

LABOR'S FORCES IN THE U. S.

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been made through their activities; but owing to their repudiation of political action, and the centering on job demands, instead of the overthrow of the wage system, it can not be said that there are many educated revolutionists among them. Their persecution however, largely due to their anarchist tactics, which also brought about the 1908 split, has had the effect of making them think, and so we see sabotage being repudiated; and instead of raising chicken stealing to a principle, and bumming to a virtue, and the deifying of a patched pair of overalls, we find them in one of their latest leaflets, saying: "they are the only law abiding people," or words to such an effect.

The W. I. L. U., has never amounted to much. Its parent, the S. L. P., has always regarded it tenderly and boosted it, looking forward to the day when it would grow so strong that it would cast forth a political reflex in the shape of a revolutionary party, functioning in the legislative field, with its substantial industrial force behind it to back up the demands. Out of this, ultimately, was to blossom forth the new society of free people based on industrial representation. So far, the hope has been far from fulfillment, and the parent still exhorts the faithful to join up and be saved, whilst the child feebly staggers along sustained by hope and occasional large strikes, during which hundreds of members join, and as rapidly fall away afterwards. While nearer Marxian principles than the I. W. W., it has never had the "pep" or "go-get-it-ness" of the latter. Its adherents still proclaim they are the "only" genuine brand, all others being imitations and poor ones at that.

So industrially, all is chaos among the so-called organized portion of labor, whilst by far the largest number of the American proletariat has never been organized in any shape at all.

Politically claiming to represent labor, we have with us the S. L. P., the oldest existing revolutionary group. Since the passing of its brilliant defender De Leon, it has steadily declined. Its members consistently teach the need of independent political action by the workers, to be backed by the might of their industrial organization. The Third International recognized them as a party, and Lenin has stated that their theory of future society growing up on the basis of industrial unionism is identical with the Russian idea. Lately; since this became known, they have come more into the public eye. Up to 1900, they were a considerable factor in the labor world, but in that year, disgruntled elements split off and united with the Debs and Berger followers to form the Socialist Party of America.

This daughter made a most disgraceful exhibition of herself for 19 years, being notorious for the shameless way she dragged the family name in the mire. Recently, in September of this year, after long travail, she gave birth to twins, the Communist Party, and the Communist Labor Party. Of these, though both promise better than their parent, it may be remarked that both have factions present within them. The first-named is dominated by the Slavic

Federation, headed by Hourwich & Co. Being Russians, they conceive that no one can understand the needs of the hour like near relations of the Bolsheviks. Their platform and programme, adopted over the protest and vote of the Michigan group of delegates, (the clearest of the lot,) is a conglomeration of "Fraina phrases." Mass Action being the keynote.

The C. L. P. consists of "emotional Bol-she-viks," "Me too Reds," and some fairly well posted men of the Chas. H. Kerr school. Its platform shows the influence of the latter, and seems to be a compound of everything that sounds Red; being favorable to "Mass Action," "Direct Action," "W. I. L. U. Action," with a smear of Political Action to hold it together. The delegates at the late convention in Chicago were boiling with enthusiasm, but very few seemed to grasp the needs of the day.

Time alone will show us how these various elements will act.

On their platforms, there is no reason for two separate parties, such as the C. L. P., and the C. P. And if they both finally drop the "mass" stuff and stick to Industrial Unionism, why, they may both hie them back to grandma Socialist Labor Party. The difference is slight, and events may force it.

Crude immaturity is the prevailing feature of labor's political efforts. "They don't know where they're going, but they're on their way." Numerous labor parties are forming in various States along the lines of our time-honored fraud in John Bull Land.

In the State of Washington, what is called the Triple Alliance is causing quite a flurry, being a political combination of the Granger's, Railroad Welfare Leagues, and the Labor Federation. This Alliance is solicitous for the well-being of all classes, offers emancipation from all ills at \$4 per year dues, and a vote for a good man. Reform hacks who have ridden the old S. P. goat for years are flocking to be saviors of our class, —if there is enough in it for them, and generally speaking, Capital had better watch out or mighty Labor will spank it.

Eventually, we may look to see all these "labor bleeders" get together and form a National Party, with the poor old wrecked Socialist Party at the tail.

Through bitter experience with these political Tanlaes and Perunas, the workers will learn where their real interest lies. By then too, the chaos in the revolutionary end will have given way to an efficient up-to-date educational organizing machine; and from chasing Hiram Johnson, Rochdale Co-operatives, "Plumb-crazy" plans, Mine Nationalization, Mooney Defense Leagues, and so on down the long line of traps; the workers will certainly arrive at the point where as a class they will call for and enforce the "Abolition of the Wage's System."

The free-born but slave-living Americans will join with the rest of us in Marx's undying rallying cry: "Proletarians of all Countries Unite." We shall then win a world.

F. S. F.

Propaganda Meeting, at Empress Theatre, corner Gore Avenue and Hastings street, Sunday, 8 p.m. Doors open at 7:30 p.m.

FROM THE REPORT OF LINCOLN STEFFENS
OF THE BULLITT MISSION TO RUSSIA

THE fairness of the new system, as it works so far, has won over to it the working class and the poorer peasants. The well-to-do still complain, and very bitterly sometimes. Their hoardings are broken into by the government and by the poverty committees, and they are severely punished for speculative trading. But even these classes are moved somewhat by the treatment of children. They are in a class by themselves: class "A—1. They get all the few delicacies—milk, eggs, fruit, game, that come to the government monopoly—at school, where they all are fed, regardless of class. "Even the rich children," they told us, "they have as much as the poor children." And the children, like the workers, now see the operas, too, the plays, the ballets, the art galleries—all with instructors.

The Bolsheviks—all the Russian parties—regard the communists' attitude toward children as the symbol of their new civilization.

"It is to be for the good of humanity, not business," one of them, an American, said, "and the kids represent the future. Our generation is to have only the labor, the joy, and the misery of the struggle. We will get none of the material benefits of the new system, and we will probably never all understand and like it. But the children—it is for them and their children that we are fighting, so we are giving them the best of it from the start, and teaching them to take it all naturally. They are getting the idea. They are to be our new propagandists."

And this is making Lenin and his sobered communist government ask for peace. They think they have carried a revolution through for once to the logical conclusion. All other revolutions have stopped when they had revolved through the political phase to political democracy. This one has turned once more clear through the economic phase to economic democracy; to self-government in the factory, shop, and on the land, and has laid a foundation for universal division of food, clothes and all goods, equally among all. And they think their civilization is working on this foundation. They want time to go on and build it higher and better. They want to spread it all over the world, but only as it works. As they told us when we reminded them that the world dreaded their propaganda:

"We are through with the old propaganda of argument. All we ask now is to be allowed to done here in Russia, that the new system is good. We are so sure we shall make good, that we are willing to stop saying so, to stop reasoning, stop the haranguing, and all that old stuff. And especially are we sick of the propaganda by the sword. We want to stop fighting. We know that each country must evolve its own revolution out of its own conditions and in its own imagination. To force it by war is not scientific, not democratic, not socialistic. And we are fighting now only in self-defence. We will stop fighting, if you will withdraw yours. We will demobilize. We need the picked organizers and the skilled workers now in the army for our shops, factories and farms. We would

love to recall them to all this needed work, and use their troop trains to distribute our goods and our harvests, if only you will call off your soldiers and your moral, financial and material support from our enemies, and the enemies of our ideals. Let every country in dispute on our borders self-determine its own form of government and its own allegiance.

"But you must not treat us as a conquered nation. We are not conquered. We are prepared to join in a revolutionary civil war all over all of Europe and the world, if this good thing has to be done in this bad way of force. But we would prefer to have our time and our energy to work to make sure that our young, good thing is good. We have proved that we can share misery and sickness and poverty; it has helped us to have these things to share, and we think we shall be able to share the wealth of Russia as we gradually develop it. But we are not sure of that; the world is not sure. Let us Russians pay the price of the experiment; do the hard, hard work of it; make the sacrifice—then your people can follow us, slowly, as they decide for themselves that what we have is worth having."

That is the message you bring back, Mr. Bullitt. It is your duty to deliver it. It is mine to enforce it by my conception of the situation as it stands in Russia and Europe today.

SOVIET RUSSIA'S
PEACE PROPOSALS

The following extracts taken from the Bullitt report to the Peace Conference, as published by the New York "Nation," of Oct. 4, will give our readers some idea as to the nature of that much discussed report.

LENIN seized upon the opportunity presented by my trip of investigation to make a definite statement of the position of the Soviet Government. He was opposed by Trotsky and the generals, but without much difficulty got the support of the majority of the executive council, and the statement of the position of the Soviet Government which was handed to me was finally adopted unanimously.

My discussion of this proposal with the leaders of the Soviet Government was so detailed that I feel sure of my ground in saying that it does not represent the minimum terms of the Soviet Government, and that I can point out in detail wherein it may be modified without making it unacceptable to the Soviet Government. For example, the clause under article 5—"and to their own nationals who have been or may be prosecuted for giving help to Soviet Russia"—is certainly not of vital importance. And the clause under article 4, in regard to admission of citizens of the Soviet Republics of Russia into the allied and associated countries, may certainly be changed in such a way as to reserve all necessary rights to control such immigration to the allied and associated countries, and to confine it to persons who come on legiti-

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