THE CRISIS WITHIN THE PARTY

The National Executive Committee, with the exception of comrades Katterfield and Wagenknecht, has expelled over 45,000 members from the party. The whole State of Michigan and seven language federations have been expelled. **All because they have indorsed the policy of the Left Wing.**

Seymour Stadman, John M. Work, Victor L. Berger, and a few more of theN . E. C. seem to think that it is their special duty to lead the rank and file. Now that the rank and file are alive to their policy of opportunism, they are in danger of being ousted at the coming election of a new N. E. C. Therefore in order to ensure their re-election, they expel all those that are in any way opposed to their opportunistic tactics. It is a desperate policy that plainly shows how desperate is the position of the majority of the N. E. C.

4 The expulsion of 45,000 members is no light matter. It is one that must command the attention of every earnest member of the party. Therefore, the Duluth English Local has passed the following motion:—

"That we, the members of the Duluth English Local, demand that the action of the National Executive Committee be sent out to the rank and file of the party, for their indorsement or rejection."

If this motion is supported by five locals, the N. E. C. are duty bound to send it out to a referendum of the party. If the action of the N. E. C. is an expression of the rank and file, then we of the Left Wing will abide by it and bend to, with all the energy at our disposal.

The workingclass today stands upon the threshold of the new society. It stands temptingly before us. It can be created, if we are organized and intelligent enough to utilize the advantages that are presented to us. Read the speech of Vanderlip, the famous American banker and then thing for one moment and say to yourself. **"What am I doing, to make the revolution a success?"** The majority of the National Executive Committee are eager for office. They forget the principles of Socialism, all for the sake of getting into office. **In Minneapolis they conduct a Van Lear campaign, in Chicago a Cunnea campaign, in New York a Hillquist campaign and in Wisconsin a Berger campaign.** We defy any comrade to show us in any of the platforms, upon which these men ran, any trave of revolutionary Socialism. "Socialists" elected to office, win by stultifying Socialism. Immediately they taste of the sweets of office their opposition to scientific socialism becomes more and more pronounced. They oppose any measure that seeks to bring them in direct conflict with the ofice they hold. It naturaly follows that if we compromise at every turn, we will lose out, because we will have lost the confidence of the workers who will have become disgusted with our leaders.

The Social Revolution will never be acheived by simply electing a mayor in Dubbtown. The revolution will be a success when we have the workers organized and conscious of their streigth to run industry. Thereore it naturally follows that the workers must work to set themselves free. That means that there is no room in our movement for lawyers, intellectuals (?), and other unnecessary beings that capitalism has created. The words of Marx still ring in our ears, **"that the emancipation of the workers must be brought about by the workers themselves."** The rank and file o the party are beginnig to realize the truth of what Marx said, that is why they are voting for candidates who are from the workingclass and possessed of a revolutionary workingclass viewpoint. If the Left Wing wins out, then there is no room for Stedman, Hillquist, Berger and their hangers-on. To many of these comrades the movement is their bread and butter. They denfend comrades who are arrested. The movement becomes to them a thing that exists to give them a living. Take the movement away from them and they are without a means of living. Let us not be sentimental about this matter, but act like men and women and for the sake of the revolution let us act straight. The surgeon who shoves in the knife and digs down deep, soon heals the wounds. Therefore let us dig down deep. Let us clear the movement of its lawyers etc. Let us make it a real workingclass organization. True it is, that the Left Wing is not free from that element, but the workingclass element within the Left Wing dominates the petty bourgeoise by about 100 to 1. So let us remove the present N. E. C. and in their place elect a new executive and prepare for the future.

The evolution of capitalism into its final stage, Imperialism, brings the common workers, the unskilled proletariat, into a position lately occupied by the skilled workers, that of the dominant section within the workingclass. The day has gone by, when the skilled workers can successfully discriminate against the unskilled worker. The demand for industrial unionism by the several craft unions, within the American Federation of Labor, is but the effect of imperialism. In all our agitations we must remember this fact. When the workers in the basic industries of society are industrially organized and are made conscious of their power, then the foundation is laid for a successful social revolution. When the workers, here in Duluth, within the Steel industry, are strong enough to shake the very foundations of that industry then, and not until then, will there be any chance of success. Our economic power must be organized and for that reason, those that will wield that power must dominate the Socialist Party. There can be no room for the man **AWAY FROM THE JOB.** The movement must be a movement of revolutionary workers. So let us stand firm and make our propaganda worthy of the big things that stand before us. Let us clear the decks and set out for action. Let us quit wasting our time on petty reforms and get down to the real work. It is action that we require. Therefore let us engage in action within the party. Let us remove the barnacles that impede our progress. Let us hoist our sails and sail straight for the co-operative commonwealth. The fight is going to be hard. We shall need men and women with a mind to think and a heart to do and to dare. Come comrades and join hands. With a cleansed movement, our work will be much easier. Do not become pessmistic. Because the split had to come. It is a sign of the growing interest being displayed by members of the party.

"THE FUTURE IS WITH THE COMMON PEOPLE."

A minority of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, consisting of seven members, has acted to expel without trial almost one-half of the membership of the Party.

It has "suspended" in a manner expulsion, the Russian, Polish, Lettish, Lithuanian, Hungarian, Ukrainian and South Slavic Federations of the Socialist Party, comprising about thirty thousand members.

It has approved, by refusing to intervene, all the expulsions of locals and branches in the Socialist Party of New York, refusing to discipline the violators of the Party constitution and approving the violation of the Party members' rights.

The N. E. C., moreover—again the minority of seven—has refused to make public the results of the referendum vote on members of the N. E. C., international delegates and international secretary; it is preparing to destroy the election.

The clear, uncompromising purpose of these illegal, autocratic actions is to crush revolutionary Socialism in the Party, to retain control for the moderate Socialists, the petty bourgeois reformers who are betraying fundamental Socialism. The N. E. C. is practicing conscious sabotage upon the will of the membership of the Party; they are splitting the Socialist Party in an unscrupulous attempt to retain control of the Party.

This crisis affects the integrity and future of the Socialist Party. The undersigned, accordingly, having the interest of the Party and revolutionary Socialism at heart, issue this call to the membership to act. The facts are a call to action.

I.

The conspiracy to split the Socialist Party, to crush revolutionary Socialism, started with an attack upon the Party in Michigan. The Party there, at its recent state convention, decided to strike out of the platform all legislative reform measures, and to expel any branch or local advocating these measures.

Upon the charge of this measure (which had not yet been ratified by referendum) was a violation of the national Party platform and constitution, the minority of seven on the N. E. C. expelled the Socialist Party of Michigan.

There was no trial, no opportunity for defense offered the Michigan comrades. A motion to allow Michigan an opportunity to interpret their action was voted down by the minority of seven. The right to appear at a trial was denied.

But this expulsion of Michigan comrades voted solid for the Left Wing candidates, that two of the present members of the N. E. C. would be defeated for re-election by two Michigan comrades. Expulsion would threw out about 3,000 Left Wing votes—on with the expulsion of Michigan!

II.

But this expulsion of Michigan, apparently, was not sufficient to decide the elections in favor of the reactionary moderates. As a subsequent session, accordingly, it was decided to destroy the whole election.

The N. E. C. refused to count the votes or make them public. They nullified the referendum vote, destroyed the will of the membership in order to retain control—and practically every member of the minority of seven on the N. E. C. is out for re-election, interested parties.

There were absolutely no valid grounds for this drastic action of sabotage. The majority N. E. C. members realized, in various ways, that the Left Wing had swept the Party, that the old officials and betrayers of Socialism had been beaten, that revolutionary Socialism was conquering the Party. So they crushed the will of the membership. They offered no real proof of irregularity—except the fact, perhaps, that the membership had voted solid against the moderates.

This sabotage of the will of the membership was camouflaged as "an investigation" of the ballots, the investigating committee consisting of three Right Wingers appointed by the Right Wing members of the N. E. C.

This action is a violation of the Party constitution, which prohibits executive officials from interfering with the processes of the membership.

It is a violation of the spirit of the Party, an attempt to isolate the Party from the currents of revolutionary Socialism now vitalizing every Socialist Party in the world.

The N. E. C. action is equivalent to stealing the elections. The party must act sternly to rebuke this official chicanery and sabotage.

III.

The N. E. C. majority decided to refer the whole issue of the votes to the Emergency Party Convention to be held August 30. But this didn't satisfy them. They were not sure of a majority in the convention—so they determined to make certain a majority of reactionary moderate Right Wing delegates at the convention, that would approve their abominable actions.

Accordingly, a motion was made to suspend from the Socialist Party the Russian, Lettish, Polish, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Hungarian and South Slavic Federati ns of the Party—comprising about 30,000 active members.

The Federations were suspended—in a way that is really expulsion, no arrangements being made to maintain their connection with the Party until a decision—because they were stigmatized as being Left Wing. They were suspended in order that they could not vote for delegates to the convention, thereby assuring control to the Right Wing moderates.

The purpose was clear. It was conscious. It was a deliberate move to crush the revolutionary majority now prevailing in the Socialist Party.

Moreover, the Party constitution makes the action of the N. E. C. absolutely illegal, since the Constitution distinctly provides that only the state organization has the right to suspend or expel language branches.

But determined to control the party, determined to crush revolutionary Socialism, they violated every provision of the constitution and ordinary Socialism decency to wreak their recationary, vengeful will upon the party.

Party members have the right to propose the principles and tactics of the Left Wing, in an effort to have them accepted by the whole Party. But the N. E. C. says no—we must control!

Destroy the votes of our foreign comrades, prevent them from voting for delegates to the convention—let the moderates rule or ruin the party. That was the policy of the N. E. C. majority.

These desperate tactics of the right wing members of the N. E. C. must not be construed alone as a desperate attempt of defeated officials to retain control of the party. It is part and parcel of the controversy on principles and tactics in the Socialist party of the struggle between the Right Wing and the Left Wing, between moderate petty bourgeois 'Socialism" and revolutionary, proletarian Socialism.

The moderates on the N. E. C. and in the party show no realization of the problems of the international revolution, of the necessity of reconstructing the party policy in accord with our revolutionary comrades in Europe. They want to maintain control for moderate, petty bourgeois "Socialism"—even if it means expelling the majority of the party from the party.

The crisis is serious. It affects the future of Socialism and the proletariat. We are confident that revolutionary Socialism will conquer the party, that it will prevail in spite of the sabotage of the N. E. C.

Protest against the criminal actions of the N. E. C. moderates. Insist that the votes be counted and made public. Insist that the expulsion of Michigan and the Federations shall not prevail.

Rally to the Left Wing, comrades: to the Left Wing belongs the future of revolutionary Socialism.

The slogan of the moderates is: Split the party for moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism!

The slogan of the Left Wing is: Conquer the party for revolutionary Socialism, for the Communist International!

Rally, comrades, to revolutionary Socialism—to the revolutionary Socialist Party now in the making.

L. KATTERFIELD.
A. WAGENKNECHT.
L. C. FRAINA.

EUGENE V. DEBS FOR PRESIDENT

We have always admired 'Gene. Debs. We have not admired him, simply because he was 'Gene. Debs, just because 'Gene stood for all that we stood for. It was 'Gene that sounded the rallying note that united the revolutionists within the party. When other comrades were excusing themselves, Debs was out standing to the fore and telling the people what he knew to be true. **No compromise, and always daring. It was for that, we stood by Debs.** We shall always stand by Debs, because we know that until the cold grave receives his last remains, Debs will always stand up and speak the truth, without fear or favor. When we think of Debs, we think of the toiling masses. When we read a Debs speech, our whole being is thrilled for Debs coins the thoughts of ours into words that bite into your heart and inspire you to go on ahead. Debs stands up and stretches out his hands, we can see the workers stretching out and taking control of industry. When we hear Debs pay his tribute to the common workers, we see the workers ruling, not the highbrows. Debs is the one big figure that makes men like Stedman, Germer, Berger, Work and Hillquist look like, well you know. So we pay our tribute to Debs, by endeavoring to carry out the ideas that he has gone to prison for. We shall pay our tribute to Debs by taking our place with the unskilled workers and endeavor to make them realize that millionaires, silk-clad women, pampered pets, etc., live only by the strength of labor's right arm. We shall be an admirer of Debs, and prove our admiration by the deeds that we shall do.

Now that Debs has gone to prison, the reactionaries of the Socialist movement, who have stabbed Debs in the back ALL the time, are now capitalizing Debs in order to stem the rising tide of discontent amongst the rank and file of the Socialist Party. **DEBS FOR PRESIDENT THEY SAY!** They know that their own behavior on the political field has been one long story of rank compromise and a betrayal of the workingclass. They know that there is not one politician of the Socialist Party who can honestly prove to the working class that he has taken a revolutionary stand in any political office they have held. **There is one exception, Comrade, E. G. Strand of Two Harbors, go all down the line and produce your next.** It is the work of the politicians of the Socialist Party that has retarded our movement. The disgust of the "wobby" can be directly traced to the Londons, Bergers, Lees, and the rest of the party politicians. These politicians know that their record is rotten, so they use 'Gene Debs as a cloak to cover their rottenness.

But comrades we are not discouraged. We have made mistakes in the past, but we have profited by them. We shall let the mistakes of the past be the guide posts of the future. We shall march out and take our place in the THIRD international, placing our hopes in the unskilled workers and with them organized we know that our success is assured. The social revolution will receive its main support from the unskilled workers. We shall organize them and when the time arrives for mass action, we shall be prepared to engage in same. When the time arrives, 'Gene Debs will stand with the workers on the jobs, not leading them but standing and working with them. When the fight takes place watch the politicians of the party. They will be in the coalition governments playing the same game that Ebert and Scheideman are playing today, stabbing the workers in the back.

SYLVIA PANKHURST AND JOHN MACLEAN

It is with great pleasure we introduce to our readers two new contributors to Truth. As often as the censor will allow, the above comrades will contribute to our columns.

Sylvia Pankhurst, is the daughter of Mrs. Pankhurst of suffrage "fame." A few years ago Sylvia inaugurated a no-rent campaign in order that working women might get the vote. The rich supporters of the suffragette movement immediately protested against such a policy and Sylvia was repudiated by her own mother. Since then Sylvia has wearied of ever obtaining success to her cause through the ballot. She now stands for the Soviet form of government. More power to Sylvia!

John Maclean is a hardy Scot. He is the Bolsheviki Consul in Scotland. He has been to the fore all through the war. In and out of prison all the time. No sooner was he in, then the men struck for his release. No sooner was he out, than he was in. So John has had quite a good time of it.

LEST WE FORGET

You all remember how we cheered J. O. Bentall when he was on his way to prison. We witnessed the women comrades shedding tears. The big comrades just remained quiet. It was a great test, to put one's emotions to, when they sent Bentall to prison. We said that we would never forget Bentall. **Shure we would all write to him!**

A few days ago a man came out of prison and told us that Bentall was feeling a bit downcast. You have forgotten him for the time being. You did not mean to do so. Bless you all, you have so much to do and to think about, but the good old war-horse is still at **CROW WING COUNTY JAIL, BRAINERD, MINNESOT.A** He is still behind those bars. Now that the sun is shining and the birds are singing in the trees, it is mighty lonesome for Bentall. It is good for you to be out enjoying yourselves. But men like Bentall had to fight for you to enjoy the little freedom that you now possess. Say you **will write that letter** to Bentall and we know that you **will send a dollar.** Think on we are going to ask Bentall how many of you wrote to him. So just drop Bentall a line and if you have any books send them on.

2,500,000 million English workers are lined up against the State of England. They are the transport workers, the miners and many other workers in other branches of industry. Their demands are;—

1. The abandonment of compulsory military service.

2. The cessation of the Russian adventure.

3. The raising of the blockade around the Central Powers.

4. Release of all conscientious objectors.

It is said that a strike of such magnitude would paralyze business. How strange!

The British soldiers have stormed the House of Commons and demanded work. Utilizing their training in throwing hand grenades, they threw stones and rushed the police. S'awful.

Secretary Midgley of the Vancouver Federation of Labor states that so far 24,000 members are in favor of the One Big Union and 6,000 against.