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 struggles of the Third International within the Socialist Party during the past two years.

Many Speakers for Direct Organization. The exception was Leland Loe, 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 Birch, of Stewark, N. J., was toastmaster. The other speakers, in addition to Loe, were J. Louis Engdahl, national secretary of the Workers' Council; Benjamim Glassberg, former inspector in the Radi School, J. B. Saluteysy, of the Jewish Socialist Federation; R. W. Grimes, one of the legal representatives in this country of Soviet Russia; Alexander Trachtenberg, chairman of the Finance Committee of the Workers' Council; Idaore Cohen, New Jersey organizer of the Independent Young People's Socialist League, and John D. Gregorio, of the Italian Socialist Federation.

Trachtenberg's appeal for funds resulted in raising a considerable amount for organization purposes, while the pledges made were in a goodly sum each month. Engdahl read messages sent in from all sections of the country supporting the program and purposes of the Workers' Council, and wishing it success in its efforts.

The struggle of the immediate future, as clearly expressed at this gathering, is set down in concrete form in the manifesto that appears on the following 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, appearing before the executive committee of both the Jewish Socialist Federation and the Workers' Educational Society (German), both those committees discussed the situation thoroughly and frankly and then voted unanimously to cooperate with the Workers' Council in its activities.

One result of this cooperation has been the sending out of letters and propaganda material throughout 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 $50,000 to start a daily paper. In the meantime, its weekly official organ, the New World, has been changed to an eight-page newspaper, paper size publication, and is being given with an increase and increased circulation everywhere.

The Volkszeitung, the German daily, is proving a great aid in the work of uniting the German branches of the country. This is its third weekly edition, the Vorwärts.

Application cards, membership, your local and the stamps and "certificates of affiliation" to the Workers' Council are now ready, and there is no reason for failure if the English-speaking organizations everywhere get hold of the first "certificate of affiliation," temporary until the holding of the national convention, of which George Struve, 832 Newport Ave., Chicago, Illinois, is to be the Organization of which George Struve, 832 Newport Ave., Chicago, Illinois, is to be the organization of which George Struve, 832 Newport Ave., Chicago, Illinois, is to be the chairman. The final call is to be held in September.

The Workers' Council is an organ for the Third International, an organ for the Third International, an organ for the Third International.

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 scattered and banded against 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 your group in your own city. The Workers' Council of the United States is a temporary organization. It is planning to call a national convention in the near future, to help build nationally along the lines laid down in the manifesto on the inside pages.

Read this manifesto for yourself and decide whether it states your stand. If it does not fill in the blanks 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 the 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 the struggle for the acquisition of the means of power for the workers. This final aim, the abolition of all classes, will be achieved by the working class abiding for such limited time as may be necessary all the power in the state and doing away with all economic exploitation and the inauguration of a free, human society of solidarity among men and women. To this end the Workers' Council is organized. I agree to be guided by its Constitution, Declaration of Principles and Program.

Address

The Workers of the World Unite in sending their fraternal greetings to their victorious Russian comrades on this, the fourth anniversary of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, November 7th, 1921.
A Christmas Gift to Russia’s Hungry

This is an announcement of a plan to raise $2,000 immediately as a Christmas Gift for Russia’s hungry.

Two thousand readers of THE WORKERS’ COUNCIL can participate in this effort to help fight famine in the Soviet Republic. If you want to be one of them, read on—

You have all heard about, many of you, no doubt, have read Bishop William Montgomery Brown’s great book, “COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANISM,” of which 75,000 have already been sold.

It is “A remarkable book by a remarkable man,” says the Freethinker.

This book analyzes and contrasts Communism and Christianity from the Marxian and Darwinian points of view.

Its bold recommendations are to, “BANISH GODS FROM THE SKIES AND CAPITALISTS FROM THE EARTH,” and make the world safe for Industrial Communism.

Bishop and Mrs. Brown announce that they have had published a special De Luxe Edition of this work of 2,000 copies. This valuable edition will be disposed of at $1.00 per copy.

Every cent of every dollar received from every copy sold will be devoted to Russian Famine Relief without the deduction of one penny for office or other expenses.

THE WORKERS’ COUNCIL is cooperating with Bishop and Mrs. Brown in bringing this announcement to the attention of the working men and women of the nation, the attention of the lovers of a good book and sympathizers with a great cause. Every copy of this edition should be disposed of in a few weeks.

Every dollar raised will be devoted to Russian Famine Relief thru THE WORKERS’ COUNCIL RUSSIAN FAMINE RELIEF FUND, which is affiliated with the Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, distributing thru the Red Cross of the Russian Soviet Republic.

We want our $2,000 to be used in the purchase of foods and medicines that will arrive in the Workers’ Republic as a holiday greeting and gift from our host of readers. Order several copies of this book and use them as Christmas gifts to your relatives and friends.

Send In Your Order Now!

Your order for as many copies of this book as you desire at $1 apiece will be received by the:

WORKERS’ COUNCIL,

or by the:


The Workers’ Council

Vol. I.

New York, November 15, 1921

No. 9

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Issued by the Executive Committee of THE WORKERS’ COUNCIL of the United States

EDITOR: J. LOUIS ENGAHL

Address all communications to WORKERS’ COUNCIL, 50 East 11th Street, New York City

Two Cents a Copy

$1 per year, 50 cents for six months.

THE FIFTH YEAR DAWNS

This issue of the WORKERS’ COUNCIL reaches its readers as the fifth year dawns for the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Two big facts stand forth as the toppers of the world: the celebration of the fourth anniversary, November 7, 1921, of the first Workers’ Republic: 1. That the Russian Workers’ Revolution is holding its own against all its combined enemies.

2. That the world revolution is much slower in coming than had been expected.

Soviet Russia stands victorious against all her foes, against interventionists without, against counter-revolutionists within.

She is mastering the great problems arising out of the all but crushing famine and plague.

The new Soviet Russia is now in full reconstruction. It is as a result of the efforts of the workers’ rule in this direction that the world imperialists are trying to gain some grain of comfort.

The fifth year of Soviet power will deliver the fatal blow to this capitalist hope. Moinsej O. Olgin deals with this problem to some extent in an article in this issue. It will be discussed more thoroughly in future issues of THE WORKERS’ COUNCIL.

The Soviet Republic has already conducted many a strategic retreat to the great consternation of its enemies. It is doing so again.

But as the workers struggle to victory in Soviet Russia, they await the advance of labor in other countries.

Even so the slow in making progress, nevertheless, under the guidance of the Third (Communist) International, the world revolution is forging ahead. The strength of the advanced sections of the workers is everywhere being solidified, the proper tactics being developed, the will on the part of the masses to go forward is intensifying more and more.

Cheers on the fourth anniversary of the Workers’ Republic for the fifth year of Soviet rule! Hail all the Russian Soviet Republic! Long live the World Revolution!

You must get your friends and neighbors to subscribe for THE WORKERS’ COUNCIL. One dollar per year, 50 cents for six months.

THE FIGHT OF THE FARMERS

The farmers of the National Nonpartisan League have met a reverse in North Dakota. The latest returns indicate that their officials have been voted out of power in a recall election.

A. C. Townley, president of the League, has been committed to a county jail at Jackson, Minn., to serve a 90-day sentence for violation of the state antisedition law. The farmers opposed the late war, but they did not withdraw their opposition quick enough to escape prosecution for their officials.

The bought press will now as always herald the “crushing” of this form of radicalism among the farmers of the middle west. Thus it has always hauled a temporary victory over the workers, in the cities or on the land.

The Nonpartisan League tried to put some of its theories of state capitalism into effect in North Dakota, where it had won over a part of the state administration. In doing so it won the bitter hatred of the great grain elevators of Minneapolis and Chicago, and also of the money power of Wall Street.

The result was a combination of all reactionary elements against “democracy” was easy to hand. A recall election was secured. The power of money, of the bought press, of all the subsidized forces of reaction was too much for the youthful farmers’ organization, deserted by many of its members and lacking in support because of crop failures and the fall in the price of wheat.

Whether the Nonpartisan League can long endure as an organization is a matter of debate even among its own members. Its favorite method of winning power through capturing the primacies of the old parties results in disintegration of its forces, instead of building up a powerful, well-knit movement. It has also been too much of a one-man organization—A. C. Townley.

That the farmers, through experiences gained with the Nonpartisan League, will move forward to greater efforts, to greater victories, to complete triumph, there can be no doubt. Let the farmers learn through their mistakes, win as the result of their defeats.
The Fourth Anniversary of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic

By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

SUFFERING. Hunger. Loneliness. A shattered economic machine. A disorganized, disorderly agricultural system.Millions are starved in the face by hunger from the cold, from the want of adequate supplies... A weary land. Empty, vacant faces. Starved, wasted bodies. Ruin, sorrow.

The petty-bourgeois conscience is back comfortably in his cozy home, gleefully rubs his hands and gives thanks unto the lathe that has spared him and his country the unhappiness of "Bolshevism" experimentation. And the calmer intellectual sits back and asks: "Why, what was the idea of this whole affair? Was it necessary?"

New Worlds Born in Pain

We take leave of the petty-bourgeois that can still feel themselves comfortable. Their kind have never yet heard the wild screech of historic winds. The thundering storm of revolutionary epochs is not for them.

We turn to those who themselves know that new worlds are born of suffering, pain, and fierce struggle.

Let us turn together to examine briefly the gains and the losses of Russia's working classes, and Russia's masses, in the four years of revolutionary strife.

A Brief Review

1. The Russian revolution has first of all guaranteed the existence of the Russian state and the in-tactness of Russian territory.

Not one enemy turned to Russia to tear the land to shreds.

There was a time when Russia was so weak that it seemed sure that every one could come to tear part of Russia away and do with it as he willed. That is now long past.

Now, on the threshold of the fourth year of the November (1917) revolution, Russia is once more a strong, united power, relying on masses which every other power must reckon with carefully.

Poland is on the outside, but Poland never was an integral part of the Russian state. Finland is on the outside, but Finland never was an integral part of Russia.

2. Baltic Provinces to Join Republic

The Baltic provinces are economically bound with Russia, and they are now outside of the country, but sooner or later these provinces will have to become part of the Russian Federated Republic.

All the other divisions of Russia are consolidated, unified, and form one mighty power, notwithstanding the fact that they are composed of different nationalities with various languages, and various cultures.

3. The Russian revolution has permitted all the non-Russian nationalities freely to develop their national life and culture. Not only is there national autonomy for the Ukraiines, the Poles, the Tatars, and the other peoples that occupy definite territories.

But there has also been established intra-terri-torial autonomy, national autonomy for those people who do not happen to compose a majority in a given stretch of land.

Jews Obtain Free Conditions

The Jews in Russia, for example, have obtained the freest conditions possible for developing their national language, national teaching, and every other phase of national culture.

For the first time in the history of modern peoples there has been created the possibility for free operation among different nationalities within the boundaries of one country.

4. The Russian revolution has established armed power to protect the country.

If, in 1917, the old army was in continual demoralization, and in continual need of discipline, the slighter the attack on the enemy; if, in 1918, Russia was totally unprotected and it seemed as if a few thousand Czecho-Slovakia would be able to overturn the new order; their new revolutionary army in 1919 and 1920 proved that the revolutionary army, the army which has the will and the courage to organize themselves into a new military power, to sacrifice themselves and to fight on the battlefields in the struggle for their country.

Calls Red Army a Miracle

It looked like a miracle—this building up of a new army on the ruins of the old.

It was possible only because a new hope shone for the workers of Russia, because a new ideal roused their spirits to the rebirth—the stirring of a new life. If at present after four years of imperialistic onslaught, there are but few contenders to assert that this army has in its composition a formed force, it is because the young republic has proved that she can wield an iron fist.

4. The Russian revolution has instituted a new political system where the old order had left only barren ruins.

Eight months after the fall of Nicholas II, the coalition government attempted to establish law and order in Russia, but it did not succeed. Its law was to be bourgeois law, and its order such as to protect the privileges of the ruling classes. *

* Translated from the "Narey Welt."
It was not for that that the revolutionary work-
ers, the revolutionary peasants, and the revolu-
tionary soldiers devoted themselves.

Power of Soviets Established

For a period of eight months there was no central power in Russia to carry on the affairs of the government.

It seemed as if anarchy would take the place of organized society, that uprisings, civil war, and un-
checked popular action would overthrow the government to

Then came the power of the Soviets instituting the new proletarian law and the new revolutionary order—and the masses followed, and they signified their approval, for it satisfied their demands and their social ideals.

Thus there was again established in Russia an organized governmental power to carry on the affairs of the land.

The Soviet government is one of the most power-
ful in the world; it is holding a vast and profound influence on the minds of the masses.

It was possible, of course, only because the Soviets were born from the deepest needs of the masses. It was possible because the Soviets are the masses in the most constant and direct expression of the daily needs of the people.

Old Bureaucracy is Abolished

5. The Russian revolution has abolished the old bureaucracy which even in Kerensky's regime, occupied so important a place in the governmental machinery.

The administration of all branches of social existence is now in new hands.

The administrators of the new order have not always had the requisite experience or the most far-

seeing vision as to the needs of the government.

But the administration is ever tending to adapt itself and has constantly sought new methods. The whole tone of Russia's political and social life has assumed a new character. It has changed its face. The new may seem untimely and unworkable. But the new is here, and the way back is closed.

Dreams Have Been Realized

6. The Russian revolution has abolished private ownership of the means of production, and for the whole of four years Russia has maintained the new socialist system.

Never before in the annals of a great modern people has such a system been tried.

This is the new, the mighty contribution that the Revolution has given to the social experience of mankind.

That which Socialist theory foretold on the basis of its research has now become a living fact in Russia.

What the dreamers and militant spirits of differ-

ent lands yearned for and hoped for, and yet them-
selves had already abandoned, has now been real-
ized by the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

For four years Russia has been free from private ownership. There has been no profit system, no exploitation, no domination of man over man.

For four continuous years the law of the land has been that he who does not work shall not eat.

If the Russian revolution has had in the last six months recognized that it must call private initia-
tive and private undertaking to its aid, it was due not to the collapse of the dictatorship of the Prole-
tariat, but rather to the realization that this dicta-
torship cannot put its own sheer strength rebuild the economic ruin left by six years of war.

The New Economic Policies

7. The new economic policies of the Soviet Gov-

ernment are a concession to the peasant class.

The revolution gave to the peasants control of the land, and the Soviet government is following up this internal and external foe was on, both classes were united in their defense of the revolution.

The peasant sent his sons to the Red Army to

withstand the white generals and landowners who, if victorious, would take back the confiscated properties.

The working class gave all its strength to ensure the

Dietocracy of the Proletariat.

When the war was over, however, and the coun-
try turned to the work of reconstruction on a peace-

ful basis, it became clear that the peasant was not yet ready to institute a Socialist system.

It became clear that the peasants are not willing to work for the whole land, but for themselves, and to satisfy their own interests.

Peasants Temporarily Victorious

If Russian industry, which已被 crippled after the long years of war, the workers would be able to satisfy the peasants with manufactured goods and so provide the state with agricultural products. But the factories and workshops were

stricken harder than the agricultural districts. The

proletariat found itself in an advantageous position and able to dictate its demands to the working

class.

Temporarily the peasants have won. The prole-
tariat government was forced to recognize the

right of the peasant to his own labor—that is, to

recognize the principle of bourgeois exchange in

agriculture.

That necessitates giving up government monop-

olies.

The end of the fourth year of Proletarian Dicta-
torship finds the peasant once more a small pro-

prietor, the strongest of all the capitalist govern-

ments.

Faces Final Dissimnlion Soon

8. The capitalistic world gloated over the tem-

orary return to capitalism. The bourgeois Socialists
gloated even more, for they looked to themselves over the "failure of the Communist experiment."

The truth is that these gentlemen are gloating over something which they cannot understand.

For in fact capitalism has been brought back to Russia not like a ruler, or a conqueror, but like a discharged worker who is called back to finish a certain task before final dissolution.

The administration of the government remains

as before in the hands of the peasant and working

class.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is not broken.

Both the peasant and the worker are opposed to

capitalism, even though their motives may not be

the same. Neither of these ruling classes, the

worker or the peasant, has any desire to institute in

Russia a capitalistic society.

Both classes will watch every step, every move of the capitalist groups, and will not permit them to become the masters of Russia.

Capitalism Is Mercifully Treated

Capitalism in its present form is no more than a
tool in the hands of the workers and peasants, whereas in the hands of workers and peasants are mere tools in the hands of capitalism.

Therein is the fundamental difference between the

two. The new government is not the protégé of the

capitalist governments.

Long the temporary stay of the recalled capitalism will endure will depend on the speed of

Russia's economic reconstruction.

When the railroads are improved, it will be possible to ask capitalism again to leave the social field, and it will have no power now to oppose the request.

Even if Russian capitalism were to become a sig-

nificant factor in Russian life, its power is under-
nestimated, its backbone broken.

It will never again have the might and the

audacity which characterized capitalism in other
countries.

The four years of Communist administration

without capital and without private ownership can-

not be wiped from the face of the earth.

Even if the Russian merchant and banker should once more revel in prosperity, Russia has neverthe-

less given capitalism its greatest blow. On the one

side the government, on the other side the trade

unions will not permit it to become masters and will not allow the profit-makers to become

lords over life. Now they are servants in the em-
ploy of the proletariat, of the dictatorship, of the rulers.

Building the New World

9. The Russian revolution has begun to build a

new world. It has called into existence unknown

powers; it has spread a flood of thought among the vast masses, has opened a new era of education and knowledge to the workers and peasants of Russia.

It has created the foundation for a new mas-

culture, for a new literature, for a new art.

And so, the country writes in pain on the present annals, a painful and hard task. The worker suffer-

in human woe, and the hunger-death staves millions of the facts, and the threat of narrow vision all over the world see only misery and suffering in the revo-

lution, nevertheless, in the light of history, on the broad path of historic development, the Russian revolution is a momentous step forward.

It is a beneficent storm which at the same time has unleashed a wave of enthusiasm and led to a higher stage of development and growth.
We Want An Open Communist Party

TO-DAY, to speak in favor of open propaganda of Communist principles by means of a legal political organization, is like carrying coals to Newcastle.

It is true, there is, in the Communist Party of America, still a strong sentiment against an open movement.

But in spite of this, a verse distribution on the part of the leaders of the Communist Executive Committee of the Communist Party has found that its first attempt in New York City to organize a vehicle for public Communist propaganda, in response to the instructions issued by the Third (Communist) International, has met with such immediate response that there can be no doubt as to the success of such a move on a national scale.

NOR ARE THERE ANY SERIOUS DIFFERENCES OF OPINION CONCERNING THE THEORETICAL POSITION TO BE ADOPTED.

MUST PROPAGATE PUBLICLY

THE WORKERS' COUNCIL and the groups that it represents have always maintained that Communism can and must be publicly propagated at the present stage of revolutionary development in the United States.

It is believed understand the purpose of teaching the masses the army, because, as the truth will ultimately establish the propaganda of violence and the arm, by the masses, will ultimately be the purpose of teaching the masses the army, because, as the truth will ultimately establish the propaganda of violence and the arm.

Now that the situation is different, the necessity of public propaganda and is prepared to assist in the establishment of an open party, there will be no difficulty in uniting all of these forces upon a theoretical program that will join under one banner all the elements in the United States that support the Third International.

AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE ONLY QUESTION THAT STILL DIVIDES THESE COMPLEXES IS THE QUESTION OF CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF A SECRET ORGANIZATION SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE OPEN PARTY.

MUST ALL WORK TOGETHER

This is by no means an unimportant consideration. The "secret" organization, as it is contemplated by its sponsors, is to act in the capacity of a controlling organ, directing the activities of the public party, representing it internationally, determining its tactics and its principles.

They insist on a system of parallel underground groups whose membership shall, in all important questions, act as a determined unit in the open organization.

In other words, the secret organization is to be the mind and the soul of the public body.

We do not deny that it is easier to maintain political purity in a body that is underground.

ITS VERY METHOD OF ORGANIZATION PREVENTS FAITH IN ITS LEADERS AND UNQUESTIONED OBEDIENCE TO THEIR DICTATES.

BUT IT IS THE PURITY OF A SECT OF BIBLE BELIEVERS AT THE TIME WHEN THE UNITED THINKING POWER OF EVERY MAN AND WOMAN IN THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT TO STEER US CLEAR OF THE BLIND AND THE ROCKS THAT HINDER OUR PROGRESS.

CONDITIONS RAPIDLY CHANGING

The greatest leaders have made mistakes.

The movement is alive and as it shall learn by mistakes, and the best thing is to be alert and be the greater for the fact that they have occurred.

But when we give into the hands of a few leaders the power to dictate the policy of an entire movement, these mistakes become dangerous.

They will become more numerous because there is nothing more salutary than the knowledge that a thousand critical eyes are watching every move that is made, and that those who believe in the great minds are weighing the "pros" and "cons" of every contemplated action.

DANGERS OF SECRET CONTROL

Their effect is more deadly, for they become an integral part of the organization, poisoning its vitality, leading its effectiveness.

The only way to get leadership of the party is by being on the ground, and the only way to be on the ground is to be on the ground.

THE URBAN BACKGROUND FORM OF ORGANIZATION PLACES A PREMIUM ON MEDIOCRITY.

That part of the membership that has the destinies of the movement most at heart, and feels its individual responsibility most keenly, that can think for itself and see the mistakes that are being made, must struggle against almost impossible odds to make their voices heard and to make its influence felt.

SUCH MEMBERS WILL BECOME DISCOURAGED, WILL BECOME INACTIVE, WILL NOT EVENTUALLY RESIGN, WHERE THE LEADERS ARE THE MOST NUMERICAL, FOR THE UNITED THINKING POWER OF EVERY MAN AND WOMAN IN THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT TO STEER US CLEAR OF THE BLIND AND THE ROCKS THAT HINDER OUR PROGRESS.

THERE IS A CHANCE THAT IS HANDED DOWN TO THEM.

TOO MUCH DISCIPLINE

"But you must have discipline!"

"Was it not because the Second International was afraid to impose its will upon the national Socialists that the great debacle took place in 1914?"

"Is it not the duty of the Third International to keep strict watch over its component parts?"

"Must it not guard against the disruptive influence of those who are anti-revolutionary in action and effect?"

MOST ASSUREDLY!

"But there is ever present the danger that discipline becomes tyrannical.

MORE THAN ONCE, IN RECENT YEARS, PARTY AUTOCRATIES HAVE USED THEIR POWER TO EXACT OBEDIENCE FROM THE MEMBERSHIP AS A WEAPON AGAINST ITS MOST REVOLUTIONARY MEMBERSHIP.

Karl Liebknecht failed to oppose war-credits in the Reichstag on August 4, 1914, because this fetish of party discipline was still too strongly imbued in his nature.

Hugo Haase delivered the speech that justified the position of the German socialist-party in the Reichstag, against the government, because he had been taught, for more than a generation, that party discipline must be maintained under all circumstances.

REVOLUTIONARY LABOR HELD BACK

Their failure to break these bonds held back the revolutionary proletariat for years, produced discouragement, while we needed courage, hopelessness where enthusiasm might have won the day.

The American Socialist Party used discipline as its weapon against its own refractory revolutionists. In the name of party discipline local after local was expelled and delegates thrown out of the convention.

The comrades who are prepared to join the open Communist movement will have little patience with such methods.

Many of them are workers who went enthusiastically into one or the other of the Communist parties in 1919, only to leave, after a while, because of the anti-revolutionary methods of the Communist Party, as well as in the Communist Party, entailed a degree of self-abnegation and submission to authority that they were unwilling to tolerate.

"But you will lose control of your organization if you throw it open to the entire working class, unless you have beside it a secret body of tried Communists who will keep it politically sound."

"As the movement becomes larger you will have to deal with political demagogues, with would-be office-holders, who will destroy its revolutionary spirit with their opportunism."

LET US BE CALM

Be calm, comrades! Our movement will not grow so rapidly that the education of its new members will not be able to keep pace with it. Let us concentrate our effort upon our open organization, and there will be no need for outside control.

The party that must be controlled from without is not worth having.

THE MOVEMENT WHOSE MEMBERSHIP UNDERSTANDS SO LITTLE OF ITS IDEALS AND PURPOSES AS TO NEED THE WATCHFUL EYE OF A SECRET CAUCUS IS A MENACE TO THE WORLD-RENOWNED COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND SHOULD BE ABANDONED.

A clear-cut program that places the party unequivocally among the world's revolutionary movements, political and international, that is strict, and do not subordinate the revolutionary purpose of the movement to the need of gov:
Socialism and Reformism in Italy

By ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

T

he Italian Socialist Party announced its ad-
herence to the Third International in March, a decision that its National Executive Committee took. This act was ratified later in the year by an overwhelming vote of the delegates at the Bologna Congress. The Italian party was the first Socialist party of size and influence to join the nascent revolutionary Internationale. While the news of its adherence to the Moscow organization was of more than interest, it did not come as a surprise to informed Socialists.

By throwing its lot with the Third International, the Italian party rounded out a Socialist and international character of which any workers’ party could be proud.

Took Stand Against War

Throut the critical years of the war the party remained faithful to International Socialism.

It supported the Zimmerwald and Kienthal movements organized by the Socialist minorities of the belligerent countries in opposition to the social patriotic activities of the Socialist parties of those countries.

It withdrew from the International Socialist Bureau and declined to send delegates to the Brussels conference which was sponsored by that Bureau in an attempt to resuscitate the shattered Second International.

The Inter-Allied Socialist and Labor Conference, another social-patriotic conclave, was denounced by the party as a decisive step in the advance of the imperialist war and denounced the “Socialist” and Labor delegation came to convert them to an espousal of the “democratic” war aims, it was met with derision.

Denounced the “Class Peace”

The Italian party maintained its revolutionary tradition and, together with the Socialist minorities of other European countries, spoke to the workers of the world against the imperialist war and denounced the class peace of the Socialist majorities.

When the minorities later joined the victorious Entente, opposing the Third Interna-
tional as a protest against the traitorous behavior of the leading parties of the Second International, the Italian party became a member of the new revolutionary body.

The Second Congress of the Third International pronounced the famous 21 points which, among other things, demanded of the various adhering parties that they cleanse their ranks of reformers and put an end to parliamentarians.

While the Italian party consisted in the main of revolutionaries, it had, nevertheless, a strong reformist element believed to be a danger-

The Third International included an array of parliamentary and labor leaders of great repute and influence in the Socialist and labor movements, Turati, Traves, Modigliani, and others made no secret of their reformist tendencies, and the party always had to keep close watch over their activities.

Serrati Turns “to the Right”

The Third International advised the Italian party to drop these reformist leaders and free itself of their pernicious influence. The leadership of the party was in the hands of people who put unity above everything else. Serrati, member of the Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist and recognized leader of the party, aloof realizing the hardship which retaining the reformist element would entail, bitterly opposed the expulsion of Turati and his followers from the party.

Under the leadership of Serrati, the majority of the party delegates at the Livorno Congress last January refused to ratify the 21 points.

The Left fraction at the convention, which claimed a following of about 50,000 members, withdrew and organized a Communist Party. Unconditional affiliation with the Third International was voted by the new party.

Lose 50,000 to Gain 14,000

The “Unitarians,” representing the majority of the party, allowed the split with a loss of 50,000 members in order to retain a reformist following of about 14,000.

The representative of the Third International at the Livorno Congress, the Bulgarian Communist Kabanets, contributed to the conditions which brought about the split.

The opinion still prevails in some Communist quarters that the Third International erred in permitting the Left in the Italian party to withdraw at that time.

It is maintained that a way should have been found to isolate all truly revolutionary elements from the reformists, and retain the powerful Itali-

Notwithstanding the desertion of the Communists, and the refusal to accept the 21 points, the Socialist party adopted at the Sixth Congress the so-called Bentivoglio resolution providing for negotiation with the Third International for continued affiliation.

Demand for Collaboration Grows

It was under this resolution that a delegation consisting of the former secretary of the party, the veteran Lazzari, Dr. Maffi and Riboldi attended

the Third Congress of the Communist Interna-
tional last July to lay the matter of the Italian party before the International.

No sooner had the memorable controversy at Livorno died out when the Socialist party began to feel the effects of the unholy alliance with reformism.

Instead of being able to control it, it saw reformism further extend its power within the party at its most revered tradition. The reformists be-
gan to demand collaboration with other parties. Turati, Traves, Modigliani, and others accused participation in the government.

Those who wish to see the Socialist history aright can foresee the future of the Italian Socialist Party if it should choose to go the way the collaborationists have charted for it.

When the Third International made it man-
datory upon the Italian party to break with the reformists, the party pleased for the right to retain them and tried to persuade the International that the Italian reformists were in better standing than those in other countries, that they were harmless, and that the party could exercise complete control over them.

Just Like Reformists Here

While it is true that compared with the leader-
ship of the American Socialist Party, the Italian reformists are revolutionaries yet their characteristic features are the same.

Parliamentarism, instead of being an aid in the revolutionary struggle, has become with them an end in itself. Instead of battle cries born out of the class struggle, they use their pink banners—votes, offices, legislative measures as goals of their movements.

Those who watch over the destinies of Italian Socialism know the danger which lies in the course actually taken. The question is whether the agitation of the latter must have reached an acute stage if the National Executive Committee of the party decided to call all an extraordinary convention to deal with this issue.

The Convention took place in Milan, October 8-12. The party administration declared in its manifesto to the members that it considered it im-

The Left fraction had the majority and the Italian So-

Socialism to sponsor participation in bourgeois gov-

ernments and announced that the Socialist Party had no place for any such policy.

Zetkin Speaks for “The Third”

The question of dealing with the reformists was bungled up by the question of affiliation with the Third International. Clara Zetkin, who made as spectacular an appearance at Milan as she did at Tours, when the French government did not allow her to enter the country, pointed out to the Italian Socialists in behalf of the Executive Committee of the Third International that a break with the reformists before it could claim complete ad-

herence to the International.

Clara Zetkin was among those whose voices were raised against the tactics of the Third Interna-
tional at Milan. She could view the Italian situation with sympathy. She now saw that the Italian Socialists themselves began to fear the growing strength of the reformists in the party.

Unfortunately, in addition to Clara Zetkin, the Third International did not take steps that could have been sent to the Milan Congress the Polish Communist delegate, was asked. His attitude was not conducive to a friendly understanding.

The culgdes of the fight for a complete break with the reformists were taken, but the party did not go so far as to exclude it from the Third Congress. Altogether four resolutions were presented which dealt with the question of col-

1. Turati demanded open collaboration with the reformists. He wanted the party commit-
ted to the policy of particularism. He was opposed to any reservations.

2. Alessandri proposed a modification of the Turati position. He favored collaboration only under certain circumstances.

3. Serrati was opposed to collaboration. He favored complete control and discipline over party members. Those favoring collaboration accepted the decision of the majority. Unity must be maintained, and if membership in the Third International meant a departure from a portion of the party membership, he was for unity first of all.

Urged Adherence to Moscow

4. Lazzari sponsored the unconditional affiliation with the Third International. He demanded 21 points and the removal from the party of the ever-present danger of neutralizing the revolution-

ary party and choosing the method of expelling the reformists.

The Reformists then decided to send delegates who went to Mos-

as the basis for any collaboration. He was against the idea of a complete break with the reformists.

Lasse in Germany

Serrati’s attitude reminds one of the position the late Hugo Haase took as chairman of the German Social-Democratic party. He advocated a social-patriotic policy of the Schlieffen major-

ity. He was opposed to voting war credits and making a loan of a large amount to the German government. But he would not support the Liebknecht attitude of rebellion against the rule of the major-

ity. He was against the war, but in his mind. Only when the majority betrayed every So-

Socialist principle the party ever stood for, did Haase agree that a break was necessary and joined in the formation of the Independent Socialist Party.

It is not unlikely that the reformist policy of the Turati faction is an ever present danger within the Socialist Party. The time will come when Haase will be ready to utter the same truth?
U. S. Socialism Brought Up-To-Date
By BENJAMIN GLASSBERG

The municipal campaign waged by the Socialist Party in the City of New York in 1917, had the real effect of rousing the world to the threat of the system that the World War, large sections of the workers flocked to the standards of the Socialist Party, which practically organized political forces in the United States had declared against the war.

From many platforms throughout the city Socialist speakers emphasized the economic causes of all wars including the World War.

In spite of themselves the party speakers found themselves drifting away from the many immediate demands which cluttered up the municipal platforms and finding a distinctly revolutionary message to the workers.

The astute campaign managers did their utmost to check this tendency, and to keep the party in the narrow reformist lines which they thought proper.

They plastered the city with cots showing a milk bottle which Morris Hillquit would enable the people to buy at a very cheap price.

It is well known that they sought to drown the revolutionary developments of the campaign in a sea of cheap milk.

High Tide of Socialist Activity

Election day found that Hillquit had received the tremendous vote of 150,000, several times as large as any previous vote received by the Socialist Party in New York City.

In every respect the campaign of 1917 marked the high tide of Socialist activity. When the 1918 campaign arrived, the spirit and the enthusiasm so much evidenced the year before was manifestly lacking, for in the meantime the Socialist members of the Board of Aldermen had voted for the Liberty Loan. Many of the party’s most active workers were noticeably absent from the platform where they had been found four years before.

Soon after began the formation of the Left Wing section which led directly to the expulsion and suspension of the Communist elements.

It’s the Same Old Campaign

The Socialist Party of New York City has just engaged in another municipal campaign, the first since 1917. Outwardly everything is the same, that one was to rely on the party mouthpiece, the New York Call.

The old familiar party candidates have faced us once more, that is, that Call and the old familiar investment, that are all there: Panken, Oenal, Beckerman, Waldman, Solomon, Tovin, Beardsley, Rosenberg, Vladek; Block, Lee, Karlinsky, etc., etc., etc. No matter how rapidly the rank and file may desert the Socialist Party because of its betrayal of the principles of revolutionary Socialism, the leaders never will. No branch is too small to nominate for office.

A review of the character of the propaganda disseminated by the Socialist Party should be sufficient to convince one of the futility of this campaign, in which the best “brains” of the party have been used in the vain effort to make Talmudic nonsense of any kind of Socialism, or to speak in the name of the class-conscious workers of America.

He Eases the Shock of Capitalism

The standard bearer of the party is the perennial Jacob Panken. Two years ago, the New York Call, in describing him as a municipal court justice, said in a headline, “Panken Eases the Shock of the Capitalist System.” That sentence, better than anything else, characterizes the 1921 municipal campaign of the Socialist Party.

Its platform and the speeches of its candidates are all new with the same old politics, all bear the same taint of reformism.

The one message of the Socialist Party is to prove to the workers that their program can better ease the shock of the capitalist system than the Republican or Democratic parties.

One may search the columns of the Call which daily reprint the sayings of the great and the near great in the Socialist campaign for some indication of what Socialism is supposed to be, of any intention or desire to overthrow the capitalist system and to substitute the rule of the workers in the place of the dictatorship of the capitalist class.

Panken Believes in “The Press”

The chief issues of the campaign, Panken tells us, are the high cost of living, unemployment, taxation, housing, taxation, civil service and the schools. My election—Panken assures the workers—will mean better schools, cheaper bread, less unemployment, etc., etc.

He challenges Hylan and Currans to debate the issues of the campaign on the steps of the City Hall, and is confident that the public spirited press (sic) would help spread the various points of view.

It would be interesting to know just what Panken has in mind as constituting the public spirited press.

One fact that because of such a thing as a debt limit the city could not undertake what Panken urges, does not seem to trouble him.

The fact, further, that the entire city were to carry out the whole Panken program, capitalism would be just as healthy and vigorous as before, seems to be entirely overlooked by the judge.

No opportunity is allowed to pass without re-affirming the great faith which the Socialist Party has in democracy.

Commenting on the refusal of the Board of Aldermen to assist in the hearing of the case of Panken, gulled by the simplemindedness of the voters in the Board of Aldermen, Panken made the following momentary comment which was blazoned forth in the columns of the Call:

He’s for “Democratic” Government

“The matter involves the very fundamentals of our system of democratic government.”

One can almost feel Panken trembling for the safety of the other “brains” who are actively engaged in the campaign when, upon the passage of the recall measure in a Western state, he declared that it was laying the axe to the roots of the tree of Liberty.

Panken is also in favor of extending the blessings of democracy to Ireland, for he informs the Irish voters that “the position of the Socialist Party on the Irish question has always been definite—repeal of the Eight Hours Law and recognize the Irish People. Could one ask for something more definite?”

For fear that some might still mistake Mr. Panken for a revolutionist because he bears the Socialist label, he took care to inform an audience that he would never be a labor agitator, that he preferred to control the telephone from the White House to the prison at Atlanta.

What is Socialism?

This is a variation of the new Socialist theme, so well exemplified on the nation’s stage, of “What is Socialism” brought to light by the Call. In this issue, Mr. Panken states: “The Socialist Party, while it is revolutionary in its final aim, is none the least distinctly evolutionary and constitutional in its position in today’s world.” But the main reason for our favoring such measures (immediate demands) is because, if logically carried out, they offer the security of a peaceful, lawful and orderly transformation of society.”

(Bold face ours.)

Louis Waldman, late of Albany, evidently struck by Panken’s next way of putting the thought that Socialism is opposed to a revolutionary dictatorship, and relies implicitly on the methods of American democracy in inaugurating a Socialist regime, makes use of a phrase more phrasing: “I do not want to shoulder a gun,” he says, “I would rather have the keys to Atlanta than a musket at the worker’s head.”

Louis Waldman's testimony during the recent斗争s in New York City February 23, 1920, in answer to a question as to whether he would fight against an invading enemy, he replied, that he would go out and shoulder a musket at the worker’s head.

The fact is that if Panken ends up as a labor vander; not only that, but he would call upon all the workers to join him.

An interesting point of the campaign was the effort on the part of the Socialists to break up meetings arranged by the Workers’ League to change the scene into a more working class in tone with the Republican and Democratic parties.
The Big Drive for Unity

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

That is the first paragraph of the "Tentative Statement of Principles and Purposes of the Workers' Council," as published in the September issue of The Workers' Council.

At this time we wish to announce that all indications point to great progress being made in this direction. We may have very important developments to announce.

Instead of a National Conference of the growing number of local organizations affiliated with THE WORKERS' COUNCIL, it is hoped that our Conference will be merged in a bigger gathering to lay the foundation for a mighty open party.

The Workers' Council Now!

Organizations that should join in such a gathering, in addition to THE WORKERS' COUNCIL, are the American Labor Alliance, the Proletarian Party, the Bohemian Socialist Federation, the Jewish Socialist Federation, both withdrawn from the Socialistic Party since the Detroit Convention; the Workers' Educational Society (Arbeiter der Welt Verein), Finnish Socialist Federation, Bulgarian Federation, Scandinavian Socialist Federation, Hungarian Federation, and other groups. Many strong organizations carrying along the banners of true Socialism, in the struggle to reach our final goal, the Communist Society.

Inspired by the promise of these developments, every worker will find his place in this unfolding effort. Join THE WORKERS' COUNCIL without delay. Knowledge appears on another page. The initiation fee is 25 cents, the dues 50 cents per month.

Making Big Forward Steps

Great strides have been made in our organization work since the last issue of our magazine went to its readers.

Our comrades in prison, Eugene V. Debs, received and read the first issue of this magazine. We have been able to forward statement of the Committee for the Third International from their prison cells. They have thus a clear idea of the conditions and purposes of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL. Prison officials, however, strongly urged him to make a statement regarding these documents.

The WORKERS' COUNCIL at Akron, Ohio, is well organized and has inaugurated a big educational campaign.

Our magazine is selling well all across the country, our dealer in Oakland, Cal., for instance reporting no unsold copies.

Secretary Engdahl had a good meeting at Paterson, N. J., and we place our congratulations here since it was established.

A list of the prospective members of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL comes in from Harrison, N. J., and Paterson. This was an exciting event.

Steven Birchler, one of the original members of the Committee of 20, is now making arrangements for an organizing meeting of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL in New York.

A second branch of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL has been organized in New York. Steven Birchler, secretary of the branch, arranged the meeting.

Open War on the Coal Miners

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

It is very interesting to watch the present revolutionary leadership of the workers in this new crisis. President John L. Lewis, who so recently betrayed the cause of the miners and leaders at their recent international convention and, in his counter-attack against the brilliant fight of Howard and the Kansas miners, now sends out his workers to the whole nation, not even under the regime of Gompers, Lewis, broken. But the workers now to "resist any attempt to abolish the "check-off." Whatever the miners do, they will do it in spite of Lewis and his officials. They will win back that stidy, fighting morale that has characterized their every struggle, against every obstacle that Lewis can be expected to put in its way.

Gompers comes to the front with his usual whine. He fears for the future of his "empire" that is now under attack as is directed against the organized labor movement by Judge Anderson's injunction. He thus admits that a new leadership must be called into power to meet the new problems.

Capitalism Strenthenes Dictatorship

Capitalism is moving forward to strengthen its dictatorship. It is not going to be "nice" to the workers, not even under the regime of Gompers, Lewis, et al.

Labor must learn that its greatest trials are ahead.

The sooner they accept this truth, the quicker they prepare for new and more decisive struggles, the sooner and the greater will be the victory.

Let the workers in the mines and on the railroads, join those in the other industries. Let them unite with the enlightened and aggressive workers of the land. Let them all get together to strengthen their economic and political organizations. The victory is ahead. So is the struggle.

Many a worker will thank you for giving him a copy or putting him in touch with our magazine. Help boost the subscription list by sending a sub to 80 East 115th St., New York City. $1 per year.

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Please enter my Subscription to The Workers' Council for One Year at $1.00 (Six Months 50 Cents.) You will have correct amount enclosed.

Name ____________________________
Address ___________________________
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Must Win New Victories

In this hour of trial we give voice to our solidarity with the men of the mines. They will and must rise victorious out of this new conflict.
A Mighty Power!

Your magazine, THE WORKERS' COUNCIL, has already shown itself to be a mighty factor in the creation of an open Communist Party in this country.

It is answering the cry for unity with definite action that will help weld the thinking workers of America into a powerful, revolutionary working-class organization.

The workers will respond just as soon as they can be reached. We must reach them thru the hosts of readers that we have already gathered together in support of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL.

In other words, your magazine must be made bigger in size, and it must be issued more frequently. It must grow in power and influence. It must be a herald of the coming of the unified party.

Only this great need has been sufficient to persuade us to come to you in this crisis, seeking your co-operation in an effort to establish a sustaining fund of at least $1,000 PER MONTH to give lasting power to this weapon of ours.

You have received the last two issues of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL. You join the vast host of our readers in voting them the best so far issued. We must continue to grow and improve.

THE $1,000 PER MONTH SUSTAINING FUND can easily be raised. It means that only 1,000 of our readers are called upon to pledge themselves to send in $1 per month; or that 2,000 readers pledge themselves to send in 50 cents per month.

All should join in the declaration, "LET US DO IT!" In the future, when the struggle will become much lighter, you may then look back with pride to these trying days, when the burden was heavy and you helped bear it.

DO NOT HESITATE FOR A SECOND IN FILLING OUT AND SENDING IN THE ACCOMPANYING COUPON. HERE IT IS:—

Make THE WORKERS' COUNCIL Bigger and Better!

The Workers' Council,
80 East 11th Street,
New York City

It is certainly very necessary to increase the influence of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL. I want to help. I, therefore, herewith contribute $........, or pledge $........ to aid in the struggle toward this end. I also agree to contribute $......... per month for .... months.

NAME ..................................................

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THE CONVENTION!

The Call of the Workers' Party
New Era Dawns for America's Working Class
We Are Discovered
The Work of Organization
Success Is Assured
For the Cause of Unity

The New Economic Policy in Soviet Russia

The Disarmament Conference—Another Futile Attempt

The Socialist Party—A Victim of Inner Contradictions

"I HAVE come out of Soviet Russia firmly convinced that there is no power on earth that can diabolize the Soviet Government, and that the achievements of the Revolution have penetrated deeply into the life of the people."—A. A. Heller, in his article on Page 150.