

...WHAT I BELIEVE...

By FRED D. WARREN

I BELIEVE in the confiscation of the productive property of this nation by the working class. I do not believe in confiscating it by piecemeal. That would be foolish and illegal. The plan I favor is that the working class shall first capture the political powers of the state and nation and then the job can be done without the danger of getting cracked skulls and prison sentences. This is the plan followed by the master class. It has been proved a success by the master. It will prove a workable plan for the slave.

The mission of the APPEAL TO REASON is to persuade the men who work to use their political power that it may be possible easily, quickly and without opposition to exert their industrial strength.

I believe the working class should capture the political powers of the cities as rapidly as possible. The capture of a municipality will not do the working class a great deal of good. What we want is ALL the wealth we create. The capture of a municipality will not give us all—not even a bit more. A Socialist administration of a city may succeed in raising wages and reducing hours and providing somewhat better conditions for a part of the working class. But this gain is quickly wiped out by increased prices of those things the working class as a whole must buy. Therefore we merely transfer from the pockets of a part of the working class what the more fortunate ones get in increased wages and shorter hours.

The capture of a municipality merely gives the working class a chance to "practice" administering public affairs. This experience will prove of great value later on.

I do not believe in sabotage. If a man steals my horse and I find it in his possession, it would be very foolish for me to hamstring the horse. It would merely be destroying my property and would not injure the thief. I should immediately take steps to recover my property. This is what the working class must do in its dealings with the capitalist class. The wealth of the world having been created by the working class, rightfully belongs to the workers. It has been stolen by processes legal and otherwise, and if the workers are ever to recover possession they must take it. It will not be returned to them by their capitalist masters.

The working class cannot get possession of the industries until they have first taken over the police power, the courts and the law-making functions of state and nation.

A working man makes a rapid-fire gatling gun. He loads the gun with the latest improved ammunition—smokeless powder and deadly projectiles. He turns the gun over to his master. He then proposes a fight for possession of that weapon. I admire the dare-devil courage of the working man, but I would certainly condemn him as a foolish and unwise creature. The reward for his industry in making the gun and his courage in trying to take it, unarmed, from the man he had given it to, would be a mutilated body and an unmarked grave.

The gatling gun is the productive machinery of state and nation. Its political expression is the policeman's club and the soldier's gun.

The working man today possesses the ballot. It is not yet too late for him to use it for his own good and for the protection of future society. Tomorrow his ballot will be taken from him by the master class, which is in undisputed possession, not only of the industries, but of the political powers of the state.

I have no conscientious scruples against the use of any method, direct or indirect, that will secure to the working class possession of the machinery of production. But I think entirely too much of my head to risk butting it against a stone wall in the shape of a policeman's club wielded by a man who takes his orders from capitalist politicians.

Be wise, Mr. Workingman, and exercise your right at the ballot box. When this plan has failed, it will then be time to discuss other methods.

ism, has taken cognizance of the growth of Socialism in West Virginia is a good sign that our work there is bringing results. Especially ought we now to redouble our efforts when the coal barons are raising a slush fund of one million dollars to combat the growth of Socialism in that state. Send a dollar or two to the APPEAL for the West Virginia fund today. Every 25 cents of that money will be spent for the subscription of a voter in West Virginia. The APPEAL Army must and will hoist the Socialist banner on the state capitol at Charleston!

ONE THE STAR DID NOT PRINT

Here is a communication, addressed to the Kansas City Star's "Speaking the Public Mind Department" which the Star declined to print. Can you make a guess why the Star did not print the simple matter of fact statement, which follows?

About 15 years ago live hogs were selling at the Kansas City live stock yards for about \$5 per one hundred pounds and 1 bought a pound for the same bacon that I bought for 10 cents a pound, a difference of 7 cents between the live hog and the finished product. At the present time on the same market live hogs are bringing about 8 cents per pound, and I am paying the retailer 35 cents a pound for the same bacon that I bought for 10 cents 15 years ago. Then the difference between the live hog and the bacon was about 7 cents. Today the difference is about 27 cents. Who gets the 20 cents? Surely the packers cannot claim increased cost of converting the hog into bacon, because the improved methods used by them would be more apt to decrease the cost than to increase it, and the "speeding-up" system practiced on their employees will move them off any increase in wages that may have been granted in the last 15 years. W. C. O.

A dollar pays for four sub cards.

Following your name on the 938 yellow address label is NO. your subscription expires in two weeks. Better renew at once so that you will not miss a single issue.

JUDGE AND ARMY ARE NOW ONE

The court of appeals of New York on October 21st, handed down a decision sustaining the constitutionality of that provision of the military law giving to justices of the supreme court the power to call the militia into service to suppress riots and do strike duty. During the street car strike in Buffalo, Justice Brown ordered out the militia to do service for the street car owners. The county refused to pay the soldiers and proceedings were instituted to compel payment. The court of appeals, as above stated, has decided that an ordinary judge has the power to call out the troops and that the county must pay the bill! The triumvirate is now complete—the capitalist, the judge and the army. If it is legal for a state judge, elected by the people, to call out the army it will not be long before the federal judge, appointed for life, assumes the same power.

Next week's issue is our special anti-military edition. Order your bundle today.

QUINLAN'S TRIAL NOW ON

As we go to press the following telegram reaches us:

Paterson, N. J., October 31, 1913. Fred D. Warren, Girard, Kan.: My trial comes up before the supreme court on November 5th. QUINLAN. Comrade Quinlan's appeal from the unjust sentence imposed on him by a lower court because he had stood loyally by the Paterson silk workers during their protracted strike is now before the supreme court. The APPEAL Army has made it possible for him to take this case up to the higher court and will stand by him until justice is done. Quinlan must not suffer because he served the working class!

Next Week Anti-Military Edition

Founded 1895 by J. A. WAYLAND

FIFTY CENTS A YEAR. Club of four or more (40 weeks) 25 cents. 4 Years, \$1. Life-time, \$5. Foreign \$1.

Fred D. Warren

This paper is paid for, if not by you by some one who wants you to read it. When the time expires it will stop if you do not renew.

This is Number 936. Expiration Number 36. Entered at Girard, Kansas, postoffice as second class mail matter. Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., November 8, 1913.

MEN must work socially or they will work as slaves.

The political pot boils because they are making soup of the workers.

Prejudice is a mighty unjust judge. And he does not always sit in a courtroom.

In Mexico they have the dictator, in America the boss. In Mexico they have Huerta, in America, Murphy.

Every time robbery is reformed it is made more effective, just as shackles are made stronger by repairing them.

Less than one per cent of the boys and girls of this nation enter college. The Socialists are not responsible for this condition.

SURE, boom your town. It is like all other kinds of business—the success of one means the failure of another; and you may be able to bankrupt some other town.

LAST year 15,200 business firms went up in financial ruin, entailing a loss of \$202,000,000. The Socialists were not responsible for these disastrous business failures.

SULZER and Roosevelt are both right in declaring that Tammany is corrupt. But they never thought about it until after they had been turned down by the bosses.

THE man who has no higher conception of life than to toil that others may be rich while he and his remain too poor to really live is the most pitiable victim of the capitalist system.

Less than two per cent of the children who enter the primary grades of the public schools graduate from high school. The Socialists are not responsible for the resulting illiteracy.

LINCOLN freed four million black slaves. Since then America has acquired nine million white slaves.

Eighty-one per cent of the families in the United States live in rented houses; eight per cent live in mortgaged homes. The Socialists are not responsible for this frightful destruction of the home.

ONE-HALF of all the working men in the United States are idle a part of the year because of closed establishments and slack work. The Socialists are not responsible for the closing down of the mills.

THE supreme court of Mexico has declared that Huerta's acts, including the assassination of Madero, were all perfectly legal. The supreme court of Mexico seems also to possess the "judicial frame of mind."

LAST year, 125,000 men and women committed suicide. More than 90 per cent took their lives because of the inability to secure remunerative employment. The Socialists are not responsible for these self-murders.

It will be noticed that when a representative of Wall street wished to meet the senate to present his idea of money, the senate went into executive session and locked out all but members. Which of course is only business.

THERE are 230,000 prostitutes in the United States, "three-fourths of whom are snared and trapped, bought and sold" according to Mrs. Carlton Edholme. The Socialists are not responsible for this state of affairs.

You give the banker your money to keep for you. He loans it to your neighbor at from 6 to 40 per cent interest. Your money is not safe to you, and has become a means of exploiting your neighbor. That is modern finance.

More than one-fourth of all the men who work are idle a part of the time through sickness due to insufficient food and unsanitary surroundings. The Socialists are not responsible for their failure to get good food and healthy surroundings.

It is reported *sua rosa* that the administration is being besieged from within by spoilsmen demanding an abolition of the civil service rules. It is perfectly natural that the defenders of capitalism should always clamor for spoils.

As pitch will blacken all it touches, and as the mud will cling to that which enters it, so will the bad environment that comes of capitalism keep the world defiled and degenerate. End the adverse conditions and man will become what he ought to be.

TEN men are killed and 221 injured each and every day of the year on the railroads of the United States. This country heads the list of the nations of the world in fatal accidents to railway employees. The Socialists are not responsible for this slaughter of workingmen.

VARIOUS government commissions have, after searching analysis, agreed that \$900 per year is required to keep the average family supplied with the bare necessities of life. Government statistics show that 75 per cent of the workers receive less than \$600 per year. The Socialists are not responsible for low wages.

Socialists Always Win

Whatever the result of this week's elections may be the Socialists are bound to win. It is highly possible that the fusion of the old parties may result in Socialists failing to hold offices that they had gained in three-cornered fights. But what of that? Is it really a defeat when the political checkerboard is so arranged that the opposition unites and piles up its votes for one anti-Socialist candidate? The acid test is, Were there less Socialist votes this year than were cast at the last corresponding election? Of course, the comparisons should be made with the vote cast for the candidates for the same office at the last campaign. Then, if there were cast more Socialist votes this time, it is indisputable that Socialism is growing in number as well as in influence. Take Milwaukee, for instance. At the last election for the first time in that city's history there was only one candidate of the capitalist parties. All the non-Socialists voted for him and as a natural result, Emil Seidel, who had been elected Socialist mayor in a three-cornered fight, lost his office. But at the election in which he lost his office, the Socialist party gained three thousand votes over the last mayoralty election. Here is the vote in Milwaukee since 1900:

1900 2,472
1902 18,372
1904 15,327
1906 16,827
1908 20,887
1910 27,422
1912 30,200

You will please note that there was an increase every year and today there are more Socialists in Milwaukee than ever. A few more "defeats" like that we suffered in Milwaukee, and God help the capitalist system!

So don't be misled by capitalist newspaper headlines. They do not tell the truth, or at least, all the truth. Socialism is invincible!

Colorado Situation Serious

Matters have assumed a serious aspect in the Colorado strike. The private army maintained by Rockefeller (who is the real head of the coal operators against whom the strike is directed) has provoked numerous clashes with the miners. Although the press has laid the blame on the strikers, as usual, those on the ground, though not directly interested, are a unit in saying that unarmed miners have been attacked, and even children of the miners, going from school to their homes, have been fired on.

The idea was clearly to force military rule. The governor threatened as much, although International Vice President Frank Hayes and Mother Jones represented to him that it was wholly unnecessary. He sent the troops, however, with the declaration that they would disarm both sides to the controversy and prevent the importation of strike breakers. The strikers voluntarily gave up their arms. But the mine owners' private army absolutely refused to surrender their weapons, while the operators insolently declared they would not consider arbitration of the difficulties.

The governor's remedy for the situation is unique, showing clearly his sympathy with the master class. He threatens to withdraw the troops and leave the operators to their fate. But inasmuch as he has already disarmed the strikers and left a private army of criminal thugs in full possession of their armaments of war, including machine guns, it is a gentle way of surrendering everything, including the lives of the strikers, to the mercy of a heartless master class.

In this emergency the thugs pulled off another stunt calculated to complicate matters. They attacked strikers in a building in which a postoffice was located. The building was fired and burned. Now it is represented in the capitalist press, ever subservient to the master class, that the strikers were responsible for the fire and have destroyed federal property. This is done in hope of enlisting the army of the United States in their behalf and against the strikers. It remains to be seen whether the strategy will prove effective.

Under these conditions Vice President Hayes threatens to extend the strike from the few counties affected until it shall cover the entire state of Colorado. It may involve other industries as well.

The situation is extremely precarious. The strike is likely to develop into one of the greatest labor struggles of the century, rivaling, very likely, the fight in Colorado of about ten years ago.

HERE are some census figures on cotton, an average for ten years, ending with 1912: The farmer received for producing it an average of \$46.20 per bale. It was shipped from the south to New England, and the manufacturers paid an average for raw cotton of \$74.25 per bale. What do you reckon you paid for it when made into garments? About \$600 a bale.

GRAPE juice diplomacy doesn't seem to compare under capitalism with dagger diplomacy.

The social evil problem can never be solved as long as there is a profit in the business, as long as capitalism lasts, but the Socialist administration of Butte, Mont., have done this: They have stopped the firing of citizens of the underworld and closed the dance hall recruiting stations. They have as far as possible, within their power under capitalistic laws, eliminated conditions under which the social evil flourishes. In No. 938, the "Socialists at Work" special, Mayor Duncan tells the story. Give your friends and neighbors a chance to read it. \$1.00 per 500 copies; \$2.50 for 1000 copies.

One human life is worth more than an ocean of diamonds.

There can be no common good except in a Common-wealth.

MIND has no sex and is found in woman as truly as in man.

A Socialist paper is a window that lets the light into many a darkened soul.

CHARITY is a sop to prevent the slaves from demanding a cessation of the robbery.

The only tool that the masters are competent to use is the foolish workingman.

MAN is said to be a tool-using animal. He is too often a mere tool himself.

The art of making money nowadays is knowing how to induce others to produce for you.

So many of those who rail against confiscation live by confiscating the proceeds of the labor of others.

Fortunes are made by robbery, legal or otherwise. They are maintained by force, whether of army or court officers.

THE capitalist runs when the worker casts a Socialist ballot. He feels that he is to get it where the Thanksgiving turkey does.

THE bees work during the summer and are able to spend the winter in leisure for all. But this is because they have provided a common-wealth, to which all have access.

THE United States squanders \$500,000,000 a year on battleships, war material and ammunition that does the working class not one penny's worth of good. The Socialists are opposed to this enormous waste.

THAT is a poor manager who robs the bees he has until they have not enough to keep them during the winter months. But the capitalist system so robs the workers that they never have a month's supply ahead.

THE glory of the Socialist movement is that it is not merely against things as they are, but is actively for things as they should be. It is destructive only in that it is constructive, as the old mad make way for the new.

MORE than 3,000,000 persons were the recipients of charity last year. They were registered in the pauper class. Even our most bitter opponents do not charge the Socialists with responsibility for the increasing pauperism in this country.

THERE are more white slaves in the United States than any county in the world; the responsibility for this condition of affairs rests with the republicans and the democrats and the Christian people of the land, not with the Socialists.

THERE are two million children in the factories and shops of the nation. Republicans and democrats believe in child slavery and uphold it as right and proper; the Socialists are opposed to children working in factories and department stores.

VACATIONS are rest periods the workers give the spoilers. They are too busy to take such vacations for themselves. Occasionally the spoilers lay the workers off, but instead of proving a rest period for them this means the anguish of worry and the fear of starvation.

TWENTY million dollars were spent in Chicago alone in the red light district. Republicans and democrats and other pillars of society put up the "dough" to maintain these twentieth century harems that would have made King Solomon turn green with envy.

THE Kansas law provides that the rich may fish with seines in the waters of Kansas, but that the poor may not. That is what it amounts to. A heavy bond is required for all desiring to use seines and it naturally follows that the rich can give this bond while the poor cannot.

THE divorce rate in the United States in 1880 was 23 per 100,000 population. In 1900 the rate increased to 73. The United States leads the world in divorces. In Germany and Belgium, where the Socialist party casts more votes than any other political party in those countries, divorces are less in number than in any of the so-called civilized countries.

Part of these measures are commendable as makeshifts. However, they will no more solve the problem than will profit sharing end the burden of profits. As a beginning, in which the state will have full charge of lands and operate the state lands at public expense, remunerating itself from the proceeds, the plan may be productive of good, but going no further it will accomplish very little.

Nothing but full socialization of the means of life will do.

At Last It's Out

The quartermaster corps and general staff of the army have under consideration the advisability of recommending to Congress the construction of army posts in large cities, as is the practice in a number of European armies. The quartermaster corps, after a thorough investigation of the matter, has submitted a report to the chief of staff on the subject. In addition to notes in the extensive of the notes, it is claimed that there would be an increase in efficiency of the army if the troops were quartered in cities. Washington Post, October 10th.

There you have it. Just what the Appeal has warned its readers over and over again. The army, ostensibly for defense against a foreign foe, is really organized and maintained for the purpose of keeping the workers in subjection. The capitalists are planning to move the federal troops to all the industrial centers. They are not satisfied with the state militia—some of this body are not murderous enough to suit their purposes. So the trained military force is to be moved to the cities where a strike or an uprising of the people can be met with the latest and deadliest weapons in the hands of men who know how to handle them. Add to this proposed move the recent decision of the New York state court of appeals confirming the right of an ordinary judge—like Humphries, for instance—to call out the troops and there you have a situation confronting you that demands your most earnest consideration—and action. Here you begin to see the heretofore harmless injunction made a murderous weapon in the hands of the ruling class. First will come the judge—then the soldier. And back of all the capitalist will pull the strings.

And what are you going to do about it? The Appeal had these things in mind when it sent Turner to write up the army. It was to safeguard the interests of the workers that the Appeal has been running the anti-military articles. And now we have come to a point when we must concentrate all our fire and deliver a broadside against the enemy. This is what our next week's issue will do. This issue will be the special anti-military edition, containing the result of all of Turner's investigations; the best Kirkpatrick, noted anti-militarist, has written; an inside view of the Leavenworth prison by Waldo H. Coffman; the most effective arguments and facts against war and militarism.

If you value the lives of your class, circulate this edition.

If you would frustrate the plot of the masters and the war department, circulate this edition.

If you would save the boys of your class from a fate worse than chattel slavery, circulate this edition.

If you would weaken the enemy and strengthen your class, circulate this edition.

Order as many copies as you can. See the local Socialists and all lovers of justice and peace and have them contribute to a fund with which to get enough copies of this special edition to thoroughly distribute in your community.

There is an order coupon at the bottom of this page. Fill it out and mail it today.

STATE CAPITALISM NEXT

Lloyd George, chancellor of the exchequer of England, has a plan for breaking the yoke of the landlords of that country. He proposes to create a ministry of lands, which shall deal with both the renters and the landlords, seeking to determine equity between the two and to prevent oppressive conditions on the part of the landlords.

In addition to this, the new ministry is to be given power "to acquire, at a reasonable price, all waste, derelict and neglected tracts of land and to plant them with forests." The government is to build cottages on farms, to be sold at cost to the workers without interest.

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Nothing but full socialization of the means of life will do.

Save the Boys From Military Slavery

APPEAL TO REASON, Girard, Kan.

Find enclosed \$..... for which send copies of APPEAL'S special anti-military edition, No. 937, dated November 15th. I have enlisted in the war against legalized butchery and murder.

NAME

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