

A Mighty Power!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Make THE WORKERS' COUNCIL Bigger and Better!

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

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

NAME

ADDRESS City State.....

Special Workers' Party National Convention Issue of

The Workers' Council

AN ORGAN FOR THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

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

THE CONVENTION!

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

The New Economic Policy in Soviet Russia

The Disarmament Conference—Another Futile Attempt

The Socialist Party—A Victim of Inner Contradictions

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

Christmas Is Coming!

That exclamation usually carries with it a note of joy, for the children, for the grown-ups.

To 20,000,000 of Russians, in the famine-stricken area along the Volga, the snow that is falling during this year's holidays, will only mean more suffering, more agony.

Tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, will die from the cold and disease, added to those who have died and are still dying from starvation.

With the approach of this year's Christmas Day—

Remember Russia!

There still remain a few copies of the Special Famine Edition of 2,000 copies of "Communism and Christianity," the remarkable book by Bishop William Montgomery Brown, a remarkable man.

This valuable edition will be disposed of at \$1 per copy. Every cent of every dollar received from every copy sold will be devoted to Russian Famine Relief without the deduction of one penny for office or other expenses.

THE WORKERS' COUNCIL is co-operating with Bishop and Mrs. Brown in bringing this announcement to the attention of the working men and women of the nation.

Order several copies of this book and use them as Christmas gifts to your relatives and friends. At the same time you will make it possible to send gifts of food, medicines and clothing to suffering mankind in Soviet Russia.

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

Send in Your Order Now!

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

THE WORKERS' COUNCIL, Room 233, 80 East 11th Street, New York City,
or by the

BRADFORD-BROWN EDUCATIONAL CO., INC., Publishers, Galion, Ohio.

The Workers' Council

Vol. I.

New York, December 15, 1921

No. 10

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

EDITOR.....J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

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

Ten Cents a Copy
\$1 per year, 50 cents for six months.

Hail to the Workers' Party!

"DISCOVERED!"

The Call for the first national convention of the Workers' Party has been received with mingled emotions.

It has been met with an unprecedented wave of enthusiasm on the part of the workers generally, who see in it a real hope.

"Call the police," cries The New York Times, while the Call (Socialist) buries its head in the sand, like the desert's ostrich, and loudly proclaims that the unity efforts of the forces supporting the Workers' Party movement "cannot but prove barren of results."

But it remained for the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Sunday, November 27, to sound an hysterical note of alarm. It does this in a special display page article, reproduced elsewhere in this issue.

"Plotting to overthrow Government of the U. S." is its headline, reminiscent of the days of Palmerism and the red raids.

The sub-head tells "How a Little Group of Men, After the Manner of Lenine and Trotzky, Are Trying to Establish a Soviet Government in America—Call Convention of Workers' Party."

Our magazine has its front cover of last month reproduced in full, and our standing lifted to that of "Official Red Organ."

The writer of the article, Frederick Boyd Stevenson, is an elderly gentlemen whose mind is buried in

the past, but who is able to perform wonderful feats of modern journalism.

Before reaching the office of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL at Broadway and 11th Street, Stevenson writes of wandering thru the East Side, drifting thru the building of the Forward (Jewish Socialist Daily), and all he heard was "alien jargon." Yet the bright Mr. Stevenson, in spite of the fact that "not a word of English was spoken," goes ahead and coins a quarter of a column of slogans, that he claims he actually heard.

Mr. Stevenson and the Brooklyn Eagle typify the black ignorance and the crass stupidity of the present social system. To them the cry for bread, for work, for a little leisure, for some of the beautiful things of life, is only "alien jargon."

These hopes in their estimation, strike at the roots of "government," as they certainly do if one believes that government should stand for a hungry, jobless and ignorant working class.

"What are you going to do about it?" is the Brooklyn Eagle's final appeal to what it calls "true Americanism."

Its evident intention is that the "100 per centers" should immediately plan to crush the Workers' Party, even as they have sought to suppress other forces fighting the hosts of darkness.

It, therefore, tries to arouse the same old prejudices. Note the bomb throwing cartoon that it labels "The Communist's Dream."

The Brooklyn Eagle, like all upholders of the present capitalist system, forgets nothing and learns nothing.

The workers do not forget. But they do learn. The birth of the Workers' Party is testimony to that fact. With their intelligence they will sweep aside the cobwebs of reaction. That means the Brooklyn Eagle, and all similar hate-provoking organs of darkness.

Let in the truth. The Workers' Party will help do that. And the truth will set us free.

There is no better time to subscribe for THE WORKERS' COUNCIL, 10 cents per copy, \$1 per year, 50 cents for six months.

SHOWING ITS REAL COLORS

The Detroit Convention of the Socialist Party, facing the withdrawal of the remaining revolutionary elements, bowed before the Milwaukee contingent and accepted the fusion policy that the Bergers and Hoans have tried to force upon it these many years.

The Convention instructed the National Executive Committee to sound out various progressive and radical labor and political groups with the object of forming an alliance.

The report of the recent Cleveland meeting of the "N. E. C." discloses that the party secretary sent the Detroit resolution "to practically all the

The New Economic Policy in Soviet Russia

By A. A. HELLER

WHEN our train was nearing Moscow, on a bright sunny day early in June, I remarked to the Russian comrade next to me: "Vot matushka Moskva, belokamennaya!" (Here we are approaching stony-white Mother Moscow); "Red Moscow, Comrade," answered my companion.

Truly Moscow is red. The red flag is waving from the Kremlin palace—the old palace of the Czars—and from numerous flag poles all over Moscow.

GREET WORLD'S DELEGATES

On the 17th of June the Red Square in front of the Kremlin was ablaze with red banners of marching hosts, the Red Army passing in review, in honor of the delegates to the Third (Communist) International.

Red Moscow is the heart of Soviet Russia. But no less red are the other towns and villages of the Republic.

Red, by the way, is synonymous with beautiful in the Russian language, and is the chosen color of the Russians.

Everywhere the presence of the Soviet Power is in evidence: an arch with some striking inscription, as, for instance, "In October was born, for the first time in the world, the power of horny hands," or, "The bourgeois takes with gold, the workman with the hammer," etc., or a monument or a People's House, or a simple "Agitpunkt"—Agitation Point—a room at the railway station where meetings are held or where information, literature and newspapers can be obtained by travelers.

WORKERS' STRENGTH OF REVOLUTION

These are of course only the outer signs. The real strength of the Soviet Government comes from the working class that made the Revolution and carries the brunt of it on its shoulders to this day, as well as from the peasants, the vast majority of the Russian population, to whom the Revolution brought not only civil rights and liberty, but actual material improvement in their condition.

The peasants to-day own 96.8 per cent of the land as against 76.3 per cent before the war. Where the crops haven't failed, as in the Volga district, they live better. They have bread and eggs and butter, frequently meat, which they didn't have under the Czar's rule. They have also obtained in exchange for their products much of the possessions of the bourgeoisie.

In the course of my six months' visit in Soviet Russia, I covered a great part of European Russia and Siberia, studying conditions, observing life in town and country, visiting factories, mines, communal and private farms—in a word, coming very close to the people, in their daily life.

SOVIET POWER TO STAY

I have come out of Russia firmly convinced that there is no power on earth that can dislodge the Soviet Government, and that the achievements of

the Revolution have penetrated deeply into the life of the people.

There are many things about Soviet Russia which do not seem clear, which may be difficult to grasp.

To get a clear picture of the situation there, to understand Soviet Russia, it is necessary to bear in mind firstly, that the revolution is still on; it is not completed, only the first phase of it, the destructive phase, the period of military communism, as Trotsky calls it, being completed.

The revolution is now entering the second phase—the constructive period.

The whole thought and energy of the Soviet Government and the nation are now concentrated on what is called in Russia the Economic Front—the rebuilding of the economic life of the country, the rehabilitation of its industries.

REVOLUTION PREPARES GROUND

Secondly, the revolution itself has not produced communism, but only prepared the ground, in a thorough and decisive manner, for the communist edifice.

The Russian leaders endeavor to make this plain on every occasion. They repeat again and again that the present order in Russia is not communism.

Lenin, in his famous brochure, "On the Tax in Kind" (April 1921), says: "Not a single communist but desires that the expression 'Socialist Soviet Republic' denotes the determination of the Soviet Power to realize a transition to Socialism, but not at all the acceptance of the given economic arrangements as Socialist." We are thus only at the beginning of a Communist State.

Hence the new Economic Policy. This policy attempts to establish governmental capitalism in Soviet Russia; in other words, to use the capitalist method of industrial organization—mass production, extensive application of the latest technique, careful accounting—in order to develop industry quickly, in a country as industrially backward as Russia with its vast agricultural population, comprising 83.8 per cent. of the total number.

COMMUNISM MAKES A DETOUR

Of the 130 millions of inhabitants of Soviet Russia, only 21,252,600 or 16.2 per cent live in cities; and only 3.9 per cent or 4,755,100 are workmen in factories, mines and transportation.

The seven years of imperialist and civil war have ruined Russian industries, while the primitive, inefficient agricultural methods of the Russian peasant never really produced sufficient food for the country even in the best years.

In 1913, for example, Russia had per person 22 poods of grain and 9.1 poods of potatoes, as compared with 54.6 poods of grain and 4.9 poods of potatoes per person in the United States, or 15.4 poods of grain and 40 poods of potatoes in Germany.

Thus Russian export of foodstuffs prior to the revolution was at the expense of the population.

Washington Plans United Front Against Russia

KARL RADEK, one of the keenest critics in Soviet Russia of international politics, in a special article on the Washington Conference, declares that:

"In Washington the Allied Entente is endeavoring to form a single front against Soviet Russia. The great powers wish to come to an understanding with each other, not only over Eastern Siberia but over the whole Russian question.

"They are attempting to settle questions in advance which can only be examined with Russian participation. Soviet Russia can await the results of the Washington Conference quite coolly and quietly.

"Decisions which are made by this conference will remain without force because these decisions will stand face to face with the organized force of the Russian people, who in spite of hunger and cold will not submit themselves to the orders of Washington, all the more so as these orders will undergo a certain loss of emphasis by the time they reach the people ordered.

"The unity of the Allied Entente is for the time being only a pious wish. If this unity is put down on paper the difference of interests between the members of the Entente will be stronger than the paper which they have created."

Under these conditions Russia has no reserve, no saved up capital with which to start the operations of her industries, and is compelled to invite foreign concessionaires and capitalists to bring the required funds.

This of course is a detour from the straight road; but is in no way an abandonment of the Communist principles.

The new policy is dictated by "living life" to use Lenin's expression, in fact, by the very course of the Russian Revolution and the peculiar structure of the economic fabric in Russia.

NEW POLICY IS SUCCESSFUL

The new economic policy was promulgated with the approval of the Russian Communist Party.

Whatever dangers some may see in it, whatever fear some may have is overcome by the confidence of the Party and the government in themselves, in the ability to control the situation.

The powerful Soviet ark may have to alter its course to weather a storm, but being seaworthy and capably managed, it will reach the port for which it started.

Already the effect of the new policy is everywhere apparent: peasants bring their products to market, in the cities stores and shops open, many of the smaller factories are leased to organized groups or individuals, foreign trade is increasing.

WELCOME REAL HELP

The Soviet Government in its efforts to rehabilitate the industrial life of the country, is prepared to give concessions to capitalists on advantageous terms.

It invites at the same time organized labor in America to take part in the re-establishment of Russian industries.

It is prepared to turn over to organized groups of workmen or farm workers, co-operatives, partnerships, etc., factories, mills or farming property on

lease, rental, or other basis, and to help such groups in every way to establish themselves in Russia.

It is also inviting technicians, professional men, engineers who, understanding Russian conditions, wish to go there to help in the rebuilding of the Soviet Republic.

This of course does not mean inviting general immigration, which for the time being is not desired. But industrial or agricultural groups are welcome and will be given every opportunity to succeed.

CONFIDENT AS TO FUTURE

Soviet Russia is laboring under great difficulties. The famine in the Volga district affecting 25,000,000 people has struck her a heavy blow, especially after the bad harvest of last year.

Instead of feeding the workers in the industries as the government planned when the new tax law was proclaimed this spring, it is obliged to throw all its resources into the hunger-stricken region.

There is a shortage of fuel, of medicines, of many other necessities. For want of fuel, the railroads are not operating fully or efficiently; for want of repair parts, electrical supplies, leather belting, many industrial undertakings are shut down.

But in spite of all this, in spite of all the hardships and privations, the feeling in Soviet Russia when I left at the end of October was that of confidence in the future, of determination to win, of more life and activity there than in the spring, of renewed enthusiasm.

The Irish Free State has come out of the nationalistic struggle between Ireland and England. The class struggle will now be renewed with increased vigor for the establishment of the Irish Workers' Republic. James Connolly did not die, and James Larkin is not in prison in vain.

New Era Dawns for America's Working Class

A NEW era dawns in the political struggle of America's working class. In spite of the crushing attack of the exploiters from without, and some divisions of opinion within, the labor movement displays its great vitality thru its ability to re-organize its forces in the midst of battle, to prepare for greater and more successful struggles.

This is the meaning of the call issued for the creation of the **WORKERS' PARTY OF AMERICA**, at a convention to be held in New York City, December 23-26, at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street.

The tremendous significance of this event will become more clear with the passing of the months after the convention is held, when the workers generally will rally to its colors.

Two years of intense persecution under the lash of the American white terror lie behind us. Our ranks may be somewhat disorganized. But the spirit of labor's vanguard remains unbroken, its standards wave unsullied and defiant, while our principles, with a greater appeal than ever, continue to be held aloft beyond the traitor's touch. We view the past with satisfaction. We press on to more vital struggles and greater victories in the future.

W. C. PLAYS BIG PART

We cannot emphasize too much the part played by our organization, **THE WORKERS' COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES**, in bringing about the unity that must work for the success of the **WORKERS' PARTY**, taking its stand on the manifesto of the Third Congress of the Communist International, when it says:—

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

"There is no longer any question as to fighting the traitors of the working class, the agents of the exploiters, on theoretic grounds, or to debate the question of democracy and dictatorship. Rather they must be fought on the questions of work, bread, wages, housing, clothing.

"It is only in fighting for the most simple interests of the working masses that we can organize a united front of the workers against the capitalists."

STORY OF ACHIEVEMENT

At this time we may review slightly the successful development of the campaign of activity outlined for itself by **THE WORKERS' COUNCIL**. One of its first achievements was to vitalize the work of the Committee for the Third International of the Socialist Party, for the purpose of organizing the "left wing" in the party, educating the party membership on the position of the Third International, and to carry on a struggle for affiliation with it on the basis of the announced "21 conditions."

The policy of the "Committee for the Third" was

to enlighten and awaken the remaining members of the party thru working from within.

The experiences of the Detroit Convention, in June, proved there was no longer any danger of leaving the membership in the custody of a reformist leadership. After the Detroit convention all truly Socialist elements left the party.

It was in this crisis that the "Committee for the Third" issued its Withdrawal Statement from the Socialist Party, and sent forth its call to the revolutionary elements thruout the country to:—

"ORGANIZE FOR THE PURPOSE OF GETTING IN TOUCH WITH US AND PREPARE FOR A CONFERENCE, WHICH WILL BE CALLED IN THE NEAR FUTURE AND WHERE DEFINITE PLANS WILL BE WORKED OUT AND THE FOUNDATION LAID FOR A POWERFUL AMERICAN SECTION OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL."

TO AID UNITY STRUGGLE

THE WORKERS' COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES was brought into existence for the purpose of carrying on this organization work, not with the intention of building a new party, but with the object "of aiding in the struggle to unite all class-conscious working-class groups into a truly revolutionary organization," into an open political organization of truly revolutionary and class-conscious workers.

THE WORKERS' COUNCIL thus became the rallying center for all revolutionary elements leaving the Socialist Party because of its reformism, while at the same time feeling that the prevailing policies of the Communist Party were a stumbling block in the building of a mass movement.

It also rallied to its support many independent elements taking a similar position.

From the beginning, however, while disapproving some of the existing tactics and policies of some Communist elements, the **WORKERS' COUNCIL** recognized that if a new party of action was to be created, these elements must play an important part in it.

It was felt that developments would compel our Communist comrades to drop those methods of organization and tactics that made it impossible to function as a working, revolutionary body, continually recruiting new converts to its growing ranks.

REACHING OUT EVERYWHERE

From the beginning the **WORKERS' COUNCIL** extended its activities in every direction where its influence could be used with effect.

It had associated with it in its work such other organizations as the Jewish Socialist Federation, the Workers' Educational Society (Arbeiter Bildungs-Vereine), and a strong element in the Italian Socialist Federation. It also had the sympathy of the Bohemian Socialist Federation that voted

unanimously at its Thanksgiving Conference to send delegates to the Workers' Party Convention.

It was, therefore, the **WORKERS' COUNCIL** that began and continually agitated for an open discussion of the question of unity of all revolutionary elements, including the Communist Party.

The American Labor Alliance was formed only after the **WORKERS' COUNCIL** had begun to correspond with groups and elements favorable to unity, thruout the country.

One of the first organization efforts was the conference held at Toledo, Ohio, last May, when the formation of an open Workers' Party was first discussed and endorsed.

The first conferences with representatives of the groups allied with the American Labor Alliance were held on the initiative of the **WORKERS' COUNCIL**.

FIRST CALL FOR CONFERENCE

These conferences satisfied the national executive committee of the **WORKERS' COUNCIL** that there was a sufficient demand for the unification of all revolutionary bodies.

It therefore issued a call for a National Conference to be held in November.

The call was based on a minimum program with which our readers are familiar.

The American Labor Alliance later announced its call for a national convention, and made public its determination to build up a dues-paying organization, instead of continuing as a federation of organizations already in existence.

THE QUESTION THEN AROSE, WHETHER THERE WERE TO BE TWO SEPARATE CONFERENCES, OR ONE UNITED CONFERENCE.

The **WORKERS' COUNCIL**, thruout the succeeding negotiations, took a stand for a united movement, but firmly stated its frank opposition to certain prevailing tactics among the Communists. But it considered the cause of unity greater than any differences on tactics as long as there was no fundamental disagreement as to principles.

CONFIDENCE AND CO-OPERATION

We demanded that all elements must genuinely work for real unity. We demanded that the comrades on all sides conducting the negotiations must have confidence in each other.

We demanded that the co-operation that is necessary to the creation and upbuilding of a powerful, militant open party must be a living reality.

We declared that it was out of this joint confidence and this common spirit of co-operation that the success of the open party would grow, just as this confidence and co-operation has already resulted in the issuing of the Joint Call for the National Convention to be held during the Christmas holidays.

MUST FACE LIFE'S REALITIES

This National Convention must issue a program and manifesto recognizing the realities of the open struggle for Communism in the United States. The party constitution must be drawn in the same spirit.

The party must accept squarely and without mental reservations the spiritual leadership of the Third International as expressed in the Theses, manifestoes and actions of its Congress and directions of its Executive Committee.

The party must interpret the leadership of the Third International in the light of American reality and apply its direction to every concrete situation with the end in view to bring the American working class in line with the conscious and aggressive units of the proletariat of other lands, following the same lead.

EDUCATION AND ORGANIZATION

The expressed and avowed task of the party must be the education and organization of the American workers for the abolition of Capitalism and inauguration of Socialism. A Workers' Republic where the working class shall rule until class-rule is no longer needed, shall be the political means to the final social end.

The party must be an open, above-board organization, following the lines of democratic centralization and bound by ties of discipline under the supreme control of the membership acting thru national conventions and elected national executive committees.

SUCCESS IS ASSURED

The success of the Workers' Party is assured from the start. The Socialist Party, thru the actions of its national executive committee meeting recently held at Cleveland, Ohio, has definitely gone over to labor reformism. This was predicted. Our prediction has come true. The Socialist Party has been swallowed completely in the swamp of reactionary opportunism.

The Workers' Party enters the field without a competitor. It will attract to its ranks all those workers who have profited by the bitter experiences of the world war and the capitalist peace, and by those who proclaim their solidarity with and are inspired by the lessons of the Russian revolution.

AROUSE THE MILLIONS

These will carry the message of emancipation to the millions of hungry and unemployed, to those who suffer most under the cruel tortures and brutal inhumanities of the present social system.

DOWN WITH THE RULE OF CAPITALISM. END THE LONG REIGN OF THE EXPLOITERS AND PROFITEERS. LONG LIVE THE WORKERS' PARTY! HAIL TO THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA!

Another Futile Attempt

By NATHANIEL BUCHWALD

ONLY those are disappointed who really expected something in the way of disarmament from the gathering at Washington of cunning diplomats representing rapacious imperialistic cliques.

One need not be a confirmed disbeliever in salvation by star chamber diplomacy to realize a priori that the international highbinders who gave us the Versailles Pact cannot, in their very nature, lay the foundations of a lasting peace.

The world has changed considerably and for the worse since the signing of the peace treaty, but the imperialistic appetites of the ruling classes have not; and it is to satisfy these appetites with the minimum expenditure of effort that the imperialists of the great powers have sent their spokesmen to Washington.

WORLD SAFE FOR IMPERIALISM

As has been expected, the question of limiting the armaments of the principal contenders for world dominion is merely incidental to the main purpose of making the world safe for imperialism.

The very first condition for a successful imperialistic policy is the stabilization of the capitalist systems in home countries.

Neither England, nor France, nor even the United States can successfully extend their economic rule beyond their boundaries without first consolidating and strengthening the capitalist structure at home.

Economic colonies, commercial spheres of influence, new fields for investment are practically useless without an adequate system of international trade, and no international trade can be carried on without a stable system of credit and exchange.

The monetary units of the international buyers and sellers must stand for a definite quantity of gold, or they mean nothing.

And since the monetary units of most of the European countries represent little more than so many scraps of paper, the very bottom has been knocked out of international commerce, and consequently out of capitalist production which has ever been a natural production for foreign consumption.

WIN PAUPERS AS DEBTORS

Traced to its initial source, the depreciation of money springs from the disintegration of the productive structures of the defeated countries.

The ravages of war plus the monstrous penalties imposed on them by the Treaty of Vengeance all but depleted the economic life of these countries, with the result, that France and England and Italy have paupers for debtors and starving people for customers.

With Germany eliminated as a factor in international commerce, with Russia placed outside the system of export and import, with Austria turned into an almshouse, the victors have their hands full getting rid of the fruits of their victory.

The very basis of international commerce has been destroyed, the smaller countries move in erratic economic orbits, like so many wandering meteors in the trackless spaces of economic chaos.

England has plenty of factories and raw materials, but no customers, and her factories are idle and her workers starving.

France continues getting in small instalments her pound of flesh from Germany, but German gold is not enough to meet the expenses of collecting it, i. e., the maintenance of a vast military machine, and German coal cannot be used to advantage in bolstering up her industries, since industrial intensification is impossible amidst a devastated, despoiled Europe.

EVERYWHERE WANT AND PRIVATION

The pound of German flesh is producing deadly toxins in the organism of France, and her inner strength wanes as a result of this diet.

Everywhere there is want and privation, whether from inability of people to buy, or of the capitalists to sell; whether from sheer lack of means of subsistence, or from superfluity of marketable commodities.

The breakdown of the system of international finance is but one of the symptoms of the more disastrous breakdown of productive and distributive mechanism of capitalist Europe, and when the allied statesmen speak of stabilizing the financial situation they mean salvaging the hulk of capitalist economy.

Only such a salvaging can stave off the complete collapse of what H. G. Wells calls the "white civilization," that is, the economic order based on gain, greed and exploitation.

WAR BURDEN TOO HEAVY

"But what has all this to do with the Washington conference?" you may ask.

Well, it has a great deal. The Washington conference is, in effect, an attempt on the part of international capitalism to save itself from itself.

Limitation of armaments, which is ostensibly the main purpose of the gathering, is one of the chief needs of the governments of the world.

Excessive armaments—and in the nature of imperialistic capitalism armaments cannot be anything but excessive—is one of the contributory and aggravating causes of the present paralysis of capitalism.

The bullies of the world need armaments, of course, but just at present the burden of taxation can no longer be borne by the beasts of burden known as the "people."

To increase this burden still further will break the back of the beast. To continue it as at present will kill the beast thru exhaustion.

The burden must be lightened. The millions of unemployed, the millions of starving wretches cannot pay the price of the armament race.

When the jobless clamor for bread you cannot very well feed them on higher taxes or more engines of war.

Even France finds it increasingly hard to go on arming, tho jingoism and hate are still in vogue with her people. War taxes, which represent nine-tenths of all taxes, are paid by the masses, by the toiling millions, and if the toiling millions are starving you just

can't get any taxes out of them, no more than you can get them out of the less numerous middle class, who suffer in their own way from the "bad times."

And the rich wouldn't finance their wars. That would hardly pay. Wars are very expensive.

CUT OVERHEAD EXPENSES

The diplomatists, therefore, may have been inspired by a sincere desire to attempt a reduction of armaments as a measure of reducing the overhead expenses of imperialism.

But no sooner had they met, than it once more became apparent that the scheme would not work.

Neither of the contenders for dominion in the far East would relinquish the advantages gained during the war, or the ambitions aroused by victory.

France is more than ever bent on dominating Europe, and England will just as leave "have it out" with her dear ally as with any power that threatens her mastery of the world.

Japan feels strong enough, and her appetite is keen enough to gobble up China, and the United States insists on getting no smaller a chunk than Japan.

A reduction of armaments cannot be agreed upon when everyone is everyone else's potential enemy.

DO NOT TALK ANTI-WAR

Not even a suggestion has been made at the conference to "disarm morally," to substitute some other scheme than war for the settlement of the imperialist ambitions of the several powers.

"Security" and "protection" and "safety" are, as ever, measured in terms of warships and armies and airships.

The institution of war is still being taken for granted be every imperialist group, and such being the case, it is obviously to the advantage of each group to be stronger than the other.

There is nothing ludicrous in the sight of "disarmament" delegations haggling for more armaments on behalf of their respective countries.

The rule of the jungle is still the rule of imperialism, and he would be a fool who would permit his fangs to be dulled or his claws to be clipped.

KEY TO CAPITALIST IMPERIALISM

This is indeed the key to the situation, the key to the history of capitalist imperialism.

Every attempt of the national imperialist groups to get together is frustrated by the innate antagonisms of these groups.

Those who fail to see this genetic enmity between one national imperialism and another will go on forever talking pacifism or a league of nations, or world concord, and forever bewail the lack of harmony on earth.

Capitalism as a mode of production may be an international institution; imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism may be international in its characteristics, but capitalism and imperialism in operation cannot by their very nature be international.

The greed for profit of the individual capitalist, multiplied by the number of capitalists of a given country, equals the national greed of that country's imperialism, and each national imperialism moves and acts as a unit.

Nationalism, the national state, is but a form of group imperialism. There can be no more peace and international solidarity between the imperialists of the world than there was between feudal monarchs.

Imperialist crews will make alliances, they will band together to make war upon another imperialist band, but to conclude a lasting peace all around would mean to give up the business of imperialism, which is war for the sake of booty, and this no imperialist will permit.

BASIC TRUTHS EMPHASIZED

The Washington conference has merely emphasized these truths. It has once more merely demonstrated the utter impossibility of attaining anything like a truce between the warring imperialist groups.

It has impressed it even upon the minds of the well wishers of the "white civilization," that international imperialism cannot act in concert even when threatened by common destruction.

It has taught masses of workers not to put their faith in princes of the imperialist world, not to hope for salvation by international agreements among brigands.

The conference has been a farce, a burlesque and a tragedy, but there is a moral to it, and it is in its moral that its value lies.

HARDING AND TAFT

President Harding, following up the recent anti-picket decision of the United States Supreme Court, headed by Chief Justice "Bill the Fat," also known as William Howard Taft, has sent another reactionary message to Congress, this time as a Christmas gift to the workers.

Industrial courts, vested with full legal authority to forbid strikes and punish strikers, and a body of law based upon the theory that labor organizations should be closely regulated and supervised lest they take action that shall inconvenience the general public, were among some of his stone-age suggestions.

Taft's recent contribution to the class struggle was the declaration that strikers may have only one picket on duty. "Bill the Fat" must have a poor opinion of the aggressive qualities of the hundreds of heavily armed thugs and cutthroats hired by the employers during every strike.

GO TO THE MASSES!

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

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

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

The Socialist Party—A Victim of Inner Contradictions

By ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

THE forced and voluntary exodus of revolutionists from the Socialist Party did not make the party entirely useless.

Tho only a shadow of the old organization, the party can yet serve a necessary purpose in American political life.

The party has become too discredited among the militant portion of the American working class to parade as a revolutionary organization.

If it should attempt to play such a role, it would be our duty to mercilessly expose it and warn the workers against the snares and delusions of the party's reformism.

A RESPECTABLE PARTY

On the contrary, the ruling elements in the party are now anxious to advertise the organization as thoroly cleared of all "anarcho-communists" (a darling expression of a Socialist historian who lost his historical sense in the scuffle) and that it is ready to accept the adherence of all those who prefer the "native" Jefferson to the "foreigner" Marx, and are willing to do something for poor brother Labor.

It is precisely this function that the "S. P." can now perform without fear of being disturbed by troublesome elements within its fold, and it should do the job most admirably.

Many theories have been advanced to explain the disintegration of the Socialist Party as a revolutionary organization.

The sundry reasons always appeared to the writer as results rather than causes of the party's undoing. The Socialist Party was never a homogeneous organization, and its attempt at Socialist efforts was neutralized by the incessant struggle of the two mutually antagonistic elements which comprised the organization.

A POLITICAL CONGLOMERATION

The party never had the chance. It was never allowed to develop as a revolutionary and class party.

Middle-class social reformers and proletarian revolutionists made the Socialist Party the vehicle of their political activities and aspirations.

Jeffersonian ideologists, who were trying to adapt bourgeois democracy to the class struggle were found in the "S. P.," together with Marxian Socialists who denied the existence of abstract liberties and put forth proletarian hegemony as against capitalist dictatorship.

All parties of the Second International had an admixture of elements fundamentally hostile to the ultimate aims of revolutionary Socialism, but the American party was blessed with an overdose of them.

Unlike other countries, there never developed in the United States a liberal political party which could act as a receiving station for the disillusioned in the conservative camps.

Both the Republican and Democratic parties were instruments of capitalism and reaction. The periodic change from the administration of one to the govern-

ment of the other was only a pro forma change. Real power always rested with the same interests—the two parties only taking turns in representing them and carrying out their commands.

JUMP TO SOCIALIST PARTY

Those who sought to promote political and economic improvements and realized that that was not possible of accomplishment thru either of the two political parties, wended their ways to the Socialist Party, because there was no intermediary agency better suited to these political interlopers and their pet millennial reforms.

Those who desired to check the control of government by the vested interests and believed they could accomplish it thru direct election of U. S. Senators, the initiative, referendum, recall, woman suffrage, the primary, corrupt practices acts, civil service regulations, public ownership of public utilities, etc.; or those who wanted to make the burden of the worker lighter or protect his life and limbs by compensation and safety legislation, minimum wages, shorter hours, restriction of woman and child labor and other labor laws, and found that they could not obtain these reforms thru either the Republican or Democratic Party, looked to the "S. P." for succor.

During the period of muck-raking in various fields of political and economic endeavor, the "S. P." was receiving numerous additions to its ranks from among disillusioned doctors of variegated social ills.

FARMERS AND SOCIALISM

When the farmers of the middle and southwest became once more embattled (this time against the railroads and the banks) and clamored for lower freight rates, state elevators, cheaper credit and insurance, they found that they could not obtain these remedial measures thru the old parties and joined the "S. P." in droves.

When the European war broke out, the "S. P." became the rallying center for anti-militarists, pacifists, and free speech defenders of all sorts.

Had there been a liberal party when the leftward migration of erstwhile Republicans and Democrats began, the "S. P." would have been spared this assortment of reformers and radicals who entered it not because of its Socialist program, but because it was the third party.

To those with whom the party was a vogue during that period, the ultimate aim to abolish the capitalist system thru a social revolution did not matter.

PARTY SERVED AS OASIS

In the midst of a corrupt political desert the "S. P." was an oasis for all who heard the call of social service and civic duty.

As far as they were concerned the party stood for clean government and for improvements in the various fields of social and economic relations.

It served the purpose which European liberal parties served for many years and, tho the "doctrinaire" attitude of the Marxian contingent often gave the radicals cause for worry, they were will-

ing to put up with their obdurate fellow-members in order to have a political roof over their heads.

It is needless to say that such elements could not furnish proper material for the building of a well-knit and disciplined revolutionary party. In times of peace the organization, which looked more like a social club than a political party, was able to get along. But when it was put to the test, the structure collapsed like a house of cards.

The emphasis on parliamentary action was primarily due to the influence of the middle class reformers, who were out for "results." Didn't they join the "S. P." because the other parties would not listen to their importunities?

"PRACTICAL" POLITICS WON

Being the most articulate portion of the membership, because of their ability to speak and write, they directed the course of the party along the road of "practical" politics.

Instead of revolutionary Socialist propaganda and participation in the struggles of the workers, vote catching became the alpha and omega of the party's activity. Everything was directed toward that end. All the resources of the party were saved for the most important period of the year—election time, and if the

returns showed an increase in the vote, or the election of a candidate, great was the glory of the party and happy were the leaders.

The methods used in the campaigns never worried those who controlled the destiny of the party. Elections were not means for Socialist propaganda, but ends in themselves, and no chances were to be taken with the outcome of the campaigns.

WRITE THE LAST CHAPTER

The Detroit Convention was the last chapter the party was able to write under the old nom de plume. Complete disintegration followed.

The American Socialist Party bargained away its Socialist soul in its hunt for popularity thru political success. It stands now before the American workers, deprived of its Socialist heritage and barren of even those political results which it set out to achieve.

The inner contradictions have brought the party to its Socialist Waterloo.

The withdrawal of all the Socialist elements makes it impossible for the organization to serve as a dumping ground for all the nondescript liberals and radicals.

The American revolutionary movement cannot but profit by it. It will be removed from the danger of being contaminated by these elements.

HYNDMAN—PILLAR OF REACTION

By LUDWIG LORE

FROM England comes the news of the death of one of the outstanding figures of the Socialist movement of pre-war days. H. M. Hyndman, at the age of 79, is dead.

Hyndman was the founder of the social-democratic movement in England. He created the Social-Democratic Federation, which later became the Social-Democratic Party.

It is a well-known fact that he came into the Socialist movement and remained unceasingly active in its ranks thru more than a generation at the greatest sacrifice of his own personal ambitions.

For Hyndman was the son of a well-to-do family and received the well rounded out education that is traditional in the class from which he sprung.

With his brilliant political insight, his capabilities both as a speaker and as a writer, Hyndman, had he remained true to the standards of the class from which he came, would have become one of the leading statesmen of the nation.

He was, however, constitutionally in sympathy with the under-dog. As a very young man he took the part of oppressed India against its British exploiters. When shortly afterward, in the capacity of newspaper correspondent, he was sent to the front in the war between Italy and Austria, in 1888, he met Mazzini and Garibaldi, and was so attracted toward them that he formed a life-long friendship. The outbreak of the Paris Commune and his acquaintance with Karl Marx during this critical period in European history led Hyndman into the Socialist movement.

But, in spite of his long experience in the British movement and in the International, Hyndman always showed a marked preference for Latin peoples, traditions and customs.

Friedrich Engels once jokingly remarked: "This Hyndman is a splendid internationalist—except when the Germans are under discussion. Then he becomes a violent nationalist."

Such being the case, it is hardly surprising that Hyndman, when the war broke out, became one of the most violent jingoes in the International. He poured the vials of his wrath not only upon the German leaders who openly supported the war-camarilla, but he was equally bitter against those Germans who opposed the war-policies of the German Social-Democracy.

He was firmly convinced of the justice of the Allied cause and defended it with blind vehemence against all who opposed him.

When the Russian Revolution broke out he had no patience with the peace demands of the Russian people, and urged Russia to help the Allies to carry the war to a victorious conclusion. Like every honest social patriot, he had for the Bolsheviks only disapproval and contempt.

Hyndman went the way of so many of our orthodox Marxists, who have lived with their theories so long that they have lost touch with the spirit of the revolution, lost the spark that gives these theories life.

Like Jules Guèsde in France, like Karl Kautsky in Germany, like Plechanov in Russia, he became the spokesman of the enemies of Soviet Russia and of the Third International.

The Paris Commune brought Hyndman, the young revolutionist, into the proletarian movement. Hyndman, the party leader, died as one of the pillars of capitalist reaction.

WORKERS! UNITE!

CONVENTION CALL TO ORGANIZE THE WORKERS' PARTY OF AMERICA

A FIERCE class war is raging thruout the world. All capitalist governments are openly fighting the battles of the exploiters.

The struggle of the workers, even for the most elementary needs, is to-day met with merciless suppression, and develops into a fight for political power.

Inspired by the proletarian revolution in Russia, and impelled by the cowardly and traitorous conduct of their leaders, the workers of the world have organized the Communist International, as an answer to the unholy alliance of their capitalist oppressors. Despite the bitter opposition of the capitalists and their labor lieutenants, the Communist International is growing rapidly. It has become a world power.

The American capitalists are using the present economic crisis to increase their power of exploitation and oppression. The whole working class is being crushed under the iron heel of a brutal capitalist dictatorship.

At this critical moment we must have an organization that will not only valiantly defend the workers, but will also wage an aggressive struggle for the abolition of capitalism. Only a revolutionary workers' political party can fulfill this task.

Such a party will and must grow out of all political groups which stand on the platform of the militant class struggle. It is not necessary to create this desire for unity. It is already a living reality, grown out of the very struggle of the masses during the years since the ending of the world war and the inauguration of Soviet Rule in Russia.

With a full realization of these facts, the undersigned join in issuing this call for the organization of the Workers' Party of America, pledged to the following principles:

1. **THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC:** To lead the working masses in the struggle for the abolition of

capitalism, thru the establishment of a government by the working class and for the working class—**A WORKERS' REPUBLIC IN AMERICA.**

2. **POLITICAL ACTION:** To participate in all political activities, including electoral campaigns, in order to utilize them for the purpose of carrying our message to the masses. The elected representatives of the Workers' Party will unmask the fraudulent capitalist democracy and help mobilize the workers for the final struggle against their common enemy.

3. **THE LABOR UNIONS:** To develop the labor organizations into organs of militant struggle against capitalism, expose the reactionary labor bureaucrats, and educate the workers to militant unionism.

4. **A FIGHTING PARTY:** It shall be a party of militant, class-conscious workers, bound by discipline and organized on the basis of democratic centralization, with full power in the hands of the Central Executive Committee between Conventions. The Central Executive Committee of the party shall have control over all activities of public officials. It shall also co-ordinate and direct the work of the party members in trade unions.

5. **PARTY PRESS:** The party's press shall be owned by the party, and all of its activities shall be under the control of the Central Executive Committee.

All working-class bodies that accept the above program are invited to join in the first National Convention of the Workers' Party to be held in New York City, December 23-26, 1921.

Working men and women! Help build the political party that will lead the oppressed masses to achieve their own complete emancipation! Let us raise the banner of the militant workers of the world with the immortal rallying cry of—

"WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE! YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS! YOU HAVE A WORLD TO GAIN!"

Signed by—

AMERICAN LABOR ALLIANCE

Affiliated Organizations:

Finnish Socialist Federation,
Hungarian Workers' Federation

Italian Workers' Federation
Jewish Workers' Federation

**THE WORKERS' COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
THE JEWISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION
WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION (ARBEITER BILDUNGS-VEREINE)**

Advance Work of Organization

THE time to begin the work of organization for the WORKERS' PARTY, that will be launched with the New York Convention, December 23-26, is not after the convention has been held. That time is NOW!

Everyone is talking about the WORKERS' PARTY! Everyone is thinking about it. Take advantage of this interest by getting everyone to join with The Workers' Council, one of the organizations having most to do with the calling of the Christmas Convention.

An application for a charter from a small group in your town, or from bigger groups in larger cities, will be an urge to bigger convention preparations. Such an application received, even while the convention is being held, will be an inspiration in itself.

If you are not able to rally others about you, then join as a member-at-large. But do not fail, for any reason, to become a part of the swelling hosts of the Workers' Party, the hope of the toiling masses of America.

Plan Convention Manifesto

Perhaps the biggest document to come out of the Workers' Party Convention will be the manifesto and program of the new organization.

Work on this declaration was started early by a sub-committee of the Joint Convention Committee of 17. This sub-committee consists of James P. Cannon, A. Bittleman, Dr. B. Wilenkin, J. B. Salutsky, Ludwig Lore, Alexander Trachtenberg, Jay Lovestone and Benjamin Glassberg.

The program and manifesto will be divided into three parts. It will take up a survey of the economic and political conditions at home and abroad, and the lessons to be drawn therefrom. It will contain a criticism of the political and labor organizations in the United States. It will conclude with a working program outlining the position of the Workers' Party on the important matters concerning the labor struggle in this country to-day.

Will Consider Many Resolutions

Proposed resolutions are being turned in by the affiliated organizations. The convention will no doubt deal with declarations on the class-war prisoners, a daily English paper, greetings to Soviet Russia, the Washington conference, Alexander Howatt and the struggle of the coal miners in Kansas, injunctions, the Sacco-Vanzetti Case, the Mooney Case, a Monthly Magazine and the Famine in Soviet Russia.

There is a sub-committee on arrangements that is making big preparations for the holding of mass-meetings, a banquet and other affairs.

One of the most important sub-committees of the convention will be that on merger. Problems have already arisen that are being considered by it. The policy adopted is to complete the merging of different organizations, especially the foreign language organizations, as much as possible before the convention.

Bohemian Federation for New Party

The Bohemian Socialists who recently, by vote of ten to one, withdrew from the Socialist Party have just completed their national convention in Chicago in splendid unity and revolutionary spirit.

Twenty-eight delegates represented the 800 members of the regular branches and the 400 additional in kindred organizations.

Of these latter, two branches of the "Workers' Circles" announced their immediate amalgamation with the Federation before the end of the convention. The "Circles" had professed a policy further "left" than that of the Federation (while it was still in the S. P.).

The delegates representing several "Workers' Councils" of Czech workers also prophesied speedy affiliation of their groups.

The invitation to take part in the first national convention of the "Workers' Party," issued jointly by the Work-

ers' Council and the American Labor Alliance was enthusiastically accepted.

They favored a 35 cents dues rate whereas it is understood that the agenda committee proposes a 50 cents rate.

They have changed their name to "Czecho-Slovak Marxist Federation" and have altered their program so as to stress an educational program and activity in the industrial organizations, altho not neglecting political activity. The party seat remains in Chicago.

Workers' Council in Milwaukee

One of the most recent groups to join the Workers' Council is that recently organized at Milwaukee, Wis. It has a great work to perform in Victor Berger's home town, and is setting out to accomplish it with spirit and energy.

The Milwaukee comrades will have a delegate at the National Convention. They hope to make a big contribution to the new party.

J. Louis Engdahl, secretary of the Workers' Council, spoke to an interested audience in Boston, December 2, on "The Workers' Party."

Comrades from all elements of the movement were present, but all were united in the demand for the open party.

Italians Also Move Forward

Altho National Secretary Otto Branstetter, of the Socialist Party, reported to the recent National Executive Committee meeting at Cleveland, Ohio, that the members of the Italian Socialist Federation were solid for the party, the contrary is true.

Four branches of the Italian Federation in New York recently voted unanimously to withdraw from the party. Others are taking similar action. It is planned to have a conference of the withdrawing Italian branches just prior to the national convention of the Workers' Party this month.

The WORKERS' COUNCIL is also in touch with the elements that withdrew from the Polish Socialist Alliance at its recent Rochester Convention on the issue of the Third International.

It is expected that these comrades, who publish a weekly paper in Chicago, will have a delegate at the Workers' Party convention.

Debs Gets Convention Call

The Convention Call was sent to 'Gene Debs at Atlanta, and according to a letter just received from his brother, Theodore, the letter containing the Call was delivered. Theodore writes as follows:

"Gene wishes me to say to you that he has read carefully your letter, and he appreciates very much your kindness in having presented so fully the matter of the proposed new party, but that in his present situation he cannot answer or make comment on account of prison rules. He sends you his cordial greetings and best wishes."

Congratulations to Jewish Comrades

Our Jewish comrades are to be congratulated on the success of their drive for a daily paper in their language.

Enthusiastic mass meetings in behalf of this project are being held in all the large cities of the country. The response everywhere has been tremendous.

With all revolutionary elements in the Jewish labor movement uniting under the standards of the Workers' Party, the success of the daily is assured.

It is expected that immediately the open party is organized, there will be launched an effective drive for the establishment of an English daily championing in this country the position of the Third International.

So the big work goes on. Why hold back for a single second before putting your shoulder to the wheel that continually moves forward, never slips backward? The initiation fee in the Workers' Council is 25 cents, the dues are 50 cents per month.

If you are already a member, then get some sympathizer to sign the application blank that appears on another page. Organize a group in your town.

USE THIS PAGE TO HELP MAKE WORKERS' PARTY CONVENTION A HUGE SUCCESS

FOR THE CAUSE OF UNITY!

THE unification of all revolutionary elements in America's working class is on the way. An historic Unity Convention, with this purpose in view, has been called for December 23-26, to be held in New York City.

By revolutionary elements we mean those accepting the leadership of the Third (Communist) International in the struggle to establish an American Workers' Republic.

THE WORKERS' COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES has been active, thru its membership and officials, in bringing this effort toward unity to a successful termination. With its affiliated organizations it will have about 50 delegates in the Unity Convention.

We come to our members and sympathizers to enlist their support in raising a sufficient fund to meet our share of the Convention's expenses, and to successfully finance the launching of the open Workers' Party after the Convention is over. This is a call to you from the National Executive Committee of the WORKERS' COUNCIL.

ACT NOW! GET AS MANY CONTRIBUTIONS AS YOU CAN IMMEDIATELY AND SEND THEM IN! THOSE NOT WISHING TO SIGN THEIR NAMES, MAY SIGN "FRIEND."

DO YOUR SHARE AND DO IT NOW! ACT QUICKLY!

[illegible]

Rush in this list, filled, not later than December 27th, 1921. Send all contributions and make all checks and money orders payable to J. LOUIS ENGDAHL, Secretary, Workers' Council, Room 233, 80 East 11th Street, New York City, N. Y. Total . .