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DR. DEQUER ARRESTED

Charged With "Criminal Syndicalism" for Labor Day Speech at Cleveland, Ohio

The presence of the Iron Heel is not as some have said, the figment of a disordered imagination of an over worked brain; it is rather a terrible reality of an over wroth Capitalism. I know for I have once more experienced its power and anger. After completing my post graduate work in Chicago I went for a few days' relaxation to visit my friend, W. E. Reynolds, and while there received a request to deliver the Labor Day address at Cleveland, Ohio. I accepted, as is my custom, and when I arrived found a splendid crowd and I delivered one of my characteristically mild talks.

The American Protective League was on the job. They let me finish my speech, and then politely requested me to take a ride with them down town. When I asked them why I should do so strange a thing, they informed me that they believed that I had violated the criminal syndicalist law of the State of Ohio, and that they wanted to see about it. There was nothing to do but to take the ride.

They took me to a little place outside of Cleveland, before a somewhat common-place little magistrate and there I was charged with a long list of crimes ranging from advocacy of violence to the overthrow of the U. S. government, all of which I, of course, had to deny. I hated to do this in a way because the men who arrested me were so kind and gentlemanly about it all that I really hated to intimate that they were liars by flatly denying their allegations. The judge held me under ten thousand dollars bail, which was reduced to five thousand at the request of the deputy sheriff who arrested me. I was then taken to Jail, but before I was taken there my captors took me to a restaurant and we had supper. All the time we discussed the great problems of the day. I found that these men were business men who were doing their best to keep things as they are, and while I opposed them from the viewpoint of Class interest, I admire their devotion to their Cause. I, who was their captive, pitied them because they are fighting the death of the present order as a physician fights to keep life in a dying man. Of course they do not see that their patient is dying; they only see that his life is endangered.

At nine o'clock I was taken to the County Jail and there I was searched and everything I had loose about me was taken away. As every cell was full, I was taken to what they called the bull pen, a cement floor surrounded by cells and here I was to spend the night, slowly walking up and down. My only companion was a negro boy about twenty years of age who had just been brought back from the prison hospital, his jaws still bad-

ly swollen from an injury received in the shops in which he had worked, or so he said. But it looked to me as though he were suffering with the mumps for he had a high fever and he laid down upon that cold floor writhing with back ache. I folded my coat and placed it under him, but that did not help much. At last after repeated requests a jailer told me that there was an unlocked cell where they kept the old cast off rags of prisoners. It was a vile, crummy-looking mass but out of it I dug enough rags to make the boy comfortable to a degree. I was half way thankful for this opportunity as it kept me from cursing the scheme of things entire.

About four o'clock in the morning they brought in another prisoner, a boy of about eighteen or nineteen years. He had been arrested for riding a freight; he was frightened almost out of his wits and it kept me busy.

At last morning came and the prisoners were fed in a way not unlike hogs are fed, dry bread and sloppy oat meal. I refused the dirty stuff; it was not fit to eat. They now took me and locked me in a cell with an Italian under indictment for murder.

About three hours later we were all brought down into the Bull Pen and there we were herded like a pack of brutes. Still, here it was that I met some comrades.
I am hurrying this article to a close because I am due at the court house for my hearing. I will doubtless be bound over to the grand jury.
More later.
Write me in care of the Ohio Socialist.
John Dequer.

IDA BELOOF MAKES A HIT

Her Speeches at Right Wing Convention Featured by New York Call

Mrs. Ida Beloo, State Secretary of Kansas, refused to leave the Police Party convention with Katterfeld and Mrs. Harmon. According to accounts published in the New York Call, she made quite a "hit" with the right wing crowd and entertained them with humorous descriptions of the left wing members of the party. Kansas members will be gratified to learn that their state secretary regards them as "Holy Rollers."

Eugene Wood, special correspondent of the Call, reported one of her speeches as follows:

Two speeches by Mrs. Beloo of Kansas have had the effect of producing the conviction that she is rather a cheerful person to have around. Her description of the epidemic of Left Wing hysteria as another case of "Holy Rollerism" wasn't as much lost as you might think, for if the New York delegates didn't know personally of that sort of religious emotionalism they had heard about it, and the other delegates knew about it from experience. She was certain that it would pass, "but," said she, in her quaint "short-grass" accent, "it's like the measles. You can doctor all you want to, but it ain't goin' to do any good till the twentyfirst day, when the fever'll break of its own accord."

A TRIP TO THE COAL FIELDS.

(By Ella Reeve Bloor.)

About 2,000 of the miners have been striking down in the Mulberry and Ringo district for about two months. All the miners are employed by the Central Coal Co., owned by a "friend of labor" according to the "misleaders" in the Central Labor Union.

These miners of Mulberry and Ringo gave me a cordial reception especially at Ringo where they held the meeting in the School House yard. Comrade Titus, of Girard, was chairman. We spoke from a large truck to hundreds of miners, their wives and children. Comrade Crevitson, County organizer for the Socialist Party of Crawford County, also spoke and urged those present to help make Socialism a reality in this country.

Arrangements were made by Comrades Roy Stanton and Crevitson to hold mass meetings in the Mulberry District as follows: Saturday evening, September 27th at Gross and Sunday afternoon and evening in and near Mulberry: At Pittsburg, Kansas, we saw our old-time friends Phil and Jim Callery. Jim became a member of the Workers' Educational League to help back up the Workers' World. Phil Callery is now attorney for the United Mine Workers of District 14 and is very successful in looking after the interests of the miners.

A large mass meeting was held Saturday evening at the corner of Fifth and Broadway in Pittsburg. Several old-time Socialists of Crawford County came out and are ready to line up in the new revolutionary Socialist movement.

Communist Labor Party Calls on Workers to Refuse to Fight in War on Mexico

The Communist Labor Party, representing the revolutionary majority of the Socialist Party, has issued a statement denouncing the capitalist plot to make war on Mexico and calling upon the workers of the United States to refuse to fight for the capitalists and declaring that the only war in which they are justified in taking up arms is the struggle of the workers of the world to free themselves from their exploiters. The full text of the manifesto follows:

Once more the capitalist class in the United States is planning intervention in Mexico, in the name of restoring "law and order," but in reality with the intention of subjugating Mexican workers to the most brutal form of exploitation—exploitation under colonial administration, or under the hypocrisy of a dummy government controlled by capitalist interests in this country.

For the third time in the last five years the capitalist press and all its means of publicity and education are concentrating their efforts upon the propaganda of intervention. As formerly, the occasional murders of American citizens in the remoter regions of Mexico are being played up in the newspapers with a wealth of exaggerated detail, and all the explanations and denials of the Mexican Government are either minimized or deliberately misinterpreted; while at the same time, the mistreatment and even murder of countless American workers in this country by the gunmen of the capitalist class is not reported.

Bullying the Workers.

But with the intensification of the class struggle during and succeeding the war, the interventionists no longer conceal their real motives. The pres-

ent attempt to bully the American workers into war against Mexico is based chiefly on the fact that the Mexican Government is attempting to control the disposition of the national resources of that country, and through taxation is trying to retain in the National treasury some portion of the national wealth of which that country has been consistently looted by foreign capitalists in the past.

The Government of the United States, has, so far, supported the demands of the American capitalists that Mexico change her constitution and abrogate her laws concerning her own internal administration, and this for the sole purpose of permitting foreigners to exploit the Mexican working class.

The Communist Labor Party, representing the American working class, demands that the Government of the United States withdraw its support from American capitalist interests in their attempt to force an imperialist war against Mexico.

Failing this, the Communist Labor Party of America appeals to the workers of the United States to oppose this war by all means within their power.

Refuse to Fight!

We urge all workers to refuse to fight in the war which in reality is a war against the Mexican working class. And we reaffirm that the only struggle which can justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from the economic exploitation and political oppression.

To our comrades of all countries affiliated with the Communist International we appeal for defense of the Mexican working class by every possible demonstration of solidarity.

COOKS STRIKE AT OMAHA

New Independent Union Makes Demand for Eight Hour Day, Six Days a Week

The waiters and cooks are striking in Omaha for an eight-hour day, six days a week instead of seven and a little, just a little, more money. The

strike came as the result of a split in Local 143 of the A. F. of L. when the Omaha cooks association was formed some weeks ago. This insurgent group formed a separate organization because the regular organization was asleep on the job but now that action has come each has taken the other to his bosom and both shout hurrah for the new day. It might be said in passing that it was Socialists William Mehrens and W. B. McNally who made the first move and if the strikers don't know more than they did about the advantages of one big union before they finish it won't be the fault of those in the ranks who do know about it. The chambermaids, porters and others remain in the scab hotels and restaurants because, as the A. F. of L. will tell you, "they are not organized." Well, why not? "Oh there is no chambermaids union and there is no porters union." As though there could not be a one big workers union when they all need and want the same thing.

The average wage of these restaurant and hotel workers in Omaha is twenty-one cents an hour while many of them receive as low as twelve cents an hour. When the union representatives called on the Paxton Hotel management and presented their requests, they were told to take their cooks and waiters and go to hell. Where else would they go on such a wage? Truly, the road to hell is paved with low wages. That was on Saturday and on Sunday there was a walk-out at noon.

Rome Miller, of the Rome Hotel, agreed immediately to the demands of the union and the Fontenelle agreed in part. The latter has always maintained the closed shop principle in the dining room and kitchen.

A well attended mass meeting Saturday night at the Labor Temple and daily meetings at union headquarters, keep up the morale of the strikers. Speeches, endorsement of the Central

Labor Union and financial backing are all forthcoming.

To a Socialist it was amusing to hear the labor attorney, Bigelow, plead with the strikers to refrain from doing anything that would lose the respect of the masses and telling them that it would be illegal to do anything that would interfere with business. As though the masses were not workers themselves and as though it were not time for the workers to know that the laws are made for business and by business and not by workers for workers. They are hoodwinked into voting for this and that good man who tells them just before election that he is a friend of the worker and after election helps to turn the machine guns on them.

It is high time the workers learned and realized that they are in the majority and that if the majority would use its brains instead of letting the employers alone use theirs, there would be no need of supplications and strikes for decent living conditions.

Only two negroes presented themselves at the mass meeting and they are very scarce at the other meetings; sometimes none at all. Here presents another problem. In a previous strike some years ago they were introduced as strikebreakers. Will they continue to scab against their own class, the working class? There is considerable vim and vigor and earnestness on the part of the strikers and a healthy spirit of sticktoitiveness. Pickets aplenty are on the job and they are out to win.

Mildred E. Kern.

"Men are shooting one another in the streets of Petrograd! Same in Washington! Yes, brother, But that isn't half as bad. Starving children cry for pity Where the paths of war were burned;

So their cry in this fair city, But we must not be concerned. If the shackles we are wearing Sometimes seem to hurt our wrists, We must try to keep from caring, Or they'll call us Bolsheviks."

HAILS THE NEW PARTY

Leading Writer on Industrial Unions Sends Greetings from Federal Prison

Support for the new Communist Labor Party from revolutionary workers who have heretofore refused to affiliate with the Socialist Party is indicated by a message to the convention from Harrison George, a ten year I. W. W. prisoner at Leavenworth. Declaring that he, and many others at Leavenworth, will join and work with the organization which best represents the ideas of the "manifesto of 1848, and the program of the third International," he brands the actions of Germer and Co. as a last desperate bargain for their liberty at the expense of the virtue of the party, and declares that the prisoners at Leavenworth do not want them there. "We wish for no Schiedeman in 'our jail' or in 'our country.'" he says.

His letter follows:

"Dear Comrades: To all of you I send greetings from this Siberia of the Western World; and from this prison camp I urge you all to remember that great word "solidarity." Not that that word or any other phrase, however so pleasing counts for aught. But with solidarity accomplished, all is accomplished. I and those who are here imprisoned with me, shall judge you by the direction of your efforts and their results from this viewpoint. You may be assured that speaking for myself I shall not hesitate to join and work for the organization which best represents the ideas of the Manifesto of 1848, and the program of the Third International, when again I am a man instead of a number.

A Desperate Bargain.

"To many of us here, and in particular to myself, the expulsion of the bulk of the membership by Berger, Germer and Co., has meant simply that, as a last desperate bargain, they were selling the virtue of the party to keep their freedom—to avoid Leavenworth. To any one with a shred of revolutionary honor, such appearance of compromise for personal ends can but be despisable. Not that we want them here; no, for this place is only for the worthy and those who laugh rather than weep at prison sentences. "We wish for no Schiedemann and Noske in 'our jail' or in 'our country.'" I would say more, a good deal more, but space and place forbid, and

I think you all know your duty anyhow without any instructions from this jail bird. Yet your duty is great, for though the honor of founding the Communist Labor Party is great, yet the duty of carrying it to success is tremendous, and the responsibility is incalculable. May your capabilities and your responsibility to the proletariat keep you to the high mark that your own name sets for you. And may no clash of factions, individuals over questionable issues mar the march of the 'iron battalions' toward emancipations.

Freedom is Possible.

"Let us all have done with compromise with liberalism, with reformism and with capitalism. As I've said elsewhere, any fool of a workman at all worth 'saving' knows already that he is exploited, that he is a wage slave. The main duty and effort is to show him that freedom is possible, that it is within his reach. He will take it fast enough once he is shown it can be taken and held.

"There has been nothing of news of information in this letter aside from the fact of my adhesion to your cause as I see it. Whatever that is worth you are at liberty to use as you see fit. That said, I remain

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
Harrison George,
Convict No. 13158,
Leavenworth, Kas."

KATTERFELD ON THE JOB

Calls State Conference of Kansas Socialists for September 21.

Aggressive and confident as ever, L. E. Katterfeld, stopped over in Kansas City last Monday with plans for immediate action to ratify the decision of the Left Wing delegates at Chicago in forming the Communist Labor Party. "The time for a show-down has arrived," he said, "the issue is clear and every Bolshevik knows his duty. The Left Wing made a clean and honest fight to win the party. Despite the expulsions and suspensions resorted to by Germer and Co., and the packed delegation from the East, we had a majority of the regularly elected delegates at Chicago and were only prevented from controlling the convention by the intervention of the police."

"In all the Western states," he said, "the entire state party machinery is in control of the revolutionists and the change of the name of the party will be ratified by referendum of the membership. The state offices will simply begin to purchase their dues stamps from the new executive secretary, A. Wagenknecht, and no time will be lost in making the change.

Calls State Conference.

"In states like Kansas and Missouri, however, where the majority of the members are for the Left Wing, but where the state office is in control of the Germer-Police combination, it is necessary to go straight to the membership, ignoring the officials."

He and Mrs. Harmon, accordingly have called for a State Conference of the Kansas members to take place at Kansas City, Kansas, on Sunday, September 21st for the purpose of ratifying the action of the delegates at Chicago and effecting a new state organization. A similar conference for Missouri delegates has been called for the same time on the Missouri side by Wilcox and Kassner and a joint mass meeting will be arranged for the evening where plans will be made for uni-

fied action in the two states. Delegates to the conferences should report at the office of the Workers' World or the Peoples' Forum.

"The Communist Labor Party will win," says Katterfeld, because we have the right principles, the vast majority of the membership and we also have the workers and the organizers. We fought them in the old party successfully and now we are going to prove that the rank and file is with us for revolutionary principles in the new party."

STREET MEETINGS.

Saturday night, September 13th in front of the Post Office at St. Joseph, Mo., Comrade Ella Reeve Bloor will speak on the subject of "Industrial Evolution."

Monday evening at 12th and Oak Streets, Comrade Bloor will speak on the subject of "Legislation now before Congress."

The street meetings are putting new life into the movement and it is very important that members attend.

PICNIC AT ST. JOSEPH.

The Socialist Party Local at St. Joseph, Mo., are giving a picnic for the benefit of the Workers' World Sunday, September 14th at Lake Contrary. It is expected that a delegation from Kansas City will attend the picnic and show by our presence that we appreciate the efforts that are being made by the St. Joseph comrades in behalf of our paper. The Interurban cars leave the station at 10th and Grand on the even hour Sunday morning and those desiring to go should get in touch with the World office so that we can make arrangements to leave in a body.

HUNGARY FALLS

The bitter word goes forth—Hungary Falls.
The workers hope in dust and ashes strewn—
In Budapest the stark and dreadful walls,
Drip with the holy blood of the commune.

(Until the dawn how many more must tread
The path where Liebknecht and Red Rosa led?)

Laugh, ye hyenas, o'er the heaps of slain,
This is your triumph—lest it be your last,
Let lust and murder all unhindered reign—
So shall the reckoning come more fierce and fast.

(Where happy little children danced,
The sod
Is trampled by White Terrors firing squad!)

The workers wrought the temple of their dream,
They lit its altars at great Russia's fire—
And there their Soviets sat, beloved, supreme—
A ruined land they bade take hope, aspire.

(Wisely they ruled, and humanly, and well,
Stainless as when they rose, the hour they fell!)

From black Versailles the statesmen raged to see
The Magyar rise, the scarlet flag unfurled—
Full well they knew that every people free
Imperils every tyrant in the world.

(The Ruman brigands can be hired to slay
And share with Czech and Pole Is-cariot's pay!)

Might is right! The mercenary horde
With famine armed and torch and bayonet
O'erwhelmed the workers—and a Hapsburg lord
Gloats o'er the ruins of the Soviet!

(Bravely our comrades die, and as they fall—
Listen! The strains of International!)

Who stays to Weep? Our dead lie mountains high,
'Tis they who urge us on to sterner needs,
The coming of our day of wrath is nigh,
When we shall judge the oppressors by their deeds.

(Oh masters, what if then, when brought to bar
Ye learn ye've tried our gentleness too far?)

Hungary slain shall rise to a new birth—
The Final Conflict cannot lag for long—
And with the freemen of Communist Earth,
Shall join in joyful Labor's victory song.

(And hark! On far Siberia's frosty air,
Already shout the conquering proletaire!)

Donald M. Crocker.

After 134 days of working class rule the Communist Government of Hungary, oppressed and hemmed in by invading Allied armies, was forced to capitulate. Hungary could not bear up under the pressure of the opposing imperialistic forces since it is largely dependent on foreign countries for its food products and raw materials, especially coal. The stoppage of industry and the consequent exhaustion of supplies due to the war period intensifies this dependency. Another cause for the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet government was the inability of maintaining contact with the Revolutionary forces in Russia which was cut off by the military intervention of the Allies. But the experiment has not been in vain in spite of this temporary setback. Such innovations as common distribution of foodstuffs, abolition of caste in the school and military systems, the universal obligation to work, and the inauguration of universal housing projects could never have been effected under a bourgeois government.

In speaking of the downfall of the Paris Commune which was brought about by the imperialist armies of France, aided by reactionary Bismarckian Germany, an American writer said although the Paris Communards were hopelessly crushed and 30,000 were slaughtered, yet—the first time in the world's history—the workers were free for eight weeks. If this writer were alive today he would undoubtedly say something similar about our brave working class fighters of Hungary.

As a last tribute to our martyred Hungarian fellow workers we quote from Walt Whitman:

"Those corpses of young men,
Those martyrs that hang from the gibbets—those hearts pierced by the gray lead,
Cold and motionless as they seem, live elsewhere with unslaughtered vitality.

"They live in other young men,
O Kings!

They live in brothers again ready to defy you!

They were purified by death—they were taught and exalted."

M. F.

Windle Fizzles Out

Anti-Bolshevik propaganda by way of lectures is passe, at least in Omaha. One, Windle, editor of Brann's Iconoclast, was scheduled to speak at the Municipal Auditorium last Friday night but despite the fact that the city had been heavily billed and cards distributed for weeks in advance and the newspapers had heralded the coming of Mr. Windle, less than a hundred people presented themselves at the free entertainment, and Mr. Windle refused to impart to these curious few the wonderful secrets against the Bolsheviks in his possession.

The lecture was not sufficiently advertised was the explanation given. Might one venture to suggest that the old quotation that we learned at school about truth crushed to earth rising again, could have something to do with it?

Evidently Mr. Windle will have to save his oratorical ability for some new anti propaganda, anti Socialist, anti I. W. W., anti Bolshevik have all had their day and the people, seemingly, are tired of them. Mr. Windle might try his hand at anti-suppression of facts for a change. That ought to draw a large crowd.

Mildred E. Kern.

POT SHOTS TAKEN AT STRIKING PRISONERS.

Cruelty and barbarity beside which the proverbial atrocities of the enemy in war-time pale into insignificance was practised by representatives of the United States Department of War at Leavenworth prison during the recent strike of inmates, according to evidence smuggled out by one of the prisoners.

The occasion of the "mutiny," as the authorities called it, was poor food. Added to this was the fact that the men were smarting under injustice of the sentences imposed upon them. There were, for instance, many new arrivals from overseas, some of whom had five year sentences and more for merely talking to a German woman, for loitering, and for similar insignificant indiscretions.

When conditions became unbearable, a fraction of the prisoners on July 22 refused to return to work after a particularly atrocious meal. Their "mutiny" was seized upon by the authorities to disband the grievance committee of the prisoners which had been in existence since the general strike of last January; to cancel each and every privilege including loss of "good time" and home-parole of all prisoners, indiscriminately; to half starve the prisoners by not only continuing to serve inedible food, but by reducing the rations to one-third; to place the prisoners under the continued surveillance of "hard boiled" officers who, if they saw a smile on the lips of a prisoner that they thought derisive, would take a "pot shot" at him with their revolvers; to make the prisoner stand naked in the sweltering heat while their clothes were searched and even such comforts as garters removed; and in general to institute a reign of terror that should make every American blush with shame. (New York Call.)

A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

By Mary E. Marcy

We American revolutionary socialists are in process of finding ourselves and some of us have a long way to go.

One Left Wing group imagines and teaches, by inference, if not by design, that revolution is a project, a plan, and this group has issued blue prints of the coming change and promises of what it means to do during the transition and after, even going so far as to guarantee the profits of small investors. This group has adopted wholesale the program of our splendid Russian comrades—even to their recognized mistakes, and to the compromise the Russian Soviets have sometimes been forced to make during a period of chaos, in order to expedite the processes of production and secure food and clothing for a desperate and hungry people.

These of us are not going to be guided by events and circumstances and requirements and necessities; we are going to make our plans and stick to them though the heavens fall! We are already compromising with the petty bourgeoisie when we may never be forced into this extremity. We are promising things we can never perform.

Another group which formerly called itself a part of the Left Wing, seems to be so enamored with its own narrow, incorrect interpretation of political action that it seems about to cut off those branches of this form of activity which are counted most essential in the Left Wing program of Europe. Of late several writers in this group have been denouncing mass action, under the mistaken idea that we can get nowhere by following the working class and in the evident belief that leaders alone will be able to guide the workers into the New Society. They forget that Lenin and Trotsky followed the Russian workers straight into the revolution.

This group is not advocating the election of socialists on reform platforms, but it evidently does intend to overthrow capitalism by one grand political coup. Since they disapprove of mass action, they must mean by the election of socialists to office.

This group, which is tolerably well-informed of the writings of Marx, has forgotten that Marx declared he would give all the theories in the world for action by the workers' class, and that Marx organized the Workers' International, an economic, rather than a political organization.

Some of the comrades in this group are discouraging strikes and telling the workers that all strikes are failures. Covertly, they are disparaging all forms of unionism. They seem to forget that men learn by doing instead of by theorizing; that the Great Man Theory of making history belongs to a by-gone period, and that strikes are the best schools on earth for developing class consciousness, class loyalty, class power, class fighting spirit.

They forget that Necessity is today treading so closely upon the toes of all workingmen that workers HAVE TO BE ETERNALLY FIGHTING TO keep pace with the rising cost of living. The workers HAVE TO FIGHT on the industrial field, with their fellows, or acquire deadly habits of slavish submission under which they would sink lower and lower into utter degradation and despair. The only alternative such a worker would have would be the performance of some rash individualistic act that would lodge him in jail.

A great opportunity is before us revolutionary socialists today. We ought all to be in the very heart of every industrial fight, helping the worker and showing him that while higher wages will help him to keep pace with the rising cost of living, the cost of living is going to continue to go up. We should show him that the only real hope for the working class is in the abolition of the wages system.

We ought to be able to sum up our platform in this theme:

"Abolition of the Wages System!"

And if we are to qualify that phrase in any way we ought to add:

"By the working class; using political action, which includes mass action, and revolutionary unionism."

Many and many a page of perfectly good, clean paper has been spoiled during the last few weeks by groups calling themselves revolutionary socialists berating the I. W. W. because that organization refuses to endorse political action, whereas a well-known group, formerly in the S. P., has itself repudiated political action as defined by the Socialist Party of America in recent years.

The I. W. W. is a revolutionary industrial union aiming to abolish the wages system. It is the chief organization in this country today that is fighting, organizing and educating ON THE JOB. No intelligent person who knows anything about the I. W. W. imagines, for a moment, that its mem-

bers would, in a time of revolution, permit any group of capitalist thugs, gunmen or bandits to go about killing workingmen, or robbing the workers of their products, without organizing to prevent these things—and any other outrages against the working class. The I. W. W. is so busy waging the class war on the job that it has not laid out any specified plans for next year. But no organization that fails to adapt itself to the need of the times can possibly endure, and the I. W. W. intends to stay in the game.

If, instead of denouncing the only revolutionary movement that is actually making inroads in industry, we would learn what political action really is, and tell our friends what it is; if, instead of petty criticizing, we were to back up this fighting organization and show it that an army is the FORCE that makes the State something besides a few words, or laws written upon pieces of paper; that mass action may be political action and that we are all so close together that we ought to present a solid front to the capitalist enemy, we might then develop a movement in this country that would actually move and grow. Every worker is turning toward socialism or industrial unionism today. Why not educate these men and women instead of confusing them with our own errors?

A fine young Marxian student said a few days ago, when referring to a most exclusive group which called itself a part of the Left Wing movement: "We are going to keep on as we have done if we only have 10,000 members; we mean to be right if we only have TEN."

But a social revolutionist, a would-be builder of the new society, cannot be right if his group numbers only ten. To be right today when financial systems are dissolving before our eyes, when economic systems are being revolutionized and great nations going bankrupt and workers everywhere demanding a new deal, or the abolition of the existing system, to be right at such a time we have TO EAT AND SLEEP AND TALK AND FIGHT AND SUFFER AND LEARN WITH THE MAN ON THE JOB!

The great European Left Wing revolutionists, some of whom have died in the cause of the workers, knew this. They knew, with Marx, that the emancipation of the workers must be accomplished by the workers; that the working class and not the theoreticians are the makers of history; they knew, as Lenin and Trotsky showed so plainly, that no man, however wise, can actually lead the workers into revolution. They can only help the workers to get what they want when they begin to fight for it. They can only remove the obstacles from the torrent of blind, desperate revolution and help it sooner to find a safe outlet in the satisfaction of working class needs and desires.

This is precisely the reason our European comrades insisted upon standing for MASS ACTION as being the best means for revolution. This is why the socialists or communists of Europe who met at the third International held in Moscow last March emphasized mass action as being most effective in the days of revolution. In the Manifesto of the third International our comrades declare that this is "the era of the collapse of capitalism," believing, as foreseen by Marx, that capitalism is disintegrating through its own contradictions and that the workers will everywhere be forced into revolution.

The workers never have agreed nor ever can agree on, or plan, a revolution. Revolutions are the result of desperate needs, great economic convulsions and financial collapses. The workers revolt when they have to, and never in the history of the world have they ever revolted before that time.

Today the working class is anxious to hear the message of communism, revolutionary unionism, or whatever it is you have in mind when you speak of the Abolition of the Wages System. Every revolutionist ought to sink himself among a group of wage workers and help organize and educate them, after he is sure he knows what he is talking about himself.

We ought not to discourage strikes because strikes hinder production, help increase the cost of living, because they cause further currency dilution (the printing of more unsecured paper money), as well as cause strikes are the great training schools in the class war. The worker who is militant enough to fight loyally in a strike becomes a fighting man. He is going to take part in the Social Revolution. He is going to learn to do some thinking for himself, and it will be difficult for Blind Leaders to mislead him. May the gods deliver us from workers, no matter where they are, who listen to would-be leaders who advise them to sit down sullenly during a falling labor market

(falling wages) and live on less while they are waiting for the revolution!

It is the good fortune of the workers today that they have to keep up a constant fight to catch up with the cost of living. If we only help to force prices up for all commodities, as well as for the commodity labor power, we will see the working class whipped into shape for revolution by everyday events, because it will learn to fight by fighting. Every strike hastens the downfall of capitalism.

Today the Russian Soviets are printing tons upon tons of new unbacked paper money because they know that they are thus, once and for all time, putting capitalism permanently out of business. Rising prices, strikes, rising wages, etc., force the capitalists of every nation into further currency inflation. They force Capitalism to dig its own grave.

These are great days and the only way we can actually take part in the great struggle going on is to ally ourselves with the workers in industry whence the great economic revolution is taking place. Small, exclusive groups that get together to mull over Marxian theories, while the facts of actual revolution are galloping past, (precisely in accordance with the Marxian analysis of capitalist society), will be left on their shelves during these stirring times.

We believe that every one who calls himself a revolutionist is a strong advocate of education, but if we are to have "education" opposing strikes, mass action and industrial unionism, I am sure we can dispense with such "education" to the advantage of the Class Struggle.

Further, even the very wisest of us do not know quite all there is to learn. We have to learn as we go along; we shall have to adapt ourselves to the rising tide of revolution. We may be sure it will never turn aside to shape itself to our small preferences or desires.

We may as well realize, too, that there are no true blue prints of the revolution and that the great change is not going to be encompassed by an "educated" working class, in the socialist sense. As conditions grow worse and the workers' fighting spirit increases, I suspect we are going to be amazed to see a lot of good Catholics, and staunch Republicans and hide-bound craft unionists who will be forced to jump right in and fight just as hard and just as well as we Marxians. They may not know exactly what they want or how to get it. They may want to destroy instead of to use, as they did in Russia, and so the more educated workers we have the easier will the transition be for us all.

But the RANK and FILE, the HENRY DUBBS, if you please, are going to do what Necessity makes them do, and Necessity is heading them straight for revolution. The more they strike and suffer, and suffer and learn and raise Cain generally, the sooner will the capitalist system progress far enough in the process of disintegration to enable the workers to throw off the burden of wage slavery.

Then will come the big job for wise heads. And if we are in close touch with the working class, if we know the job and the needs of the job and the MEN ON IT, if we are trusted by the workers and are OF the workers, then we can more easily help bring order out of chaos and help build the New World. In other words, if we are close enough to the workers we can, with them, shorten the birth-pangs of the New Society.

HOW TO PROPAGATE SOCIALISM. (Without Doing Much Work.)

Many Socialists think that the spreading of the gospel of Socialism requires a superhuman exertion. This is a mistake. Any Socialist may perform invaluable propaganda with very little effort. I speak from experience. And I get results—gratifying results. Read the following suggestions to see whether you may improve on your present method of propaganda:

1. You doubtless take at least a half-dozen Socialist papers. What do you do with them? Let them mold in the woodshed? Burn them? For shame, comrade! No piece of socialist literature should ever be destroyed. Remember, it may appear trite and simple to you, but it may be the eye-opener for one who has not yet hit the saw-dust trail of Socialism. Preserve all your Socialist literature. If you cannot use it when you get it, put it away for future use.

Now make your work intensive. Don't scatter your energy. Don't try to convert an entire city at once. Pick out a dozen friends and relatives and carefully study the temperament—the predilections—of each. Each of these people has certain hobbies and prejudices that must be catered to as far as possible without actually compromising the fundamental issue. Work steadily on this dozen. Use your tact and send them your papers, clippings and pamphlets. Also write them

brief, cordial, explanatory letters occasionally. Never antagonize them if it can be avoided. In your personal conversation with them be a good listener rather than a rampant declamatory talker. Meanwhile keep a calm, pleasant smile on your face. Don't ARGUE. Simply DISCUSS. When you argue with a man you instantly put him on the defensive—you destroy his mood of receptivity. When you engage in discussion you simply exchange viewpoints. In the atmosphere of friendly discussion, conversion is much more likely.

2. Those of us who live in the city spend a great deal of time in transit to and from our work and amusement. It requires hardly any extra exertion to leave suitable Socialist literature on the seats of street-cars, trains and jitneys. If you have several blocks to walk to work or to reach your car, stick a card or leaflet in a conspicuous place on a gate or fence. Put it where it cannot help but be found and where the wind cannot blow it away. If you underscore with blue pencil some salient passage, so much the better. As a rule, the more you apply the principles of modern advertising to your propaganda the more satisfactory will be your results.

When you attend a dance or card-party or social of some kind, take the opportunity of slipping a socialist pamphlet or leaflet into coats and overcoats. It is best to do this rather stealthily, else somebody may accuse you of taking something OUT of the pocket.

11. Workers World Bill Bertram
The rural Socialist also has opportunities. It is little trouble for him to drop literature in Uncle Sam's mail boxes along the road. Uncle Sam may object somewhat, but that is a trifling matter. When his health is poor, we have a right to improve it, despite his foolish objections. I lived in the country eight years and found this method to work well.

3. Nearly everybody goes to the library. Here is a splendid chance to make reds. Be sure to insert red literature in every book you take out. And when you are browsing over the shelves, don't put a book back before slipping a little mental dynamite into it. Especially the fiction volumes. It is to be regretted that the masses read four times as much fiction as non-fiction. But we must capitalize this situation by inserting serious leaflets in the fiction books. Something in brief story form such as Bellamy's "Parable of the Water-tank" is good for this purpose. When you come across a passage in a book adversely critical of socialism write a sensible clear reply to it and place it in the book for the benefit of the next reader.

The religiously-inclined should make use of the church Bibles and hymn-books for the same purpose. Instead of going to sleep when the pastor begins to preach, use your wits in supplementing the moral system of the Bible and the music of John Wesley with a clear, simple treatise on Bolshevism.

The above are methods of propaganda requiring little extra labor and time. They do require forethought and presence of mind. It is work that all Socialists are capable of. If every Socialist were to employ these methods efficiently for a year, our party membership could be trebled.

—Alanson Sessions

BOOKS WORTH READING

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

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The People's Weekly Forum

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

A Report

To The Socialist of Nebraska.

For twenty years the American Socialist Movement endured without serious division, but division came at last, and it had to come. In the course of time it may prove to be the best thing that could have happened. Irreconcilable elements in the Socialist Party of America were fast depriving that organization of all revolutionary usefulness, which is only another way of saying that those elements were depriving it of all right to existence.

The split in the Socialist Party and the organization of the Communist Labor Party mark, I believe, the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the movement.

All Left Wing Socialist delegates went to the Emergency Convention at Chicago, expecting to take part in it, hoping against hope that reactionary officialdom in the Socialist Party would not be able to withstand an awakened and indignant membership, and that Adolph Germer and the National Executive Committee would turn their offices over to their successors, according to the expressed mandate of the membership.

On the morning of Saturday, August 31, Left Wing Socialist delegates entered the convention hall at 113 South Ashland Boulevard and took their seats. Shortly afterward, Executive Secretary Adolph Germer appeared with several of his supporters and demanded that the delegates leave the hall until the convention had been regularly organized and the credentials committee had passed upon the contested seats, which meant that he and his supporters would control the convention. Also, white cards of admission were required in addition to credentials. The delegates declared their determination to remain, whereupon the police were called and, acting under the orders of the Executive Secretary, cleared the hall. Then the convention was called to order and speedily organized under the direction of the aggregation popularly as "Germer, Wilson & Company," Seymour Stedman making the keynote speech.

The excluded delegates would not confess failure, and on Sunday, August 31, issued an appeal to all revolutionary delegates in the Socialist Party convention to withdraw as a protest against the methods that had been used, and stating in detail the circumstances responsible. A second convention was organized immediately, and arrangements made for financing it. Until the credentials committee reported, numerous letters and telegrams were read, endorsing the Left Wing position. After the credentials committee had reported, announcing that 87 delegates were entitled to seats, the new convention began business as the real Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party of America. A committee of five was elected to confer with the Communist Party for determining a basis on which the two bodies might unite. Unable to come to satisfactory terms with the other Socialist convention, meeting in the same building, the succeeding convention adopted resolutions, severing relations with the Socialist Party of America and formally declaring the organization of a new party under the name of the Communist Labor Party of the United States of America.

Under reports of committees, the Committee on Program and Labor brought in a lengthy document, outlining in detail the principles of Communism as laid down in the call for the Third International by the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Russia. The necessity of maintaining the class character of the Communist Movement was emphasized, as was the necessity of paying strict attention to action on the industrial field and of keeping parliamentary action in its proper, subordinate place. A program for action was given and recommendations made for carrying it out speedily. The Committee on Organization, Education and Propaganda reported, recommending a highly developed party press, under exclusive party ownership and control, a publishing house for the publication and distribution of books and leaflets, a lyceum course for using effectively the services of speakers and organizers, and a training school, that the thousands of needed secretaries, speakers and organizers might be available. The Platform Committee reported with a platform from which all immediate demands had been eliminated and stating briefly, but forcibly and correctly, the principles of Communism.

Many efforts were exerted for amalgamation with the Communist Party, but without success, although several of the delegates from its convention came over to the Communist Labor Party convention in the course of time, and were duly seated. The Communist Party continued a separate organization. Dominated as it was by a few doctrinaires from Mich-

igan and a part of the Russian Federation, who wished to arrogate to themselves the leadership of the new movement, complete unity was impossible.

Nebraska was fully represented. Comrade C. C. Mickey, one of the duly elected delegates, could not be present, but the undersigned, in his capacity as State Secretary, issued credentials to Comrade William Chase, a member at large in good standing for seven consecutive years, and the Nebraska delegation acted as a unit throughout, voting and working with the Left Wing Socialists and taking an equal and unhesitating part in the organization of the Communist Labor Party.

The seats of the Nebraska delegation were contested by the Jewish Branch, of Omaha, but no one appeared to claim them, and at length the Committee on Credentials and Contests, of the Socialist Convention, granted the seats to Comrade Chase and the undersigned, but they had already accompanied the Left Wing Socialists into the Communist Labor Party Convention. The Jewish Branch not only offered a personal affront to the State Secretary in contesting the Nebraska delegation without giving him formal notice that such would be done, which was unimportant, but it allied itself with the reactionary element and, in so doing, assisted in the final consummation of the blackest treason to Socialist principles in the history of the Movement. I do not want to do anyone injustice. Certainly, the record of Jewish accomplishment in the Socialist Movement is a brilliant one, and furthermore, the strongest possible ties of personal friendship impel me to extend to the Jewish comrades every consideration within my power, but those organized in the Jewish Branch of Omaha have much to answer for. The culpability of their course must be plain. I denounce it as unfair and unjust and inexcusable.

What part the Communist Labor Party shall play in the Revolution remains to be seen. That it may play a prominent part in the Nebraska Movement, I recommend that local Omaha sever connections with the Socialist Party of America and ally itself with the Communist Labor Party, and that all members outside of Omaha, join the new party as members at large, both Local Omaha and members at large waiting and working until such a time as a state organization may be formed which shall satisfy the constitutional requirement of at least 300 members in good standing. It does not seem advisable to me to continue a state organization so long as the movement is in its present condition. I am not acting on impulse. It is even with some regret that I make these recommendations. I went to the convention with a Right Wing reputation. If seeing the situation at close range had not convinced me thoroughly, I should have worked throughout with the Socialist Party of America, for five years' continuous membership in the organization and much time and effort given to it, with what result it is not for me to say, forbade me to act rashly and required that every movement be accompanied with a sense of responsibility to those whose interests were so vitally involved.

We shall win. I am confident of it. Let us work, holding fast to this conviction.

Comrades of Nebraska, I greet you in the name of the Third International, the most striking development of all history, in the name of the working class, of which we are a part, in the name of the universal emancipation, that represents the substance of our best desire.

Fraternally submitted,
EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

Reward Russian Martyrs

To those opponents of the Soviet Government, whose principal brand of abuse has been the utterly false assertion that the Soviet Government is persecuting "real Russian revolutionists," i. e., the pioneers of the Russian revolutionary movement, the following news item published by the official Russian news agency, may be of some interest:

"The Russian Soviet Government has granted pensions to Russian revolutionaries, who in the 80's were known as 'Narodovoltsy' (members of the People's Liberty Party). In consideration of the great services these veterans have rendered in the Cause of the Russian Revolution, and of the sacrifices they have made in the struggle for the liberty of the Russian people, the Soviet Government has assigned to those of them still living, a life pension of 9,600 rubles a year."

Statement of California Delegates

(From the Minutes of the Socialist Party Convention). Delegate Dolsen, of California, asked permission to make a statement for the California Delegation.

He submitted the following statement:

"We, the delegates to the National Convention of the Socialist Party, duly elected by the membership of California present to the delegates of the Convention the following statement relative to our status and action in the present Party crisis.

1. Each of us at the recent state referendum received an overwhelming majority of the votes cast, over and above those received by the candidates who contested our election by LETTER.

2. This majority of votes was based upon the count from the uncontested locals of the state.

3. The allegations upon which Ex-National Secretary Germer instituted a so-called 'contest' against our seating were utterly without basis of proof and immaterial.

4. We were ejected from the Convention floor by the police at the orders of Mr. Germer in spite of our regular election and the fact that no delegates appeared to contest our seats.

5. We were crowded off into the ante-room where we could not hear the proceedings of the convention and where many of us had to stand for hours while packed delegations from other states occupied the convention floor.

6. The hearing on the contest developed into an inquisition on matters irrelevant to the issue. The next morning the delegation was haled before the inquisitors again without notice to its chosen spokesman of the previous evening.

7. The contest committee refused yesterday afternoon to announce its decision in our case despite the fact evident to all at the hearing that there were absolutely no grounds on which we could be fairly excluded. This action debarred us from participation in the first two days of the convention,

although we had each come over 2,000 miles to attend it.

8. The Contest Committee at this morning's session recommended that we be not seated, thus arbitrarily depriving the 3,000 Socialist Party members of California from a voice in the deliberations.

9. We were finally granted our seats over the adverse action of the committee because the delegates to the convention finally showed a waking up to the despotic procedure steam-rolled by the officialdom of the convention.

10. The delegates from California, having caucused together, have unanimously agreed:

(a) That they will not take their seats in the convention until all duly elected delegates have been seated.

(b) Nor until the packed delegations from the so-called reorganized states shall have been reduced to a representation of the actual membership which they in fact represent.

(c) Nor until the convention ceases to act under the guardianship of the Chicago Police Department.

(d) That unless the convention takes the above action before transacting other business, the delegates from California, representing the overwhelming sentiment of their constituents, do join with the delegates refused seats and the comrades of the expelled and suspended federations and states in the immediate formation of a real revolutionary Socialist Party in the United States,—the Communist Party of America; and we urge all comrades having the good of the working class of the U. S. and the world at heart to at once leave this reactionary convention and repair to the floor below to help us organize the proletariat of America for the final victory over Capitalism.

(Signed)

Max Bedacht,
James Dolsen,
Eddie B. Smith,
Irene Smith,
John C. Taylor,
Kaspar Bauer.

On motion this statement was laid on the table.

Call for State Conference of Communist Labor Party

Kansas City, Kans.,
September 8, 1919.

To the Comrades of Kansas:

Dear Comrades: A crisis has arisen in the affairs of the Party, that demands immediate action on the part of our membership.

The convention called by Adolph Germer and the old N. E. C. was packed with delegates from the East that had no right to be seated and nearly all the delegates from the Western states were denied admission even though they were regularly elected by the membership. Germer kept control of the convention with the aid of the Chicago police.

So the undersigned attended the Emergency Convention of the Party, called to order by Comrade A. Wagenknecht, the Executive Secy. elected by the N. E. C. that was elected through your referendum vote last spring.

At this convention a unanimous vote of the delegates, representing a majority of the Party membership, decided to change the name of the Party to the Communist Labor Party. The question now arises in each State whether the State membership should remain in the old Party, discredited by the acts of the reactionary officialdom, or whether we should join in this new movement.

Here in Kansas our old State Secretary, Mrs. Beloff, endorses the acts of the police controlled convention. We know that it will be impossible for the membership to find expression through her office. She is proving herself an apt pupil of the unspeakable Germer.

So we have agreed after conference with a number of active Comrades, to call for a State Conference of Comrades that desire to affiliate with the reorganized Party, the Communist Labor Party.

The issue is clear. The Germer convention voted AGAINST endorsing the Moscow International. The Communist Labor Party is FOR affiliating with the Moscow International to which the Bolshevik and Spartacans belong.

Every Comrade that is in favor of this is invited to participate in this Mass Convention. It will be held at South Slavic Hall, 4th and Armstrong, Kansas City, Kansas at 10 A. M., Sunday, September 21st.

Every Local in the State should be represented by one or more Comrades. Each one will be charged five dollars so as to cover the railroad fare of ALL the Comrades that attend, so that Comrades from the Western part of the State can come as easy as those

that live nearby.

At this meeting your Convention delegates, Gertrude Harman and L. E. Katterfeld will personally report. Come to the Conference and help decide what to do to win Kansas for revolutionary Socialism for the Moscow International, for the Communist Labor Party.

Fraternally yours,
Gertrude Harman,
L. E. Katterfeld.

Kansas Delegates to the
Emergency Convention
held at Chicago, August
30th.

N. B.—A conference will be held by the Left Wingers of Missouri on the Missouri side the same day, and a joint mass meeting will be arranged for the evening with a special program. Delegates from Nebraska are also expected to attend.

END OF SOCIAL UNREST IN SIGHT?

Social unrest is to be ended by the novel plan of a luncheon at the sumptuous home of a millionaire. At least, that is the hope of its inventor, Mrs. Davison, wife of Henry P. Davison, a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co.

Mrs. Davison thinks that if employers of labor, economic experts, and labor leaders will but get together in a conference, everything will be lovely. Therefore, she has offered her mansion at Peacock, Locust Valley, Long Island, for the first of a series of such conferences, to be followed by a luncheon. Chas. M. Schwab is to preside over the first gathering, which fact in itself is regarded by the upper four hundred as a good omen for the inevitable get-together of labor and capital. Also, the fact that "many prominent society women will act as hostesses at the reception which will follow the luncheon," should further help to solve the economic ills of the workers.

It has not been revealed yet as to who the chosen leaders of labor are that are to grace the occasion and sit at the feet of Charles M. Schwab. But among employers invited, who are to join in the embrace of Brother Labor are George W. Perkins, Cleveland H. Dodge, Bernard M. Baruch, Newcomb Carlton, Chas. H. Ingersoll, William Fellowes Morgan, Mortimer L. Schiff and similar lights.

"I plead guilty to the charge of being an Internationalist. Why should I not be one? I have no quarrel with any workingman on earth."—Eugene Debs.

Gompers and Prohibition

I have always been much opposed to the principle involved in prohibition. The prohibitionist method has always seemed to me an absurd reformist attempt to deal with an evil that has its roots, not in the wanton desire of men to ruin their minds and bodies, but in the maladjustments of capitalist society. I am opposed to the principle of prohibition as I am opposed to the principle involved in laws decreeing how long women may wear their skirts and in ordinances dictating the distance apart male and female bodies must be before they may indulge in the fox-trot or the shimmy.

Nevertheless I am glad that we have national prohibition in this country. Its beneficial results are already apparent. I am beginning to believe that the usually sagacious capitalist class overlooked something vital to its interests when it contributed funds to the agitation for temperance and prohibition. It seemed to forget that a sober mind is far more receptive to revolutionary propaganda than one befuddled with drink. Working class temperance is as dangerous to capitalism as several regiments of the agents of Lenin and Trotzky. Once empty a man's mind of the deadening effects of gin and there is some chance of filling it with thoughts of revolt. Nor is this merely a pleasant theory. I learn that the I. W. W. propaganda has reaped a gratifying harvest since the state of Washington adopted prohibition. And it is worth noting that, although the I. W. W. have a supreme contempt for political action on general principles, all through the Northwest it voted solidly for prohibition. A minister from Tacoma told me the other day that while he had charge of the local prohibition campaign some years ago in that city, dozens of the I. W. W. contributed large sums of money for the fight against drink. And in San Francisco all the members of the I. W. W. tell me that prohibition is a godsend to them.

Small wonder, then, that Samuel Gompers in the recent A. F. of L. Convention bitterly assailed prohibition as a breeder of revolutionary doctrine! For instance, regarding the growth of revolutionary sentiment in Detroit, Michigan, Gompers reports:

"... I have in my possession a detailed report, made by an important investigator, upon conditions in Detroit, Michigan, a city with a population of something like 1,000,000 souls. . . . Detroit has for fourteen months been what is a verbally termed dry. Immediately prohibition was ushered in, I. W. W. organizers invaded Detroit and opened headquarters. Since then affiliated locals have been organized in various wards. . . . There is a tremendous demand for the writings of Trotzky and Lenin."

Mr. Gompers continues: "It is a fierce form of radical teaching and preaching akin to the revolutionary socialism of continental Europe. It is socialism born of class division and class antagonism. . . . The House of the Masses is dominated by a group of radical intellectuals, university graduates, boulevard Bolsheviks, philosophical anarchists, rainbow-chasing socialists, and professional phrase-makers. These are mostly young men and women. . . . Over 200,000 copies of the New York Nation's translation of the Soviet constitution have been sold at a few cents a copy. Among newspapers those in demand are *The Rebel Worker*, the *Melting Pot*, the *New Republic*, the *Liberator*, the *New Solidarity*, and the *Revolutionary Age*. . . . During the past twelve months more than \$40,000 has been spent in Detroit on propaganda alone."

Concludes Mr. Gompers, in painting this horrible picture: ". . . The dissatisfied miners are turning toward radicalism in shoals. Lecturers for the Detroit proletarian university have been specially active during the last six months. It is safe to say the proletarian talkers are gaining adherents by the thousands to their radical, I. W. W., socialistic heresies. . . . There is nothing which the Russian Bolsheviks advocate that these radical Detroit revolutionaries do not also stand for and uphold. In a word, the triumph of the I. W. W. socialists of Detroit would mean the triumph of Russian Bolshevism in America."

It is indeed a deep pleasure to read these utterances from Mr. Gompers. I am glad that he has come to see that the Soviet system of government in America is no longer an impossibility. But there is something tragically amusing in this business of Mr. Gompers' preferring a working class dulled and deadened with drink to the abolition of the capitalist system with its inherent class-division and class-strife. It only shows the despicable depths to which one who aspires to harmonize the interests of capital and labor may descend.

Of course, prohibition is not the prime cause of the current increase of

revolutionary activity. Mr. Gompers displays a juvenile knowledge of social problems when he attributes this to the effects of prohibition. Bolshevism is becoming more and more popular in the United States because economic conditions are evolving to the point where only the program offered by the Bolsheviks offers a practical solution. The part played by prohibition is but an incidental one.

But whatever opinions one may have concerning the theory of prohibition, the fact remains when the offensive officialdom of conservative labor attacks it as a foment of revolution, it begins to assume attractive features.

Alanson Sessions.

Gomperism Provokes Row

Mexico City, August 26.—By mail (Delayed)—Samuel Gompers today won a triumph by a narrow margin in the national convention of the Mexican Socialist Party when his Mexican delegate, Luis N. Morones, was seated as a delegate by one vote, after two ties.

The whole day was spent in debate over the question of accepting or rejecting the credentials of Morones as a delegate. Morones protested that he came as a delegate from "La Casa Obrero Mundial," a syndicate of Mexico City, and that, possessing proper credentials, he could not be refused a seat.

Francisco Cervantes Lopez, national secretary of the Socialist Party, made a strong appeal to the convention to refuse Morones a seat, reminding the delegates that the American Federation of Labor had done nothing to secure the liberation of beloved leaders of the American working class like Debs, Mrs. O'Hare, Haywood, etc. Adolfo Santibanez, international secretary of the party, declared it was not merely a question of seating or unseating Gompers but a question of whether the Socialist Party would subscribe to "Gomperism" or Socialism.

Two ballots were taken and both resulted in a tie. Then Manabendra N. Roy, a Hindoo exile, who had previously declined to vote, cast the deciding vote in favor of seating Morones.

The agenda of the national congress has the following points for discussion:

1. To define and declare the definite ends which socialists pursue, individually and as a party.
2. To devise methods of propagating the socialist idea and to strengthen the movement in Mexico.
3. To ascertain those methods, political and economic, which may realize the fundamental objective of socialism, and put them into effect.
4. To bind in closer relationship the International Socialist Party and the Socialist Party of Mexico, its duly authorized branch.
5. To elect a Socialist delegate from Mexico to the Third International.

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Kansas City, Mo., Friday September 12, 1919.

THE PARTY SPLITS.

With the organization of the Communist Labor Party at Chicago the controversy in the Socialist Party comes to an end. There is no need for any more argument; action is now required. The six months' controversy over fundamental principles has given ample opportunity for every party member to decide where he belongs and to understand and be prepared to follow his principles to their logical implications. The issue has been blurred at times by personalities and tactics, but the basis of it has always been the principles involved and our decision must be made accordingly.

Those who are against the Moscow International, who want the revolution to be "legal," who look to the capitalist state instead of the industrial organizations of the workers—these properly belong with the old party. Some of them may hesitate to endorse the use of capitalist police against "comrades," but such tactics go logically with the principles of the men who resorted to them and it will not be difficult for those who endorse the principles to find an excuse for the tactics.

We also have our course arbitrarily marked out for us. However much we appreciate the value of unity where it is possible, we cannot hesitate to act when an irreconcilable difference on principles makes unity no longer possible. The issue is clearly raised and we must face it. We are for the Moscow International; we want parliamentary action restricted to purposes of propaganda and obstruction, because we reject absolutely the theory that Socialism can be brought about by electing socialists to office. Our theory of the process of revolution is the Bolshevik theory: the workers by mass action conquering the power of state and establishing a temporary working class government by means of which the capitalist class is completely expropriated and attempts at counter-revolution suppressed. When these two jobs are finished the dictatorship comes to an end because it has no longer any function. The affairs of society are thereafter administered by the industrial organizations of the workers which are fully developed under the protection of the dictatorship.

The vital difference between the two sets of principles roughly outlined above makes our appeal to the workers a distinctly different one. They cannot be converted to one theory of revolution by propaganda based on the other theory. Great masses of discontented workers stand just outside of the movement today, ready for our message. Our ability to get that message to them will be determined by the amount of organization we are able to develop in the immediate future. It is therefore the duty of all Bolsheviks to align themselves at once with the Communist Labor Party because it is built squarely on Bolshevik principles.

William Shears, who lives in a tent near Sugar Creek, is afraid Socialism might break up the home.

We understand that the "regular" Socialist Party will adopt the police star as its party emblem.

Now comes the section hands national convention with the threat of a strike if they don't get quick action on their demands. These are the days of real sport.

The Kansas City Post advises its readers to wear their last year's shoes. What's the matter, have the shoe stores quit advertising?

THE MINERS' CONVENTION.

If anyone believes that the strong tendency toward radicalism recently manifested by the railroad unions is accidental or is confined only to them, we venture to predict that the miners convention of 2,000 delegates, now in session at Cleveland, will correct the impression. It is too early yet to guess the extent to which the (more or less) conservative officials will succeed in repressing the desires of the rank and file, but it needs no prophet to say that the program adopted will be far in advance of anything that has yet been presented by this organization. We have had hints of this in the statements of the officials that such measures as the six hour day, nationalization of the mines, etc., will be presented, but we have a much better gauge of the temper of the rank and file in the large number of "unauthorized strikes" which have occurred lately. Officialdom, as a rule, can succeed in repressing a general sort of discontent, but when men begin to take matters into their own hands they are apt to have their way.

It is a tremendous opportunity that confronts the miners and the whole progressive labor movement of the world is watching them in the hope that they measure up to it. Will they follow the example of the British miners in forming an alliance with the railroad men? The presence of representatives of the Brotherhoods at the convention may indicate that action to this end is contemplated. Of course, it may only be for "political" purposes at first, for joint support of such legislation as that proposed in the Plumb plan, but working together may become a habit and can easily be continued after they have discovered the futility of the game of politics.

The "Triple Alliance" of Britain tried politics for a while. They are voting now for "Direct Action," that is action which gets the results through the use of economic power regardless of what the politicians may do. It may be too much to hope for them to see it yet, but those 2,000 miner delegates at Cleveland constitute a parliament far more powerful than any assembly of lawyers and politicians. They do not need to look to any body outside; they can solve all their own problems if they but have the will to use their power and to cooperate with similar bodies of producers. They may not know it yet, but they will soon learn because they have the example of Russia constantly before them. The Russian workers, organized in the industries, decided to do their own legislating and since then the principal occupation of those who once laid down the "law" has been hustling for something to eat. So far from being allowed to pass laws in Russia, they are not even allowed to vote unless they go to work at honest labor.

That's the reason the American Capitalists have joined with those of France and England in the effort to break down the workingmen's government in Russia. If the miners of America are wise to their own interests they will join with the British miners in the fight to help Russia. The British miners are voting now on the proposition of tying up the mines until the troops are withdrawn. Let us hope American miners will do the same thing.

THE WHITE TERROR.

Five strikers murdered and fifteen wounded by Company guards at Hammond, Indiana, is the latest answer of the capitalist class of America to those workers who dare to assert their right to life. A woman organizer murdered in Pittsburg district last week, wholesale assaults and murders by gunmen in the West Virginia district are all part of the campaign of terrorism. Scarcely a day goes by without some new outrage being committed. The jails of America are filled with the men who have attempted to organize the workers in industry and those who have spoken against the imperialist adventures in mass murder. The Government gradually takes on more of the character and methods of the Czars in meeting all criticism with brutal repression, while the "black hundreds" of Russia in the old days have their counterpart in the "vigilance committees" and other thugs and gunmen who go about their murderous work without fear of any punishment by the "law."

What will be the answer of the working class movement of America to the bloody violence of the masters? Can the revolution be stopped with force and terror? Who-

ever thinks so does not know the history of revolutions and does not understand the forces that are driving us headlong toward the revolution and that no power on earth can restrain. The conditions that compel the revolt of the workers are born out of the contradictions which exist within the capitalist system of production. These revolts cannot be stopped by guns any more than they can be stopped by words. They cannot be stopped by anything until the organized workers conquer as they must in the end.

It is not from choice that the masses rebel, but from necessity, and the prospect of violence, therefore, cannot restrain them. But it is out of the hazards and the suffering that accompany the struggle for life that the workers develop that intensity of spirit needed for the successful movement. Those who are consciously revolutionary are not afraid of violence. We are not terrorized when we see our comrades fall about us because we understand that revolution is a game in which our lives are at stake and every comrade slain gives us another score to settle. While the American capitalists copy the methods of the Czar, let them remember the fate of the Czar!

WILSON WANTS A WORD.

Employees of Railway Systems. . . . My fellow Citizens in the Railway Shops:

May I not implore you to continue to meekly, mildly and humbly eke out a miserable existence on the wages of \$4.64 and \$5.44 a day, which the beneficent employing class has seen fit to bestow upon you. We ought to postpone such demands as 85 cents an hour, totalling to the colossal sum of \$6.80 for a day of eight hours, until normal conditions have been reached. I think it is my duty to urge a truce until after next election or at least until conditions of unemployment have reached a point where we can deal with you more effectively. Demands made at this critical moment and passionately insisted upon are extremely liable to be acceded to and this would bring about the very condition of high wages which we are sedulously seeking to avoid.

We are face to face with a situation which demands an admirable spirit of self-sacrifice on your part and on the part of your wives and children. Can you afford to drop the high ideals of duty to your employer for the sake of a few paltry pork-chops?

Your outrageous demands are being given careful consideration by our circumlocutory investigatorial bureau and I lay it close to my conscience that you ought not to act hastily without having heard from the special board which will look into the report made by the commission which will be detailed to inquire into the findings of the bureau. We must have an opportunity to make certain calculations as to the relations between wages and the cost of living in order to determine the amount of money it will take to keep you in condition to perform your noble, inspiring and lofty tasks in the railway shops of the most prosperous country on the face of the earth.

There are those among you who would have you believe that in this free and glorious land labor is a commodity whose worth is determined by the value of the food, clothing and shelter required to sustain the laborers and their families. Pay no heed to such as they. You shopmen know that you should not urge that you are entitled to wages as high as those of the men working in shipyards for most of you are aware that you are working in places where the cost of living is lower than in the industrial centers where the shipyards are situated and that your wages should be proportionately reduced. Above all, my fellow countrymen of the railway shops, make no invidious comparison of your wages with the profits so patriotically garnered during the war for democracy.

Wages and prices follow each other in a vicious circle, my fellow citizens, and even though prices may have vastly increased may I not plead with you to act as shock absorbers and circuit breakers to the end that this menace to our peace and prosperity be remedied.

I beg to remain most sincerely yours,

WORDWAR WILSON.

P. S.—You can have four pennies more an hour if you will work twice as fast.—The Forge.

The visit of the Prince of Wales to this country is expected to do a great deal to help make us safe for democracy.

VIEWS, REVIEWS AND INTERVIEWS.

By Ralph Cheyney

"Honestly, I believe these things are worth reading; I can say no more for them and I shall hold him generous who says as much," writes Clive Bell in the preface to his "Pot-Boilers," which seems to us the cleverest set of criticisms of art and letters and character and society and almost all that is open to criticism—and what is not?—that we have read for many a long week. Bell is the author of the witty and wisest book on art that we have ever read; and he is an authority on a host of other subjects as well. Reading his work is like sipping a rare cordial with a subtle and delicious bouquet that mellows your humor and makes your whole being glow. Rather, in these prohibition days, it is like smoking a really good cigar. In other words, it is a most unusual treat; but a treat that is only to be properly appreciated by those whose power of appreciation is well developed. Two of the most brilliant of these essays are on William Morris, the craftsman and poet and Socialist, and Henrik Ibsen, the dramatist and iconoclast.

Bell says of Ibsen, "He saw that the universe was something very different from what it was generally supposed to be: he saw the futility of popular morals and popular metaphysics; but he neither swallowed the conventions nor threw up his hands in despair, declaring the whole thing to be an idiotic farce. He knew that truth and goodness had nothing to do with law and custom; but he never doubted that there were such things and he went beneath the surface to find them. He knew too much about the depths of character to suppose that people could be improved from without. It is good feeling that makes good men, and the sole check on bad feeling is conscience. Laws, customs and social conventions he regarded as ineffectual means to good. "So long as I keep to the rules," says the smug citizen. "I am of the righteous." Ibsen loathed the State, with its negative virtues, its mean standards, its mediocrity, and its spiritual squalor. Now, we Socialists know that most crimes and wrongs committed are due to economic necessity, that Capitalism is to blame for most of the sin and most of the unhappiness in the world; and that when we overthrow the present system and remove the economic pressure, assuring to all plenty of leisure and luxury and amusement as well as the primary needs of life, there will be but little evil left. Still, we true Socialists, we Communists, know that legislating against a wrong will never end it, that the only way of putting an end to social and individual error is to experience a change of mind and heart toward it, and we heartily hate the State, opposing the present government altogether and wanting a government of our own to last only until the danger of counter-revolution is over. So, we of the Left can count Ibsen as having been on our side. William Morris, too, were he still alive, would be in our ranks; "Morris would, of course," writes Bell. "Be as firm today as ever against plutocracy,

but one feels sure that he would take his stand with those who are trying to win for themselves some kind of moral and intellectual as well as economic freedom. One feels sure that, however little he might like new developments in art or thought, he would be against the people who tried to suppress them."

Both Bell's "Pot-Boilers" and his "ART" are published by the Sunwise Turn Co., (Yale Club, formerly 2 East 31st St., N. Y. C. Most unfortunately and unprofessionally, I have lost the slip stating the price of these books. I think it is \$2.00 a piece. They are well worth whatever the price for them is, any way.) From the same publishers, I have also received "The Dance of Shiva" by Ananda Coomraswamy (\$3.00) that I am reviewing at length in the Birth Control Review—the current issue, I think—and a book of nineteen most successful photographs of simply superb sculptures by John Mowbray-Clark accompanied by intensely illuminating introductions and interpretations by H. Kevorkian, Ananda Coomraswamy and Amy Murray. (Again, I've forgotten the price; but don't worry about that; they'll attend to the bill, if you order the books.) Mowbray-Clark is a realist and a revolutionist with a rare sense of significant form and a still rarer possession of the true Comic Spirit. But I cannot properly praise this book in prose. Someday I shall dedicate a series of poems to these sculptures, though, and if the editor sees fit, they can appear in these pages. Now, however, I will only quote Coomraswamy's statement, "The basis of the unreality of modern art is its lack of relation to life. If we consider the art of the folk—the peasant arts—we shall always find it an art of expression. It is only technique, however, that is taught in modern schools of art; a great divergence from the Chinese view that the artist must first of all be a philosopher and a man of the widest range of understanding. The greater part of modern art is an art of display." I leave it to you to see the social significance of this and to make the right revolutionary deduction.

Arthur Schnitzler's "Bertha Garlan" is one of the Boni & Liveright 70c Modern Library novels that have a permanent place in literature. Its claim to distinction lies in its remarkable understanding of feminine psychology. There is not an angle nor aspect of feminine character that he does not appreciate and portray. At least, so my wife assures me. She tells me that in reading this novel she had much the same feeling as one experiences in entering the house of mirrors in an amusement park except that in the book all the mirrors reflected faithfully and truly.

"Revolutions have a habit of succeeding when the time is ripe for them. Had the American Revolution failed, George Washington and his compeers would have been hanged as traitors."—Eugene Debs.

Machinists' Union Denounces Use of Police at Socialist Convention

The following communication was received from the Die and Tool Makers Lodge No. 113:

Chicago, Ill., August 31, 1919.

To the Delegates of the National Socialist Convention:

Dear Friends and Comrades:

On behalf of the Die and Tool Makers Lodge, No. 113, International Association of Machinists and the Machinist Society of Chicago, we protest against the harboring and use of police in this hall. This hall is the property as well as the sanctuary of a progressive and militant labor organization, based upon the class struggle. We do not permit our members to work under police protection, we cannot conceive how we can let any meeting in this hall be carried on under police protection when we, as an organization, condemn it and oppose it. While we are not represented in your convention as individual members or representatives of an organization, we nevertheless are with you in spirit. For all these reasons we cannot let the police remain as your protectors, or perhaps your invited guest without submitting our deepest protest.

We call upon you to take steps to remove the police, or make such arrangements that will satisfy us that you are not responsible for the presence of the police.

We are not asking this to put hardships upon you, but for the best interest of the Socialist Party and the Labor movement in general.

Yours for International Solidarity,

(SIGNED) Leo P. Vance
Karl Harig,
G. T. Fraercke
Paul Pokora
I. A. Sarther.

Executive Board Die & Tool Makers Lodge, No. 113.