

# The WORKERS' WORLD

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## BIG CROWD FOR MINOR

The Truth About Russia and Germany Heard at Two Meetings Sunday and Monday Nights

To those who heard Robert Minor speak at the meetings on September 21st and 22nd at the Moose Hall, his message was in many respects a revelation. Minor employed none of the customary tricks of the orators but with quiet, clear words, drove home to the minds of his audience the scenes and lessons he had observed and learned in the Russian and German Revolutions.

It was rarely that his voice became impassioned and then only when he portrayed the wanton torture and killing of families—men, women and children—that he had witnessed when Schiedeman and "Butcher" Noske, through their armed mercenaries, massacred the German workers to quell the Spartacan revolution.

He told how the German bourgeoisie, when everything seemed to fail them, and when the Spartacan uprising, led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, was on the eve of victory, joined hands with Schiedeman and Ebert of the Right Wing Socialists and under the red flag of Socialism the workers were slaughtered.

One point he clearly brought out was that in Russia and Germany both, in times of greatest crisis, the right wing Socialists were the most potent allies the capitalist class had. In Russia they failed and aligned themselves with the various counter-revolutionary forces or remained to sabotage and hamper the Soviets; in Germany they have succeeded—for the time being.

There was tremendous applause when Minor showed how, of all the governments of Europe, that of Soviet Russia was the most stable.

He concluded by stating that a General Strike was called for October 8th to protest against intervention in Russia and to secure the release of all class war prisoners.

It is many years since such a large and enthusiastic audience was gathered at a radical meeting in Kansas City. There is no doubt that the people are stirring and beginning to think for themselves. The Great Change is under way.

Robert Minor will speak again next Sunday at Daniels' Hall, Packard Street and Kansas Avenue, Kansas City, Kansas.

## The Truth About Russia

The American Peace Commissioners sent a representative of the State Department to Russia. He made a most important report on the conditions there and on the desire of the Soviet government for peace. He brought back most generous terms from the Soviet government, written terms, signed by Tchitcherin and Litvinoff. A serious consideration of this document and of the report of the American representative would have saved the lives of hundreds of American soldiers now dead in Russia, would have saved many millions of American dollars, would have saved the lives of thousands of Russian women and children since starved by the Allied blockade. Colonel House, Secretary Lansing and General Bliss of the American Peace Commission heartily indorsed the Russian terms. General Smuts favored their acceptance. Even Balfour and Orlando were satisfied with them.

But Woodrow Wilson refused to discuss them. He refused even to permit them to be made public, as Lloyd George suggested.

Mr. Bullitt, the American representative, made several attempts to see Mr. Wilson and lay his all-important report before him. Mr. Wilson had a headache. Mr. Wilson was busy. He refused to discuss Russia with the official Russian emissary of the American government.

Of late President Wilson has been attacking the Soviet government almost every day in public speeches. We print below in parallel columns a few of his statements, opposite statements from the report of W. C. Bullitt, official emissary to Russia of the American Peace Commission.

### WILSON:

"The men who now are measurably in control of the affairs of Russia represent nobody but themselves. . . . They have no mandate from anybody."

"A little group of men just as selfish, just as ruthless, just as pitiless as the Czar himself assumed control and exercised their power by terror and not by right. . . . That sort of revolution means government by terror, government by force, not government by votes."

They (the Bolsheviks) have destroyed everything and they have proposed nothing."

From what source does Woodrow Wilson get his information about Russia?

### JEWISH BRANCH TO GIVE A BALL.

On October 12th the Jewish Branch, No. 1, will give a ball at Paseo Hall, 15th and Paseo. Ten per cent of the proceeds will be given to the Workers' World, five per cent to the People's Relief and five per cent to the Radical Workers' Home. Tickets are on sale at the office of the Workers' World.

### BULLITT:

"The Soviet form of government is firmly established. Perhaps the most striking fact in Russia today is the general support which is given the government by the people, in spite of their starvation. Indeed, the people lay the blame for their distress wholly on the blockade. . . . the women are ready to starve and the young men to die for it (the Soviet government)."  
"The terror has ceased. . . . Executions are extremely rare. . . . The streets are safe. Shooting has ceased. There are few robberies. . . . No government, save a Socialist government, can be set up in Russia today, except by foreign bayonets. . . . The Lenin wing of the Communist party is today as moderate as any Socialist government which can control Russia."

## Report of Conscientious Objectors at Fort Douglas, Utah

The reports received from Ft. Douglas, Utah, had led us to suppose that the boys transferred there from Leavenworth were being treated as well as could be expected in a military prison. Because of this, many sympathizers abated their activity on behalf of the conscientious objectors. Recent developments make it absolutely necessary that every friend of these boys use all possible means to relieve their present condition and secure their promised release.

On August 18th, two days before Ehrling Lunde and others were scheduled for release from Ft. Douglas, Col. D. Ryan, commandant, lined up one hundred and twenty objectors and put them, except six, in solitary confinement on bread and water for refusal to work under military orders, though they had performed voluntary work including fencing for their own internment ever since their arrival from Leavenworth. The commandant refuses to issue new shoes, and as the men go barefoot, they suffer intensely.

Howard Moore was brutally beaten by Sergeant Brant, the bones of his right hand shattered by a blow of a pistol or bayonet, and he sustains a serious head wound. Not only is he in no condition to endure brutalities, but is physically unfit for imprisonment.

All of the men have been deprived of credit of good behavior and threatened with new court martial at the end of their sentences.

Visitors have been debarred on regular visiting days and mail privileges denied. What cruelties are practised with men incommunicado may be surmised from previous experience.

As a final act of cruelty and dishonor, all releases have been cancelled. We urge that these facts be given the widest publicity, and that vehement protests be sent not only to the commandant, but also to the War Department and Congress. No one of these care to have the light of publicity cast upon a situation in which objectors are in constant danger of their life and limb.

Civil Liberties Committee.

## Russian Policy Fails

The failure of the allied policy of intervention in Russia has been made more apparent during the last week. Kolchak is reported as thoroughly broken so far as hope of his being able to check the soviet government is concerned. He has retired several hundred miles to the east. At the same time the city of Archangel and the Murman coast is about all that is left to the north Russian expedition, and the government set up in Archangel by the allies is issuing frantic appeals to the world. The movement against Petrograd from the Baltic sea has proved to be a fiasco.

In lieu of according self-determination to Russia, the allies have two courses of action open which Washington as well as other allied capitals are considering. Intervention is feasible only if great forces are used, but the liberal and radical elements in the allied countries can undoubtedly prevent such a move. There remains then the blockade, which is opposed as well by many business interests because they want Russian trade and because the blockade will increase German business influence in Russia.

The recent attempts in the city press to show that soviet Russia is not red but pink may indicate that the powers are preparing to let the Russians alone.

## "Bob" Minor, Famous Cartoonist, is Coming to Lecture.

After spending ten months in starving Russia, Bob Minor, Newspaper Cartoonist and Reporter, went to Germany for six months. There "Bob" out-bolsheviked the Bolsheviks and was captured for telling the truth. His release from Germany, demanded by writers, artists and congressmen even, enabled him to return to the United States. He has already lectured at San Francisco and is to make a country-wide lecture tour. His story is the most interesting, thrilling and unique recital of actual experiences in the Russian and German Revolution which has yet come to America. Robt. Minor is a powerful speaker, a good thinker, and handles world subjects in a masterful manner. It is said that Minor speaks still better—the more mad he is made. He originally hails from Texas.

Trying to hang the wives of Labor men—ought that not make them serious? Yet, like the generous lover of the human race, the genial Debs, though innocent of any wrong-doing—they are serving for the rest or their lives in the stone and steel bastilles of this "Land of Liberty." Shall Labor laugh? How can it "retain its sense of humor?" If it evaporates altogether, shall labor be blamed—or its bitter enemies? Labor is made a goat—and goats can never see a joke!

## "Free Politicals" is Demand of 100,000 People on Wilson's Visit to Seattle

Seattle, Wash., Sept. 14.—One hundred thousand people of Seattle greeted President Wilson today with badges bearing the words, "Release Political Prisoners." The silent protest against the continued imprisonment of Debs, Mooney and local labor men was engineered by a committee of the Central Labor Council at the meeting at the Arena in the evening, where the President spoke, there was a generous sprinkling of badges.

### Bob Minor Drew Equal Crowd.

Six thousand people were admitted to the hall, no more than were present last week to hear Robert Minor talk about Russia. The crowd was unresponsive to the President's most telling points, the only enthusiasm really developed being when he declared that from this time forward he would dedicate his life to see to it that no minority should rule the United States.

His most important point against the Soviet government of Russia, "I have appealed to, them time and time again to call a constituent assembly" did not get a single hand. A labor committee will see the President tomorrow. James A. Duncan, representing the Central Labor Council, says: "We will talk cold turkey to President Wilson when we confer with him on the causes of industrial and general unrest in this nation."

### People Robbed of Liberty.

G. W. Buck, secretary of the State

Federation, says: "The greatest cause for unrest among the people of the Northwest and throughout the nation is not just the high cost of living. They feel that they are being robbed of their liberty."

C. R. Cotrell, secretary of the Triple Political Alliance of the Farmers, the State Federation and the Railway Unions, says: "The producing class of this state is aroused as never before to the imperative necessity for returning government to the people."

This committee will also present a list of questions asked this evening by the Seattle Union Record ranging from "Why do you continue the imprisonment of political offenders?" to "Why do you not fire Burleson?"

The Union Record also told the President he was not getting a hearing for League of Nations because of his repression of free speech and free assemblage of the workers during war time. W. H. Kaufman, convicted of sedition for calling war stamps "baby bonds" and recently released on writ of error, has started a nationwide move to impeach the President on three counts: First, illegal deportation of Americans to fight in Siberia; second, conspiracy with Congress to deny citizens the right of free speech by unconstitutional espionage act, and third, because of acquiescence in Burleson's unlawful suppression of lawful papers.

The League of Nations has not been appreciably advanced by the President's visit to Seattle.

## NEW PARTY ORGANIZED

Missouri and Kansas State Conferences Decide for Communist Labor Party

The sentiment of the left wing socialists of Missouri and Kansas for a revolutionary party took definite shape Sunday when delegates from many locals in the two states met in conference at Kansas City, Mo., and Kansas City, Kansas, and formed state organizations of the Communist Labor Party. Temporary executive committees of each state were elected to serve until sufficient organization is perfected and funds are available to warrant the holding of state conventions. The decision to completely sever relations with the Socialist Party, which rejected the Moscow International, was unanimous in both conferences and plans were made to go straight to the membership with the Communist message and to urge those of revolutionary principles to affiliate with the Communist Labor Party without delay.

L. E. Katterfeld and Mrs. Gertrude C. Harmon, Kansas delegates to the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party made their reports to the Kansas Conference, telling how the Left Wing delegates, elected by the votes of the membership were excluded from the convention by the police and how they then organized the Communist Labor Party.

John Braun of St. Louis struck the keynote of the Missouri conference

when he said: "We have talked the proposition over until there is nothing more to be said; now it is time for us to act." His statement that the majority of the members of St. Louis would go to the new party was welcome news to the delegates. When Left Wing principles win in this former stronghold of "Milwaukee" socialism there can be little doubt of the immediate success of the new party in Missouri.

The following were elected to the temporary state executive Committee for Missouri: Braun, St. Louis; Barnett, Sedalia; Zeier, St. Joseph; Davis and Cannon, Kansas City. For Kansas: Mrs. Harmon, W. H. Tilley, A. L. Kuntz, J. L. Crevitson, Effie Main, State Secretary, Ernest F. McNutt, District Secretary, J. P. Cannon.

An aggressive campaign to get the truth about the convention to the membership will be started at once. For efficiency and economy during the period prior to the state conventions, the two state committees decided to consolidate the work in one office at Kansas City with J. P. Cannon, editor of the Workers' World, acting as secretary for both states. The minutes of the proceedings and the statement to the membership are now being mimeographed and will be sent out to all local secretaries within a few days.

## Has Labor Lost its Sense of Humor?

(By Cassius V. Cook.)

That Prohibition doesn't prohibit—is no joke since July 1st. It is a fact. Beforehand it was a good guess that "prohibition would never prohibit," but now we have the proof—nobody can deny it without laughing. Nearly every working man with corns on his hands and a thirst in his throat, knows where to get a can of beer for his lunch, or something stronger—especially stronger.

He knows, too, that he is taking chances with the red tape of the law, of no consequence to the "smooth fingered politician" but which may yet turn out to be a barbed wire entanglement between himself and freedom. But working men are accustomed to taking chances and between liberty and thirst, some take a drink with all its doubtful consequences. If they took the dictum of prohibition too seriously, without a grain of humor, the joke would be on them. They know that prohibition doesn't prohibit; that regulations do not regulate, and that legislators don't legislate. (The lobbyists do that—except when the President makes laws—such as this prohibition edict.)

### But—Prisons Do Imprison.

Exercising the Liberty of taking a drink is not to be such a very serious business, even for calloused workmen, until after Jan. 1st. Then the "Open Season" begins and all are candidates for prison who became "half shot" or "full-up." Perhaps even the thirsty who "take a chance" and ask merely for a drink will get a season in jail. "Open Season"—Always for Agitators.

Prohibition may now be a farce, but enforcing it will soon be a pastime. The art of imprisoning radical agitators and labor organizers on "alcoholic" and other frame-up will then be

come a habit. Mooney cases will be multiplied till the total sentences would make old J. Pierpont Morgan smile in his grave. Innocence—proven innocence—is no longer an "open sesame" to freedom in our courts. This alone destroys the possibility of any sense of humor prevailing. Everybody in the labor world is mad—and feels like swearing instead of smiling.

The Copper Trust Crowd hung that sick and serious-minded Indian, Frank Little. The Chamber of Commerce crowd tried still harder, to snuff out forever that big, joking, Irish Organizer of Street Car-men, Tom Mooney, and the smiling, young, Union Boot and Shoe Worker, Warren K. Billings. Too, they also tried to hang Tom's most enthusiastic admirer and helper, —his artist-musician wife, Rena Mooney.

### Labor to Declare October 8th Holiday For Protest.

Nation-wide agitation that October 8th be declared a day of General Protest, demanding "Freedom for Mooney and All Labor, Political and Military Prisoners;" "Hands Off Russia;" and all other Nations;—including Ireland —is being urged by the International Workers' Defense League. The attention of the world is to be focused upon the fact that it is being victimized by a monumental INTERNATIONAL FRAME-UP Against Labor Republics —exactly as the Mooney Case has been framed up within our own nation. Ask an Irishman if Great Britain is honest. Labor Republics are no more welcome in this world than Labor Organizers at a Chamber of Commerce picnic. Clarence Darrow, prominent pro-war lawyer, who never laughs, has said as much—and he ought to know.

## JAIL SPEAKER IN K. C. K.

The police department of Kansas City, Kansas, is doing its bit to make the world safe for democracy by attempting again to interfere with the constitutional right of free speech and assemblage. Last Sunday a squad of plain clothes men came into a meeting of the Communist Party being held at Butler Hall, 735 Central, and arrested the speaker, J. Kevalsky, Translator-Secretary of the Polish Communist Federation who was addressing a large crowd of working men. A. Medved, a member of the Russian Branch, was also arrested and the two were held for 48 hours on the time-worn charge of "investigation."

While the authorities are looking up some statute to cover the crime of urging workmen to desire the good things of life, both men are charged with "vagrancy" and have been released on bonds of one thousand dollars to insure their appearance in court Saturday morning. Attorney Charles S. Owsley has been retained to defend both when the case comes up for trial in Police Court Saturday morning.



## Where Are You Going?

(By J. H. Harrison.)

Did it ever occur to you to stop and think where you were going to? Suppose you asked yourself that question a hundred times a day? Could you answer yourself and still keep on going and going until you are gone?

Unless you are a capitalist you are always going somewhere every morning where you don't like to go. You know that unless you do you will starve or have to resort to some other means of gaining a livelihood. Where else could YOU go if you lost your job tomorrow?

### Jobs To Let.

You would go to the employment agency where thousands are wandering aimlessly just now. At those agencies the Capitalists are looking for men to work for them at the cheapest possible price. If you are down and out you will snatch the first job that offers you sufficient to get by on. But you are looking for the biggest return for the time you put in producing commodities. You are after getting the most, but your master is after paying you the least. Here, then your interests are opposed to those of your master. But where are you going now?

### The Capitalist.

You are going to work for a Capitalist. For someone who will not work, who deprecates it, but hires you in stead. It is just like hiring a horse, a wagon, or renting a building. He buys your energy for so many hours so that you will produce commodities for Capitalism. All that YOU are thinking about is your pay day and the things you need that your pay will buy. You have consented to work for a certain amount—sufficient to exist on. It was your only chance of living, you say. You had to take the job or starve. That is why the Capitalist hired you. Because you were cheap and hungry.

### Your Pay.

The Capitalist must give you sufficient to exist on to keep physically fit as a producer. Did it ever occur to you to think where the things that you produced were going to?

### And The Markets.

They are going all over the country to buyers who can resell them. They also make a living from the things that your labor power has worked up into commodities. But what happens when the markets are stocked to overflow and no more goods are needed until those markets are relieved? Where are the goods you have slaved and produced to satisfy the greed of capitalism going to?

They are going to the ends of the earth. The inhabitants of backward countries are to use your (commodities) clothes, drugs, adulterated foods, to slave at your machines, etc. Foreign markets are to be won and armies are to be sent there to protect the wicked natives and teach them christianity, purity and the ways of civilization.

They also need roads, parks for their health, museums, saloons, railways and more than anything else they need work. They need jails, courts, asylums, factories to keep them out of the sun and find them something to do, they need an awful lot of things that civilization can dump there. All this is done for you as a worker. It finds you work at home. It gives you an opportunity to work longer because it has found a market for the goods you produce. It also keeps your eyes from looking in to the workings of the present economic system.

### You Are Responsible.

Do you know that you and your class are responsible for all this misery that is brought about in the world? Do you know that it is you and your class that are stocking the markets to overflow? Do you realize that there are profits made out of your labor? All this is done because you are not conscious of the class position you hold. Because you do not organize as a class to own and control the land, mines, factories and all the necessities of life for your class, the Capitalist class controls your very lives. Feeds or starves you according to the supply and demand for the commodities you produce.

### Good Times For Your Boss.

Do you know where your boss is going? He is going where you send him—because you have given him the right to own all the things you produce and just give you sufficient to exist on. You have given him all the good things he possesses and which he denies you. You have built him palaces where he can find other slaves to

dress him, where he can rest his weary limbs after you have done a hard day's work. You have given him clubs to gamble away the money your commodities were turned into. He is proud of you and allows you to parade after him and his associates when there are parades to welcome his political hirelings.

### Good Times For You.

You are going home to your wife with your pay envelope. You and your wife have searched the columns of the capitalist press for the cheapest store and the cheapest goods. Over and above what you need rot your stomachs with you call luxury. This enables you to go to the cheap movies where the poor little heroine marries a millionaire. Oh how you long that your child, too, will find such refuge! Then there is JAZZ music written and played for you to soothe your balmy nerves. Oh those tunes that linger in the mind as the wheels of industry go round and round. It almost makes you forget that you are a slave!

### Where Are you Going To?

And where are we all going? You know that there are two classes. You know that there are hundreds of your fellow-workers now lying in their graves because they have dared to say the things that you are reading about in socialist newspapers, because they have dared to analyze the present capitalist system. You know that your American Constitution lays in the dust. You know that there is war brewing between the Capitalists of your country and the capitalists of other countries and that you and your fellow-workers protested against the last and previous wars.

If you are not a capitalist then you are not interested in promulgating the capitalist system of exploitation. You are a worker. You are a Proletarian. But are your sympathies Proletarian?

When your fellow-workers in Russia are dying to save the world from the destruction by Capitalism, are you doing anything to save them from the guns of your exploiter?

You are going somewhere in the future. You are either going to be on the side of the workers or the Capitalists. Are you going to help free your class?

### WHERE ARE YOU GOING TO, FELLOW-WORKER?

## Early in the Game

Henry Clay commented on the economic situation in the United States in a speech which he made to the Senate in 1832. "A friend of mine in this city bought in Illinois last fall, about 2,000 acres of this refuse land at the minimum price for which he has lately refused six dollars per acre. . . . It is a business, a very profitable business, at which fortunes are made in the new states to purchase these refuse lands, and without improving them, to sell them at large advances."

Clay was arguing to prove that the national domain was really valuable and not "refuse" land as one of his opponents had insisted.

In those days of the early settlement of Illinois a land boom set the values at \$6 an acre. Henry Clay cited the incident to show how some men might get rich without working by buying and selling land. Little did he dream of the lengths to which this real-estate-speculator prosperity would lead.

Between 1900 and 1910 the value of Illinois farm lands increased 1,576 millions or 104 per cent. in ten years. A recent report carried in a New York financial paper notes sales of three farms at Champaign, Ill., for \$400 per acre; and another farm at Kankakee, 160 acres for \$68,000 (\$425 per acre). For each dollar of additional land value, the users of land products pay 4 or 5 cents a year in rent or interest. On a billion dollars the annual charge is fifty million dollars.

If people could have known in 1832 the staggering burden of land value increases that were lying in wait for their descendants they might well have saved this generation the labor that will be involved in converting so huge a special interest as that now represented by land-lordism in the United States into a community benefit. Such a change can be made in one way—and only one. The land of the United States must belong to the people of the United States—just as the rivers and harbors do—and must be used, as the rivers and harbors are used—not for private profit but for community benefit.—Scott Nearing.

"The destructive phase of the revolution is over and all the energy of the government is turned to constructive work. . . . The Soviet government seems to have done more for the education of the Russian people in a year and a half than Czardom did in 50 years."

## Shop Committees in Russia

By JOHN REED

The history of labor organization in Russia is very brief. Before the 1905 Revolution no labor unions, in the strict sense of the word, existed. The only recognized workmen's representation was the election of a starosta, or "elder," much as the starostas are elected in Russian villages and even in Russian prisons, and with about as much power. In 1905, some 200,000 workmen joined the Unions. Stolypin suppressed them. Some little unions persisted, but they were finally crushed, their funds seized, their leaders sent to Siberia. After that the Unions existed half-secretly, with a membership over all Russia of about 10,000. During the war, however, all attempts at labor organization were ruthlessly stamped out, and workmen discovered in any connection with labor organizations were sent to the front.

### Trade Unions.

The Revolution released the workers partly from this bondage, and pushed toward rapid organization. After four months of the Revolution the first conference of the Trade Unions of All-Russia was held—200 delegates representing more than 1,400,000 workers. Two months later the membership was calculated at more than 3,000,000, according to the report of Riazonov; it is now more than double that number.

Now these Trade Unions (Profesionalnye Soyuz) were industrial unions, big Unions, which merged all the petty craft divisions into one organization. Thus in the Government gun-factory at Sestroretzk, for example, all those who worked upon the manufacture of rifles—the men who forged barrels, the machinists who fitted the mechanism, the carpenters who made the stock—were all members of the Metal Workers Union.

The Trade Unions performed an important task. Modelled on a plan which combined the best features of the French and the German Trade Unions, they reached vast numbers of workers and brought them together. But, like Trade Union movements everywhere, they were mainly concerned with the fight for shorter hours, higher wages and better conditions. They embraced the Trade Union philosophy, which—based on "agreements" and "contracts" with the employers—to the partnership of Capital and Labor. They established, for example, a system of Arbitration Commissions under Government supervision.

### Why Shop Committees Were Formed

And just as in this country the mass of the workers are discontented with the reactionary and insufficient policy of the A. F. of L.—just as the policy of merely raising wages and improving conditions doesn't lead anywhere—so in Russia labor wasn't satisfied. The Russian workers in the factories wanted to control industry. They wanted to control their jobs in their shops. Hampered by "agreements" and Arbitration Commissions supported by their Union officials, the workers could not act. Therefore in the shops there grew up those unique organizations, created by the Revolution itself, the Factory Shop Committees (Fabritchno-Zavodskye Komitiet). These latter are the real foundation of Workers' Control of Industry.

The Factory Committees originated in the government munitions factories. At the outbreak of the Revolution, most of the administrators of the government factories, chiefly military officers who brutalized the workers with all the privilege of military law, ran away. Unlike the private manufacturers, these government officials had no interest in the business. The workers, in order to prevent the closing down of the factory, had to take charge of the administration. In some places, as at Sestroretzk, this meant taking charge of the town also. And these government plants were run with such inefficiency, so much corruption, that the Workers' Committee, although it raised wages, shortened hours, and hired more hands, actually increased production and lowered expenses—at the same time completing new buildings begun by dishonest contractors, constructing a fine new hospital, and giving the town its first sewerage system. With these government plants the Factory Shop Committees had a comparatively easy time. For a long time after the Revolution there was no authority to question the authority of the workers, and finally when the Kerensky government began to interfere, the workers had complete control. Working as they were on munitions, with standing orders, there was no excuse for closing down, and in fuel and raw materials the government itself supplied them. Although many times under the inefficient Ker-

ensky government the government shop committees had to send their delegates to Baku to buy oil, to Khar'kov for coal, and to Siberia for iron.

### Shop Committees at Work.

From Sestroretzk the Shop Committee spread like wild-fire to other government shops—then to private establishments working on government orders, then to private industries, and finally to the factories which were closed down at the beginning of the Revolution. First the movement was confined to Petrograd, but soon it began to spread over all Russia, and just before the November Revolution took place the first All-Russian Congress of Factory Shop Committees. At the present time, representatives of the Factory Shop Committees and representatives of the Trade Unions make up the Department of Labor of the new government, and compose the Council of Workers' Control.

The first Committees in the private factories were mainly engaged in keeping the industry going, in the face of lack of coal, of raw materials, and especially, the sabotage of the owners and the administrative force, who wanted to shut down. It was a question of life and death to the workers. The newly-formed Shop Committees were forced to find out how many orders the factory had, how much fuel and raw material were on hand, what was the income from the business—in order to determine the wages that could be paid—and to control itself the discipline of the workers, and the hiring and discharging of men. In factories which the owners insisted could not keep open, the workers were forced to take charge themselves, and run the business as well as they could.

Some of the experiments were very interesting. For example, there was a cotton factory in Novgorod which was abandoned by its owners. The workers—inexperienced in administration—took charge. The first thing they did was to manufacture enough cloth for their own needs, and then for the needs of the other workers in Novgorod. After that the Shop Committee sent men out to factories in other cities, offering to exchange cotton cloth for other articles they needed—shoes, implements; they exchanged cloth for bread with the peasants; and finally they began to take orders from commercial houses. For their raw material they had to send men south to the cotton-growing country, and then with the Railroad Workers' Union they had to pay with cloth for the transportation of the cotton. So with fuel from the coal mines of the Don.

In the great private industries which remained open, the Factory Shop Committees appointed delegates to confer with the administration about getting fuel, raw material, and even orders. They had to keep account of all that came into the factory, and all that went out. They made a valuation of the entire plant, so as to find out how much the factory was worth, how much stock was held, what the profits were. Everywhere the workers' greatest difficulty was with the owners, who concealed profits, refused orders, and tried in every way to destroy the efficiency of the plant, so as to discredit the workers' organizations. All counter-revolutionary or anti-democratic engineers, clerks, foremen, etc., were discharged by the Factory Shop Committees, nor could they enter any other factory without the recommendation of the Factory Shop Committee of their preceding place of employment. Workers were required to join the Union before they were hired, and the Factory Shop Committee supervised the carrying out of all Union scales and regulations.

### The Fight Against the Committees.

The fight by the capitalists against these Factory Shop Committees was extremely bitter. Their work was hindered at every step. The most extravagant lies have been published in the capitalist press about "lazy workmen" who spent all their time in talking when they should be working—while as a matter of fact the Factory Shop Committees usually had to work eighteen hours a day; about the enormous size of the Committees—while for example at Putilov Works, the largest factory in Petrograd, employing about 40,000 men, the Central Factory Shop Committee, representing eleven departments and 46 shops, consisted of twenty-two men. Even Skobelev, "Socialist" Minister of Labor under the Kerensky government, issued an order in the first part of September that the Factory Shop Committees should only meet "after working hours," and no longer receive wages for their time on Committee business. As a matter of fact, the Factory Shop Committees were all that kept Russian industry from com-

plete disintegration during the days of the Kerensky Government. Thus the new Russian industrial order was born of necessity.

Each Factory Shop Committee had five departments: Production and Distribution, Fuel, Raw Materials, Technical Organization of the Industry, and Demobilization (or changing from a war to a peace basis). In each district, all the factories of one industry combined to send two delegates to a district council and each district council sent one delegate to the city council—which in turn had its delegates in the All-Russian Council, in the Central Committee of the Trade Unions, and in the Soviet.

Not all workmen were Union workmen in Russia; but every factory worker had to be represented in the Factory Shop Committee. And the Shop Committee forced its members to join their Unions.

Today the Unions stabilize wages and conditions throughout each industry, and these Union regulations are put into effect by the Shop Committees in each shop. The Union determines the scale and the hours of labor; the Shop Committees control production in the factories, requisition fuel and raw material, and arrange with the Railway workers and the Cooperatives for distribution. But equally important, the Shop Committees, who control the shops, and are the direct representatives of the workers on the job, are able to check up the actions of the Trade Unions, and to control the Trade Union Officials.

The entire economic life of Soviet Russia is now managed by the Supreme Council of Public Economy, which is made up of representatives of the Trade Unions, the Factory Shop Committees, the peasant's Land Committees, and the organizations of technical experts—such as engineers, chemists, etc.

As all industry is the property of the Soviet Government, in which only workers can vote, Russian Labor is supreme.

## The Children's Crusade

(By Edward Rutledge.)

(Continued from Last Week's Issue.)

Taking the revolutionary message to the children is performing a duty to the children. Without it their lives are little, because their possibilities of achievement are so few. Without it, they wander in a wilderness; they are babes in a wood full of stones and briars and pitfalls. Without it, they are weak, helpless to cope with the problems that must be met and solved some time if Society is not to experience arrested growth and possible retrogression. The children of today had better never have been born if they are to grow up and live and die in ignorance. The agonies of birth will be for nothing if merely to continue a crop of slaves, and every life lost in the supreme accomplishment will be a useless sacrifice. To make the coming of every child a cause for joy is the purpose of the Labor Movement, for that purpose can only be served by far-reaching changes in the social fabric.

Our propaganda, somewhat simplified, makes a tremendous appeal to the young. It is the very essence of hope. It taps the sources of energy and enthusiasm. It strips the future of all its foul rags and clothes it in the best, in assurance of lasting happiness, of labor fully recompensed, of liberty for all mankind. The commonwealth to be is veritable fairyland, soon to be reached. The tongues and pens that tell of its beauty are fairy messengers. There are obstructions, but what are obstructions to the young? and then do not obstructions melt before the magic wands of fairy messengers? There are dangers to be encountered; every species of beast in human shape may lie in wait; but they have claws and teeth and brute strength alone with which to battle, and these are no proof against the arts of intelligence, the sharp, shining darts of truth-loving intellect.

It is the prerogative of Youth to meet and mate and live in the loving, glorified atmosphere of a co-operation revealing on a small scale the co-operation of humanity in the coming day. There is nothing more winning in the message of the Labor Movement than its promise of protection and improvement for the home and its hallowed influences. After the days of courting life is not to be commonplace again. Once love has spoken, it will continue to speak. The thousand bright hopes, the thousand tenderesses, the thousand beautiful flatteries of Life's Springtime, will continue through every season. Romance will cease to be identified with idioy. The bonds of affection, made strong by economic security, will be far stronger than legal enactments or religious sanctions can provide.

Make this plain. Imagine the result!

The children will meet inevitably and presently form enduring relation-

ships. Let it not be in surroundings that pervert and corrupt and place a blight on their hopes even in the beginning. Let it not be even where morals are right, but where minds are never applied to serious purpose. If increasing brain cells do not keep pace with increasing stature something is wrong; either the brain is imperfect or the child has been neglected by those who brought it into the world and are responsible largely for the place it takes in the world. If the children of the working class are encouraged to associate with each other and to enjoy their amusements and recreations together, the spirit of the Revolution, once implanted, will be handed from generation to generation, a valuable heritage. There will be no falling away from the ranks. The fear of domestic discord will not be a door to disregard of social duty.

The new crusade, the Children's Crusade of the Twentieth Century, is the most inspiring feature of the Labor Movement. Baby hands are clapping with glee in the enthusiasm that even babies can feel. Childish voices are singing the simpler songs of the Revolution and are reciting the fundamental elements of freedom-making philosophy. Youths and maidens are joining hands and hearts to make this world a better place in which to live, just as they join hands and hearts to make the homes that are the units of Society.

Welcome all! Give all assistance possible. For even "out of the mouths of babes" may come the Social Revolution.

(The End.)

## CORRESPONDENCE

Danbury, Ohio., Sept. 20, 1919.

Dear Comrades and Friends:

I have been reading the Workers' World of September 19th and the Platform and Program of the Communist Labor Party. Now that suits me to a "T," and without going a bit farther in this letter I want to say right now I want to be a member of the Communist Labor Party. By the way, is this the "Left" I have been reading about and let me say also that I am of the "Left" so far over in the "Left" I can't get out and wouldn't if I could. What I want to ask where do I join, where do I send my dollar for membership? Will it be at Sandusky, with the Sandusky Local of the Socialist Party or elsewhere? If they haven't already done so I hope they will get into this Left element and Communist Party. That's where any man or woman or child belongs that's made up of good, clean, red blood—not yellow. The kind that can take off their hats to the Bolsheviks of Russia, the Spartacans of Germany, the Communists of Hungary, etc. I'll close now and wait for answer from you. Keep up the good work and keep the Workers' World on the firing line. I like that part of the Editorial Page. The party and the Workers' World. Those are my sentiments and hopes. I like the whole paper—its hot stuff!

Your Comrade and Brother,

R. Wight,

Danbury, O.

## BOOKS WORTH READING

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

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

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1420 Grand Avenue  
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SECOND HAND  
and NEW FURNITURE  
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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



## Breaking Away

Mrs. Mary H. Axtell, former State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Nebraska, has written a letter to the present State Secretary, concerning the recent split in the Socialist Party of America, from which letter these paragraphs are taken:

"Yes, I think I will still call you comrade, and it does seem a shame to me since we all are after the same things and have, at a good deal of pain and sacrifice, mapped out pretty precisely just what these things are, that now we should get 'in bad' with ourselves and pair our votes, so to speak, while the capitalists land their booty as of old."

"In a crisis like we are going through I refuse to take sides. But I am concerned with what things are stood for by the factions. So far as I can see by very careful reading of both sides, there is practically no difference in the issues, except in methods and in that it seems more in degree of impatience."

"I have been impatient, too. I was very much so when Local Omaha in convention wanted to make an admiration society out of our state party for the Washington administration by passing nice sounding resolutions (with no chance for debate), supporting it in its 'aims' while even then Russia was being betrayed and abused. I say I never did like this, but I did not grow bitter, nor did I want to smash up the party."

"So I feel that those of us who kept the white feather conspicuous during the war scare would be rather kidding the bolsheviks to call ourselves really, truly bolsheviks, as I note the Workers' World claims the new party styles itself."

"It also claims that the new party openly declares that it rejects the theory that Socialism can be brought about by electing Socialists to office. If this means anything, it means a repudiation of all practical purposes of political action. It is no new stand on the part of radicals, and considering the terrible oppression of the present administration, no one can be surprised at such impatience. . . . One big mistake the so-called left wingers made is that if they admit political action is a certain failure, it isn't a political party they are wanting; it is machine guns. As for me, I am not nearly ready for the guns, at least for offensive gains in industrial matters."

"I feel no bitterness about your position. In fact, none of this is any surprise. But certainly you people have let your feelings run ahead of your understanding of what you are able to accomplish. To say the least, I think we might yet all be pulling together, at least until the smoke starts. Why not?"

"If there is anything that the regular party does not agree with you on in the matter of 'mass action' as discussed, except in the matter of violent revolt, would you kindly tell us?"

"What, comrade, will likely be done in regard to the State office? We are anxious to know."

The following letter went forward in reply:

"Dear Comrade Axtell:—Your letter of the 14th was frank, but I like frankness, and I shall try to answer in the spirit in which you wrote."

"I am glad that you still call me comrade. The rank and file of those who will constitute the Communist Labor Party are not greatly different from the present rank and file of the Socialist Party. A certain comradeship of thought and feeling ought to continue, I believe, even though we decide to travel different paths politically. As you say, we are after the same things, but we differ in methods, and methods are important. The powers that be do not care about our principles, and will not molest us, so long as we confine ourselves to theorizing, but the moment we mean to carry those principles into practice, then we become dangerous. I believe in being dangerous to the capitalist system. I believe in fighting the social order with weapons that strike at the heart of it. This position of active hostility is the position of the Communist Labor Party."

"When the Workers' World openly denied the revolutionary value of electing Socialists to office, it did discount the value of political action, but no more than that. I, myself, was a pure and simple political actionist at one time, and it was because I failed to realize the essentially industrial character of the revolutionary movement. I looked at the whole labor problem from a humanitarian, Utopian standpoint. This must be the case with those who still stand where I did. When one gets in close touch with the working class and sees at first hand its strength and its weakness and begins to realize the real nature of the forces against which it is contending, the places of power are seen to shift from the seats of political government to the shops of industry."

"We do not need machine guns yet, and may never need them; we hope so at any rate; but if the worst comes to the worst, we want to be prepared, and you know and I know that this preparation was not even being planned by that movement which has its national home at 220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago. Please bear in mind that victory by violence is not the only alternative to victory by votes. The hope that lies in industrial action is based on education, on the building-up of a conscious solidarity, on appeals to the class that will benefit most from the change, to the only class that can bring the change about. The purpose of the Communist Labor Party is primarily educational, the only way in which a political party of the working class can function honestly and effectively. The ballot lies in the power of capitalist government to give or withhold. This is not true of industrial power. That cannot be taken from the workers, for it is inseparable from the large scale production on which capitalism rests."

"The essential difference between the Communist Labor Party and the Socialist Party is on this question of political action. It is amply enough to justify a 'breaking away,' as you express it."

"As for the war, in the light of subsequent events, I do not attempt to defend the attitude taken toward it, but that is aside from the question. Dan Hogan and George Goebel also supported the war, and they are stalwart supporters of the present regime in the Socialist Party."

"I shall be glad to hear from you at any time in regard to the question at issue. I think we all ought to discuss it calmly and thoughtfully. There have already been too many epithets and too much mud-slinging. We, who leave the Socialist Party of America, leave it not because we delight in discord, not from a petty desire to have our own way though it endanger the Revolution, but because we cannot remain in the Socialist Party and retain our mental integrity, let alone our revolutionary sincerity. We shall conduct our campaign accordingly."

"In a few days I expect to know just what is to be done with the property and funds of the Socialist Party of Nebraska. Until then I shall remain in charge of the State Office. I mean to be fair and honest with those who will continue with the old organization. At the same time I must be true to those principles without which there is no movement in the world worth living and working for. I must refuse to turn over anything except to duly constituted authorities, deriving their power from a regular, constitutional operation of the party machinery."

"With best wishes for yourself and for Comrade Thomas Axtell, I remain, as ever,

Yours fraternally,  
EDWARD RUTLEDGE,  
State Secretary."

## Nebraska Notes

The main thing about which Local Omaha is concerned at present is the proper course to take in regard to the new Communist Labor Party. A large majority have already decided on the new party, but there are dissenters, and these have to be reckoned with."

It is unfortunate that almost all education activities have been side-tracked, but this condition is only temporary, and it is a sort of clearing away that will make future work easier and more effective."

The minutes of the Socialist Party Convention refer to the election of delegates in Nebraska as indicating "inefficiency." Well, if nothing worse than this had been said in the controversy, the controversy would not have amounted to much."

The efficiency of a State Office, it might be remarked, however, is largely dependent on the efficiency of the rank and file, and how efficient have the rank and file been in Nebraska? Especially that part of it who were responsible for the election being brought before the convention?"

At this time letters from the comrades out in the state are more than welcome. Let the State Office here from you, comrades. Write fully and frankly. We must thresh this whole matter out thoroughly. Both we and the movement will feel better for it."

Comrade Edna Seglin, who has been visiting for some time in and around Omaha, has returned to her home in Chicago, bearing revolutionary greetings from the comrades here to the comrades there."

## Mrs. Harmon on the Conventions

In their proclamation to the membership, the old Socialist Party police controlled convention present nothing but sophistry, and cleverly concealed misrepresentations. They ignore the fact of the white cards of admittance which Germer issued only to his henchmen, with a scattering few here and there who received them because their stand was unknown."

When I showed him my credentials on the floor of the convention, Germer said to me, personally: "Those don't go here. You've got to have a white card to get in here." Then he pointed to me and to one other delegate who stood near me, and said to a policeman: "Take them out, peaceably, if they will go that way. But, if they won't go, take them anyway! Do your Duty!" Germer spoke in a harsh and offensive manner. The police officer then touched me on the arm, ordering me to leave. I left the hall with him, he walking with me to the foot of the stairs."

I beat Germer over to the headquarters and secured his signature by the ruse of standing behind another woman and reaching the card to Germer under her arm. He afterwards ordered my name taken from the list to whom cards should be issued, but it was too late. I then returned to the convention hall and was forced to show my white card to a delegate standing at the foot of the stairs and to two policemen, one halfway up, the other at the entrance to the hall. The white card passed me in."

The statement that no delegate was excluded because of his views is an absolute falsehood. The statement that delegates were seated and refused to accept them is also false in spirit. These delegates were seated only after the packed, police controlled convention had done its work. Some were seated only about an hour before the convention adjourned. This was done merely as a subterfuge to allow them to make the very statement they have made in paragraph six of their proclamation. As David Harum would say: "It may be jury truth, but it ain't God's truth!"

## Statement of the Kansas Membership by the Temporary State Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party

Comrades: The issue between the right and the left is clearly drawn. The crooked work of Germer and the old National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and the tactics used to control the convention against the will of the membership, is not the main issue, but is merely incidental to the fundamental difference in principle between the revolutionary socialism of Lenin and Liebknecht and the traitor socialism of Schiedeman and Noske."

But because of the tactics used by Germer and Co., and the inability of the majority of the regularly elected delegates to enter the police controlled convention, the real soul of the Socialist Party was forced to leave the minority and the Chicago police in control and to form the new Communist Labor Party on the principles of International Communism and affiliating with the Third International."

The issue is thus put squarely up to every member. If you stay with the Socialist Party you are against the Third International because they repudiated it. And whoever is against the Third International is against the Revolution."

But if you are for the Third International, your place is with us in the Communist Labor Party which took an unequivocal stand for it. The police controlled Germer convention voted it down overwhelmingly."

Your delegates, Katterfeld and Mrs. Harmon, called a conference of the state membership at Kansas City, Kansas, September 21st. Delegates

As to paragraph 10, in which they state that their "manifesto is a ringing declaration, etc.," one needs but to read it to see that it is mainly a declaration favoring reforms and co-operative methods. Alright for the Non-Partisan League, but not the program for a revolutionary party. They end with the slogan: "Long live the International!" yet look their minutes over and see how they voted it down!"

In the minutes of their convention they include a letter from S. A. Pratto, representative in this country of the Yucatan movement. He attended both conventions. After the adjournment, Pratto had a personal interview with the N. E. C. of the Communist Labor Party in which he accepted it as the real International, and sent reports by cable to Yucatan, Argentine and Mexico of our stand. I was present at this interview and helped Comrade Pratto prepare the cablegrams, and later had a personal interview in which he promised us his aid in all ways possible. He recognized the mere camouflage of the old S. P. convention."

The State Secretary, Ida A. Beloff, called a meeting of the state executive committee for Sunday, the 21st, the same day of the conference called by the Kansas delegates, Katterfeld and Mrs. Harmon. Later both Comrade Tilly and Kuntz, members of the committee, received letters from the State Secretary calling off the meeting, yet they had a meeting of three members and the State Secretary."

At this meeting, the members present, and Ida Beloff, State Secretary, decided to take C. B. Harmon's name off the Forum as editor and to publish only the old Socialist Party matter and propaganda. Of course, the paper has always been in the hands of the party through your secretary and executive committee."

Let all the membership take notice that the Forum, as now edited, represents the views of the state office and that I, personally, no longer have any connection whatsoever with the Peoples' Forum."

GERTRUDE CRUMB HARMON.

## The Reward of the Faithful Servant

Dear Sir:

We take pleasure in recommending Mr. Slave-hard for admission to the institution above mentioned. He has been employed by our firm for 35 years, during which time he has proved himself a faithful servant. He never uttered complaints as to wages or conditions but was content to suffer all that fell to his humble station. He was a patriot, having given his son to the service of his country. He was furthermore deeply interested in all charitable movements, and in view of such a well-spent life, we take pleasure in recommending him to the charity of the county. God be praised there are such places that our beloved workers may spend their declining days."

Herewith we enclose a reference from Senator Palmoil, whom Mr. Slave-hard supported in his last race for Senatorial honors."

Yours,  
Grab All and Co.

## Sidelights

The Associated Charities of Omaha, through its secretary, Mrs. Doane, is appealing for funds and states that it has one hundred needy families on its list. One hundred families who have reached such an appalling point of desperation that they will face the humiliation of being the recipients of public charity. Such a stage of despair that they are forced to admit the hopelessness of their outlook. One hundred families who have been designated by the strict investigators as positively helpless and, in their opinion, worthy. One hundred families sunk to the depths of utter helplessness and inability to reach out and grasp any opportunities that might be offered them. Broken, many of them on the scrap heap of society, no longer able to create the wealth that others might enjoy."

It is made plain in the appeal for funds that on one is eligible for assistance unless on the very verge of starvation or already well into its gaping maw. This hundred families, then, is the final sifting of many more. How many applicants, bewildered and overpowered by the high prices of food, the enormous advances in rents, and the thought of approaching winter with its high price of fuel, have staggered beneath the burden, and handicapped by illness and worry have dropped hopeless in the struggle? How many hundreds more have been turned away, classified as outside the pale of the Associated Charities field? How many hundreds more, needy but proud, never even applied but tried various other ways to solve the problem of existence? Perhaps, nay, undoubtedly some of those whom I met in police court this week got their start on the road that led them there in a destitute moment. Surely the boy who got ninety days for being implicated in the theft of some tires from a freight car while his mother worked to supplement the small earnings of the father, is the victim of an economic situation. He didn't break open the car, he simply yielded to the invitation of others to help carry off the contraband. Would he or could he have done so had his mother been at home to know where her boy was and what he was doing?"

Omaha was listed in the public press two weeks ago and in Bradstreet's trade report as offering the most expensive place to live from a list of fifty largest cities in the country."

Omaha is called the gate city; it is a railroad centre. Hundreds of trains daily creak and groan into and out of Omaha laden with thousands of travelers to the great teeming east with its humming industries; its farms, factories, mills, mines and docks. Thousands pass through on their way to the broad stretches of the far West with its rich mines, oil fields, cattle ranches, fertile valleys, ripe orchards and great forests. The products of both East and West, turned out by these traveling hordes in large part, are daily disgorged from great strings of freight cars. Omaha fairly bulges with the product of labor from the East and West; her warehouses distribute the riches of America. An inventory of the storehouses of American made goods in Omaha reads like the list of possessions of a fairy story prince or a reputed raja of India. It is the boast of Omaha that there is no unemployment here and it is, in a very large measure, true. The more shame, then, if everyone works and still a hundred families are the final siftings of the charity dolers. Somewhere in these United States, sometime, those hundred contributed to that wealth. Did they get even half of what they created? No, else they would not now be charity receivers. What is the answer to the question as to why there should be millions of pounds of food stored here while thousands go hungry? Why millions of ar-

ticles of clothing stored here while other millions go almost naked? Are these goods produced for use or for profit? If no unemployment, why poverty? None of these listed destitute have ever been employers of labor, they have been themselves toilers, creators of wealth. Who has the wealth that they created?"

Here is the answer, that wealth is in the hands of those who can purchase silk, offered for sale in Omaha at thirty-nine and sixty-seven dollars a yard. These are no imaginary figures, but those announced through the columns of the daily press and described as shimmering brocaded satin. That wealth is enjoyed by women who loll in these satins while those who made them languish in poverty."

Where are the men and women who made that silk? Are they in Paterson, New Jersey, or some other American city planning a strike for better living conditions? Are they being mowed down by machine guns for this request? Are some of them selling their bodies for bread while the wearers of the silk live in idleness and eat the fat of the land? Are they on the scrap heap in some hospital or, perchance, listed with some board of charities? Are their children groping through life in ignorance? How many little children's lives were woven into that silk? Ugh! If that silk could talk would it feel so soft and comfortable to its wearer? A check from the wearer to the Associated Charities may ease her conscience, or what she thinks is her conscience, but will it pay the bill? Will it replace the stolen sweetness and freedom and wholesomeness of childhood? Will it give back the blighted lives, the broken bodies, the blasted hopes and high ambitions of those who toiled early and late for the mere bare necessities of life?"

The idlers fiddle while Omaha burns. History tells us that Rome, Greece, Babylon and other great empires went down under the weight of idleness and luxurious living while the workers slaved and starved. Verily Omaha is inviting disaster with its sixty-seven dollar a yard silks and hundred starving families. We now have a dictatorship of the idlers, the harvesters of wealth created by others, but the dictatorship of the proletariat will at least have as one advantage that it will be the dictatorship of the majority for the workers are many while the idlers are few."

Mildred E. Kern.

Our DEMAND for UNITY will continue determined and sincere. We do not maintain a "holier than thou" attitude toward the Communist Party. We stand for a consolidation of all Left Wing forces into one strong party. We call upon all locals and branches affiliated with the Communist Party to demand that their national officials enter into negotiations for unity with the Communist Labor Party. In the meantime all locals, branches and members should affiliate with the Communist Labor Party."

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

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## Only A Foretaste

The "Plumb Plan" has had an electric effect upon the country. The stock-market slumps; investors tremble; managers storm; politicians quake and promise. Business and politics respond as they might to a threat of revolution."

What is the "Plan?" Merely an adaptation, and a very conservative modification of what is known as Guild Socialism in England. The scheme is so mild and so thoroughly sugar-coated that it would not excite brokers, clerks or ward healers in most of the countries of Europe."

The "Plumb Plan" is a suggestion—that is all. It is a shadow, the substance of which will appear later. The project is fathered by one of the most conservative craft unions in the country. It has the backing of the American Federation of Labor. The ideas

presented may appear radical by contrast with the New York Times and the speeches of Senator Lodge, but compare them with any program of Socialism, Communism or Syndicalism and they are conservative enough to commend themselves to Wall Street."

The voice of economic radicalism is not articulate today in the United States. Its publications are suppressed; its meetings banned; its literature confiscated; its spokesmen in jail. Soon, perhaps very soon, economic radicalism will get the ear of the country, and then the Plumb Plan will appear in its true nature as a mild and well-mannered reform."

The Plumb Plan is the beginning—and a very mild one. It is a foretaste. It is merely flavored with the aroma of the complete socialization of all productive instruments.—Scott Nearing.



# Editorial Page of the Workers' World

## The Workers' World.

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21

Kansas City, Mo., Friday September 26, 1919.

At the last meeting of the Board of Directors Alkert B. Prashner was elected business manager of the Workers' World. He will have charge of the financial affairs of the paper and the circulation. Fellow worker Prashner's ability and experience in organization work are such as to guarantee that he will make a big success of the work with the co-operation of those who are interested in building up a big revolutionary weekly in the Middle West.

### THE REASON WHY.

"When everything failed the bourgeoisie of Germany—when the army failed them, when the police failed them, when the workmen failed them and went off after the red flag—it was the right wing Socialists that saved them." These words of Robert Minor, who saw the German revolution defeated by the right wing socialists are a complete and sufficient answer to the question as to why we are not willing to make peace with their American counterparts and be "comrades" once again.

### THE STEEL STRIKE.

The great Steel Strike is on. Those who had predicted that the steel workers would not come out, that "arrangements" would be made through the A. F. of L. officials, that the President would intervene and that it simply could not happen, have proved to be false prophets. It is true that all those things have tended to temporarily stop projected industrial outbreaks in the past, but it should be perfectly clear by now to even a superficial observer that the workers in all the industries are getting beyond the control of any small group of men. At a fair estimate over a quarter of a million men are out in the steel industry. The strike is ostensibly to enforce the recognition of the unions by the Steel Trust, but behind that demand is the demand of the workers for a little more of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

For years the autocrats of the steel have wiped out in blood every attempt made by the workers to organize, but the steel workers, in these revolutionary times, are moving together with the workers in other industries towards industrial democracy.

In ignoring the President's appeal to postpone the strike until after the "capital-labor" conference he has called for October 6th, the workers have repudiated the efforts of the politicians who have rushed to the aid of the steel trust.

The strike is a sign of the times. Throughout the country the workers are rising. Betrayed again and again by the misleaders of labor they nevertheless grope towards the light.

Though the fight be bitter, and though the Pennsylvania Cossaks have already baptized the strike in blood the slaves of the steel industry will win their fight if the working class stands by them.

"Recognition of the union" is not the real issue in the strike.

The issue is whether the workers shall remain utter, abject slaves or take the control of their destiny in their own hands.

### THE STRIKE FACTORS.

We are accustomed to say that there are two sides to an industrial struggle—the workers and the bosses. But there is another factor. It, however, is not the "public," because this mysterious element has no separate interest of its own, it being divided into two distinct parts according to class interests. That part of the public which lives by working has nothing in common with the other part which lives by exploitation. To lump them both together and say that they are one is like packing cabbage leaves in a fancy box and labeling them cigars—it doesn't make it so.

The third party to the modern strike is the craft union officialdom. In those cases where they do not operate consciously in the interests of the bosses, they still stand as a bar to the welfare of the workers because they have a special interest of their own to defend. And it is their peculiar function to keep that special interest in the foreground. Craft union officialdom has no more concern for the welfare of the actual workers than our four cent President has for the "Democracy" he used to talk about. Their objective is not higher wages or shorter hours, but a large membership in their unions with plenty of money coming in from dues.

That is why we see the energy of the workers, in strikes which they engineer, diverted from the concrete issue of immediate concessions from the bosses into the blind alley of "recognition of the union" with the consideration of the other pressing needs of the strikers deferred to some later date. "Recognition of the union" implies that every craftsman in the shop will be com-

pelled by the boss to join the union. As soon as this condition prevails the officialdom sets about the task of making the union strike proof so as to insure the continuous flow of money from dues into the treasury. Thereafter, there are no more strikes if the leaders can prevent it. Under this arrangement the workers get "recognition," the officials get fat salaries and the boss gets a strike proof shop.

What is the remedy for this condition? There are two. One is the organization of the workers into industrial unions on a non-contractual basis. The other remedy, where the first is not possible, is effected by the development of the shop committee system whereby the workers on the job function as an organized body, dealing directly with the bosses and independent of the officials of the union.

## Such Simple Things

(Anise in Seattle Union Record.)

They did such SIMPLE things  
\* \* \* \* \*  
in Hungary,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Things that looked SENSIBLE  
\* \* \* \* \*  
To simple people.  
\* \* \* \* \*  
I.  
The theatres and operas  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Under capitalism," they said,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
"Were open late at night  
\* \* \* \* \*  
When the workers need sleep.  
\* \* \* \* \*  
But that isn't SENSIBLE!  
\* \* \* \* \*  
We will open them  
\* \* \* \* \*  
At FIVE O'CLOCK,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
So that the men who work  
\* \* \* \* \*  
From seven till three  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Can ENJOY themselves  
\* \* \* \* \*  
And get HOME in time  
\* \* \* \* \*  
for BED!"  
\* \* \* \* \*  
II.  
There were five hundred  
\* \* \* \* \*  
LIBEL suits in court,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Delaying  
\* \* \* \* \*  
The machinery of justice  
\* \* \* \* \*  
So that one might get  
\* \* \* \* \*  
A little money  
\* \* \* \* \*  
From another man!  
\* \* \* \* \*  
"Why, this," said the people,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
"Isn't SENSIBLE!"  
\* \* \* \* \*  
If any one brings a suit  
\* \* \* \* \*  
That proves unjustified  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Let him be FINED.  
\* \* \* \* \*  
For obstructing the courts."  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Within TWO DAYS  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Four hundred and sixty  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Of these LIBEL SUITS  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Were DROPPED!  
\* \* \* \* \*  
III.  
There were flour mills  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Under capitalism  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Competing with each other  
\* \* \* \* \*  
And wasting the COAL  
\* \* \* \* \*

That was scarce.  
\* \* \* \* \*  
"That isn't SENSIBLE,"  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Said the people,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
So they managed all the mills  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Under one department,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
With different grains in each,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
And the best mills running  
\* \* \* \* \*  
All the time,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
And the others shut down,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
SAVING COAL.  
\* \* \* \* \*  
IV.  
The people who had  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Lots of MONEY  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Were buying up the shoes  
\* \* \* \* \*  
And the clothes  
\* \* \* \* \*  
And the good things of life;  
\* \* \* \* \*  
And there wasn't enough  
\* \* \* \* \*  
To go 'round!  
\* \* \* \* \*  
"Why, this isn't SENSIBLE,"  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Said the people,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
"We will allow these idlers  
\* \* \* \* \*  
To draw from their own money  
\* \* \* \* \*  
In the BANK  
\* \* \* \* \*  
ONLY as much as equals  
\* \* \* \* \*  
The wage of a good worker;  
\* \* \* \* \*  
For why should ANY MAN  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Have more than workers have?"  
\* \* \* \* \*  
V.  
They did such simple things  
\* \* \* \* \*  
In Hungary,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
But it wasn't any wonder  
\* \* \* \* \*  
That our soldiers HAD  
\* \* \* \* \*  
To STOP IT;  
\* \* \* \* \*  
For what would happen  
\* \* \* \* \*  
To CIVILIZATION  
\* \* \* \* \*  
If folks should get the habit  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Of doing simple things  
\* \* \* \* \*  
LIKE THAT?

## The Seeds of Revolt

By Ralph Cheyney.)

(Dedicated to Mother Bloor).  
"The Fatherhood of God is an idea;  
The brotherhood of Man is an ideal;  
The Motherhood of Woman is a fact."  
Red flames the sumach in the swamp.  
A vivid, vibrant cloak of many hues  
The woods will shortly wear,  
Spun on some vast, invisible loom  
No man has ever seen.  
The dew is clear—whence come the  
dyes  
With which the leaves are stained?  
What strange, subtle alchemy  
Turns green to crimson, bronze and  
gold,  
As in a wild and wanton, whirling  
bacchanalia  
Of rich and riotous revelry,  
Proudly pouring its bounteous treas-  
ures  
Into the eager laps of men,  
The year dances its glorious way to  
death?  
Early in the spring,  
Under the barren, stone-scarred sur-  
face of the soil,  
The seeds from which now spring  
such splendor,  
Sprouted, put forth tiny rootlets,  
Then unfaithfully, feeling their way,  
Shoved up slowly into the sunlight and  
the air.  
Even so,  
Deep down in the hearts and minds  
Of the workers of the world,  
The seeds of new ideas and ideals  
Have sprouted, put forth tiny rootlets,  
Then unfaithfully feeling their way,  
Have shoved up slowly into the sun-  
light and the air  
Despite lashing storm and parching  
drought,  
By some strange, subtle alchemy,  
Fashioned by vast, invisible forces,  
From these seeds there will shortly be  
Splendor and a bounteous harvest  
For all hungry men,  
While an old era goes down to death.  
Gratitude  
To the sowers of the seed!  
To the mother spirit in the soil  
And in all the children of the soil!  
To mothers of the body and of the  
spirit!  
To those who both sow and nourish  
the seeds of revolt  
To the many mothers of the workers  
world!

## Historical Review of the Split in the Socialist Party and the Organization of the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party

1. The reactionary officialdom of the Socialist Party, sensing that the party membership had turned revolutionary and that the party referendum had ousted them from office, declared the referendum illegal and fraudulent and ousted from the party seven language federations and the Socialist Party of Michigan.

2. A conference between representatives of the ousted federations, Michigan and others in sympathy with them, was immediately held in Chicago, and it was there agreed to carry on the fight WITHIN the Socialist Party for Left Wing control of the Socialist Party.

3. Shortly thereafter a National Left Wing Conference was held in New York, attended by delegates from all parts of the United States. At this conference it was again decided to carry on the fight WITHIN the Socialist Party for revolutionary or Left Wing control of the Party, up to the called National Emergency Convention of the party. At this conference the Russian Federation and Michigan delegates withdrew because the conference would not agree to the immediate organization of a new party.

4. The Russian Federation and Michigan groups then issued a call for the organization of a new party, setting September 1st as the date for the national convention for this purpose, and Chicago the place.

5. A meeting of the newly elected National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party was subsequently called to meet in Chicago on July 26. At this meeting it was again decided to carry on the fight WITHIN the Socialist Party for Left Wing control of the party up to the called National Emergency Convention of the party.

6. Shortly after the meeting of the newly elected and revolutionary National Executive Committee, the National Left Wing Council, a body elected by and responsible to the National Left Wing Conference and the entire Left Wing membership in the Socialist Party, violated the edicts of the preliminary conference in Chicago of ousted Federation representatives, the National Left Wing Conference held in New York, and the newly elected National Executive Committee, which edicts demanded the carrying on of the fight WITHIN the party for the control of the party by the revolutionary membership. This National Left Wing Council surrendered to the Russian Federation—Michigan group and joined this group in calling for the organization of a new party, at Chicago, September 1st.

7. Many members of the Left Wing faction in the party resented this manipulation, this unauthorized change of position, remained true to the edicts of the National Left Wing Conference and the new National Executive Committee, and decided to carry on the fight WITHIN the party and go to the Emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party to make a last earnest attempt to win the party for its revolutionary membership.

8. The Emergency Convention met in Chicago, August 30th. Left Wing delegates were thrown out of the convention hall by the Chicago police, under the direction of Adolph Germer and the outlawed National Executive Committee composed of moderate Socialists. These Left Wing delegates then organized the legal Emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party in another hall in the same building, under the auspices of the newly elected National Executive Committee.

9. This legal convention accepted and concurred in the report of the new National Executive Committee, reinstating in the party the ousted federations and the expelled states, Michigan and Massachusetts. The very next act was to elect a committee of five to confer with the convention for a new party organized by the Russian Federations—Michigan group, to secure a basis for uniting the two conventions.

10. The Russian Federation delegates who controlled the convention for the organization of a new party, refused to elect a committee on unity to confer with the committee elected by the Left Wing delegate convention. About forty delegates withdrew from the Russian Federation controlled convention as a result, and only then returned when the Russian Federation delegates agreed to elect such a committee.

11. In the long wait that ensued because of the dictatorial methods of

the Russian Federation delegates, the convention of the Left Wing delegates, the Legal Emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party, continued its labors at convention duties and among other things, adopted the name Communist Labor Party as the name for the revolutionary workers' party in this country.

12. The committee on unity from the Russian Federation—Michigan called convention, known as the Communist Party convention, eventually sent a document to the convention of the Communist Labor Party, agreeing to seat some of the Communist Labor Party delegates, to recognize others as "fraternal" delegates and others as "special guests."

13. To this the Communist Labor Party convention replied that unity in all fairness, should be arrived at upon a basis of equality, and suggested that the two unity committees act as the joint credentials committee to pass upon the credentials from both bodies.

14. This offer was ignored by the Russian Federation controlled Communist Party convention. Subsequently another committee was elected by the Communist Labor Party convention which appeared before the Communist Party convention inviting the latter to a joint meeting of the two conventions to attempt to arrive at a basis for unity through a joint discussion. This offer was also refused by the Communist Party convention.

15. The Communist Labor Party convention then passed a resolution to the effect that a standing invitation for unity be sent to the Communist Party convention and its national officials, and that the national officials of the Communist Labor Party be instructed to accept every offer of unity upon a basis of equality.

16. The National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party held a meeting immediately at the close of the convention of that party and sent a communication to the Communist Party, then still in session, offering to meet its national officials to arrive at an agreement for a basis for unity. This communication has not yet been answered.

17. The claim is made by prejudiced leaders of the Communist Party that the Communist Labor Party represents no membership and that the Communist Party has 55,000 members. The average membership of the federations which were ousted from the Socialist Party and which form the backbone of the Communist Party is: Russian Federation, 6,500; Ukrainian Federation, 3,500; South Slavic Federation, 3,000; Lithuanian Federation, 6,000; Lettish Federation, 1,500; Hungarian Federation, 2,400; Polish Federation, 2,000—Total 24,900. Add to this figure two or three thousand English speaking members and you have the total strength of the Communist Party.

18. Upon the second last day of the Communist Party convention, controlled by the Russian Federation, 22 delegates, mostly from English speaking organizations, refused to take further part in the convention, refused committee duty and official positions in the Communist Party because of the dictatorial methods of the Russian Federation.

19. The Communist Labor Party convention was made up of representatives—regularly elected delegates—from 23 states. All of them were elected by the rank and file of the Left Wing membership in the Socialist Party. The entire delegations from California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Kentucky, Nebraska, Oregon, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah, Washington, Virginia and West Virginia; 12 of the 21 Illinois delegates; 3 of the 6 Indiana delegates; 2 of the 3 Kansas delegates; 1 Michigan delegate; 2 Missouri delegates; 3 out of 7 New Jersey delegates; 10 New York delegates; 14 of the 16 Ohio delegates;—all these regularly elected delegates took part in the convention of the Communist Labor Party, and fraternal delegates were present from the German Federation, Scandinavian Federation and an executive committeeman from the Italian Federation. Total membership represented: 30,800.

20. National Headquarters of the Communist Labor Party is at 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. A Wagenknecht, is national secretary. Members of the National Executive Committee are: Max Bedacht, Alexander Bilan, Jack Carney, Edward Lindgren, L. E. Katterfeld.