

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. Salatsky, M. J. Olgin, Alexander Karlin and George Wisznak, 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

The Russian Miracle It Must Not Fail

"I HAVE LEFT EUROPE, WHERE ART HAS BEEN KILLED BY COMMERCIALISM, AND I AM CONVINCED THAT THE GREATEST HUMAN MIRACLE THAT HAS HAPPENED FOR 2,000 YEARS IS NOW PASSING IN RUSSIA."

Thus writes Isadora Duncan, the famous dancer, who has gone to Russia to teach her art, in a letter to the Paris "Humanite," the French communist daily.

"We are, doubtless, too contemporary," she continues, "and can only see material facts; but those who shall live 100 years hence will understand that in the reign of Communism humanity has taken an immense step forward, and

THE MARTYRDOM WHICH RUSSIA IS SUFFERING WILL BE AS FRUITFUL FOR POSTERITY AS THE MARTYRDOM OF THE NAZARENE.

"Only the fraternity of all the workers of the world, only the Internationale, can save civilization."

Swept by Famine and Plague

WE ask our readers to read over again the above news item taken from a current issue of The Herald, the London labor daily, so ably edited by George Lansbury.

Soviet Russia is today facing her greatest agony. She is combatting the distress that is gripping some of her richest provinces, swept by famine and plague.

Let the fraternity of the toilers of America with the workers of the world rally in the effort to raise \$220,000,000. This is the amount needed to meet this crisis.

Demand that the Russian workers receive immediate and adequate assistance from the United States government.

Get behind the national and international drive for funds. The Russian miracle must develop into a complete reality. You must help!

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 Street, New York City.

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

Among the first to respond to the Workers' Council appeal for the Russian Famine Relief Fund are the following: J. M. Naron, California, \$10; I. Serier Washington, \$5; Loggia Giuseppe Verdie, Richmond, Va., \$6.75; T. H. Stone, Virginia, \$6.58; and Painters'

Union, Local 1018, Richmond, Va., \$1. The total to start is \$29.33. Readers of the Workers' Council will be interested to learn that their editor, J. Louis Engdahl, has been elected to the Executive Committee of the Russian Federated Famine Relief.

The Workers' Council

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New York, October 15, 1921

No. 8

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Cartoon, "Left.—Same Old Rotten Eggs".....	Cover
Famine Appeal for Soviet Russia.....	114
Editorials.....	115-116
Washington Conference Exposed.....	117-119
The Task of the Hour.....	120-121
The American Coal Miners.....	122
Labor Dictatorship Is Historical Necessity.....	123
Socialist Party and Soviet Russia.....	125
Lusk and Hillquit Accommodated.....	126
Medical Care in Soviet Russia.....	127
Launch the National Campaign.....	128

Issued by the Executive Committee of the Workers' Council of the United States

EDITOR.....J. LOUIS ENGDahl

Address all communications to Workers' Council, 80 East 11th Street, New York City

TEN CENTS A COPY

\$1 per year, 50 cents for six months.

If the jobless get hungry, they can still look at "Sammy" Gompers and "Steel Kaiser" Schwab standing side by side in the picture taken of the unemployment conference at Washington.

LIMITING ARMAMENTS

Under the spiritual guidance of the Gompers' regime of the American Federation of Labor, the organized workers in various sections of the country are planning to celebrate Armistice Day, November 11, with the holding of Disarmament meetings.

In New York City the labor officialdom announces that there will be no co-operation with "pacifists." This, no doubt, refers to those who opposed the late war.

First preparations for the New York demonstration were made at a meeting held in the City Hall presided over by the "patriotic" head of the Central Trades and Labor Council.

"Among those present" were representatives of the American Red Cross, the Girl Scouts, National Security League, the American Defense Society, the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce and Merchants' Association, all hysteria promoting organizations during and before the late conflict. These were the original champions of "preparedness" in 1916-17.

Gompers is carrying out this idea on a national scale thru the organization of a national advisory committee on disarmament, to which he has invited Ralph Easley, of the Civic Federation, and other flag waving jingoes.

Gompers is thus trying to repeat his pantomime

entitled, "The Lion and Lamb," in which the lion and the lamb lie down together, the lamb inside the lion.

Under the Gompers' chloroforming policies, at least a part of the labor movement will persuade itself that capitalism is serious about this disarming business.

But it will wake up with the next strike, as was the case in West Virginia. The private armies of the employers, the state constabulary and militia, and the federal troops, with tanks, aeroplanes and poison gas, will again be brought into effective use.

If the Harding administration at Washington is interested in limiting armaments let it disarm the ruling class of the United States.

But this it will steadfastly refuse to do. It wouldn't so much as rob a Thiel or Burns Detective Agency assassin of a single bullet from his precious automatic.

The American ruling class is armed to the teeth against the workers of this country. The Washington conference will make sure that any disarmament hypocrisy that may develop will not weaken the international exploiters in their war upon the world's workers.

This is the time for the lukewarm to warm up. If in doubt where to make your power felt politically, get into the WORKERS' COUNCIL, 80 East 11th St., New York City.

SOLVING THE JOBLESS PROBLEM

When the American Federation of Labor Executive Council met several weeks ago at Atlantic City, the question of participating in the proposed unemployment conference was discussed.

John Tobin, member of the council and treasurer of the federation, remembering labor's experience with Wilson's industrial conference, urged ignoring the equally futile Harding conclave.

Tobin even threatened to resign if the council should decide to participate. Gompers, always a staunch believer in capital-labor parleys, insisted on taking part.

Against five labor representatives, Secretary Hoover selected twenty industrial and financial magnates, most of whom are open shoppers, with glorious records of union smashing.

The professors who were also invited to this capital-labor love feast were intended only for decorative purposes.

When the real issues were reached—the present wage standard and the closed shop—these professors could be depended on to produce enough scientific data to "prove" how a decrease in wages and the open shop would benefit the workers.

After a great deal of vaporous generalities and picture taking—Charley Schwab and Sammy Gompers always standing together in the center—the conference came to the "heart of the unemployment problem" by receiving a recommendation from its most important sub-committee for a return to normalcy, via wage cutting.

Soviet Russia Celebrates Fourth Anniversary!

Before another issue of the WORKERS' COUNCIL appears, labor in all lands will have celebrated the fourth anniversary of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. Its birthday is Monday, November 7, 1921.

The first Workers' Republic has survived all attacks directed against it, through four years filled to the brim with agony in every conceivable form.

Labor in all capitalist lands will unite, on this year's anniversary with the emancipated toilers of the Soviet Republic in celebrating the great victory that is slowly being won over famine and plague in the Volga River provinces.

This year we may all express the hope, more confident than ever, that the fifth anniversary of the Soviet Republic will find it far advanced in its work of reconstruction, in its efforts to establish a real communist society.

The workers everywhere will profit by the example and by the four years' martyrdom of their Russian comrades.

The committee divided 12 to 3. The employers and their professors (the first endow the colleges in which the latter teach) had agreed that the prevailing high (sic) wages obstruct the process of deflation which the committee believes must run its course.

Deflation of profits was not mentioned, of course, in connection with either of the nostrums now advanced to cure the sick industrial system.

The professorial members of the committee are surely familiar with a study published in the last issue of their official organ, the American Economic Review, which proves with abundance of evidence that wages have lagged behind increases in the cost of living, and that notwithstanding the increases in wages granted during the war, the purchasing power of the workers' earnings was about 20 per cent less in 1918, than in 1890.

The federal government, that sponsored the jobless conference, washed its hands of the problem and graciously referred it to state and local authorities to deal with as best they can, to solve the problem of providing jobs for five millions of industrial outcasts.

The British government attempted to perpetrate a similar joke upon its workers. Unlike the A. F. of L. leaders, they refused to join a government conference on unemployment. They preferred to hold the government and the employers fully responsible for the industrial demoralization and are vociferously demanding the provision of immediate and effective means for alleviating the suffering of the idle workers and their families.

The officialdom of American labor is too spineless to adopt a similar attitude. How long will American labor endure such degradation and betrayal of its interests. The time to take account of its affairs is long overdue.

A NATIONAL ISSUE

The New York municipal campaign has suddenly assumed a national importance thru the decision of the board of elections to bar from the ballots the names of two political prisoners, Benjamin Gitlow and Harry Winitzky, Communists, candidates of the Workers' League for mayor and president of the board of aldermen.

Thus the boasted American "democracy" again sheds its thin veneer and reveals itself as the sham it really is.

In order to deprive the workers of the means of expressing themselves thru electoral struggles, first the courts send their spokesmen to prison, then because they are in prison, deny them the right of functioning as the standard bearers of their class.

If this can be done in New York City, it can be done elsewhere. It is a crude practice that the autocracies of Europe always considered too raw to be successful. European political prisoners are allowed to have their names on the ballot. And if they are elected they are usually freed.

This new, criminal attack upon the working class of this country by the capitalist dictatorship must be fought. The WORKERS' COUNCIL, with other organizations, has endorsed the ticket and campaign of the Workers' League.

The candidates for controller and borough presidents are Edward Lindgren, Rose Pastor Stokes, Charles Brower and Jacob W. Hartman.

Every worker in Greater New York should enlist in this campaign, a part of the great struggle for the liberation of his class. Workers over the country can help by sending their contributions to the Campaign Fund, Workers' League, 250 W. 25th St., New York City.

WE'LL NOT FORGET

Attorney General Dougherty quietly announces that he has again pigeon-holed the Debs' case. In the meantime he hopes the workers will forget. He thinks the workers will forget about Debs, Coldwell and all the rest, at Atlanta, Leavenworth and elsewhere.

Tom Mooney still sits in his iron cage in California's state prison because the working class sleeps. Billings is with him.

Every hour brings Sacco and Vanzetti nearer the gallows in Massachusetts.

The first business of the Italian Socialist Party congress meeting at Milan was a protest against the capitalist conspiracy to legally murder our Italian comrades.

Let every waking hour of every worker carry the thought, "We'll not forget." We'll not forget Debs, Coldwell, Mooney, Billings, Sacco, Vanzetti, nor one among all the rest who suffer in prison for loyalty to labor's cause.

When labor gets to thinking hard enough on these crimes perpetrated against it, then it will begin to act.

The Communist International Exposes the Washington Conference

Proclamation on the Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments Issued by the Executive Committee of the Third (Communist) International.

I. THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

THE conference called by the United States Government at Washington for the regulation of Eastern Asiatic problems and the reduction of armaments is a new attempt on the part of capitalist society to find an escape from the contradictions created by the imperialistic World War.

The idea of the creation of a Central Europe and the "League of Nations" has ended in a complete fiasco.

Three years after the end of the war and two years after the conclusion of peace Europe offers the spectacle of a great cage in which all manner of wild beasts are fighting over a bone thrown to them.

Victorious capitalism having demonstrated with such "eminent success" its ability to create peace, now the United States of America, that back in the days of Versailles participated in the attempt to establish the League of Nations and then refused to become a member of its own creation, has a second time taken the initiative, in order to solve questions in which it is vitally concerned, that is, the questions involving Eastern Asia.

Besides this, the United States is desirous of solving the question of the reduction of armaments.

All this is to be accomplished by the Washington Conference. But this attempt, like the previous ones, will lead to no result.

At best it will lead to a new grouping of powers and to an intensification of the already existing basis of conflicting interests.

That such a development will take place is evident from a consideration of the motives impelling the United States, England, and Japan and from an analysis of the conflict of interests existing between them.

II. NEW PARTICIPATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN EUROPEAN POLITICS

The United States withdrew from the League of Nations: (1) Because England, holding six votes in the League of Nations, impressed her individuality upon the entire League; (2) Because the American capitalists would not guarantee the boundaries decided on by the Versailles Treaty; and (3) because the Republican capitalist clique desired to take advantage of the weakened interest of the American petite-bourgeois masses in European affairs, in order to hold the Democratic capitalist clique at a respectable distance from participation in the joys of government.

But the United States was, nevertheless, compelled to take part in the game of world politics. The capitalists of Europe and the Entente nations owe the United States 20 billion dollars.

Further developments in the conflicts prevalent in Europe decided not only the question of whether the

debtors would be in a position to pay their debts, but also the question of whether the United States would be able to maintain its industry, which had developed tremendously during the war, at the same high level.

While in 1919 a part of the American capitalists could still assume that their welfare was entirely independent of the economic development of Europe, the terrible crisis of 1920 and 1921 made it apparent, even to the American farmers, that America will be unable to export her products if the economic life of Europe continues to decline.

And this is the reason why the United States is taking a hand in deciding the question of German reparations, why it is asserting itself in the Supreme Council in deciding the question of Upper Silesia, and why it has just now taken a particular stand on the question of the Russian famine.

In a word, the United States has returned to the fold of the Supreme Council, which stands as the true representative of world capitalism and has made a toy of the League of Nations.

The United States is now endeavoring to gain control of the administration of world politics, and in its efforts it is taking full advantage of the difficult situation in which its British rival is caught at the present moment.

III. ENGLAND'S DILEMMA

In its desire for victory English imperialism encouraged the colonies, that had gained considerable economic strength in the course of the war, to have a share in the administration of the war.

In 1917 the colonies were granted the right to help decide questions concerning the foreign policy of Great Britain.

Today this same imperialism is forced to recognize as rights these privileges granted to the colonies in the past, because it cannot bear alone the expense of the naval armaments it considers indispensable to resist the imperialistic competition of the United States and of her own allies, Japan and France, and for the further reason that it is compelled to regard the colonies as powers to be reckoned with.

In place of the British empire there stands now a federation of Great Britain and the autonomous capitalist English colonies, whose external interests do not coincide with the interests of the mother country.

While English imperialism is desirous of continuing the union with Japan, so that in the event of a conflict with the United States it may have an ally, and so that it may, by constantly encouraging the clash of interests between Japan and America, be in a position to play the part of a mediator between the two conflicting imperialisms, a contrary trend is evident in the young Canadian imperialism, which is becoming more and more dependent upon the United States and therefore cannot tolerate any aggravation of the delicate relations with its powerful neighbor.

Thus Canada expressed itself in the imperial conference against the renewal of the alliance with Japan

and disclaimed all responsibility in connection with such a step.

As far as Australia is concerned, the only opponent to be considered is Japan, America even counting as an ally in case of a conflict with Japan.

In South Africa the farmers wish to be left out of all political conflicts.

This attitude on the part of its largest colonies has brought about such a situation that English imperialism has lost its capacity to act with a free hand in its relations with the United States.

The continued intensification of economic competition between the United States and Great Britain has confronted both rivals with the question whether such competition, existing as it does amid an atmosphere of great political discord, would not result in an increase of armaments, leading possibly to a new world war.

In a new world war England would be in a much more precarious position than during the world war of 1914-18.

Unable to count upon the unconditional support of her colonies, England would in all likelihood find among her opponents even France, whose efforts to gain control of all continental Europe with the aid of her vassal states, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania, and whose Eastern policy is bringing her into ever greater opposition to England.

English imperialism has been the means of destroying not only the naval power but also the military strength of German capitalism.

The disarming of German capitalism has raised French militarism to the most significant factor on the continent.

In the present state of development of long-range guns, aviation and submarines, France as an ally of the United States in a future war would not only be in a position to effect a total blockade of England but could even have the boldness to land forces in that country.

This state of affairs is forcing the British Government to attempt even now to arrive at an agreement with the United States.

The result of such an agreement would be the formation of an Anglo-Saxon capitalistic trust with its center of gravity in America. This trustification would be effected at Japan's expense.

IV. THE ISOLATION OF JAPAN.

Japanese imperialism at very little expense to itself, became immensely rich during the war as a supplier of war materials to the Entente. It was further aided by the fact that England, owing to the strain of war, was unable to supply her colonies with adequate quantities of goods of her own manufacture.

At the opening of the war Japan, by the use of diplomacy, prevented the participation of China in the world-war, and wrested Kiao-Chau and the province of Shantung out of the hands of German imperialism, putting herself in the place of Germany.

Japan supported and encouraged internal strife in China and took advantage of these conflicts to step in, presumably as an organizer, in reality, however, to become mistress of this enormous empire, which under the lead of the bourgeois South is slowly emerging from feudal confusion and making large strides in the direction of unity.

The results of the world war now make the fruits

of Japanese victory appear unsafe. The defeat of Germany, the retirement of Russia in her capacity as an imperialistic power prepared to undertake mutual marauding expeditions with Japan, have placed Japan in such a position that in the event of a conflict with the United States she can count solely on the support of England.

V. THE PLANS OF THE UNITED STATES IN REGARD TO EASTERN ASIA.

Due to the colossal need of expansion of its economic sphere of influence, the United States of America looks upon China and Russia (Siberia) as great markets offering fruitful ground for the application of American capital.

Considering the peculiar position of America as the creditor of the whole world, considering the competition of American industry not only with Japanese but with English industry as well, the United States is naturally placed in opposition to all special rights and privileges which the other imperialistic states, such as England, France and Japan have acquired in China and could at the present time acquire in Siberia as well.

America is attempting to crowd Japan out of China by the shibboleth of the "open door," a catchword that was introduced as far back as 1900 by the American Secretary of State John Hay.

And it is evident, from the attitude of America on the question of the Chinese radio stations, and on the question of the Island of Yap that it is prepared to take up the fight all along the line.

This attitude of the United States is a menace to the interests of England, but much less so than to the interests of Japan, for the reason that England as a capitalistically powerful state can much more easily fight American competition than Japan, and for the further reason that the possession of the shores of the Pacific is for Japan a question of life and death, while for England it is only one of the most important questions of world politics.

If England is compelled to choose between Japan and the United States of America, there is no doubt that she will decide in favor of the latter.

In view of all this the Washington conference appears to be an attempt on the part of America to apply diplomacy in order to wrest from Japan the fruits of her victory.

VI. THE PROBABLE RESULTS OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE.

The conditions for the limitation of armaments in the Pacific, or the distribution of naval bases among the various marine powers, depend upon the result of the negotiations concerning the questions at issue in the Pacific.

England will take sides with Japan and endeavor to obtain a compromise that will enable her to maintain the alliance with Japan and at the same time draw America formally into this alliance.

The military significance of the alliance in the event of a war with America is very great; but the diplomatic significance of this alliance in case of a conflict with the United States is likewise very great.

In order to attain this goal it will be advisable to grant Japan rights in Siberia, while America will receive concessions in China.

America will also be given a share in the exploitation of the oil fields of Mesopotamia.

If England succeeds in striking such a compromise, she will attempt within the sphere of the English-Japanese-American alliance to maintain particularly close relations to Japan.

Then these three powers will determine among themselves to what extent the other states should be permitted to have naval armaments.

If, however, it should be impossible to arrive at an agreement on the points of dispute, then the conflict will be still further intensified, as regards both the economic question and the question of armaments.

At the first opportunity England and the United States will form a trust, to cut down the gains acquired by Japan during the war, in favor of the United States, particularly in China and, to the extent that it may be possible, also where Soviet-Russia is concerned.

But this agreement, like the peace of Shimonoseki, by which Russia, Germany and France attempted in the year 1894 to rob Japan of the fruits of her victory over China, will become the starting point for new political groupings and new ramifications in world politics, should the agreement not be consummated, then the process of intensification of political conflict of interests will develop even more rapidly.

But in neither case can these conflicts be entirely cleared away.

The economic rivalry between England and America will remain, as before, a dominant situation in world politics.

Similarly the rivalry between Japan and England will continue to exist.

Furthermore, the conflict of interests between England and France will certainly remain, and to all these conflicts prevailing among the capitalistic victor states must be added finally the conflicts involved in their relations to the conquered capitalistic countries, as for example Germany, as well as in their relation to their colonies and, last but not least, to Soviet Russia a state that has caused a great breach in the international organization of the system of capitalistic states.

VII. THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The attempt to include in the agenda of the conference the question of the limitation of armaments on the Continent cannot possibly meet with success.

Even though, in consideration of the fact that Germany is totally disarmed, France would be running no risk in waiving her war preparedness. France will, nevertheless, not refrain from her endeavors to become the foremost military power in Europe, since the policy of French imperialism aims at French domination on the European continent.

And besides France, there are other states to whom the Peace of Versailles, and the other peace treaties, brought large territories, whose populations are hostile to their new governments.

In Poland, for example, there are large masses of Ukrainian, Russian and German inhabitants.

Czecho-Slovakia presents a picture similar to that of the former Austro-Hungarian combination. Besides the Czechs there are present in this territory large numbers of German, Slovakian and Hungarian inhabitants.

Roumania has subjugated Hungarian and Bessarabian populations. A large part of the Bulgarian

population has come under Roumanian and Jugo-Slavian sovereignty.

In the Near East, France, from its bases in Africa and Syria, is menacing England in this sphere, particularly at England's most sensitive point, the Suez Canal.

France is making a great effort to obstruct the policy of England in the Near East, a policy consisting in a unification of India and Egypt by the creation of a great Arab state completely dominated by British imperialism.

Under these circumstances, to require France to waive her armaments requires that England must first be agreed with France on all points of world politics.

What slight faith the capitalist states themselves have in the probabilities of disarmament is evident from the fact that the British Government, at the same time that it most cordially accepted the suggestion of Mr. Harding to open the negotiations on the question of disarmament in Washington in the month of November, assigned 30 million pounds sterling (\$150,000,000.00) for the construction of new battleships, pointing out that Japan is building eight dreadnoughts to be completed in the year 1925, and has already assigned funds for the construction of eight more to follow, and that the United States of America by the year 1925 will possess an array of more than twelve superdreadnoughts.

The Executive of the Communist International is bent upon revealing the true character of the Washington Conference, which will not be able to accomplish any result in the matter of disarmament, and will not contribute to the establishment of peace between the peoples.

This conference is nothing more than an attempt to defend the interests of the foremost (Anglo-Saxon) imperialistic brigands at the expense of the lesser brigand (Japan) and at the expense of China and Soviet Russia.

That this is the true character of the Washington Conference is all the more emphasized by the fact that Soviet Russia has not been invited to the conference, in order to deprive Soviet Russia of the opportunity of unmasking the contemptible game that is being played with the destiny of the peoples.

The Executive of the Communist International calls upon all the Communist parties and all the trade unions belonging to the Red Trade Union International to intensify their agitation and their struggle against the imperialistic states, whose clashing interests are bound to lead to a new world conflict unless the revolution of the proletariat deprives the capitalist class of its weapons and creates a common ground for a true peace league of the working people of all countries. The Executive of the Third International further calls the attention of the toiling masses of the entire world to the intrigues which are being prepared in Washington against Soviet Russia.

The Executive of the Communist International calls upon the masses of China and Korea, and upon the population of Eastern Siberia to ally themselves more closely with Soviet Russia, the only state that is truly endeavoring to build up its relations with the peoples of the East, menaced by world imperialism, on a foundation of equality and brotherly cooperation.

THE OPEN COMMUNIST PARTY - THE TASK OF THE HOUR!

THE Russian proletarian revolution could hardly have come at a more critical time in the history of the socialist movement.

All over the world the revolutionary proletariat had lost its faith in the old methods of the Social Democracy and in its leaders.

It found them suspicious of everything they had upheld in the past, because the past had brought about the demoralization of the socialist movement.

The pendulum of socialist opinion, which had swung so far to the right, was about to swing equally far to the left.

All over the world the working-class was drifting, rudderless.

THE APPEAL FROM RUSSIA

Into this situation the November (1917) Revolution in Russia burst like a bomb-shell.

It carried us off our feet by its daring. It gave back to us our lost ideals.

Its powerful romantic appeal bore us away from a world of hopeless, cheerless realities, in a flood of enthusiasm.

IT WAS THE ONE POSITIVE POINT IN A WORLD OF NEGATIONS, THE ONE RAY OF LIGHT IN ALL THIS HOPELESS DEMORALIZATION.

To that part of the international movement that had definitely severed its allegiance to the social-patriotic leaders of the war-period, Russia became what Germany had been in the past.

Just as the German movement had been the "alpha and omega" of socialist wisdom in the Second International, so now Russia, its methods, its experiences, its theories, stood in the foreground of socialist thought.

LEFTISM—AN INFANTILE DISEASE

When the American Socialist Party was divided in Chicago, in 1919, and the Communist and Communist Labor Parties were founded, this Russian influence had already been condensed into a concrete philosophy.

The newly organized Third (Communist) International had adopted a platform upon which it hoped to unite the revolutionary minorities all over the world.

An outgrowth of the first epoch of the Russian Revolution it stressed those features of the revolutionary struggle which Lenin later described in his famous pamphlet "Radicalism, the Infantile Disease of Communism."

This "radicalism" spoke contemptuously of mass movements and called for small, intensely class-conscious organizations that should take upon themselves the leadership in the approaching struggle against world capitalism.

It demanded the organization of new, class-conscious labor organizations, that should completely demolish the old, existing bodies.

TWO COMMUNIST PARTIES HERE

This program was the basis upon which both the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party

built their platforms. In principle there was no difference between the two parties. The difference lay almost wholly in the temperament of their respective leaders.

The Communist Labor Party still tried to adjust its activity somewhat to American realities. The Communist Party thought and acted as if the Russian Revolution had been bodily transplanted upon American soil.

These parties had barely begun to organize when the well known persecutions and raids (January 1, 1920) descended upon their headquarters, their meetings and their individual members.

The first attack drove the communist movement into hiding. And up to the present day, it has not emerged from its hiding place.

THE ROMANTICISM OF REVOLUTION

The idea of a secret organization was not forced upon the communist movement by Palmer and his cohorts, however.

It had been lurking in the minds of most communist enthusiasts ever since the outbreak of the Russian Revolution.

The Russian movement, which had just achieved so monumental a victory, had been a movement of secret organizations.

From the beginning of the war, even the sanest had been inclined to flirt with the idea of an underground movement.

It was a part of the atmosphere of revolution and romanticism that the Russian upheaval had created.

But even in Russia, romance has had to give way to brutal realities. The world-revolution failed to materialize. Instead, world-imperialism has emerged, for the moment more powerful than ever before.

The fantastic dream that a small minority of determined revolutionists may overturn capitalism and lead the proletariat into a communist state of society, has vanished into thin air before the bitter experiences of the German and the Italian communist uprisings.

DEMAND MASS MOVEMENTS

Russia, too, is paying the price. The great mass of uneducated, indifferent and even counter-revolutionary workers and peasants is hanging like a millstone about its neck.

In Russia the period of the proletarian dictatorship, that necessary and inevitable forerunner of a communist society, will extend over many years, perhaps over decades, because the November Revolution found the masses of Russia unprepared to receive its message.

BY THE SAME TOKEN THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL HAS LEARNED. IT NO LONGER DREAMS OF SMALL MINORITIES BUT DEMANDS MASS MOVEMENTS.

IT HAS DESERTED ITS POLICY OF SPLENDID ISOLATION ON THE INDUSTRIAL FIELD AND DEMANDS

THAT ITS ADHERENTS CARRY THEIR AGITATION INTO THE STRONGHOLDS OF CONSERVATIVE UNIONISM.

IT OPENLY CONDEMNS THE AGITATION FOR ARMED INSURRECTION AND OPEN REBELLION IN COUNTRIES WHERE THE REVOLUTION IS STILL IN THE DISTANT FUTURE, AND INSISTS THAT THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, IN EVERY COUNTRY MUST PROCEED AT ONCE TO THE CREATION OF AN OPEN, ABOVE-BOARD MASS MOVEMENT for the purpose of educating the proletariat and permeating it with communist ideals.

MENACE OF SECRET MOVEMENT

Nothing could have done more harm to the Communist movement in America than the secrecy which the action of the Department of Justice provoked it to adopt.

A secret movement under the conditions that exist at the present time is a menace to the mental integrity of the party organization. A crisis, such as the one thru which we are passing, demands constant re-orientation and readjustment on the part of each and every member of the organization, as well as in the organization itself.

TO DEMAND UNSWERVING ALLEGIANCE TO A SET OF DOCTRINES THAT TO-MORROW MAY PROVE FALSE, ENCOURAGES UNTHINKING, SLAVISH OBEDIENCE.

To permit a small group of officials to dictate these doctrines to the organization, by giving them the power that they necessarily must have in an underground organization, means to establish a party hierarchy that will sooner or later demoralize the best of its leaders and dangerously weaken the virility and stamina of the movement.

MUST REACH THE WORKERS

From the point of view of propaganda, the step the communist movement has taken is equally disastrous.

TWO YEARS HAVE TAUGHT US THE HOPELESSNESS OF REACHING THE AMERICAN WORKERS THRU SO-CALLED 'ILLEGAL' ORGANIZATIONS.

In Russia, under the regime of the Czar, the secret organization prospered and grew because the great mass, however indifferent it might be, was secretly in sympathy with every revolutionary movement that threatened its oppressors.

In America, the great public has no patience with secret political organizations.

It still believes that the Constitution provides opportunity for the outlet of all shades and variations of opinion, and is definitely out of sympathy with any movement that fights behind a closed visor.

FEELING OF FALSE SECURITY

Finally, the secret organization is its own greatest enemy.

In the main its secrets, tho carefully kept from the membership, become, in a short time, the property of the authorities, thanks to the espionage system that is its inevitable accompaniment.

ON THE OTHER HAND THE FEELING OF FALSE SECURITY THAT SUCH AN UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION CREATES, OFFERS A RICH FIELD FOR THE NUMEROUS ROMANTIC IRRESPONSIBLES, WHO WILL BECOME PARTICULARLY ACTIVE IN A MOVEMENT OF THAT CHARACTER.

ILLEGALITY BECOMES THE END AND AIM INSTEAD OF A NECESSITY.

* * *

THE WORKERS' COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES, therefore, while it is fundamentally in accord with the position of the Third International, as formulated in its recent Third Congress at Moscow, and while it is in agreement with the theoretical position of the communist movement in America, emphatically denies the wisdom and the need of secret organizations for the propagation of Communism in America at the present time.

It calls upon the membership of this movement, to join forces with them in an earnest attempt to create the open, above-ground organization, that alone will be able to reach the masses who still turn a deaf ear to our message.

FIELD OF GREAT POSSIBILITIES

Before us lies a field of unlimited possibilities. The Socialist Party is rapidly disintegrating. The men and women who are leaving its ranks are ready to join us.

The thousands who have fallen by the wayside since the split in Chicago, two years ago, will rally to our banners.

Let us call them.

LET US OFFER THEM AN ORGANIZATION IN WHICH THEY CAN DO EFFECTIVE WORK, WORK THAT COUNTS, WORK THAT WILL REACH THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO ARE SPENDING THEIR LIVES IN HOPELESS DISSATISFACTION WITH CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION.

There could be no better time. Raise your voices, Comrades. Come out of your cellars into the open. Go to your brothers in the mills, the mines, and the factories, and talk to them openly, fearlessly.

BRING THEM INTO YOUR MEETINGS. GET THEM TO JOIN YOUR MOVEMENT. FOR THE WORDS OF KARL MARX STILL HOLD GOOD:

"THE EMANCIPATION OF THE PROLETARIAT MUST BE THE WORK OF THE WORKING-CLASS."

The American Coal Miners

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

THE press reports told us briefly that affiliation with the Red Trade Union International was rejected by the United Mine Workers' Convention at Indianapolis, Ind., without discussion.

An effort was made to create the impression that this was another victory for reaction; another crushing defeat for progress.

This was the first time that real internationalism made itself felt in the gatherings of the American coal miners. The voice of the world fraternity of labor was heard all the way from Moscow to Indianapolis.

To be sure, that voice should have been louder. Better organization of insurgent forces should have forced the issue to debate on the floor of the convention. But the man who might have made himself heard, Alexander Howatt, spokesman for the coal miners of the southwest, had gone to serve a jail sentence at Pittsburgh, Kans., for violation of the industrial court law. No one came forward to fill the breach.

Suffering from an attack of conscience, the convention in its closing hours voted to send Howatt as its delegate to the next International Mining Congress to be held in England.

If Howatt gets out of jail in time, and journeys to England, he will hear much of the Red Trade Union International at the World Mining Congress. What effect will this new outlook have upon him? What message will he bring back?

Howatt was one of that numerous group of Socialists who swayed conventions, of the American coal miners before the war in support of "socialistic" and radical resolutions. This year he alone remained after the wave of war jingoism had swept the miners' union with its half million members.

Take for instance Illinois before the war. There was John H. Walker, Duncan McDonald, Adolph Germer, James Lord, Frank J. Hayes, not to mention a host of others. Practically every other state had a similar quota. What has become of them? Walker gravitates from the old parties to the Farmer-Labor Party. McDonald went over to the Farmer-Labor Party. Germer, following his role of Noske at the split of the National Socialist Party in Chicago, in 1919, decamped to New York, where he is an acting secretary of the S. P. Lord is Gompers' man as head of the A. F. of L. mining department. Hayes, most promising of all, who rose to be vice-president of the miners' international union before he was 30 years of age, was last heard from in a sanitarium. Thus has a once strong and promising leadership been dissipated.

Howatt, of Kansas, in the pre-war days, was one of the most quiet of the "reds."

I was talking to Howatt in the lobby of the English Hotel, at Indianapolis, during one of those pre-war conventions.

"Why, I didn't know you were a Socialist," broke in one of the more conservative delegates from the Pennsylvania anthracite regions.

"I've been a Socialist for years," replied Howatt. It was the same Howatt that I saw mingling with an audience of Kansas coal miners during the presidential campaign of 1912. He wasn't even one of the speakers.

During the war Howatt turned social patriot with the rest, and was part of that expedition sent to Europe to fight radical, anti-war sentiment in England, France and Italy. But, if I am not mistaken, he sickened of the antics of his fellow patriots, among whom were Spargo, Kopelin, Russell, and Bohn.

Howatt's fight in the miners' union since the ending of the war shows that he is practically all that is left of the pre-war radical leadership.

This does not mean that the American coal miner is less radical now than he was before the war. It does not mean that the mass of the membership is less progressive.

It merely means that the leadership failed the rank and file in the hour of crisis, as is always the case. It means that a new leadership must be brought into existence. This will inevitably develop.

This new leadership will grow out of the young members of the organization. The work to develop it, to mould it into a solid, smoothly working, powerful machine, must be started at once. It must be inspired by the principles and tactics of the Red Trade Union International.

I don't believe that the United Mine Workers has ever had an internal organization fighting for principle. The pre-war sallies of the radicals were haphazard affairs. Little attention was paid to the election of convention delegates, to the ideas that they would fight for.

The big fights, the stirring campaigns in the miners' union, were waged for the jobs, for places as international, district and sub-district officials. These officials are elected by referendum, and all the methods of Tammany Hall are brought into play in the struggle for victory.

While the importance of the election of the proper officials must not be minimized, greater emphasis should be placed on deciding the tactics and principles of the organization. This is up to the delegates elected to the international, district and sub-district conventions.

All members of the United Mine Workers in sympathy with the world struggle of the Red Trade Union International should be linked up immediately, from the anthracite mines of Pennsylvania across the nation, to the soft coal pits of the state of Washington. They should be united on definite policies, they should have trained spokesmen, backed by powerful support from a well educated rank and file.

This power, if properly organized, should make itself felt at the special convention to be held at Indianapolis in February, to take up the question of wage negotiations with the private owners of the nation's coal mines.

The activity or lack of activity NOW of the radicals in the miners' union decides what progress the workers organized in the American coal mining industry will make during the year 1922.

Labor Dictatorship Is Historical Necessity

By DONALD McLEOD

THE principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat is inextricably bound up with the Russian Revolution.

It is impossible honestly to accept and praise the Revolution without also accepting the principle which furnishes the only possible theoretical justification for the present form of the Soviet government.

The dictatorship of the proletariat has been criticised from two standpoints. Reformists simply iterate the familiar bourgeois arguments in favor of "democracy," conveniently forgetting that all Marxist theory is based upon the promise that democracy is a fiction, so long as the economic domination of class by class persists.

The elements in the international Socialist movement, which shrink equally from reformism and revolution, generally contend that proletarian dictatorship, while it may be necessary in backward Russia, is both unnecessary and undesirable in more advanced countries, where the industrial workers, at the time of the revolution, may be expected to form a majority of the population.

Capitalist or Workers' Dictatorship?

Now, it is simply absurd to raise the issue of democracy versus dictatorship: for no true democracy exists to-day.

The various capitalist states are bourgeois dictatorships; Soviet Russia is a proletarian dictatorship.

The vital difference between Soviet Russia and the capitalist states is that the Soviet government is consciously preparing the way for the institution of genuine democracy, whereas the capitalist states, however far they may go on the road of social reform, can never become genuinely democratic.

For capitalism is rooted in two principles: perpetual inequality thru the inheritance of wealth and the exploitation of the weak by the strong.

If these two principles were abolished, capitalism would cease to exist.

If anyone doubts the essentially dictatorial character of the present capitalist regime in America he should read the story of the steel strike of 1919, as told in the Report of the Interchurch Commission, and in the books of William Z. Foster and Mary Heaton Vorse.

The steel strike could not, by the widest stretch of imagination, be interpreted as a movement against the American political state.

It was an effort to gain extremely modest industrial objectives, such as the eight-hour day, the right of collective bargaining, etc., by the use of peaceful and orthodox trade union methods of agitation and organization.

But the steel workers were treated as brutally as if they had announced the establishment of a Soviet government as the purpose of the strike.

All the so-called constitutional rights of free speech

and free assemblage were withheld from the strikers.

Public officials in the strike area acted openly as agents of the Steel Corporation, often arbitrarily offering strikers the choice between going to jail or going back to work.

Mobilize Against Workers

Whenever the existence of the capitalist state is threatened, whenever its prosperity is seriously endangered, it inevitably assumes the form of a bourgeois dictatorship.

England is perhaps the most liberal country in the world, so far as its normal domestic political and economic relations are concerned.

But, as soon as the transport and railway workers threatened to strike, not for any revolutionary purpose, but merely in order to assure a bare living wage to the striking miners, the government hurriedly mobilized troops, paraded tanks up and down the streets of London and thereby gave the treacherous leaders of the Triple Alliance an excellent excuse for betraying the striking miners and calling off the strike.

It is not only in periods of stress and crisis that the capitalist state may fairly be called a dictatorship. In normal times the power of the minority over the majority is safeguarded by an elaborate machinery of corruption and oppression.

The schools, the press, the churches, the theatres and movies, all the agencies of instruction and amusement are utilized by the bourgeoisie in order to instill the capitalist mentality into the masses.

If any teacher, preacher or editor is naive enough to believe in the validity of the bourgeois slogans, free thought, free speech, etc. he is certain to be very speedily reprimanded by his superiors and either silenced or expelled from his position.

Anyone who believes in the ballot as a possible instrument of liberation for the oppressed workers is still hugging the delusions of eighteenth and nineteenth century theorists who had no conception of the enormous power which large accumulations of capital would vest in the hands of a comparatively small number of wealthy men.

It is absurd to speak of free elections in a capitalist country. The ruling class exerts innumerable means of pressure upon the voters.

Here it is sufficient to mention one of the more obvious methods of coercion. At the time when the tariff was the chief issue between the two major parties in this country manufacturers would often force their workmen to vote the Republican ticket by threatening to close their plants if the Democrats were returned to power.

Whatever methods of coercion the Bolsheviks have employed they have not been accused of condemning workers of other parties to idleness and starvation.

But this is just what the capitalist ruling class can do, and has done; and under capitalist law there is no way to prevent an individual from exercising his sacred right of property ownership as he sees fit, even

tho the welfare of thousands of other human beings is involved.

Crimes of Capitalist Dictatorship

The Russian Revolution encountered the full force of the capitalist dictatorship. The Russian bourgeoisie first attempted to crush the workers' revolt by resorting to sabotage, closing factories, disorganizing transport, trying in every way to create a scarcity of goods which would discredit the Soviets in the eyes of the masses.

When these tactics failed they attempted to overthrow the Soviet government by armed insurrection, with the aid of Tsarist generals and adventurers like Alexiev, Krasnov and Kaledin.

After the native Russian brand of counter-revolution had broken down, the Allied capitalist governments took a hand in the game. They revived the moribund civil war by instigating the Czecho-Slovaks to make a treacherous and unprovoked attack upon the Soviets; they sent troops to Vladivostok, Archangel and Odessa; they supplied arms and other materials to the various counter-revolutionist leaders; and by imposing a ferocious blockade they sought to break the Revolution by starvation.

To reproach the Bolsheviki for adopting dictatorial measures in such a crisis is as fatuous as it would be to reproach them for opposing Kolchak and Denikin with the Red Army, and not with Tolstoyan tracts.

The creation of the Extraordinary Commission, authorized to dispense with legal formalities in making arrests and conducting trials, was absolutely necessary in order to detect and suppress the plots of the bourgeoisie and the activities of gentlemen like Mr. Paul Dukes, the selfconfessed British spy, who slipped into Soviet Russia for the amiable purpose of blowing up bridges, creating disorder in the rear of the Red armies and otherwise accentuating the misery which was caused by the Allied blockade.

Of course a dictatorship has its unpleasant features. The senile Kautsky, the sentimental Mrs. Snowden, and the philosophic Mr. Bertrand Russell all lift their voices in horror at the difference between the realities of Soviet Russia and the ideals of a perfect communist state.

The Bolsheviki, however, considered the obligation to preserve the conquests of the Revolution even more pressing than the obligation to satisfy the complaints of such estimable critics as Herr Kautsky, Mrs. Snowden, and Mr. Russell.

The proletarian historians of the future will not fail to see in the success of the Russian Revolution the best possible vindication of the instrumentality by which it was preserved against all the attacks of the capitalist world: the proletarian dictatorship.

The Paris Commune, the historical predecessor of Soviet Russia, failed, among other reasons, because its leaders were divided and vacillating in their ends, because they were unable to guide its destinies with firmness and decision in the critical moments which mark the success or failure of any revolutionary movement.

Dictatorship Is Historical Necessity

Some Socialists profess to believe that the dictatorship of the proletariat, while it may be necessary in Russia, will prove superfluous in countries where the industrial workers constitute a majority of the popula-

tion. There is little historical or psychological basis for this viewpoint.

In the first place, the mere fact that a man is a workman does not make him a revolutionist. If he is a Pole, he may quite possibly hate the Jews more than the capitalists. An Ulster workman often sides with the Protestant employer, rather than with his Catholic fellow-workers.

Now a revolution does not take place because a majority of the people are converted to some definite scheme of social and political reorganization.

It comes because the government has broken down so completely that it has not only lost the power to supply the most elementary necessities of life to the masses, but also the control of the armed forces which ordinarily sustain it.

A revolution is made by the unconscious majority which is primarily moved by a blind, fierce determination to sweep away an intolerable existing order; but it is preserved and given form and direction by the efforts of the conscious minority which is morally and intellectually prepared to build up a new system upon the ruins of the old.

This active, intelligent minority was represented by the Puritans in England, by the Jacobins in France, and by the Bolsheviki in Russia. In each case it was compelled by the pressure of events to assume dictatorial powers in order to save the revolution from the attacks of external and internal enemies.

There is no reason to suppose that a period of proletarian dictatorship can be dispensed with in countries where the city workers are a majority of the population.

For a numerous proletariat, in a capitalist state, presupposes a powerful, intelligent and comparatively numerous bourgeois ruling class.

And it will certainly be fully as difficult for the numerically strong working classes of the western European countries to overthrow their capitalist rulers as it was for the numerically weak Russian proletariat to overthrow the Russian bourgeoisie, which was not only weak in numbers but untrained and incompetent in the exercise of power as a result of Russia's late emergence from primitive feudal conditions.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is not a Russian accident, or a hypocritical slogan devised by the Bolsheviki to justify their retention of power. It is just what Marx defined it: a historical necessity of the social revolution everywhere.

GO TO THE MASSES!

In response to the great demand, we have issued in pamphlet form the **Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the workers of all countries.** This is the proclamation of the Third Congress on the world situation.

This pamphlet also contains the historic withdrawal statement of the Committee for the Third International of the Socialist Party, in which the comrades now active in the **WORKERS' COUNCIL** tell why they left the Socialist Party.

The price of this pamphlet is 10c. per copy; six cents per copy in lots of 10 or more. Send all orders to the **WORKERS' COUNCIL, 80 E. 11th St., New York City.**

The Socialist Party and Soviet Russia

Morris Hillquit, altho not a candidate this year, was the principal speaker at the ratification meeting that opened the municipal campaign of the Socialist Party in New York.

As becomes the leader of the party, Hillquit dealt with policies and principles rather than with immediate campaign issues.

After assuring the assemblage that the vote for the S. P. mayoralty candidate will have a world-wide effect, Hillquit took up the attitude of the S. P. toward Soviet Russia, for, as he declared, "no political party has a right to exist without defining its attitude toward Russia."

But let us quote Hillquit's formulation of the S. P. position on the Russian Revolution as reported verbatim in the New York Call:

"We Socialists of America do not accept all the new social doctrines that emanate from Moscow. We do not seek to establish a Soviet Government in the United States. We strive to bring about the working-class control of the government and industries based upon the principles of democracy and majority rule.

"We are bitterly opposed to terrorism and oppression exercised by the capitalist class: we do not propose to supplant them by working-class terrorism and oppression. We hope to bring to all mankind a steadily increasing measure of freedom and happiness; we do not believe that our whole social ideal can or will be realized in one blow, and we do not propose to martyrize and sacrifice the present generation for the assumed benefit of the generations to come."

No, the S. P. Socialists do not accept all the ideas which the Russian Revolution brought to the fore.

In fact, we are not aware of any ideas emanating from Soviet Russia to which the S. P. now offers its hospitality.

The S. P. does not propose to secure all powers to the workers, but intends to share these powers with bourgeois elements as well. It expects to gain control of the government and the industries by the prevailing democratic methods, rather than a social revolution, and intends to continue the present system of government after the workers have acquired control.

The American workers have found bourgeois democracy so helpful in their present struggles in West Virginia and Kansas that the S. P. hates to part with it.

It places its hopes for the emancipation of the workers from wage slavery on democracy and majority rule.

At the Detroit Convention of the S. P. last summer, Hillquit spoke glibly about proletarian dictatorship and even offered a resolution favoring a modified interpretation of it, which was, however, defeated by the California-Wisconsin brand of Socialists.

Perhaps Hillquit thought that that resolution would satisfy the left elements, and the party would not face another split which it could not very well afford.

According to Hillquit, the S. P. expects the workers to vote themselves into power. The ballot is the sacred instrument which will do the trick. Small wonder that the S. P. leadership is only interested in elections when reform proposals can be traded for votes and offices.

The second paragraph of Hillquit's speech quoted above brands him and his party, whose principles he

was espousing when he spoke these words, as foes of Soviet Russia who should be classed together with such anti-Bolshevik "Socialists" as Savinkov, Burtzev and their ilk.

Hillquit places proletarian dictatorship on the same plane with capitalist oppression and exploitation, and the New York Call, of October 13, in an article by its editor under the caption "Where We Stand," having heard its master's voice, expresses the same counter-revolutionary sentiment.

By declaring that the S. P. does not "propose to martyrize and sacrifice the present generation for the assumed benefit of the generations to come," Hillquit imputes that Soviet Russia does martyrize and deliberately sacrifice the present generation in a gamble for alleged future benefits.

What the implacable enemies of Soviet Russia have charged against the Russian Revolution in order to justify their support of the various counter-revolutions, Hillquit now states in a prepared speech as the position of the Socialist Party.

All that Hillquit and the others in the S. P. wrote and spoke about the Russian Revolution during the past four years seemed to have been intended to fool the workers, who were stirred to exaltation by the message of the Russian Revolution, and to make them believe that the party was genuinely happy about the noble achievements of the Russian proletariat.

Now that the party has lost all of its revolutionary elements, it feels free to open its counter-revolutionary heart and give expression to all the hatred and venom against the Russian Revolution which lay there accumulated and subdued.

After thrusting his knife in the back of Soviet Russia, against which all forces of reaction have been arrayed for the past four years and which are still waiting like vultures for the opportunity to inflict deadly wounds upon its starved and weary body. Hillquit chants the song of all the "Socialist" enemies of Russia, appealing for aid to the famine-stricken districts and asking that Soviet Russia be allowed to work out its own problems.

The New York Call carried for a few days an advertisement appealing for Russian relief, which was headed, "The Russian Government Sinned Against Capitalism," implying thereby that Russia's present plight could be traced to its struggle against world capitalism. Mr. Hillquit and the S. P., whose organ the Call is, should demand a retraction from the paper. It is not against capitalism, but against revered democracy, the newly found Messiah of the disinherited proletariat, that Soviet Russia has sinned, and sinned most outrageously, according to Hillquit.

The Socialist Party has disintegrated, not only in members, but in Socialist principles as well. It has bartered its Socialist soul for votes and offices. It has become, not only an open enemy of the Russian Soviet Republic and its bravely struggling workers, but also a counter-revolutionary and anti-Socialist force in the labor movement of America. As such it should be considered, and as such it should be fought by all the militant and class-conscious workers of this country.

Lusk and Hillquit Accommodated

When Senator Clayton (Silverware) Lusk proposed his law for the licensing of schools, classes and courses by the State Board of Education, he openly admitted that it was aimed primarily at the Rand School.

He had previously tried to destroy the school without the aid of new legislation, but was outgeneraled in a legal skirmish by Samuel Untermeyer who took up the cudgels for the school, altho violently opposed to everything that the school stood for.

The New York State Extraordinary Commission for the Suppression of Revolutionary Movements (it was officially known under another name but that is what it aimed to be) was presided over by Senator Lusk, and Archibald Stevenson was its brains (God save the mark).

Under the guidance of Detective Stevenson, the Lusk Committee raided the school offices in the hope of implicating the school in some of the plots to overthrow the government which were periodically scheduled to come off.

The attacks upon the school by the Lusk Committee, the capitalist press and all reactionary elements was caused by the notoriety it had gained by employing teachers who were removed from their positions on account of radical beliefs or activities.

When Scott Nearing was dismissed from Pennsylvania University for teaching the truth about the predatory interests, the Rand School invited him to lecture to its students. When he was later removed for the same reason as Dean of Toledo University the school engaged him as a member of its staff of permanent instructors. It stood by him when he was prosecuted for writing a pamphlet exposing the economic causes of war and militarism and paid a fine of \$3,000 for publishing the pamphlet.

Similarly, when Harry Dana was discharged from Columbia University because of his anti-war activities, the Rand School acclaimed him and he was provided with audiences ten times greater than were offered him by the university.

Benjamin Glassberg came to the school three years ago after losing the right to teach in the public schools of the city.

The indiscretion which cost him his job consisted in telling his students in history that the political party which was ruling Russia did not consist of blood-thirsty maniacs, but of honored representatives of the Russian workingclass.

The Rand School made it known that it was proud to have as its instructors those, whose teaching the reactionary educational institutions found dangerous to the preservation of capitalist society.

What then has happened to cause the ousting of Glassberg as a teacher in the Rand School?

The Rand School has taken the advice of the Socialist Party leadership and decided to become politically respectable.

Glassberg was teaching history and political science. His views on Sovietism, Proletarian Dictatorship, Democracy and sundry other Socialist matters are not the same as those which the school's attorney, Morris

Hillquit, entertains, and which, *eo ipso*, the Socialist Party stands for.

Strange enough, when Samuel Untermeyer volunteered to defend the school in the courts he did not inquire about the views of its administrators or teachers. It was the illegal raid upon the school that interested him.

Mr. Hillquit refused to defend the school if it retained Glassberg as instructor in those subjects which he was qualified to teach. He did not care to defend people with whose views his did not agree.

The School made it known to the public that it will not recognize the law and will fight it in the courts on the ground of the right to teach the social sciences from the Socialist point of view.

Hillquit declared that the school could only teach these subjects from the Socialist Party point of view and the school agreed to that.

This action led to the resignation of a majority of the Board of Directors as officers and members of the society governing the school, including the president and treasurer.

They were followed by other members of the Society, including Scott Nearing, who, with the exception of David P. Berenberg, is the only instructor continuing as a member of the Society.

When the Socialist Party met all the objections raised against the party at the Albany Trial at the 1920 New York Convention by editing its constitution and adopting a reformist platform and declaration of principles, Attorney-General Newton declared the party purged of its un-American features and quite respectable.

Morris Hillquit, as legal advisor of the Rand School, got the school to do the same thing that the party did last year.

The Rand School has also purged itself, and Attorney-General Newton announced that it would not be molested while the constitutionality of the law is tested in the courts. To become respectable is to insure your safety under capitalist dictatorship.

This policy has, however, wrecked the Socialist Party. The Rand School, in following Hillquit's advice, has chosen the way of the Socialist Party, which is the way of oblivion and utter disrepute with the advanced workers of this country.

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Medical Care in Soviet Russia

LIKE all the other fields of reconstruction in New Russia, the entire system of medical aid, which the People's Commissariat of Public Health received as a legacy of the old regime, had to be rebuilt on new foundations.

The People's Commissariat of Public Health laid down the following primary tasks: to strengthen and develop the hospitals and other medical institutions; to make these institutions freely accessible to the population at large; and, finally, to raise the quality of their service.

Everyone knows the condition in which Russia found itself at the moment when the Soviet Government assumed power.

Exhausted by prolonged war which caused an economic breakdown in all domains of industrial life, and torn by civil war and blockade, Soviet Russia confronted almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of the organization of medical aid to any adequate extent.

Triumph with Flying Colors

We need only mention the shortage of medical personnel caused by the war. Even before the war Russia had insufficient physicians. The shortage of medical supplies is also well known.

In spite of all these difficulties, the Soviet authorities came out of their struggle with flying colors.

This is shown by the results, as they can be seen at this moment (March, 1921) on the basis of the official data.

The total number of hospital cots in Soviet Russia is 320,000.

This does not include 250,000 beds in temporary hospitals and barracks taking care of epidemics.

The significance of these figures is clear when compared with the 180,000 hospital beds which was all that Czarist Russia (including Poland, Finland, Lithuania, and the Baltic states) could boast of.

In all provincial capitals and in most district towns free dispensaries have been installed.

In the large centers medical aid for emergency cases has been placed on a very solid foundation.

There are stations equipped with ambulances and all necessary supplies from which physicians can be called at any hour to go to the scene of an accident.

Work for Free Medical Aid

The Commissariat of Public Health is making progress in its efforts to put the principle of free medical aid into practice thruout the territory of Soviet Russia.

Because of unattractive conditions of life in the Russian villages only persons exclusively inspired by the idea of serving the people had gone into this work.

There had developed, however, a type of an idealist "country doctor" who does not seek any material advantages and who considers it his moral obligation to aid the people with his knowledge.

The history of the Russian medical profession is full of examples of such idealists.

To a certain extent every country physician was really a martyr, doomed to hard, scantily paid work in an atmosphere of arbitrary political rule and ignorance.

As a result of the economic disorganization which was caused by the war the conditions of the country doctor could not improve, but, with the spread of epidemics, became even more difficult.

Nevertheless, in this field, too, the Soviet Government has accomplished a great deal. New dispensaries have been opened and new medical districts formed.

As a result, there is now a hospital district for every eight to ten thousand of rural inhabitants, whereas under the old regime the proportion was often as high as 84,000.

The change is even more conspicuous with respect to the radius of service of the rural hospital district.

At present a district serves a radius of from five to seven miles, whereas formerly it had to reach as far as 62 miles.

Free Treatment at Home

Special attention has been paid to the organization of free treatment at home. For this purpose, Moscow and her suburbs have been divided into 76 districts, averaging 12 to 15 thousand people to one physician, with a total of 96 physicians.

The Commissariat of Public Health has succeeded in furnishing these districts with only 78 physicians. Prior to 120, these physicians made 74,395 visits, maximum 13,142 visits per month, (the maximum in February, 1920, and the minimum in July, 1920).

In the districts of the province of Moscow on November 1, 1920, there were 304 medical institutions (including 27 dispensaries) with 18,340 beds, including 4,440 for epidemical cases. The above number includes two special institutions—a physical therapeutical hospital and a diagnostic institute.

These institutions altogether accommodated 24,948 patients during August, (8316 beds), and gave advice, on the average, to 285,067 persons monthly.

Health Resorts and Rest Homes

In addition to all these activities the Soviet Government is developing the health resorts and establishing rest homes on the same principles of accessibility and service without charge.

In the Moscow district there are already 50 general and special (for consumptives, nervous diseases) sanatoria, which accommodated during the 10 months of 1920 18,425 persons, including 825 children. This number also includes 10,172 workers. In the course of the year 10 new sanatoria have been established.

The results achieved in all these lines bear witness to the energetic zeal with which the work of the Commissariat of Health is being carried out, and give ground for hope that finally the most natural and legitimate right of every citizen will be granted to him, namely, the right to receive from the state free medical aid of skillful physicians.

Launch the National Campaign

TO the strains of "The International," comrades representing a host of organizations joined in launching the national organization campaign of the Workers' Council of the United States at a Dinner-Meeting held Saturday night, Oct. 8, at the New York Labor Temple.

The spirit of this historic gathering was voiced in short addresses by those who have been identified with the struggle for the Third International within the Socialist Party during the past two years.

Many Speakers for Different Organizations

The exception was Ludwlg Lore, editor of the New York Volkszeitung, the German daily, who left the Socialist Party two years ago and helped organize the Communist Labor Party.

Steven Bircher, of Newark, N. J., was toastmaster. The other speakers, in addition to Lore, were J. Louis Engdahl, national secretary of the Workers' Council; Benjamin Glassberg, ousted instructor from the Rand School; J. B. Salutsky, of the Jewish Socialist Federation; Rose Weiss, one of the legal representatives in this country of Soviet Russia; Alexander Trachtenberg, chairman of the Finance Committee of the Workers' Council; Isadore Cohen, New Jersey organizer of the Independent Young People's Socialist League, and John Di Gregoria, of the Italian Socialist Federation.

Trachtenberg's appeal for funds resulted in raising a considerable amount for organization purposes, while the pledges made will bring in a goodly sum each month.

Engdahl read messages sent in from all sections of the country supporting the position and purposes of the Workers' Council, and wishing it every success in its efforts.

Read Manifesto on Another Page.

The struggle of the immediate future, as clearly expressed at this gathering, is set down in concrete form in the manifesto that appears on another page. Every reader should study this declaration carefully.

Since the last issue of the Workers' Council went to press, carrying the withdrawal statement of the Committee for the Third International, the work of uniting the really revolutionary elements in the American working class has been proceeding rapidly.

Secretary Engdahl appeared before the executive committees of both the Jewish Socialist Federation and the Workers' Educational Society (German). Both these committees discussed the situation thoroughly and frankly and then voted unanimously to co-operate with the Workers' Council in its activities.

Work of Re-building Is Successful.

One result of this co-operation has been the sending out of letters and organization material over all the country to all the secretaries of the Jewish branches, urging united action to restore the English-speaking organizations as groups of the Workers' Council. This work is meeting with excellent results.

It may be mentioned in passing that the Jewish Federation has launched a campaign to raise \$100,000 to start a daily paper. In the meantime, its weekly official organ, the New World, has been changed to an eight-page, newspaper size publication, and is meeting with an ovation and increased circulation everywhere.

The Volkszeitung, the German daily, is proving a great aid in securing publicity in many sections of the country. This is also true of its weekly edition, the Vorwärts.

Push Organization Activities.

Application cards, membership cards, dues stamps and "certificates of affiliation" for the Workers' Council are now ready, and there is no reason for failing to push organization activities everywhere. The first "certificate of affiliation," temporary until the holding of the national conference, went to the Chicago organization, of which George Struve, 832 Newport Ave., is the secretary. Hyman Schneid, president of Local 39, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, with 12,000 members, is treasurer. The organization is growing rapidly.

Local Rockford, Ill., of the Socialist Party, like many other "S. P." locals, are coming over bodily to the Workers' Council. The secretary, Comrade Reesberg, has a bunch of dues stamps that he is putting to good use.

Hardly a state in the nation is lacking among the numerous requests that are coming in for information.

First Membership Card Issued.

The first membership card was written for Comrade Peter Larsen, of New Jersey, aged 70 years. This would refute the statement of the S. P. conservatives who claim that only the young are radical. Comrade Larsen has been in the Socialist movement for 45 years. He wants to carry a really red card and so joins the Workers' Council. He feels that all the S. P. could give him is a yellow card.

Now that the national organization campaign has been launched in New York City, the comrades in the nation's metropolis will get on the job and build up their organization. The first group was organized in the Brownsville District of Brooklyn, with Julius Wattman as chairman. One of the first activities of this group will be the holding of several mass meetings.

This is the work that must go forward everywhere. As shown in our last issue, the dues paying membership of the Socialist Party had dropped to 5,781 for the month of July. Ten years ago the S. P. had this number of locals and branches scattered through every state in the nation.

JOIN NOW!

Now is the time to join the WORKERS' COUNCIL and get into the struggle it is making to unite all the elements that have seceded or been expelled from the Socialist Party during the last two years.

We also want all additional workers who have been awakened to the necessity of a real working class political organization. Organize a group in your town.

The Workers' Council of the United States is a temporary organization. It is planning to call a national conference in the near future, to help build nationally along the lines laid down in the manifesto on the inside two pages.

Read this manifesto for yourself and decide whether it states your stand. If it does then fill out the application blank below and mail it to the WORKERS' COUNCIL, 80 E. 11th St., New York City. The initiation fee is 25c., the dues 50c. per month. Here it is:

Application for Membership in the Workers' Council OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

I recognize the class struggle between the working class and the capitalist class. I favor the abolition of this system of class division of society. I realize the necessity for the working class organizing independently, as a class, both politically and economically, to lead in the struggle for the acquisition of all power for the workers. This final aim, the abolition of all classes, will be achieved by the working class obtaining for such limited time as may be necessary all the power in the state and doing away with all economic inequality at present covered by the system of would-be political democracy and the capitalist state. Communism, the complete abolition of any and all exploitation and the inauguration of a free, human society of socially equal men and women, is the final aim of the workers' rule. For the purpose of aiding in the struggle toward this goal, I apply for membership in the WORKERS' COUNCIL and I agree to be guided by its Constitution, Declaration of Principles and Program.

Signature

Address

WORKERS OF THE WORLD
UNITE!

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