

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 Hilquit 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 of 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 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 eliminated 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 Worker's 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. The attempt of its leaders 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 imprisonment is as yet unknown to you. But if, after you have read this statement, which goes not only to you, but 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 forced 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?

Central Executive Committee
Communist Party of America.

The Communist

OFFICIAL ORGAN
COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

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VOL. II.

No. 4.

April 25, 1920.

Singles copies — 5c

Editorial note:—

It is hardly necessary to explain to the party members either the irregularity in publication of "The Communist", nor that this and the next two or three numbers must be devoted primarily to the internal party problems to come before the Convention.

Communications as to party policies from any member or Branch can be transmitted to the Editor through your Branch Secretary and the District Organizer.