

# The Workers' World

Vol. 1. No. 7.

KANSAS CITY, MO., FRIDAY MAY 16, 1919.

Price, 5 Cents

## REVOLUTION IN KOREA

### JAP AUTOCRACY BREEDS REVOLT

(By Carlton, Special Correspondent.)

WASHINGTON, May 13.—The truth of the old adage that "power to tax is the power to destroy" is demonstrated by the present situation in Korea in the statements of Dr. Syngman Rhee, one of the leaders in the Korean movement for self-determination now in this country are to be regarded as authoritative. In discussing the revolution in his country against Japanese domination before a Washington audience recently, Dr. Rhee declared that aside from the sentimental factor in the situation, (and this looms large for up, until 1910 Korea was an independent nation with 4000 years of history behind it) the ousting of Korean peasants from their small farms through the oppressive taxation of the Japanese government and the settling of Japanese workers on these lands was the chief cause of the revolt.

With loud professions of friendship Japan secured an agreement with Korea at the time of the Russo-Japanese war, which developed in 1910 into outright annexation by means of the threat of superior armed force. The banks were taken over by the invaders and a system of taxation established which made it impossible for the peasants to exist without mortgaging their small land holdings to the Japanese money lenders. Once this policy established it was not hard for the club of foreclosure to be swung to drive the workers from the best lands of the country and these turned over to Japanese immigrants. Along with this policy was one of complete suppression of Korean literature, language and culture and the efforts of Christian missionaries to propagate their gospel. The activity of these last in the recent revolution is no doubt largely explainable on this ground.

Dr. Rhee declared that the Koreans had pursued a passive policy in the present revolution from the day that the few leaders drew up their declaration of independence and then telephoned the Japanese police that they were ready to stand by their principles in whatever way was necessary down to the present. Except for the statement that the Koreans disbelieve in violence his characterization of the failure of Korean leaders to maintain a strong system of military preparedness as a "crime against the nation" would lead one to infer that the passive resistance policy was more a matter of using the only means at hand rather than a proof of the pacifist character of the Christianity of the Koreans. It was stated that more than ten thousand natives have been killed and 30,000 imprisoned by the Japanese in the recent revolt.

In referring to Japan's fulsome promises at the Peace Conference to respect the rights of China in Shantung if certain concessions were given her with regard to Kau Chau and transportation privileges in the province, Dr. Rhee pointed to Japan's record of double dealing with Korea and denounced her as the Germany of the East.

#### Porto Rican Labor Radical.

Radical and labor organizations in Korea have not achieved any particular degree of prominence in the movement for self-determination. The Japanese Imperial government has pursued the same policy in Korea in suppressing all such groups that it has in Japan. A distinct contrast between the conditions and attitude of labor in that country and that in Porto Rico is presented by an investigator who has just returned from a two months trip through the island.

## SOLDIERS VOTE FOR REVOLUTION

By ROBT. W. DUNN

PHILADELPHIA, May 13.—The other evening at a meeting of one of the Soldiers', Sailors' and Workmen's Council in Philadelphia, a soldier arose and made the following report: "I have interviewed personally 365 men who have been in the army and navy. I have recorded their opinions closely and carefully. There were 191 who told me they were ready for immediate revolution and the overthrow of the Capitalist system. Of this number 168 were overseas men and 23 had been in the army here. Then there were 104 who wanted a revolution but of a somewhat milder sort, one like the Ebert-Scheidemann revolution in Germany, the rise to power of the moderate socialist party. Of this number, 78 were overseas men; 26 were home service men. Of the 365, but 61 wanted a mere moderate change of government, a gradual mitigation and removal of current industrial evils. And 8 of the men interviewed were satisfied with present conditions, and a ninth was so thoroughly contented he said he would willingly fight the Bolsheviks if conscripted for Siberian service."

This report was made in a meeting where the best of order was preserved, and where the speeches were made in quiet, firm voices by workers, soldiers and sailors, most of whom appeared to be Americans with several genera-

This party states that organized labor in our little island appendage is very little concerned in pushing separation from the United States. It is little disturbed about political autocracy whether of the United States or of local capitalistic interests so long as economic and industrial autocracy maintain. The labor movement is largely socialistic and its struggle is for control of the land and the instruments of production. The workers know that political independence would not mean the ousting of the American and Spanish capitalists who control most of the natural resources of the island. Propaganda meetings are being held all the time at which the Red Flag of the International and the Stars and Stripes are displayed from the same platform or soap box. Efforts to suppress such meetings by American marines have been successfully opposed by the local police under American officers.

#### LEAGUE UNPOPULAR.

Criticisms of the so-called League of Nations plan for its superficiality does not all come from the extremists in the radical and reactionary camps as has been charged by proponents of the scheme. Clarence C. Dill, former representative from the state of Washington who might be classed as a middle-in-the-road progressive in a recent statement, says:

"I do not think that the league of nations can be depended upon to stop wars until it contains a provision that the people of every nation in the league must ratify by a referendum any plan of their governments to engage in an offensive war." "Otherwise sooner or later we shall again have the spectacle of an irresponsible ruler plunging a nation into ill-considered hostilities. It may be objected that democratic governments will make such a chance inconceivable. I do not think so."

While Mr. Dill's remedy is no substitute for the complete abolition of economic imperialism—the cause of wars—its absence from any so-called pact for permanent peace of a referendum on war provision, stamps the pretensions to democracy of peace-making statesmen as hollow and false. There will always be a few men of Dill's caliber in every country who will not be afraid to cast their vote against war, in time of crises, (as he did in 1917) but after all the final arbiter should be the people who have to do the suffering and dying.

"The covenant of the League of Nations", says Mr. Dill. "Does not give the people of any nation control over their foreign policies, and it is perfectly possible for a prime minister even of a democratic state to maneuver a nation into such a position as to make war practically inevitable. The elimination of secret diplomacy will be a step in the right direction, but I believe that there ought to be absolute security to the nations of the world after the frightful experience they have just undergone. A war referendum in every nation, I believe, would practically eliminate the danger of war. The people of all nations know well the suffering and sacrifice that war entails, and they will not vote for war at the behest of a ruler." "With such a provision in the league covenant, war would be impossible unless the people of one nation voted deliberately to invade another. That, I think, would not be possible. Of course, if it should actually occur no referendum would be necessary by the nation defending itself."

tions in this country. The Chairman was a gentlemanly, courteous, eloquent young Englishman. There were several officers in the audience of some 175, and two men in ensign uniforms took part in the discussion. There was no "blood and thunder," no threat of bombs or "red guards" but only that strong consciousness of solidarity that is seen today among the strikers of a dozen nationalities at Lawrence, Patterson, Passaic and other textile centers.

Whether method one, two, or three is to prevail will largely depend upon the attitude of our Bolshevik rulers. "If," as the "Boston American" says, editorializing on the Lawrence strike, "the law is not obeyed by those elected to enforce it; if the political institutions of the country are distorted into instruments of oppression of the working classes; if the evolutionary methods prove to be utterly vain; if the public officials deny the law and become revolutionary in their methods—how long do the shortsighted, possessing classes of the country suppose the workmen are going to restrain themselves from the adoption of revolutionary methods also?"

How long? We wonder. And how strong the winds are blowing toward revolution, the above report may give some slight indication.

## LABOR! PREPARE FOR ACTION!

The case of Tom Mooney has aroused the labor movement. The rank and file are demanding in no uncertain voice that we PREPARE FOR ACTION. Union men are NOT GOING TO ALLOW the American plutocracy to take Tom Mooney away for life.

The courts have failed to do justice. From the lowest court to the Supreme Court of the United States, they have washed their hands of Tom Mooney, refusing to listen to the evidence that caused PRESIDENT WILSON to intervene in Mooneys behalf.

The action of Governor Stephens in changing the sentence from hanging to life imprisonment, so far from satisfying labor, has been AN INSULT, A SLAP IN THE FACE OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Tom Mooney has been proven innocent. The evidence has been acknowledged by the judge who tried him, the Attorney General of California, the President's investigating commission, headed by Felix Frankfurter, and recognized by Wilson. The Densmore report exposed the whole rotten frame-up.

In the face of this evidence the man who tries to stop Labor in its plans to free Mooney is a TRAITOR.

Ballots have been sent out for a vote on a GENERAL STRIKE of five days. If Labor votes NO, Mooney will rot in prison. If Labor votes YES, Mooney will be freed.

It is not alone the fate of Mooney that is involved. The whole future of the American Federation depends upon our courage and our wisdom in this case. MOONEY MUST BE FREED. DEMAND A VOTE ON THE GENERAL STRIKE. VOTE "YES" TO FREE MOONEY. AND THEN PREPARE FOR ACTION.

J. G. WRIGHT,

President K. C. Central Labor Union.  
President K. C. Barbers Local 192.

## DEMAND DEBS' FREEDOM

Rabbi Judah L. Magnes and Dudley Field Malone helped 1,000 residents of Washington give expression to their demand that a general political amnesty be granted to all political prisoners at once, at a public mass gathering. At this meeting Woodrow Wilson's statements from the New Freedom that free speech must always be vouchsafed to the American people and that revolution must not be shirked in case same became necessary to change bad conditions were vociferously applauded. The name of President Wilson was greeted with a mild patter of hands. The name of Eugene V. Debs brought half the audience to its feet, with deafening applause from the whole house. Dr. Magnes gave a full and complete statement of the case for political amnesty and presented resolutions demanding full amnesty at once which were unanimously adopted, to be called to the President. Mr. Malone scored the Democratic administration for various practices subversive of democracy. He declared that the parliamentary system had broken down and that we must recast our electoral bases so as to choose members from different industrial groups. The Supreme Court had stricken freedom of speech from the Constitution with the Debs decision, said he. A large quantity of literature was sold and a generous collection was taken for the work of the National Civil Liberties Bureau.

#### PRESSMEN STRIKE ON STAR.

A dispute between the Pressmen's Union and the Kansas City Star came to a climax Tuesday, when the men, seeking to obtain the enforcement of an arbitration award, were told by Seested, the manager, to get out of the plant. The pressmen accepted his invitation in a body and the Star has been issuing in a much reduced bulk. The trouble originated with the discharge some time ago of a pressman for supposed carelessness. The union asked that he be re-instated, and the matter went to arbitration according to contract. The award placed the re-instatement of the man in the hands of the shop foreman, who immediately put him back to work. When Seested heard of the decision he over-ruled the arbitration board. His refusal to discuss this action resulted in the trouble which the Star calls a strike, but which the pressman term a lockout.

## ELLA REEVE BLOOR

Late Candidate for Lieut-Governor  
of New York State

Speaks Sunday Night May 18  
At Bookbinders Hall  
8 p. m. 12th and Central

## RUSSIAN HELD WITHOUT LEGAL PROCESS.

### Threaten to Deport For Giving Paper to Man.

Joe Wynchot, a young Russian socialist of Kansas City, Kansas, has been held for seven days by order of Deputy Marshal Lacy, without any action being filed against him.

Friends of Wynchot, after being denied even an opportunity to see him in jail, filed an application for a writ of habeas corpus before District Judge Hutchings, who postponed the hearing until Wednesday; on that date he ruled that Wynchot was being held illegally and must be released unless a process of some sort were issued under a Federal law.

After the court had ruled in favor of Wynchot, Assistant District Attorney Harvey produced a deportation warrant from the office of W. E. Long, Immigration Commissioner. Wynchot is now held under this warrant, and bail has been set at \$1000.

The accused man was arrested at the instigation of a foreman at Morris & Co. packing plant, because he was said to have handed a copy of the Workers' World to a fellow worker. So far as can be learned this is the only charge against him.

Harry Sullivan, attorney for the Socialist Party of Wyandotte County, Kansas, sent the following telegram:

Kansas City, Kansas.

May 12th, 1919.

Hon. Newton D. Baker,  
Secretary of War,  
Washington, D. C.

Honorable Sir:—

The authorities namely Deputy U. S. Marshal, W. W. Lacy of Kansas City, Kansas, are holding Joe Wynchot, a Russian, without information, warrant indictment or other writ and said W. W. Lacy has held this man for five days claiming that he holds him for a warrant of deportation to be issued by the emigration authorities. The only charge or pretended charge that I am able to find made against this man is that he is a socialist and has been guilty of passing out socialist literature. If the Government desires to deport Russian emigrants because of their affiliation with the socialist party of the United States I am authorized as attorney and agent for the socialist party of Wyandotte County, Kansas, to make application for immediate passage for all members of this party in this County which is about one thousand. I believe it would be well for your office to investigate some of these actions by various authorities.

Yours very truly,

HARRY SULLIVAN,

Attorney and Agent for the Socialist Party of Wyandotte County, Kansas.

#### LOCAL NOTES.

The Jewish Socialist Labor Party, Poale Zion, moved their headquarters to 1217 Brooklyn, home phone E. 1534. The hall and the library are open every evening from 8 to 12 P. M. Everybody invited.

A campaign for a greater membership is conducted now by the Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale Zion 20 for 50 Jewish workers joined our ranks.

A Young Club of the Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale Zion is in formation. Young men and women between the ages of 14-18 may join this club. For information apply at the headquarters of the organization.

#### CANADA.

O. B. U. Gaining in Ontario.

HAMILTON, ONT.—The One-Big-Union idea is rapidly gaining ground. Already there is a large Local, organizing and rapidly gaining momentum in Hamilton.

The movement was launched in February in order to organize primarily the unskilled and semi-skilled workers but when the clarion call was sounded at Calgary for adopting the O. B. U. scheme in Canada, several very active members of the orthodox labor unions interviewed the president of the local. The result was that the General Workers' Union was converted into a "functional" Big Union.

Every worker of brain and brawn is eligible for membership, whether he now be a union or non-union person. Those who are members of existing unions pay the same dues, but are pledged to keep aloft the "fiery cross" of industrialism in their own craft unions.

To prove the mass nature of this new movement it is but necessary to state the following fact: Locals are already in existence in Kitchener, St. Catherine's, Niagara Falls (Ont.), Guelph and Toronto.

#### BUILDERS SCHEME REJECTED.

The Building Laborers Union voted three to one to reject the proposed agreement for a Joint Arbitration Board which had been drawn up by the Builders Association of Kansas City, an organization of employers. The scheme had been prepared in conjunction with a few men in offices of power in the Building Trades Council and approved by that body, and it was expected by the employers that the rank and file would accept it without examining what the agreement really meant.

In order to make it appear that the Laborers new wage scale depended upon their ratification of the Arbitration agreement, the Builders Association sent out the following letter:

Gentlemen:

This will notify you that it has been mutually agreed between the Builders' Association and the Building Laborers that on and after May 1st, 1919, the wages will be 57 1-2 cents per hour.

This increase in wage has been granted with the understanding that the working rules will be the same as 1918, and that your Organization becomes a Party to the Joint Arbitration Agreement.

Respectfully yours,  
BUILDERS' ASSOCIATION.  
By PAUL M. FOGEL,  
President.

Don Taylor, president of the Laborers Union, secured a copy of the agreement and studied it from the point of view of the member of the union. When he read the agreement before the union and pointed out how the hands of the organization were tied by it, how it put the entire control of the Unions in the hands of a committee, half of which is composed of employers, with a majority vote deciding questions in dispute, making it only necessary for the Builders to swing the vote of one representative of the Building Trades to carry any point over the heads of the entire Building Trades membership, the Building Laborers decided that they did not want to be a party to such a contract.

Other unions which hastily accepted the agreement without due consideration are talking of reconsideration of their action.

#### CAPITALISM IN MASSACHUSETTS

Massachusetts is one of the leading industrial states of the Union. Her manufacturers are long established. Her commerce is stable. She is rich. How does she treat her workers?

The industries of Massachusetts depend upon the workers for their prosperity. The workers produce all wealth. The Massachusetts industries reward most of them with starvation wages.

Charles F. Gettemy, Director of the Bureau of Statistics of Massachusetts, has just published figures showing the wages paid to adult men by Massachusetts industries in 1917. During that year experts placed the cost of a decent living for a family of five—man, wife and three young children—at \$1,350 to \$1,500. That year there were 530,389 men employed by the industries of Massachusetts. That year 71,843, or exactly 13.5 per cent, of these men received a weekly wage rate in excess of \$1,300 per year. Of the total number of men 9.1 per cent were working for less than \$12 per week; 20.8 per cent were being paid wage rates between \$12 and \$15 per week; while 35.4 per cent were receiving wage rates of \$15 to \$20 per week. This is the record of exploitation from one of the chief industrial states in the Union.

Capitalism can do as it pleases in Massachusetts. Many of the towns are unorganized; the Socialist Party is weak; the workers, of many nationalities, are lacking in solidarity. Capitalism, free to work its will, does the one thing that it always does in such cases—it pays wages upon which workers, with their wives and children, suffer, and starve, and die.



# EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS DEVELOPING PROGRAMS

## TURNING TOWARD SPARTACAN AND BOLSHEVIST POSITION

### Programs of Socialist Factions Analyzed.

ROME.—In Italy, as elsewhere, the various Socialist factions hold differing views. The movement is represented by three groups: The Maximalists (or Left), the Right-Reformists, and the Parliamentary group. The Maximalists' program may be summed up as follows: (1) To refrain from co-operation with the bourgeoisie; (2) To kindle the revolutionary energy of the masses and to educate in the organized proletariat the capacity for taking the administration of the new social order in their hands; (3) To favor the principle of socialization against that of private ownership; (4) The establishment of the Socialist Republic; (5) Approval of a general strike, the seizure of political and economic power, and the dictatorship of the proletariat as measures for carrying through the socialist revolution. The principal aim of their propaganda work consists in the dissolution of the power of the bourgeois organizations and the mobilization of all the forces of the proletariat. Concerning the inner life of the party, it advocates an intensive activity, free discussion, and stringent discipline.

The program of the Right-Reformist section demands a rapid demobilization of the army, the restitution of the principles of political freedom, the recall of all troops from Russia, the eight-hour day. This section is convinced that the proletariat is not yet ripe enough to take the responsibility for administering the state machinery; therefore consider the dictatorship of the proletariat to be premature and dangerous until the masses have attained a higher level of culture. They advocate an intensive propaganda so as to develop the ideas of collectivism versus individualism. They also urge closer contact with the Socialist parties of other countries and participation in the International Socialist Congress.

The Parliamentary group has agreed on the following policy: (1) To demand that the Parliamentary session should not be curtailed as was the last one; (2) To protest against the attitude of the Entente towards the Russian Revolution; to call for the withdrawal of Allied troops and to prevent all interference in the internal policy of the country; (3) To demand the re-establishment of the liberties of the public; (4) The abolition of the censorship; (5) A full amnesty for all those condemned on political grounds; (6) Approval of Turati's project for proportional representation and votes for women.

In the Italian Chamber, Labriola vigorously attacked the League of Nations. He made a spirited defense of the Bolshevik regime in Russia and denounced the campaign of calumnies directed against it. There have been huge demonstrations of protest against intervention in Russia in a large number of Italian towns.

Sarrati, editor of Avanti, has been set at liberty; he was welcomed by huge crowds in Milan, and the same day he spoke in favor of a total amnesty for all political and against intervention in Russia.

### FRENCH SOCIALISTS MAKE RADICAL DEMANDS

PARIS.—The committee of the French Socialist party "for re-establishing national relations," has prepared the following program for submission to the party convention about to be held: The capitalist bourgeoisie, whatever reform they may concede, will never consent voluntarily to transferring the general character of the system which in their hands constitute the most powerful instrument of domination. It is triumphant revolution which will really create the new world in which children will be placed in a position of the most perfect equality assuring to each one the full development of his faculties.

The Socialist party, therefore, presents to the proletarian masses and calls upon them to realize the following program:

(1) The seizing of all power by the proletariat; (2) the organization of workmen's and peasants' councils; (3) the institution of obligatory work; (4) socialization of the means of production and exchange of land; of all industries, mines, transportation, real estate, under the direct control of peasants, workers, miners, transport workers, naval workers, post-office workers and of the tenants; etc; (5) distribution of the product created by means of co-operation and municipal store-houses under the control of the community; (6) transformation of the entire bureaucracy under the direct control of the employees; (7) disarmament by means of the union of the all proletarian republic in the Socialist International.

### COMMENT AND CRITICISM.

#### The League of Nations.

The League of Nations is in a bad way. The published covenant has excited keen disappointment among the liberals and the open opposition of the radicals, while the reactionaries are interested only in wrecking it or distorting it to their own sinister purposes.

J. A. Hobson in the London Nation says that it is not a league of peoples devoted to peace and fruitful international co-operation, but a conspiracy of autocrats designed to hold down their enemies by superior economic and military-naval force, and that it is a sham league without a breath of democracy in its frame. The French Confederation Generale du Travail, corresponding to our American Federation of Labor, has plastered Paris with placards denouncing it as a "sabotage of peace." It has no warm friends, not even

among its makers. In fact, as hostility grows among the victorious powers, it may die in its mother's womb.

And it just as well that it should die, for, considering the character of its parents and the nature of the circumstances surrounding its conception, it could never be anything but a deformed and ill-tempered infant anyway.

#### Lenine.

The most unique figure in the world to-day is not Wilson, nor Lloyd George, nor Clemenceau, but Nicolai Lenin, Premier of Soviet Russia. The more commonplace observers who have come out of Russia, such as our late ambassador at Petrograd, refer to him as a brainy fanatic.

Of course, to the reactionary, any man who takes his ideals seriously enough to translate them into action is a "fanatic." A Norwegian statesman who recently interviewed Lenin calls him a Socialist Peter the Great, and Frank Harris says that he always compares him in his thought with Bismark.

To associate Lenin with Bismark or Peter the Great is not so incongruous as it might appear at first glance. Lenin, is a writer and an orator, but he is, primarily, a man of action—"ruthless and efficient," to quote Lloyd George. Peter and Bismark, however, kept their power largely by fooling the people, while Lenin tells them the truth bluntly and keeps their confidence in spite of it.

No statesman to-day is so free from diplomatic cant and demagogery as is Nicolai Lenin. Max Eastman's description of him as a "Statesman of the New Order" is the best that has yet been given of him in a single sentence.

#### Liberal Dogma.

Liberalism is supposed to be characterized by the absence of binding dogma. But, of course, it has a set of dogmas of its own, some of which are ardently supported by the socialists.

Take, for instance, the one relating to Free Press. American Socialists are fighting for it in and out of season. But in Socialist Russia the press is not free. Why? Ask Lenin and he replies in effect: "I recognize the value of a free press. But we are engaged in civil war. The press is still a capitalist institution. The newspapers are almost all in capitalist hands. And capital has no rights. To permit the capitalist newspapers to run, with their tremendous influence, would be as foolish as to invite their armies to take possession of the country. Several anti-Bolshevik newspapers are allowed to do business, but they are loyal to Soviet Russia. As the press becomes proletarianized—not necessarily Bolshevized—the restrictions upon it will be abolished."

In short, there is no dogma that will fit into every situation without regard to circumstances.

#### THOMAS PAINE.

After the revolutionary war Thomas Paine told Benjamin Franklin that he intended to return to England, much to Franklin's surprise. "Where liberty is, there is my home," said Franklin. "Where liberty is NOT, there is my home," replied Paine. Paine probably would not have felt the necessity of leaving America had he lived to-day.

All leaders of the revolution, except Paine, were revolutionary only in their attitude toward England. All, except Paine, were interested in maintaining the existing order. Paine exposed the beneficiaries of superstition, denounced the militarists and fought the profiteers of his time. It is no doubt due to his thoro-going radicalism that his name was almost completely obliterated from American history, although he was the first ad-

## SHRINKING SHRIMPS.

By J. O. Bentall.

(The Dungeon, Brainerd, Minn.)

Far be it from me to want to add to the shrinking of the shrimps. I only want to mention a few of them.

Gag law and tyranny make wonderful changes. It appears that in the end they are the most potent factors in the revolution. See what they have made of the workers—a class conscious, wide-awake, clenched-fisted, fighting-mad, victory-bent, irresistible, unconquerable, unified mass. Gag law and tyranny did over night what we have been trying to do for half a century.

See what they did to Debs. They did not make him great—He has always been great because of his great principle, his great mind, his great heart. No. Gag law and tyranny could not make Debs great.

But they brot him out. They stood him on a hill and showed him to the world. They intended to hide him—to compress him so they might be able to get him into a dungeon. But they couldn't. They couldn't any more get Debs into a dungeon than they could get the Atlantic Ocean into a wash tub.

The more they pressed and compressed and oppressed, the bigger and larger and greater he grew, until today he stands there high above the fumbling clouds of persecution, smiling in the chromosphere of the coming freedom.

And the greater he grows—he, the personification of the awakening working class—the smaller grow the shrinking shrimps of capitalism.

Where and who are the agents of the department of justice who hounded him at that Ohio meeting and who caused his arrest? Get your specs and look again, maybe you can see them. Who is the district attorney that prosecuted him? What's his name? You may find it among the murky records that the clerk of court files away.

Who is the judge that tried him? Search me. For a few days he floundered around in borrowed light—borrowed from Debs—and then disappeared. Better get some stronger spectacles. You'll have a job to find that shrinking shrimp.

And the supreme court. You couldn't find two university presidents in the United States who could name the gentlemen that gave their unanimous opinion that Debs should go to the pen.

Shrinking shrimps! Only with a high powered microscope will the world be able to discover them.

And Congress—the Congress that concocted that scandalous espionage law—it crawled out thru the key hole and got lost. The attorney general, too, who swelled up like a toy balloon and bobbed about for a day, wheezed out something about the dignity of the law and collapsed.

But the world has one more Socrates, who gave his life for truth and light; one more Jesus of Nazareth, who cast his lot with the under dog; one more Galileo, who pulled the veil from the smiling face of heaven; one more Lincoln, who lived and died for the undying ideal of Liberty.

There he stands like a Colossus, under his feet the broken chains of slaves and the crumbled ruins of prisons, round about him a host of comrades and the throng made up of all the world's oppressed.

While the shrinking shrimps of persecution fade away in the gathering shadows of oblivion.

voate of rebellion and played a part in the revolution second to none. It is easy to imagine how Paine would have responded to one of our own revolutionary leader, Gene Debs, that "none are free until all are free".

#### The Turk.

Mark Twain once said that in the case of the human race versus the Devil we had listened only to the attorney for the prosecution and volunteered to be the attorney for the defense.

The Turk has been considered the devil among the nations, and he has found his Mark Twain in the French writer, Pierre Loti, who has studied the Turk carefully and has actually conceived an affection for him. It is also worth nothing that French and British soldiers who fought the Turk tell of many incidents reflecting credit on their heathen foe and insist that he observed rules of warfare which were violated by all the rest of the combatants.

The fact is, of course, that the Turk, personally, is not a bad fellow; the atrocities charged against him were the natural result of undue power exercised over a subject people by a foreign government. It must also be re-

membered that Turkey's position politically made the advertisement of her crimes a convenient matter. It was considered practicable, for instance, for a French or Belgian statesman officially to condemn the Belgian atrocities in the Congo, but a denunciation of the unspeakable Turk was always in order.

The Turkish "problem" can be solved not merely by writing the Turk down a barbarian, but by a thoro examination of all the circumstances bearing on it. In the meantime, the workers of Europe and America need not hesitate to extend the hand of fellowship to the workers of Turkey.

ALEC WATKINS.

Arkansas Miners Face Starvation. HUNTINGTON, ARK.—The 5,000 coal miners of Sebastian County are face to face with starvation. During the war they made good wages, but since November 11, 1918, they have been given only one or two days of work each week. Two days a week will not support life in the average miner's family.

Rumor has it that things will pick up after June 1st. Meanwhile rents remain high and the prices of food are climbing. Unless work resumes soon, the miners of Huntington and the neighboring camps will face real hardship.

## THE HIGH COST OF DYING

By Anise---Seattle Union Record

We have our own experience

In the HIGH COST

Of LIVING

But we always supposed

If things got UNBEARABLE

There was at least

ONE WAY OUT!

The way prescribed

By some kind friends of ours,

Who recently said:

"If these working people

HATE the way the WORLD is,

Why don't they DIE?"

But, just as we

Got READY to,

Some folks who seem to know

Say the high cost of LIVING

Isn't IN IT

With the HIGH COST

Of DYING,

With Doctors and Hospitals

And UNDERTAKERS

All charging whatever

The traffic will bear!

But we hear with relief

The Workers of Canada,

While looking for chances

To take over the industries,

Cast their eagles eyes over

The industry of DYING,

And organized in Carrisvale

A CO-OPERATIVE COFFIN

COMPANY

To fight the

Undertakers Trust,

And make

DYING CHEAPER!

And over in Edmonton

The MINISTERS Took a hand

And passed resolutions

Asking the government

To control Undertaking,

And fix the price of coffins

And the expense of FUNERALS,

Because the POOR

Could no longer AFFORD

To DIE.

And I see in Tacoma

They are proposing

A UNION-MADE HOSPITAL

To handle the FIRST PART

Of Dying.

And after a while

They will get to the DOCTORS

And have them all unionized

On EIGHT-HOUR shifts,

And regular salaries,

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## OPEN THE DOORS!

A couple of weeks ago I wrote an appeal for bond for the men admitted to bail at Leavenworth, and other jails and penitentiaries, who had been convicted of violations of the espionage act or who are still unconvicted, simply languishing in dungeons awaiting the slow processes of law to get to their cases. I was gratified to see that my letter had been copied by several radical papers, and to receive letters from others that they would publish similar appeals in their respective organs. I also received letters from people in different parts of the United States offering assistance, and also several pitiful letters from men incarcerated, who need such assistance.

We have published one of these letters in the Workers' World of last week. I wish that every comrade would read this letter as it is indicative of the spirit with which these men endure the confinement and privation incident upon jail life. Let us not forget for a moment that these men are not criminals, the worst we can say for them is that they are probable law-violators. That leaves the question as to whether the law is just or not, open for discussion.

The courts have said "Give bail and come out." If your friends believe in you they will measure your bail. That will be the measure of the class consciousness of the American people. The speed and extent to which they raise bond. If we do not raise bond, we virtually say to the capitalist class: "Never mind our protest meetings, never mind our vituperation, it is only parlor and stage stuff. In fact, we have no more use for those men who are convicted for speaking and writing the opinions we speak and write, then have the courts that have sentenced them."

Comrades, the days of soap-box oratory and lip service at the shrine of radicalism have passed. The forces of capitalism have said: "All that is necessary is to take their leaders and bite from five to twenty years out of their life and the others will hunt cover," and they watched if you were going to stand for it. Will you stay by the men and women who spoke your sentiments and suffered for it? You can do so in one way and that is, say to the capitalist class: "As Frank Little lost his life in an endeavor to organize the miners of Butte, as Ford and Suhr were buried alive in a California prison, because they fought for the rights of the hop slaves as Eugene V. Debs rather went to prison for the remainder of his life, than compromise his inalienable right to the freedom of expression, as these men pledged and gave, their life and liberty, so we will pledge our substance that they may go free and we will pledge it further to carry on the fight until every law is repealed from the statute books of America that acts as a fetter on the souls of men and women, who dare to speak for the right as they see it.

Comrades, we still have legal redress, with the proper awakening of public sentiment, with the proper show of devotion, loyalty and sacrifice. I feel sure that when these prison doors open and let these men out they will not close on them again. That is, if their bonds are made big enough and fast enough to convince the courts and juries of the land that the people still believe in the constitutional guarantee of personal liberty.

I realize that the great majority of the radical movement have not the property or the money with which to make bond, but I also know that in every community there are men and women who have property, and at the same time idealism enough, and faith enough in the integrity of labor that they will gladly pledge their property to see justice done to all mankind.

There is no particular danger in going bail for these class war prisoners. Many of them were released on their own recognizance by the court. They all appear for trial. A man or a woman who will face prison for their ideals sake is not likely to go back on comrades who have befriended them. Comrades, it is no pleasure to be in jail, away from friends, away from loved ones, surrounded by cement and steel and cold stony stare of jailors. At best it is dehumanizing and brutalizing. It cannot help but wilt the more delicate sentiments of the soul. Let us return these men to the sunshine and flowers, to the laughter and smiles of wives, sweethearts and little children. It is up to us, we can, we must do it.

JOHN DeQUER.

## A PLEA FOR REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS

William Bross Lloyd recently wrote me: "The Socialist Party is a working class organization with many working class members but with no roots into the working class in any way bringing nourishment to the party from the working class. . . . I believe the line of action should be workers' and farmers' councils based right down in the shop and on the farm. That is where the interests of the workers touch most nearly. . . . The Socialist Party can be given a double form of organization sort of on the Soviet principle, possibly in this way: An industrial organization organized along industrial lines, to which organization the governing force of the party would be confined. An organization based on the shop where the workers' interests are identical, where they know one another and one another's capabilities and characters, and where, if any place, the workers can function effectively in a practical way. With this shop industrial organization as a basis confide the governing of the party to an organization elected along the lines of the Soviet government of Russia, and then, for the purpose of political campaigns, organize a Soviet of the political districts involved."

Comrade Lloyd is on the right track. His theory is one which has been considered for several years by California socialists. We have endeavored here in a blundering way to make the Socialist Party the political expression of the industrial and economic divisions of Labor.

Walter Thomas Mills—whose crass opportunism is one of the disgusting things in our movement—at a Socialist Party convention held in Fresno three years ago proposed that the state organization be divided into nine groups—construction workers, printers, housewives, machinists, farmers, professional workers, etc. It was adopted. The suggestion was a good one, not because it solved the problem, but because it opened the way for a real revolution in tactics. Shortly afterward war was declared and the Party was forced to spend the largest portion of its time defending itself from Chauvinism and war-persecution. The plan is still in effect, but as at present administered, has little or no life to it.

It was Mill's theory that representation on the State Executive Committee should be industrial, rather than geographical. It was the Soviet plan in Embryo. It does not, however, get down into the root of the problem. As a general plan it may suffice, but if the representation were to be derived directly from the shop and the farm so-viet it would have infinitely more power. Unless the Socialist Party reorganizes itself somewhat on this basis, the incipient Labor Party will cut a deep gash in our ranks.

A national convention of the Socialist Party is an immediate and imperative necessity. Our movement has outgrown its tactics. We must restate our position with reference to world events; we must reorganize the basis of our membership; we must radically alter our method of procedure. We are at present trying to get along with forms and methods inherited from pre-war days and they are ridiculously out-of-date. The American socialist movement is occupying

essary is to take their leaders and bite from five to twenty years out of their life and the others will hunt cover," and they watched if you were going to stand for it. Will you stay by the men and women who spoke your sentiments and suffered for it? You can do so in one way and that is, say to the capitalist class: "As Frank Little lost his life in an endeavor to organize the miners of Butte, as Ford and Suhr were buried alive in a California prison, because they fought for the rights of the hop slaves as Eugene V. Debs rather went to prison for the remainder of his life, than compromise his inalienable right to the freedom of expression, as these men pledged and gave, their life and liberty, so we will pledge our substance that they may go free and we will pledge it further to carry on the fight until every law is repealed from the statute books of America that acts as a fetter on the souls of men and women, who dare to speak for the right as they see it.

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JOHN DeQUER.

## MORE POCKET PICKING

By Scott Nearing

Bernard Shaw described the modern pursuit of foreign markets thus: "First we teach the savages to wear pants; then we pick their pockets."

Ever since Lord Palmerston made his famous statement that "the flag follows the investor" capitalist governments have spent most of their time and energy in protecting and safeguarding the business ventures of their "leading citizens." Joseph Chamberlain summarized the whole matter in a speech before Parliament (1896):

"All the great offices of State are occupied with commercial affairs. The Foreign Office and the Colonial Office are chiefly engaged in finding new markets and in defending old ones. The War Office and the Admiralty are mostly occupied in preparations for the defense of these markets and for the protection of our commerce. The Boards of Agriculture and of Trade are entirely concerned with those two great branches of industry. Therefore, it is not too much to say that commerce is the greatest of all political interests, and that that Government deserves most the popular approval which does the most to increase our trade and to settle it on a firm foundation."

Japan, Italy, France, Great Britain and the United States are busy preparing to "conquer" foreign markets; to "control" undeveloped countries, and to "exploit" virgin resources. There is no "by your leave." The peoples of the countries are not consulted. Armies are organized and navies are manned to back the commercial and financial interests, that, from each of the great capitalist countries, are rallying forth to possess themselves of the few unappropriated corners of the earth.

### WHY NOT MEXICO?

Disturbing reports continue to come from Paris and from Mexico City. The counter-revolutionary forces, apparently supplied with plenty of money, are showing renewed energy. The

talk in French and British circles at the Paris Conference is that America is to be asked to take a mandatory over Mexico. The League Covenant, accepted by the Peace Conference, contains two lists of nations. First, those that are members of the League. Second, those that are invited to join the League. The name of Mexico does not occur in either list.

Why not? Is this the price that Mexico pays for being cursed with oil fields that are the envy of the modern capitalist world? Must her people, because they happen to live in a country rich with mineral deposits, be made vassals to neighboring states that covet their wealth? Is this the liberty for which the soldiers of the allied nations fought in Europe? If there is to be any self-determination or any justice in the outcome of the Peace Conference, why not turn some of it in the direction of Mexico?

### THEY BEGIN TO UNDERSTAND.

Lord Robert Cecil, English conservative aristocrat, understands what British labor wants. Unlike most of his class, he has waked up to the inner realities of the industrial revolution. Lord Robert, in a letter to the London Times says: "Even where, as is very often the case, the employers are excellent, where they take great trouble to meet the wants and desires of their employees, where they pay them good wages for moderate hours and provide them with various amenities as well, all this is done for the men as a voluntary act of benevolent despotism, or as the consequence of the law of supply and demand. That is to treat the relations between the parties from a wrong standpoint. A man's labor is a part of himself, and not a mere commodity to be bought and sold in the market. He has a right to be consulted as to its disposal, and cannot give to another uncontrolled power over it without injury to his self-respect."

The worker dare not surrender his

## "IS IT PEACE, JEHU?"

By HARRY SALPETER

They have given us a peace treaty, but have they given us peace? That is the question. For peace treaties, in themselves, have never made for peace. The libraries of the world mutely, yet eloquently testify to that. Our collective vanity may be satisfied in this collective humiliation of the German people, but what if that humiliation, ranking in the hearts of this generation and transmitted as a heritage of hate to the future generations leads to future conflicts?

If peace is to be assured future generations, it will be assured in spite of this treaty, not because of it. It will be assured because the possible reparation that may be won through a bloody contest can never be so great as to offset the cost and tragedy of war. If peace is to be assured, it will be assured through the fear of the defenders of the status quo that another war may seriously endanger that status and lead to even a more definite transfer of power than has yet been effected outside of Russia. And yet another possibility through which peace may be assured, in spite of this peace treaty. It is that the proletariat of the nations may win control of the industries and the governments of those nations, and to them, strategems and spoils and assured advantages in the markets of the world matter far less than the need of an entente cordiale among the peoples of the world. As has been shown time and again, boundaries are of little significance, when conditions in each nation are favorable to the people of the nations.

When the Japanese wage-scale approaches, say, the wage-scale of a nation like America, it will little matter how many Japanese there are in this country. The people of one nation will join with their masters in mainly, taining a certain boundary line only when that boundary line marks the division between tolerable and intolerable living conditions.

To return to the treaty. It is hardly necessary to say that it is in violation of almost all the principles enunciated by the Allied propagandists in those days when the nearest approach to victory that was anticipated was a stalemate. That the Allies (aided by their despised and unacknowledged Allies, the Bolsheviks, who were employing the weapon of propaganda against the Germans), would ever gain so complete a victory as that, the full evidence of which was given to the world in the armistice of last November was undreamt of by even the most sanguine. Believing that it would never be in the power of the Allies to impose such terms as have been imposed, the Allied propagandists, posing as the sole authorized apostles of justice and democracy, spoke of a peace of justice as the peace most desirable, because justice was the most they could then have expected as the result of a military stalemate. The words of justice and democracy had hardly left their lips, when observing the great military victory which the Allies have won, they changed their tune and declared for a peace of reparation and indemnities.

That the Allies have presented such a peace to Germany as that nation would have presented to the Allies is neither excuse nor justification for it. Rather, it is the last word in condemnation of it. For what could be less desirable for the peace of the world than a German kind of peace, no matter by whom imposed? That the Allies have it in their power to impose such a treaty may capture the fancy of those unthinking ones who desire to feel that collective sense of superiority and power, a sense which German propagandists labored so hard to implant in the minds of the people, to make them better tools to further imperial purposes, but it cannot capture the fancy of those who wish to

see the world rid of the incubus of militarism.

Germany is offered a copy of the Best-Litovsk peace. That the leaders of Germany were blind, stupid, cruel, vindictive, inhuman, etc., is neither excuse nor justification for the peace the Allies desire to impose on Germany.

For who will suffer? The leaders? Hardy. The people? Yes. The burden of reparation and indemnification will be laid on their backs. They admit in one breath that the German people have been the victims of a systematic campaign of deception, and then, that in their acquiescence to the crimes of their leaders, they have become participants to those crimes. But did they not rebel against those leaders upon the discovery of the truth? No matter. They must be taught that force never achieves its ends.

Have they not suffered sufficiently already to understand that? Have they not been the victims of the rash military gamble of their leaders who suffered almost nothing in comparison to the sufferings of those whom they sent to their deaths in waves upon waves of battalions? Their women must suffer. Their children must suffer. Their great-grandchildren, perhaps, may suffer. And all in payment of the crimes of a group of men, who, clothed and fortified with the prerequisites of power could use men in droves upon droves in a gamble for greater and yet greater power.

Does the fact that the Allies are today able to impose a treaty of this nature (assuming that it is accepted) mean that they have achieved victory? No. It is the kind of victory that, like the apple of Sodom, looks exceeding fair without, but within is full of ashes.

The spoils of war must be safeguarded. Military conscription cannot be abolished. The millennium is not here, for the self-appointed midwives of that millennium are postponing its coming. Germany having been taught that (to judge from appearances) force, as in the case of the Allies, is the real determinant, may again resort to force. She may preach, not a war of conquest, but a war of liberation. Perhaps not in this generation, but surely, if this peace is perpetuated, in the next. As France preached the revanche for the wrong of 1870, so Germany may preach the revanche for the wrong of 1919. That Germany (speaking in that loose manner by which governments and peoples are confounded) got a taste of her own medicine does not alter the case.

There will be enough facts in justification of the theory that Germany has been wronged to enlist another army for another war. If the wrestling of Alsace-Lorraine was wrong, so also is the wrestling of the Saar basin, Dantzig, the colonies, the food blockade against the women and children of Germany after the signing of the armistice.

Does the treaty limit the number of conscripts Germany may raise? Does it prohibit frontier fortifications? Does it prohibit the excessive output of armaments? Napoleon also prohibited the old Prussian kingdom from raising too large an army, but Scharnhorst found a way around that prohibition and formed an army which became the model for the future army of Prussia and later, of Germany. Napoleon's conquest led to the Germanic War of Liberation. Prussia's conquest in 1871 led to the World War. To what will the Allied conquest lead?

"Is it peace, Jehu?" Yes, so long as peoples possess the power to nullify the evil in the decisions of their self-appointed leaders.

right to the control of his own actions. Such a surrender means slavery, no matter what the material surroundings of the slave may be. The caste system in industrial life must go. The sooner its beneficiaries realize this the better it will be for all concerned.

### OPERATING AT A LOSS.

Former Secretary of the Treasury, Wm. G. McAdoo, speaking at a dinner given by the Chile and Northern News Association, to the Chilean Financial Commission urged that the United States should increase its shipping facilities to South America. Mr. McAdoo insisted that, if necessary, trade with Chile should be carried on at a loss in order to put it on a firm foundation. Said he, "It is advisable and necessary to make use of the government ships for this purpose, even if at a loss, until commerce can be established on a stable basis and lines made self-supporting."—(N. Y. Times.)

Workers' families operate regularly at a loss. According to a Federal Report 30,000,000 people are living in poverty in the United States which proves that beyond question. Shall these families be "subsidized?" Any such proposal is met at once, by an indignant cry of "pauperism." What difference in principle does Mr. McAdoo find in his proposal to operate commercial ventures at a loss, under government subsidy?

Is that not likewise breeding industrial pauperism? If there is any government subsidy to be paid against operations carried on at a loss it might be well to consider the possibility of subsidizing the families of millions of workers in the United States rather than of subsidizing new commercial ventures into the unexploited fields of South America.

### A TASTE OF ANARCHY.

Anarchy is sometimes defined as absence of organized control. The definition perfectly fits a situation described in the last number of the Monthly Labor Review of the United States Department of Labor. The article in question is entitled "Labor Turnover in the San Francisco Bay Region."

Fourteen establishments with 14,083 full time employes on the payroll, hired during the year 32,489 people. An agricultural implement plant with over 2,000 full time employes, hired about an equal number during the year. But an iron and steel plant with 669 full time employes hired 2,904 persons during the year; and an explosive plant with 1,795 employes hired 5,409 persons during the year. Of the total number of persons who left jobs, 1,820 were discharged; 5,743 were laid off; 1,361 entered the military service and 15,702 quit. The article goes into further detail with regard to the number of weeks of service of the employes—4,000 stayed one week or less; 53 per cent. were on the job for less than 3 months.

This, of course, throws an interesting sidelight on the condition of industrial disorganization that ordinarily prevails in a great business center. Capitalist society is stupid and ineffective at best. At worst it is merely a catch-as-catch-can method of turning out a product at the lowest cost and selling it for the highest price. The human beings concerned in the transactions amount to nothing.

### ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTED ON INTER-CITY SOCIALIST CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

- Local Kansas City, Mo. Socialist Party of America. Edw. Wilcox, Secretary, 4429 Fairmount.
- Jewish Branch Socialist Party of America. J. Kassner Secretary, 614 Harrison.
- So. Slavic Branch Socialist Party of America. M. Zvonar, Secretary, 720 Ferry, K. C., Kas.
- Italian Branch Socialist Party of America. G. Bonanno, Secretary, 624 Harrison.
- Russian Branch Socialist Party of America. M. Bondar, Secretary, 611 Central, K. C., Kas.
- Poale Zion (Jewish Socialist Labor Party.) M. Stark, Secretary, 1209 E. 25th.
- Workmen's Circle Branch No. 63. L. Shustak, Secretary, 324 Olive.
- Workmen's Circle Branch No. 496. M. Maglow, Secretary, 619 Independence Avenue.
- Indep. Workmen's Circle Branch No. 69. M. Maglow, Secretary, 2419 Tracy.
- Jewish Nat'l. Workers' Alliance. P. J. Osheroff, Secretary, 616 Independence Avenue.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

Herewith we reprint some comments received from readers outside Kansas City on your new paper, THE WORKERS' WORLD. We could fill columns with correspondence, but have just chosen a few which will indicate in a small way how wide-spread has been the reception given your paper, greeting coming from points as widely separated as New York and San Francisco, Canada and Atlanta, Ga., and from what a large number of sections of the Socialism movement hitherto rather hostile to each other, including co-operators, trade-unionists, I. W. W.'s, radical socialists and old time "political" socialists. All this goes to substantiate our assertion that the new times and new conditions are forging a new movement out of the scattered fragments of the old. We believe that one of the centers of reorganization is the Socialist Party. Our position is being rapidly accepted all over the country. Read the letters: Douglas Co. Jail Lawrence, 5-1-19.

Dear Comrade:—When I received your Labor Day Greetings! We were agreeably surprised by the receipt of three copies of the Workers' World. We read every word of their contents, and we want you to know that we thoroughly enjoyed them. Every article was educational and fills a long-felt want in this part of the country. We wish the Workers' World all the success in the world.

It certainly is encouraging to us who are in jail to see so many really revolutionary papers springing up. It is an omen that must give the exploiting class the nightmare.

The struggle is becoming more intensified every day. A little more time and this will be a grand old world to live in; and we feel sure that as an educator, the Worker's World will do much towards guiding the workers along the road to real freedom.

There are six I. W. W.'s in this jail—a part of the Wichita defendants, and we have been in some of the foulest county jails for the past 18 months awaiting trial on a trumped up charge.

This is May Day, and it is sure amusing to read the howls of the kept press. It seems that the workers all over the country are making their presence felt in no uncertain way. All here join in sending you our very best wishes, and believe us,

Yours for the New Society,  
F. J. GALLAGHER.

Crow Wing County Jail, Brainerd, Minn., April 26, 1919.

My dear Comrades:—Some one is very kind in sending me The Workers' World, and apparently it comes right from the office. I want to tell you that I appreciate it. You are certainly getting out a most interesting paper, with material that is in every way first class. Devoted comrades with wonderful talent seem to be springing up everywhere, giving their time and energy to the revolution in a marvellous way.

While shut in over here my heart is with you and my hopes for early working class victory is brightened every time I read about the progress the movement is making.

Cheer and courage and power to you in the wonderful work you are doing. Yours for heavy blows against capitalism,

J. O. BENTALL,

Atlanta, Ga.,

Workers' World:—I just received a copy of your paper the other day and it seemed good to read it after reading the dailies of the capitalist press for so long. It seemed an endless time since I had read a good readable paper for I have been down South since last December. It seems to me from what I can find out and from what I saw of the labor movement there, that there is a great need of just such papers as yours. The movement there is in its initial stages. You can compare the advancement of that part of the country and the North, as the South being in the place that the north was 15 years ago.

So on with the good work and never lose sight of the fact that our main task is to educate and organize.

FREDERICKS.

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# Editorial Page of the Workers' World

## The Workers' World.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INCORPORATED.  
P. O. Box 697, Office Room 2 Schutte Bldg., 1209 Grand Ave., Kansas City, Mo.  
Home Phone Main 8665.

Under the Editorial Management of Board of Directors:  
Associate Editors:  
JOHN DEQUER, RALPH CHEYNEY,  
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We Use the International Labor News Service.  
EDITORS: Scott Nearing, Alexander Trachtenberg, Louis P. Lochner and Santori Nurteva.

Subscription Price: One year, \$2; Six Months, \$1; Bundle Orders, 3 cents per Copy. Advertising Rates on Application.

The Editorial Board is not Responsible for Opinions Expressed in Signed Articles.



KANSAS CITY, MO., FRIDAY, MAY 16TH, 1919.

### HOW ABOUT IT, BOYS?

Returning soldiers are being greeted by large advertisements in the daily press by the K. C. Railways, welcoming them back to their old jobs. Is this really a sincere desire to give justice to the boys who were taken away and shipped off to Europe?

The facts give the lie to this assumption. Men who have previously worked for the Railways are NOT being re-employed IF THEY ARE UNION MEN. The damnable hypocrisy of these adds can only be appreciated by recalling that the Railway Company, so soon as the armistice was signed and they felt sure of many returning soldiers soon, started a fight on the Union which wiped it out in Kansas City. THEY HAVE BEEN USING THE SOLDIERS OF DEMOCRACY TO ESTABLISH INDUSTRIAL AUTOCRACY.

To the everlasting credit of our soldiers be it said that a great many of them refused to be used as scabs, even when forced to walk the streets in idleness as a consequence. But what words can do justice to the foul vipers who, under the guise of patriotism, try to dishonor the soldiers and sailors by using them to beat down wages and increase hours?

In other cities the boys are organizing Soldiers and Sailors Councils to find a remedy for such situations as this. Kansas City has as yet no organization for her boys except those owned and controlled by such men as the unspeakable Kealy. How about it, Boys? Don't we need a Soldiers and Sailors Council in Kansas City?

### DEPORTATIONS.

The latest example of the deportation mania is reported on another page. A young Russian is being held by the immigration authorities in Kansas City because he was found with a copy of the Workers' World. He is locked up incommunicado, not even a lawyer allowed to see him, no charge is placed against him, no legal process of any kind is shown on the records; simply by the arbitrary action of irresponsible authority he is locked up, and will probably be shipped out of the country quietly, in violation of the law of America, to say nothing of the principles of justice and equity.

Nothing is to be gained by protest or invective. We simply record the facts, and call them to the attention of our friends of timid soul who still maintain that America is a political democracy, responsive to the will of her people. Is this the peoples' will?

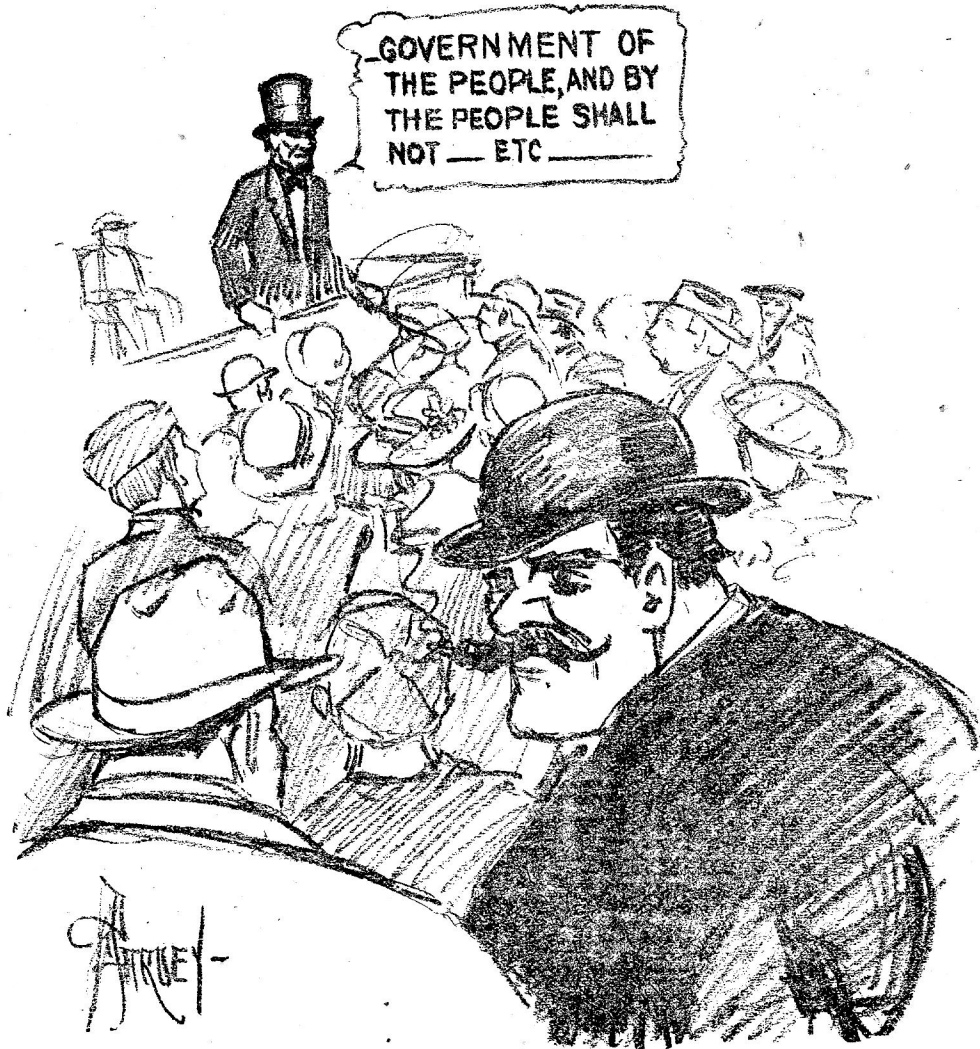
### MOTHER BLOOR.

One of the most interesting figures in the Labor movement today is Ella Reeve Bloor, or, as she is more affectionately known, Mother Bloor. Kansas City has just had an opportunity to get acquainted with this wonderful woman, old in years but young in energy and spirit and intelligence. She was with us but a few days, but in that short time she left the impress of her personality on Kansas City. And she is coming back again. She will speak in Kansas City on May 18, and she has promised that as soon as she has finished her present work, about July, she will return and spend some months here with the union men, ('my boys,' she calls them) and in helping build up the circulation of the Worker's World. We are telling you something of her history on another page, and when she returns we recommend that you get acquainted with her.

### FREEDOM FOR INDIA.

Friends of Frank P. Walsh of Kansas City will be interested in learning that he is Vice President of an association known as the Friends of Freedom for India. Being an Irishman and a militant champion of the cause of that unhappy island, Walsh is in position to appreciate somewhat the position of the enslaved Hindus who suffer at the hands of the same oppressor. The new association has issued a pamphlet telling of the cases of young Hindus being held in this country for deportation to India, where they will be executed by Britain. An advertisement of this booklet will be found in this paper. If you wish to be well-informed you must have it. Our

### If Lincoln were here today



First Dick---"We better call the wagon Casey---He's another Bolshevik"

ignorance of these things is one of the shameful items of America's political education.

There is another question, however, which is raised in the mind of the person who first sees the name, Friends of Freedom for India; "How long will it be until Hindus, Irish, and Russians, will begin to form Friends of Freedom for America associations, to assist us in getting back our lost liberties?"

### WHY ARE AMERICAN TROOPS IN RUSSIA?

American troops are in Russia, killing and being killed. Why? There has been no declaration of war. The Russian government has made every possible overture looking toward peace; has offered to discuss every question at issue between Russia and the world; has declared again and again that they wish to be left in peace to work out their own peculiar destiny. Russia is met by closed doors, by unauthorized warfare, invasion, blockade, counter-revolutionary intrigue, treachery; while in public the international pirates who are trying to crush her utter unctious platitudes about Russia's "crimes." Soviet Russia charges that the Allied nations are trying to return the Tzar to power again. Press dispatches of May 10, carry a little item of news which may throw some light on the truth or falsity of this charge:

LONDON, May 10.—Dowager Empress Marie Feodorovna of Russia, and her daughter, Grand Duchess Xenie, arrived in England yesterday on board a British warship... They were met in this city by King George and Queen Mary and Queen-Mother Alexandra.

Keep the above news dispatch in your mind and then read from a proclamation addressed to you by the Workingmen's Government of Russia:

Real freedom, economic and social freedom, will only be achieved when the workers of all countries overthrow the master class and take control in their hands.

We in Russia have done this. We have abolished Capitalism and Landlordism in Russia.

We have a workmen's government. Your capitalists know that our revolution is a menace to them. They fear that the workers in other countries will follow our example.

They are therefore supporting the Russian capitalists against us. They are determined to crush our revolution and put the landlords, capitalists, and the Czar back again.

And you have been brought here for that purpose.

What are you, a workman or a capitalist?

If you are a workman, then you must be on our side, for we are workmen too. We are of the same class.

An injury to the workers of one country is an injury to the workers of all countries.

If you help crush our revolution you will only be helping to fasten the shackles of wage slavery more firmly on yourselves.

Refuse to do the work of our common enemy, the Capitalist!

Join with us in the fight against capitalism and war!

Workers of all countries unite!

American workers would do well to carefully read the record, both sides of it, and ponder it deeply. Do we workers really wish to re-establish the Tzar? And what will we do if we find that it is the purpose of our government and its associates to do so? These are weighty questions and upon their answer hangs the future of the world.—E. R. B.

### DO WE WANT TO GET TOGETHER?

I asked Upton Sinclair a short time ago about his intentions with reference to the Socialist Party. Sinclair said: "I joined the Socialist Democratic League when I resigned from the Socialist Party, but I have not done any active work. I don't think it makes very much difference because the two organizations will be absolutely compelled to get together right away."

This is precisely the question. DO we want to get together? Personally, I am in favor of unity among the various radical factions of the socialist movement. But I

am not in favor of any such unity as described by Sinclair. It is utterly impossible for the Socialist Party to welcome its Scheidemanns into the fold. The "socialists" who deserted the party because of its noble and consistent opposition to militarism can never be depended on in a crisis. Sinclair happens to be one of the renegades who have been tolerant, who have not resorted to vile slander and abuse against their former comrades. But even Sinclair should not be trusted in a responsible position in the party, nor should he be allowed the privilege of being recognized as an authority on socialist philosophy and tactics by the party. Sinclair's head was turned by the bourgeois shibboleth—"making the world safe for democracy." It may be turned again in another national crisis.

The only men who can be safely trusted to guide the destinies of international socialism in America are those who unflinchingly supported the Majority Report and who, like Debs, went to prison rather than retract a single statement against the war aims of the government.

Sinclair is a brilliant writer, and a big educational force. He is now doing some good work in spreading the truth about Russia. We wish him well and certainly express our sincere appreciation of his interest in the case for Russia. But henceforth Upton Sinclair must occupy a subsidiary position in the American Socialist movement.

### ALANSON SESSIONS.

It is not 'nationalization of women' that worries the hypocritical beneficiaries of the system under which prostitution flourishes on a scale unparalleled in history. The pious editors of the daily press would not worry about the woman if the Bolsheviks would spare the dividends.

It is announced that 170 permanent army stations are to be built at a cost of \$3,000,000 along the 1,500 miles of United States, Mexican border. Nothing has been heard of any project to establish forts along the Canadian frontier. But then there are no foreign owned oil fields in Canada.

### 'Gene Debs.

An' here's Gene Debs  
A man 'at stan's  
An' jest hol's out  
In his two han's  
As kind a heart  
As ever beat  
'Twixt here an'  
The judgement seat.  
—James Whitcomb Riley.

## VIEWS, REVIEWS, AND INTERVIEWS

By Ralph Cheyney

Fun, pleasure, amusement, merriment, delight, zest, the joy of life—what else is worth while? Art and religion, literature and love are but other aspects of the ecstasy of life. If they are not, they are false, gold bricks, imitations of the real thing. No one can create objects of art without taking delight in the task and giving delight to others. "Everyone to his own taste," as the old woman said when she kissed the cow, but all books and pictures and sources of pleasure to some, else they would never exist. Every religion has its intermixture of joy, even if it be but the grim enjoyment of committing all those of whom one disapproves to eternal torture. Just think what fun Puritans get out of sin! Hate adds a zest of its own to life; while there is no keener rapture than that of love. If one has these, one can dispense with all else. Without these, life is not worth the living.

But how many of us actually enjoy living? With how many of us does the pleasure outweigh the pain? "We were born in other's pain, and perish in our own," writes Francis Thompson; and the period between is full of pain inflicted on ourselves and on each other. Life's a trap, not very well baited. We are heavily-loaded donkeys lured on by a bit of carrot hung in front of our noses, ever to be reached by our next step forward. If we lag back, we are soundly beaten. "Art" and "Literature" are new Mistresses of King Capital. Child labor, long hours, low wages, physical and nervous exhaustion have put them so far out of our reach that we are not stirred by them. Pampering the vanity of the rich, reflecting their empty ideals and vapid lives, titillating their petty fancies, narcotizing them to life, most of what passes for art, literature, culture, religion is still-born. As we saw last week, almost all present organized religions are methods by which we can be soothed or scared into a mental condition not conducive to revolution or growth, a frame of mind in which we can be easily and safely exploited. This is equally true of present "education," "culture," and "art"—needless to say, they are counterfeited, directly opposed to the nature and purpose of all that they imitate. Playthings of the rich, demanding time and training for their appreciation that we do not have, or else dope for us: into one of these two groups falls most of what is now printed, painted, played, and preached. And so it will be as long as King Capital foots the bills. And as long as he reigns there will be little joy of life for most of us. Love, too, suffers in this bourgeois, capitalistic, competitive world, while prostitution, licensed sin, sorrow, suffering, sordidness, squalor, strife: these are the chief fruits of Capitalism, the other name of which is Slavery.

"In the daily lives of most men and women, fear plays a greater part than hope: they are more filled with the thought of the possessions that others may take from them, than of the joy that they might create in their own lives and in the lives with which they come in contact. It is not so that life should be lived," so starts the last chapter "The World As It Could Be Made," in Bertrand Russell's "Proposed Roads to Freedom" (\$1.50—Henry Holt & Co., N. Y. C., 212pp).

This clear, fair, well-reasoned study of Socialism, Anarchism, and Syndicalism, was written by the great English mathematician, philosopher, and professor, just before he went to jail for six months for stating that American troops were more accustomed to shooting strikers and burning tent colonies of women and children than to fighting for democracy.

It is an excellent exception to the rule outlined above that the books now written are designed either to flat-

ter the capitalist or to mislead us or both. Of course, the quotation I have just given is no news to us; nor is anything I have so far written new to you, at least, you're damn lucky if it is, and an altogether exceptional character.

The world at present is considerable of a hell-hole, agreed! It can be made better—there's difference of opinion there, unfortunately. Psychology teaches us that human nature does change and change permanently, history teaches us that "the world do move," biology that evolution is not a theory but a fact, the fact about life, religion teaches us that earth is going to become a heaven, economics teaches us that the day of the worker is at hand; but the present occupants of pulpits, platform, press office, and professorial chair (one might almost say "bed") try to obscure these messages; and despair is easy. But granting that the world can be made a pleasant place to live in, how shall we set about the job? We know what we do not want in the way of a world; but what do we want? And Mr. Russell's answer to it is the best part of this suggestive, fascinating book.

The book is divided into two parts: a book for yourself and then discuss it with your friends and associates:

"Education should be compulsory up to the age of 16, or perhaps longer; after that, it should be continued or not at the option of the pupil, but remain free (for those who desire it) up to at least the age of 21. When education is finished no one should be compelled to work, and those who choose not to work should receive a bare livelihood, and be left completely free; but probably it would be desirable that there should be a strong public opinion in favor of work. With the help of science, and by the elimination

of the vast amount of unproductive work involved in internal and international competition, the whole community could be kept in comfort by means of four hours' work a day. Every industry will be self-governing as regards all its internal affairs, and even separate factories will decide for themselves all questions that only concern those who work in them. There will not be capitalist management, as at present, but management by elected representatives, as in politics. Relations between different groups of producers will be settled by the Guild Congress, matters concerning the community as the inhabitants of a certain area will continue to be decided by Parliament, while disputes between Parliament and the Guild Congress will be decided by a body composed of representatives of both in equal numbers. Payment will not be made, as at present, only for work actually required performed, but for willingness to work. Women in domestic work, whether married or unmarried, will receive pay as they would if they were in industry. The expense of children will not fall, as at present, on the parents. They will receive, like adults, their share of necessities, and their education will be free. A world in which the creative spirit is alive."

From Deb's Speech to the Jury, September 12, 1918.

"I am opposed to bloodshed in any form. A revolution is coming, but it must be peaceful. That is the reason I am opposed to war, to making men soldiers. A soldier is a human being trained to kill other human beings. I don't believe in killing, I am opposed to it. . . . I can go to the gallows with a smile on my face, without a quiver, but I'll never have the stain of any man's blood upon my hands. I'm opposed to all forms of murder. We must do our work, comrades, peacefully. We are slowly but surely welding the iron ring about our exploiters. But, because they have treated us cruelly and like cattle that is not the spirit in which we must treat with them. We must be gentle and ask God to forgive them. They speak of Americanizing the foreigners—why? To make strike-breakers of them? God forgive them! When I am gone, the richest gift I ask, is that some child will lay a flower upon my grave and say: 'Gene did something for me.'"

—From Deb's last speech before going to the penitentiary, delivered in Youngstown, Ohio, April 6, 1919.

Ella Reeve Bloor will speak Sunday, May 18, at 8 P. M., at Bookbinders Hall, Twelfth and Central.

ITEMS WORTH READING.

Two articles of especial interest are found in the May 10 issue of The Nation. The first is entitled: "One Big Union," by Gordon Gray and tells us something what Labor in Canada is doing and thinking. It corroborates what the Workers' World recently printed in this connection. The other is a letter from Budapest, headed "The Revolution in Hungary," and is written by a bourgeois journalist who was there and saw what he writes about, and talked to Bela Kun and other leaders. His story is of importance.

The Dial, of May 3, has a valuable contribution on "The Impending Revolution in Italy," by Flavio Venzani; and another of the question of India and the Hindus, by Sailendra Nath Ghose, which throws much light on the situation in the Far East.

RUSSIA.

By Wilby Heard.

R stands for Reason, Reds ruling with ruth;  
U stands for Union, united in Truth.  
S for the Soviets solid and strong  
S howing the Workers can banish the wrong.

I the Invincible Cause that will gain  
A ll Labor needs to shatter its chain.

Make it a paying proposition to advertise in your paper.

Where would you rather spend your money? With a firm that advertises in the masters' press or one that advertises in your paper?

Tell him you saw his ad in the Workers' World.

Do you patronize those who advertise in your paper?

ter the capitalist or to mislead us or both. Of course, the quotation I have just given is no news to us; nor is anything I have so far written new to you, at least, you're damn lucky if it is, and an altogether exceptional character.

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