

he has no faith at all in the future of Socialism in the United States. But he does not say so. He evidently believes the Co-operative Commonwealth to be no fancy or idle dream. Yet he advises no way out and knows none. Why?

Because he has allowed himself to be victimized by purely formal logic. He, a statistician and a logician of no mean rank, has advanced his own formula of social revolution. Mathematically expressed it is $\frac{N}{2} + 1$, N being the sum total of persons engaged in gainful occupations. The proletariat is doomed to hopelessness, except in a statistical sense, when it is less than $\frac{N}{2}$. Watchful waiting is its lot until it reaches, in the course of human events, the state of Nirvana, that being $\frac{N}{2}$. It is only with its reaching $\frac{N}{2} + 1$, that the prospects of the Social Revolution brighten. Which shows that application of formal logic to a problem of complex reality leads ad absurdum.

APPEAL OF CHINESE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS TO RUSSIAN WORKERS

The representatives of the Chinese social organizations who have recently arrived in Moscow, have addressed an appeal to the Russian workers, in which, among other things, it is stated:

"We are happy to have the opportunity of visiting Moscow, the capital of the First Proletarian Republic.

"We know that the great teacher of Socialism, Karl Marx, whose teachings you are following in your Socialist construction, has pointed out for us the path to the creation of proletarian culture and human civilization. We also know that you, the Russian proletariat, are the first to apply the grand ideas of the great master to life and that you are the first to carry them out for the good of the nations of all the world. The content of your social order and the general course of your economics and politics are international in their essence and significance. Your government has no aggressive intention in relation to other nations, and it is willing to fight for the liberation of the oppressed of all the world.

"We have passed the whole territory of Russia from the Far East on our way to Moscow and became acquainted with the actual position of the Russian people and we found out that all hostile rumors and 'information,' which is spread about you in the capitalist countries, are absolutely false and baseless.

"We want the Chinese people to cease to be a victim of the deception and false information on the state of Russian affairs.

"By sending the Chinese people true information about the actual state of the Russian people, we hope to deepen and strengthen, every day and hour, the mutual understanding between the two friendly nations.

"Ney-Sun-Hua (Correspondent of the Shanghai news-paper 'Shi-Sh-Sin Bao').

"Muy-Zia-Vo (Correspondent of the Peking paper 'Tshen-Bao').

"Li-Tshun-Voo (Correspondent of the Peking 'Tshen-Bao').

The Workers' Council

is the only Socialist magazine in the United States which

INTERPRETS the changes and developments in the **International Socialist Movement**, clearly and intelligently;

EXPLAINS the principles, problems and aims of the **Third International**;

ANALYSES constructively the **Socialist and Labor forces** in the United States.

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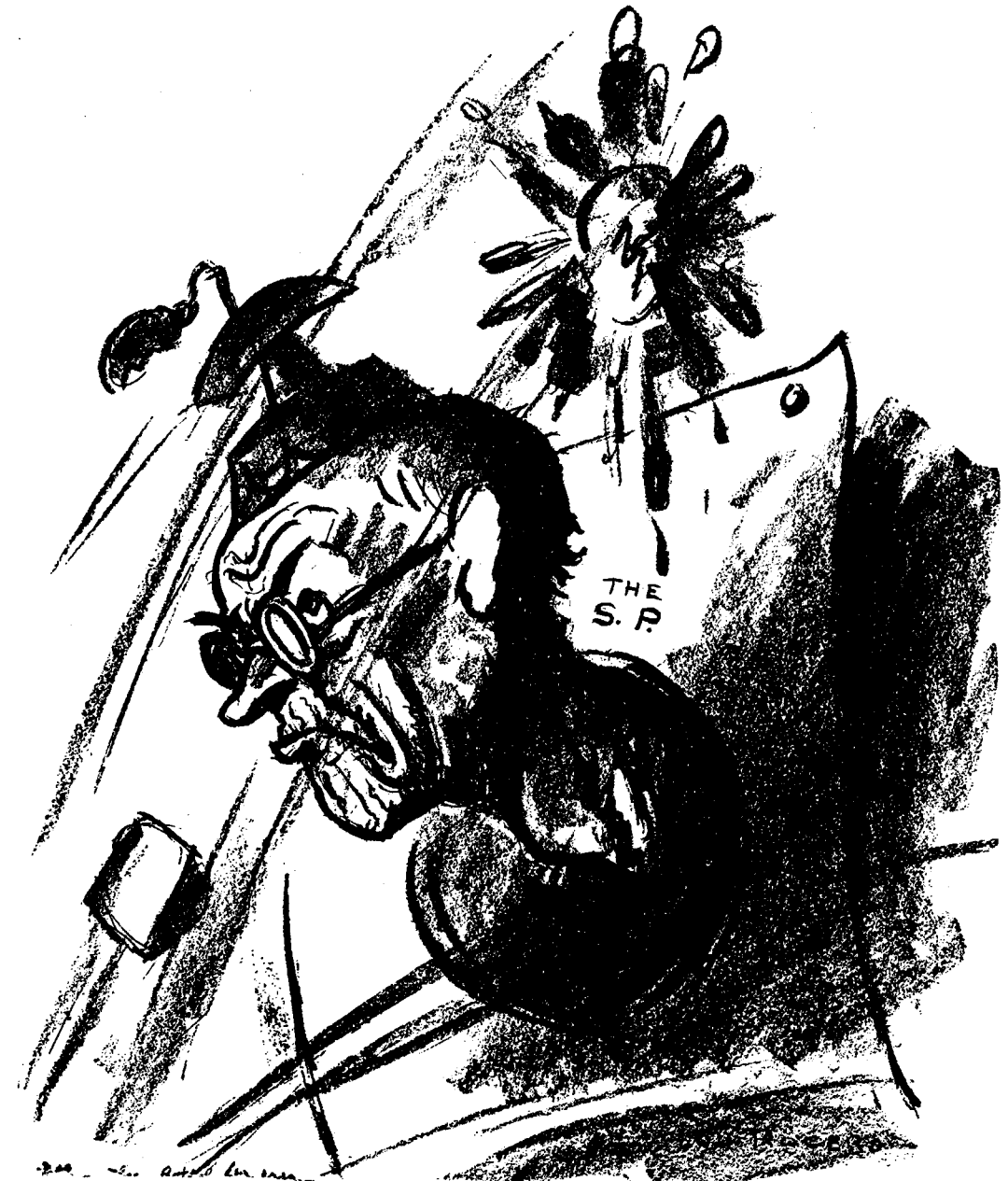
"THE victory over world capitalism can come only thru convincing the majority of the members of the working class."—From the Manifesto of the Third Congress of the Third International.

The Workers' Council

AN ORGAN FOR THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

Vol. I (10 Cents per Copy) New York, September 15, 1921 (\$1 per Year) No. 7

The Socialist Party — The Artful Dodger



Not at Coney Island. The S. P. at Detroit and Elsewhere

Manifesto of the Third International!

(See Page 101)

Save Soviet Russia

Erothers and Comrades:—A few weeks ago Russia sent out a cry for help. The workers of the Russian Soviet Republic are appealing to the workers of the world for aid in the terrible calamity that has overtaken their nation.

Decimated by seven years of incessant warfare, deprived of food and clothing, of medicines and drugs, of agricultural implements and industrial machinery by the capitalist powers of Europe, weakened by the internal struggles that follow in the wake of every revolutionary upheaval, Russia now stands helpless and unprepared to face the destruction of its harvests in the Volga district, the great granary of the Russian nation.

A terrible drought, no rain from March until August, has burnt up every vestige of vegetation for a thousand miles.

Land that in other years brought forth food for millions of hungry workers lies blackened and charred under the blistering sun.

Great herds of cattle, upon which millions of children depend for their food, had to be slaughtered because there is no grass to feed them.

Eleven million men, women and children are starving. Cholera, that dreadful disease that stalks in the wake of starvation, is wiping out entire townships.

Babies are sobbing at their mothers' breasts, and there is no milk. Boys and girls are pleading for

food, and there is no bread. Thousands are dying from preventable, curable diseases, and there are no medicines.

Cleanliness could check the spread of contagious diseases, and there is no soap.

Even the next harvest is in danger, for the seed corn has been used to assuage the hunger that is eating out the vitals of the nation.

We know why Russia has had to suffer, why war against Russia went on long after hostilities in other countries had ceased.

We know why Russia was forced to keep her workmen at the front while fields lay fallow, and the factories stood idle.

Russia has sacrificed, year after year, her men, her industries, everything, the very life-blood of the nation, that its spirit might live, the spirit of working class solidarity, of working class brotherhood, of working class internationalism.

Russia has been attacked by the great powers of Europe, and by America. It has been slandered and vilified, fought with fair means and foul.

The capitalists of the world, the men who live in wealth and luxury because you and your fellow-workers live in want, hate Russia because she carries the message of working-class freedom from capitalist oppression to the world, because she has fought your battles, brought inspiration and hope to you in your struggles.

Will You Desert Her Now?

In the daily newspapers you have read that Mr. Hoover is about to feed the starving Russians. It is true, that Mr. Hoover has already sent a mission into Russia to take care of the sick women and children. But the means with which this mission have been fitted out are inadequate to meet the situation.

In Hoover's instructions to Mr. M. Haskell, the American representative for Soviet Russia, he expressly states that other agencies in America must do their share.

Undoubtedly the U. S. Government could easily shoulder the task of famine relief in the afflicted areas.

The Russian government has computed that \$22.00 will be sufficient to feed one person until the coming harvest. Already five millions in Russia are in bitter want. Many more will suffer before the winter is over.

\$220,000,000 must be raised within the next few months. A big sum, but only a small fraction of what the United States spent and loaned during the war, for destructive purposes.

France and Belgium, Serbia, and Armenia, and practically every other European nation has received bountiful sustenance from our government in the past two or three years. In 1916 Hoover extended a credit of \$100,000,000 to the German nation. NOT ONE CENT HAS EVER GONE TO RUSSIA.

In this connection it should not be forgotten that Bachmetieff, the Russian ambassador without a country, still enjoys official recognition in Washington though the government that sent him there

ceased to exist more than four years ago. This peculiar embassy has received from the government, "in the name of the Russian people," credits to the extent of 180 millions. Of this sum only 50 millions have been used. Can the U. S. Government find no better use for the remaining \$130,000,000?

All over the United States conferences have sprung up for the purpose of helping Soviet Russia. By their very number they are defeating their own purposes. They are duplicating their efforts.

The American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, with headquarters in New York City, has been organized for the purpose of co-ordinating the work of the various agencies collecting funds for Russian Famine Relief.

This Committee is co-operating with the representatives of the Russian Red Cross in America and funds secured from the various organizations will go to Soviet Russia directly, and will be used under the supervision of the authorities designated by the Soviet Government.

America's workers must raise \$220,000,000. It is the biggest and most important task you have ever undertaken.

We must call upon every worker to sacrifice one day's pay.

We must demand that the Russian People receive immediate and adequate assistance from our government.

We must get together for one great drive for funds. WE MUST SAVE SOVIET RUSSIA!

Send Contributions to "The Workers' Council" Now!

THE WORKERS' COUNCIL asks all its readers to send their contributions to Dr. Moses Aronson, Treasurer, Workers' Council Russian Famine Relief Fund, Room 233, 80 East 11th St., New York City.

Every penny received will be turned over immediately to the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee for immediate use.

The Workers' Council

Vol. I.

New York, September 15, 1921

No. 7

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EDITOR.....J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

TEN CENTS A COPY
\$1 per year, 50 cents for six months.

Hughes declares it is not to be a "disarmament conference," only a conference to discuss the "limitation of armaments." Or merely a conference to disarm the workers of the idea that competing imperialisms are plotting another war for them to fight. It is the limit. Leave it to Root, Underwood, Lodge and Hughes.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT

This issue of the *Workers' Council* should receive a big welcome among our host of readers who missed their magazine during the summer months.

Many and great events have taken place since the last number, dated June 15th, appeared. In that issue we reviewed the approaching Detroit Convention of the Socialist Party.

We had planned to send another issue to press immediately following the Detroit Convention. But it quickly developed that such an issue would be inadequate. It should also contain the story of the immediate results growing out of the convention's actions.

That is the purpose of the present issue,—to review the Detroit Convention and explain the disasters that it brought down upon the Socialist Party.

During the early days of August, the comrades of the Bohemian Federation completed their referendum showing the membership in this group demanding withdrawal from the party by an overwhelming vote.

The Convention of the Jewish Federation, meeting in New York City over the Labor Day period, gave a majority for leaving the party, the demand of the best elements in this group.

From all sections of the country come reports of unrest among the English speaking membership. Lo-

cals, branches and individual members are continually dropping out of the rapidly disintegrating party organization.

Where the foreign language federations have their own publications and their own organizations ready to hand, it behooves the English speaking Third Internationalists and their sympathizers, within and without the party, to meet this new situation and meet it successfully.

We have already made a big start in the establishment of the Workers' Council. Our magazine will now be issued monthly, ready for distribution on the 15th. All subscriptions will be advanced two months to make up for the two missing issues. The subscription rate will be changed to \$1 per year, 50 cents for six months.

With this issue we also announce the formation of the provisional organization, to be known temporarily as the *Workers' Council of the United States*. A call is being issued for a National Conference to perfect this organization and to decide on its program, principles and policies.

The Socialist Party is dead! We must bring the workers, men and women, together again; all those scattered to the four winds during the past two years by the party's betrayal of Socialist principles. Unity of all revolutionary working class forces, not a new organization, is our aim.

Support your organ, the *Workers' Council*, in this effort. Help build a local organization of the *Workers' Council* in your city or town as a preparation for the national conference. Forward in the struggle of organization! Forward to real unity! Forward to the triumph of the workers in the name of the world party, the Third International.

Captain T. T. C. Gregory, Herbert Hoover's chief lieutenant in Central Europe in 1919 boasts he used the U. S. food administration to help overthrow the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The Russian workers, in the present famine crisis, will profit by Hungarian experience. See Chicherin's note to the Paris allies.

THE SLAVES OF 1921

Faneuil Hall, Boston, was called the "Cradle of Liberty in 1776," even while slaves, black chattel slaves were being sold for a price within its walls.

The slaves of olden days were lucky because the auctioneers were usually able to find a purchaser.

Not so to-day. On Boston's 1921 slave market, the Boston Common, the 20th century wage slave, white or black, arouses the interest of but few bidders.

"Room and board for two weeks!" "Clothing and pay!" and "Twenty-five dollars a month with board and clothing!" were some of the bids that brought to-day's wage slave off the block.

Thus twelve men on one day got work or charity of some kind. Thousands of others, of course,

Lenin's Famine Appeal to World's Workers

"In several Russian provinces the famine equals that of 1891. This is the severe consequence of Russian economic backwardness and the seven years of war, first the imperialist war and then the civil wars, which were imposed upon the workers and peasants by the landlords and capitalists of all countries.

"Aid is required. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Republic await this aid from the toiling industrial and agricultural workers of all countries. Though these masses are themselves everywhere oppressed by capitalism and imperialism, we are confident that, despite their own difficult situation, caused by unemployment and high prices, they will respond to our appeal.

"Those who have experienced capitalist oppression throughout their lives will understand the situation of the Russian workers and peasants, will understand intuitively, as toilers and exploited, the necessity for giving aid to the Soviet Republic which was the first to undertake the welcome but heavy task of overthrowing capitalism.

"Therefore the capitalists of all countries wreak their vengeance upon Soviet Russia. Therefore they plan against her new interventions and new counter-revolutionary conspiracies.

"We are convinced, however, that this will cause the workers and small farmers living by their own toil in all countries to aid us with redoubled energy and self-denial."

didn't get even this dole. They will continue to starve and suffer. This winter they will freeze.

In the days of the chattel slave there was work for all. The country was open towards the west. The chattel slave brought his price, and usually a good one.

To-day the chimneys of great industries smoke from the Atlantic to the Pacific when there is a market at a profit for the goods produced by the wage slave of 1921. But the domestic and foreign market is now glutted and stagnant.

There is no market for the goods produced by the slave of to-day; there is no market for his labor; there is no demand for even his muscle, flesh and bone. His power to toil is worthless, because he has toiled so well.

President Harding has the usual solution—he is going to have a commission investigate. But not along class lines. Certainly not.

There was but one solution for political slavery to the British throne in 1776. It was wiped out. Chattel slavery was ended, 1861-65, through complete extermination. Wage slavery must go in 1921 through its complete abolition, the ending of capitalist misrule and oppression forever. That is the goal, slaves of 1921. While you are fighting for a mouthful of bread to-day, recognize that that is your only salvation. Join in the war for your own emancipation.

The United Mine Workers of America meets in convention at Indianapolis, Ind., Sept. 20. May the actions of the workers at this gathering cause the capitalist ruling class to tremble.

STILL FIDDLING

History tells the story of Emperor Nero who fiddled while Rome was burning about him.

Thus does Editorial Writer Oneal of the Call, September 13, keep up his fiddling over the disintegrating Socialist Party.

Oneal was one of the original heresy hunters of the party, who worked side by side with Seymour Stedman, famous for his Red Raid at Detroit, in the expulsions of 1919.

The party officialdom has seen the party dwindle from more than 100,000 to less than 10,000.

It seems that all the Hillquits and Bergers need to make that decrease look like progress is to take one of Oneal's editorial injections.

"The dope works," says Oneal. "Have some more."

Of course, Oneal would like to interpret the efforts of the Workers' Council as the organization of another "little neo-Communist band." That is the way he translated the meaning of the withdrawal statement of the Committee for the Third International of the Socialist Party.

Far be it from the Call "to poison the news at its source." But it has space for only two or three paragraphs from the statement of withdrawal, and it absolutely censors the names of the comrades signing the statement, no doubt because those names would carry influence with the party membership.

Signing the statement are minority delegates of party conventions for many years past, notably the last three conventions held. The list includes party editors and speakers with national reputations. There are comrades who stand high in the labor movement, one of them being a former manager of the joint board of one of the largest labor unions in New York City.

Oneal fiddles away in his editorial column to keep up his own and the courage of others. But in their saner moments Oneal and the others know that the 100,000 Communists who have left or been expelled from the Socialist Party are uniting in a disciplined host, their ranks cemented by the spirit of solidarity born of the struggle with renegade reactionaries within and capitalist oppressors without.

Go to the Masses!

A MANIFESTO OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL TO THE PROLETARIAT OF ALL COUNTRIES:

The Third Congress of the Communist International is ended. It has completed its survey of the status of the Communist proletariat of all countries.

In a number of countries, in which Communism had as yet hardly gained a foothold, the movement during the past year has become a gigantic force, capable of organizing the masses and constituting a menace to the existence of capitalism.

On the day of its initial congress, the Communist International, with the exception of Russia, consisted of small insignificant groups.

Since its Second Congress it has endeavored to create great organized mass movements. At the present time the parties in Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, France, Norway, Jugoslavia and Bulgaria, besides Russia, have succeeded in rallying the masses to their standards.

The Third Congress asks the Communists of all countries fearlessly to continue in the great undertaking, and to put forth every effort to the work of rallying millions upon millions of new adherents to the ranks of the Communist International.

The power of capitalism will be broken only when the idea of Communism is translated into the invincible strength of the great majority of the proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Parties, the backbone of the working class movement.

Go to the Masses.

"Go to the Masses!" is the battle-cry which the Third Congress issues to Communists of all countries. "Prepare for the conflict!"

The masses will come to us, they will flock to us, because the capitalist system is constantly making it clear that it can live only by continuing to embroil the world more and more, and by constantly increasing the chaos, the misery and the enslavement of the masses. In the face of the economic world crisis, which forces millions of workers on the streets for lack of work, the social democrats, henchmen of capitalism, and bourgeoisie who have for several years past been exhorting the workers to "work, work," are obliged to be silent.

Before calling the working class to work, it is necessary to call them to battle, and the appeal to work can be obeyed only when capitalism will have been destroyed, and when the proletariat will have taken possession of the means of production.

Capitalism and Imperialism.

The capitalist world is on the eve of new wars. The American-Japanese and the Anglo-American conflicts, the quarrels of the Near and the Far East, are forcing upon the capitalists a policy of increased armaments.

They are asking with anxiety, "Must Europe be thrust into a new world war?"

HOW ABOUT A PAMPHLET?

Fall and winter are coming on. The weather is getting cooler and the workers will want to read more. How about issuing the accompanying historic manifesto of the Third Congress of the Third International, with the withdrawal statement of the Committee for the Third International of the Socialist Party, appearing in another part of this magazine, in a suitable pamphlet? Just the thing to sell at all the Russian Famine Relief Mass Meetings. We will make the price just as low as possible. How many can you use? Let us know! Write the Workers' Council, Room 233, 80 East 11th St., New York City.

They are not afraid of sacrificing millions of human beings. For on the very morrow of the great war, in blockading Russia, they cold-bloodedly doomed millions of human beings to starvation.

What they fear, however, is that another war will hurl the masses into the throes of a world revolution. They are afraid that a fresh war will ultimately involve the uprising of the world proletariat.

They are seeking, therefore, through diplomatic means, as they did before the late war, to bring about an understanding to delay as far as possible such a crisis. But when such an understanding is brought about, it only serves to create a new tension.

The negotiations between England and America, regarding the limitation of armaments, necessarily create an attitude of antagonism towards Japan. The Franco-English reconciliation delivers up Germany to France, and Turkey to England.

The efforts which world capitalism is making to create any sort of order in the ever-increasing chaos of the world, far from bringing peace to the peoples of the world, only augment their enslavement and subject the conquered peoples to the domination of the victorious bourgeoisie.

The capitalist press is at present claiming an improvement in conditions because the bourgeoisie of Germany has surrendered to the conditions of the allies, because, in order to maintain its power, it has delivered up the German people to the monsters in control of the stock exchanges of Paris and London.

At the same time, however, this press which is at the beck and call of high finance, announces the economic ruin of Germany, deploring the heavy taxes, which will fall like a hailstorm on the unemployed masses this fall, and will formidably increase the price of every morsel of food and every bit of clothing.

Bankruptcy of the Capitalist Regime.

The Communist International, which bases its policies on the calm and objective examination of the present world situation, because it is only through surveying the field of action with clear-sightedness

and in taking accurate account of the situation that the proletariat will conquer, the Communist International says to the proletariat of all countries:

Capitalism has so far shown that it cannot secure to the world even that degree of order which it enjoyed before the war. Its present work cannot lead to a single new order of society, but can only prolong your suffering and the process of the decomposition of capitalism.

The World Revolution Is on Its Way.

Everywhere the capitalist world is rocking on its foundations. The second appeal which the World Congress of the Communist International makes to the proletariat of all countries is the following:

"We are marching forward to new and difficult battles. Arm yourselves for the new struggles." Prepare the United Front of the World Proletariat.

The bourgeoisie cannot assure to the workers either work, bread, housing or clothing. However, it shows great capacity in the organization of war against the proletariat.

Ever since the moment, when the bourgeoisie, for the first time was at a loss how to proceed, ever since it conquered the great fear caused by the workers returning from the war, ever since it resolved to prolong after the war its alliance with the traitors of the proletariat, namely the social-democrats and the bureaucrats of Trade Unionism, the bourgeoisie has consecrated all its forces to organize the white guards to fight against and to disarm the proletariat.

The world bourgeoisie is even at this moment armed to the teeth and ready, not only forcibly to suppress any proletarian insurrection, but also, if necessary, to provoke insurrection in order to annihilate the proletariat before it succeeds in organizing a united and invincible front.

Against the strategy of the bourgeoisie, the Communist International pits its own. If the power of capital can throw armed bandits against the proletarians, the Communist International has a weapon which cannot fail. It is the proletarian masses, the single and unconquerable front of the proletariat.

Once the millions and millions of proletarians will enter the struggle in united ranks, the bourgeoisie will be at the end of its rope and all of its forces will no longer be of service to it. The trains transporting the white guards being sent against the proletariat will be stopped, the troops will be overcome with remorse, and the proletariat will wrest their weapons from them and will use them against other organizations of white guards.

If the proletariat will present a united front against capitalism and the bourgeoisie, it will have captured the enemy, who at that time will have lost the first condition for success, to-wit: a belief in victory, which only the treason of the social-democrats and division within the working masses could still give it. The victory over world capitalism can come only thru convincing the majority of the members of the working class.

Against Social-Democrats and Trade Union Bureaucrats.

The Third Congress of the Communist International demands that the Communist parties of all

countries and the Communists in the trade unions direct all their efforts towards the liberation of the working masses from the influence of the Social-Democratic parties and the trade union bureaucracy. This will not be done unless the Communists of all countries, in these trying times, when each day increases the privations of the working masses, prove that they are the advance-guard of the working class, that they will uphold it in all its struggles, and that they will lead it in the fight to free them from the burdens which capitalism has heaped upon them far beyond what they can bear.

It is necessary to convince the working masses that the Communists alone are fighting for a betterment of their condition, that the reactionary Social-Democracy and trade union bureaucracy would rather see them die of hunger than fight for them.

There is no longer any question as to fighting the traitors of the proletariat, the agents of the bourgeoisie on theoretic grounds, or to debate the question of democracy and dictatorship. Rather they must be fought on questions of bread, salaries, wages, of labor and housing.

Moscow versus Amsterdam.

The first field of battle and the most important is that of the trade union movement. Before all, it is necessary to lead the struggle of the Red Trade Union International against the Yellow Amsterdam International.

It is necessary above all to capture the strongholds of the enemy installed in our own camp.

Purge your Organization of Centrist Tendencies. Develop an Aggressive Spirit.

It is only in fighting for the most simple interests of the working masses that we can organize a united front of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie; that we can make an end to the disunion of the proletariat; which alone assures to the bourgeoisie a possibility for continued existence. But this proletarian front can only be inspired with the joy of battle when it will be sustained by the Communist Parties, which are strong in spirit and which possess an iron discipline.

That is why the Third Congress of the Third International, at the same time that it flings to the Communists of all countries the cry, "Go to the Masses! Create a strong, united front!" urges them also to banish from their ranks all those elements which might weaken the morale and discipline of the shock troops of the world proletariat and of the Communist Parties.

The Congress of the Communist International confirms the exclusion of the Socialist Party of Italy until the time when it will have broken with the reformers and excluded them from its ranks. This decision confirms the opinion of the Congress that if the Communist International wishes to lead the millions and millions of workers in the struggle, it cannot afford to have within its ranks reformists, whose aim is not the victorious proletarian revolution, but the reconciliation between capitalism and reformism. Armies that will tolerate as their leaders men who speak in terms of compromise

with the enemy, will be surrendered and sold to the enemy by those very leaders.

We Lack Revolutionary Fervor.

The attention of the Communist International has been drawn to the fact that within a number of parties that have excluded reformists from their ranks, there still exist tendencies indicating they have not completely rid themselves of the spirit of reformism, and that even though they do not look to reconciliation with the enemy, are nevertheless not sufficiently energetic and aggressive in their propaganda for the preparation of the workers for the struggle against capitalism. **They are not working decidedly enough towards the revolution of the masses.** These parties are not capable in the course of their daily work to provide the revolutionary inspiration with which to animate the masses. They are not capable of daily strengthening the fighting spirit of the masses by their fervent enthusiasm.

These parties do not believe that they should utilize favorable conditions for conflict and thus allow great revolutionary currents to go to waste. This was notably the case at the time of the occupation of the factories in Italy and the strike of December in Czecho-Slovakia. The Communist parties should strive to develop an aggressive attitude in their very midst. They should train themselves to become the general staff capable of turning to immediate account favorable conditions for combat, and when there arises spontaneous movements within the proletariat, to make them of maximum value by clear-sighted and courageous direction.

Strive to be the advance guard of the class-conscious working masses. Be their heart and their spirit. This is the cry with which the Third Congress of the Communist International challenges the Communist parties.

To be the advance guard means to march at the head of the masses, as their party and as the bravest and the most far-seeing.

Only when the Communist Parties will become such an advance guard, will they be able not only to organize a united front of the proletariat, but to lead it to the battle which will conquer the enemy.

Against the strategy of capitalism pit the strategy of the proletariat. Prepare for the conflict.

The enemy is strong. It has had centuries of experience in the exercise of power, and that has given it consciousness of strength and the will to maintain it. The enemy is strong, because it has learned thru hundreds of years how to divide the proletarian masses, how to domineer and enthrall them.

The enemy knows how victory is gained in civil strife. It is for this reason that the Third World Congress of the Third International calls to the attention of all Communist Parties the danger that exists in the fact that in strategic matters there is a decided difference in ability between the controlling and possessing classes, and the working class fighting for the acquisition of power.

The events of March in Germany have shown the great danger which exists when the leaders of the working-class, the Communist advance guard of the proletariat, are forced to fight before the great masses are ready for it. The Communist Interna-

tional hails with joy the knowledge that hundreds of thousands of workers in the whole of Germany are ready to rush to the aid of the menaced workers in Central Germany.

It is in this spirit of solidarity, which causes the proletariat of a whole country, nay the whole world, to rush as one man to the defense of an endangered proletarian party, that the Communist International sees the sign which bespeaks victory.

The Communist International approves of the Communist Party of Germany putting itself at the head of the working masses who offered themselves in the defense of their threatened brothers. At the same time, however, the Communist International feels that it is its duty openly to announce the following to the workers of all countries:

In such cases where the advance guard is compelled to enter into a struggle, and where such struggle would hasten the mobilization of the whole working class, the advance guard should bear in mind that if it is alone and isolated, it is not in a position to make a decisive assault; that if forced to fight alone, it should as far as possible, avoid an armed conflict with the enemy, for the victory of the proletariat over the armed white guards can only be won by the entire mass of the proletariat. If the majority of this mass is not prepared to engage in the struggle, the advanced guard, which is an unarmed minority, should not attempt to launch an attack against an armed enemy.

Thanks to the battles of March, the Communist International has learned one thing more to which it calls the attention of the proletariat of all countries. It is necessary that the whole working class be prepared by a daily, incessant propaganda, constantly more intensive and extensive, for the struggles which are imminent. And when they enter the combat, they must have full comprehension of the significance of the rallying cry.

Proletarian Strategy.

Against the strategy of the enemy we must pit the intelligent and carefully considered strategy of the proletariat. The courage, the enthusiasm, the determination of the advance guard will not be sufficient. The struggle must be prepared and organized in such a way as to enlist the great masses of the workers. They must be mobilized and given to understand that they are engaged in a struggle for the attainment of their most vital interests.

The condition of world capitalism will ever become more critical and it will try more and more to impede the coming victory of the Communist International by throttling its advance guards, if isolated from the bulk of the masses.

We must therefore plan to avert this danger thru a propaganda that will awaken all the masses. We must engage in a work of energetic organization of Communist parties which will assure their influence over the masses, and will make them capable of calmly judging existing situations, refusing the fight when the forces of the enemy are superior, and fighting where the enemy is disrupted and the masses united.

The Third Congress of the Communist International is well aware that it is only in combat that the working masses will form Communist parties capable of attacking the enemy with lightninglike rapidity in cases where the enemy is in an inferior position, and of avoiding combat under unfavorable conditions. That is why it is the duty of the prole-

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"Farewell!" to the Socialist Party! An Appeal to Its Remaining Members!

STATEMENT BY THE COMMITTEE FOR THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

COMRADES:—For three years a constant struggle has been carried on within the Socialist Party to secure an adaptation of its principles, policies and program to the new conditions growing out of the world war and the Russian Revolution.

In three national conventions, at Chicago, 1919, New York, 1920, and at Detroit, 1921, as well as between conventions, the fight has been kept up, to place the Socialist Party in the front rank of the international labor movement, in the vanguard of the world struggle for Socialism.

The last National Convention of the Socialist Party at Detroit, in June, definitely displaced the party as a force working for Socialism, definitely aligned it with those elements in the labor movement that refuse to profit by the experiences of the world-war and the years of the imperialist "peace" which followed it. It threw overboard the rich lessons of the establishment of the first great Workers' Republic, of its years of heroic and successful struggles against a world-wide alliance of the forces of imperialism and treacherous would-be Socialism. The Socialist Party has thus become a hindrance rather than an aid to working class progress.

The Committee for the Third

The Committee for the Third International within the Socialist Party was organized for the explicit purpose of bringing about the party's joining the Third International on the basis of the announced "21 Points." Yet the Committee did not at all assume that its task to arrest the actual process of disintegration of the party" would be solved by merely having the party accept the 21 conditions of application. In fact, the Committee did not pretend to accept all and every opinion expressed by the Third on conditions in and tactics to be applied to the United States. It merely held:

"That all discussion as to the applicability in the United States at the present time of one or the other point of tactics as proposed by the Third International, should be carried on with the International, not outside of it."

The issue at stake was not merely an affiliation with the Third. Principles and tactics of outstanding importance were involved. The issue of international affiliation was but the clarion-call, the Third International standing out as the symbol and the incarnation of a world party of aggressive Socialist action. The inevitability of the reorganization of the party and its adaptation to new conditions was pointed to, lest it voluntarily sign its own death warrant, and acquiesce in its own burial.

The Recent Past

With the issue of affiliation with the Third International the committee set out to work, sparing no

effort and missing no opportunity to carry its point during the months of agitation prior to the Detroit Convention. But it did not confine itself to mere advocacy of affiliation with the Third. An animated discussion of all the principles and tactics involved was forced to the fore. The spirit of the Third was held up as the big subject for discussion.

Of course the party leaders did not welcome our activity. They met the Committee with animosity. The Party chiefs, who on numerous occasions claimed to be desirous of the party's affiliation with the Third International were particularly venomous in their attacks upon the advocates of the Third. Speaking the minds of the party officialdom, the National Secretary placed on the agenda of the Detroit convention the infamous resolution which proposed to expel every member favoring affiliation as one "who work either for the Communist International or for the Department of Justice and in either case—in the interests of American capitalism."

The Detroit Convention

At the Convention the leaders strategically retreated from the position of doubtful vantage that the adoption of this resolution would have given them. They made it clear, however, that the "expulsion motion would be enforced locally, the prevalent state and local autonomy giving the local chieftains the right to do what the national leaders thought wise policy not to stress too strongly.

The Convention, reduced to 35 delegates, most of whom were national office appointees and retainers, voted 31 to 4 against unconditional affiliation with the Third. By this act the Socialist Party read itself out of the fold of the international revolutionary working class movement. The Convention decisions on other matters of principle and tactics were reactionary enough to make the party unfit to join the so-called Second International. Even that body of counter-revolutionary and bourgeois-government Socialists is too revolutionary for the Detroit majority of the Socialist Party.

The Detroit Convention sounded the death knell of the Socialist Party. It lives today only as a painful survival, a reproach to its own past. Even the official party press could no longer hide its bankruptcy, and proceeded to boast of their shame.

The Call, the New York party daily, summed up the work of the Detroit Convention as a "return to normalcy." The paper discovered that "the Convention made progress and that it demonstrated more unity of opinion and policy than any gathering since the war swept over the world"

That unity of opinion had been gloriously demonstrated in the action on the question of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, where, according to the official party and publicity manager, "the convention was so bent on taking no stand at all, that it took no action on a motion committing the party to a stand that says that it takes no stand."

On the question of proletarian dictatorship the Convention turned down all five motions placed before it. The resolutions favoring it, against it, proclaiming

it to be of no concern to the party, considering it inopportune, and providing for no stand on the principle, were all defeated in monotonous and systematic order.

Prompted seemingly by the same yearning for "unity" the Convention tabled the resolution dealing with "immediate demands," sabotage, political action, direct action, etc. And what was not tabled went to the next Convention, when "study reports" and surveys will be submitted. Thus went for study the question of party organization, propaganda and the party daily press. The party still wants to study and investigate—it is so young and inexperienced.

And yet the convention managed to overreach itself by adopting the Hillquit motion, which opens the way for fusion and political trading with all the highest bidders in the field of political radicalism. There was the Hoan proposition for immediate fusion. The Hillquit motion was to investigate the possibilities of fusion.

No wonder that "this Convention demonstrated more unity of opinion than any before it." Unity of opinion should be easily attained where no opinion exists, and this was notoriously a convention of no opinion.

The Background of Detroit.

Undoubtedly the Detroit Convention did not present a totally new and radical change of attitude in our party. The Detroit actions were largely foreshadowed by the National Convention of 1920. It was that convention that marked the retreat of the party from its advanced position in the world of labor and Socialism. The 1920 Convention yielded to the demands of the membership and nominated for the U. S. Presidency our noble martyr Eugene V. Debs and simultaneously forced on the party and its revolutionary candidate a reactionary national platform. The crying shame of that convention followed upon the heels of the Albany ouster proceedings where the party defence proclaimed obedience to bourgeois legality to be the cardinal virtue of a revolutionary movement and respectability its reward. It was the work of the New York Convention that forced Comrade Debs to say to the party committee which tendered him the nomination for the Presidency:

"I must be perfectly frank with you. I have read the platform and I wish I might say that it had my unqualified approval. . . . It could have been made more effective if it had stressed the class struggle more prominently and if more emphasis had been laid on industrial organization"

And he added the very significant words of grave warning:

"I have always been a radical, never more so than now. I have never feared becoming too radical. I do fear becoming too conservative. We must guard against any policy or attitude of fear to state our position clearly.

"Socialist platforms are not made to catch votes. Our purpose should be to state principles of the party clearly to the people. THERE IS A TENDENCY IN THE PARTY TO BE-

COME A PARTY OF POLITICIANS INSTEAD OF A PARTY OF THE WORKERS. THAT POLICY MUST BE CHECKED, NOT ENCOURAGED."

The policy or tendency in the party to become a party "of politicians instead of a party of the workers" was not checked. The party went the full length of it, until it is no more a tendency. It is an accomplished fact.

Political compromise and abandonment of the Socialist faith did not save the party from thorough collapse. With a doubled electorate the party ticket equalled only its vote in 1912. The organization once 120,000 strong came to the New York Convention with 38,000 and to Detroit with 17,000 members. The accelerated withdrawal of groups and individual members since Detroit, which has still further reduced its numbers, is a testimonial to the party leaders for their achievements at the convention.

The Task Ahead

Our agitation in the party has aroused a great many members. It bore all the fruit it could. There is no further need for influencing the remaining members in the party thru working from within. There is no longer the danger of leaving the membership in the custody of a leadership that either leads it nowhere or in the wrong direction. The truly Socialist elements in the party are rushing out of it, disgusted, disheartened. They lack, however, a constructive plan of action. Merely leaving the party to those who approve of its reformist policies and tactics is insufficient. We must organize to get out and get out to organize.

This is why we say to all the true Socialists in the Socialist Party:

The Committee for the Third International sees no further reason for staying in the Socialist Party. It believes the Socialist Party has completely and beyond recovery outlived its usefulness as an agency for propaganda, and an instrument for the realization of Socialism.

We prophecy the early demise of the Socialist Party and call upon all those who read the future as we do, to get ready to quit the ship that no longer sails the flag of working class Socialism.

But then the next step must follow. A new home for constructive revolutionary Socialism must be built. Another political party of the working class must be established with the passing of the Socialist Party. It must be alive to the problems of the revolutionary age, as well as imbued with the keen sense of reality without which a working class party will be built on "a rope of sand." To the fulfillment of this task we call all of you, comrades, in and out of the Socialist Party. To the work along these lines we pledge our own energies, loyalty and service.

Comrades: Organize for the purpose of getting in touch with us and prepare for a conference, which will be called in the near future and where definite plans will be worked out and the foundation laid

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Jewish Federation Leaves Socialist Party

The Jewish Socialist Federation has withdrawn from the Socialist Party. The convention held in New York, September 3-5, called specifically to consider withdrawal from the party, showed 41 delegates against the party and 33 for it.

However, the attitude of the entire convention, that of both sides in it, constituted a convincing demonstration against the old organization of Morris Hillquit, Victor Berger, Gerber, Branstetter, Stedman, Germer, etc.

The debate on the main issue consumed fully five hours, evenly divided between the pro's and the con's. The defenders of "law and order," of the status quo in the party, had not one word to say in favor of the party. Fear for the new, for the "jump into the unknown," was all they could find in favor of remaining in the Socialist Party.

The loyalists organized into a Jewish Alliance (Verband) within the party. The withdrawing federation retains its name, organization, membership, its weekly paper, the "Naye Welt" (New World), large book publishing plant and other valuable assets.

The 33 delegates who voted for the Socialist Party represented what is known in Gogol's classic epic as "Dead Souls." While still in session the convention continually received telegrams from the membership in the branches, whose delegates remained in the party, urgently requesting them to quit the ship that no longer sails under the revolutionary Socialist flag.

The Jewish Forward, the powerful daily in New York, with editions in half a dozen other cities, played a rather peculiarly interesting role in the proceeding.

Its circulation and advertising agents all over the country "delivered" the delegates with the votes for the Socialist Party. The publishing association that runs the daily placed an embargo on all and any criticism in the paper's columns against the party.

Yet the entire editorial staff of the Forward went with the seceding Federation, the exception being the editor-in-chief, Abraham Cahan, who "gives a rap for the party," and Business Manager Alderman Vladek, who "knows better."

Thus the Federation lined up on its side such tried and proved Socialists as Morris Winchevsky (the Grandfather of Jewish Socialism); Moissaye J. Olgin; Dr. B. Hoffman (Zivien); Harry Rogoff, until the day of the convention the acting editor of the Daily Forward, Loliput, and P. Novick. All these people left the staff of the Forward.

It is not, however, the aligning of the leading Jewish Socialists on the side of the Federation that made its convention a red letter day in the Socialist movement of the country. The clear-cut position taken by the Federation on all the current issues of the day, its uncompromising and well-considered attitude toward the Third International, the problems of Political Action, Trade Union Tactics, Soviet Rule, Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and

other questions, make for the importance of this step. The statement of withdrawal follows:

THESES ON WITHDRAWAL FROM THE S. P. ADOPTED AT THE CONVENTION

The Jewish Socialist Federation was organized as a central body of Jewish language branches of the party, with a sincere obligation to work in the party and through the party for the realization of the ideals of revolutionary Marxian Socialism.

The members and leaders of the Jewish Socialist Federation realized and have at several conventions pointed out that the party was far from being a revolutionary Socialist organization in many instances, both with regard to general formulation of principles as well as tactics. Our criticism was comradely. We sought to convince from the inside.

But the international revolutionary movement, which followed in the wake of the world-war, put the party to a test, along with the other sections of the world movement. The time came to speak in clear-cut Socialist terms. In this the party failed. It remained silent.

The crisis in the party followed. The split of 1919 was the first consequence of this failure. The formation of the left wing strengthened the reactionary element in the party. This we foresaw and we opposed the step from the outset. It was tactically wrong. The Left Wing was equally wrong in point of principle, and time has proven to us and to the left elements the correctness of our position. We remained in the party, giving the party membership the warning that the future would test the ability of the leaders to withstand the temptation to join the camp of the reactionaries.

They have not stood the test. They tried to deceive us, though for a short time only. They showed their colors a few months after the Chicago (1919) Convention. They took the position that they always had been and under all conditions would remain a non-militant party of law-abiding reform "Socialists," although they were not opposed to coquetting at times with revolutionary phrases.

The Albany chapter of party history cannot be recalled too often, but we do not intend to repeat again in detail what transpired there. The whole conduct of the Albany trial aimed to show that the party is law-abiding before everything and is out for respectability at any cost.

The defense disavowed the Third International, shelved all pretense to party discipline, and convicted through its spokesmen the Soviet Government and the Soviet Regime.

Yet the disgrace heaped upon the Socialist movement by the Albany trial cannot be measured alone by its betrayal of all Socialist principles. It remained for the New York (1920) Convention to complete the infamy, this being the theoretical approval of the actual betrayal of Socialism.

Even Comrade Debs felt obliged to state that the party looked more like a party of politicians than a party of workers.

The 1920 election proved the actual demoralization of the party from the point of view of membership, influence and activity. It showed that no more could there be any hope that the Socialist Party would survive, that it could be resurrected in the Socialist sense. It became impossible for a serious Socialist to remain in the party.

We decided to put the party to a test on the issue of the Third International, its spirit, its principles, its aspirations. This is why we remained thru the Detroit Convention.

But all Socialist fundamentals were deserted at Detroit in June. The convention there refused to take a positive stand on any question except that dealing with political fusion, adopting the tactics of discredited, bankrupt politicians.

It put the Third International, the Department of Justice and American capitalism on the same basis. The party that was already dead now received its spiritual burial.

Under these circumstances the convention declares that the Jewish Socialist Federation can no longer remain in the Socialist Party and is withdrawing from it, individually and collectively.

Tentative Statement of the Position and Purposes of the Workers' Council of the United States of America

The Workers' Council of the United States has been called into being for the purpose of aiding in the struggle to unite all class-conscious working-class groups into a truly revolutionary Socialist organization.

It pledges itself to aid in the effort to establish a Socialist Soviet Republic in the United States.

For immediate organization purposes it offers the following tentative draft of a program upon which all such revolutionary elements can unite:

1. **THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL:**—Unconditional affiliation with the Third International.

2. **DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT:**—The transitional period, following the inevitable breakdown of the capitalist system, may take a long time and will unavoidably be accompanied by civil strife in one form or another. At such a time the new order has a right to defend itself, and the Communist-conscious workers and their party are then duty-bound to disregard the formal rights of the bourgeoisie as a minority of the people and build the power of the workers as the great majority upon such a strong basis and with such guarantees that the revolution will not be endangered by counter-revolution from within nor intervention from without.

3. **POLITICAL ACTION:**—Participation in all political activities, as well as electoral campaigns, in order to utilize them for the purpose of carrying the Communist message to the masses. But the parliamentary struggle is only one form of the political struggle of the working class for its emancipation. The political struggle must never be circumscribed by purely parliamentary activity; on the contrary, it must be extended in all possible spheres.

4. **THE TRADE UNIONS:**—We must make clear to the workers that in the struggle for the abolition of the wages system, the economic organizations of the workers are a most important factor, and that to be most effective, labor must be imbued with the spirit of the class struggle; must aim at the complete abolition of the capitalist system; must work for the re-organization of labor along industrial lines to meet with equal force the ever-extending industrial forces of capitalism, and that it must be aggressive in its tactics and methods.

5. **FORM OF ORGANIZATION:**—It must provide for the concentration of power and authority within the party in the hands of the executive committee, subject to control by the membership. The Workers' Council will carry on all its work as an open organization.

6. **PARTY PRESS, ELECTED OFFICIALS AND MEMBERS OF TRADE UNIONS:**—The party executive shall have complete control of the press and the activities of all elected officials, with the power of expelling officials who fail in their duty to the party and the workers. It shall also coordinate and direct the work of the party members in the trade unions.

Upon the basis of this tentative statement the Workers' Council of the United States issues a call for a National Conference to be held some time during November, the exact time and place to be announced at an early date.

* * *

Direct all requests for information to J. Louis Engdahl, Secretary, Workers' Council of the United States of America, Room 233, 80 East 11th Street, New York City, N. Y.

Competition Among Sleuths

The Socialist Party, its secretary, Otto Branstetter, and the Call, New York party daily, parade in the role of informer and agent provocateur of the department of justice in the issue of the Call, Tuesday, September 6, page 7.

The Call becomes a party to these spy activities by voluntarily giving space to Branstetter's latest, entitled "Communists Try 'Legal' Work," in which the Socialist secretary glories in his ability as a sleuth by proclaiming that the American Labor Alliance is "simply an alias of the United Communist Party, camouflaged in an attempt to secure the support of the workers under false pretences."

Branstetter thus joins the quixotic Feigenbaum of the Call in taking bread and butter out of the mouths of underpaid secret service agents who must do this dirty work for a living.

The American Labor Alliance is a federation of organizations. The U. S. secret service, now headed by that king of dime novel detectives, "Bill" Burns, has been exerting every effort to link these organizations with the Communist Party. But without success, because there is no connection between them except the solidarity that should unite the ranks of all class conscious labor.

What the police hounds have failed to do, Branstetter, Feigenbaum and Co. brilliantly achieve with a few mesmeric waves at a typewriter. Great is the power of the traitor. Capitalism daily recruits new renegades. * * *

LATER.—Branstetter is unanimously re-elected national secretary of the Socialist Party by the party executive. Feigenbaum ought to go to congress, at least.

A Ship on the Rocks

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

The Socialist Party has held its 9th and probably its last National Convention. It is impossible to discuss the fatal acts of the Detroit gathering in June without also commenting on the effect that those acts have already had on the party membership and the party sympathizers.

Two years ago the Socialist Party went on the rocks. It is still there, only it is much worse for the battering it has received.

The experienced mariner, sticking by his ship, usually struggles to get it off the rocks and into deep water again, where it can be successfully and safely navigated.

Not so with those who have control over the destinies of the Socialist Party ship. They sent it on the rocks in Chicago, in 1919; they kept it there at the New York Convention in 1920, and in Detroit, this June, 1921, they made absolutely certain that that ship would never leave the rocks, except as a mass of shattered wreckage.

The struggle at Detroit for a closer alignment with the Third International was overwhelmingly defeated. Affiliation without reservations, on the basis of the 21 points, as advocated by the writer, was snowed under by a vote of 31 to 4.

Affiliation with reservations, as approved by the New York Convention, one year ago, was defeated in this convention by a vote of 26 to 13.

The "Neutrality" Fake.

Don't think for a moment that there is any "neutrality" involved in the proposition that was adopted, declaring for a "Hands Off" policy toward all Internationals, until the party in this country shall have developed a strong organization.

Communications from the Second International were received, read and acted on at the August meeting of the Socialist Party Executive Committee. Questions of international relations are referred to Morris Hillquit, who definitely proclaims, as his opinion, that "the communist wave is receding."

The position is clear. The Detroit declaration leaves every party editor, every party speaker, every party writer, free to attack and vilify the Third International, to his own satisfaction. That is already being done.

This situation is developed in the action on the resolution of National Secretary Otto Branstetter, unanimously re-elected by the party N. E. C. in August, to expel all Third Internationalists from the party.

With all the noise that was made in favor of this resolution before the convention took place, we find only two votes cast in favor of it, and one of these came from Delegate Flanagan, Georgia, who voted for the 21 points. Flanagan announced that if it was a crime to favor the Third International, then he was guilty of that crime. The other vote came from Delegate Lewis, Socialist mayor of Elwood, Ind. Most of the Third Internationalists in the convention refrained from voting.

Yet the fact that Berger and others voted against

the Branstetter resolution that did not mean that they were opposed to it.

"We'll take care of this situation when we get back home," is the way the Socialist boss of Milwaukee put it.

And Berger does take care of every situation that arises. He already has interpreted, in the columns of the Milwaukee Leader, the Detroit "neutrality" resolution on international relations, by continuing his attack on the Third International, and all that it stands for. Other reactionary forces within the party will do the same.

Timidity is not one of Berger's characteristics. Brazen opportunism is his chief stock in trade. He opposes the dictatorship of the proletariat, sneers at soviet rule, and seeks to ridicule other fundamentals of the working class struggle for power, because they are not needed in the race for the jobs in Wisconsin.

Berger Lines Them Up.

It is Berger's brazen opportunism that lines up the adventurous delegates who would wander into the jungles of the class struggle.

There were four delegates therefore, who drifted far enough away from the ideas of the discredited Second International to proclaim themselves for the so-called Vienna Working Union of Socialist Parties, the 2½ International. There was Hoehn, of Missouri, and King, of California, as shining champions of the Vienna gathering that, in order to appear radical and revolutionary, had adopted the principles of the dictatorship and of soviet rule.

But when these two subjects came up for discussion and action, Hoehn, King and the rest quickly sought the protecting shelter of the Milwaukee band wagon. The convention took no stand on the questions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of soviet power, two more "neutral" positions that will leave the party forces free to attack these two fundamentals of the working class struggle whenever occasion requires.

"Leave the definition of these terms to our grandchildren," said Berger, who, of course, is not willing to wait for his grand children to tell him what position to take, even on the question of the realization of Socialism, far beyond the period of dictatorship and transition. What Berger means, of course, is hands off this question, everybody, excepting himself.

Hillquit Discovers "Dictatorship."

It was last year at the New York convention that Morris Hillquit bitterly attacked the principle of the dictatorship. It meant violence, bloodshed, the red terror, everything that all "true Socialists" should turn away from. It was Hillquit's big attack on the minority declaration of principles. His position then was that the idea of the dictatorship was alien to all Socialist philosophy.

At Detroit, 1921, we find Hillquit trying to define the meaning of the "dictatorship." It is, he says, "The political rule of the working class in the

period of transition from the capitalist system to the Socialist order. It is not necessarily associated with a restriction of the political rights of opponents, or with violence or terror."

Hillquit was even willing to make this slight concession to the effort to get the Socialist ship off the rocks and back to Socialism. But in vain. There were five propositions on the question of the dictatorship before the convention.

"Kill 'em all!" shouted the Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, the Communist-eater, Daniel W. Hoan. And kill them all, they did.

For the first time a mild declaration on the use of the general strike for political and economic purposes was favored by a Socialist Party convention. Shades of the Albany trial of the ousted Socialist assemblymen, where it was denied that the Socialist Party favored the use of the strike weapon for political purposes!

But this was one of those flukes that sometimes occur. Mayor Hoan, of Milwaukee, was more anxious to secure the adoption of a fusion plan than he was opposed to a mild general strike declaration. He schemed accordingly.

Open Way to Fusion.

To serve his end, Hoan became a raving extremist, offered a resolution to call all working-class organizations together next year, in lieu of the annual Socialist convention, and thus get together on a plan for a General Strike Program for the political prisoners.

Then speaker after speaker attacked the policy of isolation of the Socialist Party. And King, of California, forgot all about the general strike for the political prisoners, urging hurry-up fusion to take advantage of the congressional elections next year.

Hillquit again tried to save a few pieces from the wreckage of the Socialist ship, being battered now harder than ever. He urged that the Party National Executive Committee merely get in touch with other organizations, and then report next year. It was a move for delay, nothing more. And in the meantime the local organizations of the party will do pretty much as they please on the question of fusion.

To be sure, Nikolai Lenin urged that the British Communist Party, formerly the British Socialist Party, apply for affiliation with the British Labor Party, on the basis of no surrender of principle. The Labor Party, at its recent congress, refused that affiliation. On the basis of no surrender of Socialist principle, not one political organization, so-called, of the workers in America, would co-operate with the Socialist Party. But the surrender of principle has proceeded so far that coalition would be superfluous. Complete fusion is inevitable, and this means the end of the Socialist Party.

Where the convention did take a stand, the effort was meaningless in view of the prevailing local autonomy within the party.

Centralization vs. "57 Varieties."

Similarly the so-called powers of supervision given the national executive committee over elected

officials and over the party press. Meyer London, the lone Socialist congressman, didn't even take the trouble to attend the convention. Instead he sent a letter. And the New York Call, the Milwaukee Leader and Oklahoma Leader, not to mention the various weeklies, will suit their policies to their local conditions and local leaderships. There will be no Moscow discipline in the party, not even at the expense of having "57 varieties" of Socialist Parties throughout the country.

That is where the Socialist Party finds itself after two years on the rocks, a position perfectly satisfactory to most of its present leadership. The convention issued a call for \$20,000.00 in 30 days. The call declares that, "we raise this minimum of \$20,000.00 within not more than 30 days or the National Office quits its activities and closes its doors."

That is blunt enough. The struggle for *Socialism*, according to the Detroit Convention, is not one of spirit and sacrifice. It is a mere matter of dollars and cents. If the money is forthcoming, the party lives, whether or no it has Socialist spirit or principle. That was the thought of the Spargoes, Russells and others, who built the Social-Democratic League and similar organizations to wreck the Socialist Party during the war. Spargo, Russell, et al, had money. It will be shown that they were subsidized by the government. But they got nowhere. The renegades failed to rally a corporal's guard in their support.

What will the effect of the Detroit convention's desertion of principle be upon the party? Although a favorable attitude was taken on the question of foreign language federations, we find that two of these federations, the Bohemian and Jewish, paying no attention to this sop thrown to them, have voted to leave the party.

Deserting the Ship.

The Bohemian and Jewish federations refuse to go down with the wreckage. Others will join them. It was last winter that the national executive committee discovered the theory that the Third International was one thing, that the Russian Soviet Republic was something else, apart from it and even hostile to it. Few could understand this theory, especially the members of the Finnish Federation, 8,000 strong. So they left the party. But a few hesitated. Wait for the Detroit convention, they said. Perhaps the theory of the national executive committee will be exploded. But it wasn't. And any Finns that might have remained in the party, now join the exodus.

Time will show that what is true of the Bohemians, Jews, Finns, and other foreign nationalities, is also true of large numbers of members in the English branches.

The more than 100,000 members that the Socialist Party had two years ago are on the march. They have left the Detroit Convention stalled far in the rear, groping about in the quagmires of indecision and stupidity, where the renegades in the Farmer Labor Party and other similar organizations are also floundering, fretting and fuming.

In the meantime the Socialist Party ship remains upon the rocks, battered and helpless, unable to weather the seas where old Socialist ideas battle to meet new conditions.

Long Live the World Revolution!

(Continued from Page 103.)

tariat of all countries to learn to benefit by the lessons which the working classes of one country has learned as a result of great sacrifices, and to apply them internationally.

Take care to preserve discipline in the struggle.

The working class and the Communist parties of all countries are not entering a peaceful period of propaganda and organization. At the present time capitalism is preparing a series of assaults against the proletariat in an attempt to crush it, while making it bear all the disastrous consequences of its policies.

In this combat, the Communists should strive to develop the strongest discipline. The executive committees of their parties should take into consideration all the lessons learned during the course of former conflicts and control the field of battle. They should combine great fervor with thoro reflection. Under the watchfulness and criticism of the comrades in the party they should initiate a plan of well-considered action for the whole party.

All the organizations of the party, the press and the parliamentary groups, should follow, without flinching, the executives of the party, inspired by them, in every one of their words and actions.

To the Task.

The survey of the Communist advance-guards is ended. It has proved that Communism is a world power. It has proved that the work of organizing

and educating the great proletarian armies is yet to be accomplished. It has shown that great, victorious conflicts are in store for those armies. It has declared that we will be victorious in the struggle. It has shown the world proletariat how it should prepare itself to secure victory.

It now remains with the Communist parties of all countries to enlighten their members as to the decisions of the congress, which have grown out of the experiences of the world proletariat, in order that all the Communist working men and women may be able to enlist the non-Communist proletarians for the battles which are to come.

Long live the Communist International! Long live the World Revolution!

Onward to the task of preparation and organization for our victory!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL: Germany, Heckert and Froehlich; France, Souvarine; Czechoslovakia, Burian and Kreibich; Italy, Terracini and Genari; Russia, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek, Lenin and Trotzky; Ukraine, Chumski; Poland, Glinski; Bulgaria, Popov; Jugoslavia, Markovicz; Norway, Schefflo; England, Bell; America, Baldwin; Spain, Marino, Garcia; Finland, Sirola; Holland, Janson; Belgium, Van Overstraeten; Sweden, Kilbohm; Lithuania, Stutschka; Switzerland, Arnold; Austria, Koritschener; Hungary, Bela Kun, and for the International of Youth, Vouyovitch.

MOSCOW, SOVIET RUSSIA, JULY 17, 1921.

The Socialist Party and Free Speech

It has been the proudest boast of the Socialist Party ever since the war that it stood unflinchingly for the rights of free speech. Its official organ carried as a sub-head "for a free press, free speech and free assemblage." It prided itself as the one party which stood steadfastly by the Constitution which in the past it had so irreverently denounced. In defense of the ousted Assemblymen, Hillquit, Lee and other witnesses for the Socialist Party took great pains to point out that the party stood for complete freedom and democracy.

In the light of the above, a recent action of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party is interesting. At its August meeting, a motion was passed to inform the Rand School that while the N. E. C. would like to assist the school in extending its work, it must protest against the use of Benjamin Glassberg as an extension lecturer. In other words the school was warned that if it expects any help from the party officials it must remove Glassberg from its staff.

No Reasons Necessary

No reason was given by the N. E. C. for its action. None was necessary. This party of free speech and free thought adopted this policy of the boycott to punish a member of the party, who for the past two years has criticised the reactionary and compromising position of the party chieftains.

Too cowardly to expel him for remaining true to the principles of International Socialism which they had deserted, they adopt the typically capitalist attitude of striking at its critics, namely to strike at his means of making a livelihood. They are still under the illusion that the way to silence a man is to fire him.

It should be noted that the Rand School of Social Science, with which Glassberg has been connected for the past three years, is not a party-owned institution. The many lecturers connected with its staff are not by any means as a rule members of the Socialist Party, with the exception of the members of the permanent staff. The school has never attempted to prescribe to its instructors what is orthodox and what is not.

Experience with Public School Board

Compared with this action of the "democratic" Socialist Party, the supposedly autocratic Board of Education of New York City must be regarded as an extremely liberal body.

During the war, at a time when hysteria ran rampant, when every effort was made to stamp out the dissenter, and the Socialist Party had just adopted the St. Louis manifesto, Glassberg was on the soap box both in 1917 and 1918, a legislative candidate of the party, and lectured at the Rand School as well.

Nevertheless, no effort was made to remove him; no effort to interfere with his anti-patriotic activities.

Lesson for Party Members

It was not until after the conclusion of the war that some utterance concerning Bolshevism was used to create sufficient feeling to justify his dismissal.

Glassberg has no complaint to make regarding the action of the N. E. C. He was disillusioned regarding "Democracy" during the war. Calling attention to this action of the highest power of the Socialist Party may help to disillusion the few remaining members of the Socialist Party.

After the Detroit Disaster

The correspondence of the Socialist Party National Office must make gloomy reading these days. Only this correspondence, with that of the party's state and local organizations, can fully disclose the extent of the Detroit disaster that becomes more apparent from day to day.

Immediately the convention adjourned a referendum proposing withdrawal from the party went out to the membership of the Bohemian (Czecho-Slovakian) Federation. This referendum carried by vote of 387 to 45, nearly ten to one.

Moving Toward the Left

Ever since the armistice, and before, the membership of the Bohemian Federation has been steadily moving to the leftwards. The Detroit Convention ended their affiliation with the Socialist Party. This federation has a daily paper in Chicago, in addition to several weeklies. It also issues books and pamphlets from its own press.

Charles Kolarik, secretary of the federation, is also secretary of the federation organized "Workers' Council," an organization of Socialist and sympathetic elements in the labor unions and other working class bodies. The Bohemians are a big factor in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union in Chicago and elsewhere.

The Bohemian Federation, and its subsidiary body, the Workers' Council, will meet in convention, Nov. 24-26, to determine their future affiliations.

Jewish Federation Quits

While the Bohemians were voting in their referendum, the members of the Jewish Federation were electing delegates to a convention call to discuss and act on the question of withdrawal from the party. The federation executive had declared for withdrawal, this position was upheld in the federation weekly, the New World, and it was finally endorsed by overwhelming vote at the convention, New York City, Sept. 3-5. We give space on another page to the declaration of this convention.

Out of the formidable array of foreign language federations affiliated with the party in 1919, numbering 13 with 60,000 members, skeletons of but three now remain. Of these the Italian and Jugo-Slav Federations have restless memberships discontented with the Detroit policies. The German membership is negligible.

Jugo-Slavs for "The Third"

The Jugo-Slav Federation constitutes that social-patriotic element that withdrew from the party during the war. It returned only recently to the party fold and its membership is already developing a healthy Third International spirit.

What is true of the Jugo-Slavs, is also true of a section of the social-patriotic Polish Federation, American supporters of Pilsudski and Co. This element split with the Federation at its recent convention at Rochester, N. Y., and declared for the Third International.

English-Speaking Workers, Too!

The tendencies among the foreign language workers are also present among the English speaking workers. Strong groups of the Workers' Council have been organized in New York and Chicago. Their ranks are being swelled by increasing desertions from the Socialist Party. In Chicago half a dozen branches have already voluntarily withdrawn from the party. The same revulsion against the Detroit declarations is spreading down state.

Paul P. Glaser, member of the Committee for the Third International, is organizing a Workers' Council group at Gary, Ind.

H. L. Flannagan, southern district delegate at Detroit, wires his endorsement of the withdrawal statement of the Committee of the Third, and says the comrades at Atlanta, Ga., where Debs is imprisoned, are standing with him and awaiting developments.

C. W. Kirkendall, West Virginia delegate at Detroit, also wires his endorsement of the withdrawal statement.

Welcome News from Ohio

These are only a few of the tendencies within the Socialist Party. Of equal importance is the desire for unity of ele-

ments that have remained without affiliation during the past two years. These elements have answered the rallying cry of the Workers' Council. They are enthusiastic for it.

The Ohio movement, which has for its spokesmen such comrades as Marguerite Prevey and Charles Baker, promises to establish numerous local organizations of the Workers' Council. In Toledo, the comrades have been organized and working as the "Industrial Socialists." At a meeting attended by Comrades Prevey and Baker they voted to change their name to Workers' Council. On the same day an open air mass meeting was held and a collection of \$75 taken up for the Russian Famine Relief. A Council has been organized at Akron and work is already under way at Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati and other centers.

German Workers Help

Another great advantage to the Workers' Council is the expressed sympathy of the organization of our German comrades known as the Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein (Workers' Educational Society), constituted from the big section of the German Socialist Federation that left the party two years ago. It has a fighting organ in the Volkszeitung, the German daily published in New York City, and its weekly, the New York Vorwärts, both edited by that brilliant journalist and tireless worker in the cause of the downtrodden, Ludwig Lore.

The Workers' Council

is the only Socialist magazine
in the United States which

INTERPRETS the changes and developments in the **International Socialist Movement**, clearly and intelligently;

EXPLAINS the principles, problems and aims of the **Third International**;

ANALYSES constructively the **Socialist and Labor forces** in the United States.

THE WORKERS' COUNCIL has met with an enthusiastic welcome in every part of the Country.

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YOUR HELP SPELLS LIFE FOR THE WORKERS' COUNCIL.

The Rise and Fall of the Socialist Party

By BENJAMIN GLASSBERG

The story of the decline and decay of the Socialist Party can be described most graphically through its membership figures. Up to 1912, it grew steadily, rising from 15,975 in 1903, two years after its organization, to 118,045 in 1912, when it reached its high-water mark. It was then one of the largest Socialist parties in the world.

It was in 1912 that the struggle over the famous Section 6, anti-sabotage clause, broke loose, with the result that about twenty thousand members withdrew from the party. The party never again reached the membership it had prior to its efforts to pose as an anti-violence organization. Following 1912, there was a slow but steady decrease in membership, which was for a time accelerated by the entrance of the United States in the war. Locals in outlying, rural sections fell early victims to the holy war for Democracy.

In 1918 the membership began to take a turn upward. In January, 1918, it reached 86,650; in March it had gone up to 101,571; in December, however, it fell to 84,495. In 1919 there was once more an upward movement; in March, just when the dissatisfaction with the compromising attitude of the party was making itself felt, resulting in the organization of left-wing elements in various sections of the country, the membership had gone up to 101,313.

The dispute within the party and the efforts made by the officialdom to maintain control let loose forces which very soon split the party wide open, and in the course of about two years brought the party membership far below what it was in 1903. In December, 1919, three months after the organization of the Communist and Communist Labor Parties, the Socialist Party had remaining 31,738 members. The average for 1920, aided by the Albany affair, fell to 26,766. For the first five months of 1921, the average dropped still further, to 17,464, consisting of 13,262 English speaking members and 4,182 in the various foreign-language federations. The decrease was due largely to the withdrawal of the Finnish Federation because of utter disgust with the party's international position.

As an indication of the now rapid disintegration of the Socialist Party, it should be noted that since the infamous Detroit Convention, the Jewish and Bohemian Federations have both voted to withdraw from the party, which means a loss of at least 1,500 members. At the recent meeting of the party executive committee, the membership of the English-speaking sections was reported to average between six and seven thousand for the last three months. If what is left of the language federations be added to this, it would leave at most a membership of 9,000 for a party which only two years ago boasted of more than 100,000, at a time when a party like the French had no more than 40,000. Retribution has come mighty rapidly to the party and policies of Berger and Hillquit.

The average annual membership figures are as follows:

Going Up!	
1903	15,975
1904	20,763
1905	23,327
1906	26,784
1907	29,270
1908	41,751
1909	41,470
1910	58,011
1911	84,716
1912	118,045

Adopts "Section 6," Down!

1913	95,957
1914	93,579
1915	79,374
1916	83,284

The Anti-War stand: Up!

1917	80,379
1918	82,344
1919 (first 3 months) *	104,822

Anti-Third International. Down!

1919 (last 3 months) **	34,926
1920	26,766
1921 (first 7 months)	14,934
May, 1921,	9,919
June, 1921,	12,024
July, 1921,	5,781

* Before the split in the party

** After the split in the party.

July, 1921, the month following the Detroit Convention, showed dues stamps sold totalling only 5,781, which means the passing "down and out" of the Socialist Party as a national organization.

"FAREWELL!" TO SOCIALIST PARTY

(Continued from Page 105.)

for a powerful American Section of the Third International.

Forward in the struggle for the realization of an irresistible party of the world's disinherited.

SIGNERS OF THE WITHDRAWAL STATEMENT: MINORITY DELEGATES, NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1921, DETROIT: J. Louis Engdahl, Illinois; H. L. Flanagan, Southern District, C. W. Kirkendall, West Virginia; Charles Kolarik, Bohemian Federation; M. Bailin, Jewish Federation.

MINORITY DELEGATES, NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1920, NEW YORK: Steven Bircher, New Jersey; Benjamin Glassberg and Alexander Trachtenberg, New York.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (in addition to the above): Paul P. Glaser, Indiana; Morris Backall, M. Baumstein, Louis T. Herzon, Ralph Henderson Henry E. Wickwire and Hyman Schneid, Illinois; Rose Weiss, New Jersey; J. B. Salutsky, M. J. Olgin, Alexander Karlin and George Wishnak, New York.

Send all your communications to J. Louis Engdahl, Secretary, 80 East 11th Street, New York City.

"It is a new attempt by capitalist society to find an escape from the contradictions created by the imperialistic world war."—The Third International on Washington Disarmament Conference.

The Workers' Council

AN ORGAN FOR THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

Vol. I (10 Cents per Copy) New York, October 15, 1921 (\$1 per Year) No. 8

Left — The Same Old Rotten Eggs



The Third International
Exposes Washington Conference

See Pages 117-119

The Open Communist Party—
The Task of the Hour!

See Pages 120-121