

utilizes parliaments in the same manner as did the Bolsheviks in the Czarist Duma, as Karl Liebknecht did in the German Reichstag—to assist in destroying the bourgeois parliamentary system. Since our object is the destruction of capitalism, and not carrying out the will of the capitalist class, which is, in fact, the only function of executive officials, the Communist Party, in keeping with this general principle, has abolished all executive offices from its ticket. From President down to Governor, Mayor and Judges, the Communist Party places no candidates in the field. In other words, the Communist Party is for the full utilization of the bourgeois parliament for our Communist work—as long as we are not yet strong enough to overthrow the Parliament—and not for social reforms and other palliative measures.

The Communist Party is waging the class struggle mainly through extra-parliamentary channels—mass action of the working class through general political strikes, mass demonstrations, etc. And in order to carry on the struggle effectively we call upon the working class to conquer the power of the State, establish the dictatorship of the working class in the form of Soviets or Councils of Workers' Deputies and to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie.

In January the government staged a series of nation-wide raids upon the Communist Party with the express purpose of crushing it in its infancy. The very existence of a Communist movement is a serious menace to capitalism, and they know it. **BUT THEY DID NOT SUCCEED.** The Communist Party of America cannot be crushed, neither by the Iron Heel of Capitalist Democracy, nor by the cunning stealth of the servile capitalist tools, the Socialist Party of America. They did succeed, however, in driving the Communist Party underground, where, coming directly in contact with the workers in the shops, mills, factories and mines, it receives new reserves of energy with which to carry on the class struggle to its final and inevitable outcome, the Socialist revolution—the overthrow of the capitalist state—the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and through it the Communist Society.

Between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party there can be no compromise. The latter is the most dangerous enemy of the working class, and as such, we shall wage a bitter, merciless struggle against it. Their attempt to use your name in order to fool the masses will avail them nothing. Their betrayal of Socialism has been too complete and too cowardly. Not even your name can hide their counter-revolutionary tendency. The class-conscious workers of America are through with the stinking carcass that calls itself the Socialist Party of America.

As for their hypocritical act of seeking admission to membership in the Third International without first accepting its principles and tactics—that is too palpable a fraud to warrant any serious consideration. They cannot be admitted so long as they repudiate, by words or by deeds, mass action, proletarian dictatorship and Soviet Power.

Your alignment with the Socialist Party, whether you will it or not, is an alignment against the Communist Movement of America—against the Communist International—against the world-proletarian revolution toward which our heroic comrades in Russia are looking for their salvation. It is against your own inspiring efforts for the working class in the past.

Comrade Debs, we have placed the facts before you. It is yours to choose. The comrades and the class-conscious workers everywhere believe that the shameful record of the Socialist Party since your imprison-

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to go to Europe, although no evidence was at hand that a Congress was to be held. Immediately after the November meeting he attempted to have himself placed on the party pay roll on the ground that he must go in hiding in order to be able to fulfill his mission. On three occasions through personal demands and through emissaries, he attempted to secure funds from the Executive Council, then located in Chicago. That in furtherance of these personal schemes Comrade Andrew came to Chicago twice and each time the money for these trips were voted out of the party treasury—the money for the last trip for two members of the majority group being voted out of the party treasury by the majority group of the Central Executive Committee after it had been refused by the Chicago Executive Council. These efforts of Andrew culminated in his plan to leave the country as International Delegate without any authority of any party committee, in which plan, according to statements made before the Central Executive Committee, certain members of the majority group abetted him.

To secure funds for this unauthorized trip the party organizations were resorted to and a member of the Central Executive Committee is charged with having gone to Boston and represented the District Organization that the Central Executive Committee had assessed the district \$100 for Comrade Andrew's trip. Later Andrew appeared and secured this money. Andrew himself confessed before the C. E. C. that he had secured money from party sources on the representation that a certain group considered the decision of the governing body of the party wrong and the before was raising funds for the trip as International Delegate contrary to the decisions of that body, which funds would be repaid by the party should this group be proven right by events.

In spite of the fact that Comrade Andrew's culpability was shown by his own statement, the majority group of which he has been a member has refused to even censure him, while on the other hand it has been quick to move against any member of the minority against whom the slightest ground for action existed, notably in the Wicks case and the removal of Langley from the Executive Council.

5. At the January meeting of the Central Executive Committee this majority group was prevented from securing control of the Executive Council through an ultimatum from certain Federation representatives, who supported the former Chicago majority of the Council. This control, was, however, established by the removal of Langley, which was part of the plan to further intrench the majority group. The contrast between the prompt action against Langley because he had missed two meetings of the Executive Council and the action in the Andrew case, who succeeded him as a member of the Council, is in itself

ment is as yet unknown to you. But if, after you have read this statement, which goes not only to you, but in leaflet form by the millions to the workers of this country, you still adhere to the Socialist Party, we shall have to conclude that you have cast your lot with the "cowardly compromisers," as you once called them, with the betrayers of the working class, with the betrayers of the class struggle, with the betrayers of Socialism—and we shall announce that fact to the working class.

The eyes of the revolutionary class-conscious workers of America are focused upon you at this moment—can you remain a candidate on the Socialist Party ticket with these facts before you—realizing the significance of your candidacy in relation to your own life-work and the International Communist Movement?

the best kind of proof of the motives which govern the majority group.

6. That since it has been in office the majority of the C. E. C. has been completely taken up with forwarding personal schemes and maintaining its control and have not taken any constructive action in the interest of building a stronger organization. At no time has the committee considered questions of propaganda policy and the relation of the party to the working class movement in this country. What constructive propaganda and organization work has been done by the party has been done by initiative of the Executive Council while in Chicago and not dominated by the present majority group, and by the Executive Secretary.

7. That in dealing with the problems of reorganization after the January raids and the liquidation of the legal organization this majority group has decided all questions on the basis of its continued control rather than from the standpoint of the best interests of the party.

Personally I am to a large extent in agreement with this indictment of the majority of the committee, but on the other hand I believe that any movement of revolt against the majority group, shortly before a convention at which all elements within the party would have the opportunity to present their case and at which the party will be definitely reorganized, can not be justified and would only result in the disruption of the party at a time when all our energies should be devoted to rebuilding our organization.

I went to Chicago with the purpose of presenting this viewpoint and convinced the Committee that the only course to pursue, no matter how bitter its opposition to the majority group of the C. E. C.—and the opposition is bitter, was to go into the convention and fight for its viewpoint. I went to Chicago to use all my influence to prevent a break in the unity of the party and succeeded.

I reported this settlement to the Executive Council last Tuesday, but in place of accepting it and thus expressing its cooperation in endeavoring to prevent a split in our organization, four members of the Council representing the majority group of the Central Executive Committee took ac-

## THE PARTY CRISIS

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tion to the Socialist ideology of a "peaceful" revolution, will come into the Communist Party and by sheer weight of numbers compel it to change its Communist course of propaganda and agitation,—compel it to revise its whole position until it will meet with their politically immature ideals—compel it to recede until it will effect a juncture with the social-patriotic Socialist Party which is even now luring weak-minded Communists with the cry of "unity."

The Communist Party, if it is to learn anything from the bitter experiences of the past, cannot afford to attempt to get "contact with the masses" at the expense of sacrificing Communist principles and tactics. Essentially the Communist Party represents ideas and not numbers. We can afford to remain small in numbers for the present, if we shape our organization to hold Communist principles and policies unsullied and free from the base ingredients of compromise and opportunism and carry on our Communist propaganda to the workers with the full implication of all that it implies.

We must try to reach the workers with our propaganda—we don't expect to make much of an impression on them at present. Well and good. We shall continue our agitation, confident that the social forces, the economic disin-

tion to maintain their factional control of the party—action which is bound to bring about a split—by voting to send a representative of this majority group of four to Chicago with authority TO REMOVE THE DISTRICT ORGANIZER. This action was preceded by a proposal to remove the entire District Committee and to reorganize the district, which was only abandoned when it was shown by the minority that it would be impossible to carry out such a proposal because the membership of the Chicago District would not permit. The four members who comprise this majority (Andrew, Bernstein, Raphael and Sascha) also voted down my motion to refer the whole matter to the full C. E. C. (motion supported by Damon, Bunte and Braun).

The sending of a representative of the majority group to Chicago with authority to remove the District Organizer can have only one purpose and that is to use the temporary authority of the present majority group to perpetuate its control by arbitrarily ousting those who oppose it. The removal of the Chicago District Organizer on this issue would be resisted by the District Committee and the membership of the Chicago District and would bring about the break in the party which I succeeded in preventing.

There is no other ground than an effort to perpetuate factional control to warrant the removal of the Chicago District Organizer. He is the most capable man in such a position in the party at the present time. The Chicago District reorganization has progressed farther than any other district. The Chicago District has turned over to the National Organization for the party work more funds during the last three months than all the other districts combined. Yet this majority of four members of the Executive Council in its desperate attempt to maintain their control of the organization are ready to summarily dismiss this District Organizer because he represents a different party viewpoint than they do, at a time when the party has been unable to secure competent men to fill similar positions elsewhere.

Owing to lack of space we have to continue this report to our next issue.

tegration of world capitalism since the war—and which can no longer succeed in rehabilitating itself—will compel the masses to listen to our message. Capitalism is bankrupt and the rage of the workers is just emerging out of the travail of struggle and strife with the forces of reaction. Soviet Russia is leading the way—and the workers in this country as well as in all other countries, will soon feel the compelling urge of doing what their Russian comrades did. The masses will come to us in good time. What we will not do—what we cannot do if we are to function as an organic part of Third International, is to go to the masses now—seek "contact with them" and lead them into the Communist movement at the expense of sacrificing our principles, policies and aims.

If the "secessionists" do succeed in splitting the party—if they do succeed in winning most of the rank and file with them—why that will only mean that the majority of the rank and file were themselves not fully ready to accept *Communist theory and practice*. It will only mean that the real Communists remaining will close ranks and march unflinchingly onward to the goal. The Communist Party has no time to grieve over the loss of some of its numbers. There is work ahead—Communist work—and all those who can work must set themselves to the stern task ahead.