

in the school of Bolshevism, will never permit the bourgeoisie to return to power. Capitalism is reeling to its very foundations and is daily suffering new blows, new decisive defeats. The Soviet institution forms the great thought of the Community, namely, the idea of organizing society according to economic units and to make of these units, by means of a democracy directed against the bourgeoisie, by means of the dictatorship of the working class, by means of proletarian democracy, a true united commonwealth, a member of a great world-wide economic community.

The Entente no longer has the power to shatter Soviet Russia. The World War ended with the demolition of one of the belligerent states, of one of the financial powers and with the military and economic exhaustion of the other. The world solstice is approaching. Whether it comes today or tomorrow or the day after makes no difference—it cannot be long distant. And in all lands there appears among the foremost fighting ranks of the working class the flaming motto which was first written on the banners of the proletariat in the great French Revolution, which was engraved with steel upon the pages of the history of old Europe, which constituted the golden rule of the Paris Commune and which in time will re-echo even in the ranks of the working class of America, those words in which are contained today as they were a hundred years ago the longing and the hope and the iron will of the working class, the meaning and the spirit of the new epoch: War against palace and peace to the huts, death to want, and to idleness!

The historic essence of dictatorship is dominion—stark, coercive dominion; without infringing the rights and interests of minorities, it is as impossible as the quadrature of the circle. The historic justification of the dictatorship of the proletariat lies in this, that the dictatorship is exercised in the interests of the enormous majority of the population, and that it is no more than a means of transition, for it aims at suspending itself, at rendering itself impossible, at realising the ideal of democracy—a free people, in a free land, living by free labor. Clara Zetkin.

The period of imperialism means the division of the world between the "great" privileged nations which oppress all the others. Undoubtedly, certain crumbs from the plunder, arising out of these privileges and this oppression, fall to the lot of certain sections of the lower middle class, aristocracy, bureaucracy, and a privileged minority of the working class. This last section, which constitutes an infinitesimal section of the laboring class, has a leaning towards "Struvisism", for it justifies their union with the national bourgeoisie as opposed to the oppressed masses of all nations. N. Lenin.

We are requested to insert an appeal for funds on behalf of the thirty-six deportees with their families now retained at Ellis Island in a most pitiful condition. They are absolutely destitute and the National Defense Committee is collecting money to care for them. Please send contributions to Dr. George M. Dunaif, Treasurer, 339 Stone Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Manager's Column

We greet May day, the Worker's holiday. The poor men, the landless and the propertyless all over the world, realize on this day the approach of universal brotherhood, of international solidarity. In Soviet Russia, May first is celebrated in every public square, in every village. For there the workers and peasants own the country and their holiday is the nation's holiday.

In the United States the workers do not own the country, nor the tools they work with, nor the jobs that should provide for their livelihood. They do not because they do not realize their power. And their leaders too fail to realize the vast power of these thirty-eight million workingmen and workingwomen, when united and consolidated to one purpose—the achievement of their economic freedom. The leaders dicker and beg from the powers that be, instead of consolidating the armies behind them.

This consolidation of the working class is the spirit of May first. The Workers' Council hopes, in its limited way, to help in that great task, to point the way that leads to freedom. Comrades everywhere see in the Workers' Council a needed message,—one comrade writes: "Congratulations on your very excellent magazine. It's just what we need—plain talk, with no compromises—or else no talk at all." Or this from another: "I am enclosing money order for \$2.50 for a subscription to your magazine. I endorse your first number and wish you success in your undertaking. I am for a world worth while." Or again: "Send me some copies right away. Will see what I can do about selling them."

You comrade, who read this, you are appointed a committee to spread the Workers' Council. Get ten of your friends to read it. See that each one of the ten spreads it among a group of his own. Send us subscriptions, send lists of names, send for bundles at special rates, to sell at meetings. *You may earn some money in your spare time by selling the Workers' Council.* We want agents everywhere. Write us.

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The Workers' Council

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A Little Tie-up on the Waterfront

Communist Difficulties in Germany and Italy

TEN CENTS A COPY

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WALTER M. COOK, Secretary Intern. Educ. Assn.

Editorials

GOING, GOING, GONE!

One by one the various "liberties" about which so much is said in the school text-books as being a part of America's priceless heritage have by this time been discarded and decently buried. During the debate on the Immigration Bill, at present awaiting the President's signature, Congress helped to bury another, namely the right of asylum. Ever since the United States was founded it has been our proudest boast that every victim of religious or political persecution could find refuge in this country. Revolutionists were sure of a welcome in America and might even receive the interested attention of the "best people," that is, if unlike Gorky, their marriage relations were quite regular. To be sure the revolutions of the nineteenth century were nationalistic affairs and not class wars, and were not quite so disturbing in their implications.

We have now officially declared to the world that that policy is a part of the past. On an amendment introduced by Senator Johnson providing that the limitations on immigration should not apply to the victims of religious or political persecution, the Senate, following the example of the House, voted No by 60 to 15. Congress rose in its majesty and decided that no longer shall the United States be the "cesspool" of Europe. Gone are the "good old days" of before the war! Gone is another American "liberty."

When the boss shouts that there must be no "job control" it is, of course, implied that he is to be the exception to the rule.

MAY DAY FESTIVITIES

Palmer no longer holds sway in his kingdom, but the spirit that he created lives on in our courts bullying and bluffing in the name of the law, breaking every safeguard that was ever invented to protect the unfortunate defendant from injustice. Truly, Mr. Palmer could ask for no more fitting tribute to his unholy memory than that which was rendered in the Tombs police court when the Comrades Lindgren, Jakira and Amter were brought before Judge Rosenblatt on a charge of criminal anarchy. In spite of the fact that the entire matter was so obviously trumped up to supply the capitalist press with material for its annual May Day scare that even the Judge refused to take them seriously, these three men were grabbed and manacled as soon as they left the court room by detectives who insisted upon their right to do so. Investigation showed that these "gentlemen" were acting with no other authority than an unsigned document, such as are often issued in large numbers to be used whenever illegal arrests are to be made.

The First of May in recent years has been the occasion for "red scares" of one kind or another. Bomb stories, the favorite method of the gentlemen who preserve law and order in this glorious country of ours, are becoming somewhat discredited. It is risky business to recall too forcibly to the public mind that in not a single case the astute detectives, who are so extremely well informed about the different Communist parties that they know the most secret data of every conference that was ever held, and have copies of every secret organ that was ever published, have been able to fasten the crimes that have been so vociferously attributed to the "Reds" upon one of their number. So they celebrated this May Day by springing the horrible story of a "secret organization" that was planning the undoing of the capitalist class of this, our United States. As if the existence of these secret organizations had not been an open secret to the police for over a year! A year ago, during the trial of the 20 C. L. P. men in Chicago, Detective "Red" Egan ostentatiously read the report of the secret convention that perfected the secret organization, in open court and commented upon the things that happened there, and upon the persons who attended that conference in tones that made no claim to secrecy. To bring out this information at this time, as if the gentlemen in the service of the Department of Justice had only just unearthed a deathly plot, proves the truth of what we have always maintained, that the raids and the attacks upon Communist organizations and individuals have become a part of American governmental policy, not because our rulers fear for the safety of the capitalist system, but because Mr. Gegan, and others of equally unsavory fame, love their jobs too well to allow the American public to forget their importance.

THOMAS COMES TO AMERICA

The treason of the Triple Alliance has cut deep into the heart of the British Labor movement. Friday, April the 15th, will long be remembered as BLACK FRIDAY for the English working class. For it is beyond doubt the blackest betrayal in labor history. The London Daily Herald, the labor organ, the day after the surrender declared that it was the heaviest defeat that has befallen the Labor movement within the memory of man. "The old machinery," it declared, "had failed. The Triple Alliance, the Trades Union Congress, the General Staff, have all failed to function. We must start afresh," it went on "and get a machine that will function. What we need is a new spirit."

The organs of the British Communists and the Shop Stewards all unite in demanding that THOMAS MUST GO. There is no doubt now that Thomas was the arch-traitor of them all; that Thomas very carefully prepared the trap for Hodges into which he fell and thereby furnished the opportunity which Thomas was looking for—the opportunity to throw the miners overboard and prevent the strike.

For months the Communist Press had been hammering away at the leadership of the British workers. For months they predicted that when the struggle became acute, the labor leaders would be sure to line up with the government, just as they did during the war. The virus of nationalism, it seems, is planted so deep in their blood, that they are incapable, any longer, of any sort of loyalty to the workers who keep them in office.

Thomas has suddenly taken fright at the volume of the demand that has risen throughout England that "Thomas must go!" And so he has decided to hasten his departure to America to which he was to come in June to attend the A. F. of L. convention at Denver.

He is coming a little sooner for the sake of his health. He needs a four weeks rest to get over the strain of the recent events. Think of all the energy expended in defeating the workers whom he was supposed to lead! And what a wonderfully appropriate place to go to! The time was when every dethroned king would flee to England for safety. What more fitting than that "liberty-loving" America offer a haven of refuge for leaders who have been discredited by one treason too many! Let us hope that the immigration authorities will place no obstacle in Thomas' way and that Mr. and Mrs. Gompers will be on hand to receive him and nurse him back to health. We can think of no better aid in the recuperation of Mr. Thomas than the climate of the A. F. of L. building in Washington and the company of the labor chiefs at the Denver Convention. There, surely, he will find that sympathetic attention and understanding he needs so much.

No doubt the English climate is not particularly favorable just now to Thomas, Hodges, Bevens, and Williams. Years of effort could not have done as much to awaken the British workers to the necessity of a complete housecleaning in their ranks as this supreme act of treason.

The Thomases must go. And while the British workers are engaged in their housecleaning, let the American workers turn to their Gomperses, Lewises, Hutchesons, Berrys and the rest of the outfit. It is

high time to rescue the American Labor movement for the workers who compose it. American workingmen! attend to your traitors!

THE LIQUIDATION OF LABOR

Labor in the United States, in South America, in Europe and Asia is at present engaged in a struggle for existence. Taking advantage of the industrial depression, employers everywhere have organized concerted to slash wages, and so liquidate the gains which labor had been able to force from employers during the war.

Hardly an industry in the United States in which wages have not been cut from twenty to forty per cent. in the last year. The clothing workers were among the first to bear the brunt of this conflict. For five months the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have been engaged in one of the most bitterly disputed industrial struggle of recent years. Rarely has a union met with so determined and so well organized an attempt on the part of the masters to destroy it. Rarely have the courts been called upon so generously to come in and help crush the workers. Needless to remark their response has been equally generous.

New York City is at the present time witnessing a struggle which may become as long and as bitter a struggle as that of the Amalgamated. The shipping interests, in the effort to liquidate labor determined to cut the wages of the 112,000 men employed at the various ports along the Atlantic coast, 22,000 of whom are in New York City. The men promptly refused to accept the wage cut. Half-hearted negotiations conducted by the Government to prevent a strike failed. The result is a complete tie up of the entire coast. The men claim that the cut in wages claimed by the owners to amount to 15 per cent. is in reality a cut from thirty to sixty per cent. besides impairing working conditions. The seamen are thoroughly organized and are determined to keep the port of New York and the rest of the coast tied up until a satisfactory settlement is arrived at. The employers and the government recognize their power. They know that ships cannot move when the men fold their arms. They fear that in spite of the existing unemployment they will be unable to recruit enough scabs to man the ships and that a long strike would ruin "our" rapidly diminishing exports, they may therefore be expected to listen to "reason" namely, the power of the organized workers, and modify their original intentions considerably.

In another basic industry, the announcement of a wage reduction failed to result in any organized action. The dilatory tactics of the A. F. of L. in failing to organize the steel workers when the opportunity was ripe, as Foster suggested, left the workers of the steel industry unorganized and helpless virtual slaves of the steel masters. The result is that when Gary announced a wage reduction of twenty per cent. the workers were in no position to go out on strike and meekly accepted the reductions. This cut, which will bring wages down to the 1918 level, Gary says, must be made to reduce expenditures and is justifiable because of the decrease in the cost of living. Wages will thus be brought down to the 1918 level although the cost of living is at least twenty per cent. higher than in 1918.

The United States Steel Corporation which is so

quick to force wages down on the slightest pretext has paid out more than \$1,000,000,000 in dividends in the last twenty years. The aggregate net profits for this period were \$1,841,032,437. During the year 1920, the net profits were \$185,095,359 after all expenses and war taxes were deducted. With such profits, this largest industrial concern in the world does not hesitate to coin still more of the lives of its 260,000 slaves into profits.

Thus is labor rewarded for its "patriotism" in the late war. The A. F. of L., like the great labor organizations of England, France, Germany, Belgium and the rest have all been fittingly repaid for the civil peace they entered into with their governments during the war.

THE GAME OF THE IMPERIALISTS

The recent developments in Silesia furnish additional proof of the fact that the Entente nations have set out completely to destroy the present system and to bring Europe to a condition where nothing but the establishment of working-class rule will save what is left of European civilization.

Ever since the signing of the armistice the Entente powers have pursued a policy of creating new sore spots where none existed before, and multiplying old ones. For a time they subjected Austria, Germany and Russia to the terrors of a blockade, either to destroy working-class rule or permanently to cripple the next generation to prevent future commercial rivalry.

They created a Poland as an outpost for French Imperialism and have encouraged her in her aggressions against Russia, Lithuania, Germany and Czecho-Slovakia. The organized pogroms against the Jews provoked but mild interest among the Entente powers.

The White Terror in Hungary brought about by Entente intervention was allowed to proceed without the suggestion of interference. Why should they? Would not the Allies wipe out their own socialist and labor movements if they could?

Finland, which had openly called in the Germans to help destroy the Red Guards, and aligned herself with the German cause, was welcomed into the society of nations as a fitting member and recognized by our Government as a perfectly respectable democratic state, having filled the requirements by murdering a sufficient number of workers and socialists.

While the Entente nations have thus been united in their efforts to destroy the socialist forces, they have naturally failed to act as a unit on all other matters. Secretly, behind each other's backs, they have played their own little games of duplicity. This is, to be sure, no new development in diplomacy, although many good liberals and socialists believed that this war, possibly because it brought more havoc and destruction than others, would usher in a new day. And so we find the Italian government entering into a secret alliance with the very same Turkish groups which officially they are supposed to be fighting together with the rest of the Allies. While the Greeks at the command of the Allies and for purposes of their own are attempting to destroy the Turks, the Italians, their

Allies, are supplying the Turks with guns and munitions.

And now in Silesia, where the Poles have in defiance of the Inter-allied Commissions invaded Upper Silesia and have proceeded to gouge out the eyes of Germans made defenseless by the Allies, and to rape women and burn homes in the approved civilized manner, it seems that French have unofficially allowed the Poles to acquire the guns and munitions with which to do their murder. The Italians in this case are living up to their supposed duties of neutrals in the dispute between the Germans and Poles and have attempted to check the imperialist crazed Poles, only to be shot down by bullets which their brothers, the French, have been careful enough to supply the Poles with. The dead Italian soldiers, we are informed by a Polish spokesman, were not fired on as Italians, but as obstacles in the way of the "sacred Polish aspirations."

How much longer will the worker, American as well as European, allow this slaughter to go on? How much longer will he continue to offer himself as the chief object for this slaughter—for the interest of his masters?

Under New Colors

By J. Louis Engdahl

Two more swan songs have been sung the past few days over the decaying corpse of the Second International.

These funeral anthems have come from the pen of Victor L. Berger through his paper, the Milwaukee Leader, and from the lips of J. Ramsay McDonald, speaking at the annual conference of the British Independent Labor Party, at Southport, England.

It is a case of the dead burying their dead. For the Second International of the betrayal of Socialism has had no stauncher defender than Berger, in the United States; McDonald, in Great Britain and continental Europe.

Berger did his best to revive the corpse on Page One, Col. One, Milwaukee Leader, March 21, 1921, in his special contribution headed "Findings." Those who do not care to read the whole article may find a summary at the beginning, running as follows:

"Second Socialist International Failed During the War. Still Most Important Socialist Association. HAS ISSUED A MANIFESTO AGAINST THE BOLSHEVIKI. Second International Stands for Democracy, Political and Industrial. May After All Be Vehicle to Down Capitalism."

The capitals are my own. "DOWN THE BOLSHEVIKI!" was the dying hope of the Second International, and Berger helps pass it on. He declares that, "At the conference held in Geneva last December the Executive Committee of the Second International issued a proclamation breathing the old Socialist spirit.

"The Second International is still alive—and with a little patience, good will and forbearance, it may prove to be the great vehicle of bringing about the downfall of capitalism and the emancipation of the working class."

Berger's position in this article appearing March 21, 1921, was his position at the Socialist National Conventions at Chicago, September 1919, and at New

York, May 1920. Remember that March 21st comes months after the 2½ International got under way at Berne, Switzerland, and a month after its meeting at Vienna, Austria.

Then in four weeks Berger suddenly changed. In the Milwaukee Leader, April 18, 1921, he bids farewell to the dead and greets what he now thinks to be the living, in another Page One, Col. One article, headed in part as follows: "The Old Socialist International (the Second) Which Failed to Stop the War. Was Revived After the War, but IT IS Weak and Discredited. Recently a Sane 'Centrist' International Was Formed in Vienna."

Thus in true Berger style, the spokesman of the Second International in the American Socialist Party, deserts his love of yesterday and embraces a new one. As the Second Internationalist he was a minority of one or two in recent Socialist Party Conventions. As an apostle of the Vienna creed he now feels he has hit the majority stride, for he concludes his article with an edict to all dissenters as follows:

"We only want such men and women in our party as subscribe to our aims and methods. The rest had better go where they belong. To leave us and to start their own organization—is the honest and consistent thing for them to do.

"If they are neither honest nor consistent, however—that is only an additional reason why we must get rid of them."

That was the spirit of the Milwaukee Party gathering called by Berger and held Wednesday night, April 13th, the second anniversary of Debs' going to prison, when all Third Internationalists were invited to get out of the party. The invitation was extended by the same Doerfler, who, while a Milwaukee Socialist alderman sat as a delegate in the Chicago Convention of the so-called Labor Party. At this meeting Berger, who only recently repudiated Karl Marx and his Socialist teachings, and who supported a non-Socialist judicial candidate at the April elections just past, repeated his Bergeresque distinctions between Socialism and Communism. On the basis of Berger's explanations, Mayor Hoan declared himself a Socialist, not a Communist, and with the Second International safe in its tomb, the Berger machine rolled out a recommendation for affiliation with the 2½ (Vienna) International as opposed to the Third (Moscow) International. Berger expects to hold his position against all comers. At last reports one heretic had been expelled, and charges had been brought against 14 others. Berger has an Espionage Act all his own. See "Article XIV," Wisconsin State Constitution, Socialist Party.

The Communization of Agriculture A Program for the United States

By Arthur W. Calhoun

Viewed as an economic proposition, agriculture in the United States is, under modern conditions, a more logical candidate for socialization than is almost any other industry. It is the supreme public utility and its effective operation by private enterprise is becoming more and more impossible.

The increased cost of living following 1900 was traceable chiefly to increased cost of raw materials, due, of course, to the growing monopoly advantage

The National Administration of the Socialist Party, having declared against Third International discipline, gives Wisconsin autonomy full sway.

The Berger position locally is one that is being repeated internationally. This is clearly shown by the actions of MacDonald, secretary of the mourned "Second International," at the recent Independent Labor Party Conference. MacDonald told his fellow members of the I. L. P. that they did right when they voted to disaffiliate with "The Second", that he was only a "reconstruction secretary" of "The Second", that his salary was paid mostly by the British Labor Party, "not to revive the Second, but to reconstruct an all-inclusive International." It will be noticed that when the I. L. P. voted for affiliation with the 2½ (Vienna) International," it declared it wanted to "unite in a comprehensive International," almost MacDonald's exact words with regard to "The Second."

These two expressions "All-inclusive" and "Comprehensive" mean, of course, all-inclusive and comprehensive off everything but the true Socialist forces of the world, which are either already included in, or directing their eyes toward the Third (Moscow) International.

All the war prejudices of the Second International, all of its nationalistic jingoism, all of its reactionary relations, even to its associations with the Imperialist Black International, the League of Nations, will now be handed over to the 2½ International under the plea for unity.

Thus we find Renaudel, the French social patriot, already at Vienna defending French imperialism in its aggressions against the workers of Central Europe. There was also a great shedding of tears because Georgia went Soviet instead of remaining a pawn of the Allied Entente.

The Second International is dead. It is transferring its war legacy of the betrayal of Socialism to the 2½ International, that has suddenly become acceptable to the reactionaries of the working class movement. Under cover of the Viennese camouflage we will now face a heavy attack on the Third International, compared to which the sniping of the past two years will fade into nothingness.

To meet this attack, to acquaint the masses with the mission and the principles of the Third (Moscow) International, under whose standards the workers must march forward to the conquest of world power, is the task of the Committee for the Third International of the Socialist Party of the United States. Let those who are interested write J. Louis Engdahl, Secretary, 1400 N. Kelzie Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

possessed by those controlling the products of the earth in the face of a rapidly increasing demand by reason of population growth. Perhaps the major part of this unearned increment has gone, not to the farmers but to the strategically located middle-men. In so far as this is the case, the interests of the consumer might be safeguarded by control of the marketing process, but either the farmers will combine to dominate at this point or else agriculture will be taken

over by business corporations, and in either case it will be necessary for the community to intervene in its own behalf. Under capitalism, the special monopoly advantage attaching to land ownership does not more than make up to the farmer for the extent to which he is exploited by the manufacturers of machinery and supplies and by the exactions of the commission men and the bankers; but if capitalism were wiped out at these points, a great special privilege would accrue to those owning and operating agriculture and the other extractive industries; so that it would be necessary for the commonwealth to take over these industries also.

The circumstances of modern agricultural production reinforce the argument for communization. In the first place, agriculture is more than ever a speculative enterprise, which can not be a general success except as the risk is borne over large areas. This is especially true in such regions as the drought areas of the Dakotas, Oklahoma, Montana, and similar states, where there can be no certainty of adequate rainfall; in the hail regions of the wheat belt; in the pest areas, such as the cotton section liable to the ravages of the boll-weevil; in the fruit industry, crippled over a large part of the country by the menace of untimely frosts. These hazards have been provided for in small part by insurance, but on the whole they can never be satisfactorily handled except by nationalization of agriculture.

Moreover agriculture is an extremely technical industry requiring a high degree of specialized skill covering an enormous range of subjects,—a range incapable for mastery by any individual farmer in the general farming regions, and a specialization that makes it absurd for the man that has mastered one branch to waste his time presiding over the diversified processes of a trifling patch of ground. The man that really takes the pains to become an expert in one branch of agriculture ought to direct its operations over great areas. Something has been accomplished already by the colleges of agriculture, with their experiment farms and their facilities for expert advice, as well as by the system of county agents; but the maximum of systematic efficiency can not be reached till whole counties, possible in some cases whole states, are farmed as a unit.

Besides, agriculture can not be a success under modern conditions without great investment,—more than any ordinary farmer is ever able to procure. Nearly all the farms in the United States lack sufficient funds for cattle, for machinery, for fencing, for power, or for whatever equipment is necessary for greatest productivity. Some of these needs could be modified or even reduced under systematic organization by farmers' co-operatives or by corporation agriculture, but individual enterprise is incapable of meeting them or surmounting them consistent with the interests of the general public.

Furthermore, agriculture requires, for the sake of economical industrial operation, to be conducted on an enormous scale. We can no longer afford to waste so much space in fences, so much capital in partly used machinery (which could be employed far more days in the year if attached to a large enough unit area), so much power in machines too small to be economical, so much capital in hosts of petty and makeshift barns and cribs on myriad farms, so much

human energy in unco-ordinated and incalculable random farming operations, as characterizes the present system. It is impossible to make agriculture capable of feeding the modern world so long as it is organized in antiquatedly microscopic units. The break-up of the "bonanza" farms of the past generation was not due to inherent unfitness, but to prematurity. We now have the large machinery and the systems of business organization, and all the other devices for scientific organization and operation.

Much of the agricultural area of the United States needs to be put to crops that will not yield within a period to interest the individual farmer. A large proportion of the eastern hill country ought to be set out with nut-bearing trees capable of yielding tremendous crops of food for beast or man. Other areas ought to be planted with timber trees. A systematic forest policy can be managed only under communal proprietorship.

The fact is that scientific agriculture approximates more and more to a manufacturing process. The graduated supply of water by means of irrigation; the balanced apportionment of plant nutriment by means of chemically ascertained requirements; the operation of gigantic drainage works requiring unitary control over colossal areas; the raising of crops under square miles of glass or canvas; the correlation of agriculture with central processing plants and storage,—all of these steps help to break down the distinction between "farming" and "industry" and to subject the whole productive process to a common requirement.

When it comes to the inauguration of a communist policy, the whole country will have to be surveyed and tabulated, and the various agricultural areas and units will have to be classified. Then the commonwealth can proceed to take them over in the order of urgency and expediency, discriminating along some such lines as the following: 1. Take over land farmed by tenants before land farmed by proprietors; 2. Take over land operated by inefficient farmers before that farmed effectively; 3. Take over areas dependent on artificial irrigation, or on crop insurance before regions with sufficient natural advantages in these respects; 4. Take over land fit only for forestation before land suited to fancy agriculture.

The Communists of Russia and Germany do not think it necessary to expropriate the farmer off-hand and wholesale. Hope is placed in the superior attractiveness of communal farming with high productivity to undermine the prejudice in favor of individual proprietorship. In the United States, in view of the rapid increase of farm tenantry and the general unprofitableness of farming, it ought not to be impossible to develop a policy for communization that would solve the problem of production, make possible guaranteed occupancy of modern homes by rural families, and wipe out the enormities of exploitation as at present practiced upon the rural population by the money-lender and the middle-man. If a tax equal to the "economic rent" of the land (i. e. the amount added to the earning power of the labor by the differential productivity of superior soils) were put on all lands remaining in the hands of private farmers, it ought not to take long to convince everyone of the desirability of universal communization of agriculture.

Communist Difficulties in Germany and Italy

By LUDWIG LORE

The recent history of the Communist movements in Germany and Italy is so interwoven and so closely related to one another, that it is practically impossible to deal with one without entering largely upon the other. They are confronted with the same problems. Both have gotten to that stage of the revolutionary class struggle where the conflict between the capitalist class and its exploited proletariat has reached the stage of active and aggressive struggle. There the text-book of proletarian revolution is being written, so that the comrades in other countries may see and profit by their mistakes.

Following the second Congress of the Third International, bringing in its wake the split in the Independent Social Democracy, came the unification of the Left Wing of the Independents with the Communist Party, under the name of "United Communist Party of Germany." Germany now had a Communist Party that could lay claim to political consideration, a party of more than 500,000 members, with numerous daily and weekly newspapers, with representatives in the Reichstag and in almost every Landtag, with majorities and strong minorities in countless cities and smaller communities. With one stroke the Communist movement in Germany had become a factor to be reckoned with, it had become a political power within the nation.

Nothing could have been more disquieting to the reactionaries on the one hand and to the Noskes and the Scheidemanns on the other. The masses had ceased to associate the name Communism with bloody revolts and violent uprisings. They began to realize that here had come a healthy movement that was going toward its final goal, determined not to be provoked into actions that would hinder rather than help it in the fulfillment of its purpose. An "Open Letter," in which the United Communist Party called upon the German proletariat to unite upon a program of fundamentals in order to create a solid proletarian front, found astonishing and enthusiastic response. The purpose of this letter, that is, the unification of the German proletariat by separating it from its reactionary and its reformistic leaders, was accomplished with astonishing ease and thoroughness. Large unions, entire districts, responded to their call. Unions that had formerly regarded every Communist with grave suspicion, now joined whole-heartedly with the Communist movement. Public opinion in favor of union with Soviet Russia grew with leaps and bounds, and revolutionary understanding seemed in a fair way to be penetrating into the very heart of the German labor movement. As the movement toward the Left grew apace, the alarm of the reactionary "socialist" labor union leaders became painfully evident. Communist trade unionists were summarily thrown out of their organizations, and discussions on Communism versus Socialism were the order of the day. Another year of uninter-

rupted educational revolutionary propaganda would have brought the masses who once stood in a solid phalanx behind the German Social Democracy, into the Communist movement.

In the meantime, however, dark storm clouds were gathering in Italy, rending asunder the only party in Europe that had weathered the gales that disrupted the socialist organizations in every other nation. The international significance of the Italian crisis had its effect upon the German revolutionary movement as well. It led to the resignation of Klara Zetkin, Adolf Hoffman, Paul Levi, Däumig and Brass from the Executive Committee, and brought these comrades into direct conflict with the Executive Committee of the Third International, whose position the United Communist Party in Germany had adopted.

In the next issue of *The Workers' Council* the reader will find a portion of the report presented by Comrade Zinoviev to the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party on the international situation which deals with the Italian situation. He presents the matter very simply, stating that the entire situation was precipitated by the refusal of Serrati to separate from the 11,000 opportunists, the supporters of Turati. As a matter of fact, the whole incident is not quite so obvious. Those who have followed the recent history of the Italian movement know that it was due chiefly to the influence of Serrati that the Italian party was the first large party to declare its allegiance to the Third International, that Serrati has always been the leader in the fight against Italian opportunism as represented by Turati and his followers. Clearly, there are other reasons than those which Zinoviev chooses to put into the foreground.

In short, the rock that wrecked the unity of the Italian movement, and which threatens the unity of the Communist movement all over the world is the difference of opinion that has arisen between the representatives of the Third International on the one side and Serrati and a strong contingent in the Italian party on the other concerning the possibility of a social revolution in Italy at the present time. Lenin, Zinoviev, and the representative of the Third International at the Italian Congress, the Bulgarian comrade, Kabaktschieff, are of the opinion that in Italy the revolution is knocking at the door. Serrati, and with him a great majority of the Italian comrades, are of the opposite opinion. This difference in the conception of the political ripeness of the Italian labor movement reflects itself in the tactics that must be adopted. If it is a fact that the Italian working class will, in the near future, be prepared to take over the political power and the industries of the country into their own hands, then the Italian working class must embark upon an era of aggressive struggle against the capitalist class in order to weaken its power of resistance and its grip upon the industrial life of the nation. If

this period has been reached, then it is the duty of the Italian movement to apply the methods that were so effectively used in Russia in July, 1917, the method of offensive mass action against the bourgeoisie. If, however, Serrati and his followers are right, if there is, at the present time, no promise for a successful revolution in Italy, then it becomes the immediate duty of the party to strengthen its organization, to educate the working class to an understanding of its revolutionary aims, and to turn the passionately excited proletariat of Italy into a class-conscious power that will be ready to carry out great and decisive revolutionary actions. Serrati was not opposed to the expulsion of the opportunists. But he vehemently opposed the Third International when it—or rather its Executive—presumed to dictate the time and the number to be expelled. And for certain very definite reasons. A group of Communists that we learned to know in the Left Wing movement here in the United States, of the well-meaning but headless and impetuous type, under the leadership of Bordiga, had organized a Communist Party before the Livorno Convention met. Just as the Left Wing organization, by its passionate aggressiveness, made it impossible to withdraw from the Socialist Party more than a fraction of those who were at heart in accord with its position—and the Third International to-day realizes only too well how gravely this Left Wing was mistaken in its tactics—so it was impossible for an Italian Communist Party to create a strong revolutionary labor movement so long as it stood under the control of these impetuous elements. For this reason Serrati was unwilling to break with Turati at the present time, as the latter, whose influence in the party was, after all, comparatively small, would act as a counterpoise to the superenthusiasts of the Bordiga group. In other words, he believed that it would be possible to create a strong revolutionary movement, against Turati, in the same party with Turati, much sooner than this could be done in a separate organization made up of and controlled by elements whose spasmodic irresponsibility is always repellant to the slower thinking masses. The opinion recently expressed by the leaders of the Third International concerning the American "split," namely that the methods used by the American Communists to divide the Socialist Party were wrong, is even more true in the case of Italy. With this difference, that there this grave mistake is being made with the sanction and under the instructions of the International Executive itself.

What followed in Italy after the Livorno conference is well known. The new Communist Party immediately embarked upon an offensive campaign. It believed that the Italian revolution was imminent, and adjusted its tactics to meet this situation. The first immediate result they achieved was the resuscitation of the Fascisti, a comparatively unimportant nationalist organization, founded and led by socialist renegades, who answered the offensive campaign of the Communist Party with such vicious brutality that Communists and Socialists were driven from the offensive into the defensive. What we see in Italy to-day is not a civil war, con-

ducted by a mighty proletariat to win or to hold itself in political power, but a fight that has been forced upon it by its enemies, that threatens to choke the whole labor movement in its own blood. Not the Red Terror, but the White Terror rules in Italy to-day, and how thoroughly these counter-revolutionary elements control the situation may be seen from a cable message from Florence that appeared in the New York Globe sent by its correspondent, Hiram K. Moderwell, who is well known for his reliability as well as for his sympathy with the radical labor movement.

Florence, Italy, May 4.—When the writer attempted to enter the office of the Florence Labor Union Federation to ask about the Fascisti anti-Bolshevist campaign the office was locked, and a nearby shoemaker explained that the labor men rarely visited it.

"They are afraid of the Fascisti," he added.

"Where is the Communist deputy, Caroti, who once organized the restaurant waiters' strike in New York?" I asked.

"He has had three different addresses in the last three weeks," was the reply. "He is now hiding from the Fascisti."

"Where can one attend a Communist election meeting?"

"There are no such meetings. The Communists cannot meet because of the Fascisti."

In this city there are none of the "Viva Lenin" or "Viva Revolution" signs, which a year ago covered all the walls of Florence. This is the result of the sensational Fascisti campaign. The Socialist and Communist labor unions do not dare hold propaganda meetings or take part in the elections, as their leaders and agitators are in constant danger of death. The Fascisti organization, which three months ago was confined to a small bitter-ender Nationalist organization in Romagna and Tuscany, is now a nation-wide organization, with branches in nearly every city and village in Italy. The leaders claim 2,000,000 members. "Ever ready" action squads are prepared to go at any moment to undertake any violence at command.

In this connection, the fact that possibly neither Socialists nor Communists will participate in the elections that are about to take place in Italy, speaks volumes.

Paul Levi, at that time chairman of the United Communist Party of Germany, attended the Livorno Conference, and upon his return published an article in the "Rote Fahne" (the Red Flag), the Berlin official organ, in which, in carefully and diplomatically chosen words, he took sides with Serrati. He insisted that there is, in the Italian Party, an overwhelming Communist majority, divided from each other by differences of only secondary importance, that these groups were being torn asunder by the impossibilist attitude of the Italian "100 per cent Communists," as it was being inspired and supported by the Executive of the Third International, and that the more moderate group, instead of being won for the revolutionary movement, was being driven into the ranks of the Opportunists.

But the Italian incident has assumed proportions that spread far beyond the confines of the Italian movement. Levi, and with him Clara Zetkin, whose revolutionary determination has always been above criticism, see in the occurrence at Livorno a dangerous entering wedge, that will inevitably split every one of the parties now allied with the Communist International. The Italian party was present at the birth of the Third International

and has ever since been one of its most important members. If what happened in Italy should be repeated in Germany, in France, or elsewhere—and the Berlin representative of the International indicated quite unreservedly that this will be the case, then the Communist movement will inevitably be disrupted, again and again and the forming of Communist Mass Parties which could become a power in the country, would be an obvious impossibility. There is only one alternative, that we return to the already thoroughly discredited theory that a small minority of class-conscious and determined Communists can overthrow the capitalist government and establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. To accept this theory as the highest wisdom of revolutionary socialism means, however, that the methods, and practice of violent uprisings, and secret organizations must make all agitation on a large scale not only impossible but unnecessary.

While all of these considerations were of paramount importance to Paul Levi, who was chairman of the Spartakus Bund and who, after the death of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, held the reigns of the German Communist movement in his capable hands, while they influenced Klara Zetkin, Adolf Hoffmann and the others who stood upon the same ground profoundly, there were other considerations that practically made their resignation from the Executive Committee of the U. C. P. of Germany a necessity. First among these was the recognition of the Communist Labor Party of Germany by the International as a "sympathetic party" (a party with a voice, but no vote). We have previously shown that the dominant characteristic of the C. L. P. of Germany is its pronounced syndicalist anti-parliamentarism, that it was numerically at the time when the Third International adopted its decision, of practically no importance, that the leaders and the organs of this party concentrated their activity mainly upon a series of vile personal attacks upon Levi who had become the nucleus against which their entire propaganda was directed. On the other hand it had been extremely sharp in its attacks upon the Third International, accusing it of compromising, of political cretinism, of opportunism. The recognition of this party could, in view of these facts, be regarded only as an intentional unfriendly act against the U. C. P. of Germany and particularly against the person of Levi, its chairman. Furthermore it seriously hindered the effective work that had been accomplished by the "open letter" in the labor organizations, by strengthening the influence of the syndicalist elements. This recognition of the C. L. P. permitted but one interpretation, it was virtually an order on the part of the Executive of the Third, to the U. C. P. to approach the C. L. P. and in order to perfect a union between the two parties, to sacrifice Paul Levi and the other "opportunist" leaders who shared his views. This interpretation is strengthened by the statements made by Zinoviev concerning Levi in his report to the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communists.

In short, the recognition of this numerically unimportant party was an open endorsement of the

"more aggressive" methods by the International Executive as against the systematic mass-propaganda that the "Open Letter" had inaugurated.

The resignation of the five from the Central Committee at its meeting of February 22 to 24, was therefore only logical. No Communist who could think clearly and independently, who was honest with himself and with the movement, could have acted otherwise in the given situation. Having recognized that the authoritative organs of the International were no longer in accord with their conception, that their methods were being regarded with suspicion and open opposition, they withdrew from the leadership of the organization. Under the circumstances neither a Levi, nor a Zetkin, nor a Hoffmann could hope to win their point. Every attempt in this direction would have been futile. They have been accused of desertion and cravenness. This accusation is as unfounded as it is incorrect. They knew that the party was on the point of launching new tactics, tactics that they could neither fight nor tolerate. They refused to be responsible for the occurrences that would inevitably follow, occurrences which, they are convinced, would end tragically for the Communist movement and for the proletariat.

The happenings of the weeks that followed confirmed their worst fears. The new tactic was ordained to a trial by fire only too speedily. It failed. Miserably, hopelessly.

The class struggle in Germany had been becoming steadily more intense. The counter-revolution had striven to use the crisis through which Germany was passing for their own purposes. The London negotiations, with their open enmity between France and Germany, the plebiscite in Upper Silesia, preceded as it was by months of intensely nationalistic propaganda and chauvinistic hatred, and finally the increasing horror of unemployment had kept the masses in a fever of nationalistic prejudices. In this crisis the U. C. P. called to arms. It called upon the masses to answer the London negotiations with their own action. The final answer, they cried to the people, lies not in London, but with you. Say what you want, and you will get what you want. We have talked long enough! The time for action has come. The language in these proclamations became more and more unmistakable, more determined, more powerful. At the same time, the industrial crisis was assuming dangerous proportions. Negotiations in London were broken off. The bourgeoisie of Silesia and of Poland were coming to blows over the Silesian question, while the counter-revolutionary "volunteer" organization, the Orgesch, showed an increasing readiness to take up the fight against the working class.

Certainly, the U. C. P. had no reason to warn its supporters to grin and bear these intolerable conditions in silence. It is no pacifist organization like the Independent Social Democracy. It cannot play the traitor, as did the Social Democracy. It had undoubtedly become the duty of the U. C. P. to call the masses to revolt, to turn the desperation that was taking possession of greater and greater portions of the nation, into conscious revolutionary determination. The situation offered an unparalleled

opportunity for revolutionary education. The time had come for intensive agitation against the rulers who had brought Germany into this terrible predicament, an agitation that must increase daily and hourly in strength and open determination, an agitation that must grow, step by step, with the growing revolutionary understanding of the masses. But nothing was further from their thoughts. On the contrary, when Hoersing, the social-democratic president of the Prussian Province Saxony, sent a few hundred Sipo police and sharpshooters in full fighting regalia into the strongly communistic industrial districts of Central Germany, ostensibly to quell the crime wave that he insisted was making itself felt in that territory, a communist climax was the answer. The working class was called to arms.

The first proclamation that followed upon the Hoersing invasion was already aflame with threats of forceful and violent retaliation. "Every workman must stand in his place, where he belongs, on the side of the fighting proletariat. Every weapon at the disposal of the working class must be used if we would help our hard-pressed brethren in Middle Germany. The working class must arm, prepared to meet the foe. The weapons in the hands of the working class." And shortly after there followed another which ended, "Every workman must take his weapon wherever he can find it."

The "Rote Fahne" of Vienna, recently characterized by Lenin as the best communist newspaper, comments upon this action of the U. C. P. as follows:

"The U. C. P. was right in taking up the challenge. But it made a grave mistake when it allowed itself to be carried away by the bitterness that was rampant in the masses, instead of leading this infuriation into the channels of consciously revolutionary determination. The first proclamation, with its words, "Every workman will take his weapon wherever he finds it," could only add to the influence of the revolutionary romanticists and desperados of the movement, far, though, this may have been from the purpose of those who wrote it. A partial strike, demanding the withdrawal of the Hoersing troops; simultaneous demonstrations all over Germany to arouse interest and sympathy for the cause of the workmen in the Mansfeld district, blow upon blow, increasing in strength and determination, constant appeals to the supporters of the majority socialist and the independent camps for sympathy and support—only thus could they have hoped to galvanize the masses into conscious action. The counter-revolution has come prepared for a small, unimportant outpost skirmish, the Central Committee of the U. C. P. believed that it could spread the fight, over night, along the entire battle front, to bring, in a few short hours, an entire army corps to the barricades. That was their great mistake. The call, "Every workman must take his weapon wherever he finds it!" should have come at the end of a long, well-prepared and gradually intensified campaign, instead of at its beginning."

That, in a few words, is the crux of the matter. The Executive Committee of the U. C. P. used the

first opportunity that presented itself to put its new, more aggressive methods to the test. It puffed up a purely local upheaval into an offensive against capitalist Germany, and hoped to sweep the whole country in one bold attack, only to find that they had woefully overestimated the strength, the influence and the readiness of their organization, that they had no conception of the real sentiment that existed among the German working people at that particular moment, i. e., that they neither knew, nor were able to judge the actual balance of power between capitalist and proletarian sympathy that prevailed at that time.

In the nationalist excitement that had taken possession of a large part of the working class, they saw revolutionary spirit. They hoped, by a spontaneous, powerfully inaugurated movement, to sweep the masses that stand behind the social democracy and the independents into revolutionary action, and failed to understand that their headlong plunge was having exactly the opposite effect; that the masses who had begun to demonstrate a marked sympathy for the party so long as it showed promise of returning to sane and consistent activity, were turning in disgust from this new outbreak. By their hasty outbreak they had chained the very men and women whom they hoped to win, more firmly to their opportunist and reform leaders. The spirit of the C. L. P., nursed by the Executive of the Third International, had taken possession of the new members of the Central Committee, and had brought them to this desperate mistake.

The U. C. P. failed all along the line. At first the masses in the industrial Central Germany answered its call. But the party soon lost all control over the movement it had started, and its leadership went into the hands of more than questionable elements, such as, for instance, that well-known revolutionary romanticist, or perhaps robber chieftain would be the more fitting term, Max Hoelz, whose "Robin Hood" escapades in Saxony have spread his fame far beyond his own fatherland.

Outside of Central Germany their call to arms met with practically no response. In Berlin everything was quiet, the large industrial centers were apathetic, except for a few individual "deeds of heroism" that were neither communistic nor revolutionary. Such acts, we all know full well, cannot be prevented. They are bound to occur in times of revolutionary upheaval. But when they occur where there is not a sign of mass action, they sink down to the level of every-day crime.

The fight was broken off unwillingly, and far too late. The leaders of the movement must have seen, after the first few days had passed, that the movement was absolutely hopeless. They must have realized that the prize they were paying was far too high, that not even the withdrawal of the Hoersing troops was an adequate return for the hundreds that were killed and for the White Terror that would inevitably follow. The struggle ended with defeat. But this defeat need not have been without value to the International revolutionary movement if it had known enough to learn the lessons that it taught, if it had recognized and admit-

ted the errors that had been committed. But such was not the case. On the 6th of April the Executive of the Third International directed a proclamation "To the revolutionary workingmen of Germany," in which they call to the German proletariat: "With you we mourn the death of those who fell as heroes in the cause of proletarian freedom. With you we tremble in fury at the thought that our comrades, who are suffering in prison cells, will be delivered to the dry, guillotine of democratic military courts. The first attack of the German proletariat was repulsed. The bourgeoisie and its lackeys will try to carry dissatisfaction into the ranks of the retreating troops. **The Communist International tells you that you were right!** The victory of the working class can not be won with the first blow. You have turned over a new leaf in the history of the German working class. Prepare for new struggles. Review what this fight has taught, learn from it, close your ranks, strengthen your legal and your illegal organizations, intensify the proletarian discipline and the communist understanding of your fighters!"

In short, the Executive sanctions the March uprising from start to finish, and backs up the leaders of the U. C. P. Paul Levi, in a pamphlet which appeared on the 6th of April, entitled "Wider den Putschismus" (Against Irresponsible Revolts), vehemently attacked and bitterly condemned the uprising, detailing a number of incidents connected with its inception, concerning the truth of which we here in America cannot judge. We know Paul Levi only through the Communist press, and we know that, until recently, he stood high in the graces of our comrades in Moscow. We do not know what motives led him to publish this pamphlet at a time when it must necessarily encourage the White Terror of class justice in inflicting severe penalties upon the Communists who are in jail as a result of this ill-starred attempt. We can imagine, however, that the dread of another similar attempt in May or in June forced him to speak; that he felt that only the sharpest criticism and ruthless exposure of the cancer sores that were infesting the very heart of the movement could save the German movement. Furthermore he may have speculated upon the probable effect that his exposure, at this time, would have upon the third Congress of the Communist International that is to begin in Moscow on the 1st of June.

Whatever his motives may have been, we have no right to accuse him of having acted dishonorably or consciously against the best interests of the party. He was expelled from the party for the publication of this pamphlet on the 15th of April. This was to be expected, for no party will tolerate so flagrant a breach of discipline. But it is also a fact that Klara Zetkin and Adolf Hoffmann and others have come out openly in support of Levi's declaration, and have been ordered by the Central Committee, in consequence, to refrain from fulfilling their duties as representatives of the party in the Reichstag and in the Landtag sessions until the next meeting of the Central Committee. The statement made by Klara Zetkin begins as follows:

"The Central Committee has deserted the

straight line of Communist principles laid down by the Third International, and has thrust the party into a confusion of violent and forceful action. In so doing it has gravely weakened the fighting spirit of one of the most important European sections of the Communist International at a moment when the world situation more than ever before demanded, and had the right to expect powerful demonstrations of international solidarity from the proletarian masses in Germany. In order to avoid open and unsparing criticism, which is the duty of every party member and a necessity to the health and life of the movement, the Central Committee has sought to bury the highly uncomfortable altercation by creating a case against Levi. The undersigned protest indignantly against this attempt, which we regard as seriously injurious to the party. The conception voiced by Comrade Levi is fully in accord with the policies of the Third International and with the decisions adopted at its second international conference on tactics and principles of the Communist movement. The differences between the undersigned and the Central Committee are not passivity on the one hand and activity on the other, as the Central Committee would have it believed. On the contrary, the undersigned believe that increased and intensified revolutionary activities are urgently needed in our movement. The question before us at the present time presents itself as follows:

"Shall this increased and intensified revolutionary activity be conducted upon the basis laid down by the Third International, or shall our movement submit to a reversion to Bakunistic coup d'états?"

In closing, the eight signers, all ex-members of the Executive Committee, demand the immediate convocation of a party convention, a demand which, for the present, has been turned down by the Central Committee. On the other hand it took up the matter in a session that lasted two days and adopted long declarations with 26 against 14 votes which were subsequently published in the "Rote Fahne" of Berlin to show that the March uprising was necessary and that it is **but the first of a series of offensives that are still to come.** They demand that the offensive be continued along the same line and that the Central Committee be empowered to readjust the party organization to meet the requirements of this new aggressive tactic.

"Regarded superficially," the Central Committee says in one of its declarations, "the revolutionary offensive has ended with a defeat for the U. C. P. For a time the U. C. P. will be isolated from large portions of the working class. But in reality, this occurrence bears within it the fruitful germs of new, broader revolutionary action. It has opened up new fields for revolutionary propaganda, and in the end will strengthen the faith of the workers in the U. C. P., and in so doing strengthen the motive power of the working class. The struggles of December, 1918, of January and March, 1919, were failures, and yet in them and through them the onward march of Communism in Germany was born. But while, at that time, the advance guard of the class-conscious proletariat fought in the defensive, to-day it is the attacker, and carries on the fight

against the enemy. Herein lies the great progress that has been made. The March uprising is the first step, deficient, of course, in many vital features, but it is the first step on the path along which the U. C. P. will lead the German working class into the revolutionary offensive."

What are the real facts concerning this offensive and the strengthening of its revolutionary motive power? The "Kommunistische Arbeiter Zeitung" (Berlin), the organ of the C. L. P., writes in an article on "The Lessons of the March Uprising": "But we must recognize that German capitalism is to-day in a position—far more so than it was a year ago—to meet the attacks of the proletariat with a well-prepared and consistently carried out counter-offensive. The welding of the entire counter-revolutionary mass has become an accomplished fact."

It may be stated in justice to the German Syndicalists that they and their organ, "Der Syndikalist," were most emphatically opposed to the U. C. P. action and attacked it just as vigorously as Clara Zetkin, Paul Levi and others.

Capitalism stands more firmly entrenched, and

Class Justice in the Courts

By JOHN REYNOLDS

A number of decisions in both the state and federal courts within the last year in cases affecting the labor movement have proven with startling emphasis the oft-repeated assertion of radicals that the courts in the United States are capitalist institutions, and that instead of the law affording equal protection for all, their function is chiefly to protect the rights of private property.

The courts in earlier cases, especially in that historical time known as "before the war" while deciding against labor as a rule, embellished the adverse ruling with so many pious phrases about "freedom of contract," "constitutional rights," "equal protection," "equal opportunity," etc., that not only was the issue obscured as far as the general public was concerned, but the ranks of labor seemed equally hypnotized by these fine words; in fact so firmly rooted was the conviction that at the bar of justice labor and capital stood on an equal footing, that only a very small portion of the labor movement was conscious of the antagonism of the judiciary.

Concessions were occasionally wrung from reluctant legislatures in the way of ameliorative measures such as the workmen's compensation laws, safety devices, child labor restrictions, etc., only to have them declared unconstitutional. It is noteworthy that it was not until organized labor had acquired sufficient economic power to insist on these measures that the stand of the courts changed and that they were later declared valid.

While rebuffs were frequent, labor entered each new contest in the courts with renewed hope and expectation. The Espionage Act, however, and its numerous convictions of persons whose only offense was an active interest in the labor movement, served to convince many doubters of the class bias of the courts. Ostensibly these convictions were for violations of the war statutes but their effect was the im-

counter-revolution is more arrogantly sure of its power than ever before. Only the battalions of the revolution are weakened and broken and their ranks thrown into confusion. The offensive of which our comrades of the Executive speak with so much pride is but a weakly infant, that seems to be infested with all the "infantile diseases" of Communism.

In Italy the Fascisti, personified counter-revolution, are complete masters of the situation. In Germany Stinnes and Company and their capitalistic brethren are increasing in power and firmness from day to day. A Bolshevist Germany is becoming more and more unlikely, and the solid ranks of Communism are beginning to waver.

As yet little has, however, been lost. The stupidity of the counter-revolutionary powers and the treachery of the secretly counter-revolutionary "socialist" tools of capital will finally force the masses into the ranks of the Communist movement—in spite of all the mistakes it may make.

That is the only ray of light in these disheartening times.

prisonment of the more active spirits in the radical movement.

The Espionage Act was followed shortly by the criminal syndicalism laws now existing in 35 states, whose undisguised purpose is to crush the attempt of the workers to supplant our present economic system with another. Illustrations are numerous not only of individual cases but of whole classes of cases, such as the syndicalist and deportation cases whose aim is to suppress the rising movement of protest. The courts lend themselves as a willing instrument towards this end. The complete change of their stand in injunction cases is indictative of the spirit which prevails. After a century of struggle to legalize combinations of workers for the betterment of their conditions, and recognition of the strike and picketing as a legitimate weapon, the hands of time turn back and we find the courts coming back to the old precedents forbidding picketing, thus making the strike practically ineffective. In addition, deportation hangs as a Sword of Damocles over the head of the foreign worker, when engaged in activities not to the liking of the employers. (More than 50 per cent. of the industrial workers are foreign.)

It is becoming more and more plain that the phrases "American institutions" as used in judicial terminology means not the particular form of government which we have, but the economic system whereby a few individuals are permitted to exploit the masses of the nation for their own private profit.

This latter interpretation is not as a rule frankly expressed but the thought lurks behind all the learned prattle with which the true meaning of the decision is obscured. It is not often that judges are as frank as was Judge VanSiclen in the case of Schwartz and Jaffe vers. Amalgamated Clothing Workers, where the court says:

"They (the courts) must stand at all times as the

representatives of capital, of captains of industry, devoted to the principle of individual initiative, protect property and persons from violence and destruction, strongly opposed to all schemes for the nationalization of industry."

The learned court in the Gitlow case admits that the thing to be feared is not so much force and violence as sufficient organization to produce a general strike and although force and violence were not expressly advocated it must be assumed that this is what the defendants intended. The American right to accumulate private property must be protected at all costs! It is refreshing to have the issue at last cleared for now the workers cannot but begin to understand the nature of the situation with which they are confronted.

It is true that the courts sometime are led into apparently embarrassing contradictions in their endeavors to protect property interests at all times as opposed to human aspirations, but such inconsistencies are cast aside in the former interest. Two striking illustrations of these inconsistencies have been brought to the attention of the public not so long ago. It will be remembered that the Lever Act was effectively used to crush the strike of the coal miners in November, 1919. In March, 1921, this same act was declared unconstitutional in a prosecution for profiteering. (U. S. vers. Cohen Grocery Co.) on the ground that the act failed to fix the standard of guilt.

There was every reason to believe that there would be a reversal of the conviction of the 166 members of the I. W. W. convicted in Chicago on the ground that the documents introduced in evidence were illegally seized. There was ample ground for this belief in view of the fact that two cases had been decided that way.*)

One case emphatically held that a corporation must be protected against unlawful search and seizure and the other applied the same rule to an individual who was being prosecuted for conspiracy to defraud the United States of some money. No opinion was rendered by the court in denying the writ of certiorari in the I. W. W. cases.

The struggle to substitute the outworn capitalist system for the new Communist society will necessarily be a better one and must be fought out on many fields. One of the important fields of struggle is the courts, no less important for its propaganda and educational value than the contests on the economic field. The chance of success in the courts with a capitalist judge and jury is no less remote than the possibility of winning a strike during a time of unemployment and economic depression. The probability of labor achieving victories on either the economic or political fields or in decisions in courts naturally increases as the economic power of the worker increases.

While the open shop onslaught and the attack by the courts may temporarily handicap the revolutionary labor movement the result will ultimately be beneficial for it will compel labor to evolve methods better fitted to cope with present conditions.

The cases in the courts should and must be fought for each defeat is a victory in that it emphasises and

* Silverthorne Lumber Co. v. U. S. 251, U. S. 385, decided January, 1920. Gouled v. U. S., decided March 12, 1921.)

confirms the contentions of the revolutionary workers and enables them to bring more vividly to the attention of those not so well informed, the true nature of the struggle.

PROVISIONS OF THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN TRADE AGREEMENT PUT INTO EFFECT BY SOVIET DECREE

The "Izvestia," of Moscow, April 13, publishes a decree of the Council of People's Commissars of April 11 which is designed to put into effect the various provisions of the Anglo-Russian trade agreement. In this decree the Council of People's Commissars instructs the respective Commissariats to take the necessary measures to carry out the provisions of the trade agreement. The Commissariat of Naval Affairs is instructed to open to the foreign commercial vessels the White Sea ports and the ports of Murmansk, Sevastopol, Feodosia and Novorossick, and likewise, after the channels have been cleared of mines, the ports of Kronstadt, Genitshesk, Mariupol and Rostov. The Commissariat is ordered to clear the mines from the channels to these ports at once and to mark them with proper buoys and signs for navigation and to make the necessary arrangements for commercial vessels to approach these ports.

The decree instructs the People's Commissariat of the Interior to adopt necessary measures for the immediate repatriation of British subjects in Russia. The Commissariat is also instructed to arrange for the personal facilities and privileges to be extended, according to Article 5 of the trade agreement, to the official agents of the British Government in Soviet Russia, and to "adopt measures for the exact observance of these rules by the local authorities." The Commissariat is ordered to make rules in conjunction with the other Commissariats for the exemption of goods of British origin from requisition in Soviet Russia, as provided by the trade agreement. The Commissariat is also instructed to arrange for the privileges, rights and facilities to be extended to British commercial vessels entering Russian harbors, and to British subjects admitted into Russian territory, as provided in the trade agreement, and to issue instructions to the local authorities explaining these rules. Finally, this Commissariat is ordered to establish regulations for the sojourn of British citizens on Russian territory and to arrange the conditions and rules for the certification of documents for the purpose of carrying out trade relations between the two countries.

The Commissariat of Foreign Trade is instructed to revoke the prohibition against the shipment of goods to Great Britain and to adopt all necessary measures for the resumption of trade with Great Britain, such as facilities in ports, warehouses, Custom Houses, railways, etc. The Commissariat is instructed to arrange for the immediate dispatch of Russian trade representatives to Great Britain. It is instructed also to make the necessary rules for those facilities which are to be accorded British citizens in Russia by the trade agreement for the possession of articles of household and personal use.

The Commissariat of Post and Telegraph is instructed to put into effect the provision of the trade agreement establishing postal, telegraph and radio communication between Great Britain and Russia.

The Supreme Council of Public Economy is instructed to take steps to determine the quantity and proportion of goods belonging to British citizens which have been taken under control by the Soviet Government, to which reference is made in the "Declaration of Recognition of Claims" annexed to the trade agreement.

Finally this decree, which is signed by Lenin as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, directs all various Commissariats to submit drafts of such additional measures as may be necessary for the successful carrying out of the trade agreement.

Communism Grows in Near East

The first national congress of Communists was recently held in Bokhara. It was decided to affiliate with the Communist International, and the President of the Council of Nazirs (Commissars) was sent to Moscow to perfect the organization of a Bokhara section of the Third International.

TIT FOR TAT

The Backyard of the New York Call has become the storm center of the Socialist Party's "best minds." There they vehemently debate the grave and momentous question: whether the Socialist Party shall or shall not tolerate the borers from within. You need not ask, of course, what sort of borers from within are aimed at. For you may pleasantly and undisturbedly indulge in boring, whether from within or without, toward the right. No one will object to that. It is when you turn to the left that hell is raised. You may, as Grandpa Vic Berger does, openly advocate and actually seek an alliance with the Farmers' Non-Partisan League, an organization of anti-Socialist property-holders and labor-exploiters. Or you may stretch out for conditionless surrender to the A. L. P. (Abortive Labor Party), yet you will be outside the danger zone of any charge of political adultery. But, for the sake of love, don't you offer affiliation with the Third International, or the wrath of the Local Gods will destroy you. So beware, ye Engdahls, Glassbergs and Trachtenbergs and the rest of the brood of Third Internationalists.

Get Out or Shut Up—Julius Gerber has sounded the keynote and, by the Eternal, he means to have it. He will brook no opposition, and you will either be good to agree or agree to be good. No alternative for the infidels, for Julius speaketh the word of the Gods. And never mind the Waldman spasmodic fits of liberal-mindedness. The Detroit Convention will have none of it. The genius of Com. Hillquit will see to it that the Gerberian substance be properly couched in suitable Hillquitian form, may it be another Section Six, Article Two, or the like. The impossibilists will be done for and, as the character in the Yiddish play puts it: "What for reason if the Constitution does?" The fate of the mincrity is doomed. Will it not kindly please sit down and take notice? And while dwelling on the coming convention may we not suggest that the choice of Detroit by the N. E. C. is a rather strange one? With its City Labor Federation represented at the Red Trade Union Council of the Third International, Detroit is certainly no fitting place for an Anti-Third International Socialist Convention. With Comrade Hillquit still of the opinion that the American worker has no stomach for anything stronger than the National Platform of 1920, the Detroit A. F. of L. Unions surely show bad taste in sending a delegation to the Trade-Union Congress of the Third International. Or do they want to contradict the leader of the Socialist party and its best theoretician? No, the American worker will stand for no strong Socialist words, and the coming declaration of principles, of the party must be devoid of any mention of Class Struggle, Sovietism, Dictatorship, etc. Of course, Detroit, Seattle, the W. Virginia miners, etc., are puzzling contradictions. So much the worse for them!

William Morris Feigenbaum loves dearly that poor wretched little Soviet Russia. But he loves truth still more. So he, himself, blushing admits. And just because it is the truth that is so near to

his heart (of a publicity director) that he feels constrained to unveil those "Communist majorities in the Russian Soviets." Well, there is another reason why he must do it. He also loves political democracy, and he will certainly not stand for

"flub-dubbing about the Soviet system of elections being the free expression of the will of the majority. As practised in Russia, it is nothing of the kind . . ."

This from an especially prepared article on the Feigenbaum "Socialist News" page of the New York Call. The same page where with unflinching regularity there appear reports of elections stolen by our democratic republic from Socialist aldermen, assemblymen, congressmen and votes from presidential candidates. With Lee and Cassidy cheated out of their seats on the New York City Aldermanic Board and with Rogoff counted out and Waldman, Claessens, DeWitt and Jager ousted from the New York State Assembly Hall, Brother Feigenbaum takes up the cudgels of political democracy as applied in our land of the free and the home of the brave. Isn't he a marvel! To stand up so fearlessly and unflinchingly for what is the "truth"! Of course, you will wonder what made Billy become so bellicose and why he has not "done the right thing" so much earlier in the season, when it was so much more the fashion? Well, he had read a book and there the author, "one of the most cordial supporters of the Soviet regime," actually says it, and Bill must repeat it. But don't suspect him of meanness, however closely some of his statements may approach it. He is simply ignorant, and stupidity is certainly no crime, it is a misfortune. When he mixes up opposition to the Communist Party with opposition to the Soviet regime, he does it not out of malice. He simply does not know any better. When, while speaking of Soviet Russia under the dictatorship of the proletariat he brags of lack of Political Freedom, well, remember that after all there is one redeeming feature in Feigenbaum's outburst against the Proletarian Republic. Namely, no one, not even himself, takes him seriously, least of all, the Call Editor, or he would not let him cause his nonsense to be published.

Sir Wicks in the Detroit Proletarian is counsel for one Karl Marx vs. The Workers' Council. The plaintiff maintains that defendant had badly mutilated the said Karl Marx' theory of . . . But just here trouble starts. The honorable jurist heard a great deal of Karl Marx but knows of him little enough. As a matter of fact he is not precisely clear as to the real difference between Karl and Carolina. And because of it a great deal of really amusing mental disturbance in the head of the counsel for the plaintiff is exhibited. To start with he maintains with laudable though stubborn firmness, that said Karl Marx is a genuine Detroit resident, and is a thoroughbred American. Furthermore, it would appear from Sir Wicks' that Karl Marx had been the property of a certain Michigan "Marxian Group." That is presumably the presently defunct Michigan Left Wing that was rather famous for its uncompromising fight it put up against the Almighty himself. Karl Marx, as one well dead, was then and there bodily incorporated in the Michigan outfit. In fact the choice was most excellent. As a Jew by

origin and a German in make-up, who but he could attack a Christian God? And then again the name of Marx was rather popular with the Detroiters for the exceedingly good clothes the Hart, Schaffner and Marx clothing establishment served good Americans with. All this considered Sir Wicks may be unusually well qualified to speak for Marx. The trouble, however, is that Karl Marx has got nothing to do with neither Carolina nor the Hart, Schaffner and Marx firm. And to avoid any future misunderstanding we volunteer to enlighten our contemporary in Detroit on the following points:

1. Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, never lived in Detroit and knew very little of the Michigan Left Wing, which is rather fortunate.

2. Karl Marx was never a "Marxian." He was a rather original thinker and surely he believed not in labels. He preferred the real thing.

3. Karl Marx did not know he would have any disciples. Would we have had any while he lived, he most likely would have taught them to have good sense to start with.

4. Karl Marx never said it, perhaps, but he believed that just repeating: Holy, Holy, won't bring one into Heavens. The acid test is to be applied first. . .

The Dearborn Independent, Henry Ford's antisemitic sheet, merits praise for having injected some truly humorous stuff in his ordinarily brazenly stupid outlay of matter. Indeed, the two page long account of how "Jew Trades Link With World Revolutionaries" reads with absorbing interest. It's really breezy. And it gladdens one's heart to learn that there are "Only 600,000 Communists in Russia; more than 300,000 in two Jewish Trade Unions alone," as the sub-title of the article has it. With this number of "Communists" a May Day Revolution may be somewhat more of an affair than is the common run of the Palmer variety we have been treated to so far. Of course, somewhat bewildering is the next headline—The Kehillah, a "Clearing House"—of the Communist outfit. Why the Kehillah of all? This purely religious body for support of religious education, Kosher butchery, etc.? But this is just a slight misunderstanding. The writer of the "Jew Trades Link" evidently mistook the English name of the "Kehillah"—Jewish Community—for, Jewish Communism. But what of it? Surely this does not affect the value of the Dearborn Independent stuff, except that you may perhaps think that all the 300,000 Jew Communists are of the "Jewish Community" brand. But even so, what of it? The story is interesting though untrue. And interesting it is. Just a few tit-bits picked at random will show it. Here:

"Russian Bolshevism came out of the East Side of New York where it was fostered by the encouragement—the religious, moral and financial encouragement—of Jewish leaders. Leon Trotzky (Braunstein) was an East-Sider. Whether he was a member of the New York Kehillah is not known. But the forces which fostered what he stood for centered in the Kehillah, and both the Kehillah and its associated American Jewish Committee were

interested in the work he set out to do, namely the overthrow of an established government, one of the allies of the United States in the recent war."

You see, Louis Marshall, the permanent president of the American Jewish Committee is thus directly implicated in fostering Bolshevism. And with him, Henry Morgenthau, that sturdy democratic politician and United States Ambassador, and Julius Rosenwald, the Chicago multi-millionaire and expert in paying \$6.00 a week to American girls working in his Sears, Roebuck and Co. mail-order house. All these—members and leaders of the American Jewish Committee are thus shown up to be the godfathers of the godless Bolshevik. And—well, what's the use hiding the bitter truth. Even the great apostle of the New Freedom—Woodrow Wilson—himself did it. Hadn't he hurry to recognize to the overthrowers of our "ally in the recent war"—the Tzar! Of course, it is not known, whether Trotzky (don't forget—he is Braunstein too) was a member of the "Kehillah." But neither do we know whether he ever played with Clara Kimball Young in the movies. Yet we say it. We can say anything without blushing: we abhor the red anywhere.

Well, There Is More in Stock. Just read and see for yourself. It appears that The International Ladies Garment Workers Union is part of the Jewish Kehillah and therefore Communist. Isn't it simple?

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' of America is another part of the Jewish Kehillah and—Communist. Sidney Hillman, President of the A. C. W. of A. is a Sovietist; he is so radical that he would not even degrade himself by being called Socialist.

Benjamin Schlesinger, President of the I. L. G. W. U., is another avowed Communist; last year he went to Soviet Russia and to cover his expenses all the members of the Communist Party were assessed \$1.50 a piece. Get it? The two unions alone with 300,000 Communist members contributed \$450,000. Some Schlesinger this is. Got away with half a million dollars just like that.

It goes without saying that Schlossberg of the A. C. W. of A. is a Communist, for had he not said that "the industry is ours?"

And Rabbi Judah L. Magnes, President of the Jewish Community, is a Communist, for "the Kehillah is just what the word signifies—the whole Jewish Community." All of it—with Jacob H. Schiff, the Belmonts and the Guggenheimers and the Strausses and the Yiddish wing of the Tammany Hall in the bargain.

Furthermore, the Jewish Workmen's Circle (Arbeiter Ring), is 98 per cent. Jewish; the 2,000 Jewish organizations in New York City are officered by Jews; most Russian Jews come from Russia; of 2,000 Jewish organizations presidents, 1,270 are under 50 years of age (a characteristic Jewish Trick!); the Czechoslovak Charles Recht is a Russian Jew, etc., etc. . . .

Well, Gentlemen, this Dearborn Independent is a great magazine and the United States is a glorious country. But don't worry. There will be plenty of good Americans to read this Henry Ford stuff and believe it. For, in the words of Lester F. Ward, nothing is too absurd to be believed. JAY BEE.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Norway Socialists Join Third

The National Convention of the Norwegian Social-Democratic Party, held March 26 in Christiania, voted 281 to 20 to join the Third International and accept the conditions of affiliation. By approving the theses and declarations of the Second Congress of the Communist International, the Norwegian Party has rounded out a revolutionary history begun with Kienthal. It was among the first to join with the Russian Bolsheviks in building a new International, and is now a strong link in the family of revolutionary Socialist parties.

* * * *

Louvain Socialists Awakening from Social Patriotic Stupor

The Labor (Socialist) Party of Louvain (Belgium) adopted a resolution by a vote of 2,830 against 2,170 declaring against the principle of national defense, favoring an active Socialist and anti-militarist propaganda in the army and instructing the Socialist Deputies to vote against military appropriations and for the abolition of military service. The action of the Louvain Socialists shows that light is breaking even in the ranks of the Belgian party, steeped in crimes against the best traditions of the revolutionary Socialist movement. The recent approval by the Belgian Socialists of the German reparations decided upon by the Allied prime-ministers was another nail in the coffin of the Second International.

* * * *

Communists Win Municipal Seats in Estonia

With 393 out of 426 districts accounted for in the last municipal elections the reactionary Labor Party increased its number of seats from 69 to 81, the Social-Democrats (Mensheviks) were reduced in representation from 146 to 21; the Independents added 5 to the 22 seats previously held; while the Communists, who were altogether absent in the municipal legislative halls, have obtained 34 mandates. When the struggle assumes a decisive character, the extreme right and left parties increase in adherents while the wavering and middle-of-the-road reformers are discredited and deserted.

* * * *

Swedish Left Socialists Endorse 21 Points

The Socialist Party (Left) held a national convention during Easter week at which it was decided by a vote of 175 to 34 to accept the 21 conditions laid down by the Second Congress of the Third International. The minority withdrew from the convention and is planning to organize an independent Socialist party. The name of the Socialist Party was changed to the Communist Party (Swedish Section, Third International). According to Secretary Ström the referendum on the acceptance of the 21 points resulted in 5,400 votes cast in favor and 1,500 against unconditional affiliation with the Third. The revolutionary elements have parted with the reformists, and the complete orientation of the Swedish Left toward Moscow augurs well for a glorious future for revolutionary Socialism in Sweden.

* * * *

Branting Pleads for a Raise in the King's Wages

Hjalmar Branting succeeded Emile Vandervelde as chairman of the International Socialist Bureau when the duties of the latter as Belgian Minister of State and war propagandist prevented him from exercising his functions as chief executive of the Second International. Branting was the white hope of the old International and, with the removal of the Bureau to Holland, was expected to resuscitate the shattered organization. He was the last person for the job. As an agent of Allied imperialism, as a reformist of the worst caliber, as a social-patriotic member of the Swedish government he was a living example to what depths the leadership of the Second International have fallen.

During a recent debate on the project to increase the court budget by 500,000 kronen, Branting attacked the Left Socialist deputies who opposed the increase. In the course of the discussion on the bill Deputy Wenneström (Left Socialist) reminded Branting that while he was

championing an increase of 25 per cent in the King's salary the wages of the workers were being reduced 25 per cent. The former chairman of the Second International is, it seems, more at home battling in behalf of kings than workers who will be taxed to pay the increase in wages to the underpaid Swedish monarch.

* * * *

Communist Party Formed in Australia

A constituent convention of representatives from the Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party and I. W. W. organized the Communist Party of Australia. A unification of the Australian Socialist forces has been sought for a number of years. Under the banner of the Third International the Communist Party will jointly with the radical wing in the Labor Party work for the revolutionizing of the Australian labor movement, which should not be a hard task after the experience Australian Labor has had with Hughes and his ilk during the war.

* * * *

Composition of Russian Communist Party

A census of 92,902 Communists distributed in 17 provinces and 144 counties showed, according to a report made at the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party held last March, that 82,798 or 89 per cent were men and 10,104 or 11 per cent were women. According to their occupations these members were distributed as follows:

	Number	Per cent
Workers	40,877	44
Clerks, etc.	20,438	22
Peasants	13,935	15
Craftsmen employed in home industries	4,465	5
Intellectuals	5,574	6
Miscellaneous	7,432	8
	92,902	100

The comparative youth of the party membership is indicated by the fact that only 12 per cent of the total membership investigated belonged to the party (Social-Democratic Labor Party) prior to the November, 1917, Revolution. The largest number, 36 per cent, joined from November, 1917, to August, 1919; 30 per cent were added to the movement during the "Party Week" at the end of 1919; 21 per cent joined in August, 1920, and the remaining one per cent gave no date. The great majority of the membership, 87 per cent, have entered the party after the proletarian revolution in 1917 and with only 3½ years of membership they have built a party which presides over the destinies of the Soviet Republic, is challenging world reaction and Socialist reformism alike and is a constant source of inspiration to the class-conscious and revolutionary workers of the world.

* * * *

French Socialists Denounce Threat to Occupy Ruhr

Unlike the Belgian "Socialists" who applauded the imperialist and vindictive reparation decision of the Allied governments, the French Socialists are carrying on an intensive campaign against the designs of the French government on the Ruhr coal mines. "L'Humanité," the official organ of the Socialist Party (French Section of the Communist International) prints a manifesto addressed to the new recruits and old soldiers in which the nature of the imperialist and jingoist schemes of the French capitalists are exposed and the reasons for the proposed occupation of the Ruhr district are explained. The conscripted soldiers are adjured to keep in mind the identity of interest between them and the workers and peasants of France as well as their duty to the workers of the other countries and, in the present crisis, particularly the workers of revolutionary Russia and Germany. From a tiny minority at Zimmerwald, French revolutionary Socialism has under the leadership of Loriot (not Cachin, as the opponents of the Third continually insist) become the controlling element in the Socialist Party. Having banished social patriotism and pacifism from its midst, it has fashioned a proletarian party which is destined to dictate the future history of France.

A. L. T.

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