

this question could not be corrected from memory.

The minutes of the last meeting, full of errors, omissions and evasions, were greatly amended before adoption. The uncorrected minutes, as sent out by the Executive Secretary, contributed largely to the Chicago "insurrection" in disseminating falsehoods, slanders and insinuations against the "majority" of the C. E. C.

The Council then reported on the party crisis and the Executive Secretary made his report.

Just as the discussion began on these two reports—before the C. E. C. had taken any action—the Executive Secretary, acting as the Spokesman of the "minority" presented an ultimatum, under threat of an immediate split, which forced the C. E. C. to adjourn its session as a meeting of the C. E. C., in order to negotiate and reach an agreement if possible.

For two days the negotiations proceeded with the "minority" standing firm on the following demands:

That no changes in District Organizers should be made until the convention, except to fill vacancies; and that the party organization should be edited as follows: half, general matter with no supervision by Executive Council, to be edited by the Acting Editor Damon, one-fourth by the "minority" group and one-fourth by the "majority" of the C. E. C.

Finally, the "majority" willing to reach an agreement on mere technical matters of administration, offered the following minimum basis to the "minority" as the limit of its compromise consistent with Communist principles and policies:

Statement of the C. E. C. of the Communist Party to the "Minority" Group.

Confronted with your determination to split the party if the C. E. C. proceeds with exercising its rights to discipline the Chicago District Committee for attempting secession and to remove the Chicago District Organizer for misrepresenting the views and opposing the policies of the C. E. C., whose representative he is supposed to be, and

In view of your opposition, backed by a threat to split the party immediately before a convention, if the C. E. C. removes the present Acting Party Editor, who is an active partisan of the "minority" and cannot therefore be entrusted with editing the organ of the present C. E. C., and

In order to preserve the unity of the party by all means compatible with Communist principles and policies, we propose the following:

(1) That the C. E. C. sends a special representative to Chicago and other parts of the country if necessary, to investigate conditions and report back to the Executive Council. On the question of appointment and dismissal of District Organizers a majority vote of 5 will be necessary in the Executive Council.

(2) That the party organ be edited by two editors, one editor for the "majority" group and one editor for the "minority," any dispute between the two to be settled by the Executive Council.

The "minority" refused to agree to this basis and the negotiations reached a deadlock.

In an attempt to break this deadlock, Bunte, who was neutral throughout this controversy in the C. E. C., proposed that the meeting of the C. E. C. should again formally resume its session. The Executive Secretary refused to recognize such action and stated that he no longer recognized the authority of the C. E. C. Thereupon, Bunte, as acting secretary, called the meeting of the C. E. C. to order and asked the Executive Secretary to turn over the minutes and papers of the meeting. This was again refused. Then all those who refused to recognize the authority of the C. E. C. were asked to withdraw—and the "minority"

group, consisting the following, withdrew: Damon, Ex. Secy., Langley and Kasbeck—C. E. C., Palmer, Estonian; Reivert, German; Tynny, Polish; Legun; Ukrainian; Stan, South Slavic; Smith, District No. 1; Wood, District 4A; Davey, District 4C, and Fisher, District 5.

The following remained to carry on the party work:

C. E. C. members, Bernstein, Meyers, Reiss, Sascha, Andrew, Raphael, Black, Bunte, Brown and Alden.

Bernstein, also District Organizer No. 2; Reiss, No. 4B; Henry, District No. 3; Field, Russian, Burba, Lithuanian, Baltic, Lettish.

We have proposed beyond the shadow of a doubt, that fundamental differences do exist between the "majority" of the C. E. C. and the "secessionists."

We have enumerated these differences in principles and policies, as they have cropped in the C. E. C. and other party units.

We have proved beyond the shadow acted against the instructions of the Convention.

We have proved that they lack the first principle of organization morale—DISCIPLINE.

We have proved that they have been opposed to the decisions of the convention, particularly, on the question of sending delegates to the Third International.

We have proved that they have acted against the recommendations and spirit of the Third International.

We have proved that their cry of "unity" has been a false cry—the whining of sentimentalists and confusionists since these "unity-shouters" have not hesitated to bring disruption, discord and disunity into the Communist Party itself.

We have proved that they have been opposed to the decisions of the September Convention, particularly on the question of Federations—that they seek the destruction and abolition of the only organized elements who have promulgated Communism in America—THE LANGUAGE FEDERATIONS.

The rank and file must now teach these DISRUPTIONISTS a lesson in Communist discipline and organization that they will not quickly forget.

Show them that you will not tolerate counter-revolution within the party.

The CONVENTION of the Communist Party WILL BE HELD as soon as it can be arranged.

It will be called by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, the only body having authority to call such convention.

Instructions will be given through your district organizations as to the method of election, time and place.

All official communications, including the call for the Convention will be issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party through its Acting Secretary, Bunte.

If you want the Convention to be a success,—if you want the Convention to clarify the principles and policies of Communism and solidify our forces—rally to the support of the Communist Party.

Unite behind the Central Executive Committee to resist all attempts at destroying the foundations of the Party.

Close your ranks—and crush in its inception, any attempt to smash the Communist Party from within,—just as you prevented the capitalist government from smashing your organization from without.

Comrades—stand behind the Central Executive Committee elected by the Convention.

Help us to carry out the decisions of the Convention.

Long live the Communist Party of America!

Long live the Communist International!

An Open Letter to E. V. Debs

(Continued from page 1)

ripe and ready for the change, the great change, which means the rise and triumph of the workers, the end of exploitation, of war and plunder, and the emancipation of the race. Let it come! Let us all help its coming and pave the way for it by organizing industrially and politically to conquer capitalism and usher in the day of the people. In Russia and Germany our valiant comrades are leading the proletarian revolution, which knows no race, no color, no sex, and no boundary lines. They are setting the heroic example for world-wide emulation. *Let us, like them, scorn and repudiate the cowardly compromisers within our own ranks*, challenge and defy the robber-class power, and fight it out on that line to victory or death! From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet I am Bolshevik, and proud of it. The Day of the People has arrived!

Thus spoke the man whom the capitalist class placed behind prison bars, last year. Today, after a long tomb-like silence, comes the announcement of your acceptance as presidential candidate on the corrupt Socialist Party ticket!

We address this open letter to you because we desire to place the facts squarely before you. Your life-long devotion in the cause of the working class, your attitude toward Bolshevism and the heroic Communist leaders, Lenin and Trotsky in Russia, and Liebknecht and Luxemburg in Germany—your scorn and repudiation of the betrayers of Socialism and the class struggle, make it imperative that we acquaint you with the type of party and men you, in your ignorance, are aligning yourself with.

During this eventful year, while you have been kept behind prison bars, without chance of inter-communication, the Communist International has extended itself to every part of the world. During this year, revolutionary Socialists of practically all countries have decisively cut themselves off from association with the old parties of the Second International and have formed new Communist parties. In this country the rank and file revolt led to the formation of a Left Wing movement within the Socialist Party, which culminated in September of last year at Chicago in the creation of a Communist Party of America. Together with the Communist Labor Party, these two parties absorbed all the really revolutionary elements in the old party. Not more than one-fourth remained in the Socialist Party, notably the large Finnish Federation. The Finnish Communists have not yet split off from the Finnish Socialist Federation. The betrayers of Socialism, "the cowardly compromisers," as you called them, remained in the Socialist Party, and even now lead and shape its policies and tactics. Fortunately, we do not have to go further back into the history of the Socialist Party in order to realize what that party now represents in the United States.

In the recent hearings on the ouster of the five Socialist Assemblymen at Albany, we have the last word of the highest Socialist Party spokesmen on just what the party now stands for, and just how it intends to attain its aims. The entire defense of the Socialist Party at Albany was constitutional regularity as the limit of party purposes and actions. They accepted unreservedly the existing form of a capitalist government, based upon the Constitution of the United States, as the form upon which to build the future society. They insisted that the Socialist Party did and always would conform to the State and National Constitutions and laws. Not the least mention was made of the class struggle. Instead, patriotism and loyalty was painfully and somewhat ludicrously stressed. The class character of American Government could hardly be mentioned since the Socialist

Party boastfully proclaimed itself the arch-defender of "representative democracy" and of "constitutional integrity."

The St. Louis Platform, upon which you and others were convicted and sentenced to long prison terms, was brushed aside as "a scrap of paper" and as of no moment. Whatever was vital and revolutionary in it, even though moderately expressed, was twisted and distorted to rob it of its meaning and significance, and the witnesses all insisted upon their exemplary "loyalty" and "patriotism" during the war. In several other respects, in which the party declarations might seem to have offended bourgeois "respectability," the defense was that the party never *did* anything of the kind, no matter what it *said*. Control of legislative representatives by compulsory resignations, required by the party constitution, was declared a dead letter. The obligation not to vote for military appropriations was repudiated. Instead of insisting upon the propriety of alien membership in a working class political party, the Socialist Party introduced false figures to prove the "Americanism" of the party membership.

In spite of the achievements of the Russian Communists, in spite of the impending Communist revolutions in other European countries, the chief spokesman of the Socialist Party at Albany characterized the Communist International as "scarcely more than an idea or a name." There was much insistence upon sympathy for Soviet Russia, but that is quite different from adherence to the principles and tactics of International Socialism as expressed in the Manifesto of the Third International.

There was no one at the Albany "fiasco" who did not disavow Bolshevism. Nay, more, Morris Hiquit even went so far as to answer a hypothetical question to the effect that the Socialists would shoulder arms and defend America and American institutions from invasion by the Bolsheviks, should the latter declare war on this country. While another Socialist lawyer at Albany, Seymour Stedman, former member of the N. E. C. and next choice of the Socialist Party after yourself for the presidential nomination, branded the Communist Party as criminals in the capitalist courts in order to steal from them their meeting hall in Detroit.

Never before did the Socialist Party of America revel in such orgies of "respectability," "loyalty" and "patriotism." With such men as Judge Hughes and Attorney General Palmer to rally to their defense, surely the Socialist Party has purged itself on every taint and suspicion of revolutionary Socialism! We need only cite the comment of the man responsible for the thousands of deportations and nation-wide raids upon the Communist organizations, Attorney General Palmer: "The Socialist Party in America has cast out the radicals and forced them to organize the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. The Socialists are loyal and patriotic men though radical. Their aim is to change the government by lawful means, while the 'Reds' would destroy lawful authority."

Never was there a more glaring climax of political irony than the publication, during the Albany affair, of the Socialist Party membership referendum vote in favor of allegiance to the Communist International—3,475 to 1,444 in favor of allegiance without acceptance of its program and tactics, while openly repudiating every principle of Socialism for the sake of retaining a few seats in a capitalist legislature!

In striking contrast with the corrupt Socialist Party, which deceives the workers with the hope of a "peaceful" social revolution along the lines of parliamentary reforms, the Communist Party enters the parliamentary campaign for revolutionary propaganda and agitation only. Our slogan is "Down with the Parliament! Long live the Soviets!" The Communist Party