

The WORKERS' WORLD

Official Organ Socialist Party of Kansas City
Endorsed by Local Omaha, Socialist Party

Vol. 1. No. 21.

KANSAS CITY, MO., FRIDAY AUGUST 22, 1919.

Application made for entry as Second Class Matter at Post Office at Kansas City, Mo. Price, 5 Cents

MORE SECRET TREATIES

Soviet Government Publishes More of the Documents which bred the world war.

More documents have been unearthed from the secret archives of the Czarist-Russian government, showing what diplomacy did NOT do to prevent this war.

The documents play a very good second to the Secret Treaties that the revolution gave to the world. They have been appearing in the "Pravda," a Soviet organ in Petrograd, under the editorship of the Soviet Commissary of Finance, Pokrovsky.

The London Daily Herald gave a resume of the documents some time ago, as did also the Swedish papers.

Briefly, the story is as follows: As far back as 1909 Russia and Italy "settled" in a "mutually benevolent attitude" the Russian interests in the Straits and the Italian interests in Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

When the Tripoli war broke out in 1911, Isvolsky, Russian Ambassador in Paris, wrote that Italy, in pressing her claim to Tripoli should be reminded to "keep her word" regarding the question of the Straits.

Isvolsky's faithful service to his country necessitated making sure, not alone of Italy, but of France, also. And so, in October, 1911, he makes a touching statement about being "deprived of a most important instrument, since all my assiduous entreaties to be provided with funds for the press have produced no result." And why? Because, he says, "if we are really concerned to take up the question of the Straits, then it is of the highest importance to see to it that we have a good press here."

Then we have Sir Edward Grey (the unsuccessful peace-maker of the early war days) promising "without hesitation" that "England would do everything to inflict the heaviest blow on German power" by keeping the German fleet off the Baltic coast of Russia, while France kept the Austrian fleet out of the Black Sea.

And then, in April, 1914—mark the date—while Sir Edward Grey and King George were in Paris having conversations with Isvolsky, Grey said "there could only be a question of a naval convention between us and England and not a continental convention because the disposition of England's land forces was already arranged, and they could not operate alongside the Russian land forces."

ACTORS STAGE STRIKE

"White Collar Slaves" form Union, and Fight for Fair Play

Staging a strike in real life for the betterment of their own conditions is a decidedly new form of drama to the theatre folk of Broadway, New York. But so successful is this their latest play and so perfect is the ensemble of these "white collar slaves" that thirteen of the leading theatres of New York are closed.

With the city crowded by the thousands of tourists who frequent the largest American city during summer time; the producing managers are indeed in a bitter mood at this unexpected revolt of chorus girls, actors, singers and dancers. The strike has extended to Chicago, where several theatres have closed as a result.

Never was a more jolly lot of picketers seen than the theatrical fraternity, who are appealing to the public to desist from patronizing the few houses that manage, by the importation of "scab" actors, to keep going. As one picketer put it to the editor of the International Labor News Service, "We are not crushed by the idea of unemployment for most of us are out of a job most of the time. Really, though, the spirit of the thing has been fine and I'm proud of my profession."

The strike is being managed by the Actor's Equity Association, which recently obtained a charter from the A. F. of L. The producing managers are trying by every known legal trick, including injunctions, suits for breach of contract, etc., to force the rebellious Theatres back to work. But the strikers are standing pat and are reiterating that all they want is "fair play."



"So You are Back, Mr. Wilson, and the World is now Safe for Democracy"

PROTEST THE FRAME-UP

Kansas City Unions Denounce the Wichita Indictment and Pledge Aid to the Oil Workers

That organized labor is at last becoming awakened to the menace of all labor organizations which lurks behind the infamous persecution of the Oil Workers under the third Wichita indictment is indicated by the action taken by several Kansas City unions during the past week. Following the lead of the Kansas Miners, the following local organizations have adopted resolutions denouncing the frame-up against the I. W. W. men and pledging full support to them in their fight for justice. The Stationery Firemen's Union No. 1, Painters' No. 9, Structural Ironworkers' No. 10, United Garment Workers' No. 47, and Stationery Engineers' No. 6 have adopted the resolution which follows:

RESOLUTION.

WHEREAS, the Stationery Firemen, Local Union No. 1 of Kansas City Mo., in their fight for industrial justice have learned the bitterness with which the owners of industry unite against the workers, especially in their determination that the workers shall not organize to protect their rights, and

WHEREAS, in November, 1917, a group of 35 men, all members of a newly organized union, the Oil Workers Industrial Union, were arrested without warrant in the oil fields in and about Augusta and Eldorado, Kansas, and for nearly twenty months have been held in various jails throughout the state, and

WHEREAS, the oil fields of Kansas and Oklahoma have for many years been in a badly disorganized state, every attempt to form a union of the workers being crushed by the owners of the oil wells, and

WHEREAS, on two separate occasions, that is, in September, 1918, and March, 1919, the indictment against these 35 men, above referred to was quashed, the Grand Jury hastily convened, a new indictment returned and the case set over to the next term of Court,

AND WHEREAS, while we are acquainted with the charges alleged against these oil workers, except that the indictment charges violation of the Espionage Act, the Draft Act, the Food and Fuel Act, all of which are war measures, never-the-less, we believe if any crime had been committed by these workers it would not require two years to frame up an indictment that would stand the test in court, and

WHEREAS, the long months of im-

prisonment and the great expense attached to the trial of a case of such magnitude necessitates a strong defense fund, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED by the members of the Stationery Firemen, Local Union No. 1, in regular meeting assembled, that our organization lend our full support to the workers in the Oil Workers Industrial Union, to the end that they receive justice, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Secretary of our organization be instructed to send the proceeds of the assessment to the Wichita Defense Fund, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

HANDS OFF RUSSIA.

The Central Federation Union of New York, at its session last night, passed a resolution opposing the recognition of Kolchak, calling for the complete lifting of the blockade against Soviet Russia and the right of the Russian people to work out their own salvation. The resolution was introduced by Miss E. Flower of the Friends of Soviet Russia.

NEW YORK C. F. U. FOR AMNESTY.

New York, Aug. 11.—The Central Federated Union has declared itself in favor of an immediate general amnesty for all political and industrial prisoners. Copies of the resolution to this effect, passed at the last regular meeting, have been sent to every affiliated body of the C. F. U. with the request that the local unions take immediate steps to create sentiment for general amnesty.

The action of the Central Federated Union, the most powerful central body of organized labor in New York, is a victory for the amnesty movement, according to individuals carrying on the agitation. It is expected that A. F. of L. unions all over the country will join the New York body in its demand for the liberation of political prisoners.

TAILOR'S UNION SUCCEEDS.

The newly organized local of the Tailor's Union is meeting with success in its effort to improve conditions in the needle trade. Several of the large custom houses have already complied with the demands of the union for improved conditions and have formally agreed to recognize the union.

Great credit for this result is due to organizer Bricker and to Nathan Gramovitch who has done fine work as a volunteer assistant. A fine spirit of solidarity prevails in the ranks of the union and they are driving forward for one hundred per cent organization in all departments of the trade.

ABOUT THE WHEAT FIRES.

The stories in the capitalist press to the effect that the I. W. W. harvest workers were burning the wheat fields have been disproved before in these columns and now are officially denied by the State Labor Department. Speaking of industrial conditions in the state of Kansas Mr. W. F. Wilkerson, Chief Clerk of the Department of Labor and Industry, says:

The harvest is over in Kansas but during the harvest season 75,000 men were imported into the state and the wheat was harvested without disturbances of any kind to speak of. Reports were sent out that fires in the wheat fields were incendiary in nature but we had our investigators working all over the state and they found that the report was not founded on facts. Such few fires as did occur were started by sparks from engines and the usual accidental causes.

Russia.

According to recent reports from Moscow-Narodny Bank, co-operators are represented on all the food committees of the Soviet Government. It is estimated that 51,000,000 people in Russia are served by co-operative societies. Private enterprise in the distribution of the necessities of life has been completely abolished in Soviet Russia. The Soviets originally intended to handle the problem of food distribution through government committees but later handed the business over to the co-operatives, who had been doing it anyway.

STREET MEETINGS.

Friday night, August 22nd, at 12th and Oak. Subject: "Soviet Form of Government."

Monday night, August 25th, at 18th and Vine. Subject: "How to abolish Wage Slavery." Comrade Bloor will speak at both meetings and all are invited to attend and help to make them successful.

DISCUSS THE PLUMB PLAN

Great Interest Shown by Rousing Meeting at Bookbinders' Hall

The widespread interest in the Plumb plan of railroad operation was manifested by the large crowd which turned out Sunday evening to hear Comrade Bloor speak on this subject. Her analysis of the bill was heard with the most intense interest by the audience which was composed mainly of non-socialist workers, many of whom heard for the first time a piece of legislation interpreted in the light of the Socialist doctrine.

The applause which greeted her assertion that the Plumb plan cannot solve the labor problem and that the workers are entitled to all power in industry and government was a most heartening indication that the workers only need to know the principles of Socialism to make them their own. The propaganda carried on with the Workers' World and Mother Bloor's speeches in the halls, on the street corners and before the labor union bodies is bearing fruit most noticeably and is unmistakable evidence that if we keep on with the present system and methods of constructive propaganda, Socialism will soon be established as a power in Kansas City.

At the close of the lecture many questions bearing on the subject were asked and an interesting discussion followed. The suggestion by our friend, Harvey Barkis, the single taxer, that the present owners be compensated for the railroads which they have stolen from the workers, was received with laughter and it seemed to be the unanimous sentiment of the audience that the opportunity to go to work at honest labor is all the "compensation" any of the coupon clippers are entitled to.

A liberal collection was taken at the meeting and payments and pledges were made for the endowment fund of the World. The speaker's stirring appeal for economic organization resulted in a group of metal workers holding a meeting of their own after the lecture and deciding to join the Machinists Union of which Mother Bloor is a member.

SPARTACANS PLAN STRIKE

Initial Step Toward Communist Republic, Asserts Present Government.

BERLIN, Aug. 16.—A widespread movement to tie up all railroad traffic in Germany by a general strike is planned by Spartacans, the government declared in an official statement today.

This nationwide walkout would be the initial step of the Spartacans toward replacing the present regime with a Communist republic, the government asserted in announcing that it has "discovered secret plotting." "The discovery," continues the statement, "was made just when Germany believed itself quieting down while the rest of the world rioted and struck."

The object of the Communist strike leaders is to appropriate power, the first necessity of which is the stoppage of transportation to prevent the distribution of food and coal. The movement, which is already widespread, began at Erfurt, where a large meeting controlled by Communists was held last night, the strike being decided upon.

This action is not understandable, because the government has not only carried out promises made at the time the last railroad dispute was settled, but has introduced other reforms."

LONGUET FEATURES DEBS.

Paris.—Under the heading, "The American Lassalle Is Still in Prison," Jean Longuet, in "Le Populaire" for July 14, writes of the continued incarceration of Eugene V. Debs.

Upon the occasion of Debs' removal from Moundsville to Atlanta, the European press carried a story that represented Debs as openly advocating resistance to the draft. As a matter of fact, Longuet points out, Debs simply stated the accepted principles of international socialism.

Says Longuet: "These principles, however, the capitalist class pretends to consider criminal!" On its side, "the proletariat proclaims as criminal the entire ideology and the whole civilization of capitalism."

All Day Basket Picnic

For the Workers' World

Refreshments,
Athletic Games,
Music and Other
Attractions

Swope Park
Sunday Aug. 24
Get off car at 63rd Street

Ammunition

By James Waldo Fawcett.

LIEUT. COL. J. L. KINCAID, ex-division judge advocate, 27th Division, N. Y. A. E. F., has reported to Secretary of War Baker that the American prison barracks in France "rivalled Siberian exile camps and were much worse than German prisoner of war cages." This is an example of the old adage to the effect that "murder will out;" the truth will be known. The United States will be likely to have more trouble raising armies in the future than in the past, if Col. Kincaid's report is widely read among the youth of the land. Men are not so fond of army life and discipline as we once thought.

THE NEW YORK GLOBE says: "The Austro-Hungarian empire lived by the sword and perished by the sword; it was built on the slavery of millions of people of half a dozen races." The Globe probably does not realize that the British Empire also is a creation of the sword, a veritable house of conquest; would the Globe be apt to applaud the destruction of the British Empire by the same weapon?

THE RACE WAR in the city of Washington may prod Congress into some real action in behalf of the suppressed Negroes who are the victims of these outbreaks of white wrath. But the so-called Negro problem, really a white problem, will not be solved by high-and-mighty pronouncements from Congressmen of the Overman, Nelson or Wadsworth type. The basis of the matter is an economic fact,—and a pathological fact; laws made by the national legislature must fail in such a case. The only remedy and cure is to be found in Socialism. Negro workers should study Socialism, vote Socialism, act Socialism; they will be more hated than ever by the white capitalists, but they will be welcomed as comrades and brothers by the white workers everywhere. Under Socialism the Negro problem will be solved; under Capitalism it will remain what is now is—an offense and a violation too horrible to be named, an abomination in the eyes of every honest man, an indictment of the System so sharp, so true as to require no explanation at the hands of Socialists.

MISS JEANETTE RANKIN, returning from Europe, tells us that British capitalists have expressed themselves as willing to meet every demand of British labor. Miss Rankin says they mean to do whatever English workmen ask,—at the expense of the colonies and the suppressed races held in captivity under the Union Jack. In a word, the British Capitalist intends, if necessary, to wring out of his foreign slaves the sustenance demanded by the workers at home. Starve and exploit India, feed and pamper England! That is to be the rule. But will British labor stand for this "solution" of the problem? Certainly not! British labor may not possess the international concept at this writing, but nothing is more likely to give it that than the suggestion referred to. English workmen will not be parasites; the idea is absurd, typically capitalistic.

ACCORDING TO the Evening Sun, New York, "ministries come and go, and even Clemenceau can hardly be expected to last forever." "The Tiger" has come to the end of his rope, French labor and the exhaustion of financial resources have brought the old prime-reprobate to the jumping off place. But this may be said: Clemenceau, when he falls, will be mourned by the plutes of every country in the world; they will say of him, "Well done, thou good and crooked servant." "The Tiger" is one of the most vicious figures in modern history, he is absolutely reactionary and he glories in his misdeeds. "I have waited forty-nine years for this!" he cried at Versailles when the German delegates signed the treaty. Revenge, hate, distrust, greed and disease have made him their victim, and he has victimized the world.

I pity from my soul, unhappy men
Compelled by want to prostitute their
pen;
Who must, like lawyers, either starve
or plead,
And follow, right or wrong, where
guineas lead.
—W. Dillen, Poet, Sixteenth Century.

BOOKS WORTH READING

"Six Red Months in Russia"
"Ten Days That Shook the World"
"The Proletarian Revolution in Russia"

August Liberator now on Sale
PROGRESSIVE NEWS CO.
405 East 12th St.

A DOUGH-BOY DITTY.

Favorite song of the American Army of Occupation, Somewhere in Germany.

Air—"Silver Threads Among the Gold."

Darling, I am coming back—
Silver threads among the black—
Now that peace in Europe nears,
I'll be home in seven years.
I'll drop in on you some night,
With my whiskers long and white—
Yes, the war is over, dear,
And we're going home, I hear!
Home again with you once more
Say—by nineteen-twenty-four.
Once I thought by now I'd be
Sailing back across the sea;
Back to where you sit and pine,
But we're stuck here on the Rhine,
You can hear the gang all curse—
"War is hell, but peace is worse!"
When the next war comes around
In the front rank I'll be found.
I'll rush in again pell mell,
Yes I will—I will like hell!

—The Watch on the Rhine (published by American Occupying Forces in France).

Methods of the Press

People frequently resolve to do things that are beyond their powers. Particularly difficult to carry out is the desire to tell the truth always. It requires a knowledge of the truth. The motto of the New York Tribune, conspicuously printed on the first page of that paper, is: "First to Last—the Truth: News, Editorials, Advertisements." In view of the praiseworthy nature of this ambition, it is unfortunate that no one has informed the Tribune that the articles and stories from the pen of Maxim Gorky, which the Tribune has been printing at rapid intervals within the last few weeks, and in which Gorky expresses hostility to the Soviet Government of Russia—were written long ago, some of them over a year ago, before Gorky became a complete convert to the Soviet Government's philosophy and to the methods of the Bolshevik Section of the Socialist Party of Russia. For the information of the Tribune we add that Gorky is now a prominent administrative official in the Department of Education at Moscow, and that after the supply of its anti-Soviet material gives out, the Tribune can obtain, in this country, and without unusual difficulty, a rather large collection of excellent short stories from Gorky's pen, written at a much later date than the Tribune's material, and breathing from first to last a passionate love of the achievements of the great proletarian revolution in Russia.

Absorbing Bolshevism

Seattle, Wash., Aug. 18.—American soldiers are absorbing the gospel of Bolshevism from the Russians they are sent to fight.

This is the message brought back to Seattle by Sydney Saunders, American marine and son of the Labor Temple janitor, who spent a month docked at the port of Vladivostok.

"They have no heart in it, and they all want to come back," says young Saunders in speaking of the American soldiers who are forced to uphold allied rule in the Vladivostok territory over the protests of the Russian residents. "All but the Japanese," says Saunders. "These yellow men are the only soldiers who take a delight in fighting the Bolsheviks."

"Why are you and your brothers here?" Saunders declared he was asked on countless occasions by the Russians. "We wish only to be left alone to work out our own problem."

Saunders maintains that nine out of ten of the men on his ship came back to America with a firm conviction in the justice of the Russian plea and with the opinion that Bolshevism is not such a bad thing after all when you get closer to it and farther away from the howls of American capitalist newspapers.

"The allies are not even maintaining decent order with all their guns," says Saunders. "Street fights and stabbings are common in Vladivostok in spite of the iron rule which is attempted. A body lay by the Y. M. C. A. for over a week as the result of a street row before it was removed."

Saunders maintains that the Russians in the territory conquered by the allies earnestly believe that the Bolsheviks will finally win back their country, and to that end they are carefully preserving all Bolshevik money, which is now of little value in the allies' district.

"It will be good some day when the world understands," they told Saunders.

"The man who fears to take his stand alone.
But follows where the greatest number tread,
Should hasten to his rest beneath a stone
The Great Majority of Men are Dead."

Left or Right

By Alanson Sessions

The controversy now raging between the Left and the Right in the Socialist Party has its fundamental basis, not in the wanton desire of the Left to destroy and disrupt and to usurp power, but in the recognition of the fact by the Left that the present policy of the Socialist Party falls radically short of modern requirements. Accusation and personal re-primand are not only useless, but serve only to cloud the issue. The conflict is one arising essentially from a difference in outlook. Acrimonious discussion clarifies nothing. The paramount question is, not whether the National Executive Committee is crooked or tyrannical, but whether the tactical program proposed by the Left is correct.

Let us look at the facts squarely and unhystrerically:

What are the pre-eminently distinguishing features of the Left Wing program? They are:

1. The adoption of a party platform devoid of vote-catching reforms—a platform based purely on a statement of the fundamental principles of revolutionary socialism.
2. Acceptance of the principle of mass action.
3. Affiliation with the Communist International composed of the Bolsheviks of Russia, the Spartacists of Germany and the revolutionary proletarian groups in other European countries.

Reforms and Revolution.

Either the American Socialist movement must conduct its propaganda on an uncompromising basis of revolutionary Socialism or it will dwindle into a negligible force. Insofar as it includes in its platform reform planks that are but palliative, it lends itself to misinterpretation. Its stand must be definite, its position clear and concise. No one doubts the value of certain reforms. The point is—granting that such reforms are desirable—that the more uncompromisingly revolutionary the party position, the quicker will reform concessions be wrung from the dominant political power. The primary object of socialism should not be that of popularity. The party of revolutionary Socialism must remain a minority party, so well organized and educated that it may assume leadership when the revolution arrives. Better 10,000 class-conscious, revolutionary socialists than 100,000,000 half-conscious reformist ones.

Let the new Labor Party and the Nonpartisan League agitate for the 8-hour day and dental clinics for children. Our work is a weightier one—the organization of a militant Socialist minority for the leadership of the revolution.

The Left Wing takes the position that a revolution is coming in the United States. For practical purposes it matters not WHEN it comes. The essential point to stress is that it is COMING. No one knows when the world crisis may draw this country into the vortex of revolution. The most prophetic, four years ago, did not dream that half Europe would be re-organizing today on a Socialist basis. The near future holds many surprises in store for us. The Left Wing simply advocates a state of revolutionary preparedness—and watchful waiting.

Mass Action.

And now let us discuss this terrifying bugaboo of the Right Wing—mass action. As Louis C. Fraina has pointed out "mass action is not a form of action as much as it is a process and synthesis of action. It is the unity of all forms of proletarian action, a means of throwing the proletariat, organized and unorganized, into a general struggle against capitalism and the capitalist state." Thus mass action may include all forms of the strike—general and otherwise. It is the spontaneous uprising of the masses against the oppression of capitalism. This spirit of mass-action manifested itself in the recent rebellions at Seattle, Butte and Winnipeg. The object of the revolutionary mass-actionists is to crystallize this more or less blind revolt into a definite, class-conscious attack on the capitalist system.

The Left Wing is thoroughly scientific in its method of procedure. It sees itself in an era of capitalism in which mass rebellions inhere—rebellions providing opportunities to recruit and educate the rebels in the aims of revolutionary socialism. The Left Wing adapts its tactics to the new conditions—making revolutionary capital out of the situation.

The Use of Force.

Mass action does not necessarily imply that guns and bombs must be used at each sporadic uprising of the proletariat. While the Left is convinced that the final struggle between the proletariat and the capitalist class must inevitably involve much bloodshed, it does not advocate armed ag-

gression at this stage. Mass action at this time may be accomplished without the use of sheer physical force. The policy of the folded arm— as recent experience in Seattle and in Winnipeg has proved—need involve no violence. It is no intention of the Left Wing precipitately to dash itself to pieces against the military walls of American capitalism.

In the class-struggle, the proletariat need not consider itself honor-bound to observe capitalistically-dictated statutes. A truly revolutionary Socialist movement must always find it imperative to break a host of capitalist laws—laws passed expressly by capitalist legislatures to impede the growth of revolutionary Socialist sentiment. Timid Right-Wingers lachrymously deplore Left-Wing defiance of the Criminal Syndicalism law of California. The answer is that a revolutionary minority party must expect in a crisis of this character to undergo no small amount of martyrdom. A revolution confining its activity to the legal, orderly groove prescribed for it by the capitalist dictatorship—is no revolution at all.

The objection may be raised that by thus defying such laws the party deplorably weakens itself in the work of defending its prosecuted comrades. The answer is that the Left Wing does not intend to expend its resources in defense of individuals—that, instead, it will but increase its ardor in rousing the masses to revolutionary mass-action. The genuine revolutionist cannot expect the Party to drain its finances merely to regain his freedom instantly. If he is not willing to suffer imprisonment he had better stay out of the revolution for this business of revolution is an exceedingly grim and serious affair.

Political Action.

Has the Left, then, no use for political action? Yes, for purposes of getting the gospel of revolutionary Socialism before the people. It is NOT, however, particularly anxious to elect candidates. In fact, it regards most phases of parliamentarism as positively detrimental to the development of the spirit of revolution. Participation by Socialists in capitalist government, with rare exceptions, dulls the edge of revolutionary purpose. Parliamentarism involves compromise which seriously deflects the true purpose of our movement. The vicious results of flirtation with parliamentarism may be observed in Milwaukee, Schenectady and elsewhere.

Internationalism.

It must be plain to all that Socialism, to be effective, must be of international character. Unfortunately we are not at liberty to choose in the matter. As opponents of capitalism, we are compelled to invade the enemy's territory, and it happens that the institution of capitalism is no longer a national, but an international, thing. Socialists have no other choice than that of fighting capitalism internationally.

The war has taught us the hopelessly reactionary character of national Socialism. Looking about in other countries for the tried and true type of international Socialists, we are compelled to pass in disdain all but what, broadly speaking, are recognized as the Left Wing groups. The remainder were lulled into supine submission by the siren Chauvinism of their capitalist masters. The Rausskys and the Blatchfords—these sought to invest with an iridescent idealism the brazen brutality of international imperialism. Their pusillanimous pleas were made in the name of "national defense"—obviously unconscious of the fact that the benefits of "national defense" are benefits only for the bourgeoisie. The socialism of these genial gentlemen was never based on the class-struggle.

Based on Class-Struggle.

The communist international of the Bolsheviks and the Spartacists is one based thoroughly on the class-struggle. As such, it is the only one to which the American Socialist movement can logically link itself.

This, briefly, is the program of the Left. It is sound, scientific and revolutionary. To those of the international mind, to those emancipated from dogma, to those willing to abandon antiquated tactics when conditions demand new ones—the Left Wing program will make an attractive appeal. To those Socialists who have sunk into such intellectual turpitude that they can say with a prominent San Francisco Right-Winger that "the American Socialist Party will never consent to be the tail of any foreign kite,"—the Left Wing program will angrily be rejected.

A Split Inevitable.

The two views are irreconcilable. The Socialist Party cannot be both Left and Right. The Left frankly admits its determination to capture the machinery of the Socialist Party for revolutionary Socialism. It also

PUSHING THE WORLD

One day's mail last Friday brought subs from four different states, Nebraska, New Mexico, South Dakota and Ohio.

Dr. John Dequer sends a dollar from Chicago "just to help."

Herman Schanz is pushing the World among the painters. Three subs from him last week.

John M. Brazel, an old time comrade was a welcome visitor in the World office last week. He paid up a year's subscription and promised to get busy.

Margaret and Imogene Wasdahl, our Bolshevik girls, sent in four subs from Denver where they are now located.

J. M. Paul of Harvard, Nebraska, says: "I heartily endorse the policy of the paper and enclose \$2.00 for a year's subscription."

Alanson Sessions writes: "The typographical arrangement of the paper is excellent and I think we have the beginning of a paper that will evolve into something big."

Neosho, Mo. gets into the game with two subs from J. P. Wesler.

"I am enclosing \$1.00 for a six months' sub and regret that we can't do more for those who are making the fight," writes Mrs. S. M. Calkins of Deming, N. M.

Otto Zulauf and Bill Muerer are away ahead of their pledge to the endowment fund. Five dollars from each of them last week helped out greatly.

Sam Rosenzweig makes it a point to bring in a sub or contribution to the endowment fund every time he comes up to the World office and he comes up often.

\$25.50 from one comrade last week is the largest single contribution up to date.

The State Secretary of Ohio writes: "We are boosting your paper whenever we get a chance, telling subscribers that they ought to subscribe for a middle western paper as well as the Ohio Socialist."

The Ohio Socialist is getting out a special edition for the political prisoners. George Parry, the World cartoonist has made a drawing which will appear in it.

J. Gabriel brought in a sub from a fellow-worker on the job after bombarding him with sample copies for three months. The sample copies do the business.

frankly admits that if it fails it will organize a new party based on the tactics of the Left and affiliated with the Communist International. Individuals are not to blame for the present rift in the ranks of American socialism. The split is inevitable.

The issue is clear: Either the Right will join with the Left, or it will continue its present short-sighted policy. If the latter, there shall very likely be two socialist parties in the United States,—the one a continuation of a timid, reformist Socialist Party—the other a new Communist Party, its tactics based on the program outlined above.

"BRAINS AND MUSCLE."

A capitalist paper in commenting on "Brains and Muscle" says: Plant a million laborers in the most productive country in the world and if some of them did not develop, there would soon be want, suffering and death to such an extent that only a few of the strongest would survive."

The best answer to the above is to merely turn the supposition around and multiply by ten, thus: Plant ten million parasites as we know them in the most productive country in the world and unless they went to work they would starve to death.

HUNGARY SPEAKS.

By S. A. DeWitt.

We breathed the air and drank the open sun
For one sweet hour;
And when we dreamed our day of life begun
You spread your pall of power.

Yours will be the pleasure of a chase
That tigers know—
Who bravely match their supple strength and pace
Against the frightened doe.

Again the bristle of the bayonet—
The hireling blight;
Again the march on meadow land still wet
With blood of yesternight.
Again the terror of the broken word,
The stab, the tear—
The famished, gnawing on the bitter curd
Of anguish and despair.

Shackled, gagged and crushed by all your power,
Yet no despair
Can break the souls of men who in one hour
Drank the sun and breathed the open air.

—New York Call.

MORE LABOR UNION PROTEST.

The following unions, besides those previously mentioned, have taken strong action against the deportation of Hindu political refugees who are now held in New York City, San Francisco and Seattle:

Detroit Federation of Labor Ladies Waist & Dressmakers' Union of New York.
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, New York.
Micrometer Lodge of the International Assn. of Machinists.
Street Railway Employees Division No. 518, San Francisco.
Machinists Lodge No. 68, San Francisco.
Office Employees Association, No. 13188, San Francisco.

The Laws among us fell discord create;
They teach us how to plot, to steal, to hate:
Why worship then their makers? Why obey
The Judges who on Mammon ever wait?

—Abu'l Ala, Arabian poet, Tenth Century.

American Auction Co.

1420 Grand Avenue
Has a Large Stock of
SECOND HAND
and **NEW FURNITURE**
Special Reduction to those who bring this od.
Also buy all kinds of Furniture
Home—Main 1351

I believe in a **SQUARE DEAL**
TO EVERYBODY on earth,
that is **WHY I PATRONIZE**
this paper

Harry Chilton

Groceries and Meats
902 S. W. Boulevard
528 S. W. Boulevard, Rosedale
Kinney Heights, Rosedale

The People's Weekly Forum

A Socialist Paper
Published by The Socialist Party of Kansas
C. B. HARMAN, Editor
Lawrence, Kansas

Bell Phone Grand 1747J

OTTO ZULAUF

Cleaning, Pressing and Repairing

EXPERIENCE COUNTS

919 West 17th St.

Kansas City, Mo.

Organization News

On Saturday evening, August 23rd, Comrade Bloor will speak on the Court House steps at Leavenworth, Kansas. The meeting will commence at 8 o'clock and the subject will be: "What is Socialism." Everybody invited.

Don't forget the picnic. Shorty Augustus Buehler, the lemonade King will positively appear.

Street meetings are still going big. The best one yet was that held Saturday night at 18th and Woodland for the colored people.

Mrs. O'Sullivan is working hard on the Kansas side to build up the party organization.

Have you enrolled yet for the "Communist Manifesto" study class?

K. C. voted almost unanimously for Left Wing candidates to the Emergency Convention.

Every Socialist owes a percentage of his income to the movement. Are you paying your bill?

What do you think about having a party headquarters and a permanent organizer?

William Thurston Brown will probably be in Kansas City next month for a series of meetings. Watch for announcements.

Nebraska Notes.

Since the latter part of June the Workers' World has been sent to every local and branch secretary and member at large in Nebraska. Occasionally bundles have been sent. No charge has been made. Repeated appeals for support of the paper have not been ignored, neither have they been answered with anything like enthusiasm.

This cannot go on indefinitely. The treasury of the State Office lacks much of being depleted, but even large funds may dwindle and disappear entirely through a steady drain.

The State Secretary suggests: That bundles of the Workers' World be ordered for free, but careful distribution.

That every party member subscribe for at least a year, and endeavor to secure subscriptions from others.

That subscription lists be circulated in each community for funds for propaganda purposes, money derived therefrom to be used for extending the circulation and increasing the influence of the Workers' World.

The Workers' World belongs to the Socialists of Nebraska as much as anybody, not legally perhaps, but for all practical purposes. It is up to us to use it.

Nebraska has more revolutionary sentiment than we imagine. It needs to be crystallized into organization and action. This appeal for the Workers' World is an appeal for just that thing. It should meet with a rousing response.

If it does not, orders for the paper will have to be reduced, and at once. What do you say?

The membership of the Socialist Party may be divided in many respects, but it is united on one thing anyhow—that the convention must be held.

The demand for it is overwhelming. Nothing can prevent it, unless it be lack of funds. The special assessment stamps were issued to provide against this danger. They have been purchased liberally in some quarters, but sales should not cease because time for the convention is approaching.

Keep on buying. A number of stamps were sent out receiving the money for them. We have heard from a number of the comrades and hope that the rest will make themselves known.

A dollar or two for assessment stamps is a fine introduction.

The editor of "Brann's Iconoclast" is coming to Omaha. He will expose the evils of Bolshevism. He will shed copious tears over the woes of Russia. Presumably, he will wax eloquent on the blessings of life in this, our own land of freedom and Wilson and high prices.

He speaks at the Municipal Auditorium Friday evening, September 5. Every "red" in this part of the country should reserve that date and plan the dissipation of listening to this "give-em-hell" artist.

It won't hurt anybody's revolutionary principles, and it may give an opportunity of asking questions and giving the speaker and the public to understand that a few people are grown up mentally.

A good many of us have decided beforehand that this editor is simply an out-and-out liar and is trying to build up enduring fame on his powers of

falsification. Let's prove it to those who have not decided.

Scandinavian comrades are organizing a branch in Omaha. At the first meeting a surprisingly large number showed up, and a charter will shortly be issued.

The Scandinavian comrades are planning to co-operate with the Scandinavian Branch at Hardy in bringing speakers to Nebraska for special work among their people.

Right in Omaha there is a great field for work, as the Danish, Swedish and Norwegian population of Omaha is considerable, and most of them are working people or petty bourgeoisie, ready to drop into the ranks of the working class.

ter the regular meeting, Wednesday, August 13, and judging from appearances, everybody had "a peach of a time."

Trust Local Omaha for that. Really, we are getting to be sociable Socialists, and Socialist Hall is becoming a center of attraction.

The only thing to worry about is that so many don't know what they are missing by staying away.

Strikers and Scabs

Look at it like this. The Allied Governments are Bosses, and the Big Four sitting in Paris is the Committee of the Manufacturers' Association. Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary are two Unions on strike.

They appeal to you for help. But you, like a Union of another craft, say that it doesn't concern you—that it is none of your business. You carry soldiers—strike-breakers—on the ships and the railroads. You scab on the Workers' Republic of Hungary. You make munitions so that the soldiers and the private detectives can shoot down the Hungarian workers.

The Craft Unionism of the nations has allowed the great Hungarian Union to fall. If for example, the American workers, in one great Union assembled, had warned the American Government to keep out of Hungary, to leave Hungary alone; if you had threatened a general strike to help the Hungarian workers, as the workers of Italy did (and forced their Government to withdraw), Soviet Hungary would still exist, the hope and help of the entire working class.

The Hungarian strike is broken. The Russian strike is standing firm, in spite of the Allied strike-breakers, in spite of the fact that you American workers are making munitions for Kolchak, and your brothers in uniform are fighting to break it down in Siberia and Archangel.

Soon you will see it, and then there will be the One Big Union of all the workers in the world.—The Voice of Labor.

The Bomb Conspiracy

As time flows on we become more and more convinced that the "bomb outrages" were a part of an expert conspiracy to scare the American public into a fit of reactionary hysteria. Some frantic anti-Bolsheviks apparently believe that by exploding dynamite in front of people's houses, and leaving on the scene of the explosion printed leaflets which imitate the language of communist propaganda, they can destroy the credit of that propaganda and get the public into a state of mind where it will let them do anything to us that they want to.

These explosions are so violent that they blow into shreds the body of the man who is planting them, scattering his clothes into so many pieces that one is hardly able to decide what kind of cloth they were made of, but they never do any damage to the leaflets that he has in his possession. It seems to be quite easy to pick those up and read them through.

We are not sure, and no one can be sure, but we believe that there are not enough terroristic anarchists in the United States, with enough wealth and organization to accomplish such a concerted series of explosions as those of last April. We believe that the reason the perpetrators of these extensive and elaborate dynamitings have not been discovered is that some important person does not want to discover them.

We believe that if the attorney general would allow us to appoint six investigators and give them all the power that the present six thousand or more possess, we could find these extremely expert and wealthy and well organized criminals within thirty days.—The Liberator.

The disclosures of the cruelties and brutalities of the prison camps in France puts a little crimp into the talk about the "spiritualizing effects of war."

Lenin's Address to the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party

Premier Nicholai Lenin of the Russian Soviet republic delivered the following address to the eighth congress of the Communist party (the Bolsheviks) at Moscow. In Russia the bulk of the Socialists took the name of Communists in order to distinguish themselves from the so-called "Social Patriots," or those Socialists who supported the imperialistic policies of their capitalistic countries during the war, who had largely discredited the word "Socialist" in Europe. Further, the counter-revolution has been supported by many who call themselves Socialists, and the Bolsheviks have, therefore, adopted the older name, used by Marx and Engels in 1848.

Lenin said: "Comrades—We meet at a time which is exceedingly difficult for us, not only because we have lost our great organizer and leader, Jacob Michaelovich Sverdlov, but especially because international imperialism is making, there is no doubt, a last and very powerful effort to crush the Soviet republic. We are convinced that the counter-revolutionary offensives from west to east, the various White Guard disturbances and the attempts to destroy the railways which have occurred in various places, all result from a carefully arranged plan devised in Paris by the Entente imperialists.

"After ending four years of capitalistic warfare, it was very hard for Russia to be forced to take up arms again in defense of the Soviet republic. We have all borne the heavy burden of war; we are all exhausted by it. If this war is carried on with redoubled energy and courage, it is only because for the first time in the history of the world, an army has been raised that knows why it is fighting.

Workers Defending Republic.

For the first time in the world's history, the workers and peasants who are making unheard-of sacrifices, are clearly conscious that they are defending a Socialist Soviet republic; that they are upholding the workingman's

strength against the capitalist, and the cause of the international proletarian Socialist revolution.

In spite of our difficulties, we have succeeded in carrying out a great work in a short space of time. We have succeeded in settling our program with unanimity, and in spite of editorial and other shortcomings we are convinced that it has already found a place in the history of the Third International as setting forth the main points of the newest lines of communication for the International proletarian bid for liberty.

The Third International.

"A translation of our program, we feel sure, would do much to show our friends in other countries what the Russian Communist party, one of the battalions of the proletariat, has already achieved. Our program should be most useful as a means of propaganda and agitation; on reading it, our brothers will be able to say: 'Here are our Comrades, our brothers. This is our common cause.'

"Comrades, at this congress we have succeeded in carrying the most important motions. We have given full recognition to the formation of the Third Communist Internationale which was founded here in Moscow. We are unanimous on the question of the war, although in the beginning the difference of opinion seemed to be suggestive of a division.

The Red Army.

"We are now able to leave this congress fully convinced that our chief defenders, the Red Army—for whom the whole country is making extreme sacrifices—will find us devoted and faithful helpers, champions, leaders, friends and fellow workers.

Comrades, the question of organization has also been readily solved. The problem of work on the land, and the relations between the proletariat, when it overthrew the bourgeoisie, and the millions of middle grade of peasants have been fully debated and a line of action drawn up. The resolutions of this conference will assuredly establish our power.

Social Capital

By A. Borquist.

Servility very often proves to be nothing more than one form of snobishness. The person who dotes upon his privilege to gather up the crumbs from the table of the rich man is that man in his own mind. Look at the dark-skinned waiter who bows and scrapes before his lord and master. Again observe how he takes on the bearing of that master when he is in the presence of the other nigger—white or black—who earns his bread and butter in his overalls.

There are a few regulative notions by which people are controlled. Foremost among these are the lust for power and the appetite for some personal distinction above other men. All of the way up from the kindergarten we are attempting to climb over the shoulders of the multitude in order to find some place upon the stepladder of society where we can look down upon the other fellow, and where the other fellow is required to look up at "ME." This is the psychology of capitalism in one word. Men are "after money," not for its own sake as a rule, but for the social power which it represents. It is their social capital about which they are concerned. We find the same lust for power in the church, in the fraternal order, and in the school where the income is rather small, and even when there is no "compensation" whatsoever.

President Wilson said in his own way that if you desire to become famous then make yourself popular somewhere in the field of service. But when you are attempting to serve you are not thinking about yourself. All of this talk about "service to the public" by the president of the commercial club is the purest kind of make believe. When your haberdasher is giving you "good service" with his competitor three doors below, you do not "thank" him, and you are not surprised when he says "I thank you" as you disappear. The same logic applies to the remark by the president of all of our commercial clubs. It is the same thing whether you are attempting to increase your social capital or whether you are trying to extend your financial capital because—apart from a few necessities and a few luxuries in the one case—these are simply two aspects of the same thing. The ideal of service and the ideal of distinction are antagonistic to each other and these two ideals cannot occupy the same space at the same time.

Let us not forget the human aspect of our problem. We shall never have the co-operative commonwealth until

this abnormal EGO has been removed. We shall never have the state of Socialism until we are controlled in some degree by the desire to serve that something which is more important than ourselves. We shall succeed in our program only as we find men and women who have become socialized. A bigger man than Mr. Wilson said: "He that seeketh his life shall lose it—" Apart from our pretensions, the man for whom it is not more pleasurable to give than to receive is not a Socialist. That person holds on to that little one penny per day which, if it were combined with as many pennies from every person who "believes" in Socialism, in the United States would turn the tide in our favor in one year.

(Where we have one dues-paying member we have about fifteen voters. Where we have one voter we have at least five "sympathizers." If all of the voters and all of our sympathizers were dues-paying members we should have an income of about twenty millions of dollars. We are an educational institution first of all. That amount of money would pay for the upkeep of all the public and private colleges and universities in this country, having thousands of teachers who are giving all of their time to their educational work.)

We are the creatures of our own personal habits, good and bad—social and unsocial—more by far than we have come to realize. And it is because we are the victims of our unsocial habits that we sometimes appear in the role of throwing rocks at our own shadows, or of denouncing that which is no more than a projection of ourselves.

Then let us begin our Socialism in the kindergarten. Let us teach the children how they can forget themselves, or if you prefer, how they may find themselves, not by an everlasting comparison of self with some other individual in the prize-contest and in the class record, but in the spirit of co-operation and in the feeling of good will. Some day, let us believe, we are going to have our own Modern School.

It has been objected, that upon the abolition of private property all work will cease, and universal laziness will overtake us. According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything, do not work.—The Communist Manifesto.

LITTLE STORIES WE SHOULD KNOW.

No. 2.

By (James Waldo Fawcett.)

The Glasgow (Scotland) Evening Times for July 16 recites a clever little story that will appeal to many Americans. It seems that there was a large street meeting in that big Scotch city on the evening of July 14, and that this meeting was attended by a good many people completely out of sympathy with the argument of the speaker who was, we understand, a prominent British Socialist. All through the evening the man on the soap box was heckled and annoyed by unfriendly workers in the audience; it seemed almost impossible to make any impression on the critical element in the crowd, they simply would not understand. But the speaker did not despair; he had experience enough and talent enough to be quite equal to the emergency. He waited for an opportunity, and finally it came. One of the hecklers shouted, "Say you, who was the wisest man that ever went to Westminster?" Quick as a flash came the reply, "Guy Fawkes, of course!" Now, as everybody knows, Guy Fawkes went to Westminster, the meeting place of Parliament, to blow it up. The crowd paused a moment to think it over. Then—a burst of cheering rent the air! The speaker was a bit startled, but he kept it to himself. The audience went wild, the orator was carried off on the shoulders of some huskies, the newspapers got the story.

Of course, practically everybody in England, radical or conservative, has lost all respect for Parliament. Just as in America, we think very little of Congress. We wonder who was the wisest man that ever went to Washington. One at a time, please! The small boy in the third row will answer!

Labor and The Treaty

The opinions of the big men of the British labor movement are given in the following letter reprinted from the Manchester Guardian:

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir—We, the undersigned, declare our most emphatic repudiation of the action by which Germany has been forced to put her signature to what all sane men know is destined to be a scrap of paper. Germany has been forced to sign a peace pledging herself to hand over enormous indemnities and at the same time to give up those mineral and agricultural resources which alone would have made possible not only the payment of indemnities but the barest sustenance of millions of her own people.

Germany has, in fact, been forced to promise the impossible. Had she not done so the food supply on which the lives of her people depended would have been ruthlessly cut off. In other words, we put the women and children into the firing line, and the Germans had to give in. One hundred thousand persons, mostly women and children, have already perished since the Armistice as a result of the blockade. Our Government was, and is, prepared to sacrifice countless more, to treat the German or any other recalcitrant nation as one vast Lusitania. In any event, one of the first fruits of the Peace Treaty will be a massacre of babies, who, by the cession of cows, are to be deprived of their milk. Thousands of others will perish as their fathers find themselves deprived of the means of earning a living.

Labour has had no part in the making of the treaty. It is a settlement opposed to every ideal for which Labor stands. Even the League of Nations is a League of Governments and not of peoples. It must be Labor's task to democratise it. Labor all over the world is familiar with the hunger weapon which for centuries has been used against it by the governing classes. For the enforcement of the terms it is to-day being used against the women and innocent children of working people. Labor, with all its power, can, and must, once and for all put an end to this crime.—Yours, &c.,

Robert Smillie,
Robert Williams,
C. T. Cramp,
J. Bromley,
George Lansbury.

June 27.

THE PROLETARIAT.

By Anne Exile.

They are knocking on the portals of the dawn
And the portals bend and break before their blows;
They lit a torch where suns of power had gone
And flamed across a world where freedom grows.
They are knocking at the portals of the dawn
And the portals bend and break before their blows.

Dogs Follows Heroes

By Anise.

"After the WAR," he said,
"When I came back
From the filth
And the cooties
And the shells
And other accessories
Of the late
UNPLEASANTNESS,
I went from place to place
Hunting a JOB,
But I seemed to be now
A sort of DRUG
On the market
And a kind of
Bad-tasting drug at that!
I wondered what had happened
To all those PARADES
When we HEROES
Used to march along
With bands and crowds.
Then I picked up
A Portland PAPER,
And saw this headline:
'HEROES
NOW MAKE WAY
FOR DOGS!'
It was a clever story
About DOG-PETS
Being again IN FASHION
Now that the HEROES
Were BACK-NUMBERS!
'Dogs have come back' it said
'Heroes in KHAKI
Can't ALWAYS be with us;
And the DOG
Is SO satisfactory
As an IDOL!
He may be spoiled,
But he isn't so DIFFICULT
As a HERO!
He's a simpler proposition
Altogether!
Yes, those were the words.
It seems that we fellows
Who risked our lives
Were just a sort of FAD
For the higher-ups
To have parades for
And make much of
And now,
They are BORED with US
And have taken to DOGS!
Well, about that time
I SAW RED,
Almost a whole FLAG full!
But after all I guess
The lady's right;
And dogs are not so "difficult"
As heroes.
You can PET them one day
And let them go HUNGRY
The next day,
And they won't put up
Any embarrassing demands
For LIFE
And LIBERTY
And HAPPINESS.
But if you take a man
And tell him he's a hero,
And entitled to the BEST
The world produces,
Some of these days
You may find him
BELIEVING those kind words
And TAKING IT!"

The truth is, we are all caught in a great economic system which is heartless.—Woodrow Wilson.

To attain Success for the Working Class Necessitates an Organization!

The Socialist Party

Is the Party of the Working Class.
Party meets at 2 p. m.
Bookbinders Hall
12th and Central Streets
1st and 3rd Sundays
E. D. WILCOX, Secy.
4429 Fairmount Ave.

The MODERNIST

A Monthly Magazine of Arts & Letters
Edited By
JAMES WALDO FAWCETT
The MODERNIST ASSOCIATION
PUBLISHERS
GRAHAM AVERY, Treasurer
25 East 14th St., New York City
15 cents per copy; \$1.50 per year

CALLS MADE FREE CONSULTATION

I SPECIALIZE

In Electro Magnetic Sweat Baths and Chiropractic Adjustments in Nervous, Spine and Chronic Diseases. The baths take out the poisons. The adjusting take away nerve pressure and nature cures.
Dr. A. Roshong
CHIROPRACTIC
Hours 2 to 6 and by Apointment
Bell Phone Main 4719
Hotel Dayton 1015 Cherry St
Kansas City, Mo.

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.

JAMES P. CANNON - - - Managing Editor
Associate Editors: JOHN DEQUER, RALPH CHEYNEY,
HARRY SALPETER, ALANSON SESSIONS,
JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.
Cartoonist: GEO. W. PARDEY.

We use the International Labor News Service.
Editors: Scott Nearing, Alexander Trachtenberg, Louis P. Lochner

Subscription Price: One year, \$2; Six months, \$1;
Single Copies, 5 cents per Copy. Advertising
Rates on Application.

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

Kansas City, Mo., Friday August 22, 1919.

THE LABOR CHARTER.

The Kansas City Central Labor Union, which endorsed the Labor Charter of the League of Nations, might be interested in knowing that this same Labor Charter has been repudiated by the labor movements of all the European countries because of its absolutely reactionary character. Like all schemes dealing with the labor problem which come from the masters, or their political puppets, its aim is to throttle the militant aspirations of the workers under the guise of fair words and hypocritical professions of concern for "humanity."

The advanced members of the organized labor movement of the world long ago lost all faith in anything good for the workers coming from the capitalist governments. Long experience in the fools' game of politics taught them to look to themselves and their own organizations, and there they found the power with which to work their will. The modern labor spirit is the spirit of Direct Action—that is action initiated and conducted directly by the masses of the workers against the employers without any parliamentary intermediaries and often over the heads of their own officials, in case they attempt to stand in the way.

A peculiar feature of this form of action is that it gets an immediate hearing from the political representatives of the employing class much quicker than lobbying or petitioning; and it gets the result from the bosses, too.

It is not surprising that the Kansas City labor movement should turn its back on these modern methods and endorse such an anti-labor document as the League of Nations, because the Kansas City movement is still following Gompers and Gompers, working in harmony with the employing interests of the Allied Nations, whom he has served so long and so faithfully, is responsible for the labor clauses in the charter. But the rank and file is becoming acquainted with correct working class principles and is manifesting some of the spirit of the modern movement.

The shopmen's strike was a significant indication of the fact that the rank and file is going ahead to even more aggressive measures regardless of the conservative policies of officials. They have discovered that Gompers leads backward and so have ceased to follow him; those who fail to make that discovery will soon find themselves at the tail end of the procession instead of at the head.

"THE VOICE OF LABOR."

There has been for a long time a widespread recognition of the need for Socialist propaganda for the working masses, reducing the statements of theory to the simplest possible language and having for its primary purpose the unification of the labor movement under the control of the rank and file. This doesn't mean that we should disperse with theoretical literature, but that we departmentalize our propaganda, thereby greatly increasing the efficiency of the movement.

The present disorganization of American labor is due mainly to lack of understanding which only Socialists can supply, they are the only ones who know what's the matter and how to fix it. For the purpose of devising means whereby the party could be of service in this work, the National Left Wing Conference adopted a comprehensive and practical labor program and elected a committee of experienced organization men to put it into practice. Most "labor programs" of political parties end

with their adoption, but the Left Wing is a different kind of political party.

This committee decided to publish a paper for the workers to be called "The Voice of Labor," whose policy is to explain and advocate Industrial Unionism and control by the rank and file through the shop committee system. Simple language, plenty of illustrations and cartoons, detailed and attractively written accounts of new developments in the labor movement feature the paper. John Reed and Ben Gitlow were selected to edit and manage this paper and the first issue has already been published.

"The Voice of Labor" is a unique contribution to the movement, containing some of the most effective labor propaganda ever written. Active workers in all sections of the labor movement will find it a valuable aid in the task of arousing the unorganized to action and in promoting the initiative of the rank and file in the reactionary unions. Write to Ben Gitlow, manager, 43 West 29th Street, New York City, about the paper; or better, send a dollar for a bundle.

TRACKED DOWN.

We are now able to report with pride the fact that Congress has at last emerged triumphant from its long and desperate struggle with Mr. High Cost of Living, who has lately been operating under the alias of Prohibitive Expense of Existence. Full justice to the exploit cannot be done in the limited space at our disposal even though we possessed the gift of words to give the story a proper setting. That, we take it, will be done away by the department of Public Information, so we will confine ourselves to a simple recital of the bare facts.

As soon as our trusty Congress heard complaints of hunger in the large cities, they convened for the purpose of taking action. Their first move was to appropriate several million dollars. With this money they employed several hundred thousand detectives and established a press bureau to keep us informed of the progress of the historic battle. After a chase across the continent, the high cost of living was finally tracked to its lair in a one-horse grocery located at Topeka, Kansas. Ten thousand detectives were detailed to keep a close watch on the place and to look closely for clues. A careful search of the cellar revealed the fact that three sacks of sugar were hoarded there, and the grocer was promptly placed under arrest and taken to jail.

To make an air-tight case against him, the sugar sacks were brought into police court the following morning and the judge assessed a fine of ten dollars and costs, besides giving the grocer a stern warning. The news of the victory was printed in all the papers and, the people having by that time accustomed their stomachs to the new conditions, the "profiteer" talk was moved into the inside pages of the papers and finally eliminated altogether.

CANNED GOODS.

(By SCOTT NEARING.)

Twenty-two Massachusetts establishments which manufacture canned goods employed 660 women in the year that began with July, 1917, and ended with June, 1918. The Minimum Wage Commission of Massachusetts in a recently published bulletin notes in detail the earnings of these women.

The books of the manufacturers show that the average weekly earnings of more than a quarter (28.4) of these women were earning less than \$6 a week; two-fifths earned between \$6 and \$8 a week. Out of the entire number of women only 21 or 3.2 had average weekly earnings of more than \$10 per week.

Most of the women worked a normal working week ranging from 45 to 54 hours. Among the entire 660 the books show that only 21 earned over \$500 in the course of the year. The earnings of 403 were less than \$200 a year.

Apologists explain that much of this work is seasonal; that the women live in small towns; that they make their homes with their parents; that they are paid as much as they are worth. A score of similar arguments are at the tongues' ends of those who believe in a system which underpays working women. It is inevitable, however, that any person professing an interest in the well-being and future of humanity can read this report of the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission without a blush of

shame and a feeling of solemn determination to do his little bit in making the continuation of such a system of economic exploitation impossible.

AN INDUSTRIAL EMPIRE.

(By SCOTT NEARING.)

Seventeen years ago the United States Steel Corporation was organized. In its first year it was capitalized at \$1,383,000,000. Since that time the capitalization has been increased to \$1,451,000,000. The report of the Corporation for 1918 shows that it owns 124 blast furnaces; 334 open hearth furnaces; 38 Bessemer converters; 313 steamers and barges; 61,999 cars; 1,421 locomotives; 3,721 miles of railway and 1,000,000,000 tons of iron ore.

The position of the Steel Corporation in the early years was not a satisfactory one. It paid dividends on its common stock in 1901 and 1902 but it passed the dividends in 1904 and 1905. The total assets of the Corporation in 1902 were reported as \$1,584,000,000. Its total capitalization in that year was \$1,420,000,000. Rumors were ripe to the effect that these assets were grossly overestimated. So generally were these rumors believed that the common stock of the Corporation dropped to 10 in 1903 and to 8½ in 1904. The Corporation was in good hands. The Industrial Empire builders having it in charge were far-sighted, keen, aggressive and had excellent backing. During the intervening years they have more than made up for the stock watering and frenzied finance of the first years.

The total assets of the Steel Corporation have increased one billion dollars since its organization. At the present time they are \$2,572,000,000.

The process of building up the property has been a slow one. Year by year tens of millions have been taken out of earnings and used to reconstruct and expand the plant. During the first years of its existence the Corporation allowed about \$50,000,000 a year for depreciation and repairs. In 1918 this fund passed the hundred million mark. In 1918, the total allowance for depreciation and repairs was \$137,000,000. The unexpended balance in the depreciation account has grown with enormous rapidity. As late as 1908 it was less than \$54,000,000. In 1918 it was \$191,000,000. That is, the Corporation had in its bank account nearly \$200,000,000 which had been appropriated for the purpose of making repairs and providing for the upkeep of the plant. Ordinary repairs had been made; ordinary upkeep had been provided for and after all of this was done, there remained a two hundred million balance. At the same time the Steel Corporation has made huge expenditures for new construction—taking money out of earnings and building additions to the property. The total amount expended for new construction in 1918 was \$130,000,000. The total amount expended during the 17 years is \$801,000,000.

The surplus carried by the Corporation reflects the same prosperity. Up to 1907 the surplus was less than \$100,000,000. Until 1915 it remained under \$200,000,000. In 1918 the total surplus carried by the Corporation was \$467,000,000.

Detail might be added to detail, but sufficient facts have been presented to show that a corporation controlling one of the most important industries of the United States can establish itself on so flimsy a footing that its stock sells for practically nothing; and, in the course of 17 years, without asking for any additional investment in the property from stockholders or outsiders, can add a billion dollars to assets; can rebuild the property, while at the same time it is paying handsome dividends on preferred and common stock.

This industrial empire has grown from within out of the wealth produced by the workers and turned over—a billion in seventeen years—to the stock and bond holders of the Corporation who have played not the slightest part in this wealth production.

What a difference in psychology between the more excitable French, Italians and Russians and the calm and placid Britons! When the mayor of Luton refused to mobilize soldiers the use of the park as a place to discuss their pension grievances, they burned the town hall and injured some 40 policemen.—N. Y. Call.

VIEWS, REVIEWS AND INTERVIEWS.

By Ralph Cheyney

"AMERICANA"

(Compiled by E. R. Bloor.)

What is the chief difference in method of procedure between the Left Wing and the Right of the Socialist Party?

Louis Fraina once told me that he considered the point of principal difference lay in the problem of the taking over of the industries—that if this were not the chief difference, it was at least a most excellent touchstone to distinguish between sincere and genuinely revolutionary Socialists and those to whom Socialism meant but a mild and moderate humanitarianism. The Left Wing believes in expropriation. It believes in the workers in each industry simply taking charge of that industry under the general supervision and control of the government elected by the workers in that and all other industries. It believes in Labor taking back all that has been stolen from it. It does not believe in paying the thieves who have been stealing food and the products of toil, land and happiness, money and life itself from the workers for generations upon generations any reward for returning the industries to the workers. It believes that the one fit answer to exploitation is expropriation. The Right Wing and most of the Centrists, however, would have the workers pay the capitalists a good round sum for every factory and mine and acre of land taken over.

I consider the chief difference to lie in the matter of politics. The Right Wing believes that we can vote Capitalism out of existence and the Co-operative Commonwealth into being. It believes that the Social Revolution is a matter of simply casting a correct ballot. At least, it pretends to believe this. It is essentially a political party seeking government positions and all the spoils of office. It talks Social Revolution to get revolutionists to vote for its candidates; it talks organized charity measures to get reformers to vote its ticket. When it secures control, it advances neither Social Revolution nor Humanitarianism; it advances only State Capitalism. It has neither class-consciousness nor social-consciousness; it has only office-consciousness. What would you think of a government in which our recent N. E. C. hold the principal positions? Look at the Scheidemann administration in Germany! Closer home, look at the way in which Mayor London represented us in Congress! Yet just that, is what we always have to expect from the Right Wing. Misrepresentation, silence, irresponsibility, tyranny, treachery, those are the commodities in which it deals. There are a lot of men in the Right Wing, I expect, who are just waiting their chance to become Sparges and Wallings and Brantings and Eberts.

The Left Wing, on the other hand, believes that political campaigns are excellent opportunities for mass education and that legislative halls make excellent lecture platforms that are free from police interference; but that the utility of participating in present-day politics stops short there. It believes in direct action; it believes in co-operating to the fullest possible extent with the militant unions and the I. W. W. It believes in abolishing, not reforming the existing state. It believes in building up the Workers' state to usurp the place of the capitalists' state; but it looks forward to the time when no state (as at least at present construed) will be necessary. It is pragmatic, not doctrinaire, obdurate, invincible. It can wait and work without worry, for it knows that evolution itself will ultimately bring it to victory.

We Socialists now face a tremendous crisis and must answer a most trying and difficult question. Upon our answer rests far more than we can now realize. But one word of advice will I venture to make: Loyalty to Labor is more important than loyalty to any labor organization; loyalty to Socialist principles is superior to loyalty to the Socialist Party. There can be no unity of action between those whose goal and whose road to the goal differ; and unity in name alone is a source of weakness, not of strength. If there is one word that expresses the heart and the mind and the soul of Socialism and of all awakened, aggressive, class-conscious Labor it is the word made dear to us by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: COMMUNISM.—Ralph Cheyney.

Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labor of others by means of such appropriation.—The Communist Manifesto.

When President Wilson spoke at the funeral of the seventeen American sailors killed at Vera Cruz, he said: "I never was under fire, but I fancy there are some things just as hard to do as to go under fire. I fancy it is just as hard to do your duty when men are sneering at you as when they are shooting at you. . . . The cheers of the moment are not what a man ought to think about, but the verdict of his conscience."

That AMERICA WHICH BOASTS OF HUMANITY has permitted her conscientious objectors to be treated as shamefully as Russia would have handled them in her darkest days! Did you know that these men whose sincere idealism you cannot doubt whatever you think of their views, in some cases have been held under ice-cold showers until they collapsed; strung up in cells until their eyes bulged and their tongues hung from their mouths; dragged on the ground by cruel guards and bayoneted into unconsciousness, fed bread and water for long periods of time, and chained day after day by their wrists to the bars of prison cells?

That AMERICA WHICH HAS ALWAYS BEEN PROUD TO LEAD THE NATIONS IN GENEROSITY, has stood indifferently by while Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Russia and Italy have been opening their jails and allowing their political prisoners to walk out free men and women? Did you know that England's foremost citizens, including 83 Members of Parliament, 16 Bishops, writers, professors and scientists, have already petitioned the English government to free the English conscientious objectors?

DESTROYING THE FOOD.

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 13.—One hundred and nine thousand and eight hundred pounds of meat, fish and poultry have been permitted to rot in Philadelphia storage houses within the past three months. Between 3,000 and 4,000 pounds of food is destroyed in this manner every week. The destruction of such large amounts of food is considered as part of a conspiracy by big distributors here to maintain artificially abnormal selling prices of these commodities.

EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN ROYALTY.

KING RED-MAN, and the Tomahawk.
KING GEORGE, and the Redcoats.
KING COTTON, and Slave Labor.
KING CORPORATION, and Robber Tariff.
KING MILITARIUS, and Conscription.
KING LABOR, and the Strike.
KING BROTHERHOOD, and the Golden Rule!

Democratic Platform Spouter:—Where would the immortal Lincoln stand were he alive today?
Voice:—In jail!

When I was in Trinidad, the miners told me these mines were so unsafe they knew they took their lives in their hands whenever they entered them. Only profit is sacred to the Standard Oil Trust ruler of America. Human life is cheap.

SAFE FROM DEMOCRACY.

Late despatches tell us that Uncle Sam has sent 45,000 guns to Kolchak to be used in the war against the workers of Russia who are really practicing democracy.

"Shantung goes to Japan, but where did the fourteen points go?"

They are slaves who will not choose hatred, scoffing and abuse rather than in silence shrink from the truth they needs must think; they are slaves who dare not be in the right with two or three.
—Lowell.

A TELLING HEADLINE.

Paris.—The "Journal du Peuple," for July 3, carries the following motto on its front page: "Those who were most eager to cry 'Death to the Boches' will not be the last to re-establish commercial relations with the 'Germans.'"