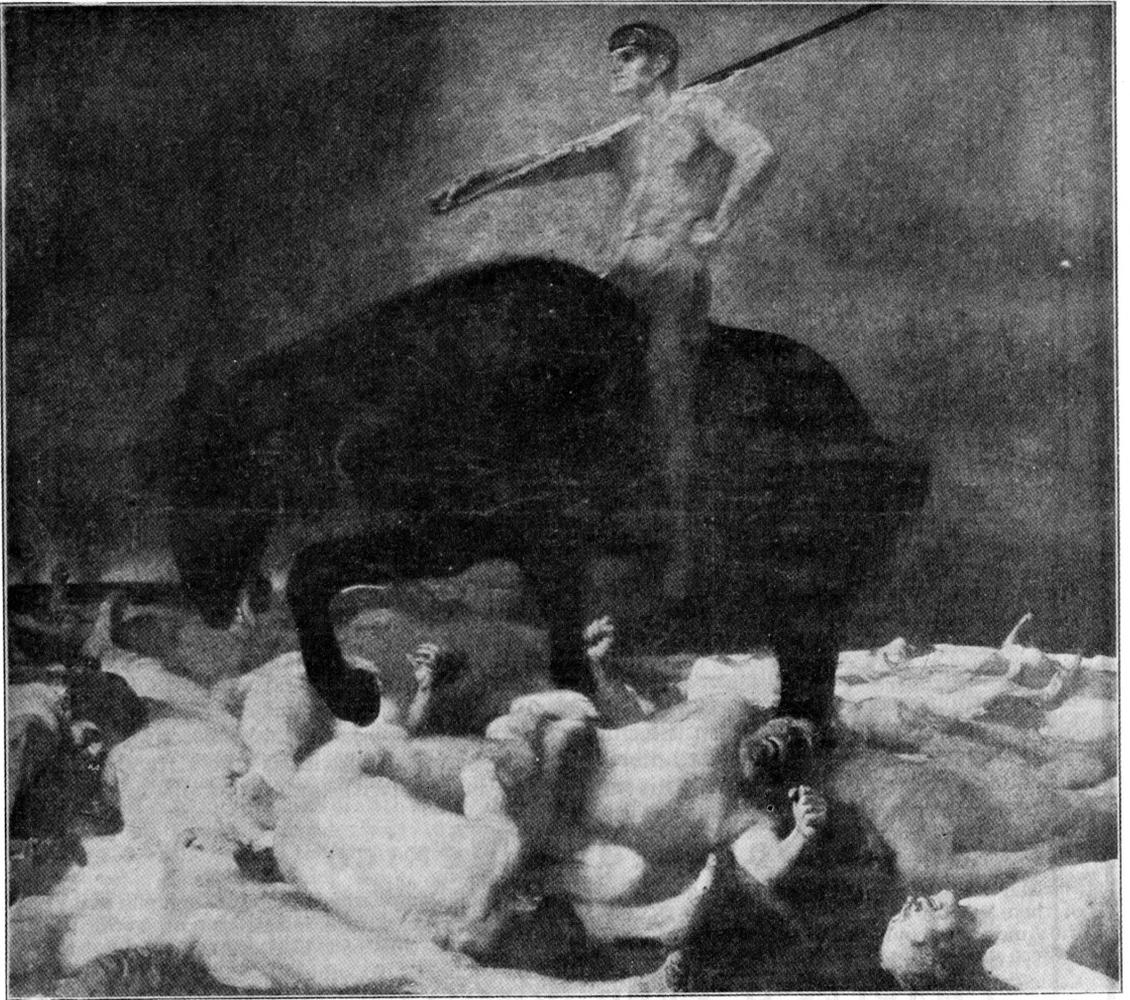


MAY, 1911

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The

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



FRANZ STUCK

WAR



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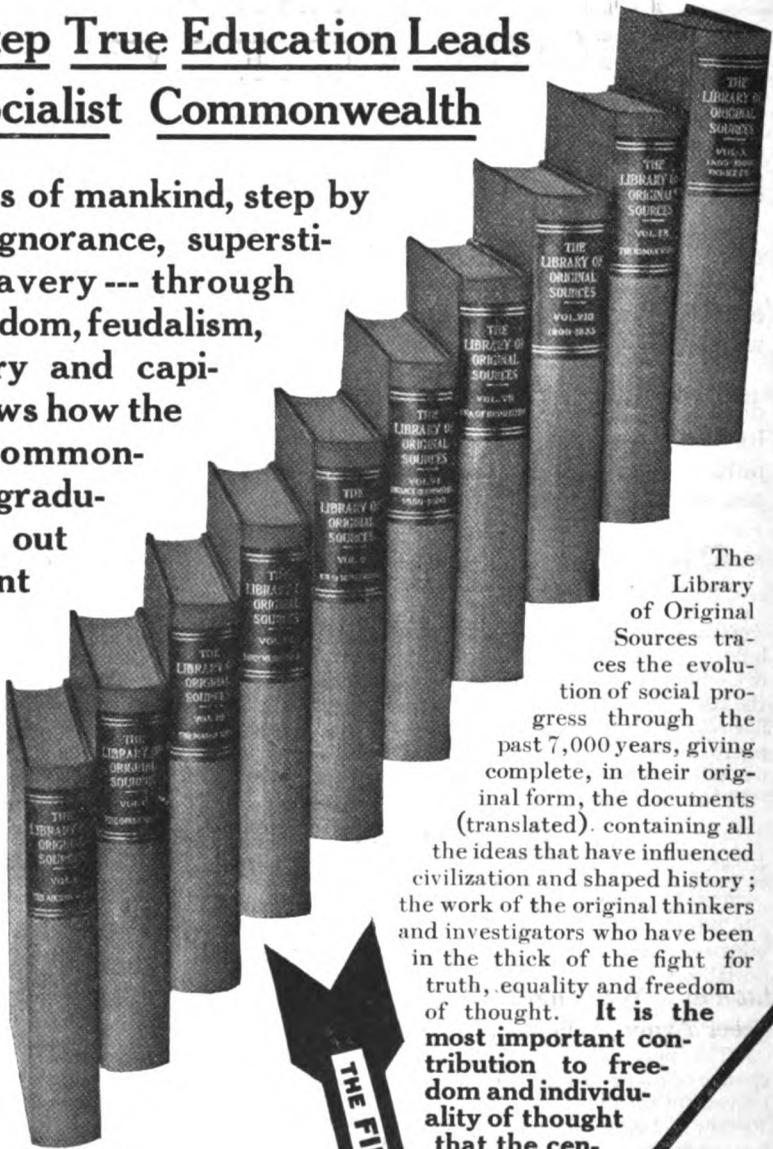
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THE FIRST STEP

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: *Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives La Monte, Max S. Hayes, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy*

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Publishers' Department.

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Propaganda Through Bookstores.—The wage-workers of the United States are now beginning to welcome the message of Socialism as never before. They have grave doubts about the old line craft unions to which they have paid their money and about the old party politicians to whom they have given their votes. They are ready to read our books and magazines—even to pay for them, but few of them will take the trouble to write letters and buy money orders that they may supply themselves with our literature. The way to reach them is through the bookstores and news stands where they usually buy their reading matter.

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The
INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XI.

MAY, 1911

No. 11

WAR ON WAR

BY

ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE

MAY DAY is Labor's Labor Day. The September Labor Day is Capital's Labor Day. To take part in a celebration of the latter is openly to acknowledge the brand of slavery your masters have placed upon you. To join in the celebration of the former is publicly to renew your oaths of fealty to the cause of Human Freedom. The one is the act of a slave proud of his slavery. The other is the act of a slave resolved to end his slavery.

But there is another difference. The September day is kept only in the United States; the May day is gladly and bravely, yes, joyously celebrated all over the world, wherever a ray of hope from the rising sun of Socialism has penetrated the cheerless gloom and misery of capitalist slavery.

By your May Day demonstrations, then, you affirm three things: (1) Your class-consciousness; (2) your dauntless hope; and (3) your world-wide brotherhood as workers.

The revolutionary labor movement in America needs all three. The lack of class-consciousness has done more than any other one thing to check and retard the growth of Socialism in America. But the courts are doing their best (and their best is mighty good) to arouse class-consciousness in the American workers. We can leave the creation of class feeling very largely to the master class. They are on the job and working over-time. What we have to do is to open up the channels into which this force can flow.

The *apparent* lack of hope of the Socialists has hitherto been the most obvious defect of the Socialist propaganda in America. To read a Socialist daily paper in America has been a more depressing ordeal than listening to an old-fashioned funeral sermon or a German Christmas hymn. This is all wrong. Life



ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE

today is a tragedy. But it requires no Socialist philosopher to announce that. Any fool can see the miserable inanity of most human lives today. Our glory as Socialists is that we can see the bright light of hope through all the clouds of misery and tragedy. Our chief business is to proclaim this hope. The Socialist speaker who does not leave his hearers more cheerful than he found them has made a dismal failure. He would have done better as an expounder of brimstone theology.

But while we have our part to do in creating and spreading Socialist hope, here again the capitalists are helping us, are doing our work for us. Every display of capitalist fear creates at once its reflex of Socialist hope. The despairing fear which drove Taft to pardon Fred Warren is mirrored as joyous hope in thousands of happy Socialist faces.

So that while May Day means class-consciousness, while it means Socialist hope, too, as well as industrial working class solidarity, it is this last meaning of the day which we Socialists must drive home.

Comradeship must be world-wide in fact as it is in name. And this appeal of mine for more vital, actual, consciously felt international brotherhood is no empty, slushy sentimentality. There is real work for this international solidarity to do—work that sadly needs doing, and that nothing else on earth can do.

There is the great War on War that *must* be fought, and can only be won by comrades in whose hearts world-wide comradeship is too strong a passion to be driven out by the artful appeals of the master class to jingo patriotism.

Sherman was right when he said: "War is hell." But the daily life of the wage-slave is too often a worse hell than the battle-field. On the latter, death is often merciful and comes quickly. Many a working woman and girl suffers daily for decades tragedies more heart-rending than those of the battle-field.

I am no apologist for war. The picture of War (by van Stuck in the gallery just across the street, and which I am asking the editor to reproduce with this article), terrible and haunting as it is, falls far short of the dread reality. But I do say that to the seeing eye the com-

placent cannibalism of capitalist civilization, with its royal pageants above and its sweat-shops and brothels below, is more hideous than war. The cruelty of the battle-field is not more cruel; it is simply more obvious.

We Socialists mean to put an end to both kinds of war—military war and industrial war. The second is far the worse, but none the less we must for the moment concentrate our fire on the former.

Why? Because the war against industrial war is almost won. We are in truth a world-wide conquering army, and the world is almost conquered. The day, yes, the hour of victory is at hand.

For remember this: the class struggle in which we are engaged is an international struggle. Lincoln spoke the truth when he said: "This nation cannot survive half free and half slave." But it is equally true today to say: Civilization cannot survive half Socialist and half Capitalist. It is today almost possible to foretell the hour of Socialist victory in France, in Germany, in Belgium, in Denmark, and Sweden, and Norway.

Capitalism is international today just as Socialism is. Socialist victory in Germany and France must herald the collapse of capitalism in England. Capitalist defeat in England means Socialist victory in America, and Socialist victory in America can but usher in that "Federation of the World" of which Tennyson sang.

It is hard for Americans to realize the immense power wielded by the Socialists of Germany, France and Belgium. In France no cabinet can remain in power long if assaulted simultaneously by the confederated labor unions and the Socialist party. The recent downfall of the Briand cabinet proves that. The labor unions of France snatched the condemned labor leader, Durand, out of the very jaws of death.

Here in Germany the rulers in Berlin are so fully aware of the tremendous growth of the Socialist party, that they are resorting to every trick to postpone the general election to the last possible moment. For they well know that when it comes the enormous vote of the Social Democracy will startle the world. Most significant was the election the

other day in Numenstadt in the Bavarian mountains south of here. The district is Roman Catholic; it contains no large towns. The Centrum (Catholic party) worked hard and spent money freely. There was a very popular Liberal candidate in the field. Conditions more unfavorable could not well be imagined. But the Socialist vote exactly doubled since 1907, in which year we polled three and a quarter million votes in the empire.

And the trade union organization in Germany is even more perfect and complete than the political. Here in Munich, a city the size of Milwaukee, the percentage of workers unorganized is so small as to be negligible.

Think what these facts mean! Don't you hear the tolling of the funeral knell of Capitalism in France and Germany? Well, our opponents hear it, too. To you the sound is cheerful; to them it is doleful. And they know of but one way to stop the clangor of these bells; and that is to unchain the dogs of war and appeal to the old, dying, but far from dead, spirit of chauvinistic or jingo patriotism.

Would such an appeal be successful? Under some circumstances it might be. The comrades in Norway and Sweden did splendidly in preventing war at the time of the separation of Norway from Sweden. But had Sweden actually declared war, would comradeship have triumphed over Swedish "patriotism" in the hearts of our Swedish comrades? Who shall say?

The French and German comrades showed a splendid spirit of solidarity at the time of the Morocco trouble. But should the capitalist class of France bring about a war to regain the lost provinces of Alsace-Lorraine, would the German comrades prove equal to the test? Would they be more Socialist than German? Or more German than Socialist?

I have asked these questions many times, and the answers are so unsatisfactory I do not care to record them.

The Keir Hardie-Vaillant Amendment.

At the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen our comrades, Edward Vaillant of France and Keir Hardie of England, went to the root of the matter by introducing an amendment to the Peace Resolution, declaring that in the event of war the Socialists in the coun-

tries involved should and would do their utmost to bring about a general strike in the transportation industries and in those industries providing the munitions of war.

This amendment received such strong support from France and England that had the American delegation taken a strong stand in its favor, it is possible it would have been passed. But the American delegation took no such stand. It was not built that way. It did not want to "recognize the principle of the general strike." It was afraid of "playing into the hands of the Impossibleists." It apparently believed that the best way to follow Comrade Hillquit's advice to "discard the revolutionary phrases for revolutionary action" was carefully to avoid both.

But the timidity (if that be the right word) of the American delegation did little harm. For in response to an appeal for unity from Vandervelde, the Congress unanimously referred the amendment to the comrades in the various countries for discussion and consideration, to be brought up for final action at the Congress in Vienna in 1913.

May Day is the day of days for the consideration and discussion of this amendment. On this day should the War on War be waged in every Socialist platform.

Let us make the capitalists of America and the world understand that our opposition to war is no platonic sentiment, but a fixed resolution to shrink from no means of preventing war. Let us show that we *mean* what we say.

The power of the Socialists has rendered the ruling classes prudent and thus prevented war more than once. But if the rulers come to believe that Socialists, though they may dislike war, will follow the flag like other citizens when war comes, what then?

There to my mind is the one great peril, that may indefinitely postpone the triumph of Socialism. But it is a peril that we can avert. If the Keir Hardie-Vaillant amendment, or some similar resolution, is adopted at Vienna, war will soon become impossible.

And nothing but war can prevent the triumph of Socialism in Europe and America within two decades.

Let the Vienna Congress declare that

Socialists mean what they say when they oppose war, and the splendid discipline and solidarity of the German Social Democracy can be relied on to comply with the resolution. And it is within the power of the German Social Democracy to make any great European war impossible. For the German Kaiser and his army are the great threats against the world's peace.

Once let the French and Belgian people realize that they are safe from German aggression and they will rise in revolution like tidal waves.

Moreover, when once the danger of war has been annihilated by the Socialists, the expenditures for naval and military purposes will drop like a sand bag from an airship, and this will hasten tremendously the economic collapse of capitalism. But this economic aspect of the matter is, in the words of Kipling, "another story."

Comrades in America, let me beg you

to raise your eyes above the confines of your own town, state and country. You are in an international movement. If you are to play your part worthily you must think internationally.

From this international viewpoint there is no one thing so vitally important as the action of the Vienna Congress on the means of waging war against war. This action may be decided by the stand of the delegates from America.

What that stand shall be depends in the last analysis on you comrades of the rank and file.

You can make the will of the American Socialist party so plain that no American delegate at Vienna will dare oppose it. Better yet, you can send a delegation that will have no inclination to oppose it.

The most effective way to fight capitalism today is to fight war. May Day is the enlistment day for the War on War. Every Socialist is a recruiting officer.

May we all do our duty!



THE LAST STAND OF THE COMMUNARDS

FROM AN U. S. MARINE

Dear Comrades: We are anchored in Guantanamo for almost two weeks. The sudden development of new diplomatic relations with Mexico caused us to be sent away from the United States. We were in New York when the hurry-up orders came to proceed to this harbor.

There are four armored cruisers, two transports, one hospital ship and two colliers here now. Twenty-two hundred marines are encamped ashore.

What has aroused all this unexpected mobilization, this convulsive activity is yet unknown. Are the oppressed workingmen of Mexico to be deprived of all right to free themselves from the slavery they live under?

The possibility of raising another storm under the cry "Remember the Maine" is nearly past. The workingmen are wide awake. Their eyes were opened during the last war when the numbers of orphans and widows swelled into the thousands. The workers will refuse to be led astray again. But when Capital demands the sacrifice of the youths and men of our land, who is there who dares to say, No?

The Mexican workingmen were unable to stand while their blood was sucked from them. The result is a revolution. The cry was, "To Arms!" They are bombarding the Bastiles of Diaz as the French workingmen did in the days of their revolution. The Mexican workingmen, well accustomed to the wolfish instincts of American Capital, see no longer the Stars and Stripes as their Liberator from oppression and slavery but as a symbol of blood and workingmen's tears.

The American capitalist knows all this. He knows that when the Mexican workingmen fight and win democratic liberties, their glory will not last. If Mexican capital becomes developed, American capital will lose profits. To prevent this disaster there is much noise about the Monroe Doctrine and

"protection of the interests in Mexico." Like attracts like. Capitalists serve Capitalists. Taft is to the rescue, as Commander-in-chief of the Military forces, which were snubbed by him while he was Military Governor in the Philippine Islands. But in the interests of Wall Street's rich Clique, he has ordered the Army and Navy to be prepared for trouble, at a moment's notice.

Men are undergoing all kinds of deprivations to stand ready to trot, or fight at the bidding of this Wall Street Clique. Would the people as a whole gain anything if the United States Government declared war—on any other nation? Would the working class gain anything? No. The Clique is the only class that will gain anything. The people will have an increased national debt and the working class will possess many more widows and orphans.

Troops are on the Mexican border ready to shoot down those fighting for freedom and for progress, FOR THE GREAT AMERICAN SPIDERS, the Wall Street Clique.

It looks dark for the working class. Capitalism is growing and Capitalists want new markets. Mexico is that market for which Capitalists are looking, and the United States Government is hunting for an excuse to conquer and oppress the weaker nation.

What the foreign powers will say is not yet known. But it is all a world old farce. When the conquering nation seeks to advance into a new market, the other "civilized" nations cry "Peace!" The wolves talk like lambs.

Arise, ye slaves. Stand together and free yourselves from the chains that keep you in captivity. Be blind no longer. We must know the truth. We must save ourselves. We must refuse to protect our oppressors—to fight and die for their interests.

We have nothing to lose but our chains and a whole world to gain!





THE MURDER OF THE SHIRT WAIST MAKERS IN NEW YORK CITY

BY

LOUIS DUCHEZ

Photographs by American Press Ass'n.

TRUTH is, indeed, stranger than fiction.

As I write this story of the bold, brutal and cold-blooded murder of one hundred and twenty-five girls, averaging nineteen years of age, and twenty men, here in New York, I wonder if what I have seen and heard and felt is real.

It was Saturday evening, March 25. Only five minutes more and the slaves at the sewing machines would be hurrying to their "homes," carrying their starvation wages for the week. More than 500 of them were employed by the Triangle Waist Company, the non-union concern which led the fight on the shirt waist girls more than a year ago. The slave pen was located on the eighth, ninth and tenth floors of a "fire-proof" building in the very heart of the congested section of the city.

In some corner unknown on the eighth floor highly inflammable materials caught fire. Before anyone had time to look around big tongues of flame were licking up everything in the room.

A general rush was made for the elevators and stairways. The elevators did their best, but during the few minutes in which the tragedy occurred only fifty girls were lowered.

The stairways were the principal ways of escape—and *the doors leading to these stairways were locked*. For it was the custom of this firm, as it is the custom in other shirtwaist factories in New York, to lock the doors after work begins in the morning and to keep them locked all day, so that the employes may be searched before going home for pieces of goods, thread or buttons, and so that they may be prevented from going out and "stealing time" during the day.

Everywhere throughout the three floors silk and cotton goods hung from racks or were piled up on tables, and the little blaze which started in the unknown corner was like a spark in a powder magazine. In ten minutes the three floors were all afire. Huge clouds of flame belched from nearly every window.

Finding the doors locked to the stairways, the girls rushed to the windows. With their hair and clothes afire, they leaped from the eighth, ninth and tenth story windows. Some were seen climbing upon the sills and deliberately plunging to the pavement. Others, it is said, were pushed out by the pressure behind. In one instance two girls came down from the ninth story in each other's arms. Others were seen embracing and kissing each other before making the fatal leap.

One man, excited and perhaps realizing that they would all be burned to a crisp if they remain in the building a few minutes longer, anyway, picked up six girls one after another, and threw them out the window of the ninth story, after which he plunged to his death, also.

At the height of the fire, when all the girls had either been burned to death in the building or had leaped to the pavement, two young women, about seventeen, stood out on the ledge of rock which marked the tenth story. They were both facing the wall and embracing each other. Apparently one was attempting to prevent the other from jumping, but the latter broke away and threw herself off the ledge with a

shriek. A few moments later the lone girl raised her hands above her head, looked upward, then shot feet foremost off the ledge to the street upon the already large pile of burned and mangled human flesh and bones.

One girl, after falling six stories, was rescued from a large hook beside a window at the third story, where she was hanging by her clothes, face downward. Another saved herself by leaping on top of the elevator roof and grabbing the cable as it passed the eighth floor.

Below, the sight was sickening. Thousands of people had gathered and the firemen were doing their best to save as many lives as possible. Nets were spread and even horse blankets used in an effort to catch some of the falling bodies. But the nets and blankets broke under the weight of three and four bodies falling into them at the same time. Those who plunged from above did not have time or they were too excited to wait on each other or to judge correctly regarding the location of the nets. On the other hand, those in charge of the nets could do very little under the rain of bodies.

All that was left of the victims was



VICTIMS

placed in rows along the pavement, where they were tagged and numbered. Then came the rough, brown police coffins in which the remains were placed and taken to the Municipal Ferry and strung out on the dock. They were afterwards hurried to the morgue. Scores of injured were rushed to the hospitals and many died on the way.

By ten o'clock after the fire 135 bodies were discovered. Fifty were taken from a single heap five feet high where the helpless victims battered in vain at one of the locked doors leading to the stairway. Two girls were taken from an iron picket fence upon which they had fallen. Twelve others were discovered in the basement. They had plunged through the street pavement, making a hole in it six feet in diameter. All those that leaped to the street were killed instantly or died a few minutes afterwards. Those that remained in the building were burned to death. Some of the bodies were so badly burnt and torn to pieces that they had to be gathered up in blankets, tied to the end of a rope and lowered to the street.

Horrors beyond description were seen

at the morgue when relatives and friends came to identify their dead. It was impossible to recognize most of them, the majority being burned or mutilated beyond identification. Many bundles of bone and dry flesh, doubtless, were taken away by hysterical relatives who, in their mad desire to get a last look at a dear one, were only too willing to believe that this or that hunk of flesh and bones was their daughter or sister. Many of the victims were identified only because of jewelry which was found on skeleton fingers, necks and ears.

The flesh on many bodies lay in blackened shreds. In several cases heads were burned off completely. Arms and legs, too, were missing. The clothes and hair had been eaten by the flames from most of them. In a large number of cases faces were flattened and skulls sunk in, as a result of striking the pavement.

The mental and physical agony resulting from this terrible murder of industrial slaves will stretch out into the years. Many a young girl perished who was the only support of her widowed mother and younger brothers and sisters. One girl was killed



PLUNGED THROUGH PAVEMENT.



MORE VICTIMS.

who, with her brother, had been sent to this country to make enough money to support a family of twelve in Russia. One woman, the only bread winner in a family, perished, leaving a husband out of work and five children. One of the children lost a leg recently and another is now sick. Scores of such incidents could be related.

The Women's Trade Union League planned for a parade and the burial of the unidentified victims on Monday, the second day after the fire. But the city officials refused to turn over the bodies and forbade the parade. Feeling among the workers in the city had been stirred to a high pitch, and the masters thought it would not be a healthy thing for them to permit the parade so soon after the fire. So the union leaders gave in for a few days, finally deciding to parade, regardless of what the city heads decided to do, and to hold the demonstration on Wednesday, April 5th, eleven days after the fire. Seeing that the workers were in earnest, the city authorities gave in and handed over seven coffins, each containing a whole body, or what was left of it, and one coffin in which was placed a pile of bones and flesh, representing three or more victims.

Regardless of a steady rain all day the largest working class crowd that has ever turned out in New York City followed the eight coffins to the cemetery and carried banners in memory of the 145 martyrs of "peaceful industry."

It was estimated that between 150,000 and 200,000 workers were in line, that about 300,000 mourners lined the sidewalks, and that a million wage slaves did not work during the day because of the funeral. The following account of the procession, which appeared in the *Sun*, an ultra-conservative supporter of Wall Street, will give a fair idea of the gigantic turnout:

"Sweatshops and garment factories were empty this afternoon. The garment workers in countless numbers were marching through the wet streets to pay, after their fashion, a tribute to the 145 who met their death in the Triangle Shirtwaist fire horror."

The *Sun* also said the crowd was "literally uncountable because of its size and the way in which it spread through the various streets. The throng was estimated by the marshals as totaling about 150,000. Uptown in the other division of the procession was a gathering of similar if not



PARADE IN MEMORIAM.

equal magnitude. It looked as if in spite of such a slight matter as weather, the original estimate of 200,000 paraders had been exceeded."

The most striking feature of the demonstration was the enormous number of unorganized workers in line. And to the disgrace of the building trades unions in New York, with their "sacred contracts," they did not show up.

One 80-year old woman, poorly clad and without an umbrella, tottered along for a way with the endless column. She was mother of one of the girl victims. But she was too weak to walk far. After a few blocks she faltered and would have fallen but for friends, who carried her to the sidewalk and took her home.

Violations of the law? Yes, enough to hang half a dozen rich exploiters and politicians. But these men won't hang.

The owner of the building claimed he lived up to the letter of the law. So did the owners of the shirtwaist concern, Blanck and Harris. They blame the city officials. The State Commission of Labor also blames the city officials. On the other hand, the city officials are hunting for some

one to point to. One of these gentlemen divides the guilt between God and the "public conscience."

The more important facts, however, are as follows: While the holocaust was taking place the superintendent of public buildings, Rudolph P. Miller, was on a pleasure trip to Panama. Under questioning conducted by Fire Marshal Beers he admitted that the Asch building, in which the fire took place, had not been inspected since it was built, ten years ago. He said he was not even sure that he passed on the building before it was occupied. Miller is not an architect; he is simply a civil engineer—with a "pull." In his testimony he also admitted that he knew of "graft" from building owners being accepted by inspectors. Miller blamed the police department.

According to the state law, "fire-proof" buildings need not put up more than one fire escape. And that's all the Asch building had. And this one was useless. When the flames heated the flimsy iron work, it bent like wire. Besides, the scaling ladders were not fit to use and the extension ladders reached only to the 6th floor. The

hose, too, was rotten, and the fire apparatus was only so in name. Then iron shutters blocked the fire escape, such as it was.

The locked doors have been mentioned. There was no fire escape to the roof. The machines were so closely packed together, in order to save space, that a panic resulted when the fire first started. Large piles of combustible goods obstructed every aisle and opening, also. If the building and conditions had been deliberately planned for the cremation of human beings, it could not have been more perfect.

To look at the Asch building since the fire one could not tell from the outside that anything had happened to it, were it not for the broken windows. As a matter of fact, the damage only reached \$5,000. Everything was insured—but the slaves. It is also stated that both Blanck and Harris were in the building an hour before the fire. Bernstein, the superintendent of the factory and a stockholder, incidentally, was not among those that perished. The junior member of the firm testified that they cleared \$1,000,000 in 1908.

A Miss Deutchman, who took part in the shirtwaist strike in 1909 and who worked five months for the Triangle concern, concealing the fact that she was a member of the union, tells the following story of this scab concern:

"This is one of the worst shops that I have ever worked in. When applying for work you have to undergo a half hour or more of examination about union affiliations. When a person was hired, after working at a machine, she would again be asked by Mr. Bernstein, a man in charge of the floor, when she or he was a member of the union. One of my friends who was hired about two weeks ago, was asked whether he was a member of the union, and Bernstein asked him to bring the union book to the shop or he could not work there. My friend left the shop and never returned to give up his union book.

"In the shop there is always a bunch of people spotting the girls at work. Colored women are employed to look out for the girls. When a girl stays in the toilet longer than the woman thinks she ought to stay there, she is told to get out."



LOCKED GATE THAT PREVENTED ESCAPE.

Another girl tells the following story: "About two and a half years ago I went to work for the Triangle Waist Company. At that time there was no talk of organizing the shop. The spy system the firm employed was simply horrible. They could trace every movement of a girl. For talking in the shop the girls would immediately be fired. Although the shop was big and supposed to have enough light, there was no light whatsoever in there.

"The machines were kept together in long rows. A girl could not pass between the machines. The girls sat back to back, and if one moved her chair, others could not pass.

At the conclusion of the day's work girls were searched, like thieves. When a fire engine passed the block and the girls got nervous and excited, they were not allowed to move from their places and go over to the window to see if the fire was in the building. Finding the conditions so bad, I left my job on the fourth day, although I badly needed the money."

Perhaps "public sentiment" in Greater New York has never been so stirred as by this fire. But it will soon blow over. Investigations since the horror have shown that there are more than 10,000 buildings in the city equally as dangerous as was the Asch building. A fire such as took place had been predicted several times since the Newark, N. J., massacre a few weeks ago. It didn't come as a great surprise. Nor will others that are sure to follow come as a surprise. Just prior to the terrible holocaust there was an organization, known as the "Property Owner's Protective League," formed for the purpose of smothering city ordinances detrimental to property owner's interests and for the purpose of "seeing" inspectors, etc.

There is one big lesson which the fire should teach the workers, and if this lesson is not learned, all the propaganda and investigations and demonstrations will be of little value. That lesson is UNIONISM—strong, aggressive, MILITANT UNIONISM.

The blame for the Triangle slaughter weighs more heavily upon the back of organized labor in New York City than upon all the politicians and inspectors combined. If organized labor in this great metropolis had struck as one man when the girls strug-

gled so desperately in 1909 against the Triangle and other firms, the workers would have controlled this shop and the organized and unorganized would have prevented the recent horror. Where the boss is supreme and where a committee of the workers is not on the look-out, there isn't the least thought given the lives of the slaves.

There should have been a general strike in the city the Monday following the fire, regardless of what the city heads thought or threatened. Then the masters would have been taught a lesson which they would have long remembered, and this was the sentiment of the rank and file, too.

The Newark girls, after the fire there, went around to the bosses and said they would not work until the factories were made safer, and there was a change. That is what the workers in New York City should do. The secretary-treasurer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, John A. Dyche, had the right idea when he said a day or so after the fire: "Workers should lay down their tools and refuse to work until the fire escapes are installed." Let us hope that he will put forth strenuous efforts to realize the following statement, which he made about the same time: "I will move that the workers employed in these 180 shops, no matter whether they are under association bosses or under agreements with the union, should lay down their tools and strike for the wiping out of death-trapping shops."

The workers are being driven by every such disaster to look to themselves, to their own organized power to change things. Miss Rose Schneiderman, vice-president of the Women's Trade Union League, in speaking before the "citizens' meeting," engineered by millionaires, preachers and politicians in the Metropolitan Opera House, April 2, in behalf of the fire victims, said that the workers cannot expect to be secure from fires or anything else, for that matter, until the working class has a strong movement which will compel the employers to recognize them. She opened her speech with the following striking paragraph:

"Citizens, you have been tried time and again and found wanting. Every time the working people try to protest for their rights, the law says, 'Be orderly.' The strong hand of the law beats us back, and

back we go to conditions that make our lives unbearable. It would be treachery and treason to those burned bodies if I came here to talk fellowship. Too much blood has been spilled."

The most deplorable thing about it all is that the great masses are ready to act, but the cliques, with their organized machines, are afraid that the movement might get too big for them to control.

But the day is rapidly approaching when the conservative leaders will and must be swept aside. To smother the spontaneity

of class feeling is like attempting to smother a volcano.

May that day soon come. However much it may stir up things, it cannot be any worse than the daily slaughter of industrial slaves. The terror which the middle class mind holds toward the Social Revolution is a daily hope to the machine trained mind. The worker welcomes its approach, for he knows instinctively that it brings with it power, intelligence and solidarity. We cannot begin to rehearse the Social Revolution too soon.

WHY A WORKING MAN SHOULD BE A SOCIALIST

BY

ED MOORE

AT one time the struggle for existence was a fight to conquer the forces of nature. Thousands died of cold and hunger because man did not know how to grow food and build himself a shelter.

He has learned from his experiences in this fight how to conquer Nature and how to use her forces for his own benefit. He has tempered the winds; tamed the flood; chained the lightning, and at will he turns the darkness of midnight into the brilliancy of mid-day.

His fight to conquer Nature taught him that single handed he could not make headway on the rough road he had to travel. So he joined with his fellows to fight for and defend the things that were good for all of them.

All parts of this world are not alike. In some parts nature is more easily whipped into submission than she is in others. Where she is easily whipped, men are weakest. It is easier for strong men to take the good things that weak men take from Nature than it is to fight her for them in places where she is hard to whip.

As soon as strong men found this out, they gave up fighting Nature, and they

began to whip the weak men and to take from them what they had taken from Nature. From all men fighting to conquer her, some men began to fight other men to whip and rob them.

Single strong men soon found out they could not whip a crowd of weak men. Then they joined together in force to go against the weak ones. When united they had no trouble in whipping the weak ones and making them turn over all they had.

Those compelled to do the work were always trying to find easier ways to do it. As they found easier ways to get the things they had to give up to the strong men, they found they could give up more and still have more for themselves. The strong men were less cruel, when they got more without being forced to fight for it.

It is much pleasanter to have a good time than it is to fight. To keep in trim to fight, you have to do many disagreeable things. No one likes to do disagreeable things. Working for a boss is a disagreeable thing. Because the strong men were united they were able to force the unorganized weak men to do the work called labor.

Forcing people to do unpleasant things is called government. The strong men were the government. Government was a good thing for them for it took care of their interests. It was to their interest to make the weak men work for them. Just as now it is to the interest of rich Americans to make poor Americans fight for "American Interests" in Mexico.

You have got to think when you work. Bosses do not care to hire feeble-minded or stupid people. When the shops are closed wage-earners lose their incomes—the wages they get for doing work. Most of them think the boss is the source from which their wages come. They stop thinking about where wages come from when they get up to the boss. Those who keep on thinking about this subject after they reach the boss find that he gets the money to pay wages out of the things made by the people he hires. They find, also, that it is out of the things he hires people to make, that he gets the money to spend on himself and has to invest in Mexican business ventures.

Any time the wage-earners try to get better terms from the bosses, they find the government is in the hands of the friends of the employers. Nowadays, the government acts like the strong men did to make the weak men work for them.

It is a strike when you fight the boss, but it is a revolution when you fight the government. As the government is the boss's partner, how can you fight one

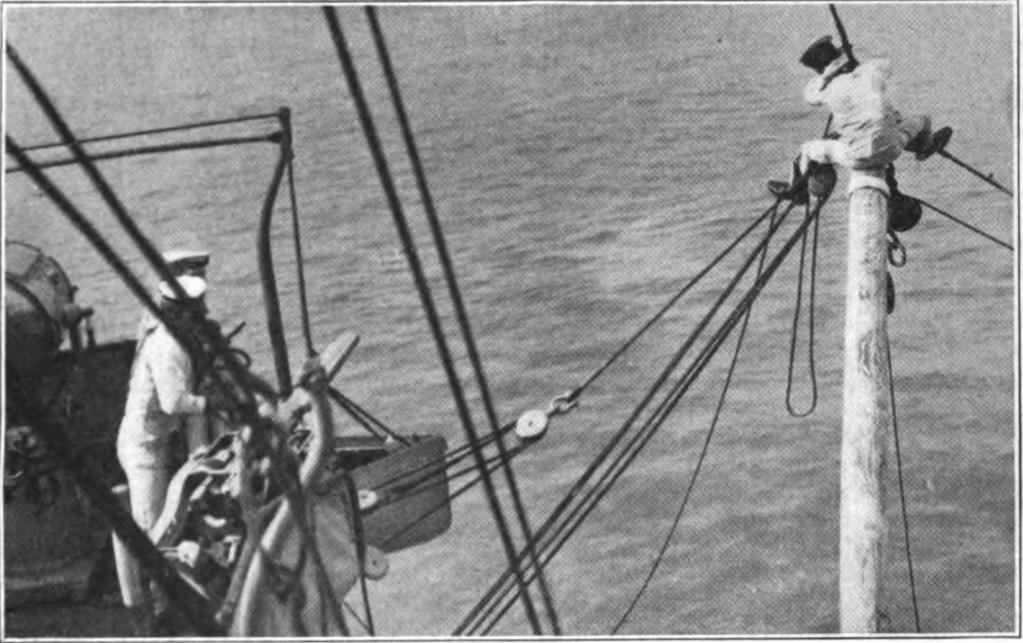
without fighting the other? And as long as one part of the people must sell their skill and ability to another part of it for wages, how can the part that works for wages stop fighting for better terms?

Fighting must go on until we get rid of the thing that causes the fight. The cause of the fight is working for wages. The government and the laws that it enforces are the grounds on which the wage system is resting. To stop the fighting, the workers must take the government and change the laws and institute a system in which those who make the wealth shall own the value of the part they make. Socialism is what this system is called.

A few scattered, unorganized workers cannot take the government. We must have an organization as wide as the country, acting intelligently and fearless enough to force the employing class and its government to let us peacefully teach the working class that its labor produces all wealth, and that to it that wealth should legally belong.

Therefore, everyone who can see the cause of the fight between the wage-earners and the profit takers, and whose interests are with those of the wage-earners, should come into the Socialist Party and lend their aid to take the government for the purpose of putting an end to the fight between the wealth makers and the wealth takers, and bring this devoutly-to-be-wished consummation about by making everyone a wealth maker.





Photographs by Paul Thompson.

OUR GLORIOUS NAVY?

BY

LINDSAY LEWIS

THE more that men in and out of the military service read the vapourings of Socialists regarding the services, the more they must be convinced of the wisdom of our warning to all officers of the 'services,' both active and retired, against allying themselves with the propaganda of this movement." Extract from editorial in the "*Army and Navy Journal*" of February 25, 1911. This is one of the official organs of the military department of the government.

Comrades, shall we accept the challenge laid down in that editorial and start an active campaign in the interest of our cause among the private soldiers and sailors of the army and navy? On our side it will be a long, hard and bitter struggle, but it **MUST BE DONE** if we are to win. First, we must use every means to show the young men of the country that the rose-colored pictures of army and navy life scat-

tered broadcast by the government wherein the bluejackets and soldiers are shown luxuriating amid scenes of foreign travel are absolutely false and misleading; we must show them what war is. Second, we must start a systematic distribution of our literature among men already enlisted, explaining what the Army and Navy are maintained for and how they are forced to serve one class in present society. Third, we must at all times expose the degrading and terrible conditions prevailing in the military service.

In an effort to do the latter I will tell you of a few conditions that exist in the Navy, in which organization I served two years and three months:

When the author enlisted in the Navy, nine years ago, he was deceived and tricked by the recruiting service, and you can imagine how much more deceit is used today in regard to the work and opportunities of men in the Army and Navy, when

the Departments are making such frantic efforts to secure recruits.

I have before me a booklet issued by the Bureau of Navigation, telling the intended recruit of the wonderful advantages he will gain by enlisting in the Navy, and I will review a few of the misleading statements contained therein. After you have read this article do not go to the recruiting office and ask the men stationed there whether what I have said is true or not; do not ask a private soldier or a sailor about these things while he is on duty, near, or in the presence of an officer; if you do you will likely be told that they are all lies, for military discipline is so rigorous and the men are kept in such constant fear of their superior officers, that they will not dare tell the truth—unless they are absolutely certain of not being caught.

In the booklet mentioned, entitled "The Making of a Man o' Warsman," you will find many statements giving details of the different pleasures enjoyed by sailors in the Navy. To answer these statements generally I will say that: When a man enlists in the Army or Navy he absolutely surrenders all personal liberties and rights and gives them in trust to the officers of the organization, and while some of the pleasures mentioned are given to him—usually on Washington's Birthday and the Fourth of July—it lies entirely with the commanding officer over him whether he is given any liberties at all or not.

Here are a few things the recruiting officers don't tell about: A few years ago, at the Mare Island Navy yard about twenty men were ordered to go down into the hold of an old hulk and clean the filth from its bottom. The men went down and started to clean the place out, but the stench from the filth became so strong that several of them were suffocated and the remainder of the men were forced to carry their companions up on deck. When they arrived on deck the officer in charge ordered them to return and finish cleaning out the hold; but the men, knowing that they could not endure the stench, refused. All of them were subjected to a general court martial, receiving sentences to serve from six months to ten years in military prison.

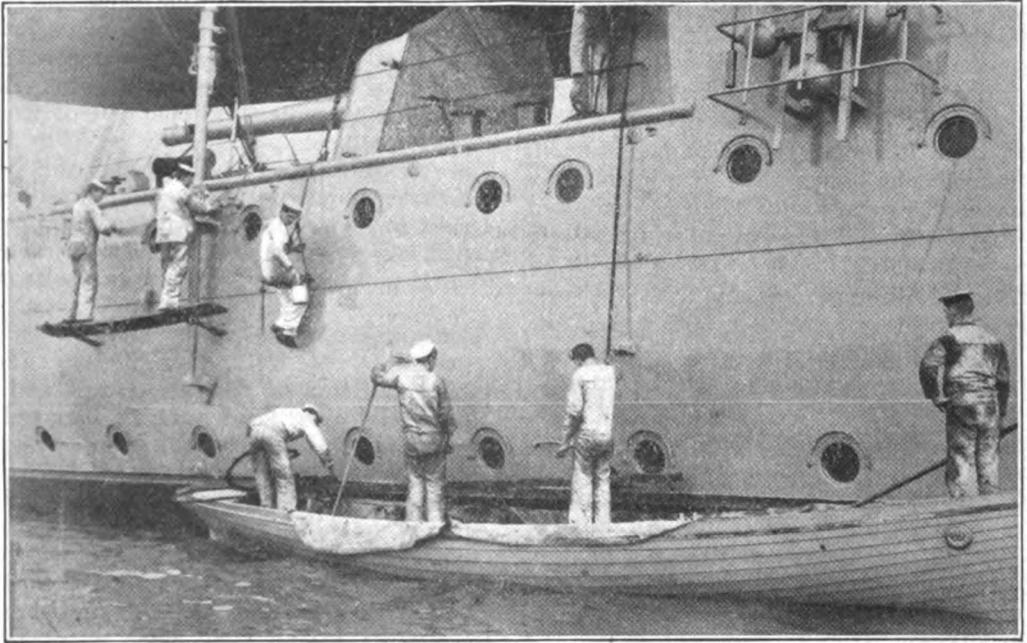
There was nothing imperative about the

work. The men were made victims of the spite of their superior officer. A whole book could be made up of similar cases.

In the United States Navy, or Army for that matter, men are punished every day for the offenses of others, or for mistakes for which they are not responsible. Here are a few cases: At the naval school at San Francisco there is a rule that after taps have sounded at nine o'clock at night, no person shall make the least noise. Often someone will throw a shoe on the deck, or make some other slight noise after taps have sounded; immediately the officer on duty tries to find the person who is guilty of this terrible crime and, if unable to do so, will order the whole division, or crew, to get out of their hammocks, lash them up and walk down in the drill hall with no clothes on but their underwear, and then try to force someone to tell who committed the offense. Often no one but the guilty person knows anything about it, and if the officer cannot force someone to tell he will keep the whole division standing in the cold night air, holding their hammocks in their arms and chilled to the bone, for hours. I have been forced to do this time after time although I never made a noise after taps during my entire enlistment.

Here is another case: While on the training ship Adams I was a member of the crew of the first cutter; one day the officer of the deck ordered the bugler to blow for the first cutter, but the bugler sounded the cutter call with two blasts, which called for the crew of the second cutter. Naturally none of the crew of the first cutter reported for duty.

The next morning the officer of the deck ordered the whole crew of the first cutter before the commanding officer; stated that we had not reported on deck when the first cutter was called for and stepped aside. This officer was a drunken, gambling brute whom a dog could not respect. Several of the crew, including myself, started to explain to the captain, but we were ordered to keep silent and given a sentence of four hours' extra duty each. The word of the brute in gold lace was worth more than that of fourteen enlisted men of good character, and had he cared to enlarge on his tale we would probably have been court martialed and sentenced to military prison,



PAINT DRILL (?)

for the charge was the worst charge known in military service—"Disobedience of Orders."

The booklet, "The Making of a Man O' Warsman," contains a beautifully printed menu, which might attract the gods to feast, but if you should show that printed menu to the average bluejacket he would substitute the words "salt horse" for "roast veal," "punk" for "bread," and "grease" for "butter." For my part I have actually reeled from faintness when getting a whiff of the "Roast Beef" during the process of cooking it in the galley. Words are inadequate to describe some of the rotten foods served to bluejackets. Don't forget the "embalmed beef" scandals, nor the "Jungle" exposures.

Again we find: "Among those unfamiliar with the personnel of the Navy, the notion often prevails that bluejackets are of a loose moral character. * * * This is a grievous mistake as the Navy Department positively will not accept recruits who are not of good moral character."

All one need do to prove this statement to be a lie is to observe the places most frequently visited by sailors when in port. The proprietors of low dives are always made happy when an American war vessel

visits their port. The sailors are not so much to blame for their conduct as are the officers who set the example and encourage dissipation. For if a man, after enlisting in the Navy, becomes a dissipated wreck, he is likely to re-enlist.

The following is a quotation from an article written by a high officer of the surgical corps of the Army and published in the "Military Surgeon" for September, 1910, a magazine published exclusively in the interest of military doctors. I could not get anything relating to the number of venereal diseases in the Navy—the government does not want these facts known—it is quite certain that as high, if not a higher percentage of diseases of this nature exist in the Navy; for bluejackets are kept confined on shipboard for months at a time during long cruises and when they do get ashore make up for time lost at sea, by the intensity of their debauches.

"It is generally conceded by medical officers that there is no one factor or condition in the army which produces more sickness, decreases the efficiency of the men so greatly, or affects their morals more than diseases of venereal origin. In this regard the demoralizing influences of alcoholism and desertion compare but feebly with the

direful results of diseases of this character, and there is no military problem which confronts the War Department which is more worthy of discussion or requires more prompt or energetic action."

I hope to publish in a coming issue of this magazine letters from men in the military service who know the true conditions—and I may add that any information sent me, care of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, will be greatly appreciated. I want personal letters from men, both in and out of the military service, stating actual instances of the degradation and brutality of the officers in the Navy, and other information of value—preferably sworn to before witnesses.

To sum up: All military organizations are composed of men hired to murder, with but one God, and that the God of power—power to maim, mutilate and murder in the service of commercial despots.

Young man! when you contemplate enlisting in the military service think well of the following warning issued by Shelley—

referring to the recruiting agents of the government:

"These are the hired bravos who defend
The tyrant's throne—the bullies of his fear;
These are the sinks and channels of worst
vice,

The refuse of society, the dregs of
All that is most vile; their cold hearts blend
Deceit with sternness, ignorance with pride,
All that is mean and villainous with rage
Which hopelessness of good and self-con-
tempt

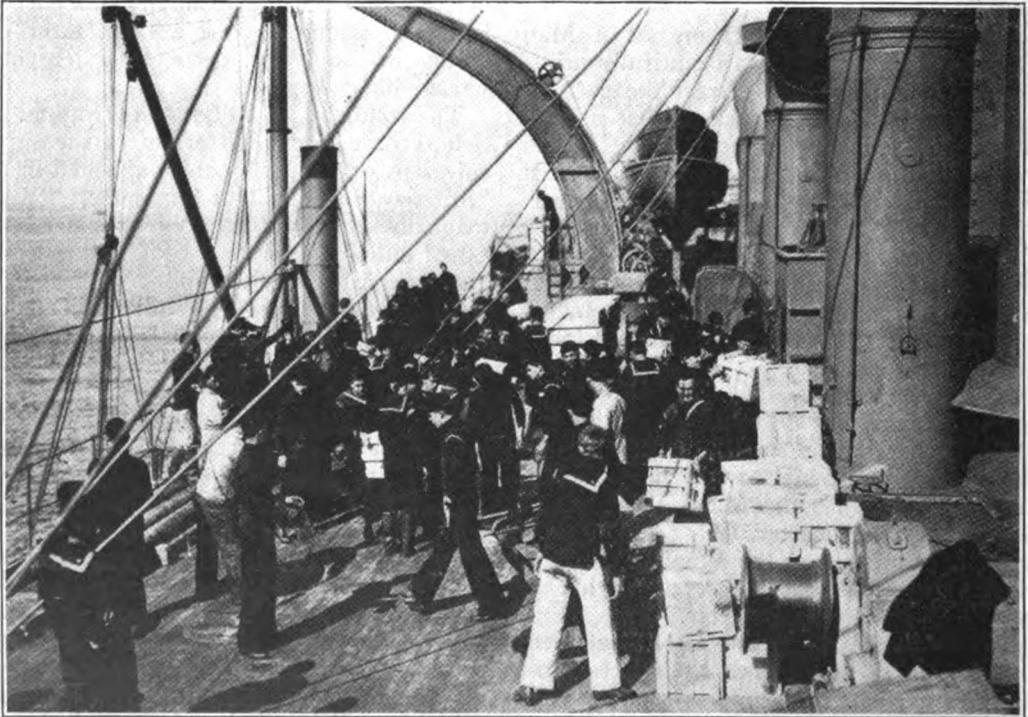
Alone might kindle. They are decked in
wealth

Honor and Power; then are sent abroad to
Do their work. The pestilence that stalks
In gloomy triumph through some Eastern
land

Is less destroying. They cajole with gold
And promises of fame, the thoughtless
youth,

Already crushed with servitude; he knows
His wretchedness too late, and cherishes
Repentance for his ruin, when his doom
Is sealed in gold and blood."

Recruiting officers hold out the induce-



HUSTLING SUPPLIES.

ment that, providing a man is not satisfied after having served a certain time in the military service, he is given the option of purchasing his discharge. There is a regulation to that effect, but only about one-tenth of those who make application receive their discharge, and they usually get it through the influence of a congressman. At the Training School at San Francisco I have known boys, who tried to purchase their discharge and had been refused, get on their knees and beg me to seriously injure them in order that they might get a disability discharge.

Workingmen! there is but one army for you to join if you would have peace and liberty, a happy home and the product of your labor. That army is the International Socialist Movement, composed of the workers of the world in every land and clime; the army of the Social Revolution, whose goal is peace and whose object is the overthrow of Capitalism.

Its officers are its enlisted men and women; its gun are its press, its orators and its books. Its forts are unassailable facts; its uniforms, the clothes of workingmen and women; its instructors are the world's greatest scientists and the worlds producers. Its flag is the blood-red flag of old which has ever waved above the heads of the champions of human rights. The inspiration of this army is the cry of the oppressed toilers of all lands.

This army has already prevented three great European wars, and its forces are so strong in Europe that despots can only rail at one another; for this army will not fight for them, nor aid their hirelings to fight for them.

On May 21st, 1905, when war threat-

ened between Austria and Italy, the Socialists of Italy, Austria and Hungary held a conference at Trieste, and threatened a general strike of the workingmen of both countries in case war was declared. This was repeated the following year when the "Morocco Affair" threatened to involve Germany, France and England in war. But Socialists tied the capitalists' hands—and they could not make war.

A few years ago the Norwegian people decided to secede from Sweden and have a government of their own. The masters of both countries wanted to go to war, but the workingmen of both countries refused to fight, saying: "The Swedish and Norwegian workingmen are brothers, and we will not fight, and if you send hirelings to fight for you, then we will cease work and prevent you from securing supplies for your mercenary army." As a result the people of Norway and Sweden met on the borderline, and instead of murdering one another, embraced and vowed eternal friendship.

Workingmen! this army demands your service. It will give to us all the privilege of having a home, with all its sacred ties and affections. It will give to us education, and art and beauty—all these things, and more. But before this end is attained we must give our lives and our hopes to the service of this army. A long and weary struggle may be before us, but we must be staunch and true, and determined that: Though the Gods of heaven, the masters of earth and the demons of hell be arrayed against us, we will be true to the greatest cause that ever inspired men and women to noble words and deeds.



THE GENERAL STRIKE

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

Extracts from speech at Meeting Held for the Benefit of the Buccafori Defense at Progress Assembly Rooms, New York, March 16, 1911

Comrades and Fellow-Workers:

I came tonight to speak to you on the general strike. And this night, of all the nights in the year, is a fitting time. Forty years ago today there began the greatest general strike known in modern history, the French Commune; a strike that required the political powers of two nations to subdue, namely, France and the iron hand of a Bismarck government of Germany. That the workers would have won that strike had it not been for the copartnership of the two nations, there is to my mind no question. They would have overcome the divisions of opinions among themselves. They would have re-established the great national workshops that existed in Paris and throughout France in 1848. The world would have been on the highway toward an industrial democracy, had it not been for the murderous compact between Bismarck and the government of Versailles.

We are met tonight to consider the general strike as a weapon of the working class. I must admit to you that I am not well posted on the theories advanced by Jaures, Vandervelde, Kautsky and others who write and speak about the general strike. But I am not here to theorize, not here to talk in the abstract but to get down to the concrete subject of whether or not the general strike is an effective weapon for the working class.

There are vote-getters and politicians who waste their time coming into a community where 90 per cent of the men have no vote, where the women are disfranchised 100 per cent and where the boys and girls under age of course are not enfranchised. Still they will speak to these people about the power of the ballot, and they never mention a thing about the power of the general strike. They seem to lack the foresight, the pen-

etration to interpret political power. They seem to lack the understanding that the broadest interpretation of political power comes through the industrial organization; that the industrial organization is capable not only of the general strike, but prevents the capitalists from disfranchising the worker; it gives the vote to women, it re-enfranchises the black man and places the ballot in the hands of every boy and girl employed in a shop, makes them eligible to take part in the general strike, makes them eligible to legislate for themselves where they are most interested in changing conditions, namely, in the place where they work.

I am sorry sometimes that I am not a better theorist, but as all theory comes from practice you will have observed, before I proceed very long, that I know something about the general strike in operation.

Going back not so far as the Commune of Paris, which occurred in 1871, we find the great strike in Spain in 1874, when the workers of that country won in spite of combined opposition against them and took control of the civil affairs. We find the great strike in Bilbao, in Brussels. And coming down through the halls of time, the greatest strike is the general strike in Russia, when the workers of that country compelled the government to establish a constitution, to give them a form of government—which, by the way, has since been taken from them, and would cause one to look on the political program of Russia at least as a bauble not worth fighting for. They gave up the general strike for a political constitution. The general strike could and did win for them many concessions they could gain in no other way.

While across the water I visited Sweden, the scene of a great general

strike, and I discovered that there they won many concessions, political as well as economic; and I happened to be in France, the home of all revolutions, during the strike on the railroads—on the state as well as the privately owned roads. There had been standing in the parliament of France many laws looking toward the improvement of the men employed on the railroads. They became dissatisfied and disgruntled with the continued dilatory practices of the politicians and they declared a general strike. The demands of the workers were for an increase of wages from three to five francs a day, for a reduction of hours and for the retroaction of the pension law. They were on strike three days. It was a general strike as far as the railroads were concerned. It tied up transportation and communication from Paris to all the seaport towns.

The strike had not been on three days when the government granted every demand of the workers. Previous to this, however, Briand had issued his infamous order making the railroaders soldiers—reservists. The men went back as conscripts; and many scabs, as we call them over here (I don't know what the French call them; in England they call them "blacklegs") were put on the roads to take the places of 3,500 discharged men.

The strike apparently was broken, officially declared off by the workers. It's true their demands had all been granted, but remember there were 3,500 of their fellow-workers discharged. The strikers immediately started a campaign to have the victimized workers reinstated. And their campaign was a part of the general strike. It was what they called the greve perlee, or the "drop strike"—if you can conceive of a strike while everybody is at work; everybody belonging to the union receiving full time, and many of them getting overtime, and the strike in full force and very effective.

This is the way it worked—and I tell it to you in the hopes that you will spread the good news to your fellow-workers and apply it yourselves whenever occasion demands—namely, by making the capitalist suffer. Now there is only one way to do that; that is, to strike him in the place where he carries his heart and

soul, his center of feeling—the pocket-book. And that is what those strikers did. They began at once to make the railroads lose money, to make the government lose money, to make transportation a farce so far as France was concerned.

Before I left that country on my first visit—and it was during that time that the strike was on—there were 50,000 tons of freight piled up at Havre, and a proportionately large amount at every other seaport town. This freight the railroaders could not move. They did not move; and when they did, it was in this way: They would load a trainload of freight for Paris and by some mistake it would be billed through to Lyons, and when the freight was found at Lyons, instead of being sent to the consignee at Paris it was carried straight through the town on to Bayonne or Marseilles or some other place—any place but where it properly belonged. Perishable freight was taken out by the trainload and sidetracked.

The conditions became such that the merchants themselves were compelled to send their agents down into the depots to look up their consignments of freight—and with very little assurance of finding it at all. That this was the systematic work of the railroaders there is no question, because a package addressed to Merle, one of the editors of *La Guerre Sociale*, now occupying a cell in the Prison of the Saint, was marked with an inscription on the corner, "Sabotagers please note address." This package went through posthaste. It worked so well that some of the merchants began using the name of *La Guerre Sociale* to have their packages immediately delivered. It was necessary for the managers of the paper to threaten to sue them unless they refrained from using the name of the paper for railroad purposes.

Nearly all the workers have been reinstated at the present time on the railroads of France.

That is certainly one splendid example of what the general strike can accomplish for the working class.

Another is the strike of the railroaders in Italy. The railroaders there are organized in one great industrial union, one card taking into membership the stenographers, train despatchers, freight

handlers, train crews and the section crews. Everyone who works on the railroad is a member of the organization; not like it is in this country, split up into as many divisions as they can possibly get them into.

There they are all one. There was a great general strike. It resulted in the country taking over the railroads. But the government made the mistake of placing politicians in control, giving politicians the management of the railroads. This operated but little better than under private capitalism. The service was inefficient. They could make no money. The rolling stock was rapidly going to wreck. Then the railroad organizations issued this ultimatum to the government, and it now stands: "Turn the railroads over to us. We will operate them and give you the most efficient service to be found on railroads in any country." Would that be a success for the general strike? I rather think so.

And in Wales it was my good fortune to be there, not to theorize but to take part in the general strike among the coal miners. Previous to my coming, or in previous strikes, the Welsh miners had been in the habit of quitting work, carrying out their tools, permitting the mine managers to run the pumps, allowing the engine winders to remain at work, carrying food down to the horses, keeping the mines in good shape, while the miners themselves were marching from place to place singing their oldtime songs, gathering on the meeting grounds of the ancient Druids and listening to the speeches of the labor leaders; starving for weeks contentedly, and on all occasions acting most peaceably; going back to work when they were compelled to by starvation.

But this last strike was an entirely different one. It was like the shoemakers' strike in Brooklyn. Some new methods had been injected into the strike. I had spoken there on a number of occasions previous to the strike being inaugurated, and I told them of the methods that we adopted in the west, where every man employed in and around the mine belongs to the same organization; where when we went on strike the mine closed down. They thought that that was a very excellent system. So the

strike was declared. They at once notified the engine winders, who had a separate contract with the mine owners, that they would not be allowed to work. The engine winders passed a resolution saying that they would not work. The haulers took the same position. No one was allowed to approach the mines to run the machinery.

Well, the mine manager, like mine managers everywhere, taking unto himself the idea that the mines belonged to him, said, "Certainly the men won't interfere with us. We will go up and run the machinery." And they took along the office force. But the miners had a different notion and they said, "You can work in the office, but you can't run this machinery. That isn't your work. If you run that you will be scabbing; and we don't permit you to scab—not in this section of the country, now." They were compelled to go back to the office. There were 325 horses underground, which the manager, Llewellyn, complained about being in a starving condition. The officials of the union said, "We will hoist the horses out of the mine." "Oh, no, we don't want to bring them up. We will all be friends in a few days."

"You will either bring up the horses now or you will let them stay there."

He said, "No, we won't bring them up now."

The pumps were closed down on the Cambria mine; 12,000 miners were there to see that they didn't open. Llewellyn started a hue and cry that the horses would be drowned, and the king sent the police, sent the soldiers and sent a message to Llewellyn asking if the horses were still safe. He didn't say anything about his subjects, the men. Guarded by soldiers a few scabs assisted by the office force were able to run the pumps. Llewellyn himself and his bookkeeping force went down and fed the horses.

Had there been an industrial organization comprising the railroaders and every other branch of industry, the mines of Wales would be closed down today.

We found the same condition throughout the west. We never had any trouble about closing the mines down. We could keep them closed down for an indefinite

period. It was always the craft unions that caused us to lose our fights when we did lose.

I recall the first general strike in the Coeur d'Alenes, when all the mines in that district were closed down to prevent a reduction of wages. The mine owners brought in thugs the first thing. They attempted to man the mines with men carrying sixshooters and rifles. There was a pitched battle between miners and thugs. A few were killed on each side. And then the mine owners asked for the soldiers, and the soldiers came. Who brought the soldiers? Railroads manned by union men; engines fired with coal mined by union men. That is the division of labor that might have lost us the strike in the Coeur d'Alenes.

It didn't lose it, however. We were successful in that issue. But in Leadville we lost the strike there because they were able to bring in scab labor from other communities where they had the force of the government behind them, and the force of the troops.

In 1899 we were compelled to fight the battle over in a great general strike in the Coeur d'Alenes again. Then came the general strike in Cripple Creek, the strike that has become a household word in labor circles throughout the world. In Cripple Creek 5,000 men were on strike in sympathy with 45 men belonging to the millmen's union in Colorado City, 45 men who had been discharged simply because they were trying to improve their standard of living.

By using the state troops and the influence of the federal government they were able to man the mills in Colorado City with scab millmen; and after months of hardship, after 1,600 of our men had been arrested and placed in the Victor Armory in one single room that they called the "bullpen," after 400 of them had been loaded aboard special trains guarded by soldiers, shipped away from their homes, dumped out on the prairies down in New Mexico and Kansas; after the women who had taken up the work of distributing strike relief had been placed under arrest—we find then that they were able to man the mine with scabs, the mills running with scabs, the railroads conveying the ore from Cripple

Creek to Colorado City run by union men—the connecting link of a proposition that was scabby at both ends! We were not thoroughly organized. There has been no time when there has been a general strike in this country.

There are three phases of a general strike. They are:

A general strike in an industry.

A general strike in a community, or

A general national strike.

The conditions for any of the three have never existed. So how anyone can take the position that a general strike would not be effective and not be a good thing for the working class is more than I can understand. We know that the capitalist uses the general strike to good advantage. Here is the position that we find the working class and the capitalists in: The capitalists have wealth; they have money. They invest the money in machinery, in the resources of the earth. They operate a factory, a mine, a railroad, a mill. They will keep that factory running just as long as there are profits coming in. When anything happens to disturb the profits, what do the capitalists do? They go on strike, don't they? They withdraw their finances from that particular mill. They close it down because there are no profits to be made there. They don't care what becomes of the working class. But the working class, on the other hand, has always been taught to take care of the capitalist's interest in the property. You don't look after your own interest, your labor power, for without a certain amount of provision you can't reproduce your labor power. You are always looking after the interest of the capitalist. While a general strike would ignore the capitalist's interest and would strengthen yours.

That is what I want to urge upon the working class: to become so organized on the economic field that they can take and hold the industries in which they are employed. Can you conceive of such a thing? Is it possible? What are the forces that prevent you from doing so? You have all the industries in your own hands at the present time.

There is this justification for political action, and that is, to control the forces of the capitalists that they use against

us; to be in a position to control the power of government so as to make the work of the army ineffective, so as to totally abolish the secret service and the force of detectives. That is the reason that you want the power of government. That is the reason that you should fully understand the power of the ballot.

Now, there isn't anyone, Socialist, S. L. P., Industrial Worker or any other workingman or woman, no matter what society you belong to, but what believes in the ballot. There are those—and I am one of them—who refuse to have the ballot interpreted for them. I know or think I know the power of it, and I know that the industrial organization, as I stated in the beginning, is its broadest interpretation. I know, too, that when the workers are brought together in a great organization they are not going to cease to vote. That is when the workers will *begin* to vote, to vote for directors to operate the industries in which they are all employed.

So the general strike is a fighting weapon as well as a constructive force. It can be used, and should be used, equally as forcefully by the Socialist as by the Industrial Worker. The Socialists believe in the general strike. They also believe in the organization of industrial forces after

the general strike is successful. So, on this great force of the working class I believe we can agree that we should unite into one great organization—big enough to take in the children that are now working; big enough to take in the black man, the white man, big enough to take in all nationalities; an organization that will be strong enough to obliterate state boundaries, to obliterate national boundaries, and one that will become the great industrial force of the working class of the world. (Applause.)

The A. F. of L. couldn't have a general strike if they wanted to. They are not organized for a general strike. They have 27,000 different agreements that expire 27,000 different minutes of the year. They will either have to break all of those sacred contracts or there is no such thing as a general strike in that so-called "labor organization." I said "so-called." I say so advisedly. It is not a labor organization, it is simply a combination of job trusts. We are going to have a labor organization in this country. And I assure you, if you could attend the meetings we have had in Philadelphia, in Bridgeport last night, in Haverhill and in Harrison, throughout the country, you would agree that industrialism is coming. There isn't anything can stop it.



SHALL THIS MAN SERVE TEN YEARS IN SING SING?

BY

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN



VINCENT BUCCAFIORI.

DURING the strike of the express drivers in New York City last November, Peter Roach, one of the strikers, was shot and killed by a strike-breaker who, from the seat of one of the police-protected wagons, fired a volley of shots into the angry crowd which impeded his progress. This strike-breaker and murderer came up for trial last week. His plea was self-defense and when the jury retired they needed TWO MINUTES to return a verdict of acquittal.

A little over a week ago Fellow Worker Vincent Buccafiori, an Italian shoe worker, was tried before Judge Wm. Kelly and a jury of petty capitalists in the Brooklyn court house. He was also charged with murder. His plea was self-defense, and a clearer case of self-defense could hardly be produced in any court of law.

All of the witnesses for the state, even the hostile superintendent of the factory, who eagerly prompted the prosecutor during the progress of the trial, were compelled to admit on the witness stand that Buccafiori acted to protect his very life when attacked by the infuriated foreman with a murderous weapon. Yet he was found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to ten years in Sing Sing.

Ten years in Sing Sing for a worker who

defended his life against a brutal foreman! And freedom for a strike-breaker and a thug who defended the property of the express company!

Justice is indeed blind, blind but business-like.

One of the strongest impressions made by the three days' proceedings was the methodical quality of the law.

Like a game of cards, in which a man's life was at stake, one felt that the outcome depended not upon the merits or abstract justice of the case, but upon the adroitness and personal ability of the contending attorneys. Nor could one suppress the further feeling that to them it simply meant another "case" to be won, another scalp to be hung on the belt, another point in their professional careers.

It was all quite impersonal. The man tried was not a Harry Thaw nor a William D. Haywood. The case was to them neither a big sensational scandal nor an important labor case and there was not much notoriety in it for any of the parties concerned.

But into the isolation of the quiet courtroom like a breath of strong sea air, came continually the undercurrent, the rush and roar of the class-struggle, and one felt that under the mask of the law unseen forces were demanding the life of this man, that

he was being made an example of before other Italian workers, that whether the court and the lawyers realized it or not this was a LABOR CASE and that it should be and, let us hope, will be a *great labor case* in which all the forces of labor will unite as one man to save a humble worker in their ranks, who but for his union activity would never have been forced into the limelight of publicity and before the bar of American Justice.

The witnesses on behalf of Buccafiori were his shop mates and several foremen from other factories where he had been employed, who testified as to his exceptional ability as a worker, his general reliability and peaceful disposition. The witnesses for the state were two police officers, two superintendents of the J. M. Dodd factory, and an Italian workingman who had acted as an "interpreter" in the prosecutor's office but who had to speak through an interpreter himself in court.

Buccafiori also testified in his own behalf and his calm, quiet demeanor and frank statement of what occurred won the respect of all and made his own best witness. A more touching appeal or more graphic statement of the fact could hardly be written than his story, which in substance was as follows:

He had worked continuously in this country for six years, had been employed for six months in the factory of J. M. Dodd. No fault was ever found with his work, he was one of the best paid in his line in the shop and his ability had even been commended by the foreman, with whom he never had any trouble until a union was organized in the shop and Buccafiori became the shop representative. The Saturday preceding the shooting marked the beginning of the controversy.

A man gave Buccafiori dues for the union. Robert Vitelli, the foreman, was passing by and demanded to know if Buccafiori belonged to the union. Upon receiving an affirmative reply he said, "Well, then, on my word of honor you will have to go during the week." Buccafiori returned to work Monday as usual, but was left without work until five in the evening when Vitelli assigned him some work with the remark, "When you finish this you can go. I give you this work simply to finish the week. I want you to understand you belong to the

union," and he tapped Buccafiori none too gently with a shoe last.

On Wednesday, when the work was finished, the superintendent, Mr. Treat, insisted upon his reinstatement, saying that membership in the union was not sufficient grounds for discharging an efficient worker.

The foreman's petty authority being thus overridden, his resentment became personal and vindictive against Buccafiori.

Thursday the foreman again attempted to force him to leave but the superintendent interfered the second time and he was retained. Let us continue Friday morning's story in Buccafiori's own words:

"The next morning I went to the shop, sat down at my bench and waited for work. Mr. Treat came in and I gave him my piece book for the office to pay me. Then the foreman came in, gave me my pay envelope and told me to take my tools and go, as I was a spy for the superintendent.

"I protested that I needed work, had a wife and family and that Mr. Treat had told me to work. Then the foreman said, 'By the holy Virgin, don't you want to go?' He caught me by the vest and punched me in the mouth, which started blood to flow. Other workers interfered, but the foreman ordered them back to work. 'I will fix this man myself,' said Vitelli, and made for the only door in the shop. He rolled up his sleeves and picked up a heavy last. I turned to the men and said, 'Companions, you are witnesses of how the foreman has treated me. I am going down to the boss to tell him.'

"The foreman advanced and stood near the door, although he had no business there. At these words he advanced towards me with his hand raised, waving the last. He made motions to strike me and I pulled out my revolver. I fired at the elevator door away from the foreman, to frighten him off. He kept advancing, however, and I fired two more shots on the floor, but when the foreman continued to advance and was very near me, I became alarmed at being struck and I fired at him, although I did not intend to kill him."

As to his reasons for carrying a revolver, which are important only in that they adduce lack of malicious intent to kill, Buccafiori said, "I bought the revolver from a friend five years ago. He was hungry and needed the money. I did not carry it till

several months before the shooting. I then carried it because I had money on my person. I used to keep money in Patti's bank but the bank failed and I lost \$300. Then I resolved to keep the money about me. I carried the revolver to prevent robbery, as I had two and three hundred dollars about me.

"On the day of the trouble I had with me \$138, \$25 in Italian money which I intended sending as a Christmas present to my parents in Italy, and a gold watch and chain."

Assistant Prosecutor Martin's speech to the jury was the touch of a master hand on all the prejudices that provincial Americanism has against the Italians.

He sneered at the "cool, calm, suave, Italian manner" of Judge Palmieri, the defendant's lawyer. He spoke of the workmen witnesses for the defense, as those who had cringingly eaten from Wilt's (Vitelli) hand when he was alive but turned on him in death, and of the the traitorous D. MARINO, the shoe worker who has used every effort to convict Buccafiori, as "the only man of the Italian race in that factory with the American spirit of fair play." He spoke of the superintendent as "this clean young American," and pleaded, "Are you going to take the word of these Italians and say to the Americans, 'You are liars'?" He spoke feelingly of the family of the deceased. But he forbore to tell that Wilt's wife refused to visit him in the hospital, that his funeral had a lone mourner, a man who worked in the shop, and that his widow is now preparing to remarry. Finally he characterized the dead man as "a decent fellow. He must have been, to be a foreman."

The judge's charge to the jury outside of the formal defining of the law, was a stereotyped definition of the freedom of contract and that union affiliations had nothing to do with the case.

The jury was out for fourteen hours. The first ballot taken resulted in eight for acquittal, but the long vigil and no particular concern in the case except the desire to finish it wore the jury down finally to a verdict of manslaughter in the first degree.

Then the judge, a heavy, ponderous type of Irish politician, announced that "I am as much in favor of labor unions as anybody.

But American labor unions do not countenance murder. They do not believe that every controversy between employer and workingman justifies the shedding of blood. I sentence the prisoner to the state prison at Assining for a term of not more than ten years and two months and no less than nine years and one month."

An appeal has been taken by the union and the friends of Buccafiori.

Let us hope that before the second trial, labor (union and otherwise) will speak for itself in unmistakable terms, that no judge will be their spokesman, and that as a determined and aroused working class they will see that justice is done and Buccafiori is freed.

Ten years in Sing Sing is as serious as the death penalty in this case. In fact, electrocution is more merciful—for imprisonment means a lingering, torturing death. Electrocution is at least a release from life.

Buccafiori is a young man—29 years old. But he has worked nearly all his years as a shoe worker, with his father in Italy during his boyhood and in the factories of America. He is of slight build, delicate physique, and is today weak and ill from his long confinement and nervous strain. He is a courageous, self-controlled man, however, and stood the long wait while the jury were out with remarkable fortitude that his wife's spirits might be sustained. An intelligent worker of radical tendencies, he has a clear comprehension of the union movement with which he is allied. When I visited him in the Raymond street jail he expressed BUT ONE REGRET. THIS WAS "THAT THE STRIKE WAS LOST."

No story of the case would be complete without a word of a figure in the background. She is twenty-four years old, little more than a girl, a frail little flower of a woman—not the Madonna but rather the Beatrice type of Italian womanhood, yet faithful, burning with devotion for the man and the cause. Over six hundred dollars of the funds needed for the defense were raised by this frail woman, Mrs. Buccafiori, as she sat in the back of the courtroom and listened to the workings of the ponderous machine of the law grinding out in an unknown tongue, minute by minute, the fate of the one nearest and dearest her. I sat

with her until two o'clock in the morning, until I could stay no longer, but she remained until she fainted on the courthouse steps in the gray of the morning.

Of such material as this is the revolutionary woman's movement built!

And now to you, Comrades, I appeal on

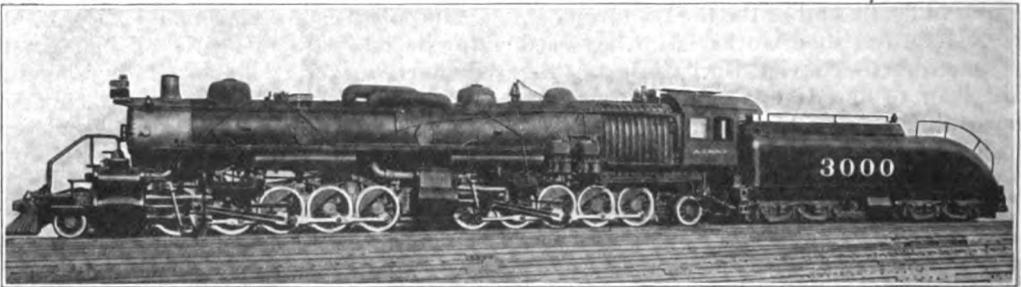
behalf of the man and the cause. An injustice that cries aloud to all with red blood in their veins has been committed.

Note.—Contributions for the Buccafori Defense Fund should be made payable to Charles Linfante, 10 Troy avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

THE LARGEST LOCOMOTIVE IN THE WORLD

BY

J. A. JONES



NUMBER 3000, the new locomotive that has just been turned out of the Santa Fe shops here in Topeka, made its initial trip over the division between here and Emporia on Thursday, March 23rd.

Number 3000, shown in the photograph, is nearly 122 feet over all and weighs, with its tender, three hundred and fifty tons. It has ten pair of drivers in sets of five pairs each and a pair of trailer wheels under the fire box and another pair under the pilot.

Over twenty-five years ago, Anatole Mallet, a professor of Paris, France, invented and patented the articulated locomotive, which consists of two sets of engines, each operating its own group of driving wheels, both attached to one boiler.

This invention, with the invention of Walschart's valve gear, better known as the "monkey motion," invented and pat-

ented in Belgium in 1844, has laid upon the shelf until long after the expiration of the patents. It was not until the winter of 1903 and 1904 that a design embodying these two principles with that of the compounding of the two sets of engines (the forward, the higher pressure, the rear, the low pressure) were prepared for the B. and O. and an engine combining all these features, was built by the American Locomotive Works at Schenectady. Thus rejected inventions have become the cornerstone for revolutionizing the railroad industry. Railroad men know it means less jobs for them.

The use of such an engine as this was limited to hill work such as pushing trains up grade out of division points, usually situated alongside some river or lake. No human machine could stand the strain of a 100 or 150 mile division when these monster engines evaporated 7,000 gallons of

water and burned four tons of coal per hour.

But on the Santa Fe, oil is used and mechanical stokers are proposed for other districts where oil is not available. Thus is eliminated the necessity for the Rough Neck of the strong back. In the words of the Santa Fe officials, "The door of Opportunity was now open" to our white collared friends who have been frozen out of their pencil-pushing jobs by the different mechanical adding and calculating machines. Evidently it is hoped that, in time, the prevailing type of Tallow Pot, now employed, may radically change to that of the average office worker.

This new type of locomotive possesses two distinct advantages. They do not make it necessary to scrap the old style engines on the junk piles to make way for the New. They can be and are, made over at less cost than the price of a new unit of the same additional power, and one crew's wages are always saved.

A section of boiler is built and mounted on wheels and engines, the whole conforming to the old unit. The necessary connections are then made and the work is finished.

The second advantage arises from the fact that these engines eliminate the need of switching through trains at division points. A smaller engine pulls the train across a level division and one in proportion to the power needed to overcome the grade of the next division, is coupled on, saving the labor and time of switching crews and pushers and, in some cases, road crews.

These engines are known as Non-Slipping. Under scientific observation, it was found that the Low Pressure engine does not start slipping until the High Pressure engine has stopped and vice versa. With both engines working under high pressure, less slipping actually takes place than under normal conditions when engines are working compound.

Changing to high pressure in all cylinders makes it possible to take up all the slack in a train and make a straight pull at a dead weight.

The old method wherein the old mechanism was used, called for a great deal of skill to start a train. It is a well known fact among railroad men that no matter how gently a train is started or stopped, something in transit is damaged and the Claim Agent has to settle the bills. With the new engines, no backing up to get slack for a run is ever needed. The perfected ability of the new machine is all that is required.

The special ability formerly possessed by the fireman is now put into the machine.

The particular ability formerly needed in the engineer is now embodied in the machine.

The special skill of the old Switching Crews is now contained in the new system that has established "standardized trains" and that places different engines of type and capacity conforming to the energy needed to overcome the grades of each special railroad division.

Thus another invention is compelling another group of workers to wake up.





COKE OVENS.

REVOLUTION IN THE COKE INDUSTRY

BY

THOMAS F. KENNEDY

COKING drives off the gases in coal without burning up the carbon. During the last three years a revolution has been under way in the coke industry. It is not the work of pestiferous labor agitators nor of wicked trust promoters, but of machines.

Up until the advent of the by-product coking process and the machine, coke ovens were built about the shape of a beehive, hence the name, beehive oven. At first they were very small, and as late as twenty years ago ovens were built eight feet in diameter. But the size was gradually increased until nearly all of the lately built beehive ovens are over twelve feet in diameter, twelve and one-half being a common size.

Coke ovens are built in rows, the spaces being filled so that the front presents the appearance of a solid wall of masonry with arched doors about every

sixteen feet. Excepting for the small, round charging hole in each oven the top is level and carries a track upon which runs the charging car from the coal tipple.

In nearly all old-time coke plants the ovens were built against a hill or rise in the ground. This was to economize heat and give solidity to the ovens. But modern practice is to build two rows back to back. This gives solidity and conserves heat even better than by the old plan.

When a batch of cold ovens, new or old, are to be started, or "fired," as they say around the coke works, fire is kept burning in them for several days, until the walls of the ovens are hot enough to ignite coal. After being charged, the first thing is to "level." This leveling is done by hand with a big, heavy scraper and the "leveler" just pushes and pulls until the coal is level in the oven. The hot

walls of the oven ignite the coal and often within an hour, especially if the oven is charged soon after being drawn, smoke will begin to come out of the charging hole, and in seven or eight hours, a big flame. A never-to-be-forgotten sight is three or four hundred ovens on a dark night, each one vomiting a column of flame, while over them hovers a canopy of smoke like a great black pall.

When the coking is complete, the coal has become a solid, nearly white hot cake, about sixteen inches thick and the diameter of the oven. The first step is to water the oven until the hot cake is black on top and only a very dark, cherry red toward the bottom. The chief reason for cooling the coke is to prevent it from burning to ashes, which it would do if drawn out in the air while white hot; but incidentally the cooling makes it easier for the drawer to stand up in front of the oven and causes cracks in the cake, making it possible to tear it asunder.

This, still red hot, cake of coke sixteen inches or more thick and twelve feet or more in diameter, is attacked by the drawer with bar, hook and scraper as he stands in front of the oven. His hook is his chief reliance, and he has several of

varying length, the shortest for near the door and the longest for the back end of the oven. The handle of the hook is of round steel with a link shaped ring at the end. The business end of the hook is of rectangular steel five-eighths of an inch thick, one and a quarter inches wide, about eight inches long, perfectly straight, turned at a right angle to the handle and sharp at the end.

He bounces his hook seeking a hold, and when he gets a "bite" he jerks with all his might until he tears the piece loose and draws it into the big, heavy iron wheelbarrow which stands directly under the oven door. When the barrow is full, it must be wheeled to the railroad car across the yard or on to the stock pile, if for any reason there should be stocking.

The bed of coke must be quarried, but the quarryman works at a terrible disadvantage. He must keep at a distance from his red hot quarry, the distance increasing until at the last he is fourteen or fifteen feet away. Yet he cannot keep far enough from the oven to escape the stream of heat, dust, steam and sulphurous fumes pouring out of the oven into his face.



COKE DRAWERS—OLD WAY.



ELECTRIC COKE CONVEYOR—LOADING CARS.

Three to four hours, according to his strength and his luck, hard tugging in front of the oven will finish the job, for which he receives about \$1. Two ovens are a hard day's work, though two one day and three the next, fifteen a week, is a regular thing. There have been exceptional cases where strong, two-legged mules pulled four a day—for awhile. As might be expected, they are terrible drinkers.

Company doctors point to the good health enjoyed by the coke drawers: The fact is that unless one has the strength of a horse and a constitution like iron he would never get the first oven pulled. No physical examination that could be devised could select the strongest and toughest as surely as they are selected by the coke puller's hook.

Three types of coke drawing machines are developing. Two of these are designed to draw coke out of the standard beehive oven. Because of the large volume of flame and heat retained and the thorough combustion of the gases, the beehive shape is by many coke men considered the best coker, hence the efforts to adapt machines to it. Another reason

is that these machines can be used at existing beehive plants with no alteration in the ovens.

One of these beehive machines consists of a steel spade fixed to the end of a piston moved back and forth by gears. Near the end of the spade is a knuckle on the same principle as the barb of a fish hook. The spade is forced between the coke and the bottom of the oven for some distance and then withdrawn, bringing with it all coke which got over the knuckle. This machine has been declared a success and is in use every day at several big works.

The other beehive machine works on the same principle as the man with the hook, tearing and clawing the coke from the top the same as the hand-drawer.

For the hitherto laborious work of leveling beehive ovens there has been devised a machine that looks something like a big steel umbrella. It is mounted on a car running on the same track that carries the charging larry. As soon as an oven is charged it is run up and the folded umbrella let down into the oven through the small charging hole on top. As soon as it is down the umbrella is

opened and made to revolve by means of an electric motor, and the ribs of the umbrella acting as sweeps, quickly and perfectly level the oven. The umbrella is refolded, withdrawn and the car run out of the way until another oven is charged.

But the machine which is revolutionizing the coke industry cannot be used with a beehive oven. It must have a specially constructed rectangular oven. Plants of this type are known as "push ovens," because the distinguishing characteristic of this type is that it pushes the coke out of the oven, and the same machine levels the oven.

At the best "push" plant I visited, the ovens were five feet wide and thirty-two feet long, giving about twenty per cent more floor area than the largest practicable beehive oven. These rectangular ovens for the "push" machine are open their full width at both ends and provided with double doors lined with fire brick. The beehive door is always built by hand after each "draw."

The coking process is essentially a roasting process and goes on in very much the same manner that a joint of meat roasts in your stove oven. The ob-

ject of coking is to drive off the gases without consuming the carbon. The beehive shape gives the space for the thorough combustion of the gases and the accumulation of a large body of flame and heat. So the rectangular oven imitates as nearly as possible the shape of the beehive, and instead of a straight arch like a tunnel or sewer, it rises from each door toward the center at an angle of about forty degrees, which gives ample room for combustion and the accumulation of heat.

At one side of a row of these rectangular ovens is a wide track along which rolls a heavy steel carriage upon which is mounted the ram which pushes the coke out of the oven. On the other side of the row and between the ovens and the railroad track is another track carrying a combined screen and conveyor.

All the water man has to do is start the watering apparatus and it automatically, by the action of the water itself, moves back and forth. At all old plants a man must stand and hold the watering pipe, moving it about.

When an oven is ready to draw, the carriage carrying the ram is moved into



ELECTRIC PUSH MACHINE—FROM OVEN TO CONVEYOR.

position in front of the oven, moving with its own power. The machine is nothing more than a big ram with a rectangular head. The thick stem of the ram telescopes on itself and the uninitiated seeing it reach the length of a thirty-two-foot oven wonders where it is coming from.

While the machine is being "spotted" a couple of other men are placing the screen and conveyor in position at the opposite side of the oven. As soon as the signal is given that the conveyor is ready, the man on the machine gives the controller handle a jerk, the motor starts and in one minute the five ton of coke is not only out of the oven, but screened and in the railroad car. As soon as the oven is charged, the ram is started again, this time raised up, and one trip in and one out levels the oven as smooth as a cement sidewalk, and ram and conveyor pass on to another oven. Given enough ovens and changes of men, this machine will draw coke every hour of the twenty-four. Working single turn, twelve men will operate 100 ovens on forty-eight-hour coke. To pull the coke alone by hand would take twenty-five men, to say

nothing of leveling, bricking up, wheeling it to the cars and forking.

This is a real labor-saving machine, doing the slavish, exhausting work and actually lightening the burden of the workers that remain at the coke plants where such machines have been installed. At its best coke works are dirty, smoky, smelly places, but at a machine plant, such as I have described, the work is wholesome, pleasant child's play compared to a hand operated yard. There is no doubt in my mind that the men required to run a machine coke plant will be of a higher, economic and intellectual status than those that furnish the labor power at an old style hand plant. Here is a case where slightly skilled workers have displaced or are displacing the roughest of unskilled labor and their status is an improvement over those they have displaced. On the other hand, we saw that the semi-skilled or slightly skilled laborers that displaced skilled molders lost status as compared with those they displaced. Thus the leveling goes on. The leveling which will soon make industrial organization as easy as craft organization is now.



WHERE A COKE WORKER LIVES.

UNITED STATES STEEL PROFIT SHARING AND PRODUCTION

BY

JOHN D. J

WALL STREET bankers state regarding the profit-sharing plan inaugurated by the United States Steel Corporation that no conscientious banker would advise any of the employees of the Steel combine to put his savings into common shares of the company. They state that the stock that the steel workers subscribed for is equal to a fourth mortgage on the house.

The Steel Trust is capitalized as follows: \$304,000,000 first mortgage bonds (owned by Andrew Carnegie and not traded in).

Second mortgage consists of \$312,000,000 sinking fund 5 per cent bonds, which are owned by J. P. Morgan and associates.

Third mortgage of \$360,314,100 7 per cent preferred stock, also controlled by Morgan and his friends.

Fourth mortgage consists of \$508,495,200 common stock (which the employees are allowed to subscribe for).

It is also true that the employees are allowed to buy the preferred issue, but the offerings of the directors of this issue are not on such a large scale as with the common stock. This means that interest and dividends must be paid on, in round figures, \$976,000,000 before a dollar can be disbursed to common shareholders. Wall Street points out repeatedly that the big Steel Trust has under its charter the right to trade in its own shares, which enables it to come when necessary to the support of the market in them. Bankers want to know if the blocks of stocks which the employees have received the right to subscribe to have been acquired in the open market and at what prices, or did some of the inside speculators hand it over?

George W. Perkins, who was let down gracefully by Morgan on Jan. 1 last, was one of the biggest speculators in the stock in the history of the company.

So was W. E. Corey, who was deposed from the presidency of the company by J. P. at about the same time. Corey's successor, James A. Farrell, is a Catholic,

who does not smoke, drink or eat heavily, and who works cheerfully from eight o'clock in the morning until long after sundown daily.

Besides that Farrell lives with his first wife and Wall Street figures it is getting so moral that in the near future only J. P. will be allowed to "stable a concubine."

The International Harvester Company, another Morgan property, has allowed the employees to buy the common stock of that corporation, of which there is \$80,000,000 outstanding. Before that sum can receive any return there are \$60,000,000 preferred issue which is a prior lien on the property.

Wall Street has always asked the question as to where the working people got the better of the bargain. The bankers have always figured that the process was one developed by George W. Perkins, who was active in the Civic Federation, to hamstring the workingmen in the Morgan industrial concerns. Besides that they note that it prevents strikes, talk of better shop conditions, and is a positive detriment to the men.

In view of the profit-sharing scheme which the Morgan corporations have put into practice, perhaps it would be well to quote Judge E. H. Gary, who is now practically the head of the corporation, who said last week in an interview given out to the Wall Street reporters:

"Our company is now operating about 50 per cent of capacity, but this is equal to 85 per cent five years ago, because of the gigantic strides machine production has made in that period. Railroads of the country are now using 40 per cent of the corporation's output and I expect in the near future to see even that increased."

* * * *

James J. Hill announces that the Great Northern Employees Investment Company certificates have already been taken up, and the locomotive engineers constitute the bulk of certificate holders. The certificates are issued in the multiples of \$10 to \$5,000. They pay 7 per cent in dividends.

BEGINNERS' COURSE IN SOCIALISM

AND THE ECONOMICS OF KARL MARX

BY

MARY E. MARCY

Lesson VII—Wages

THERE are several ways whereby wage-workers may try to improve their conditions today. In Lesson V we discussed Low Prices and their effect upon the condition of working class life. We discovered that as the prices on the necessities of life fall, wages fall proportionately because of the competition among wage-workers for jobs.

It would be impossible for an employer of labor to arbitrarily lower wages, just as it is impossible for capitalists to arbitrarily raise the prices on commodities. The conditions must be favorable to such a rise or fall in prices. It is the Army of Unemployed men and women that force wages (or the price of labor-power) down when the cost of living falls. We were unable to find where low prices would benefit the working class.

In discussing prices in the last two lessons, we have not said much about WAGES, or the price of labor-power. Labor-power is a commodity just as stoves, coats or flour are commodities. And the value and price of labor-power are determined exactly as the price and value of all other commodities are determined.

Wage-workers are always trying to get higher wages, or a better price for their labor-power.

It is easy to understand that the gold miner who secures a rise in wages from \$2.00 to \$3.00 a day, leaves less surplus value for the mine owner. He receives back MORE of his product. And the aim of socialists or revolutionary workmen and women is to become owners of their ENTIRE product.

Confused economists have repeatedly claimed that a rise in wages was no benefit to the proletariat. They insisted that the capitalists would raise prices on the necessities of life so that the workers would be just where they were before.

But in Value, Price and Profit, Chapter II, Page 17, Marx says: "How could that rise of wages affect the prices of commodities? Only by affecting the actual proportion between the demand for, and the supply of, these commodities."

"It is perfectly true, that, considered as a whole, the working class spends, and must spend, its income upon necessaries. A general rise in the rate of wages would, therefore, produce a rise in the demand for, and consequently (TEMPORARILY) in the market prices of, necessaries.

"The capitalists who produce these necessaries would be compensated for the risen wages by the rising market prices of their commodities."

Note, Marx says that TEMPORARILY the prices on necessaries would probably rise, owing to the INCREASED DEMAND for food, clothing and better houses; not because the capitalists decided to raise prices. And then note what begins to follow immediately:

"What would be the position of those capitalists who do not produce necessaries? For the fall in the rate of profit, consequent upon the general rise in the price of wages, they could not compensate themselves by a rise in the price of their commodities, because the demand for their commodities would not have increased. . . .

"Consequent upon this diminished demand, the prices of their commodities would fall. In these branches of industry, therefore, the rate of profit would fall.

"What would be the consequence of this difference in the rates of profit for capitals employed in the different branches of industry? Why, the consequence that generally obtains whenever, from whatever reason, the AVERAGE RATE OF

PROFIT comes to differ in the different spheres of production.

"Capital and labor would be transferred from the less remunerative to the more remunerative branches; and this process of transfer would go on until the supply in the one department of industry would have risen proportionately to the increased demand, and would have sunk in the other departments according to the decreased demand.

"This change effected, the general rate of PROFIT would again be EQUALIZED in the different branches. As the whole derangement originally arose from a mere change in the proportion of the demand for, and supply of, different commodities. The cause ceasing, the effect would cease and prices would return to their former level and equilibrium. . . .

"The GENERAL RISE in the rate of wages would, therefore, after a temporary DISTURBANCE OF MARKET PRICES, ONLY RESULT IN A GENERAL FALL in the RATE OF PROFIT WITHOUT ANY PERMANENT CHANGE IN THE PRICES OF COMMODITIES."

We will use a concrete illustration to explain Marx's point. In a mining camp the miners secured a gain in wages of from \$2.00 to \$3.00 a day. The man who ran the only restaurant in the camp thought he could raise the price of board from \$4.00 to \$5.00 a week. For a week or two the miners paid the advanced price, but the third week a new restaurant was opened by a man who heard of the "prosperity" in this particular camp and inside of two months there were FOUR restaurants competing for trade in Golden Gulch. This competition among the restaurant keepers forced board down to \$3.00 a week. Some of them moved away until board fell to the AVERAGE rate of board in that state.

As long as prices were better there new investors came to Golden Gulch, and when they fell below the average price for board investors went away.

Marx says that when workmen and women get higher wages, they spend this increase in better food, better homes and better clothing. This stimulates the demand for food, clothing and houses. More capitalists begin to invest in food production, in houses and in the manufac-

ture of clothing. The competition among capitalists often brings the prices on these things down BELOW the rates charged before the workers received their increase, until these capitalists find they can make more money in other fields, when they invest in other industries and prices fall to what they were before the rise in wages.

On the very last page of Value, Price and Profit, Marx says again:

"A general rise in the rate of wages would result in a fall of the general rate of profit, but, broadly speaking, not affect the prices of commodities."

"The general tendency of capitalist production is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages."

"Trade Unions work well as centers of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system."

Questions:

If you were getting three dollars a day for digging gold out of a mine and you secured \$4.00 by striking, would there be as much surplus value left for your Boss as before?

On what do wage-workers usually spend their money? On luxuries?

If the working CLASS is able to force up wages two dollars a week to every man and woman will they spend the increase on automobiles, trips to Europe or upon more and better clothing and food?

What happens when there is a sudden increased demand for a commodity? Does the price of this commodity rise or fall (temporarily)? If the capitalist producing this commodity for which there is a suddenly increased demand is able to get higher prices for it, will this attract other capitalists into the same field of production in the hope of securing bigger profits?

What happens when several big capitalists fight for a field of production where prices are high?

Do these capitalists remain producing a commodity after its price falls so low that they cannot make the average rate of profit?

When they go into another sphere of production do prices on this commodity fall to normal again?

Why cannot a capitalist raise prices at his own will? Suppose a wealthy ranch owner has a splendid stock of horses when the U. S. troops are sent down to the Mexican borderline. Horses are very scarce, since automobiles have won favor with the leisure class. He sells these horses at an enormous price. There is still talk of war. What does every other ranchman in the country plan to do when he hears of the profits of the lucky owner of the horses? Do they all go into the COAL BUSINESS?

EVEN if there is still rumor of war, will the price on horses be as high in a

few years as it is now? Why not?

NOTE to those taking up the Study Course. We are going to publish in the June number of the REVIEW the best six or seven hundred word article from any one of the Study Clubs showing WHY Low Prices Do Not Help the Working Class. We shall also be glad to publish the names of classes or comrades who send in particularly good articles on this subject. We will also pay \$5 cash or send \$10 worth of books published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co. for this article, and \$5 cash or \$10 worth of our books will be sent to the Study Club sending in the best 1,000-word article on "Why Capitalists Cannot Arbitrarily Raise Prices" and on the best article of 1,000 words on "Why Higher Wages Benefit the Wage Workers." Typewrite your articles, if possible, and send them in early if you want to see them in the June REVIEW.

BOHN ORGANIZING LOCALS

WHENEVER Comrade Frank Bohn finds an unorganized local, he organizes one. At Port Allegany, where they took him to lecture on March 26th, he held a lecture in the afternoon and also spoke for the young people in the evening. He found the sentiment so strong in favor for Socialism that he organized a local and started the comrades on the road to do more good work for the cause.

At Six Mile Run, the miners were out of work, but a good crowd greeted Bohn at the lecture hall. Waynesboro also held a successful meeting, while New Philadelphia, New Castle and Fredonia report three of the best meetings they have had in years. At New Castle the comrades were and are fighting terrible obstacles but the friends write that they are in the fight with the courts to win.

No man on the road has accomplished more or better lasting results for the Socialist movement than Frank Bohn. Where the sentiment for Socialism is strong but

the comrades have been unable to organize a local, Comrade Bohn crystallizes the sentiment and starts them out doing bigger things.

Weak locals find him a most valuable man. On Sunday he is willing to hold two meetings for the comrades where it is possible and he is always glad to show the comrades how to form a local and to get those interested into the movement.

Comrade Bohn will be in Michigan and Indiana in May and June. If you are a good hustler get together a few friends and write us for a date. You only need to take 200 tickets (each good for a three month sub. to the Review) to secure a Bohn date. We donate 100 copies of the Review, which sell for \$10.00 and help pay your hall-rent. We do all the rest and you will have 200 people in your town receiving the Review for three months. This is a Follow-Up System that pays in all places. If your local is dying out or you have none, write for a Bohn date and get him to help you build up the movement in your town.

COMPULSORY COMPENSATION OR STATE INSURANCE—WHICH?

BY

HENRY L. SLOBODIN

THE most notable example of judge-made law is the introduction by the courts of the new rules of evidence, so as to protect the employers against the claims for damages by employees injured while at work. Before the year 1837, the common law made no distinction in cases of this nature between an employee and a stranger. An employee who suffered personal injuries while at work owing to some accident could hold the employer responsible in damages the same as if he were a stranger. The only defence that could avail the employer was that the injury was caused wholly or in part by the employee's own negligence. But a twist was given to the rule of contributory negligence. Instead of being merely available as a defence, to be so pleaded and proven to the employer, it was changed by the courts to mean that the workingman must plead and prove his freedom from contributory negligence. This is one of the "freedoms" conferred on the workman by the courts.

With the growth of industry and wealth, there arose a deep conviction in the minds of the judges that the preservation of profits was more important than the preservation of life. With that sanctimoniousness and pomposity which invariably accompanies Byzantine servility, the courts proceeded to lay down new rules. Due regard was paid to the divinity that hedges about capital and to the unmarketable nature of human life. In 1837, Lord Abinger of the English Court of Exchequer, promulgated, in the case of *Priestly v. Fowler*, the doctrine of "fellow-servant" negligence. The case was of a butcher's boy injured by a driver of a wagon of the same employer. By a process of plausible

and specious arguing, Lord Abinger arrived at the conclusion that an employer should not be held liable for injuries to an employee caused by the negligence of a fellow-servant. This rule was seized upon by the capitalist courts and made infamous by their bloody interpretations. It was extended to include acts of superintendents who stood in the place of the employer and made a recovery by an employee a gamble of great hazard and rare occurrence.

This "fellow-servant" rule was made part of the American common law in 1842 in the *Farwell* case which arose in Massachusetts and, in 1851, in the New York Court of errors. Since then it has become the law of the land. And the sovereign American people have had as much to do with the making of this law as they have now with the sending of troops to Mexico. The part of the people is to pay with blood and property so capital may reign.

Not satisfied with thus despoiling the workman of his ancient rights against his master, the courts proceeded to draw the few teeth out of such remnants of the remedies which still availed the workman. They have devised a new rule and made it into a law. It is known as the "assumption of risk" rule. It meant that if the injury was due to some risk or danger which was a necessary and inherent part of the work, why, the workman could not hold the master liable. And even if the injury was due to some occurrence which the master could prevent, the workman could not recover against his master, if he continued working with the knowledge of his employer's negligence. It must also be borne in mind that even if the workman had no knowledge of the risk arising out of the negligence of his employer, but if such risk

was "obvious," whatever the word may mean, then notice to the workman will be implied. See that twist? First "knowledge" is implied. Out of this implication a "consent" is implied. And out of this implication a "free contract" of assumption of risk is implied. Three successive implications resulting in a contract! In this way were the burdens arising from the dangers forming part of the work or arising from employer's negligence, and which should have been borne by the industry itself, placed entirely on the shoulders of the employees. The workman must take all the chances of getting maimed or killed and he can look for relief to no one. This doctrine of "assumption of risks" is based on the theory of an implied contract. The workman when he enters employment is presumed to assume a consent to the obvious and necessary risks and to such dangers of which he has knowledge. It is significant that the capitalist state, and particularly the American capitalist state, which claims to conserve inviolable the "free will," "free contract" and other divinities of pure individualism, should attempt such violence to a man's "free will" as to force upon it "assents" and "consents" of which it knows nothing. It shows in lurid light the futility and hypocrisy of all capitalist ideology.

The rise of the class-conscious working class movement marks the beginning of the retreat of the capitalists from the uncompromising position towards their maimed and killed employees to which they had advanced by the aid of capital's most faithful handmaid—the courts. One European government after another, haunted by the red spectre of the social revolution, enacted laws for the protection of the safety of the workmen, and to insure some measure of compensation to an injured workman without regard to the question of fault or negligence. The measures were of twofold character. First, laws for the obligatory insurance of workmen, the premium being paid by the employer, employee and the state. Second, laws providing for compulsory compensation of the injured workman by the employer regardless of employer's negligence. As will be shown, compulsory compensation offers to the workman far less than obligatory insurance.

Already in 1838 Prussia passed a law granting compensation to railway em-

ployees for all accidents. A similar railway law was enacted in Austria in 1869 and in Switzerland in 1875. In 1871, the provisions of the Prussian railway law were extended throughout the German Empire. In 1877 Switzerland enacted a similar law for the factory workers. The English Employer's Liability law was passed in 1880. In 1883 Germany passed the law of obligatory insurance of workmen against sickness. This was followed in 1884 by an accident insurance law and in 1889 by a law providing for insurance against old age and invalidity. Austria followed with similar laws in 1887-8. Norway in 1894 introduced obligatory State Insurance against accidents. England passed the Compensation Act in 1897 to be followed in 1898 by France and Denmark and in 1901 by Holland and Sweden, and in 1905 by Belgium. One of the last countries to adopt some measure of relief for maimed and killed workmen was England. And naturally it adopted a measure of compulsory compensation, a so-called Workmen's Compensation Act. The act of 1897 was drawn by Joseph Chamberlain and advocated by Lord Salisbury, then Prime minister of England. It provided compensation only for workmen engaged in certain dangerous occupations. The English courts proceeded with an alacrity in which only our own courts can excel them, to take out of the act such little starch as was to be found in it. Not satisfied with the elimination of the act to dangerous occupation, the courts excluded by interpretation, from the operation of the Act occupations which were manifestly included. For instance, a plank placed on a ladder and window sill did not constitute scaffolding within the meaning of the act, said the courts. Planks supported by trestles eight feet high were not scaffolding, either. The Court of Appeals held that painting the outside of a house is not repairing it, thus putting an occupation pursued by a large class of men outside of the Act. Then the courts picked up the "two weeks" clause and what they did with it was a marvel. The Act provided that no workman could claim compensation under the Act unless the injury "disabled him for at least two weeks." And we are informed by Mr. Low, who investigated the working of the act, for the United States Government, that in England:

"The court of appeals has held that a workman who has been employed for less than two weeks by the same employer, is not entitled to compensation under the provisions of this Act." The Act read that a workman could not recover if he was disabled for less than two weeks. The courts read into it a meaning that a workman could not recover if he had worked less than two weeks for the same employer, even if he was disabled for life.

Moreover, the Act excluded the recovery by a workman, if the injury was due to his "willful misconduct." Willful misconduct frequently meant the slightest violation of any of the numerous "shop rules" adopted by the employer.

In 1907 the English Compensation Act was so amended as to include workers in "all employments." How little it really meant "all employments," was shown in the express exclusion of "out-workers," i. e., workers who took work home, and also the exclusion, by legal interpretation of the numerous class of workers whose employment was precarious and who seldom worked for the same employer more than two weeks.

* * *

In considering the character of American legislation on the subject, the fact of the limited powers of American legislatures must be always borne in mind. European legislatures are sovereign both in theory and in fact. No so our Congress and State legislatures. Suspended over their deliberations and acts are, like the sword of Damocles, the written Federal and State constitutions, and the authority, arrogated to themselves by our courts, to nullify laws regularly passed by declaring them unconstitutional. It has, however, been fairly well settled by judicial decisions that our legislatures have the power—(1) to limit or abrogate the fellow-servant defense; (2) to limit or abrogate the defense of contributory negligence or impose the burden of proof upon the employer; (3) to limit or abrogate the doctrine of the assumption of risk of violations of law by the employer. Bearing this in mind, we will examine, at a glance, how the American worker fared in the American legislatures and courts. The following states have passed laws limiting or abrogating, wholly or in part, the fellow servant rule: Arkansas, California,

Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Wisconsin. Undoubtedly, there are other states that have legislated on the subject very recently, but I have not the data at hand. Even as I am writing these lines, I learn that to-day, April 4th, 1911, New Jersey legislature enacted a Workmen's Compensation Act. In 1907-8, Congress enacted a law affecting employees of interstate commerce carriers. It limited or abrogated the defenses of fellow servants, assumption of risk and contributory negligence. The act also provided compensation for government employees injured in its employ.

A Workmen's Compensation Act was passed in Maryland in 1902, but was declared unconstitutional. On the other hand, a law imposing additional liabilities on railroads for the benefit of passengers was upheld by the courts. From the latest reports, the Montana mining act, providing what may be called obligatory insurance of miners against accidents, is still in force.

* * *

In 1909, the New York Legislature appointed a commission, which became known by the name of its chairman as The Wainwright Commission, "to inquire and report into the working of a law in the state of New York relative to the liability of employers to employees for industrial accidents and into the comparative efficiency, cost, justice, merits and defects of the laws of other industrial states and countries relative to the same subject." The commission opened its session for a public hearing in New York City, in January, 1910. The question before the commission was—What remedy or relief shall be given to a worker or those depended on him, in the event when he is disabled or killed while at work? The various labor bodies organized a conference to convey to the commission the sentiments of organized labor. The Socialist party, Local New York, also bestirred itself. The Socialist party ought to be heard. The Socialist party ought to take a stand and agitate in favor of progressive labor legislation. On this there was no division of opinion. But a strong divergence of views

manifested itself on the policy to be adopted. The majority, led into opportunistic channels by comrade Morris Hillquit, decided on sending a committee to attend before the Wainwright Commission and to present the views of the Socialist party. This led to my resignation from the committee. My reasons for such action were given at the time, in the New York Call in an article entitled "Lobbying for 'Labor Laws.'" I took the stand that the Socialist party which was for many years, bitterly denouncing and is still continuing to denounce, labor organizations for sending representatives to lobby for labor laws, cannot now stultify itself adopting the policy of lobbying for labor laws. I wrote in part:

"Shall scientific lobbying become a part of the Socialist program? Let us be candid with ourselves. Lobbying is none the less such when, instead of seeking to influence a legislature, you seek to influence a legislative committee.

"Lobbying is now legalized. The law provides that a lobbyist attending at Albany must be duly registered. Why not have a Socialist party lobbyist registered at Albany? Every argument that is advanced in favor of attending at public hearings before legislative committees holds good in favor of lobbying. The Socialist lobbyist would inform the public how the Socialist party stands on important questions. It would serve to disseminate Socialist ideas."

The revolutionary Socialists urged the policy of going among the workers with a program of insurance against accident, and, by persistent agitation and education, to create a strong sentiment for such a measure, a sentiment which the capitalist class will not dare to defy. However, Comrade Hillquist had his way. A lobbying committee was appointed. Thereupon the committee asked for and was granted authority to enter the Labor Conference. To this there was no particular objection, though it was well known that the majority of the conference consisted of old party political hacks. The Socialist Committee, now unhampered by any baggage of "revolutionary phrases," proceeded to draw a Workmen's Compensation Act. This work was accomplished with a celerity and dispatch that fairly made one's head swim. The draft was solemnly presented to the commission and hailed in the Socialist press as a Socialist measure.

It was modelled after the English Compensation Act. There was nothing "utopian" about it. It smacked of no "formula." The comrades were first incredulous of my criticism of the concoction, but after they had a chance to familiarize themselves with what was dished out as a "Socialist Recommendation," their disgust was all the greater. The New York *Volkszeitung* denounced it and one of its editors branded the report of the committee "a disgrace to the Socialist movement for which no party in the world would stand." The committee evidently knew that there was a British Compensation Act, but this was all it knew. It did not know that some of its provisions, as the "wilful misconduct," clause were denounced by organized labor before the passage of the act. John Wilson, M. P., secretary of the Durham Coal Miners' Association, said of the "wilful misconduct" clause: "The meaning of the words is much wider and more dangerous than the politicians who introduced the measure, and some of the lawyers who took part in the discussion, contemplated."

The wilful misconduct clause was embodied in the "Socialist" measure. The committee did not know of the remarkable interpretation given by the courts to the clause requiring not less than two weeks disability, to mean that no workman could recover for any injury which occurred during the first two weeks of his employment, even if he was disabled for life or killed. It made a "one week" clause part of the "Socialist" recommendation. It was blissfully ignorant of the pitfalls dug in the British act by the British courts. It took the British act, pitfalls and all. Finally the committee did not know that the main result of the British Compensation Act was to restore the law of negligence to what it was before 1837. In pointing this out, I then wrote in the *Call*:

"The workingmen are now struggling for the repeal of the bloody doctrines of 'fellow-servant' and 'assumed risks.' The Socialists are helping them all they can, as they should. Now every step in that direction is hailed by our opportunistic comrades as a 'Socialist Victory,' the 'revolution in the making, showing what 'Socialists at work' can accomplish. It is well to point out to our friends of the right that the origin of these doctrines is, historically

speaking, only of yesterday. That the day before yesterday capitalism got along without those doctrines very well indeed, thank you. And, other things being equal, when those doctrines are repealed, capitalism will thrive to-morrow just as well as before."

The main point for which I contended at that time, and am still contending, was that the Socialist party should have urged upon the workingmen to demand a measure of obligatory state insurance after the plan of most of the continental countries and not the English plan of compensation by the employer. And I will state right here, so

it may not appear that I am trying to settle old scores, that this question is still very much alive. Our N. E. C., advised by Comrade Hillguit, who was the moving spirit of the New York Committee, appointed the same comrades who were on the New York Committee, on the National Compensation Act Committee. They are all good comrades, but mighty bad musicians. They are repeating and will continue repeating the mistakes for which we paid here dearly. And a discussion of the subject in the press therefore is very timely.

(To be continued.)

DEMANDS OF THE MEXICAN LIBERAL PARTY

Translated for the Review from the Official Proclamation of the Organizing Junta by Prof. Frederic M. Noa, Oklahoma, City, Okla.

THE Mexican Liberal party is not striving to place any man in the presidency of the republic. It is for the people to select their rulers as they see fit.

The Mexican Liberal party is striving to win rights for the people and considers economic freedom as the basis of all rights.

As a means of obtaining economic liberty, the Liberal Party proposes to rise up in arms against the political and capitalistic tyranny which is oppressing and degrading the Mexican people; to wrest from the power of the capitalists the land which has been appropriated by them, in order to deliver it, regardless of sex, to the millions of human beings who compose the Mexican nation; to ennoble Work so that it may no longer be the shameful drudgery of the prison, but, on the contrary, the systematic and wholesome effort of free men and women devoting themselves to the production of social wealth; that is, the organization and education of the productive nation.

The demands of the Liberal party are very broad and far-reaching, but it is content to obtain the following for the people in the next armed conflict: Food, education and welfare for all—men and women

—by securing possession of the land, and obtaining the reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages. These blessings in themselves will confer the power of gaining more easily others, and later still others.

The progress of humanity has no limits and for that reason it is impossible to predict how far the popular demands will extend during the next insurrection, but the least that can be conquered is the land free of masters, that is, it shall be for the use and enjoyment of all. This accomplished, the other remaining masters, the masters of industry, commerce and politics, will very quickly disappear through the sheer force of circumstances.

The program of the Liberal party promulgated by the Junta on the first of July, 1906, may be reduced to the following: Land for all, food for all, liberty for all.

The Junta makes an appeal to all men and all women who sympathize with the ideals and labors of the Liberal party to enroll themselves as members of the same; to do this they need only sign the attached coupon, send it to this office, and pay monthly the amount which they themselves agree to remit.

HAYWOOD DRAWING RECORD-BREAKING CROWDS

NEWS FROM THE LOCALS AND THE CAPITALIST PRESS

Warren, Ohio.—We had a rousing big meeting, almost one thousand, Sunday, and Comrade Haywood's subject, "The Coming Victory of Labor," was just the medicine for the occasion. We could have sold 100 more REVIEWS. Hope for future successful work of your valuable monthly.

O. M. BALDWIN, Sec'y.

Piqua, Ohio.—Comrade Haywood has delivered his lecture. More than a lecture; it was a heart-to-heart, man-to-man talk—a message that touched deeply each human within hearing.

He discussed at length Capitalism, Trade Unionism, Industrial Unionism, and Socialism. He brought each out in such a clear light, that long after the meeting was over, men, strangers to the cause, stood about the streets in groups, unmindful of rain and mud, discussing as they never before discussed, arguing as they never thought to argue along the lines of that Unionism-Socialism-Haywood's address. Impromptu speakers had no opposition. They were of one mind. Haywood was—is—right.

Comrade Haywood gave us a powerful address. His arguments were conclusive, logical. Points to his arguments were driven home by irresistible force. He is a human tornado—a cyclone. But, where he destroyed arose beautiful things.

If we live—if Haywood lives, we shall some day have him back. in Piqua.

GEO. F. CABLE, Sec'y.

East Liverpool, Ohio.—The big miner has been here and gone and he sure pleased them all from the ground up. His line of talk fitted in at just the right place. We have listened to a lot of Socialist speakers, but the Class Struggle in the Red had not been put up to us in a way that was strong enough, but he surely made his points so clear that even the "pure and simplers" could understand.

F. E. VERNIA.

Pottsville, Pa.—To say Bill's meeting was a success is only putting it mildly—it was a roaring success. Over 700 present.

C. F. FOLEY, Sec'y.

Rochester, Pa.—We think the Haywood meeting a grand success. Over 700 present, in spite of storm and rain.

C. H. LINDNER, Sec'y.

Scranton, Pa.—The entire audience were with him. He spoke two hours and the benefits of such a meeting cannot be overestimated.

O. E. MUSSELMAN, Sec'y.

Altoona, Pa.—The meeting was a success. Considering the work accomplished, it was a record-breaker. The audience numbered over 500 and on a rising vote for Industrialism they stood to a man. "Going some."

R. LOVE, Sec'y.

Rock Island, Ill.—"He came, he spoke and he conquered." We had a fine house and hope The Fighting Magazine will keep Comrade Haywood in the field, as he certainly wakes up the "dead ones." It was a sure success.

EDGAR L. OWENS, Sec'y.

HAYWOOD TALKS TO BIG CROWD

An unusually large audience attended the Socialist meeting at the Academy of Music yesterday afternoon. There was a larger attendance than there has been at any Democratic or Republican gathering for years. The entire meeting was a success and far beyond the expectations of those having the meeting in charge. Nearly \$175 was realized from the sale of tickets, collections and the sale of literature.

HAYWOOD IS HEARD AT GRAND THEATRE

PROMINENT SOCIALIST SPEAKS BEFORE LARGE AUDIENCE.

Congratulates Muscatine Button Workers on Organization and Tells Them How to Fight.

William D. Haywood, the former secretary of the Western Federation of Miners, and in the words of the chairman of the meeting last evening, the man who has become a figure of international prominence because he was referred to as an "undesirable citizen," by Theodore Roosevelt, delivered an address, at the Grand opera house last evening, which brought forth from his audience cheer after cheer as he championed the cause of the laboring man.

SOCIALISTS BIG MEETING

FLAYS CAPITALIST CLASS

Says That it is For Their Interest That United States Sent Troops to Texas Border

Haywood referred to the president as "King Taft" and roundly condemned him in his course in the Mexican war. He advised the young men present to refuse to enlist if Taft brought on a war in Mexico. "It is only a war to protect the interests of capitalists. Let the capitalists fight their own battles. They are only too willing to put workingmen up to be shot at. Who ever heard them exposing their own sleek smooth skins, or doing anything to soil their lily-white hands?"

HAYWOOD GAVE A RED HOT LECTURE

Repeatedly his remarks were met with great applause. The exclamation, "that's right," frequently punctuated his talk. He caused somewhat of a surprise when he stated that Morgan, Rockefeller and Carnegie were the greatest men in the country. He explained, however, that they were not personally admirable creatures, but that they have shown, in the great organizations, such as the steel trust, that the laborers are able to run the industries. Labor, said the speaker, must organize along the lines that industry is organized upon today. Organized in that manner, there would be no strikes. The world would then belong to the workers.

Haywood Speaks of Revolution in Mexico.

HAYWOOD'S PLEA FOR FREEDOM

THE CLASS WAR IN ENGLAND

BY

TOM MANN

THE progress made by the workers in the great class war in any one country is of necessity a matter of perennial interest to the fighters in the same cause in other countries.

The character of the struggle varies considerably at different periods, largely as a result of the "state of trade." When capitalist industry is brisk, and the percentage of unemployed workers is small as a consequence, the attitude of mind is different to that which obtains during the periods of industrial stagnation.

This year of 1911 is witnessing in Britain a considerable spell of commercial and industrial activity. In all branches of textile industry, trade is busy; also in engineering and shipbuilding, and in the tin plate trade of South Wales exceptional activity prevails, most of the mills running three shifts in 24 hours, and many new mills are in course of erection. Mining is becoming active, the disputes being comparatively few at the hour and the transport industry is necessarily relatively busy because general industry is so.

The net results of the various adjustments of wages during the past ten years is, that the workers have suffered a reduction of wages equal to £90,000 a year. On top of this the purchasing power of that wage has decreased by ten per cent in the same period, whilst the profits of the capitalists have increased by three and a half million of pounds per annum (£3,500,000). The total annual income of the United Kingdom is two thousand millions of pounds (£2,000,000,000). Of this the entire body of mental and manual wage workers of the country receive one-third, and they constitute fully 80 per cent of the total community.

The aggregate wealth of the country is being added to rapidly year by year, even during periods of industrial depression, but the capitalist class possesses 90 per cent of the total. Thus the sum total of ten years' parliamentary effort, trade

union activity and every other kind of ameliorative effort is, that the standard of life of the workers is lower than it was ten years ago, and the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists is greater now than it has ever been in the history of the country.

Not only have these forces been unequal to raising the standard of life and so checking exploitation, but the robbery of the poor by the rich has considerably increased. Of course, whilst this is absolutely true as shown even by government reports as well as expert statisticians not connected with government, and fitting in every particular with what is seen by a careful observer, it is the case that some small sections of workers have improved their wages and reduced their working hours, but no public speaker in America need hesitate to use the statements I have made.

That the decreased purchasing power of wages here as elsewhere is largely due to the increased gold supply there is no room for doubt, which means if there had been no development of the South African gold mines, the workers of the world would not be experiencing such severe hardships as they now do; and concurrently with an enormous addition to the gold supply, which, being the fixed standard of value, affects the workers adversely when it is relatively abundant—there has also been an enormous application of labor saving devices in every department of industry which has also adversely affected the workers, not merely because many have been entirely thrown out of work as a result, but even more in consequence of relatively high wage men being dislodged by the machines and these men, though kept at work, being reduced in wage by one-third to one-half or more. An instance may be given: At the beer-brewing town of Burton-on-Trent, when the beer barrels were made by hand labor, the coopers who made them averaged three pounds (£3) a week,

now the average wage of the cooper making barrels by machinery does not average more than twenty-seven shillings a week (£1.7s). During the same period in the same industry the Trustification process has been at work extensively and always to the advantage of the profit receivers at the expense of the wage receivers.

The average wage of the brewery workers does not exceed one pound a week at Burton, and there are many thousands of men in Lancashire and Yorkshire who get no higher wage, and most of them are working 55 1-2 hours a week. It is impossible for a sane mind not to see where the cure lies for this low standard. It is to be found in **LESS WORK AND MORE MONEY**; no polished language is required in order to state it, no high sounding terms from the pages of orthodox or heterodox works on political economy. It is all in the simple sentence, **LESS WORK, MORE MONEY**, and no worker on earth is so ignorant as not to understand the meaning of that sentence, not one 'tired laborer in a foundry or chemical works, not a seamstress or typist, not a child worker anywhere but can tell immediately the meaning of **LESS WORK AND MORE MONEY**.

And this it is that is wanted now, wanted at once, to relieve humans of the burden of excessive physical toil, and to bring within their reach real necessities and some comforts. Less work and more money will do it.

We wish to provide for the unemployed and fifty methods are devised, which it is proposed shall be forced upon an unwilling government as soon as possible; but if only those who are now at work would demand and get more money for less work, there would immediately, as a result, be work and money for the at present unemployed. We wish to obtain a greater result of the labor we perform, and at least check the exploitation of the capitalist; this would be the natural result of getting more money for less work.

And as regards Britain, there has not been so favorable a time for taking action as the present year of 1911 for fully twenty years. Not since the period of the great dock strike of London in 1889 have the conditions demanded and favored action as they do now. The neces-

sity for action is greater now than then, the wealth procured is vaster, the share the worker gets is less, the meanness of life of fully one-half the people is so distressing, so torturing, and so inimical to all true progress, that whatever there is of manhood in the nation must find vent somehow to prevent the explosive effects of over pressure.

How then can we secure more money for less work? This is only a complex question because of the absence of class solidarity on the part of the workers, but it must be admitted this absence is serious and may be the one cause—there can be no other—that may prevent effective action being taken to secure more money for less work this very year.

No person, able to exercise his mind on the efficacy of organized action over a large enough area, in workshops, mills, factories, mines, etc., can advance one valid argument against the certain effects of concerted action on the part of the workers. **DIRECT ACTION**, by definite refusal to work more than an agreed upon time, backed up by all necessary behavior that would characterize an intelligent working mass, is all that is required. There is no necessity to call upon any government for, powerful as governments are, they can never be as powerful as the people, agreed amongst themselves, and resolved upon a given line of conduct. As William Morris put it—"For what are we waiting?" till we shall say "We will it," and by so "willing it" and applying it, every unemployed person could be included in the ranks of the industrious and as a result of thus removing competition for employment, the power to enforce more money for less work is immediately obtained.

Workers' Organizations.

It is well known that in Britain, as elsewhere, there is only a minority of the workers organized; of the ten millions of men eligible for industrial organization only one-fourth of them are members of trade unions, naturally these are, in the main, the skilled workers, who have associated together with a view to maintaining for themselves the advantages accruing to skilled workers, when definite restrictions are placed upon the num-

bers able to enter and remain in the trades.

We have had experience enough to know that the difficulties of maintaining a ring fence around an occupation, which secures to those inside the fence special advantages, are rapidly increasing, and in a growing number of instances, the fence has been entirely broken down, by changes in the methods of production. We know, further, that there is no trade or calling that is really immune from the revolutionizing effect of changing methods, but so slow are we to get out of ruts that the majority of trade unionists still remain sectionally isolated, powerless to act in single sectional bodies, and incapable of approaching each other and merging and amalgamating forces for common action, this it is that is responsible for the modern practice of entering into lengthy agreements between employers and workers. Sectional trade unions being incapable of offensive action, and gradually giving way before the persistent power of the better organized capitalist class, they fall back upon agreements for periods of from two to five years, during which time they undertake that no demands shall be made. As one agreement approaches termination the employers prepare the way for another, so as to chain down the organized workers more completely than it is possible to tie down non-organized workers, who can, at least, if so disposed, take mass action or individual action without becoming legally liable to fine or other punishment.

During the past two years agreements of this kind have been entered into by the coal miners, the cotton operatives, the engineers, the railway men and others and the build of the human animal being what it is, the officials of the unions for the most part seem not only willing to be identified with agreements of this kind, but they have been mainly responsible for the rank and file endorsing the same.

Naturally, it means that those who favor such action are not out to fight in the class struggle, and to the extent to which they are the deciding factors in affairs, the working class are reactionary and indolent. If such persons were destined to control in the future the organizations they are at present identified

with, a strong case would be made out in favor of ignoring such bodies altogether and the building up afresh of a movement that should possess the fighting spirit and that should be out to conquer the economic situation.

Fortunately there are excellent reasons for knowing that the reactionaries will not be allowed to dominate much longer. The well-known battle of the boiler makers is very significant; the fact that three times over, with considerable intervals in between, they resolutely rejected the terms approved of by their executive and by the employers, and finally triumphed, is a lesson that needs repeating in several other organizations to finally and thoroughly establish the rank and file as controllers of their own organizations. Three times in six months have the members of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, in different districts, taken decisive action on their own account, and scored as a consequence, although they are bound by a five years' agreement to take no such action. Again, the miners of Aberdare district in South Wales, also tied up by agreements, boldly threw over all namby pambyism no matter from what source it came, and made their power felt. In like manner the 12,000 men of the Rhondda Valley, South Wales, took the bold initiative and determined to fight the matter out, which decision afterwards received the backing of the Miners' Federation. All these are instances telling in plainest terms that the unions are not entirely moribund, and that there are many of the rank and file who will not quietly bow down either to the master class, nor yet to the union officials.

It does not follow that all the men who have so taken action are highly intellectual class conscious revolutionaries, but it does warrant the conclusion that they are exactly the right kind of material out of which revolutionaries are made, and with a little coaching, accompanied by other advantages of civilization, such as the increase of coal cutting machines and corresponding decrease in number of men employed in getting coal, and the ever extending machine methods in engine shops and shipyards, reducing skilled men to the standard of the unskilled, these surroundings, coupled with

a helpful agitating educator to point the moral, will prove to be nature's way of evolutionary revolutionary development.

In November last a conference of trade unionists was held in Manchester, the object being to discuss the limitations of the trade union methods and to agree, if possible, upon a plan of action. The invitation was accepted by 80 unions and 16 trades councils, who sent 180 delegates. No stipulation was made in the invitation, but it was found that of the 25 persons who took part in the discussion only one differed from the prevailing spirit that **INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM** was the necessary outcome of present day conditions, and when the following resolution was submitted two only voted against it and all the rest for it.

The resolution was as follows: "That, whereas the sectionalism that characterises the trade union movement of today is utterly incapable of effectively fighting the capitalist class and securing the economic freedom of the workers, this conference declares that the time is now ripe for the industrial organization of all workers on the basis of class—not trade or craft—and that we hereby agree to form a Syndicalist Educational League to propagate the principles of Syndicalism throughout the British Isles, with a view to merging all existing unions into one compact organization for each industry, including all laborers of every industry in the same organization as the skilled workers."

How far reaching this is will be seen when it calls for the skilled to make common cause with the unskilled and become brother workers and brother fighters in *the same* organization. Members of the amalgamated engineers, boiler makers, pattern workers, typographical workers, masons, bricklayers, carpenters and other skilled workers were represented at the conference and the delegates voted for the resolution.

As showing the trend of events on the side of practical achievement in the direction indicated the following is full of interest:



A. A. PURCELL.

The chairman of the conference at Manchester was Albert A. Purcell, the general secretary of the French Polishers' union. He had filled this position for a number of years, during which time a vigorous policy had been pursued in conjunction with other unions in the furnishing trades. As a result of the effective advocacy of Comrade Purcell and some other active spirits, an amalgamation of ten unions in the furnishing trades has now taken place, and beginning with the 1st of January, this year, Mr. Purcell became the organizer for these amalgamated bodies of which the French Polishers union is one. The same tendency is showing itself in many other unions.

Following upon the Manchester conference the Derby Trades Council convened a conference on industrial unionism when the same resolution that was carried at Manchester was carried unanimously at Derby.

To be Continued.

EDITORIAL

Working-Class Socialism. That is the only Socialism that really counts. Slowly yet steadily the wage-workers of all capitalist countries are coming to realize that they are enslaved by the private ownership of the machines they use. Little by little they are coming to see that they can secure freedom and happiness, each for himself, only by uniting in a relentless struggle against the common enemy, capitalism. And while this class of wage-workers is daily becoming more intelligent and self-conscious, its numbers are all the while recruited by the process of industrial development. Every new machine helps make class-conscious proletarians out of skilled artisans who until the machine appeared thought themselves more capable and more deserving than the common laborers. Every new consolidation by which organized capital does away with useless little capitalists hurls these capitalists and their children down into the mass of wage-workers, where they will suffer hardships until they learn to rebel. Gradually conditions are preparing for the greatest social upheaval the world has ever known. Until now civilization and industrial progress have been possible only through the mastery of the few, the slavery of the many. We are just reaching the point where the many who do the work must grasp the power to control the conditions of their work and the ownership of the things they make or the whole structure of society will collapse. We the wage-workers are the only power that can end our own slavery. And we can end it only by bringing the great mass of wage-workers in all capitalist lands to a clear realization of our common interests, of our common aims and of the Class War that can not end until the capitalist class is overthrown.

The Work of the Socialist Party. The Socialist party of this country or any other country has one good reason for existence and only one. That reason is to help on the coming of the Revolution. Especially in the United States, where the organizations of wage-workers on the economic field are weak, scattered and divided, and too often in the hands of "leaders" who are bribed directly or indirectly by the enemies of

labor,—here there is double need that the voice of the Socialist Party be clear and uncompromising. And that it soon will be so we have firm faith. The unanimous welcome given Comrade Haywood by the Socialist wage-workers of every city where he has spoken on Industrialism within the last three months speaks volumes for the growth of revolutionary ideas and tactics within the party. If ours were a party of office-seekers rather than revolutionists, Haywood and the Review would be unwelcome guests. But, it may be asked, do we not favor political action? Surely we do. We hope to see millions of votes cast for Socialist nominees in the United States in the near future. But we want them to be Socialist votes, cast by voters who recognize the class struggle and line up intelligently on our side. And the most important work that our elected candidates can do is to keep the clubs of the police and the bayonets of the soldiers off the men and women of the revolutionary unions, while they fight out the issue with the capitalists in the shops, the mines and the freight yards.

Our Volunteer Army. Our greatest source of strength as a party,—a power that we are only beginning to utilize, is the volunteer army of Socialist enthusiasts, each earning his own living under a capitalist master and working for Socialism in his few hours of leisure because he loves the work and the cause. The "Appeal Army" and our own co-operative publishing house are two great and conspicuous successes resulting from this mighty force. Thus far the party organization seems to have been forgetting to utilize the same force to anything like the same advantage, except in a few localities. The real lesson to be learned from Milwaukee is not opportunism but efficient volunteer work. And the only way in which this volunteer work can be utilized is by local autonomy in the greatest possible measure. Last month we commented favorably on the plan by which the Texas comrades put an end to factional quarrels and utilized an immense amount of hitherto wasted energy, by giving more power and responsibility to the local organizations, and we urged that the National dues be reduced,

so as to leave the hard-earned sums contributed by party members to be used where they could be fertilized by volunteer work. The need for this action is becoming more and more apparent by reason of the recent conduct of our national officers. Persistent charges have been urged for many months against the national secretary and it seems to us that the real cause of these charges is that the National Executive Committee and National Secretary have been entrusted by the party with many thousands of dollars over and above what was actually needed for carrying on the work of the office, and that consequently the national secretary found himself in a position where charges of favoritism in the appointment of employees and organizers could easily be made. We believe that the remedy, which will once for all make impossible the recurrence of such a state of things, is to cut down the income of the national office to what is really needed, and to entrust the use of most of the party's money to the comrades in the Locals who are doing the really important work.

Chicago Starts the Referendum.—On April 11, after a prolonged debate, the 21st Ward Branch of Local Cook County (Chicago) decided by a two-thirds vote to initiate the motion published on page 638 of last month's Review. Meanwhile letters from other states indicate that the same action is being taken elsewhere. If you agree with us that this action is necessary, bring the matter up in your Local, and the necessary number of seconds required to bring the question to vote will soon be secured. The party has already about 80,000 members and the National Secretary estimates that at the present rate the number will be 100,000 by the end of the year 1911. On the

basis of present dues this would give the National Executive Committee \$60,000 a year to spend; on the basis of the proposed amendment, \$24,000. But the other \$36,000, if the amendment carries, would be used by the various state committees to build up their membership. With scarcely an exception these state committees are hard pressed for money, so that they are not able to keep organizers in the field, while the weaker ones are not even able to command the full time of a state secretary. In nearly every case the extra \$36.00 per hundred members per year would add immensely to the efficiency of the state office, and this added efficiency would result in a rapid increase of members, so that within a year or two the revenue of the National Office would be as large as now, while the party membership and the fighting strength of the party would be more than doubled. Every state is already organized with the exception of Mississippi and the Carolinas, which can be organized within a year, and Delaware, which might well be attached to Maryland for organization purposes. The National Organizers are now working almost entirely within organized states, and the state committees ought to control them and pay them. This they can and will do if this amendment carries. And the vitally important work for these organizers to do is to develop in every city and town a self-governing Local of clear-headed socialists who will keep up an unending campaign of propaganda and education. These methods will build up a party that will be a terror to the capitalists and a rallying point for the wage-workers. Let us discard outgrown systems and utilize the tremendous energy now going to waste.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

ENGLAND. A Safe and Sane Strike.

The strike of the London printers has about come to an end. It illustrates in most of its phases the old way of striking and the old way of losing. It began with a good deal of enthusiasm. Most of the London printers walked out. The provincial printers declared themselves ready to strike in sympathy. If they had done so the strike would have been won almost immediately.

But the employers were too wily to allow things to come to such a pass. The strike had come on slowly as the result of long negotiations. The masters had been amply warned. They had had a chance to lay their wires. And that they had laid them well was soon made apparent. The provincial printers were soon tied down with new agreements which were guaranteed to hold them for some years. So there could be no sympathetic strike.

This done the employing printers of London raised the cry of provincial competition. In the smaller cities of England wages are naturally lower than in London. "If we grant your demand for an eight-hour day," said the London employers, "we cannot compete with provincial concerns." Of course the London printers understood the game, but they saw orders for printing actually going outside of London and being filled at lower rates than those set by the London trade. So there was nothing to do but to make the best of a bad situation. Many of them compromised by accepting a fifty-hour week. Others are still out, but have no prospect of success. When the strike is over many shops will have been transferred from the union to the nonunion list.

As representatives of a form of unionism which is advertised as "practical," the English craft organizations make a very poor showing.

RUSSIA. Professors on Strike. In darkest Russia the revolution is getting a new start. Comparative "prosper-

ity" is giving the Russian proletariat a chance to gather its forces for renewed activity. From all over the dominion of the Czar comes the same story of the formation of unions and the carrying on of vigorous propaganda.

One evidence of the revived spirit of the Russian people is peculiarly interesting. In all capitalist countries we have seen attempts to reduce the learned proletariat, especially that section of it engaged in the profession of teaching, to the position of humble lackeys of the government. It has remained for Russia to exhibit to the world a group of scholars with as much courage and independence as a union of brick-layers or hod-carriers.

The government of Premier Stolypin sometime ago ordered the police of the various departments to put the universities under strict surveillance. The order was carried out. Spies, policemen and Cossacks began to attend university lectures to see that nothing was said contrary to government regulation. Every appearance of free teaching was done away with.

The result has astonished the world. At the University of Moscow 110 professors walked out. The university is absolutely tied up.

Whether this strike will end successfully seems very doubtful. A nation can get on longer without learning than it can without bread or clothes. Moreover the government is using all the methods of the industrial capitalist. It is importing strike-breakers from France. An institution called the French Institute has been started by the scab professors. But the nature of this institute has been widely revealed and it will probably have great difficulty in securing students. The student class of Russia will know how to boycott a scab product.

FRANCE. The Red Flag in the Champagne Country. For two months past the cables have throbbled with news of riot in the departments of Marne and Aube. American dailies have told their

readers of scenes that recall the old revolutionary days. At Damremy on Jan. 17th 3,000 wine growers wrecked two of the largest wine cellars in the district. Thousands of bottles of champagne were smashed. The streets literally ran with expensive wine. And the waters of the Marne were enriched with plentiful libations. Presses and casks were left in a confused and worthless wreck. Two days later the same scene was reproduced at d'Hautervilliers.

On March 19 even more violent uprising occurred at Bar-sur-Aube, in the department of Aube. The cellars of wine merchants were wrecked, official demands for the payment of taxes were burned in huge bonfires, and the red flag was hoisted on the city hall. The municipal officials of sixty neighboring towns resigned from their offices. On April 9 fresh outbreaks occurred throughout the region.

Soldiers were hurried into the districts affected, but they were powerless. They dared not, at first, even arrest the leaders of the insurrections. The latest news, however, is that they have taken into custody Emile Moreau, one of the most revolutionary of the wine growers.

On the face of them these tales sound preposterous. Here is a peaceful population. The Socialist party of France has been trying for years to get hold of the small proprietors and peasant workers of the wine regions. The Confederation General du Travail has made repeated efforts to organize them. Both have had but slight success. But now of a sudden this whole peaceful, plodding population has risen, done damage to property that makes the sabotage of the railway employes look like nothing, and triumphantly hoisted the red flag on its municipal buildings.

What does it all mean?

The only explanation given to the readers of American dailies is the statement that the trouble all results from a commercial war between the departments of Marne and Aube. The statement is correct enough and it does explain some features of the situation.

For the past twenty years the situation of the wine dressers, small proprietors and wage earners alike, has grown stead-

ily worse. In 1908 there was a crop failure and affairs reached a crisis. The inhabitants of the province of Marne took the initiative. This province is situated at the heart of the old province of Champagne. Its inhabitants evolved the notion that if they could secure the exclusive privilege of labeling their wine champagne their problem would be solved, prosperity would return to them. Such a solution, would, of course, work to the detriment of the four other departments included within the boundaries of the old province. But they were not solicitous of the welfare of their neighbors. In January, 1909, a governmental decree delimiting the champagne district to the department of Marne went into effect.

This decree has naturally aroused bitter opposition in the other departments affected. In the department of Aube resentment has been particularly bitter. Therefore in this department the rioters have sometimes borne banners inscribed, "Down with Delimitation." Then, on April 8, when a committee of the Chamber of Deputies advised that all the departments in the province of Champagne be included in the delimited district, there was naturally an outbreak in the Marne region.

So it goes. Marne and Aube are pitted against each other. It would be impossible to find a better example to illustrate the truth of the economic interpretation of history. The wine growers of both provinces declare solemnly that they have eternal right on their side.

But after all is said this opposition between Marne and Aube does not explain the events of the past two months. To be convinced of this it is but necessary to recall that the rioting began in the Marne region, the district which already has the benefit of delimitation and hence is seeking no territorial advantage.

In reality this violent war which is focusing the attention of the entire world is a class war.

Big business has entered the champagne region. And where big business enters it always does its perfect work. Where twenty years ago were thousands of small proprietors all living in comparative prosperity there are now a few great capitalists and a great population of pov-

erty stricken peasants. The champagne riots represent an uprising of the poor against the rich.

To be sure many of the poor are "proprietors." So in a certain sense the scenes of violence enacted in France are analogous to the night riding expeditions which we witnessed in Kentucky a couple of years ago. But the Kentucky night-riders were comparatively well-to-do plantation owners. No one would call the French "proprietors" well-to-do. They no longer really represent the middle class. So there is a difference.

The vine bearing land of the region under discussion is divided into extremely small holdings. In the department of Marne, for example, there are 17,739 proprietors holding together about 15,538 hectares. Of these 14,430 own less than a single hectare (about two and a half acres) apiece. Formerly each one of these small proprietors pressed the wine from his own grapes, bottled it, gave it the treatment necessary to produce the qualities desired, and sold it in the open market for a good price.

But some years ago artificial methods for producing the effervescence characteristic of champagne were discovered. From that time on the small producer was doomed. At present the champagne business is absolutely controlled by a few great houses. Here, as everywhere, concentration has proved economical. The processes connected with the production of champagne are very complex. After being bottled the wine is seasoned for four or five months. Every day each separate bottle has to be shaken. At the end of this period it is treated chemically until exactly the required flavor has been produced. All these processes are now carried on on a large scale at a few centers like Reims, Epernay and Ay. The small proprietor merely produces the grapes and sells them to an agent of a large wine house. A single concern at Epernay, that of Moët and Chandon, possesses cellars which are described as containing thirty kilometres of the racks on which the bottles are arranged while the wine is seasoning. In this one town 2,000 laborers are constantly at work in the cellars.

Under these circumstances the individual proprietor has been reduced to the position of producer of raw material. He no longer produces wine; he produces grapes. These he sells to an agent representing one of the large wine houses. The champagne country is parceled out among buyers much as a good deal of our farming country has been during the past few years. The price of grapes is settled by the agents before the season opens. Therefore the small proprietor is absolutely at the mercy of the great wine merchant.

The prices paid to producers have steadily fallen. In 1889 the price of a cask of wine at the point where it was produced was 1,600 francs. By the year 1901 it had fallen to 94 francs. This fairly represents the fall in the price of grapes. For the individual producer no longer sells wine, he sells his grapes by the "cask." That is, he sells his grapes in lots of 400 kilos, or enough to produce one cask.

Under these circumstances the great wine merchants have grown enormously wealthy. An instance is cited of a buyer who cleared 50,000 francs in two weeks. Of course the returns of the wine houses themselves are much greater.

Besides procuring grapes at ridiculously small prices they import immense quantities of cheap wines from the south of France and from Algeria, give it chemical treatment, decorate it with the proper label, and sell it for champagne. About 35,000,000 bottles of real champagne are produced each year; but over 100,000,000 bottles are shipped out of the champagne country.

The actual producers of the grapes, on the other hand, find themselves in ever increasing poverty. The labor of caring for vineyards is immense and the expense connected with it is also large. A single hectare of vineyard demands an annual outlay of about 3,000 francs. Under present conditions the return for the product is often less than that sum. The budget of a representative small proprietor shows that during the past ten years he has actually suffered a loss of nearly 12,000 francs.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.

NOW that the Socialist party has taken another long stride forward, as was revealed in the municipal elections last month—when Butte, the largest city in Montana; Berkeley, Cal., the famous college city; Flint, Mich., which is largely dominated by J. P. Morgan and associated capital; Victor, Col., the storm center of the great battle between the Western miners and allied capital that was climaxed by the labor victory in the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone case, and many other places were wholly or partially carried by the Socialist party—the working people are being regaled with some more talk about a new national labor party to be formed.

This time the news comes from Philadelphia and it is very frankly announced that the principal reason that the labor party is to be brought into being is to check the growth of Socialism as illustrated in the April returns. No less a personage than ex-President Roosevelt is to head the new movement to smash the red spectre and as no denials have come from that gentleman it appears that Barkis is willin'. Very glibly the public is assured that the American Federation of Labor is to serve as a basis upon which the new party is to be founded, just as though the Federation is a nice little package that may be wrapped up in brown paper and placed in Mr. Roosevelt's pocket.

Of course the bitter attacks that have been made upon the Socialist party by Gompers and his friends for many years naturally lead the unwary to believe that the A. F. of L. is owned by Gompers and is hostile to socialism. Outsiders don't seem to realize that socialism is making immense strides in nearly all affiliated international unions, despite the fact that in some of those organizations the radical element, among them many socialists, have seceded or were forced out and established rival unions.

The truth of the matter is that no national labor party can be established in this country by the A. F. of L. and

certainly not with the co-operation of Theodore Roosevelt. Several years ago such a party could have been started and it might have stood fair chances of gaining success, but the opportunity has passed forever and the Socialist party is now universally recognized as *the* labor party, no matter how much it may be hated or misrepresented by its opponents.

The large numbers of trade unionists who have been flocking to the Socialist party all over the country during the past few months (I understand that the dues-paying membership increased 20,000 between January 1 and April 1 and is now 78,000), led by the miners and building craftsmen, explains why more victories are being achieved at the polls and why the old political bosses of the Penrose stripe are becoming panicky and plotting to launch a fake labor party to stem the tide toward socialism.

In America nothing succeeds like success. It's a national attribute that the people's attention is always attracted by a winning side and they frequently become partisan thereto over night. That is a historical fact, and so when Milwaukee fired the first big gun last November it wasn't surprising to see the masses begin to move in the direction of the new party and produce results in Butte, Berkeley, Flint and dozens of other places. And these in turn will wield a certain influence in keeping up the ratio of gains at the fall elections, so that by the time 1912 swings around the S. P. will most likely have considerably more than 100,000 dues-paying members and an organization that will be invulnerable.

Now, on the other hand, fancy Roosevelt, the father of the open shop, trying also to wean a labor party. What platform will it place before the people, who is going to finance it, and who will be its spokesmen? These questions must be answered with something more substantial than hot air. It required years of hard battling to build up the Socialist party, and it can be accepted as a cer-

tainty that a majority of the trade union officials have no hankering to engage in any adventure of that kind, all reports to the contrary notwithstanding.

The third year of the life and death struggle on the Great Lakes between the seamen and the Lake Carriers' Association, backed by the United States Steel Corporation, has begun in earnest. Throughout the winter months the trust has resorted to every imaginable scheme to keep its ranks of strike-breakers intact, while the unionists plastered the cities and towns for hundreds of miles along the lakes and inland with huge posters, urging workmen to remain away from the shipping offices.

But despite the close surveillance of the trust, the unionists broke the ranks of its "free and independent" work people. At Buffalo, Cleveland, Duluth and a number of other places many of its strike-breakers went on strike, singly and in bunches as high as a hundred men, while many of the recruits gained by the master class are not to be depended upon as "independents," as will be demonstrated later on in the season.

One of the most significant incidents of this famous battle between the working class and a few but powerful capitalists is that the pilots, who were depended upon to act as loyal strike-breakers are revolting and forming a secret organization. They are passing a propaganda leaflet from hand to hand, much in the same way as the workers of Russia are spreading intelligence among each other under cover, deploring their unenviable position and urging a revolt against centralized capitalism.

Meanwhile the small ship-owners who have been dragged into the Lake Carriers' Association are slowly and steadily being strangled. The steel trust has been increasing its tonnage and will soon be entirely independent of its allied capitalists, whose ships will be rotting behind breakwaters or up the rivers. Some are desperately talking about engaging in the ocean trade as "tramps," but they are doomed, just as are the small steel and tinplate plants that were inveigled into pulling chestnuts from the fire for the trust.

Whether the seamen will be able to wrest decent conditions from the trust is problematical. Things seaward are not as they were in the good old days when the able-bodied sailor was a more or less heroic figure. Jack Tar of song and story has had pretty much all the poetry knocked out of him by the inventive and prosaic genius of modern capitalistic development.

But it is well worth while watching the struggle on the Great Lakes, if for no other reason than to compare the militancy of centralized capital with the segregated efforts of the crafts that are employed on and along the lakes.

The trials and tribulations of the electrical workers, which have created much havoc among all the international unions, may be adjusted. The St. Louis convention of the A. F. of L. endorsed a plan, which was outlined by Vice-President Duncan, to hold conventions of the Reid and McNulty factions in the same city on the same date. The executive council of the A. F. of L. subsequently unreeled another yard of red tape and endorsed the St. Louis convention's endorsement and took another step by suggesting that, as both factions were bound constitutionally to meet in September, Minneapolis be chosen as the place of assemblage.

The Reidites have agreed to the plan and the McNultyites are holding a referendum vote on the selection of the convention city. The general belief is that all differences can be adjusted by the delegates of both factions who come fresh from the rank and file. The Duncan proposal is that both conventions appoint committees to hold joint sessions and thresh out all differences and report to their respective bodies, and then combine both conventions and work out details, which is a good scheme.

Recently a court in New York state rendered a verdict against International Association of Machinists, District No. 15; that establishes a villainous precedent. A year or so ago the machinists went on strike against an unfair concern in the New York district, which concern imported strike-breakers and housed them in the plant. Then, because the

pickets won some of the strike-breakers over to their side, the firm went into court and obtained an injunction prohibiting picketing. This was followed by a damage suit to reimburse the company for the expense to which it was put to run its plant with scabs. The plaintiff not only secured a judgment for a liberal amount to pay for housing and feeding its strike-breakers, but the obliging court also tacked on several hundred dollars additional to defray the expenses of

the company's attorneys. The case cost the New York machinists about \$5,000.

By the way, the machinists are about to hold an international election. President O'Connell will be opposed by W. J. Johnson, a Socialist, who at the last session of Congress secured concessions that means the eight-hour day for 23,000 men.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Helping the Striking Coal Miners in the Irwin District. The letter from Alphons Olbrich, Philadelphia, about the way the Locals in Philadelphia are sending aid to the striking miners of the Irwin District, was crowded out last month. Comrade Olbrich writes that the 17th, 19th and 20th Ward branches of the Socialist party in Philadelphia have been doing splendid relief work for the friends in Westmoreland County. Five thousand cards were printed by the comrades and distributed and later the district was canvassed for donations. The results of four Saturday canvasses were as follows: \$33.75, \$54.39, \$25.88 and \$59.27, or \$173.29 in cash. The committee has two wagons going the rounds for them bearing two muslin signs six feet by three feet reading: "Irwin, Westmoreland Coal Miners' Relief Committee. What Will You Give in Clothes?" Only one-half of the 19th Ward was covered when the committee reported seven big wagon loads of clothing and from 350 to 400 pieces of canned goods. A police officer advised us one day to go to the station house as he thought we could get a lot of cast-off uniforms. We called several times, one officer always referring us to another, and we were told that if the city hall knew what we were doing we would be stopped. They said we would "incite the people to riot."

We expected we would be stopped after that. On Saturday, February 18, we canvassed the territory in which Wm. J. Glenn resides. But the magistrate was out, and all this was done in the police district where the lieutenant and the magistrate vowed last summer that no more Socialist meetings should be held. In our canvassing we have found out that the poorest workers, those nearest to the down and outs, are the most cheerful givers. The further we go from them the worse are our donations. Big houses mean little or no donation and small houses big donations. One canvasser met a workman, either Polish or Hungarian, who asked what we were collecting for. When he understood he tore off his overcoat and insisted upon its being accepted. He also gave a small sum of money. Such a spirit assures future success for the working class. Another good sign is the worker's want-to-be-shown attitude. He investigates for himself. The work of canvassing is great work for raising the enthusiasm among local comrades. We got several non-socialists— young men—to help and they became so sympathetic and enthused that they want to join the party. We want to congratulate the friends in Philadelphia for this splendid work. Too many of us have been busy with minor labor troubles to help our friends in the Irwin District who are putting up one of the gamest fights in the history of the labor movement. If any of our other friends want to get into

the game and do something to help the strikers out, write Alphons Olbrich, 2604 N. Fifth street, Philadelphia, Pa., and he will see that you are put in touch with the relief committee.

How to Get an Eight-Hour Day.—In your February issue of the Review Local Portland initiates a movement for an eight-hour day for May 2, 1912. I have a proposition to suggest which I hope you will consider. If there is anything impossible about it, if it won't work, write me why. Let us join in educating the workers and in persuading them to hit at the same time. Instead of going out on strike, starving ourselves and our families, let us simply all take the eight-hour day and quit after eight hours' work, whether the factory whistle blows for quitting time or not. Of course, this will mean a lockout. Well, when the managers advertise for workingmen we will apply for jobs and then we will quit work after eight hours of work again. Perhaps in this way we can take the eight-hour day without starving while we fight and without letting scabs take our places. I know this is 'so simple that it looks suspicious. What do you think about it?—From COMRADE WAMSER, of Chattanooga.

From the Coeur D'Alene, Ida., S. P. Platform preamble

Haven't you had about enough of so-called "Business," "Progressive" and other "catch phrase" administrations? Will the Socialist do any better? If so, why? Because by our system of party government no individual is permitted to act upon his own authority. All important matters must be inspected by the party membership, and details given to the public. This is democracy, not in theory only, but in practice.

As a precaution against breaking party pledges, by incompetent or dishonest officials, and as a means of party control, our candidates are, when nominated, required to file their written resignations with the party secretary, said resignations to become effective should a party referendum vote decide in favor of a recall.

This requirement is not imposed upon our candidates through lack of confidence in their fidelity as a whole, but to safeguard against those who seek office at the hands of the party with intent to discredit it.

We can imagine what a jolt the above will be to the old party candidates. It is a lesson in party democracy that every worker will understand and trust.

Scout Drenk, of Elkhart, Ind., writes: "Your letter of the 29th asking me how the REVIEW sells is received. Answer is: Send me fifteen more of the April number instead of May. I will order for May later."

J. F. Hardie, of Oklahoma, writes: "Lay on McDuff. Have just read 'In Prison With Herve,' and Kerr's splendid editorials. Also the other articles and they are all fine. Yours for a bloodless revolution."

SOCIALISM ITS GROWTH AND OUTCOME. By William Morris and Ernest Belfort Bax. One of the Socialist classics; until lately sold in this country at \$1.85. Written in a most charming style, it traces the growth of society from savagery through barbarism, slavery and feudalism to capitalism, shows how capitalism carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction, and why the coming of Socialism is inevitable. It also has a very interesting chapter answering some of the many questions as to how the details of life will be arranged under the coming social order. Extra cloth binding, well printed on fine book paper, 244 pages, 50 cents, postpaid. Mention this advertisement and we will include FREE a subscription to the International Socialist Review for three months. Charles H. Kerr & Co., 118 W. Kinzie St., Chicago.

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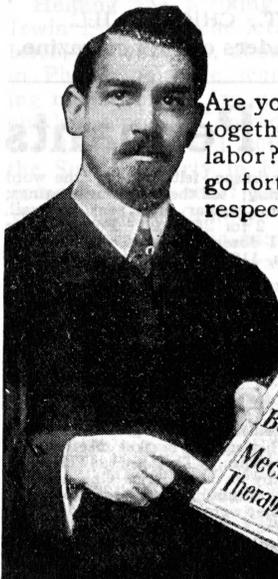
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By

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Mexico, or more properly Diaz, challenged for
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CHICAGO TRIBUNE (Editorial)

The unanswered challenge, with ample proofs, corroborated by engravings from photographs taken in Mexico, will be found
in **John Kenneth Turner's** book

Barbarous Mexico

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Oregon Journal **PORTLAND:** The writer . . . claims that there is neither free speech nor free press, that Diaz is "unanimously elected" because his opponents are never allowed to live to come to the polls; slavery of the very worst type exists, coupled with starvation and crime, and all this for the glory of Diaz. He furthermore claims that these things could not exist if Diaz did not have the support of the United States, threatening when insurgency raises its head, to call to his aid a powerful army of United States soldiers. Now all this might be passed over with the usual comment "sensational," if Mr. Turner did not substantiate his statements with such a tremendous array of facts and figures and photographic illustrations as would extract conviction from the most prejudiced unbeliever.

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