

quick to force wages down on the slightest pretext has paid out more than \$1,000,000,000 in dividends in the last twenty years. The aggregate net profits for this period were \$1,841,032,437. During the year 1920, the net profits were \$185,095,359 after all expenses and war taxes were deducted. With such profits, this largest industrial concern in the world does not hesitate to coin still more of the lives of its 260,000 slaves into profits.

Thus is labor rewarded for its "patriotism" in the late war. The A. F. of L., like the great labor organizations of England, France, Germany, Belgium and the rest have all been fittingly repaid for the civil peace they entered into with their governments during the war.

### THE GAME OF THE IMPERIALISTS

The recent developments in Silesia furnish additional proof of the fact that the Entente nations have set out completely to destroy the present system and to bring Europe to a condition where nothing but the establishment of working-class rule will save what is left of European civilization.

Ever since the signing of the armistice the Entente powers have pursued a policy of creating new sore spots where none existed before, and multiplying old ones. For a time they subjected Austria, Germany and Russia to the terrors of a blockade, either to destroy working-class rule or permanently to cripple the next generation to prevent future commercial rivalry.

They created a Poland as an outpost for French Imperialism and have encouraged her in her aggressions against Russia, Lithuania, Germany and Czecho-Slovakia. The organized pogroms against the Jews provoked but mild interest among the Entente powers.

The White Terror in Hungary brought about by Entente intervention was allowed to proceed without the suggestion of interference. Why should they? Would not the Allies wipe out their own socialist and labor movements if they could?

Finland, which had openly called in the Germans to help destroy the Red Guards, and aligned herself with the German cause, was welcomed into the society of nations as a fitting member and recognized by our Government as a perfectly respectable democratic state, having filled the requirements by murdering a sufficient number of workers and socialists.

While the Entente nations have thus been united in their efforts to destroy the socialist forces, they have naturally failed to act as a unit on all other matters. Secretly, behind each other's backs, they have played their own little games of duplicity. This is, to be sure, no new development in diplomacy, although many good liberals and socialists believed that this war, possibly because it brought more havoc and destruction than others, would usher in a new day. And so we find the Italian government entering into a secret alliance with the very same Turkish groups which officially they are supposed to be fighting together with the rest of the Allies. While the Greeks at the command of the Allies and for purposes of their own are attempting to destroy the Turks, the Italians, their

Allies, are supplying the Turks with guns and munitions.

And now in Silesia, where the Poles have in defiance of the Inter-allied Commissions invaded Upper Silesia and have proceeded to gouge out the eyes of Germans made defenseless by the Allies, and to rape women and burn homes in the approved civilized manner, it seems that French have unofficially allowed the Poles to acquire the guns and munitions with which to do their murder. The Italians in this case are living up to their supposed duties of neutrals in the dispute between the Germans and Poles and have attempted to check the imperialist crazed Poles, only to be shot down by bullets which their brothers, the French, have been careful enough to supply the Poles with. The dead Italian soldiers, we are informed by a Polish spokesman, were not fired on as Italians, but as obstacles in the way of the "sacred Polish aspirations."

How much longer will the worker, American as well as European, allow this slaughter to go on? How much longer will he continue to offer himself as the chief object for this slaughter—for the interest of his masters?

## Under New Colors

By J. Louis Engdahl

Two more swan songs have been sung the past few days over the decaying corpse of the Second International.

These funeral anthems have come from the pen of Victor L. Berger through his paper, the Milwaukee Leader, and from the lips of J. Ramsay McDonald, speaking at the annual conference of the British Independent Labor Party, at Southport, England.

It is a case of the dead burying their dead. For the Second International of the betrayal of Socialism has had no stauncher defender than Berger, in the United States; McDonald, in Great Britain and continental Europe.

Berger did his best to revive the corpse on Page One, Col. One, Milwaukee Leader, March 21, 1921, in his special contribution headed "Findings." Those who do not care to read the whole article may find a summary at the beginning, running as follows:

"Second Socialist International Failed During the War. Still Most Important Socialist Association. HAS ISSUED A MANIFESTO AGAINST THE BOLSHEVIKI. Second International Stands for Democracy, Political and Industrial. May After All Be Vehicle to Down Capitalism."

The capitals are my own. "DOWN THE BOLSHEVIKI!" was the dying hope of the Second International, and Berger helps pass it on. He declares that, "At the conference held in Geneva last December the Executive Committee of the Second International issued a proclamation breathing the old Socialist spirit."

"The Second International is still alive—and with a little patience, good will and forbearance, it may prove to be the great vehicle of bringing about the downfall of capitalism and the emancipation of the working class."

Berger's position in this article appearing March 21, 1921, was his position at the Socialist National Conventions at Chicago, September 1919, and at New

York, May 1920. Remember that March 21st comes months after the 2½ International got under way at Berne, Switzerland, and a month after its meeting at Vienna, Austria.

Then in four weeks Berger suddenly changed. In the Milwaukee Leader, April 18, 1921, he bids farewell to the dead and greets what he now thinks to be the living, in another Page One, Col. One article, headed in part as follows: "The Old Socialist International (the Second) Which Failed to Stop the War. Was Revived After the War, but IT IS Weak and Discredited. Recently a Sane 'Centrist' International Was Formed in Vienna."

Thus in true Berger style, the spokesman of the Second International in the American Socialist Party, deserts his love of yesterday and embraces a new one. As the Second Internationalist he was a minority of one or two in recent Socialist Party Conventions. As an apostle of the Vienna creed he now feels he has hit the majority stride, for he concludes his article with an edict to all dissenters as follows:

"We only want such men and women in our party as subscribe to our aims and methods. The rest had better go where they belong. To leave us and to start their own organization—is the honest and consistent thing for them to do."

"If they are neither honest nor consistent, however—that is only an additional reason why we must get rid of them."

That was the spirit of the Milwaukee Party gathering called by Berger and held Wednesday night, April 13th, the second anniversary of Debs' going to prison, when all Third Internationalists were invited to get out of the party. The invitation was extended by the same Doerfler, who, while a Milwaukee Socialist alderman sat as a delegate in the Chicago Convention of the so-called Labor Party. At this meeting Berger, who only recently repudiated Karl Marx and his Socialist teachings, and who supported a non-Socialist judicial candidate at the April elections just past, repeated his Bergeresque distinctions between Socialism and Communism. On the basis of Berger's explanations, Mayor Hoan declared himself a Socialist, not a Communist, and with the Second International safe in its tomb, the Berger machine rolled out a recommendation for affiliation with the 2½ (Vienna) International as opposed to the Third (Moscow) International. Berger expects to hold his position against all comers. At last reports one heretic had been expelled, and charges had been brought against 14 others. Berger has an Espionage Act all his own. See "Article XIV," Wisconsin State Constitution, Socialist Party.

## The Communization of Agriculture A Program for the United States

By Arthur W. Calhoun

Viewed as an economic proposition, agriculture in the United States is, under modern conditions, a more logical candidate for socialization than is almost any other industry. It is the supreme public utility and its effective operation by private enterprise is becoming more and more impossible.

The increased cost of living following 1900 was traceable chiefly to increased cost of raw materials, due, of course, to the growing monopoly advantage

The National Administration of the Socialist Party, having declared against Third International discipline, gives Wisconsin autonomy full sway.

The Berger position locally is one that is being repeated internationally. This is clearly shown by the actions of MacDonald, secretary of the mourned "Second International," at the recent Independent Labor Party Conference. MacDonald told his fellow members of the I. L. P. that they did right when they voted to disaffiliate with "The Second," that he was only a "reconstruction secretary" of "The Second," that his salary was paid mostly by the British Labor Party, "not to revive the Second, but to reconstruct an all-inclusive International." It will be noticed that when the I. L. P. voted for affiliation with the 2½ (Vienna) International, it declared it wanted to "unite in a comprehensive International," almost MacDonald's exact words with regard to "The Second."

These two expressions "All-inclusive" and "Comprehensive" mean, of course, all-inclusive and comprehensive off everything but the true Socialist forces of the world, which are either already included in, or directing their eyes toward the Third (Moscow) International.

All the war prejudices of the Second International, all of its nationalistic jingoism, all of its reactionary relations, even to its associations with the Imperialist Black International, the League of Nations, will now be handed over to the 2½ International under the plea for unity.

Thus we find Renaudel, the French social patriot, already at Vienna defending French imperialism in its aggressions against the workers of Central Europe. There was also a great shedding of tears because Georgia went Soviet instead of remaining a pawn of the Allied Entente.

The Second International is dead. It is transferring its war legacy of the betrayal of Socialism to the 2½ International, that has suddenly become acceptable to the reactionaries of the working class movement. Under cover of the Viennese camouflage we will now face a heavy attack on the Third International, compared to which the sniping of the past two years will fade into nothingness.

To meet this attack, to acquaint the masses with the mission and the principles of the Third (Moscow) International, under whose standards the workers must march forward to the conquest of world power, is the task of the Committee for the Third International of the Socialist Party of the United States. Let those who are interested write J. Louis Engdahl, Secretary, 1400 N. Kelzie Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

possessed by those controlling the products of the earth in the face of a rapidly increasing demand by reason of population growth. Perhaps the major part of this unearned increment has gone, not to the farmers but to the strategically located middle-men. In so far as this is the case, the interests of the consumer might be safeguarded by control of the marketing process, but either the farmers will combine to dominate at this point or else agriculture will be taken