, railroaders. The next few months may witness extensive strikes.

Bankers, Merchants Receive Kellogg On Arrival In Dublin

DUBLIN, Irish Free State, Aug. 30.—A reception committee composed of Captain Nutting, governor of the Bank of Ireland, and the heads of the chambers of commerce, together with government officials, met Secretary Kellogg when he arrived on the battleship Detroit from Paris, where he had just affixed his signature on the pact to "outlaw war." Seventeen guns fired a salute as the cruiser approached.

An automobile cortege, closely guarded, took the party to Dublin from the port.

KRASSIN LEAVES.

MOSCOW, Aug. 30.—The Krasin, Soviet ice-breaker, which has been completely refueled and carries food sufficient for several months, is hastening its return to Kings Bay where it will resume the search for lost members of the Noble expedition and the six missing rescuers including Amundsen.