

The WORKERS' WORLD

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LAUNCH ONE BIG UNION

Convention of Northwestern Union Men at Butte called to Re-organize the Labor Movement on Canadian plan.

BUTTE, MONTANA, July 6.—Delegates from various parts of the state and from all sections of the northwestern United States and even from Canada, are continuing to arrive in preparation for the opening session of the One Big Union convention to be held tomorrow in Metal Mine Workers' hall, 101 South Idaho Street. All indications point to the fact that practically every craft in the state will be represented.

Delegates who have already arrived include, in addition to the delegates from the Livingston trades and labor assembly and subordinate unions, a bevy of fair young women representing the Garment Workers' union at Livingston.

Charles L. Weloff, a member of the Boiler Makers' union at Livingston and president of the Livingston Trades and Labor assembly, arrived this morning to attend the convention. Mr. Weloff stated that there would be a full representation of all of the railroad and other unions of Livingston.

Among the delegates who already have arrived are those representing the Miles City Trades and Labor council the Miles City Blacksmiths', Livingston Garment Workers' union, Livingston Trades and Labor council, Livingston Federal Labor union, Missoula Trades and Labor council, Great Falls Trades and Labor council, Great Falls Engineers' union, System Federation of the Great Northern at Great Falls.

The Livingston Garment Workers' union is represented by Misses, Alice Carlin, Anna Koher and Alice Paulson. Miss Anna M. H. Cooper, who also was selected as a delegate from the garment workers, has sent word that she will be unable to be present, having been called to her home at Twin Bridges because of the serious illness of her mother.

The convention will open tomorrow morning in the Metal Mine Workers' hall at 10 o'clock. The meeting will be called to order by Secretary Fred Clough of the Mine Workers, after which the convention will organize and proceed to the transaction of business.

Left Wing Into Labor Fight

New York. Perhaps the most significant outcome of the recent national convention of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party is its creation of a labor committee composed entirely of comrades active in the various sections of the American labor movement. This committee met immediately after adjournment of the convention and agreed upon the following projects:

1. The establishment of a national labor paper which shall keep the workers informed of the technical improvements and latest developments in the science of labor organization. For instance, such phenomena as the one-big-union movement in Australia, the "shop steward" system of Great Britain, and the Soviet system of Russia are to be explained in detail and their application to the American labor movement critically analyzed.
2. The appointment of a national secretary who shall come in direct contact with all who are actively engaged in labor union work, or in agitation among unorganized workers.
3. The establishment of committees of interested workers' representatives in every locality, who shall agree upon the systematic distribution of propaganda. This propaganda is to be kept distinctly separate from the political literature to be issued by another division of the movement. The propaganda is to be in the direction of interesting the workers in the one-big-union idea.
4. An explicit understanding that all workers of every kind, whether in craft unions or in industrial unions, are to be represented in this phase of the Left Wing work.

NEBRASKA SOCIALIST SECRETARIES.

Copies of the Workers' World being sent you cost money. They cannot be sent indefinitely without some response of a substantial, financial nature.

Let local meetings be called. Get in good standing. Take steps to support the paper.

On with the Revolution!
Fraternally,
EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
State Secretary.

NEWS FROM NEBRASKA

The women of Local Omaha are on the war path. They have launched an organization all their own, called the "W. W." Comrades Mrs. Cox, Mrs. Kerns, Miss Robinson and Mrs. Foreman are president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer respectively. Membership will not be confined to Socialist women, but will be open to all women of a radical turn of mind, who are willing to study Socialism. They will have charge of the social life of Local Omaha, and expect to keep things moving by parties and picnics, indoors and out.

A similar organization is in Des Moines. Plans are being made to cooperate with it and eventually to start a national organization.

We wish the "W. W." the best of luck. The name has a sinister sound. It may mean all sorts of wildness and wickedness, but we rather suspect that such is not the case. The feminine comrades are backward about disclosing their plans, which may go to prove that women can keep a secret after all.

But let us male beings conclude that the name means wonderful work, and let it go at that.

Comrade C. C. Mickey, Local Secretary, and Edward Rutledge, State Secretary, have been nominated for delegates to the special convention to be held in August. No disposition has been manifested by Local Omaha to instruct their candidates as to their action at the convention in case of election, it being thought best to let them use their own judgment.

Comrade Mickey leans toward the Left Wing Movement, while the State Secretary, through voicing the position of the National Office, by virtue of his position, has become somewhat identified with that element. The two can fight it out on their way to Chicago—if they go—if they are elected—if enough special assessment stamps are sold to pay for the convention.

One of the comrades travelling over the state is meeting a number of Socialists, and by co-operation with the Local and State Secretaries in furnishing names and writing letters, and in other ways, a speedy and pronounced resumption of party activity is expected. At present Local Omaha seems to be the only live local in the state, outside of the foreign language branches, and while that is a distinction, it feels lonely and would rather have the company of many live locals than the distinction.

The total receipts of the State Office for June were \$31, and the total expenditures \$31.30. 110 stamps were sold to Local Omaha during the month, 10 of them dual stamps. \$2.50 was received from the Scandinavian Federation and \$1 from the So. Slavic Federation.

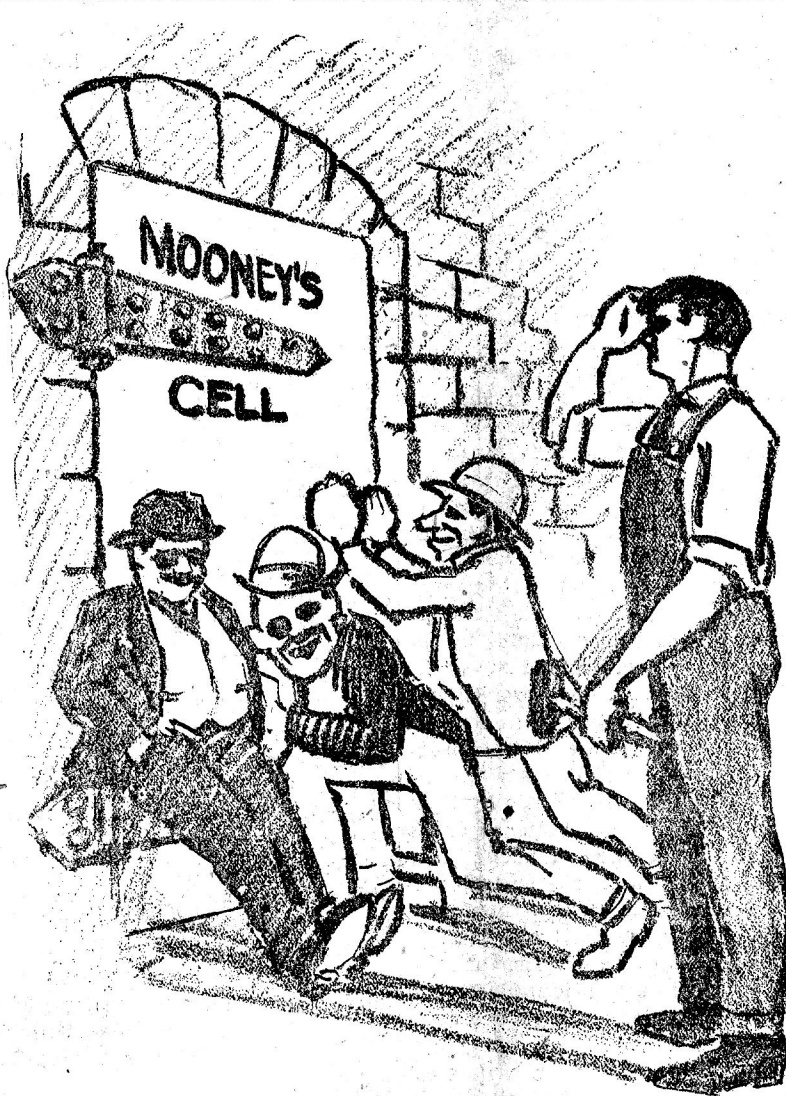
Comrade Mike Vitelich, Secretary of the So. Slavic Branch, located in Omaha, writes that the expulsion of the So. Slavic Federation will not interfere with the work among the So. Slavic people. In reply to an invitation to join Local Omaha, he says they will wait until after the August convention and then decide what to do.

Buy a special convention assessment stamp. It only costs 50 cents and it may help save the party. When you have bought one, then buy another. Buy to the limit. These stamps in your book show that you stand squarely for the Revolution.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

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

Do you patronize those who advertise in your paper?



The Labor Leaders: "Just leave it to us. We'll get him out."

K. C. SOCIALISTS GO TO PRISON

Browder Brothers and five other active comrades leave Monday for Leavenworth to serve two-year term.

The Worker's World and the Socialist movement of the middle West suffers a heavy blow this week by the departure for Leavenworth of eight of our most active and devoted comrades, including the entire editorial staff of the paper. Earl Browder, Editor; Will Browder, Business Manager; Ralph Browder, Rob Sullivan, Harry Doyle, Edward Eagan, Raymond I. Moore and Elea Luboschcz must leave Monday, July 14th to commence a two year term in the federal prison. Their offense consisted of open opposition to conscription when the draft first went into effect and a consistent adherence from first to last to the principles of International Socialism. Earl and Will Browder, together with Sullivan, have already served a one year sentence for refusal to register. Upon the expiration of this sentence last fall, they plunged with greater energy than ever into the task of building up the Socialist movement. The Workers' World is, in a large measure, the result of their work.

Under the inspiration of their heroic example our movement has taken on a spirit and character in keeping with the requirements of this period of world revolution. It now remains for us to prove that we are worthy of the effort and sacrifice which they are making for our cause and of the honor which they have given to the Kansas City movement.

We will take up the banner where they drop it at the prison gates and bear in forward in the face of every foe. With this paper—which we will never allow to be discontinued—their message, which is the message of International Socialism, shall be carried to an ever increasing number of workers. Remembering our sacred obligation to these noble comrades and to the thousands of others who suffer today in the jails and prisons of this country, we will not falter nor stop to count the cost.

Our movement will not be disorganized by this persecution, but will be welded more firmly together. Our answer to those who would overcome Socialism with terrorism shall be more members for the Socialist Party and more readers for the Workers' World.

International Strike to Halt War on Soviets

By Paul Wallace Hanna.

WASHINGTON, July 4.—The decision of British, French and Italian labor to execute a two days' strike in behalf of the Russian and Hungarian Soviet governments is regarded by diplomats here as a death blow to the conspiracy of world imperialists against those two working class governments.

Better informed observers realize that the protest of the workers in Entente countries is not merely against the continuance of their armies on Russian soil. It is understood that the Entente forces there have been pretty generally withdrawn from the fighting line and are now used principally as reserves to prevent a sudden rout of

the Russian counter-revolutionists, and to keep open the rear line of communications between the fighting forces of the Czarists and the seaports where they procure their supplies.

The strike of Entente labor is aimed at the whole program of assistance being lent to the enemies of Russian freedom. Labor in the three Allied countries see their rulers plunging them farther into debt every day in an unscrupulous effort to strangle the Russian masses. They protest primarily against the disgraceful role which their imperialistic cabinets are forcing their countries to play in history as destroyers of human freedom, and secondly, against the piling up of more debts upon already crushing financial burdens.

YANKS TELL OF MUTINY

True Story of the revolt at Archangel reaches America with Arrival of the American Troops.

"We wanted to know why we were fighting."

A simple direct question put by the men of the 339th Infantry, fighting in the bleak Archangel district of Russia, to their superiors, bringing an unsatisfactory, equivocal response, fanned the growing flame of discontent among the troopers and led to the famous mutiny in Company I.

These are the outlines of the story brought back by non-commissioned officers and men of the regiment, which last night was preparing to break camp at Camp Merritt, N. J., and be distributed among Camp Custer, Mich.; Camp Grant, Ill., and Camp Taylor, Ky.

The mutiny occurred at about the same time as American troops were fighting Soviet forces at the battle of Bolshe Ozerki during a period of seven days, beginning March 23 of this year.

Officers of the regiment, which arrived at Hoboken Monday when the Von Steuben docked there, stated that the mutiny had been a "misunderstanding."

The men had been sent to Archangel ostensibly to guard ammunition stored there. A sergeant, who related the ammunition episode, said:

"When we reached Archangel we discovered that the ammunition we were called upon to guard could not have filled more than one of our regulation army trucks."

The men were disappointed, the sergeant said. Their food for several months, after they had been ordered to defend the Seletskoe sector on the Polish front—the 339th's first position in Russia—had consisted of hard tack and "bully beef." The cold in Archangel was intense. The troops were constantly exposed to the elements. The men discovered they had been ordered to shoot down Soviet troops, who were unwilling to engage in a conflict with Americans.

The 339th was bombarded with Soviet propaganda. The British military having kept an inexorable censorship of all communications with the American troops in Russia, the soldiers devoured the only literature obtainable—Bolshevik propaganda.

After guerrilla warfare with Soviet troops in defense of Emsta River and in the battle of Kodisk, the men began to question. Officers did not dare to be obdurate. With as good grace as possible the 339th was withdrawn from the Archangel front on June 1.

The non-commissioned men and privates let it be known that their dissatisfaction could not be laid to a lack of patriotism. They were assailed at a considerable part of the American press, which had darkly hinted at such disloyalty. With the soldiers the proposition was quite plain. They had been led into the belief that they were

fighting Prussian militarism. Further, they thought they were specifically concerned in guarding ammunition from Teutonic forces in Russia. Instead they fought against Russia, who had no quarrel with them.

Mud, Dirt, Ice and 30 Below.

Quite a few casualties resulted from exposure. Shelter consisted of lean-tos, in which it was exceedingly difficult to keep fires alive. Fighting was in the open, frequently in weather 30 degrees below zero. The men had no protection beyond saplings, which could be uprooted by a bullet. "All was mud, dirt and ice," a private said.

The men swore that whatever soldiers were captured were treated royally by the "Bolos."

The British offered no aid to the Americans. There were some mixed Russian soldiers who fought occasionally, but more often deserted to the Bolsheviks. The Americans would give an advanced section to the French. Immediately it would be lost and the Americans were forced to start over again.

The men put the question: "If we are here to fight the Bolsheviks why don't we get reinforcements? Why are we fighting the Bolsheviks, anyway?"

Gal. 12 Workers' World Bill Bertram
It was on Christmas day that the Americans, fighting desultorily in Archangel, received notice of the signing of the armistice. Notice came from the Russians.

On the opposite side of a stream, which the 339th was trying to hold, some Russians appeared with a huge red banner. They stretched it out on some palings. The huge red banner read:

"Americans, do you know that the war is over? Why are you fighting?"

Ammunition used by the Soviet forces was of American manufacture. A soldier displayed yesterday a cartridge belt captured from a Bolshevik soldier which contained Remington and United States Cartridge Company bullets. These were used against American soldiers.

A SUCCESSFUL PICNIC.

The picnic given last Sunday at Swope Park by Branch Number 496 of The Workmen's Circle was a gratifying success. A large crowd attended and all had a good time. The soft drink "bar" showed a neat profit and money was raised from the other features for The Peoples' Relief, The Workers' World and The Radical Workers' Home. The Jewish comrades deserve to be congratulated on the way in which they have developed their part of the radical movement into a social center. All of their social activities are turned into account

in some manner for the benefit of some phase of the struggle for freedom. When the English speaking sections of the movement learn this lesson—when we begin to reach out into the social life of our membership, giving it the stamp of the movement—we will move along faster.

A picnic is scheduled for every Sunday during the month of July. Next Sunday one will be given by The Independent Workmen's Circle at Swope Park. Leave car at 63rd Street. All are invited and a good time is promised by the committee on arrangements.

Ella Reeves Bloor

Will deliver "A Message from Debs"

JAMES P. CANNON

Kansas City's Delegate, will make a complete report on the work of

The National Left Wing Conference

Bookbinders' Hall, 12th and Central
Sunday July 13 8 p. m.

Current Comment

By
Scott Nearing

THOU SHALT NOT KILL.

War has slain her thousands; industry her tens of thousands. Wars are spectacular, but they occur only occasionally. Year after year, in peace times and in war times alike the machinery of industry maims and kills.

New York State reports that in the four years ending June 30, 1918, there were 1,999,053 industrial accidents. Most of these accidents were "injury cases," but 5,252 of them were "death cases." During these four "war years" the industries of New York State alone killed more New York citizens than did the Germans at the front; and injured more—three times over—than the total casualties in the American Expeditionary Forces.

Accidents on steam railroads in the United States for the year ending December 31, 1917, have just been published by the United States Department of Labor. In that one year, 10,087 persons were killed on the railroads, and 194,805 were injured. For one industry over 200,000 casualties in one year! These ghastly figures are not exceptional. They are duplicated on the American railroads, year after year.

Year after year we perpetuate this slaughter. Year after year we crush the bodies of men and women in the prime of their lives. Year after year, we deprive human beings of health, strength and physical fitness through the destructive machinery of the industrial world. We tear, maim, disfigure, kill—for what purpose? To what end?

That speed may be a little greater; that goods may be a little cheaper; that profits may be a little larger! Folly! Brutal, criminal folly! Against that increased speed; against those lowered prices; against the fatter profits sounds the eternal challenge—"Thou Shalt Not Kill!"

"CONQUEST BY RAILROAD BANK."

China will be next, in the opinion of T. W. Overlach, who has just published a book entitled, "Foreign Financial Control in China." Mr. Overlach is not a propagandist; he does not take sides—he is simply a scientific observer who has made a study of a particular problem.

The process by which China has been gobbled piecemeal is thus described—"Though at first sight political, and fought by diplomacy, the struggle for foreign control in China was not less one of international financial interests, contending for the exploitation of new opportunities for investment. Foreign capital was attracted by the great profits to be gained from the impending industrial revolution of China. In order to eliminate financial competition of other nations or to counteract political moves on the part of other governments, if such were destined to be harmful to its own expansion, foreign finance often solicited, and freely received, diplomatic protection. . . . The period was one of "Conquest by railroad and bank."

What of the future? Mr. Overlach answers—"In short, the tremendous pressure of modern imperialism coupled with modern capitalist enterprise was, in China as elsewhere on earth, a constant menace to peace and a continued application of imperialistic policies to exclusively national ends might again make for war, as soon as the present conflict is over."

That is the answer of capitalist society. When the present struggle is over, the next one will begin. Meanwhile, financial and commercial interests are busy preparing for "conquest by railroad and bank."

GET RIGHT WITH EXPORTS.

While the war was still young, President Wilson reiterated one charge against the German Government—it had not left competition free. In other countries, business stood on its feet, but in Germany business was fostered and thus given an unfair advantage through government subsidy. It was thus that Germany had "captured" her foreign markets.

Secretary Bryan had made the position of the Administration clear on the question of "dollar diplomacy." The same attitude was maintained throughout the Mexican crisis, when the Government refused to make itself responsible for the protection of American investors. The United States was to be a "free nation" of free business men.

Meanwhile a wonderful thing has happened: Overnight the United States stepped into the forefront of the commercial nations of the world. The total exports of the United States,

up to 1910, never exceeded two billion dollars a year. From 1911 to 1915 they rose slowly to \$2,769,000,000 (1915). The next year they went over four billions. The year following, they passed six billions. During the ten months of the present fiscal year exports were \$5,702,000,000. The total for the twelve months (ending June 3) will probably go well over beyond the seven billion mark.

An economic miracle has occurred. America, the importer, has become America, the exporter. America the borrower, has become America, the lender. American goods supply the world. American credit finances Europe.

Upon the heels of this economic transformation follows a political right-about-face as complete as any that is recorded in modern history. Secretary Redfield publicly accepts and adopts Joseph Chamberlain's position on the protection of foreign investments; The State Department permits an American banker (Thomas W. Lamont, of the Morgan firm) to head a committee organized for the purpose of making loans to China, and the President, in his message cabled to Congress, writes of the export business with the same feeling that he might display in the case of a long-lost brother.

Now also comes the talk of government assistance for the export business; government subsidy of the merchant marine; the protection of the dye-stuffs and other industries against the nightmare of German competition; embargoes, together with various other measures designed to "stimulate" and "encourage" legitimate business. This was exactly what Germany did before the war. This was the cause of fierce denunciation by the spokesmen of an administration that is now backing similar measures for the United States.

When fundamental changes come in economic life, the political life of this and of every other nation must respond, as the signal light responds to the switch-rod. At some stage in its development, every capitalist country reaches the point where it cannot consume its own surplus. Great Britain reached that point a century ago; Germany came to it fifty years later. The United States has passed it today. Henceforth, so long as it depends upon the capitalist system, the United States must be an exporter of food and capital; a contender for foreign markets; an economic imperialist nation.

It was "economic necessity" that drove Germany into the fatal paths of economic imperialism. That same economic necessity has now taken possession of the masters of the United States. The papers reflect it; public men reflect it; the government reflects it, and the business world lives it.

Any man who seeks political preferment in the United States from this time forward, must get right with exports, unless he happens to belong to that economic faith that holds to the view that the worker should receive the full product of his labor.

"Things As They Are"

(From the Omaha World-Herald.)

The World-Herald is in receipt of the following letter, which bears the letterhead of the Socialist Party of Nebraska, Office of State Secretary:

"Omaha, June 26.—To the Editor of the World-Herald: 'The time is by when nine-tenths of the people can be treated as manure to grow a few roses,' wrote the brother of Nicholas Romanoff shortly before the latter's fall. It is almost certain that the warning was given without realization of all that it implied, but we socialists can repeat it, and effectively, for we carry it out to its logical conclusion. 'We submit the word of the czar's brother to the industrial autocrats of America.

"Surely it is in order to do so. There can be no mistake as to the seriousness of the present situation. The country is full of strikes and preparations for strikes. They have an ominous meaning for supporters of things as they are. Even many of the strikes inaugurated without a trace of revolutionary purpose will leap beyond the plans of their original promoters, and conservative claims will develop into radical demands and be important factors in far-reaching change.

"The social revolution is impending in America. The rage of the master class can no more prevent it than the rage of the czar could save his throne and life. —Edward Rutledge."

Regular meetings of the Inter-City Socialist Central Committee are held on the first and third Thursdays of each month in the Poole Zion club rooms at 1217 Brooklyn. Delegates will please take notice and be on hand promptly!

The Sub Hustlers Battle Cry: "Sure! We'll finish it! Finish what? CA-A-CAPITALISM!"

Lenin Built Socialist State after Overcoming Syndicalism, say Minor

By ROBERT MINOR.

As nobody can build a state on the foundation of an officer-defying, Ambassador-killing volatile minority, the bolsheviks now had to shift their governing structure more completely on to the steadier support of the inactive majority—in other words, to establish what practically amounts to "democracy."

They felt that they had to do the industrial unions what they had done to the army—bring them under the central political authority. Anarchistic syndicalism was practically controlling all the industries of Russia. Political power cannot exist and tolerate an independent economic power. Syndicalism was to give way to government ownership, political control.

It was hard to make the industrial workers submit to it. Throughout the summer, while Trotzky wrestled over the Russian prairies with the independent regiments to make them accept him as war minister instead of an adviser, Lenin wrestled in the towns to down his syndicalists.

A "Council of Public Economy," consisting of political and technical specialists, was first appointed by the government to overlook and advise the industrial unions in their production.

There was no objection as long as the council had nothing but advisory power, and the syndicalists worked with it harmoniously. Little by little the skilled hand of Lenin began to weld into the council of public economy an absolute authority over all productions and all matters pertaining to the factories, mines and railroads.

To disentangle the government from syndicalism, it was arranged for the industrial unionists to have two separate ways of voting.

Each has one vote for a political delegate and another vote for his factory council, which no longer has any political power.

Lenine Succeeds.

In the political field the worker has become a voter by occupational division instead of by geographical election district as in England and America. In the industrial field the worker is a member of an industrial union in a government-owned plant, the government controlling everything except some internal shop labor matters.

Lenine succeeded in this tremendous change, ditching syndicalism and substituting conventional government ownership, only by telling the industrial unions that it was a temporary measure, due to military necessity, and that later the political authority would fall away again and leave the purely industrial organization. But I don't think it ever will unless many years from now by another violent revolution against the most revolutionary-proof government in the world. The ideal of the original simon pure soviet system was that:

"The constituency of future society shall be defined, not upon geographical lines but upon the lines of industrial unionism."

Without central (enforced) authority that would come pretty close to anarchistic syndicalism. With central (enforced) authority it would amount to the program of the American socialist labor party as set forth by Daniel De Leon. But after going through the anarchist phase, which then through the De Leon phase, which the bolsheviks could not prevent, and Lenine calls his ideal, the Russian soviet republic is now being tempered by arrangements to let in foreign capital.

Is Labor Center.

It is important to trace the way in which the bolshevik government eradicated anarchist syndicalism, because that government is at present planning great industrial concessions to entente bondholders and American capital. As things are now, these operations would not be embarrassed by lawless syndicalism. Capital has before this learned the value of dealing with the center in labor matters, and the present Russian government is the most successful labor center in the world.

I cannot defend the bolshevik government for all of the things it has done under the name of "Terror." It should be flatly stated, however, that by far the majority of the stories that have been printed about that tragic matter are hyscerial inventions.

The question can never be rightly weighed until the outside world is told what the Russian laboring masses think about it. If a Moscow workman, bolshevik or non-bolshevik, is asked what he is likely to respond, as one did to me:

"The red terror is only half; the other half is the white terror. The bourgeois do not count a hundred workingmen's lives as valuable as one of theirs, but we do. They have murdered tens of thousands of us in Finland and the Ukraine, and they openly

say they will do the same here in Moscow, if they get on top. Let them go the way the little father went.

"The red terror is our answer to their white terror. We will stop our terror when they stop theirs."

Analysis Not Complicated.

A cold analysis of the red terror is not very complicated. During the summer of 1918 the soviet government was expected to fall any day. The counter-revolutionists—most of them royalists—boldly made their plans, feeling that their lives were not risked, and, if caught, their prison sentences would only last the few days that the government had of life ahead of it.

When one was arrested he would merely laugh and tell his jailer, "Only 30 days, and then I'll get out and shoot you!" The only sentence with which the government would inspire dread was death, from which there is no delivery.

Now that the common belief is that the bolsheviks will preside over their jails for a long time to come, prison sentences are taken seriously, and the death sentence, rarely pronounced, is even then seldom executed. The red terror, by which I mean the execution of members of the upper classes to deter counter-revolution, is practically or entirely a thing of the past.

While stories were coming from outside cities of constant massacres and a terrible fate awaiting any respectable person who falls into the hands of the bolsheviks, I observed one American and 14 English war prisoners recently captured on the Archangel front, who were walking about Moscow in perfect freedom, forbidden only to leave the city or discard their uniforms.

Prisoners Astonished.

They were astonished at not having been killed, as they had understood that bolsheviks always kill war prisoners. Some of them told me later that they had been given employment through the medium of a bolshevik commissar, and would be allowed to vote for the soviet.

During last autumn, it is true, an article was published by Karl Rudek, in which he gave vent to a fanciful suggestion that working people should invade the homes of the rich, and by force take warm clothing for the approaching blizzard. It made fine copy for the Helsingfors correspondent, and it made fine copy for Radek, but it was only a fancy.

New York itself has a journal that might print a like editorial, but when it comes to a question of reality—well, we know how it is. Never fear, bolshevik policemen would not permit such government-endangering conduct any more than New York policemen would. Russia is ruled with a rigid law and order that would be the envy of several shaky European governments if they could see it.

Admiral Koltchak "Democrat"

An Editorial by Hans Heggum in "Social-Demokraten" (Christiania, Norway)

The very enterprising and ambitious Admiral Koltchak—the Siberian favorite of the Allies and the spiritual affinity of Clemenceau—is continuing his democratic acts of government, which are far from being a blessing to his country or its inhabitants.

In the fraudulent bourgeois sense of the word, he is a complete "Bolshevik." He is strictly maintaining the noble principles of the bourgeois "straw-man Bolshevism," the object of which is not a liberation of the people from the yoke of tyranny, but an elevation of the tyrants and oppressors over the people.

The Siberian absolutism, which is embodied in Admiral Koltchak, has the support of the European "democracies."

This ruthless executioner of the people, who tirelessly increases his record of crimes, already dripping with blood, with new deeds of shame, each worse than the preceding, is supported as everyone knows, with money, arms, ammunition, and a lying press, by the same honorable gentlemen who have solemnly gathered in these days to confer on the preparation of world peace and the "League of Nations."

As soon as he had seized power, by means of a coup d'etat, which he was enabled to put through owing to the victory of the Entente troops over the defenseless population, the government activity of this incomparable democrat became one uninterrupted series of murders, repressions, and mass imprisonments. He would therefore appear to be fully entitled to bear the name of "Bolshevik," that is

—if the countless lies of the capitalist press concerning the "Bolsheviks" were not lies, but truths. . . .

If Koltchak's hangman activity afforded him any time to make solemn protestations, I wonder whether he would consider it opposed to his principles to say:

"I am in favor of the self-determination of peoples, but I will not tolerate the slightest murmur against my acts of government."

From this we may readily understand the former Czarist minister, Kokovstev, and his strong enthusiasm for Admiral Koltchak, as well as the fact that a person so "liberally and democratically" inclined as Prince Lvov is filled with the greatest admiration for him.

Prince Lvov has neglected no opportunity to make his admiration generally known. He appeared recently before the Supreme Allied Council in Paris and there expressed his warm feelings—for a certain purpose. And every day the columns of the capitalist newspapers in France and England are filled with calculations, news items, and articles, in which the democratic Prince Lvov is described as a genuine patriot, who, in spite of all his unspeakable sufferings and reverses, has done everything to deliver his ardently beloved and worshipped fatherland. Meanwhile Koltchak, his great master, continues his "government activity," that is—he goes on murdering, imprisoning, and plundering the Siberian population. This miserable Entente bandit, who conducts his heartrending activities under the protection of the Allied troops and phrases, has well deserved both the sympathy and the support of democratic Europe—and not least by his most recent act of prowess. The latter would certainly have won the Nobel Prize for him, if any such prize were offered for atrocities.

In an uprising amongst the population of Omsk, a number of political prisoners had escaped. Koltchak had posters put up throughout the district, in which he announced that if the fugitives would deliver themselves up immediately, they would in that way escape being shot.

With a childlike faith in this promise, which is almost incredible, they turned back, seeing no possibility of escaping Koltchak's beadsles. As they had been ordered, they reported to Koltchak immediately—and Koltchak immediately had them shot down. Those who were shot were not criminals. Nor were they Bolshevists. They were plain, ordinary human beings, who possessed the rather unusual quality of defending and retaining a political conviction even at the cost of going to prison for it.

Koltchak, the Siberian favorite of the Entente and the spiritual affinity of Clemenceau, will not permit the people to hold a different political opinion from the one he desires them to have, which is none at all. It is quite natural that among the persons who were shot there should also have been eight socialist deputies to the Constituent Assembly.

It is difficult at present to decide whether or not Koltchak's method of government is in agreement with the democratic principle, for the democratic principle has of late displayed remarkable powers of elasticity. It is at present caught in a whirlwind extending from London to Omsk, with Paris as its center. If we were not better informed, we might fear that this whirlwind might some day envelop the whole world and achieve the dignified status of a democratic meridian pressing through the observation-center at Whitehall.

BELA KUN SAYS "HANDS OFF."

ZURICH, July 3 (delayed).—Replying to the Allies' demand that the lives of arrested revolutionaries be safeguarded, Bela Kun, Hungarian Soviet Dictator, declared today that Hungary would not tolerate any interference in her internal affairs.

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A Socialist Paper

Published by The Socialist Party
of Kansas

C. B. HARMAN, Editor
Lawrence, Kansas

Manifesto and Program of The Left Wing Adopted at the National Left Wing Conference Held at New York City

The Left Wing Program is implied within the terms of the program the Communist International. We therefore outline, as the controlling propositions of our own program, the main principles of Communism as follows:

1. The present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole capitalist world system, which will mean the complete collapse of world culture, if Capitalism, with its unsolvable contradictions is not replaced by Communism.

2. The problem of the proletariat consists in organizing and training itself for the power of the state. This conquest of power means the replacement of the state machinery of the bourgeoisie with a new proletarian machinery of government.

3. This new proletarian state must embody the dictatorship of the proletariat, both industrial and agricultural, this dictatorship constituting the instrument for the taking over of property used for exploiting the workers and for the re-organization of society on a communist basis.

Not the fraudulent bourgeois democracy—the hypocritical form of the rule of the finance oligarchy, with its purely formal equality—but proletarian democracy based on the possibility of actual realization of freedom for the working masses; not capitalist bureaucracy, but organs of administrations which have been created by the masses themselves, with the real participation of these masses in the government of the country and in the activity of the communistic structure—this should be the type of the proletarian state. The Workers' Councils and similar organizations represent its concrete form.

4. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat shall carry out the expropriation of private property in the means of production and distribution, by transfer to the proletarian state under socialist administration of the working class; the abolition of capitalist agricultural production; nationalization of the great business enterprises and financial trusts.

5. The present world situation demands the closest relation between the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

6. The fundamental means of the struggle for power is the mass action of the proletariat, a gathering together and concentration of all its energies; whereas methods such as the revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism are of only subsidiary significance.

In those countries in which the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against

capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a worker's revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on.

But within this process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the capitalist power has at its command in order to gain its ends, all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of upper-class rule, multiplied by the wonders of capitalist technique: lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny and terror. To demand of the proletariat that it shall be content to yield itself to the artificial rules devised by is mortal enemy, but not observed by the enemy, is to make a mockery of the proletarian struggle for power—a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of working-class power.

7. The old Socialist International has broken into three main groups: (a) Those frankly social patriots who since 1914 have supported their bourgeoisie and transformed those elements of the working class which they control into hangmen of the international revolution.

(b) The "Center," at present theoretically led by Kautsky (by Hillquit in the United States), representing elements which are constantly wavering and incapable of following a definite plan of action, and which are at times positively traitorous; and (c) The revolutionary Left Wing.

As regards the social patriots, who everywhere in the critical moment oppose the proletarian revolution with force of arms, a merciless fight is absolutely necessary. As regard the "Center" our tactics must be to separate the revolutionary elements by pitilessly criticizing the leaders.

8. It is necessary to rally the groups and proletarian organizations who, though not as yet in the wake of the revolutionary trend of the Left Wing, nevertheless have manifested and developed a tendency leading in that direction.

Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeoisie order. The task of the International Communist Party is now to overthrow this order and to erect in its place the structure of the socialist world order. Under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won; in the war against imperialistic barbarity, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all forms of social and national oppression—we call upon the proletarians of all lands to unite!

PROGRAM OF THE LEFT WING.

1. We favor international alliance of the Socialist Movement of the United States only with the Communist groups of other countries, such as the Bolsheviks of Russia, Spartacists of Germany, etc., according to the program of Communism as above outlined.

2. We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as Labor parties, Non-partisan leagues, People's Council, Municipal Ownership leagues, and the like.

3. We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle, that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchic or democratic, republican, and to replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the socialist transformation.

We favor organized Party activity in co-operation with class-conscious industrial unionism in order to unify industrial and political class-conscious propaganda and action.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

4. (a) The Party shall propagandize industrial unionism and industrial union organization, emphasizing their revolutionary implications.

(b) The Party shall make the great industrial battles its major campaigns, to develop the understanding of the strike in relation to the general proletarian emancipation.

PARLIAMENTARY ACTION.

5. We do not dispare voting nor the value of success in electing our candidates to public office—not if these are in direct line with the class struggle. The trouble comes with the illusion that political or industrial immediate achievements are of themselves steps in the revolution, the progressive merging of Capitalism into the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The basis of our political campaigns should be:

(a) To propagandize the overthrow of Capitalism by proletarian conquest of the political power and the establishment of a Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

(b) To maintain a political organization as a clearing house for proletarian thought, a center of political education for the development of revolutionary working-class action.

(c) To win representatives in public office on the same basis as we use lawyers in the capitalist courts viz: to insist upon our technical safe-

guards, no matter how meagre, and to serve as interpreters and publicity agents equipped with special knowledge of technique. In the largest terms, these intermediaries, under strict party discipline, serve as special propagandist of the social revolution.

(e) To keep in the foreground our consistent appeal for proletarian revolution; and to analyze the counter-proposals and reformist palliatives in their true light of evasions of the issue and, in their impotence, the provocation to violence; recognizing at all times the characteristic developments of the class conflict as applicable to all capitalist nations.

(f) To propagandize the party organization as the organ of contact with the revolutionary proletariat of other lands, the basis for international association being the same political understanding and the common plan of action, tending toward increasing unity in detail as the international crisis develops.

PARTY PLATFORMS.

6. Socialist platforms, proceeding on the basis of the class struggle, and recognizing that the socialist movement has come into the historical period of the social revolution, can contain the single demand for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

(a) The basis of this demand should be thoroughly explained in the economic, political and social analysis of the class struggle as evolving within the system of Capitalism.

(b) The implications of this demand should be illustrated by the first steps and general modes of social reconstruction dependent upon and involved within the proletarian domination of the political life of the nation.

(c) A municipal platform of socialism cannot proceed on a separate basis, but must conform to the general platform, simply relating the attainment of local power to the immediate goal of gaining national power. There are no city problems within the terms of the class struggle, only the one problem of capitalist versus proletarian domination.

MASS ACTION.

7. We realize that the coming of the social revolution on an overwhelming assertion of mass power by the proletariat, taking on political consciousness and the definite direction of revolutionary socialism. The manifestations of this power and consciousness are not subject to precise pre-calculation. But the history of the movement of the proletariat toward emancipation since 1900 shows the

close connection between the revolutionary proletarian assertion and the political mass strike.

The mass action conception looks to the general unity of the proletarian forces under revolutionary provocation and stimulus. In the preliminary stages, which alone come within our pre-determination and party initiative, the tactics of mass action includes all mass demonstrations and mass struggles which sharpen the understanding of the proletariat as to the class conflict and which separate the revolutionary proletariat into a group distinct from all others.

Mass action, in time of revolutionary crisis, or in the analogous case of large-scale industrial conflict, naturally accepts the council from an organization for its expression over a continued period of time.

CENTRALIZED ORGANIZATION.

8. Applying our declarations of party principle to the organization of the Party itself: and realizing the need, in correspondence with the highly centralized capitalistic power to be combated, of a centralized party organization, we offer the following recommendations:

(a) Delegation by the National Executive Committee of a large measure of its administrative powers, between intervals of meetings, to a National Emergency Committee, composed of three or more members of the National Executive Committee; this Emergency Committee to maintain the closest possible contact with the work of the National office and to advise with the Executive Secretary on all matters where consultation is necessary.

(b) Strict control by the party organization over all Socialists elected to public office; the Emergency Committee, and the National, State, and County Committees to co-operate with the public officers within their respective jurisdictions; immediate expulsion of all public officials who refuse to accept the decisions of the Party.

(c) Control by the party membership, through the regular party processes, of all party papers and official publications; not by committees or trustees not responsible to the membership.

(d) Like control of all party property, such as offices, halls, etc.

(e) Like control of officially recognized educational institutions.

(f) Establishment of a Central Lecture Bureau, and of a Press and Information Bureau.

(g) Standardization of party platforms, propaganda, dues, and methods of organization.

unnumbered lean months.

They are just beginning to scent the truth.

Returned soldiers are joining their restless ranks. Every big city has its quota of ex-service men. Many of these have come back with cash in their pockets. They are spending it in the shops and amusement places. Merchants are lulled into the sweet hallucination that "everybody has plenty of money to spend."

Soldiers discharged early in the year found jobs with the least trouble, but many of them have been let go this spring and summer. The boys coming back from France now are drifting rapidly into the ranks of the embittered and disillusioned, into the backwaters of accumulating discontent which will spill over next winter.

The disease which is acute in Europe is becoming chronic here—the disease of high prices and no wages. And nobody comes forward with a cure. Busy with the task of accumulating, Wall street ignores the issue of producing. Chagrined at the loss of government contracts, manufacturers stand pat in some bewilderment and order reductions in the pay roll. Organized labor insists that there shall be no cut in wages, and goes on increasing its membership—of men who may be discharged at the master's will or necessity.

Winter draws near, and neither the ant nor the grasshopper is prepared for the storms that it will bring.

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STRIKING FOR MOONEY

Big revolts of the rank and file may presage shake-up in the Labor movement—Defied the "leaders."

Despite the desperate efforts of the traitorous international officials of the labor movement to throttle the Mooney protest strike, reports from all sections of the country, indicate that the rank and file has kicked over the traces and is showing a spirit and a solidarity heretofore unknown in America. Conservative estimates, based on information from reliable sources, place the number on strike at one half million. The actual figures are not yet obtainable as every effort has been made by the Capitalist news agencies to suppress accounts of the demonstrations and to minimize the number of workers taking part.

For the first time in America we see the militant working class repudiating their reactionary leaders who are leagued with the industrial overlords in a conspiracy to defeat their aspirations for industrial freedom. This magnificent showing in the first test warrants the confidence that bigger things are on the way. The American labor movement is getting ready to declare war on the Capitalist Class and its henchmen.

DETROIT, MICH., July 5.—The Mooney Strike became effective here today, with the estimates of the number of men out ranging from 25,000 to 50,000. New unions are reported joining the movement hourly.

BUTTE, MONT., July 5.—Despite statements of employers to the contrary, union leaders assert the Mooney strike in Butte is effective. All members of the Metal Mine Worker's Industrial Union No. 800, are reported to be out to a man, while, it is said, practically the entire membership of Metal mine Workers Union of America, No. 1, are also out in sympathy with the movement to protest against the continued imprisonment of Mooney and all class-war prisoners.

PORTLAND, July 4.—The Metal Trades Council of this city last night voted in favor of the five-day Mooney strike, and all locals affiliated are instructed to lay down their tools and join in the nationwide protest.

MINERS STRIKE FOR MOONEY.

PITTSBURGH, KAS., July 7.—Indications of a widespread strike of Kansas coal miners in sympathy with Tom Mooney, the California labor leader now in prison, were seen today in the announced "Mooney strikes" at mine No. 51 of the Central Coal and Coke Company and mine No. 17 of the Wear Coal Company.

TEN THOUSAND OUT. PORTLAND, July 4.—More than

that they are out to assist Mooney.

At several other mines the men are idle today, but mine union officials deny that they are out on Mooney strikes.

The mine locals of the Kansas district voted in favor of the general strike for July 4 as proposed by the Mooney League. The repudiation of the strike by the American Federation of Labor and the United Mine Workers

of America, however, made a general strike in the district impossible.

When the men at the Central and Wear mines failed to report for work Saturday, operators and mine union officials were unable to determine whether the men were on strike, as it has been a custom not to work the day after July 4. When they failed to show up today the question was settled.

U. S. Drifts Rapidly Toward "Hard Times" as War's Aftermath

Washington, July 2.—The United States is drifting rapidly toward an industrial crisis which may produce bread and unemployment riots before the first of January. That is the serious conclusion of a high official of the government, whose name cannot be used at present.

This official today reviewed the world-wide collapse of industry in a private conversation with your correspondent, and predicted that many of the ugly social sores which today afflict Europe would appear in this country in less than a year unless vigorous steps were taken to prepare the public mind for the steady advance of unemployment and high prices which he anticipates.

It is significant that this official, whose specialty is to deal with strife between employers and workers, accepts as inescapable the hard period through which, he says, the American people must shortly pass. Its worst features, he thinks, may be avoided by a wise policy of co-operation by all parties concerned—but the pinch is coming, and of the wise policy he sees few signs.

Farmer Only One Prospering. His analysis of the situation follows:

Europe is starving; not only for food, but for manufactured materials. It must have food in abundant quantities to keep alive, and still more

food before it can undertake the work of producing for itself. All the money America has invested in Europe will be lost unless its recovery shall be guaranteed by liberal shipments of food to begin with.

So American food is going abroad in large quantities during the next year. It will become scarcer in the United States from this day onward. It will continue to go up in cost to Americans, with no prospect of a drop for a year or two to come. The people are already restive under the high prices. They will have far more cause to be as the months come and go.

This will be all right for the farmer and the food "manufacturers." It will be all bad for the city dwellers of the United States. Unemployment is already on the increase here, and unemployment is a disease of the towns and cities principally.

One-Third Laid Off in Steel Trade

One-third of the men employed in the steel industries have been laid off since the armistice. Their families are feeling the hardship, and the men are in an ugly mood. Their wages have stopped. And the prices they pay keep going up. The industrial brakes are being put on in all centers of population.

The United States government has stopped buying on the wartime scale.

Europe cannot take the place of Uncle Sam as a purchaser of American manufactured products. Europe wants and needs our fabricated products, but it needs our food more. It is taking our food and leaving our fabricated products. The farmer is prospering and the town worker is being laid off.

Men don't like to be hungry. And they fight when their families go hungry. A few thousand hungry men and their families are not a "problem." We have them with us always. But the steel industry alone has laid off 1,100,000 men since the armistice was signed. Other industries combined have discharged their hundreds of thousands. The flat stomachs are becoming legions.

Wages accumulated during the boom times of war has cushioned the shock of this industrial stoppage. Skilled and unskilled workers who had their choice of good jobs during the war have not had time to realize that their present unemployment is not a pleasant vacation, but the prelude to

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KANSAS CITY, MO., FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1919.

CATCHING UP WITH EUROPE.

Not the least significant of the revolutions which are sweeping over the world is the revolution which has taken place within our own Socialist Party. For several years—particularly since 1912, when the National Party Convention made revolutionary methods illegal—our party seemed to be gradually settling into the quagmire of parliamentarism, social reform and compromise. A taste of political success here and there had gone to the heads of the party leaders and the propagation of the doctrines of Socialism was subordinated to the fool's business of hunting votes. There was a revolutionary minority, there were students of Marx who ventured to "say a few words for Socialism," but their voices were drowned by the almost universal clamor for old age pensions and cheaper ice!

The war exposed the degeneration of the Socialist movement as a world-wide phenomenon. Fortunately for the movement in this country, it had the lessons of several years of European war before being called upon to act in a similar crisis. In this period the officialdom had sensed the temper of the rank and file in its utter disgust with social patriotism, sufficiently that there was little real opposition to the St. Louis platform when the United States finally entered the war. Up to this time the issues within the movement had not yet been clearly drawn except in the matter of accepting or rejecting an imperialistic war. On this issue there was not even the semblance of a split.

The St. Louis Platform was a milestone on the road to creating a real Socialist movement in this country. But the lineup on this issue did not prove a real unity of policy and program in the party. The very moment that the pressure of war was removed, a pressure that forced a union between discordant elements, that moment the fundamental issues of socialist policy became matters of contention in the movement. It was then that we realized that our officialdom, our "leaders," had learned little and forgotten nothing since 1914. The acceptance of the British Labor Party program as the basis for the 1918 campaign was the first eye-opener—quickly followed by the attempt to re-establish relations with the discredited second International.

The movement in Europe was the first to recover from the demoralization of war. This was no doubt because Europe felt the force of war more, suffered unspeakably as a direct consequence, while in America the war had hardly gotten beyond the flag waving stage when it ended. It was only when the war was over that the workers here began to be disillusioned to any extent.

Along with the after-the-war disillusionment of the American workers (which is the primary factor) acting as a secondary force, but giving point and direction to the whole situation, was the intellectual stimulus of the re-awakening in Europe—more especially of the proletarian victory in Russia. The Bolshevik revolution cleared the theoretical field of Socialism as nothing has done before or since, and became an inspiration to action and hard thinking to millions of apathetic socialists. Thus it comes about that the theoretical realignment of the American movement bids fair to be more immediately complete and clear cut than that in Europe which led the way.

The new spirit is a rank-and-file movement. There is a noticeable lack of leaders of previous note, although that is not by any means to say that there is lack of intellectual calibre, or of experienced workers of every capacity. The conspicuous lack is of those elements of respectability which the Socialist movement has been so long on heretofore, viz., the lawyer, the preacher, the professional man generally. On the

other hand, the genuine intellectuals, the real students of Socialist theory, have found in this new movement within the Socialist Party a proper recognition and an opportunity for expression which has been denied them in the past.

We speak of the Left Wing as a rank and file movement. The proof for that claim can be found in the recent referendum for members of The National Executive Committee of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, but the returns have been tabulated by the Ohio State Secretary from reports furnished by the various State Secretaries.

The results show that the entire official family has been defeated in every district, with one single exception. Their defeat has been so overwhelming that they refuse to tabulate the vote after throwing out the ballots of the Foreign Federations and the State of Michigan. The Candidates of the Left Wing for International Delegates were elected by overwhelming majorities; The demand of the Left Wing that our party should affiliate only with The Communist International was also submitted to referendum, with similar results.

The answer of our official bureaucrats to this movement which has won with the rank and file is to suppress the referendums, expel branches, locals, state organizations and entire language federations for the purpose of depriving them of representation at the coming convention. They accompany these outrageous actions with appeals to the remaining membership for harmony and unity! They accuse the Left Wing of wanting to split the party, while they themselves are making every effort to split the party by expelling the revolutionary elements.

This crisis within the party made imperative the National Conference of the Left Wing recently held at New York City. Almost a hundred delegates from all sections of the country assembled to work out a program of action to preserve the party organization and to prevent its disruption by the discredited officials. We are printing on another page of this issue the manifesto and program adopted at this conference. It is one which every revolutionist can support with enthusiasm, rejecting, as it does, all social reform measures, declaring war on the reactionaries in the labor movement and sounding the clear call to Social Revolution.

STARVE THE SOVIETS.

Now comes the Versailles Conference and again gives evidence that Karl Marx knew his Sociology well and that he correctly formulated the laws of action of Capitalistic Society.

The latest evidence is the action of the Allied diplomats in breaking off negotiations with Bela Kun of the Hungarian Soviet Government, and applying the blockade with renewed vigor against this workingmen's Republic.

In the case of Russia the continued warfare was camouflaged by assumed indignation against the "Red Terror." In Hungary, where the bourgeoisie turned the power over to the Communists, where there is no civil warfare, where the Communist Government is a model of law and order immeasurably advanced over every other country on the globe, this camouflage has to be abandoned. Apparently no reason for continued war upon Hungary is to be given to the public at all. Perhaps they will go so far as to frankly admit that they are warring upon the idea of Workingmen's governments. Perhaps they will not admit it. But the fact stares us in the face, and cannot be avoided. The Allied governments, including that of the United States are carrying on a war to the death against Socialism.

So far it is principally a war of starvation. Having control of the seas, all foreign commerce is shut off from those lands where the workers have the audacity to run their own country. Men, women, little children,—all are starved impartially, in the grand game of preserving the decrepit capitalist system from immediate collapse. The day of reckoning is thus postponed—but the score to be settled is mounting higher.

THERE IS NO PEACE.

The league of Old Men has concluded its long session of Peace Table bargaining, the spoils of victory have been divided among the various groups of international capitalists; the rights of small Nations have

been determined by the unanimous agreement that small nations have no rights—the long-drawn-out farce is ended and we are told that we have peace at last.

Let us see. The allied governments, including our own, are at this moment engaged in a war with the Russian people. They are co-operating with the czarist elements who were hurled from power by the uprising of the workers. It does not please our own Czars and Kaisers to have a working class government existing anywhere in the world. The force of its example would eventually spread over the earth. In due time it would be bound to reach even this country, and the American working class would commence to organize for the purpose of taking all power into its own hands. Fake democracy would no longer satisfy us if we had the example of the real thing held constantly before us.

The example of Russia has already begun to be felt in other countries. The Hungarian working class has kicked over the table and set up its own government. Consequently we may expect that war will be commenced against Hungary before long. If it were not for certain obstacles, there would be no delay about it whatever. One of these obstacles is the announcement of the organized workers of England, Italy and France that there shall be no war on Hungary and that the war on Soviet Russia shall cease. From all indications they are in earnest about it, because they are preparing for a general strike in all three countries to let it be known that they are through with all wars except the one that must yet be fought before the workers can taste of the fruits of freedom. That is not a war of nation against nation but a war of class against class. It is for this final conflict that the working class of the world must now prepare. The demands of our masters for war on other peoples must be answered with a declaration of war on them.

OVER THE HEADS OF THE BOSSES.

Without any kind of official sanction, without organization of any centralized authority and against the will of all previously recognized authority, the workers are STRIKING FOR MOONEY.

The extent to which the first strike in the series of three planned at the Mooney Congress has become a reality, has been a surprise even to those who have been working night and day to bring it about. It is a direct repudiation of the reactionary officialdom which has held the American movement by the throat for so many years.

The extent of the strike is yet a matter for conjecture. But one thing is clear—if Mooney does not obtain some redress before September, the next strike will see at least twice as many workers laying down their tools. And by the time the third strike is scheduled they may enlarge their demands.

The Missouri State Senate has passed a bill to make hanging legal, on the ground that it happens anyhow. Will our law-makers take the same attitude toward the Social Revolution? The same sort of logic applies.

"Red flag up in Italy," says a Newspaper headline. Why don't they pass a law against it?

Mr. Gompers can't understand why workingmen should strike for Tom Mooney when they won't even strike for beer.

Congressman Graham is making a big holler in the public prints because "President Wilson broke the laws." Who does he think laws were made to be broken by?

The corpulent "men of labor" who have used every means to throttle the Mooney strike insist that they are "for" Mooney. Yes! They were for his hanging in the first place and, having been thwarted in that design, they are for his continued imprisonment.

Representatives of the revolutionary working class of many countries met in Moscow and drew up an international document calling upon the working class of the world to take possession of the governments of the world and establish the Socialist order of society. It is with this Communist International that the Socialist Party of America has voted to affiliate. We are for this kind of a "League of Nations." All others are counterfeit and of no concern to us.

VIEWS, REVIEWS AND INTERVIEWS.

By Ralph Cheyney

"The Left is right—and, according to the Party vote of late, the right is going to get left," Alanson Sessions wrote me last week. He put my convictions pithily and wittily. I was delighted when I read in this journal that Kansas City local had endorsed the Left Wing platform and heartily condemned the highhanded and anti-democratic action of the Executive Committee composed of our Eberts and Scheidemanns in expelling the branches of the Party that did not happen to agree with it.

A church may be able to afford to attain unity by paying the price of excommunicating all who do not agree with all the particulars and minutiae of its creed. This, at least, comprises the whole history of the Protestant Reformation that started with the breaking off of one branch from the universal Catholic Church and has ended in there being a million or so sects each with its own chapel or chapels, all nine-tenths empty. This is not to attack either Catholicism or Protestantism—I am equally against both—it is but to point out that excommunication and sectarianism inevitably end in failure, at least as far as this world is concerned—and even if there be another world than this, one world is quite enough to tackle at a time.

It's all right to burn those who disagree with you at the stake or to line them up against some convenient wall and shoot them, all right so far as gaining or keeping power is concerned. Thought cannot be killed; Truth and Justice and Right will prevail in the end. But the end may be a long time in coming; and soft beds and voluptuous women add fine food and plentiful power be found delightful by the rulers in the meantime. But imprisonment and deportation and excommunication are quite another matter than execution. To put a man in irons is to put iron into him. To deport a man is merely to change the location of his attack on you. To excommunicate him is to sow the seed of a rival organization. The master class is sowing the seeds of a harvest of hate, laying the dynamite for its own destruction. The Socialist Party must not follow in the ignoble footsteps of the Church and of Capitalism. The present National Executive Committee must be dishonorably demoted

and never again trusted with the slightest power—of course excepting Katterfeld and Wagenknecht, who abundantly deserve fullest trust and unanimous re-election. Still even the willful seven should not be excommunicated.

A small group headed right is better than a large group headed wrong. If my house were burning, I would prefer one hook-and-ladder company taking the shortcut toward it than a dozen headed away from it; but it depends on how roundabout the long way was and how much longer it took to arrive by it whether I would not prefer a half dozen fire companies coming the longer way to one taking the shortest route. To gain votes by sacrificing convictions is base and infinitely foolish. The yellow Socialist is the worst enemy of the red Socialist, the most formidable foe of Social Justice, of the liberty and happiness of the people; the next worst is the queasy liberal; the greatest ally of the real Socialist is the rigid reactionary. But to ally oneself with those fighting for the same thing under a different banner or in a different uniform or with a different weapon and to allow infinite leeway for differences of opinion about essentials and to be slow and sober about holding a part of the platform to be essential, all this seems to be to be but simple, straightforward, sheer horse-sense.

To transform these generalities into actualities: Back Edward D. Wifcox with all the strength that in you is! Rally around the splendid, shining standard of the Left Wing! Do your damndest to persuade your comrades who still stick to the Right of the Centre that they are wrong, but don't drive them out of the local! Finally, give the glad hand to the I. W. W.! Every capitalist press, pulpit, and platform bunches us together and compliments us equally with its vitriolic venom, its hate, and its fear; it's up to us to stick together. One way we can do this is to get behind the fight to free the thirty-two organizers of the oilfield workers now in their twentieth month of imprisonment without trial and without any real cause against them, held by District Attorney Fred Robertson, conscious or unconscious tool of the chief czar of this country, the Oil Trust with its many ramifications.

Demonstration by French Soldiers Against War on Russia

The following dramatic account of the demonstration of the sailors of the French Black Sea Fleet at Odessa against the continuation of attacks upon Soviet Russia is given in the words of Deputy Emile Goude in a speech before the French Chamber on June 13 as reported by the Associated Press:

"The signal to clear for action was given on the morning of April 19," the Deputy said. "The men gathered in crowds on the deck and refused to disperse when ordered. Then from the battleship France arose the strains of the international revolutionary hymn. The men gathered in groups on the ship and the Captain then intervened and tried to discuss the matter with the sailors, who appointed delegates to explain why the Internationale had been sung. One of the delegates said: 'The war we are being forced to make against the Russians is unconstitutional. The Minister has not the right to use us for a war parliament has not voted.'

"The Captain informed the Admiral in command, who was on board the battleship Jean Bart, of the situation. The men listened to the attempts of the Admiral to parley. They were respectful in their attitude, but refused to obey his orders and insisted they should be returned to France. The Internationale again was sung in the evening. Sailors on other ships took up the singing.

"The Red flag was run on on Easter morning beside the tricolor, which had been hoisted with customary honors. The work on the ships was carried out regularly and the officers had full liberty. There was one unfortunate incident for which the sailors were not responsible. When the men were going ashore on April 20 a young Ensign fresh from the Naval Academy, seeing the sailors and French soldiers fraternizing with Russian men and women, ordered a machine gun fired. A naval Lieutenant rushed up, placed himself in front of the men, and

stopped the firing. However, some were killed and wounded.

"The movement continued without violence, insolence, disorder, or sabotage. The tricolor never was lowered. It was a true revolutionary movement in the highest and purest sense of the word. The sailors, sons of the great French revolution, remembered there are legal measures beyond which French soldiers and marines cannot be employed.

"After four days of negotiations the Admiral granted the demands of the delegates that the ships should return to France, and that no punishment should be exacted from the men after their return."

KOLTCHAK AND RUSSIA.

In an editorial entitled "While Russia Bleeds" the New York "Globe" of June 13, says in part:

"When the Allies declare that they recognize the Omsk government in order to put an end to bloodshed they utter a tragic absurdity. Koltchak will not get to Moscow by airplane. His armies must cut their way through the armies of his opponents. In the territory he had occupied before his recent disastrous defeats he consistently put to death the Bolsheviks whom he took prisoners. Moreover, there is every reason to believe that as fast as Koltchak forces occupy Russia there will be a series of pogroms against the Jews which in extent and cold-blooded ferocity will make all previous pogroms look like tea parties.

"Unhappy Russia's bath of blood is not yet ended. The Allies by their economic blockade have taken on their shoulders a heavy burden of guilt for the suffering of that wretched land. We can only hope, more or less faintly according to our temperament, that to-day's action is not another chapter in the book of fatal mistakes wherein is recorded the Allied policy toward Russia since March, 1917."