

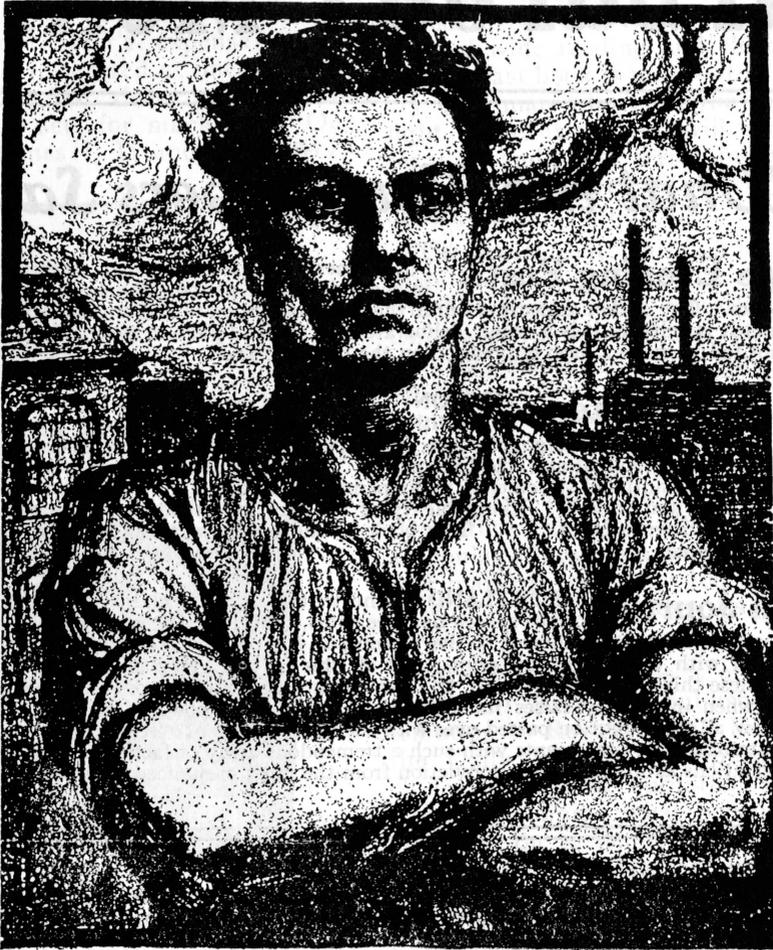
JUNE, 1911

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*The*  
INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW

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**GET READY**

By WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

**WHEN THE WORKERS FOLD THEIR ARMS**

By ED MOORE

Mexico, or more properly Diaz, challenged for  
barbarity, does not answer convincingly.

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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## *What the Newspapers Say:*

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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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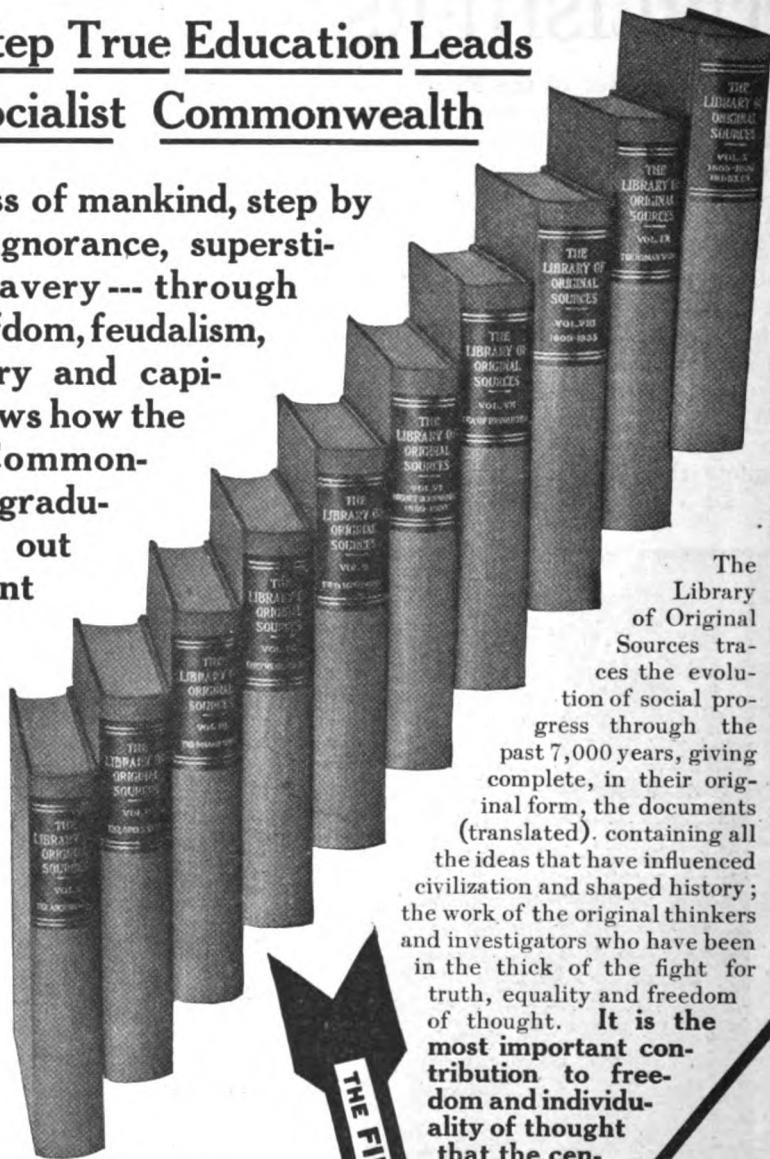
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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives LaMonte, William E. Bohn,  
Leslie H. Marcy

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# The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XI.

JUNE, 1911

No. 12

## GET READY

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

**T**O REVIEW the kidnaping of John J. McNamara and his associates is like reading a brief chapter of my own life. McNamara, like myself, was secretary-treasurer of a militant labor organization and therein is the mainspring of the unlawful seizure of his person and the charges of crime against him.

The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, the organization of which McNamara is an official, stands between the Erectors' Association and cheap labor power, just as the Western Federation of Miners stood against a reduction of wages in the Coeur d'Alene, Leadville, Cripple Creek and all the mining districts throughout the metaliferous regions. The membership of the miners and that of the Iron Workers are men of tough fiber, men with iron in their blood, men who shake hands with death many times in the course of a day's work, men the very nature of whose labor develops an individualism, a spirit of self-reliance and independence. Naturally men following hazardous vocations have temperaments of high tension and will not willingly bend their necks to the yoke nor meekly submit to coercion. When the overwhelming power of capitalism backed these men to the wall and compelled them to organize their forces to keep from being crushed, a mutual social relationship was established that even the mighty Steel Trust could not shatter.

When my comrades and I were ar-

rested, I said, "There are a thousand Moyers and Haywoods in the ranks, who will, if we are killed, carry on our work." Mr. Darrow, when pleading before the jury that tried me, voiced this sentiment, "If you hang Bill Haywood there are a million working men who will take up the banner of labor at his grave and carry it on to victory!"

In this case the Structural Iron Workers will prove as loyal to their victimized



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JOHN J. McNAMARA.

brothers as the miners were to us. The working class will be as true to one of their class and to their cause now as when I was on trial for my life.

We are all defendants in every case where a worker is to be tried and the capitalist class is the plaintiff. It matters not that this process comes through the courts of the state of California, the finger board points unerringly to the powers behind the prosecution.

Let us follow the footprints. Early on the morning of October 1, last year, the Los Angeles Times building was wrecked by an explosion. Fire finished the destruction. Twenty-one human lives were lost. It was the general belief that the building was blown up by an explosion of gas.

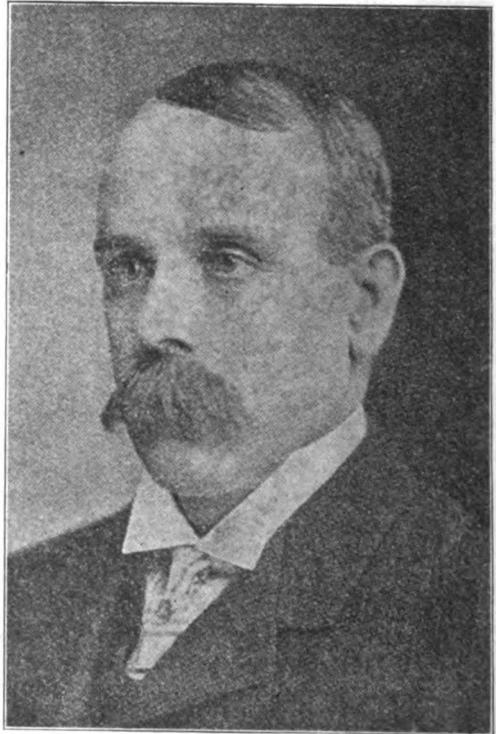
The Times strongly condemned this contention and blamed the trade unions. For years this paper has been a union baiter. The owner, Harrison Gray Otis, is styled the "Human Gray Wolf." There is nothing he so enjoys as tearing with his fangs at the heart of a union man. When his building was destroyed there was no word of pity for the bereaved families of the unfortunate victims. The old Gray Wolf sat on his haunches and howled, "Dynamite! Trade unions!" The longer and louder he howled, the stronger grew the membership of the unions. The Boss Brewers withdrew from the Gray Wolf's pack known as the Manufacturers' and Merchants' Association. The breweries were organized. Then another howl went up from the ashes of the Times. He called the Brewery owners a set of cowards.

The Socialists, ever vigilant and persistent in their propaganda among the workers, announced that they hoped to carry the city election in Los Angeles. The Gray Wolf saw his finish and at that junction the Lewellyn Iron Works was blown up. The footprints of the conspiracy now take a different course. The Typographical Union is not charged with this crime. The disaster of the Times Building becomes an incident. The service of the State of California is side-tracked. The human bloodhounds of the National Erectors' Association are on the job.

The Steel Trust has no fight on against the typesetters, not yet. The crushing of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers is the work of the hour. They must be routed and disbanded as were the miners of the Steel Trust, the iron ore miners of Minnesota and Michigan. The Iron Workers must be crushed like the striking seamen of the Great Lakes who convey the ore of the Steel Trust. All organizations of men who have come in contact with iron have felt the IRON HEEL of the Steel Trust—from the miner who toils in the windowless dungeons producing the raw material to the iron worker who swings on the steel girder in the sky.

That your calling is one of danger, that you have helped to build a mighty nation, that you are an important factor in industry, that you have contrived to bring happiness to the many—all this is nothing in the balance if you have by any means lessened the profits of the Steel Trust.

This is your crime. You will be sur-



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FRANK M. RYAN, PRESIDENT.

Int. Ass'n. Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

rounded some Saturday night by private detectives and charged with murder, and "murder is murder," so Mr. Roosevelt says, and as one who shot a fleeing man in the back, he ought to know, if his conscience speaks the truth.

The manner by which your arrest is accomplished is of no consequence. "To hell with the Constitution." What does a constitution or two mean to the Mine Owners' Association or the Steel Trust? And besides, has not the United States Supreme Court in the case of Pettibone said that kidnaping was a just and lawful procedure?

So to be well within the law the Pinkerton and Burns vampire agencies have adopted kidnaping as their favorite **modus operandi**, and thus it happens that these birds of prey say, "Habeas corpus be damned, we'll give 'em post mortems."

The detectives were taking no chances when they arrested James N. McNamara and Ortie McManigle. They were seized in Detroit, Mich., and smuggled to Chicago. There they were held in secret, without counsel, and denied every constitutional and legal safeguard. No rich man has ever been treated in such a manner. The arrest of John J. McNamara at Indianapolis was even more dastardly in its conception. He was seized in his office at Indianapolis while attending a meeting of the Executive Board of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers. Burns, the press agent, detective, was assisted by seventy or eighty of the regular police and private forces of Indianapolis. The building was surrounded. Burns and several of his force invaded the office, forcibly seized John J. McNamara, hurried him into a waiting automobile in which he was carried to a police court.

Refusing his demand that he be permitted to secure the services of an attorney, the police judge announced that, as the governor of Indiana had honored the requisition issued by the governor of California, the prisoner could at once be transported to that state, to be tried upon the charge of murder, it being alleged that he had aided in dynamiting the Los Angeles Times Building.

The sleuth-hounds again placed McNamara in the automobile, rushed him



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WILLIAM J. BURNS.

out of Indianapolis and across the boundary line of the state. Handcuffed and chained, he was put aboard a fast train for Los Angeles, where he arrived Wednesday, April 26. There he was placed in a tank in the Los Angeles County jail. After the abduction of McNamara, Burns and a part of his gang returned to the office of the Iron workers, where the remaining members of the Executive Board were still imprisoned. A locksmith was impressed into service and the safe of the organization was bored with a diamond drill. Its contents were not stolen for the use of the authorities of the State of California; **THEY WERE TURNED OVER TO WALTER DREW**, the attorney of the Erectors' Association. It was not until 3 o'clock the following morning that the members of the Executive Board were allowed to leave their office. The next day, when President Frank Ryan asked the chief of police for

the keys of the office, the chief was compelled to acknowledge that he did not have them. **THEY WERE IN THE POSSESSION OF WALTER DREW, THE GENTLEMAN WHO REPRESENTS THE CHIEF PERSECUTORS IN THE CASE.**

It is evident to every observing mind that the Iron Workers are not to be prosecuted by the State of California for complicity in the destruction of the Times Building. The judiciary is to be used by the Erectors' Association in the same manner as several state courts were operated by the Mine Owners' Association.

The abduction of our brothers was so nearly like that of Pettibone, Moyer, St. John, Adams and myself as to almost furnish a parallel case. Three of us were arrested in Denver on Saturday night after the courts were closed, and confined in the Denver County jail. We demanded, as did McNamara, that some one of our attorneys be sent for, so that we might take counsel with them. We were likewise denied this constitutional right. Extra precautions were taken to prevent our arrest becoming publicly known. We were held in the county jail until 3 o'clock in the morning, then taken to the warden's office, where we met for the first time. We were handcuffed and put in three separate carriages under heavy guard and driven to the Oxford Hotel, the nearest to the depot. At 6 o'clock Sunday morning we were placed aboard a special train and hurried away to the State of Idaho. The special train was a contribution of the railroad company, which likewise provided for a clear track, which enabled us to make the journey in twelve hours less than the schedule time. It will be remembered that upon our arrival in Boise, Idaho, we were conveyed to the Idaho State Penitentiary, an institution where none but convicted criminals were confined. After the usual preliminaries of being registered and searched, we were conducted to the cellhouse and placed in the condemned cells under the death watch. Up to this time we had not seen a lawyer and had not been in a court. I recount these facts to show the utter disregard of the capitalist class for constitutional provisions when



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**DYNAMITE "FOUND" BY DETECTIVES**

In a Barn Near Tiffin, Ohio, and Said by Detective Burns to Have Been "Cached" There by the Same Men Who Blew Up the Los Angeles Times Building.

their ravenous appetites are whetted for a feast of the blood of the working class.

The key had no sooner turned in the door of the penitentiary than Governor Gooding announced that we would never leave the state alive. It was but a short time afterwards that Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States, denounced us as "undesirable citizens," words which in effect meant that we should be put out of the way. And now this blatant hypocrite, in the current issue of the "Outlook," under caption "Murder Is Murder," severely criticises the labor leaders who have come to the support of John J. McNamara. The ivory merchant says, "I have no idea whether the men arrested on Mr. Burns' statements are or are not guilty." Further on Mr. Roosevelt says that it is grossly improper to try to create a public opinion in favor of the arrested men, simply because the crime of which they are accused is committed against a capitalist or a corporation. Mr. Roosevelt seems to forget that every man is presumed to be innocent until proven guilty.

This distinguished member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen overlooks another scoopful when he disregards the efforts of the subsidized press of capitalism. From Boston to Los Angeles these hirelings have left nothing

undone which might create a prejudice against the labor leaders. Mr. Roosevelt has certainly done his share in this regard. We cannot forget that he has been the pliant and willing tool of the ruling class in every act of his public life. As Governor of New York he used the militia against the Croton Dam strikers. As President of the United States he prevented the organization of men in the government employ and furnished the federal troops to the mine owners in Nevada, Arizona and Alaska. With this record the workers can well afford to ignore any advice coming from Roosevelt.

**Workers of America, if you would save the life of John J. McNamara and his brother union men, you must act and act quickly. If you would protect yourselves from the acts of terror perpetrated by the private detectives, criminals and thugs of the ruling class, speak now or forever hold your peace. You can compel those responsible for the kidnaping of the iron workers to comply with the law of the land. It is within your power to make**

**the authorities proceed in accord with the rules they themselves have made. A general strike of all workers is the means to be applied. The complete suspension of all production on the day the trial begins will be a wholesome lesson and one that the capitalist class will never forget.**

**If the agitation for a general strike is vigorously carried on, the iron workers will be returned to their homes and their constitutional rights preserved.**

**This outrage of capitalism is bringing together the man on the girder in the sky and the man in the dark recesses of the earth. From the prison cells in Los Angeles, from Preston and Smith in the penitentiary of Nevada, from Cochrane and the other victimized seamen of Buffalo, from Buccafori in Brooklyn, comes the mighty cry for "one big union." One big union can and will, if necessary protect the lives of the working people, stop the mills of injustice by stopping the wheels of industry in every mine, in every factory, and on every building and every railroad in the land.**

## WHEN THE WORKERS FOLD THEIR ARMS

BY

ED. MOORE

**D**EATH is grinning in anticipation of the harvest he is going to reap when the "American interests" let loose the dogs of war to overrun Mexico.

Famine is preparing to collect her dividends in the places laid waste where shot, shell and sabre have done their murderous work to uphold the "sacred right" of speculators, bankers and the business interests, generally and individually, to gather unto themselves the wealth the labor the working class brings forth.

Pestilence is calculating whether she shall go along in the old way to collect the premiums Death and Famine pay to her as her percentage of profits from wars for patriotism, or whether she shall modernize her industry and adopt scientific

management to get more victims for a smaller number of more virulent diseases.

At well spread boards, where there is every dainty that the culinary art can concoct from the raw materials of nature, sit magnates scheming how to excite the workers of the United States to an unreasoning anger against the workers of Mexico for the purpose of throwing them into the pit of war to murder each other.

In rented homes, made cheerless by poverty; sneaking up alleys, timidly begging for food; by the sides of railroads, and clinging in fear and desperation to the brakebeams and bumpers are the workers of the United States who will have to carry the guns and produce the food to send an army into Mexico.

Whatever "American interests" are in

danger in Mexico, they certainly do not belong to the workers who are on half-time, out of a job, and who are hoboing it.

If a bullet from a gun in the hands of a worker from the United States kills a Mexican worker, Madero's wife will not be left a widow in destitute circumstances with hungry children to feed. If a bullet from a gun in the hands of a Mexican worker kills a worker from the United States, it will not be the wife of a Morgan who will be left a widow.

The lassies left all forlorn by the laddies killed in a war to secure dividends for Taft, Morgan & Co., and profits for Madero and his cousins and his aunts, will not be the hothouse buds of fashionable society in the United States and Mexico.

Workers of the United States have nothing but their lives to lose in Mexico. If American capitalists have anything to lose in Mexico, it is what they have stolen from the workers. Mr. Morgan and his gang are now conspiring to hang an official and two members of a labor union that the Steel Trust wishes to destroy.

We workers have a war in the United States against Mr. Morgan and his class. Shall we be patriots or fools if we let ourselves be coaxed or bullied to murder Mexican workers to enable Morgan to get more money to pay kidnapper and thief Burns to manufacture evidence to

hang workers who have combined to make the Steel Trust pay them something more than starvation wages and to treat them with at least as much consideration as the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals force their owners to give to jackasses?

A never ceasing war is going on in all countries between the workers and those who rob them. In every country the Socialist Party is organizing the workers in their own army. It is equipping them with the most modern and highest powered weapon to use in capturing the governments of the robbing class—the Capitalists. This weapon is the ballot.

While enlisting the workers and drilling them in the use of the ballot, the Socialist Party in its school of tactics, is perfecting the general strike mass movement as the most effective and practical attack upon the brutal wars the capitalists make the workers fight.

Not A Shot Can Be Fired If The Workers Only Fold Their Arms. No Worker Can Be Kidnapped If The Workers Fold Their Arms. No Perjuries And "Plants" Will Avail The Erectors' Association And Morgan's Steel Trust If The Workers Fold Their Arms.

Is it not glorious, do not your hearts throb with joy, Comrades and Fellow Workers, to know that all murderous wars shall cease when The Workers Fold Their Arms!





DANIEL SHOVLIN.  
MINER.  
City Treasurer.



LEWIS J. DUNCAN.  
AGITATOR.  
Mayor.



THOMAS J. BOOHER,  
MINER.  
Police Judge.

## WHY THE SOCIALISTS WON IN BUTTE

BY  
JACK KEISTER

**T**HE workers of Butte City, Montana, have put men of their own kind into office. On the 3rd of April, the usual spring election was held and despite the fact that some of the slimiest crooked work ever attempted by tricky politicians was pulled off and gotten away with, the Socialists won, electing their candidates for Mayor, City Treasure, Police Magistrate and five Aldermen.

This unexpected victory means that the seed of discontent that has been many years in the sowing, is firmly planted and has taken root. For years persecution has been the lot of the radicals in the mines of Butte. For them this victory is doubly sweet. Taught by experience that it is but folly to expect appreciation from the workers for their efforts, they have labored on and trusted to the future. They knew the time must come when conditions would force the workers to pay heed. It has come sooner than expected. The laws of evolution have been silently, but none the less surely at work.

In Butte capitalism has reached its highest development. Not many years ago this was a prosperous city. A very large part of the profits of the copper kings was being spent in battling with each other for possession of the mines. Millions were at stake and almost the entire political machinery of the state (the judiciary included) was drawn into the fight, corrupted and sold outright to the highest bidder.

Competition was truly the life of trade in this case, but at an awful cost in morals. The Amalgamated Copper Co., backed by the Standard Oil Co., won the fight and now has possession of the mines in Butte.

While the fight was on, money was plentiful and the small business man waxed fat and sassy, but it is different now. As soon as Standard Oil had gobbled up the mines the small business man began to get his. Competition having been eliminated in production, attention was naturally turned to distribution.

Already the mining company has

taken over the larger stores and the small business men are desperate. The more economical production that goes with combination has killed some of his trade. The mining company has reached out and taken part of what is left and to cap the climax the public morals, as the result of the good old times of yore, are such that graft in the city government has become an institution. For years, to be a city official and not to graft, has been merely to confess a lack of intelligence.

A debt of one and one-half million dollars hangs over the city and credit has almost been destroyed.

In the meantime, all has not been well with the workers of Butte. The high efficiency of production that modern industry exacts has thrown thousands of men out of work. Gray hairs are a ban, soft snaps have been abolished and past service forgotten. Men who for years did the masters bidding and were rewarded with fat jobs are now getting a taste of the class struggle. All that does not spell profit must be eliminated. Competition was king but Profit rules now. The king is dead! Long live the king!

Such is the condition that Butte finds itself in today. About the first of the year some of the old time reds of Butte who had their ears to the ground decided to try and crystalize this discontent into a Socialist victory at the spring elections.

A propaganda paper was started and

ten to twelve thousand copies distributed from house to house once a month until just before election, when the routes were covered every few days. It took hard work and lots of it, but it showed the way. The result was a socialist victory. The socialist candidate for mayor received almost twice as many votes as his nearest opponent. The size of the vote was a surprise to all. A very large part of this vote is not a socialist vote, but a sympathetic vote, and sympathy means that conditions are ripe for propaganda work. One member of the party puts it this way, "This is not a victory, but rather an opportunity for victory, and the opportunity lies not so much in the offices as it does in the open minds of the workers. Honesty in office (desirable as that is) will not prove that there is a class struggle in society. To make rebels of men, we must train them to think." Truly the opportunity to make rebels of the miners of Butte is such now as is seldom found. To make the most of this opportunity is the ambition of the "Reds" of Butte.

Of the eight men elected, five make their living by working in the mines as miners, one is a shoemaker working at his trade each day, one is an ex-minister of the local Unitarian Church and one is the business agent of the local Workingman's Union. If their past conduct is anything to judge by, these men can be depended on to put the interests of the working class first in all things. All



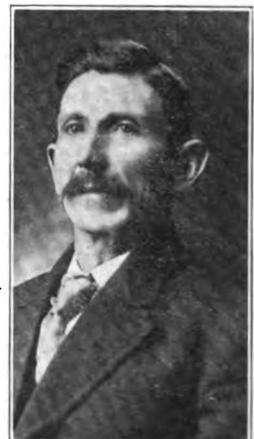
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MINER.  
Alderman.



FRANK CURRAN.  
MINER.  
Alderman.



HENRY S. DAVIS.  
LABORER.  
Alderman.



HUGH McMANUS,  
SHOEMAKER.  
Alderman.

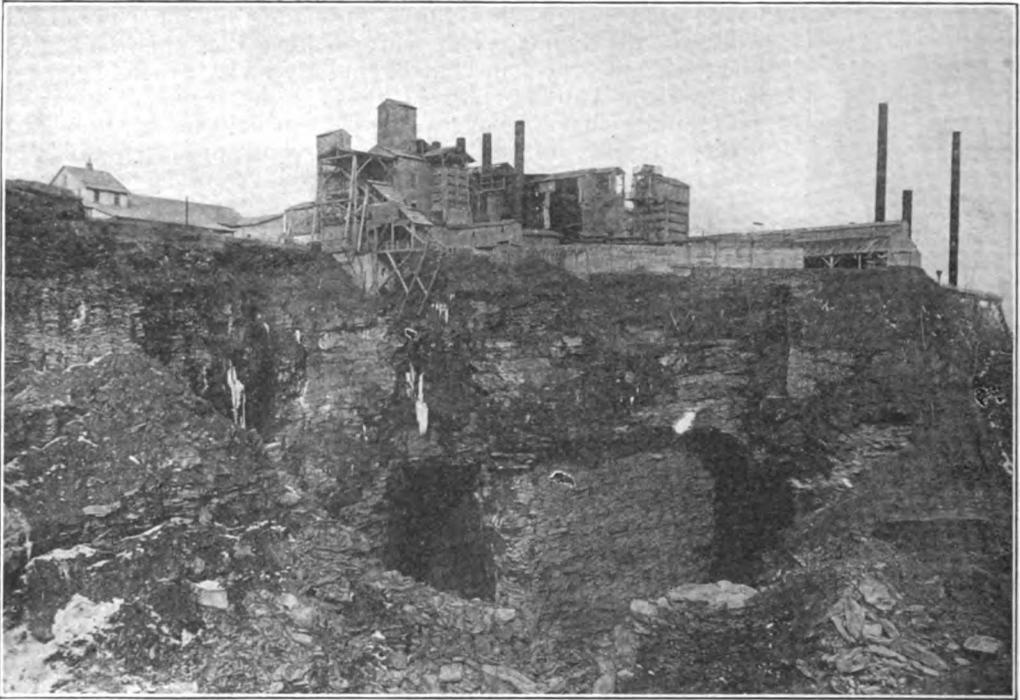
have been wage workers all their lives except the mayor-elect and he should have little trouble in reasoning from the workingman's point of view, for he was fired out of his job as a preacher because he would not obey orders. He is the one public man of Butte that had the courage to take the platform in defense of Moyer, Haywod and Pettibone when they

were on trial in Idaho for their lives. That act almost cost him his meal ticket, but Lewis J. Duncan is not a quitter. Some time later when Emma Goldman was billed to speak in Butte and the use of the halls in the city was denied her, Preacher Duncan offered her the use of

his church and he lost his job. The workers of Butte believe that they have men in control that they can depend on.

All of these eight men are firm believers in the principles of industrial unionism, and were supported alike by Socialists and I. W. W. men. No people have had the necessity of the right kind of unionism more clearly demonstrated to them than the industrial slaves of Butte. Jurisdictional fights have sapped their energy for years while the mines slaughter men by the wholesale. Yet in spite of their shortcomings the unions are a power in Butte and the victory of April 3rd could not have been, without their protection to the workers. Success on the political field is not going to blind the workers of Butte to the necessity for industrial organization. They realize as Debs does, that "Without such economic organization and the economic power with which it is clothed, and without the industrial co-operative training, discipline and efficiency which are its corollaries, the fruit of any political victories the workers may achieve, will turn to ashes on their lips."





PRIMITIVE CEMENT PLANT—ABANDONED.

# THE CEMENT MONOPOLY

BY

ROBERT J. WHEELER

**A**MERICA is the one land of which it can be said: "They are ever eager to try some thing." It is this propensity to leave the old and cleave to the new that has made America the foremost nation in the world. The very name "American" has become a synonym for initiative, boldness, tenacity of purpose, mental acuteness, breadth of economic design and rapidity and excellence of economic accomplishment.

We gave the world the railroad; electric power applied to industry on a large scale; put the germ theory of disease to practical use in Cuba and Panama; developed the automatic machine and the industrial trust. And these things are bringing about economic and social revolutions over the entire civilized world.

During this period of transition from an old to a new economic order; when the forces of society are in a state of flux, unrest and turmoil; fear and worry are an accompaniment of the daily life of all classes. The worker fears he may not have; the capitalist worries that he cannot hold. Economic security is a term undefinable.

Machinery developing toward the automatic stage turns thousands of skilled workers downward to a lower plane; while "efficiency in management," steadily reduces the number of unskilled needed to do the world's work.

The Trusts occupying an impregnable economic position are mercilessly assimilating their smaller competitors. The struggle is now carried on in plain sight. The blows dealt with naked weapons.

The powerful care not to conceal their designs. Craft and cunning are a necessary protection to the weak only.

We are so busy in this mighty land—so busy piling up wealth for those who “toil not nor spin” that too few of us sense the import of the economic and political developments going on about us. Meanwhile startling changes are taking place and mighty forces are preparing for battle. Out of this change and conflict a new era will emerge; a true and just civilization be builded. For we are standing, as it were, upon a pinnacle of a height of accomplishment, poised for a leap forward that shall carry us over the chasm that separates the anarchy of the now from the order of the Industrial Democracy that is coming.

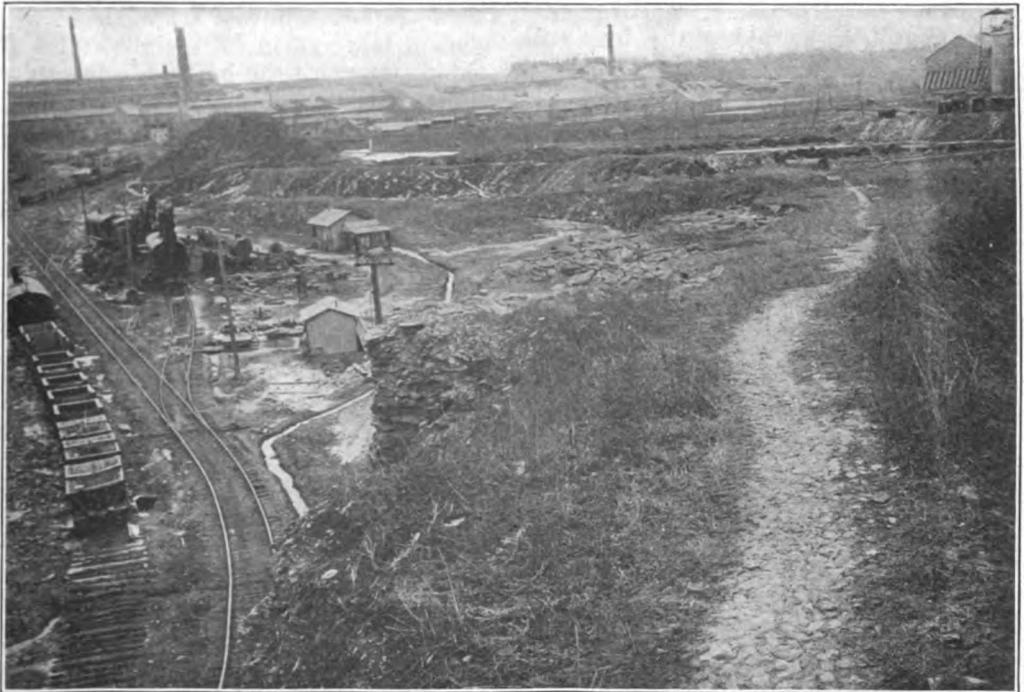
From time to time, new factors have entered into our economic life which have brought remarkable changes in their train. Steel products, cheapened by the application of modern scientific methods, worked a revolution in building of all kinds and quickened the pace of progress.

During the last fifteen years, cement, as a building material has come forward and by its adaptability to form and simplicity in use, has so grown as an industry

that it now ranks second to steel and unquestionably will soon be the leading basic industry.

Unless one devotes some time to a survey of the Cement Industry, one cannot comprehend its immensity nor realize the revolutionary part it is to play in our industrial life. The inexhaustible supply of raw material; the cheapness of the finished product and its durability make it the most economical material for building. It is a creation of science. Man is thus enabled to melt the everlasting rock and mold it into forms and foundations upon which, though ten thousand years pass with leaden feet, civilization may securely rest.

It is not to be marveled at that such a factor should necessitate readjustments in our economic life. To the workers the vital question is: What effect will this have on the job, the means of making a living? The answer must be: “Hundreds of thousands of skilled workers will be reduced to the level of the laborer. Carpenters, masons, stonecutters, ironworkers, bricklayers, painters, tinworkers and many others will find their opportunities for profitable employment disappearing in proportion as the use of cement in-



A MODERN PLANT—COVERING MANY ACRES.

creases. The Building Trades are a powerful division of the craft union army. The substitution of cement in building operations will ruin their trades. It is like the automatic machine in the glass-blower's trade. Before its advance they must recede. With the decline of the skilled workers, the craft unions must also decline.

As with the worker, so with the constructing contractor. The number of such will be reduced. The time is not far distant when the Cement Trust will take constructing contracts direct. It can employ the highest skill, the most talented designers, the greatest engineers.

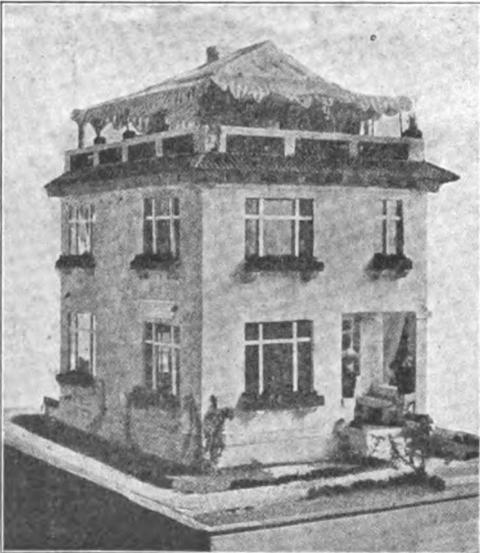
We are entering upon an era of economy. Cement is economical. Other building material, particularly lumber, grows dearer as the supply diminishes. Then, too, we are demanding better sanitation, safer construction and durability. Cement answers all these requirements. A congesting population demands better secondary highways for transportation. Cement roads will live in history. The farmer finds innumerable uses for cement and life on the farm is made more attractive by the intelligent use of this wonderful material. Edison's invention of molds for house construction has opened up a great field for cement. Soon we shall see cement houses taking the lead. It will be a good thing for the workers. Such houses will be more habitable be-

cause they will be less responsive to weather changes; will be sanitary, easily cleaned, vermin proof, fire proof, and beautiful as well as cheap. The invention is a triumph for science. Without the knowledge which chemistry gave to man, cement could not have been invented.

It would not be likely, in this age of trusts with hundreds of millions of profits seeking reinvestment, that an industry of such magnitude and promise could continue to develop without attracting the attention of the money gods. However, it was not until about 1900 that the big interests turned their attention seriously to the growing industry. During the decade past, they have persistently sought control. Now in the producing field a great struggle is raging. A large number of little fellows are waging hopeless war with one giant. A familiar story, only with a new setting, but with the same principal actors and the same coldly, cruel outcome: the survival of the stronger.

In 1903, the industry having grown so great, the government decided to investigate the resources of the United States in cement material. The report was published in 1905. Bul. 243, Dept. Interior. This report showed vast deposits of cement material in forty-eight states and territories, with the best and most accessible deposits in the Lehigh district, Pennsylvania. The output of Portland Cement in 1905 was about 20,000,000 barrels. Half of this was produced around about Allentown, Pa., the center of the Lehigh District. Since that date production has increased with giant strides. In 1910, the Atlas and the Universal Companies alone produced 20,000,000 barrels.

The Atlas was the greatest producing company in the field in 1903. Naturally it grew as the demand for cement increased. At the beginning of 1910, it had become an enormous concern. Its main plant at Northampton, Pa., covered almost a square mile. Its business was carried on through over fifty-two selling departments. The tremendous producing capacity of the Atlas enabled it to secure the great Panama Canal contract. The contract price was so low that no other company could touch it. This contract was of great advertising value. Business



POURED CEMENT HOUSE.

came to the Atlas in ever increasing volume. But its prosperity proved to be its undoing.

The Billion Dollar Steel Trust had been watching the progress of the cement industry and soon came to recognize that it was destined to become the leading basic industry. As the system of concrete construction grew and steel came

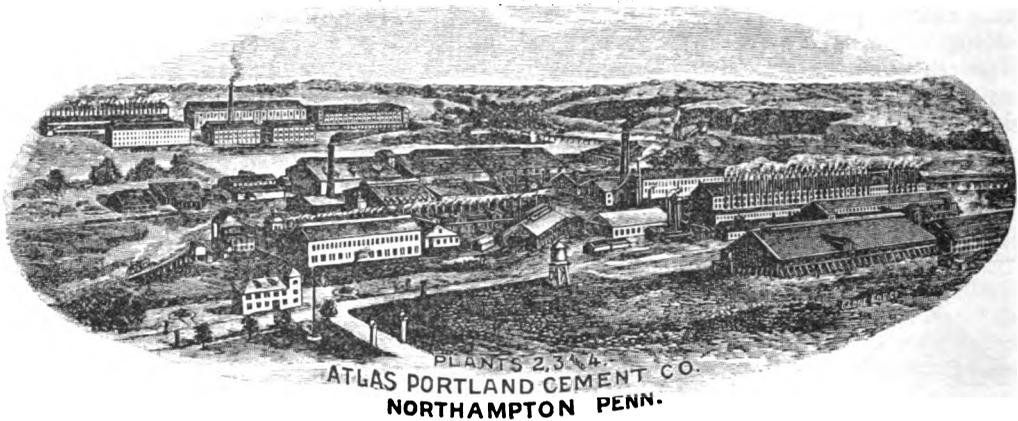
to be used, the trust saw that cement was a natural complement to steel and a proper product for the Trust to monopolize.

As usual, the Trust utilized the discoveries of other concerns. The Clinton Iron & Steel Co. of Pittsburg first began to make a grade of Portland cement, using furnace slag as a base. After their



Courtesy, Rock Products.

FARMERS ARE GETTING TO BE CONCRETE ENTHUSIASTS.



success the Illinois branch of the Trust began to make cement by the same process. Later the Universal Cement Co. was organized with great plants at Pittsburgh, Pa., and Buffington, Ind. In less than six years the output of the Universal Co. was 40,000 bbls. a day, second only to the great Atlas Co., which in 1910 advertised an output of 50,000 bbls. daily. It was but natural that the Steel Trust should seek control of a rival with a business so prosperous and a future so bright.

In June, 1910, the Atlas Co. was operating its three plants at Northampton, Pa., Hudson, N. Y., and Hannibal, Mo., at full capacity. Pres. Maxwell, its directing intelligence, was a man of some prominence in the financial world. He was reputed worth \$20,000,000. Suddenly, in July, the Atlas shut down its mills at Northampton. 5,000 men were idle. The reason given out was "a reorganization in the staff of managers." Very little news could be had concerning future intentions. In December, Pres. Maxwell died suddenly in New York. The papers said he died of a broken heart, his condition induced by the loss of the Atlas Co, in which the greater part of his fortune was invested. Then the papers stated guardedly that control of the Atlas had passed to J. P. Morgan & Co.—the Steel Trust. Maxwell's estate was estimated at between two and three millions. Here was a great captain of industry stripped of a splendid property in a few weeks and his career of usefulness ended. But the manner in which he was crushed is interesting. The Steel Trust had swallowed its great rival in

the cement business in the identical way it devoured its big steel rival—the Tennessee Iron & Coal Co., in 1907.

Senator Owen, in his great speech in the Senate, the last day of the late congress, said, "The Big Interests can expand or contract the credit of the nation at will."

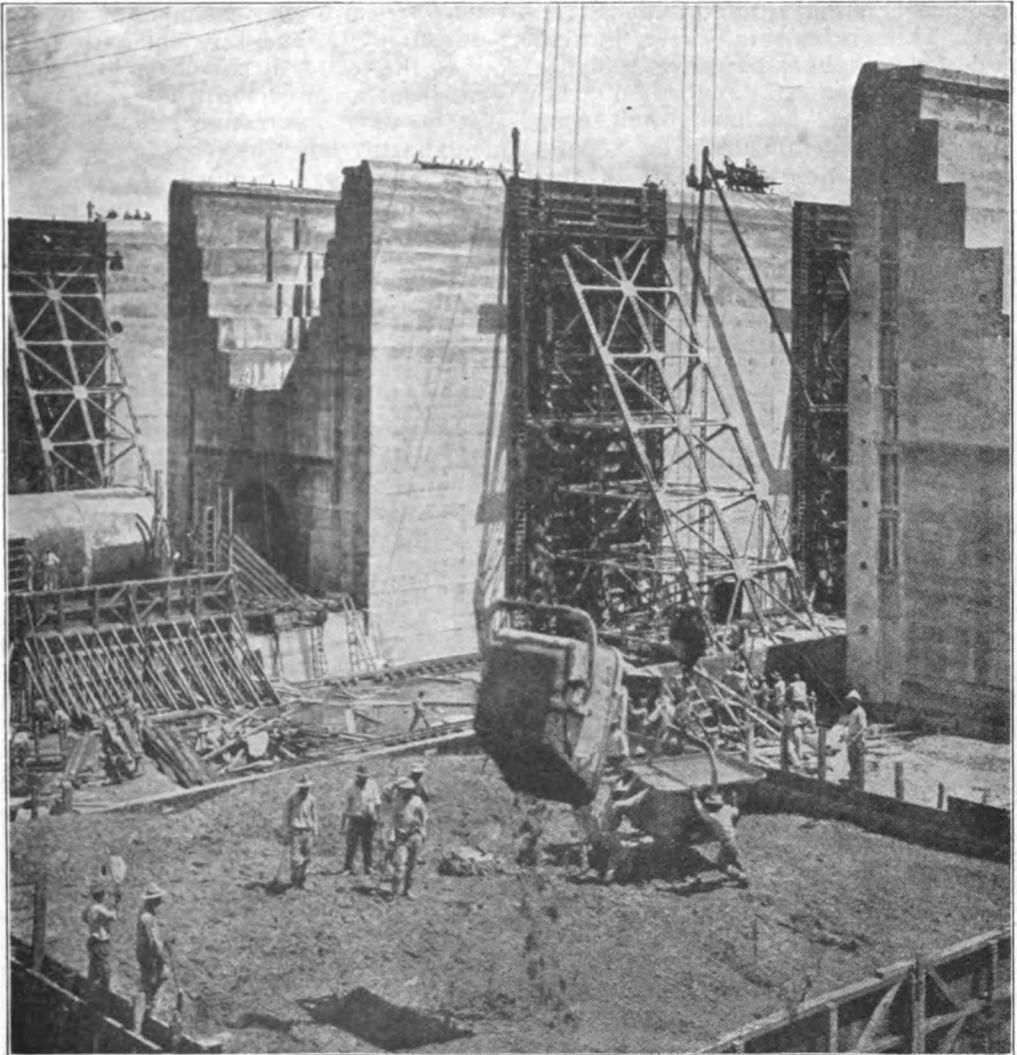
The Atlas was carrying on a tremendous business, necessitating constant improvement and additions to producing capacity. Huge shipments were made daily to Panama, but the government was slow to pay. To make betterments and carry its immense stock, the Atlas was forced to borrow money; \$12,000,000, it is said. As security, Pres. Maxwell put up gilt edged railroad and industrial stocks. Suddenly his loans were called. He could not cover. He was foreclosed upon. Then the fact was made known that the Steel Trust had acquired the Atlas. All this the papers told. Rumor also had it that 1,000,000 bbls. of cement were rejected by the government as below grade. It was hinted that the Atlas had been deliberately trapped. Socialists, knowing the power wielded by J. P. Morgan & Co. understood. If as the papers intimated, the government delayed payment and rejected a great quantity of cement at a time when the Atlas was badly extended financially, it was simply the working of a new plan. What more simple than to tip the proper party in the War Department in Washington, to delay payment? What more easy than to intimate to the cement inspector that Atlas brand was off grade? Does any informed person doubt the practicability of such a plan?

And so the Atlas was devoured and the Cement Monopoly created.

Its shadow rests upon the little fellows. "The small cement companies, only last month, complained to the Inter State Commerce Commission that the Pennsylvania Railroad was making a special rate to the Universal Cement Co., and had refused to make a corresponding rate to them. In view of the fact that the Steel Trust is a heavy stockholder in the Pennsylvania, this protest has special significance, as illustrating how well the Big Interests are obeying the Roosevelt Rate Regulations." There has been feverish activity among them the past winter. There have been renovatings and exten-

sions and reorganizations throughout the Lehigh District. The small companies are greatly disturbed. And well they may be. A competitor who could absorb the great Atlas without creating a ripple in financial or political circles, will make short work of the lesser concerns. It will be as easy as a whale swallowing squid.

But this cement affair is only an incident in the great campaign the Money Power is conducting. In other departments of industry, similar incidents are taking place. It is indicative of the fact that the Money Power is now engaged in the final attempt to wipe out competi-



CONCRETE LOCKS—PANAMA CANAL.

tion in industry and establish complete monopoly.

From its lair in Wall St., its influence stretches out over the nation, like the tentacles of some mighty Octopus, winding about the basic industries: the mines, railroads, steel mills and cement plants. It has the banking system in its grasp and the government treasury is its willing servitor. The last piece of legislation it needed was the Aldrich-Vreeland Bill, giving it power to create money, backed by watered stock.

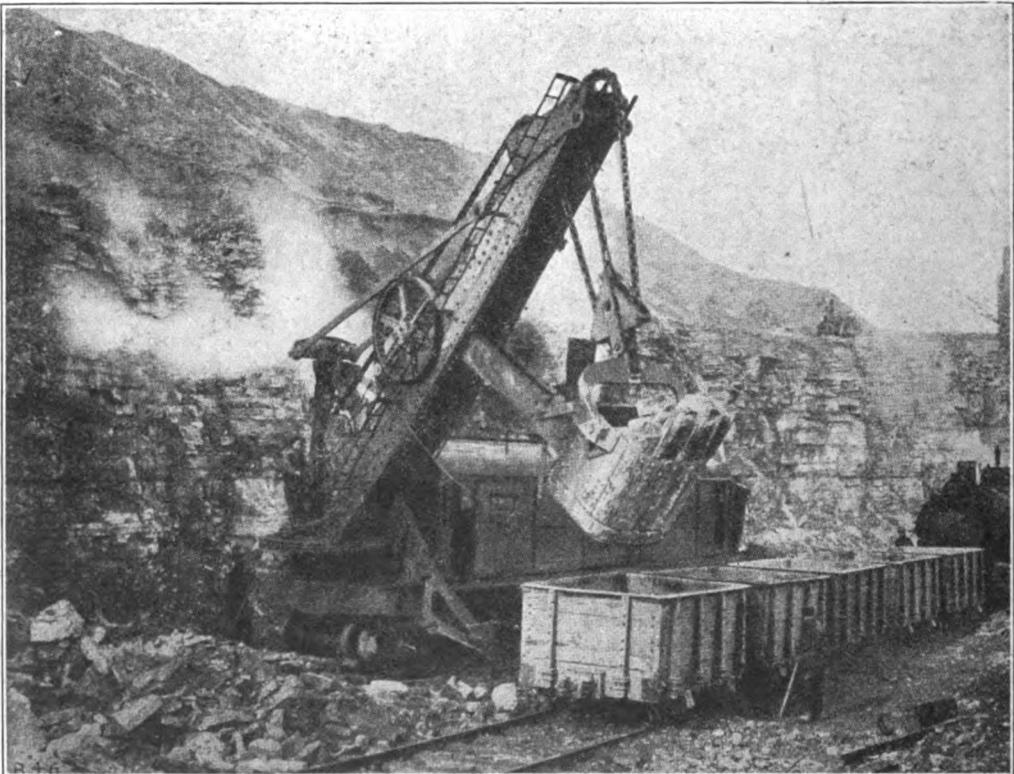
With control of the basic industries in one hand and control of the money of the nation in the other, how can the little capitalist live?

But the little capitalist is not going to yield quietly. He is awake to his danger at last. Though he cannot save himself from destruction, he is preparing to fight. Through the national victory of the Democratic party, he has gotten possession of the government. The Republican insurgents are but a part of the same movement. The little capitalist

class, having won political power is planning to use it. Congress now in session will undertake to carry out the wishes of the little fellows. There will be futile efforts put forth to destroy or at least, regulate the Trusts. Every "conservation" scheme will get a boost. The "Tariff" will be operated upon. The "wicked Lorimer," whose chief crime is that he lacks the finesse of a Root or a Penrose, is to be righteously evicted from the reformed Senate. The Supreme Court will—but no, we shall not attempt to guess what the "Elder Statesmen" may do. We are not informed as to which side they are on. The Oil and Tobacco decisions will tell.

Some theorists are inclined to think that political power is superior to economic power. They are about to see it put to the test as it has never been since Feudalism was overthrown.

It is very interesting to study the mental attitude of the two strongest men in the Democratic majority in Congress. Of Champ Clark, Speaker of the House,



STEAM SHOVEL LOADING CEMENT ROCK.

Ray Stannard Baker says: "Champ Clark looks backward for solution. He would use Jefferson's first inaugural address as a part of the Democratic platform." Of John Sharp Williams, Senator from Mississippi, he says: "Williams says: 'The remedy lies in the policy of tariff reduction and a strict and pitiless execution of anti-trust and interstate commerce laws.'"

These are the men who speak the mind of the little capitalist class. These would turn the hands of time backward. Competition is still an economic ideal before whose throne they bow. And the "Insurgents" are but little in advance. They too look backward to competition as an economic savior from the certain destruction before them. They are not modern thinkers, so they elect to fight to restore competition.

The forces about to engage are titanic. The little capitalist has numbers and the possession of the government and no

definite plans. The Big Interests have the pick of the brainy men developed in the fierce struggle for wealth and power, splendid industrial organization, and most important, control of the nation's financial resources. More than all this: these Trust leaders are alive to the trend of social development. They have abandoned competition as a principle of progress and accepted co-operation.

There can be no compromise in this struggle. The little capitalist must win to live. Yet he cannot win for the laws of nature work against him. Still his numbers make him formidable. On the other hand, the money power can stop the wheels of industry and prostrate the nation when it wills. The indications are that the present economic order will end, in America, in a convulsion.

Thinkers who have analysed the politico-economic situation see but one outcome—the inevitable—Industrial Democracy.

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## WHO IS THE FOREIGNER ?

BY

D. BOND

**T**HERE are but two nations in the civilized world. To which nation do you belong? Do you belong to the nation that lives by working, or to the nation that lives by owning? Some people who think they live by working in reality live by working the workers. Preachers, lawyers, capitalists and burglars are apt to be of this class.

"Workingmen of all countries, unite." That means unite in your own nation. The Chinaman, Jap, Mexican, Italian, Hungarian or Negro who works, belongs to my nation. He belongs to your nation if you both are doing needful work. On the other hand, Rockefeller, Morgan, Carnegie, Taft, Nicholas, Edward, Diaz, Alfonso, do not belong to your nation, no matter where they are born or where they live; no matter where you were

born or where you live. No matter what their race; no matter what your race.

When Taft circled the world hobnobbing with royalty, did he go down into the hut of the Russian peasant and drink his health? When he came West, how many hours did he spend in your shack consulting you about the common good? Did he call in and take dinner with you? In Los Angeles he took dinner with those who could pay \$25 a plate, did he not? Those who took dinner with him do no useful work. They work you. They belong to the Morgan-Edward-Taft-Nicholas-Diaz nation. Down at El Paso did Taft consult with the Mexican peon and the American wage-slave? He consulted with the arch-fiend Diaz how best to work the workers on both sides the **imaginary** line. How to keep you

and the peon thinking you are enemies belonging to different nations. How to insure that you should despise the Greaser, and the Greaser should hate you. These two lordly Greasers were greasing both of you.

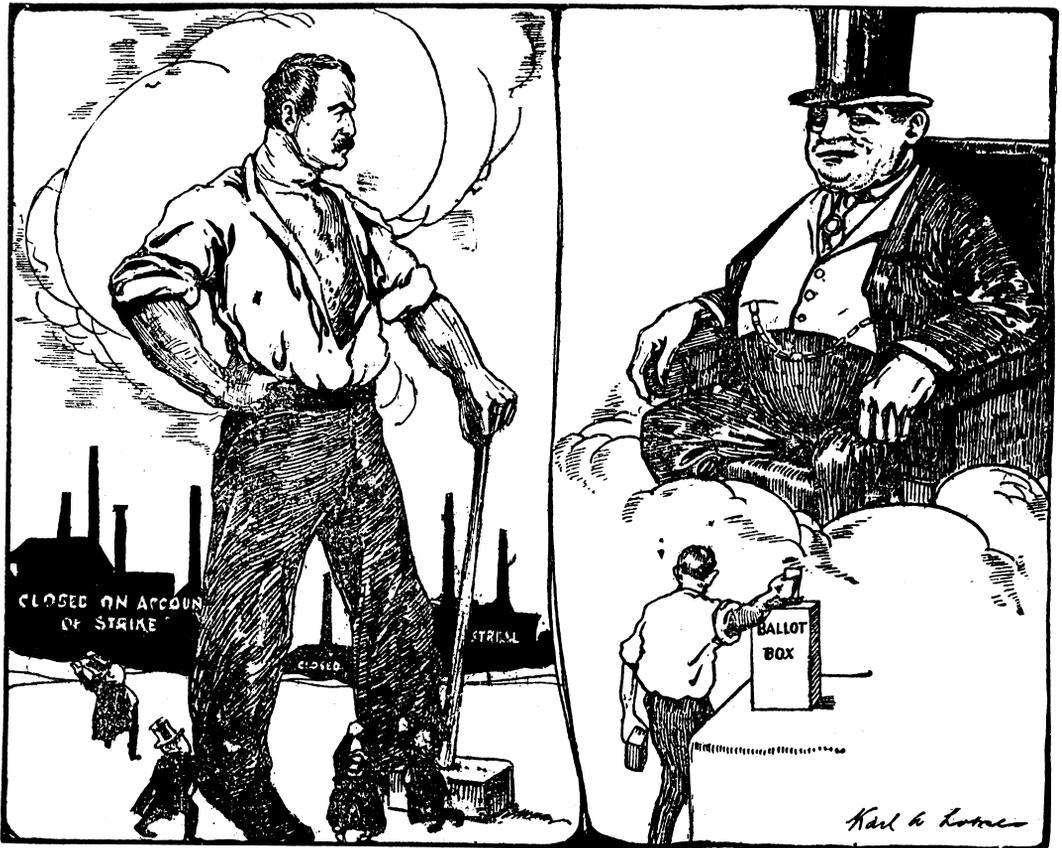
Taft and Diaz belong to one nation. You and the peon to the other. There are but two. Taft and Diaz are foreigners to you in fact. You should hold them so in thought.

Get out of your bogus patriotism. Get the genuine kind. My country is the world. Those who do useful labor are my countrymen, my compatriots. The

foreigner, the enemy, is oppressing my countrymen all over the world. They are breaking the backs of strong men. They are enslaving and debauching my country women. They are grinding the lives of our poor little ones into profits for their insatiable maws. They are none of them my countrymen. I have nothing in common with them.

Workingmen, get rid of your slavish idolatry. You set up such men as Bryan, Taft, Roosevelt—you set them up as idols. While you are worshipping your idols, their pals are rivetting ever faster your chains.

## WORKER and CAPITALIST



ECONOMICALLY

POLITICALLY

N. Y. CALL.

# WHAT SOCIALISTS WANT

BY

TOM JONES

**W**E SOCIALISTS are very greedy people. Give us an inch and we take a yard. Give us a city and we grab a nation—if we can. In fact, we want the whole earth—for the people who do the work.

That is why you, Mr. Working Man and Working Woman, ought to be socialists. There are already over ten millions of us scattered over the globe. And we are all working every day to make you see how the wage workers can join together to take possession of the machinery of production—the factories, the mills and the mines and the railroads—to own them in common, so that we shall have the fruits of our labor; so that we shall be free from bosses and the fear of “no jobs.”

When the Pilgrim Fathers came to America they established a good rule. They said, “Unless a man work, he shall not eat.” But times have greatly changed for the worse.

Today the socialists want to have the wealth produced by the workers OWNED BY the workers instead of by capitalists who have never built a house or made clothes or planted harvests.

If every worker employed by J. P. Morgan owned the things he made there would be no profits left for Morgan, and each workingman would be independent and wealthy. He would never need to ask help from any one. Socialism will make such a state of things possible.

When the working people own the factories and the mines; when they own the mills and the land and the railroads, they will be their own bosses. They will be free from want, free from anxiety and forever free from the fear of becoming jobless men and women.

No matter in what city you may happen to live, go down the streets until you come to the tenements or cottages.

There you may know dwell the people who produce silks and satins, who build houses and palaces, who feed the world and have nothing but meagre wages to show for it.

But as you walk up to the boulevards where are the palaces of the rich, you find the homes of those who DO NOT WORK, but who own everything.

It is Government that permits these rich men and women to own the factories and mines and allows them to appropriate EVERYTHING made by the people who work.

If you work in an automobile factory—you and your fellow-workers, your BOSS takes every automobile you make for his very own. He pays you barely enough to live on. Socialism proposes that the men who make automobiles shall OWN them. We propose to eliminate the rich man who does nothing but OWN factories, mills and mines, but who takes everything made by the working class.

Do you want to be independent? Do you want to be your own Boss? Do you want to own your own home with leisure to study, read, travel or loaf, as suits you best? Do you want to enjoy all the good things of life? Then join the Socialist Party and STUDY SOCIALISM. Join the organization that proposes that the workers shall be the kings upon earth; that proposes that men and women shall have unlimited opportunity to produce beautiful things and to OWN and enjoy them.

Socialists are greedy people. Give us an inch and we take a yard. Give us a city and we grab a nation. In fact, as I said before, we want the world for the workers. If you are a worker, you need us. Get in the game and help yourself to gain Independence, Leisure and every good thing in the world.



# COMPULSORY COMPENSATION OR STATE INSURANCE—WHICH?

BY

HENRY L. SLOBODIN

I HAVE pointed out some of the glaring defects of the British Compensation Act. But these defects may be remedied by legislation. I will take up the more fatal defects which no amount of legislation can cure, so long as the law is a compensation act and not a state insurance bill. The British Act excludes the "outworkers." The "Socialist" recommendations of our New York committee also excluded outworkers. Not that our comrades had anything against the outworkers, but the poor souls did not know better. Whenever a point was too distressing for their understanding, they simply put down "identical with the British Act." Now the outworkers embrace a numerous class of workers mercilessly exploited. More than any other group of workers do they stand in need of some relief. And, as is usually the case, they are the very last ones to be reached by it. We sing the "song of the shirt" so we may help a printer get an eight-hour day instead of a nine-hour day, but we forget all about the seamstress, and let her work eighteen hours, probably so we may have the "horrible example" always at hand. Even Socialists forget to include in their recommendations for relief the seamstress blinded by excessive toil at home.

Further, since the British Compensation Act provided that the employer shall pay compensation to his employe for bad health impaired while at work, it stands to reason that the employers and particularly the insurance companies took measures for submitting the employes to medical examinations. One may easily imagine the effect which these medical tests had in England. Workmen, otherwise efficient, were thrown out of work because, on medical examination, they showed impaired health. Without hav-

ing actual data on hand, such, I surmise, were the facts. After a lecture this winter in which I discussed the subject, a British seaman present in the audience made a statement that, after the passage of the Compensation Act, every employe on his ship was examined by a physician and thirty-two stewards were discharged because of their bad health. It is doubtful whether these thirty-two and the thousands of others whose existence was made still more precarious by the Compensation Act, will view it as an unmixed blessing. I am frequently told in answer: What if some workmen are discharged; other workmen take their places; in the end the work has got to be done by workmen. I say: It is cruel; it is against every instinct of class feeling; it is against the elementary idea of class consciousness and solidarity; to shift the entire burden of unemployment on the group of workmen least able to bear it—the sick, the weak, the aged. Moreover, it adds a new element of uncertainty to a workman's existence. It makes applying for a job frequently equal to applying for a life insurance. It makes the employer watch with suspicion and the workman to conceal furtively any symptoms of the workman's impaired health.

The British Workmen's Compensation Act has not resulted in a decrease of litigation. On the contrary. Said Mr. Low:

"During the short time the act has been in existence, it has given rise to much litigation, all of which, with but few exceptions, have been initiated by the workmen. In fact, the statement can be made with propriety that the dissatisfaction with the act comes from the workman."

And even the report of the Wainwright Commission admits that it cannot be said that the act has brought a large decrease of litigation. This means that the ex-

pense, the trouble and the uncertainty of the relief have not been materially affected.

Mention also must be made of the fact that neither the British nor the New York Act provides for any remedy to the workman in the event of the insolvency of his employer, excepting making the workman, to a limited extent, a preferred creditor.

The most serious consideration was given to the question of the constitutionality of the proposed New York law. The question was how will the courts deal with the law which would mark, in principle, a radical departure in labor legislation. The most important feature of the proposed law, which imposed a liability on the employer even if he was in no way to blame for the injury to his employe, presented a most significant innovation in the prevailing theories of government, of individual rights and of the rights of property. To expect that the courts will sustain the law was to have expected that the courts will reverse the course heretofore pursued by them. It was to have expected that the courts will admit the sovereign authority of the legislature to deprive an individual of his property without due process of law, which the courts construe to mean—a judicial decree. What grounds the commission had to expect that the courts will thus abdicate that peculiar ascendancy which was theirs since the times of Marshall, I failed to see. I wrote:

"There can be no question that in this country a state insurance law will have a much better chance to stand the test of constitutionality in our courts than a compensation to be paid by the employer.

"It is difficult to imagine a compensation law which would not run contrary to the established precedents contained in the court decisions, even if we should not consider the actual bias of the courts.

"In the light of those decisions, it will not be difficult for the employers to prove that the act which compels the employer to pay a compensation to his employe, regardless of the question of negligence, comes within the inhibition of the provisions of the federal and state constitu-

tions against the taking of property without due process of law.

"Again the law will have to contain a clause that any contract between employer and employe by which the employe waives his claim of compensation against the employer shall be null and void. This clause will very likely be declared unconstitutional on the ground that it is an unwarranted interference with the freedom of contract.

"Again, the act as submitted by our committee, excepts from compensation the "outworker" and the casual worker who works in most cases less than a week for the same employer. In the clothing trade many workers take their work home. They do not come within that law. Others work in the shop and are protected. As was held by our courts this would seem to be a case of class legislation. The courts held that if the law singles out one group from a class belonging to the same walk of life and extends privileges to, or imposes burdens on, them which are not extended to, or imposed on, the others of their class, then it is class legislation and, therefore, unconstitutional.

"Imagine the court declaring unconstitutional a Socialist law because the outworkers and the casual workers were unjustly discriminated against. But that is what may actually happen."

I am and always was in favor of the workers demanding the "whole loaf," whether the demand is constitutional or not. I am and always was in favor of the workers taking any part of the "loaf" they can get. But if of two measures one has many defects which the other does not show, the fact that, in addition, it shows on its face to be in conflict with the constitutional principles laid down by the courts, will not lend it grace in my eyes. But our Socialist committee went valiantly to the front with its Compensation Act, which was very much identical with the British Act. The Wainwright commission took out the little brain and nerve the draft had, and then offered it to the legislature. The legislature sucked the marrow out of it and scraped off the meat until there remained "a rag, a bone and a hank of hair," and

in this shape enacted it into a law. It was the most preposterous Workmen's Compensation Act. Nobody wanted it. The workmen least of all. No workman was so foolish as to avail himself of its provisions. I have inquired in vain for one case. Even in the offices of the accident insurance companies the answer to my inquiries was that no such fools have been as yet found. It served one purpose, however. The time was ripe for a measure of real benefit to the workers. If, instead of being satisfied and even elated with the opportunity to consort on friendly terms with a few labor ward heelers and capitalist politicians, the Socialist committee would have inaugurated a campaign of agitation and education among the workers, there was every reason to believe that the result would have been more tangible. But the committee was not the least conscious that anything was wrong with its work. On the contrary, it was constituted into a National Advisory Committee. With a cheerful innocence and naivete, that is the reward of those deprived of understanding or knowledge, it bestowed its advice on the comrades of many states who were seeking light on the subject of compensation or insurance of the workers. The committee has helped the Connecticut comrades. The results I do not know, but very much fear. It may have had a hand in the Compensation Act passed by the New Jersey legislature. I had an opportunity to have a glance at it just before its passage. It excluded cases of "wilful negligence." How negligence can be "wilful," and how anything that is done wilfully can be negligence, only New Jersey solons can figure out. And if I remember right, it also contains a provision allowing the employer to post a notice in his shop to the effect that the shop is working under the act. If the employer will do so, the workman will be presumed to have assented to the "risk" of coming within the act regardless of whether he really wanted it or not. The British Act gives the workman the privilege of suing first under the Employers' Liability Act, and if he fails he can still avail himself of the Compensation Act. Under the New York Act the workman must choose

his remedy and stand by it. The New Jersey Act leaves the choice to the employer.

On March 24, 1911, the New York Court of Appeals declared the Workmen's Compensation Act unconstitutional on the ground that it was in contravention of both state and federal constitutions in that it purported to authorize the taking of property without due process of law. The decisions did not create even a ripple of excitement. The workmen remained serenely indifferent. Says the New York Law Journal in commenting upon the decision: "We are glad to say that so far as our observation has gone there have been no signs of violent protest, no suggestion of revolutionary methods, but, on the contrary, a commendable disposition even on the part of those who not only heartily favor the legislation, but think the court is wrong in the law, to acquiesce in the result and consider what steps may be taken, notwithstanding the decision, to secure compensation for workmen in hazardous employments."

The members of our committee were undoubtedly pained to read that any one suspected the sponsors of the bill to harbor "revolutionary methods."

As for the workmen, there was no reason why they should bestir themselves. The affair was settled between a few "constructive" statesmen and labor and capital politicians. The workmen were not taken into their confidence. They remained as indifferent when the law was annulled as they were when it was passed.

\* \* \*

If some may find fault with my strictures on comrades whose devotion to the cause is well known, my answer will be that the subject merits the most earnest consideration. I regard it too serious to be squeamish in the choice of argument. The Socialist party has before it a task of far reaching import and sublime proportions. Can the Socialist party hope of achieving its mission by the method of little confabs of some of its choice spirits with very inferior politicians of labor and capitalists variety? Or shall we adhere to the method of unflagging agitation and

education of the workers, until they will give the mandate to the Socialist party by electing its representatives? This is query number one. Furthermore I hold that if the Socialist party must have conferences with capitalists and politicians, then it were more sensible if we addressed ourselves to the biggest capitalists and politicians and not to the smallest; to the Morgans and Rockefellers, the Roosevelts and Hearsts, the Gaynors and Harrisons, instead of the nameless labor skates and politicians of tenth rate variety. This relates to our policy in general.

Query number two relates to the subject in hand. It is—Shall we pursue the futile policy of agitating for compulsory compensation? Or shall we abandon this measure so full of pitfalls for the workers and which was held unconstitutional in every state where it was tried? I maintain that the Socialist party should urge upon the workers a policy of demanding obligatory state insurance of every worker against sickness, invalidity, accident, unemployment and old age. This method of relief is so superior to compensation by the employer that there can hardly be discussion on the subject.

State insurance will take from the employer all the incentive of defeating a recovery. He will no more be interested. The courts will have the least possible to do with the administration of the law. Litigation will be eliminated. The casual workers, the one-week workers, the out-workers, in short all workers will come under the law of state insurance.

Impaired health will not result in the loss of employment. There need be no medical examination, except when a workman applied for the benefit. The workman will not have to fear the insolvency of the employer and the loss of compensation in the event of a big accident.

Finally, the constitutionality of the law will have a much greater chance to be upheld. Certainly, even in that the courts will have the last guess. But it may be stated that state insurance does not come directly in conflict with the theory of government which our courts have adopted for this country. But I am urging the policy of state insurance in preference to compensation by the employer not on constitutional grounds alone, but principally on the grounds of the inherent superiority of state insurance.

Finally since the question will have to be ultimately decided under the federal constitution, the workers ought to demand first a national insurance law. We are fortunate now in having Comrade Berger in Congress. I am informed that Comrade Berger contemplates the introduction of an old age pension bill. There is no reason why he could not make it a bill for national insurance against sickness, accident, invalidity, unemployment and old age. With a concerted effort, the Socialist party can arouse the working class to demand the enactment of this law. And as to the courts? I will say with Mr. Dooley: "I don't know whether the constitution follows the flag, but the courts follow the election returns."



Steel Trust can run its ships and do business with serf labor for two years, it can do it for two years more under the same conditions. Why do the Lake Seamen not look the facts in the face and take counsel of their experience?

The special edition of the Coast Seamen's Journal devoted to the strike on the Great Lakes proclaims the second error in unmistakable language on its cover. A map of the world contains the names of the seamen's unions of all nations. Underneath the map in large print is a phrase expressing the ideal of the Seamen's Union and their Journal, "THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE SEA."

Now the map of the world looks good to the progressive union man and no one doubts the poetic quality of the phrase quoted. Yet our fellow-workers of the Coast Seamen's Journal are in error—error so colossal that we marvel that men who are accustomed to see the horizon in every direction can be longer blinded to the simplest facts. Now the most important fact which the thinking of the Coast Seamen's Journal omits altogether is just this. Ships not only sail the sea. They also get into port. When they touch land the sailors, having had enough of water, go ashore, change their drinks and rest. Other men—long shore men—proceed to unload the vessels. Sometimes the two groups of workers fall to fighting over the question as to who is to slave for the masters. On the docks of a Pacific Coast City a few years ago these two groups of union "brothers" proceeded to shoot holes in one another. Before they had made an end of their little difficulty the ship owners had shot holes in both their unions. Let us see what is happening on the Great Lakes. The Steel Trust owns the Lake Superior mines and the railroads connecting the mines with Lake Superior. It owns the ships in the docks. It owns its gigantic mills and at least one railroad south of Lake Erie—the Bessemer. But this isn't half the story. The Steel Trust is but a cog in a wheel of that great machine of organized capital which controls industrial trusts by the score, railroads, municipal service corporations

and practically the entire banking business of the nation. A few thousand Lake Seamen go on strike against this stupendous Empire of Industry, are thrashed to a frazzle—and then, with the smiling April sun which melts the ice on the Great Lakes, they come on again ready for their annual drubbing.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE SEA is, we fear, but a little brothers' brotherhood. Big Brother stays on land. Big Brother Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, the Steel Trust sent to the hospital some years back and the crepe is now tacked on the door. Most of the other Big Brothers are now an aged, sickly lot of fellows who have undoubtedly wept copious tears for the little brother of the sea, perhaps even passed resolutions of sympathy in the union, but what have they DONE? What CAN they do? When the Lake Seamen went on strike why didn't the miners of the Lake Superior go on strike too? Their conditions are worse than that of the sailors. And the 175,000 serfs of the Steel Trust in the mills—their slavery has been infinitely more brutal than is possible in the life of a sailor, to whom fresh air and fresh water at least are free.

We suggest a change in the motto of the International Seamen's Union. Let us have "THE BROTHERHOOD OF LAND AND SEA"—of the workers of the world. Is it not much more essential for the sailors of the Great Lakes to be united with the other serfs of the same master than to be united with a federated Seamen's Union of Australia? The map on the cover of the Coast Seamen's Journal LOOKS fine. It includes the whole world. The slogan should be "THE BROTHERHOOD OF LAND AND SEA. Paint it on the outside and inside of every door to a Seamen's Union Hall. ONE UNION AGAINST THE STEEL TRUST, AGAINST THE WHOLE EMPIRE OF INDUSTRY, AGAINST CAPITALISM, AGAINST THE NEW SERFDOM THE SEAMEN HAVE SO CLEARLY RECOGNIZED BUT HAVE NOT KNOWN HOW TO FIGHT.

# WHY LOW PRICES WILL NOT BENEFIT THE WORKING CLASS

BY

CLINTON L. SNYDER

Winner of First Prize Offered Study Classes.

“GIVE us lower prices, cheaper food, cheaper clothing, the grocer and clothier, the butcher and coal dealer are robbing us,” is the cry that is heard on every hand. “Down with the trusts and high prices so that a working man can live.”

You’ve heard it. Certainly. Perhaps you have been complaining along that line yourself. If so, I want to ask you a question: In the “good old days” before the trusts came, you bought a certain article, say for \$10.00. You say it was worth it, and you were not robbed. True. But tell me why you gave \$10.00 for it. Why could you not buy it for \$8.00? Why was the article and \$10.00 in money **equal in value**? Now, remember, if you cannot explain this intelligently, you cannot explain intelligently whether you pay more for things than they are worth today.

As a matter of fact, the wage-workers are the only ones that are robbed, and they are robbed in one place only, and that place is the slave pen where they work, be it factory, railroad, department store, postoffice or farm. The hand that pays you for your work is the hand that robs you. Remember that.

It is also true that lower prices will not benefit you (the worker) in the least, under industrial conditions as existing today.

In the first place, let’s take just a glimpse at the industrial world and see what conditions we have to contend with. (1) In the factories and workshops, farms and railroads, everywhere, we see men, women and children toiling **long hours** over machines that have increased their productive powers many fold. (2) As a

result of this labor-saving machinery, together with the necessity of those who operate that machinery, to work as many hours a day as ever, we see on the streets thousands of men out of work—looking for jobs. (3) We see labor **divided** into little ineffective craft companies, some flying their white flags of truce and merely looking on while others go to defeat after defeat single handed and unaided. (4) We see the capitalists united on the economic field regardless of craft, industry, race, color, age, sex, politics and religion—everything.

Their economic interests are identical and they know it.

That is enough. Now in the face of these conditions, do you workers who have been working and agitating spending time and money advocating measures that would merely “decrease the cost of living” do you think for a minute, that under these conditions you would be benefited by them? Not one iota.

## An Illustration.

Let us say that horses require on the average about 15 lbs. of hay and 6 qts. of grain daily to keep them in average working condition. Now if you own and work a horse you must provide it with that amount daily no matter whether the prices of hay and grain be **low or high**. Or you must give your man “John” daily, money enough to buy hay and grain enough to keep your horse in condition. Now if the prices of hay and grain fell, you and not the horse would be the winner, as the horse would only require the same amount of feed as before.

The same with the working class. They require the same amount of necessities

# THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE SEA

BY  
FRANK BOHN



COAST SEAMEN'S JOURNAL.

WHO IS CARRYING THE HEAVIEST LOAD?



ON THE Great Lakes has been fought for two years one of the bitterest fights in the history of the American labor movement. It has been bravely fought, and, in our opinion, lost. The Steel Trust set out to smash unionism on the lakes. To attain its object it combined the methods

of brute, spy, crook and habitual hypocrite. Back of the Trust was the power of the United States Government with its law of the sea. The Trust made use of the most highly developed black list ever invented and called it the "Welfare Plan for Lake Seamen." The seamen dubbed it the "Hellfare Plan."

Inexperienced boys and loafers have been hired as scabs for two years. Many lives have been lost, but it is cheaper for the Trust to lose a ship and cargo now and then than to pay living wages. Conditions of life for the workers on the lake fleets have been abominable. Independent ship owners have been forced by

the Trust to adopt its methods. Quite rightly does the Coast Seamen's Journal declare that the question is one between free labor and serf labor.

But the Coast Seamen's Journal and the heroic and persistent strikers miss the point—or rather the two points. The first is that the strike is lost. If the

yearly, be prices low or high. When prices fall, the unemployed eager to work for even the bare necessities of life; will work for a **wage that will buy those necessities** and take the jobs away from those working.

So "low prices" will not benefit you any more than they would the horse as long as you by doing the work of two men help to perpetuate the army of unemployed which acts as an automatic regulator and reducer of wages.

When you are agitating for "lower prices on the necessities of life," you are also agitating for lower prices on the commodity you sell labor power. When the prices of the necessities of life fall, wages will follow, just as sure as the mercury in a thermometer shrinks in cold weather.

Under existing conditions, high prices for labor power and low prices for the necessities of life, would be as great a phenomenon as a river flowing up the mountain, or rocks floating on the surface of the ocean.

#### History.

It is argued sometimes that Socialism

has never been tried and we do not know whether it would work or not. Well "low cost of living" ism has been tried, on a large scale, too, in England, after the repeal of the corn law.

How did it work? Excellent, i. e. for the employers. Wages once started downward did not stop where the cost of living did, but went still lower. Result—a lower standard of living for the workers. Who wants to see this repeated in America? Not the workers, surely.

In conclusion, I will say that it is of the utmost importance that the working class understand such things as this: "Will it benefit the whole working class?" That's the question to apply to every proposition that comes up and the way to find out whether it will or not is to apply the test of Marxian Economics. Education is the greatest need of the hour: without it, there is little hope. As education grows, organization will grow and hope will grow. An educated working-class will waste no time chasing will-o-the-wisps, but press on and on to Industrial Freedom.

Local, Peru, Ind.

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## THE "IRON HEEL" DRAMATIZED

BY

GRACE V. SILVER

**T**HE "Iron Heel," Jack London's celebrated novel, dramatized by W. G. Henry, is perhaps the first strictly Socialist play ever produced. There have been other plays teaching more or less Socialism but this is the first attempt to teach the principles of Socialist economics through the medium of a play. It is a drama of the class struggle. There is not the slightest attempt to conceal from the audience until some "psychological moment" the fact that they are to hear the awful word Socialism. Nor is there any attempt to catch popular applause by the tricks of the stage. There is humor in plenty;

there is wit and sarcasm; there is much argument, but it all has a purpose. There is not a dull passage in the whole play. Even the non-Socialist enjoys it and he learns much that he never knew before. So good a critic as Austin Lewis has said, "for propaganda work it transcends the best lecturer that ever was on the platform. People who could not have been persuaded to sit through a lecture listened with breathless interest to the lines of the play and showed their appreciation by tremendous applause."

"The Iron Heel" is a drama in four acts and five scenes, closely following the text of the novel. The play opens with a din-

ner on the veranda of Professor Cunningham's home. The Professor, who is already converted, his daughter Avis, an aristocrat by nature, Bishop Moorhouse and Ernest Everhard are introduced. Avis accuses Ernest of trying to foment class hatred. He denies the charge, and during the next twenty minutes the conversation deals with the class struggle in modern life. The Bishop clings to the idea that men "ought not to be" selfish; that capital and labor should walk hand in hand. He brands Everhard as a "bumptious fellow," and says "the church is amply capable of assisting the working class." Everhard replies with scorn: "Be true to your salt and your hire. Guard with your preaching the interests of your employers; but do not come down to the working class and serve as a false leader. You cannot honestly be in the two camps at once. The working class has so far done without you. Believe me, the working class will continue to do without you; and furthermore, the working class can do better without you than with you."

The second act, "The Machine Breakers," is a library scene. Everhard tells some business men of the middle class where they are at. They can no longer make profits on account of the trusts; they want to destroy the trusts—the great machine of modern life. When Everhard suggests that we "oust the present owners of the big machines and own those machines ourselves," they agree—till they learn that this is Socialism; then they will have none of it. Everhard then tells them where they will go—into the militia, and explains the workings of the Dick Militia Bill, of which they have never heard.

Strange as it may appear the second act dealing as it does with economics entirely, has been the best received of any portion of the play.

In the third act, "The Philomaths," Everhard tells some real capitalists of the army of the revolution, of its numbers and power, and that this army intends to take from them all that they possess. Wickson tells him that the masters will not turn over their power to the workers even if they win at the ballot box. He says:

"We will grind you revolutionists under our iron heel and walk upon your faces. The world is ours . . . and ours it shall remain as long as I and mine remain and those that come after us have the power. There is the word. It is the king of words—Power. Not God, not mammon, but Power!"

Ernest replies, in what is perhaps the strongest speech in the whole play:

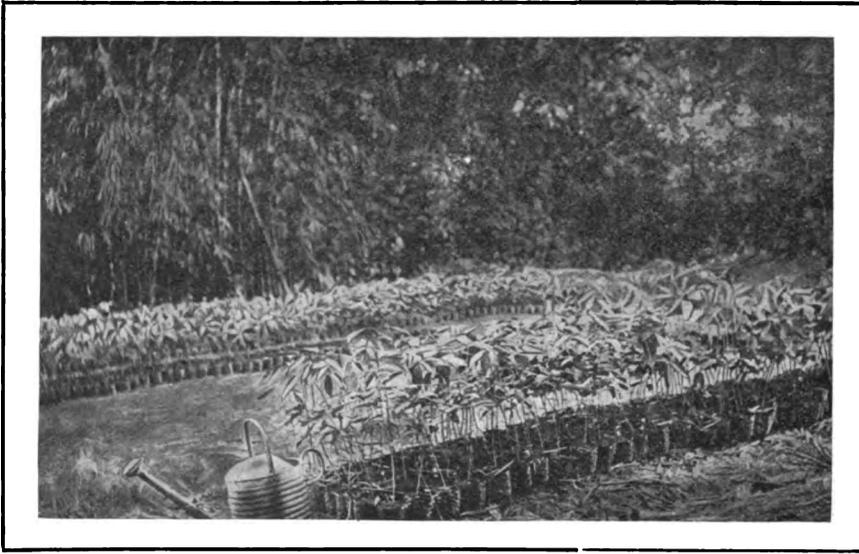
"That also we have considered, and we shall give you an answer in terms of lead. Power, you have proclaimed the king of words. Very good. Power it shall be! And in the day that we sweep to victory at the ballot box, and you refuse to turn over to us the government we have peacefully and constitutionally captured, and you demand what we are going to do about it, in that day I say we shall answer you, and in roar of shell and shrapnel and in whine of machine guns shall our answer be couched. . . . I agree with all that you have said. Power will be the arbiter as it always has been the arbiter. It is a struggle of classes. . . . And it matters not whether it be a year or ten or a thousand, your class shall be dragged down. And it shall be done by power. We of the labor hosts have conned that word over till our minds are all a-tingle with it. Power! It is a kingly word."

It is one of the most significant signs of the times that this closing speech to the Philomaths has repeatedly brought forth a curtain call.

The fourth act represents a meeting of the 'Frisco Reds on election night, November, 1912. Everhard and Avis settle their "affair" in a very brief but catchy love scene. Election returns are received by private wire and by telephone. They announce immense Socialist gains throughout the country. All are widely jubilant except Everhard who says:

"It looks like victory. I hope it is. But I am afraid the 'Iron Heel' will walk upon our faces. Of course, we will win in the end, but I shudder when I think of all we must go through."

More favorable election returns are received and a general jollification ensues while those on the stage joined by the audience sing the Marseillaise.



PARA RUBBER PLANTS IN BASKETS IN NURSERY ON "THE HILLS" READY FOR PLANTING.

## TROPICAL AGRICULTURE

BY

LINDLEY VINTON

**I**N THE earlier days spices, indigo, coffee tea, and sugar were the tropical products from which were gathered the wealth of the early Dutch agricultural traders, and of the famous East Indian Company. In the British Colony of British Guinea, and in the Dutch Colony of Suriname, the old maps show the entire borders of the river divided into estates, of which the records show us there were several hundred which had made their owners millionaires.

In more recent years greater attention had been paid to the development of the fruit products. Only a few years ago bananas were a rare luxury, but with the development of refrigerator ships the importation for the United States alone requires a fleet of one hundred vessels devoted exclusively to the banana trade. The United Fruit Company during the past year paid 18 per cent on its \$24,000,000 of capital, added \$2,000,000 to surplus and spent as much more on plantation development which was charged off to expense. A banana plantation yields its fruit within twelve months of planting, and once established

continues for ten or fifteen years, and will pay from forty to fifty per cent on the capital invested.

A cocoanut plantation yields nuts when four to five years old, and requires practically no care except the gathering of the nuts which fall from the trees for one hundred to one hundred and fifty years, and yield a profit of from fifty to one hundred per cent per annum on the total cost of bringing the plantation to maturity.

A lime plantation will produce in from four to five years, and there is a practically unlimited market for the citrate of calcium, made by boiling the juice of the ripened lime and combining it with chalk or lime. There is also an increasing demand in temperate climates for the fruit as a substitute for the lemon. Lime plantations are earning over one hundred per cent on the cost of their establishment.

Throughout the tropics, land which will produce as fine an orange as those grown on the Indian River in Florida, or the Redlands of California, can be secured for from \$2 to \$10 per acre, and will raise either in quality and quantity as fine an

orange as is grown in Florida or California on lands which are held for as many hundreds of dollars per acre. It is only a question of time until oranges will be carried in refrigerator ships as are bananas today.

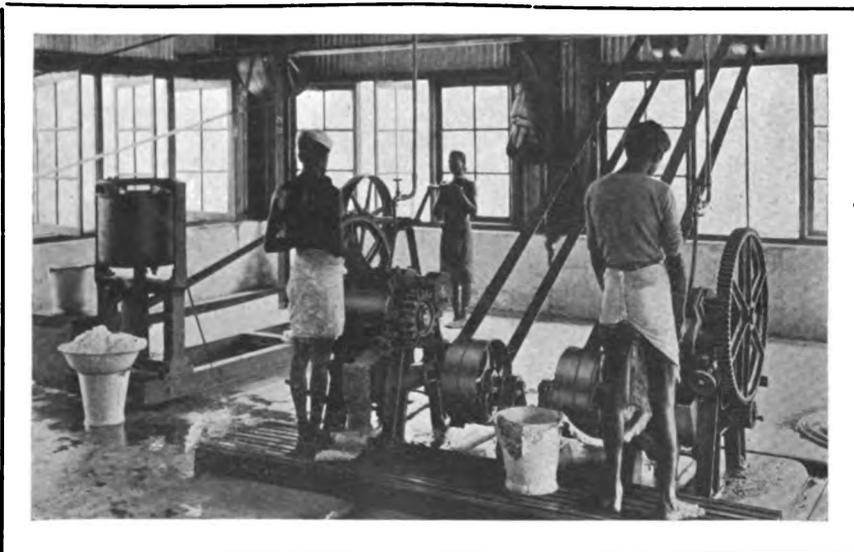
Not only have the tropics the physical conditions which go to make safe and profitable agriculture, but throughout the the tropics there is an abundance of cheap and efficient labor. The low wages paid in the tropics are not due to the inefficiency of labor, neither are they caused by oppression of the wage earner. It is the requirements of the laborer and the low cost of living which fixes the rate of wages. A laborer paid 24c to 48c a day in the tropics is receiving a larger number of days' subsistence than any farm laborer in the United States. It is to be remembered that he requires no fuel except to cook his meals, and such as is required for this purpose is at hand practically without cost. His clothing is only such as is required for the covering of the body and not for protection against the climate. His housing costs him nothing, for that is provided by the plantation, at the tenth part of what it would cost in temperate climates.

Five years ago the automobile industry did not use to exceed 10 per cent of the rubber of the world, but during 1910 it called for 60 per cent. In the United States there are about 400,000 motor-driven vehicles, and over 6,000,000 horse-driven.

Does any one question that within five years there will be more than double the motor vehicles in use today?

It is less than a hundred years since rubber first became known to the commercial world. About 1820 sailors coming from the Amazon wore a peculiar elastic shoe made in one piece from a sort of gum. It was found to be proof against water or the slush of melting snow. They told how the Indians gathered a milk from trees and by smoking it got this gum and molded it on their feet. The shoes were elastic and could be pulled off and on, and they were all right in cold or wet weather, but should they get warm they would run into a solid mass. This gum was the same which had been brought to London from the East and sold by the stationers in small cubes, called Indian rubbers, for erasing pencil marks. For thirty years practically the whole importation of rubber irrespective of the purpose for which it was to be used was in the shape of these shoes.

Owing to its stickiness it was very little used by itself, but mainly for manufacturing a waterproof material consisting of two fabrics with a layer of rubber between them. In 1844 Goodyear took out his first patent for vulcanizing rubber, making an article which was not affected by heat or cold, and retained its shape under all conditions, preserving its elasticity and other valuable qualities. This invention is the basis of the whole rubber industry of today.



RUBBER WORKERS—INDIA.

The first attempt to establish rubber planting was made in Mexico. The Hon. Matias Romero, formerly Minister to Washington, after having for a considerable time agitated the cultivation of rubber, started the development of a rubber plantation in the State of Chiapas, in 1876, by planting 100,000 trees. There are many varieties of rubber-producing trees, and Romero selected *Castilleja Elastica*, which is indigenous to Mexico, and his lead was followed by nearly all of the Mexican and Central American planters. Instead of small experiments in the hands of scientific men, the Mexican plantations were large, poorly cared for, and finally, for lack of capital, many were abandoned. It was ten to twelve years before there was any yield of rubber and the tree could be tapped only once a year, yielding but a small quantity which commanded about 60 per cent of the price of Para. In spite of these handicaps some of the Mexican plantations have survived and now show a fair agricultural return; but there is no promise in any of them of such profits as were anticipated.

It was not in such a manner that the problem was to be solved.

Agricultural products are not, like the products of manufacture, the creation of man's inventive brain and the work of his hand, or that of the machine he has made. Nature gathers the elements and herself furnishes that principle of life which is the beginning of growth and defines the broad lines on which she will permit development.

Nature gives the germ and type of every plant and it is still Nature that develops and brings to perfection the wonderful products of our varied agriculture; but Nature studied, understood and helped by man.

Neither in quality nor in quantity will Nature unassisted satisfy the wants of man; but she responds richly to his aid. The agriculturist can no longer depend on what he calls common sense. In the management of his property he requires the services of the botanists to study plant life; the entomologist to tell him the life history of the insects that destroy his plants and how to cope with them; the chemist to teach him in what elements his soil is deficient and how to improve it, to analyze his products and show him how to increase their valuable qualities; the bacteriologist to study for him the harmful and the useful bacteria; and the mycologist, the plant physician, to examine his plants, when an unknown disease appears, to study the form of fungus or other vegetable growth that threatens to spread over the plantation. Each of them is studying some one phase of Nature and learning to restrain or direct her force.

Great Britain has her Department of Agriculture centered at Kew Gardens, London, and in each of her colonies there is a Director of Agriculture, a graduate of Kew Gardens, and under him a corps of trained agriculturists in charge of experimental stations. In the work of this department many things are done which would be beyond the means of the individual. Experi-



RUBBER WORKERS—INDIA.

ments are carried on from which there can be no commercial profit or other device to recompense the individual for his time and the expense of his experiments. In Ceylon they initiated the cultivation of cinchona. The tree grew in the forests of Peru, but so great was the labor of gathering its bark and so small the yield in quinine that only those who could pay \$4.00 an ounce could use this specific for fevers, but when in Ceylon the tree was planted and cultivated by the advice and assistance of the Government, the planters were able to earn profits of 100 per cent while selling it for a shilling and a half an ounce.

To the Agricultural Department of the East Indian Government is due the credit of establishing the cultivation of Para rubber; and in the thoroughness of its work, in its importance to the technical world, and in the profits it has assured to the Malayan planters it has scored one of the greatest triumphs of scientific agriculture. Careful and exhaustive experiments for over twenty years, by the agricultural department, preceded commercial exploitation.

The rubber of the Revea is the most elastic and of the quality best suited to all important uses, commanding a higher price in the market than that of any other variety. Although in the forest the tree struggling for light and food does not grow to tapable size in less than 15 to 20 years, on the plantation where each tree was given its proper light and amount of land it attained in five years a girth of 20 inches, the then accepted size for tapping.

Its most important advantage is one which it shares with no other species of rubber producing plants, that of "wound response." It has been found that if a tree is tapped, and after a few days it is again lightly tapped by scoring off a thin shaving or by pricking the tapped surface the flow of latex will be greater than at the first tapping, and that this can be continued for a considerable time.

The yield from a tree will vary with its size, and the experiments of the Government showed a yield of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a pound the first year of tapping,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  pounds the second, 2 pounds the third, 3 pounds the fourth, with a steady increase.

An interesting tapping experiment with eight 17-year-old trees growing round the

churchyard at Parit Buntar, in the Krian District of Perak, has given after one year's tapping every other day, an average of  $29\frac{1}{2}$  pounds of dry rubber per tree. The average girth of the trees was 54.87 inches at three feet from the ground.

If we admit that progression is the same whatever the age of the trees when first tapped, what is the usual progression? Is it too much to take 100 lbs. for the first year of tapping, 200 lbs. for the second year, 300 lbs. for the third, and 400 lbs. for the fourth and following years? If some think that 100 lbs. is excessive for the first year, none, we feel sure, will say that 200 lbs., 300 lbs., and 400 lbs. for the following years is too high. From personal experience we know that on several well known estates the yields from areas four years old range from 125 to 150 pounds per



TAPPING RUBBER TREE.

acre, whilst those from seven to eight years old range from 500 to 700 and even 800 pounds per acre.

As to diseases and insects attacking the plants, the only serious ones were found to be a white ant and a form of fungus. The former was bred in the stumps and trunks of dead rubber trees, where they had either blown down or had been cut out in thinning. The remedy was the complete eradication of all rubber stumps and removal of dead logs. The ants, curiously, never bred in the stumps of the other varieties of trees left in clearing the forest. The fungus was mainly due to bad drain-

age and was easily destroyed by removing this defect and where necessary, by spraying.

The cost of growing rubber, including all expenses of management, shipping and London expenses, is from one shilling to one shilling six pence. As the labor of tapping and gathering on an acre of trees producing one pound each in a year is little less than when the trees produce four pounds each, estate managers are predicting that in a few years the best estate will lay rubber down in London at a total expense to the plantation of six pence a pound.

## A SERIOUS BLUNDER

BY

LOUIS B. BOUDIN

COMRADE BERGER has blundered seriously, dangerously. The introduction by him into Congress of the Joint Resolution on the amendment of the Constitution as to the President's veto power, the Senate, and the right of the Judiciary to declare legislation unconstitutional, is one of those unfortunate blunders easily committed but hard to retrieve. It is not the purpose of these lines to berate Comrade Berger for his mistake: that would be as useless as it would be easy. Besides, I do not consider the blunder due to Comrade Berger's personal fault, but rather to the shortcomings of our movement. For years the study of all serious subjects, historical, political and economic, has been sadly neglected, in fact discouraged, in our movement. Small wonder, then, that our representatives exhibit a woeful lack of knowledge when the occasion demanding serious knowledge arises. So I shall limit myself to a mere statement of the blunder, and a suggestion of a possible way of lessening its damaging effect. I cannot leave, however, the subject of culpability without calling attention to the responsibility of our National Executive Committee in the matter. While Comrade Berger personally may be excused because the

movement has not properly prepared him for the task now thrust upon him, no such excuse can be urged on behalf of the National Executive Committee. That committee has at its command the entire resources of the whole movement. And surely, our movement as a whole is not so poor in the requisite knowledge as not to be able to deal with the subject intelligently.

That a grievous error has been committed in including the Judiciary powers in the resolution for an amendment to the Constitution is plain to any one familiar with the history of this country and the development of its institutions, and having a fair knowledge of the practical exigencies of the present political situation in the United States. The usurpation by the Judiciary, both Federal and State, of the powers of legislation, by the exercise of the power to annul legislation on the ground of alleged unconstitutionality, is the principal weapon of the capitalist class of this country in its subjugation of our working class. Unlike, however, the other and inferior weapons at its command, such as the President's veto-power and the Senate, this weapon was never given our ruling class by the Constitution itself. It is sheer usurpation. It there-

fore forms the most vulnerable point in its defences. Hence its great sensitiveness on this point. You can attack the veto-power, or the Senate, as much as you like, and they will complacently laugh at you. But you cannot say anything about the usurpation of the Judiciary without bringing them into a rage. Even our so-called "radicals," who glibly talk about the "treason of the Senate" and similar matters, fight shy of the question of the usurpation of the Judiciary, and never mention it, on the rare occasions when they do, above a whisper. They are mortally afraid that the people might find out the truth.

And for the same reason this is the most potent weapon we have at our command in our fight against capitalism in this country. We should, therefore, never tire of telling the working class of this country this most important truth. We should never tire telling them not only of the enmity of the courts to labor, but also that the power which gives this enmity its great importance has never been granted them by the Constitution, and is based on sheer usurpation. When the people wake up to a realization of this fact, an awakening so justly dreaded by the capitalist class, there will be no further necessity of amending the Constitution. It is around this point that the great struggle between capital and labor will be centered. And it is at this point that we must hammer incessantly.

But our blows have lost most of their power when we have admitted that it is a question of constitutional amendment. To propose a constitutional amendment involves the admission that the Constitution as it stands at present gives the Courts that power. This admission is further emphasized by the linking of this amendment with the proposed amendments abolishing the president's veto-power and the Senate, both of which were distinctly created by the Constitution. But it means more than that. It means a shifting of responsibility from the courts and the capitalist class to the people, and a long and futile agitation for an amendment which is as hopeless

as was the case of the negro-slaves when left to the good-will of the masters.

No sane person now believes that any important amendment to the Constitution stands the ghost of a chance of being adopted by the regular method provided in the Constitution itself. The U. S. Constitution is for all practical purposes unamendable. Comrade Berger, with that fine revolutionary instinct which sometimes distinguishes true leaders of the proletariat, recognized this fact when he introduced his Joint Resolution for the calling of a Constitutional Convention. That was a proclamation of the fact that the present method of amending the Constitution is a mockery. He should have stuck to that position, and refrained from offering any regular amendments. The introduction of any regular amendment was a mistake. But we could stand it in the matter of the president's veto-power and the Senate. We cannot stand it in the matter of the courts. It paralyzes our striking arm.

What shall be done now?—is a matter for the party to say. For my part I suggest that the National Executive Committee ask Comrade Berger to at once introduce a resolution in Congress that the Constitution never gave the Courts the right to annul legislation; that this power has been usurped; and that this usurpation should no longer be acquiesced in. This should be followed up by the introduction of a carefully prepared bill amending the Judiciary article of the U. S. Revised Statutes so as to entirely reconstruct our court system with a view to carrying out these ideas.

I know that neither such a resolution nor such a bill has any chance of being adopted. Nor has Comrade Berger's present resolution. Only Comrade Berger's present resolution is vicious in principle and paralyzes our agitation, whereas the steps I suggest are sound in principle and would greatly enliven our agitation.

There are a number of other things that I would like to say in this connection, but I consider the matter too important to obscure the main point by a discussion of minor matters.

# HAYWOOD DEFENDS McNAMARA

HE GOES WEST ADVOCATING GENERAL STRIKE ON DAY McNAMARA TRIAL BEGINS



**A**T ONE of the greatest Socialist meetings ever held in St. Louis, William D. Haywood proposed the general strike on the day the great McNamara trial at Los Angeles opens. Comrade P. H. Rieman, the Secretary of the Haywood Meeting Committee, writes that the meeting "was a howling success in many ways. The Capitalists, the capitalist press, union and non-union men all howled in their own way. Our hall was packed to the doors and then some. It has rained continually for three days. Had it been a nice day, I have no idea what we would have done with the crowd. The interest and the enthusiasm has never been surpassed in St. Louis. And when Comrade Haywood presented his manifesto calling for a general strike the day the McNamara trial begins, the applause was simply a roar." Fifty thousand of the manifesto were ordered printed and a committee of 100 selected to attend to their distribution.

The capitalist papers of St. Louis seized unerringly upon the phase of the meeting most dangerous to capitalism. In black headlines they indicated their opinions of Haywood's proposition. The Republic and The Globe-Democrat each gave two solid columns in reporting the meeting. The Republic followed with a long editorial attacking "Mr. Haywood's Pessimism." Thus the revolutionary message of Haywood went into every home in St. Louis.

The Secretary of the local at Springfield, Mo., writes that for the first time in the history of the movement the capitalist papers were forced to take notice of a Socialist meeting. So large and enthusiastic was the meeting that the capitalist papers did not dare to attack Haywood's position outright. "The articles printed were long, but inclined to treat us fairly, or nearly so, with a lame apology for existing conditions," writes Comrade Fox.

As this copy of the REVIEW goes into the hands of its readers, Haywood will be speaking in Minneapolis. Minneapolis Comrades write that they have secured a hall with a seating capacity of 2,500, but they do not know what to do with the crowds that wish to come. From there Haywood will proceed through the Dakotas to Butte, Mont., where he speaks on "Miner's Day." "Miner's Day" is the festive occasion of the greatest mining camp in America. Ten thousand miners with their families will hear Haywood in the open air. The comrades at Anaconda, Montana, first wrote us very distressing news. The real "Crime of Amalgamated" was never told by the vociferous Tom Lawson. Some years ago the Socialist Party carried Anaconda. Amalgamated Copper blacklisted 1,000 workingmen, drove them out of town and broke up the Socialist Party there. The few Socialists at Anaconda remain incognito. Amalgamated spies infest the whole town. It was not possible to hold a meeting.

Just before going to press we received the following telegram:

Charles H. Kerr, Chicago, Ill.:

Butte local has exchanged dates with Anaconda. Butte local gives Anaconda June 14th in exchange for June 22nd. Letter following gives full particulars.

The whole West has recognized that the McNamara case is another Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone case. The word has been spoken. The workers must do for McNamara even more than they did for Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone. McNamara must not be permitted to languish a year and a half in jail without trial. He should be at once returned to Indiana and treated with at least that degree of justice for which the capitalist law itself provides.

Haywood will hurriedly proceed through the North-West, speaking in the larger cities, and then enter California. Where halls large enough to hold the crowds cannot be secured, we urge that overflow meetings in the open air be held. The REVIEW will be quite satisfied with the subscriptions which come from those which enter the hall. If McNamara is not liberated by the time Haywood leaves California, he will proceed to the great industrial centers of the East. It was the voice of the working class of the whole Nation which sounded in the ears of the Colorado-Idaho mine owners' associations in 1906-7.

#### THE WORKING CLASS CAN FREE McNAMARA.

**HAYWOOD DATES:** May 21st, Minneapolis; 26th, Virginia, Minn.; 27th, Duluth; 28th, St. Paul; 30th, Aneta, N. Dak.; June 1st, Ellendale, N. Dak.; 4th, Pierre, S. Dak.; 6th, Grand Forks, N. Dak.; 7th, Devils Lake, N. Dak.; 8th, Minot, N. Dak.; 9th, Ray, N. Dak.; 10th, Williston, N. Dak.; 13th, Butte, Montana; 14th, Anaconda; 15th, Butte; 17th, Rigby, Idaho; 19th, Rexburg, Idaho; 21st, Great Falls, Montana; 22nd, Butte. Locals in Washington, Oregon and California desiring dates should write or wire at once.

# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE CALIFORNIA LABOR PARTY

BY

FRANK BOHN

In connection with this article it will be remembered that San Francisco is the only city in America in which a Labor Party of any consequence has developed. It has controlled the government of that city for several years. The first Labor mayor, Schmitz, was backed by political boss Abe Ruef, the representative of the powerful gambling, red-light and liquor elements in San Francisco politics. Both Ruef and Schmitz were sent to jail for grafting. Even this untoward event, however, did not keep the Labor Party from again controlling the city. The present mayor, McCarthy, is the boss of the building trades unions. As might have been expected, a considerable element of the Socialist Party membership in San Francisco wished their Party to be absorbed by the Ruef-Schmitz-McCarthy crowd. For an account of the struggle in the Socialist Party Local with results, readers are referred to the "News and Views" department.—EDITOR.

**N**EW POLITICAL PARTIES in America do not develop every time a policeman nabs a yegg for not dividing his graft with the "government." Neither do they perish each autumn from the frost and bloom anew with the spring flowers. In American history a strong national political party, competent to seize and hold the government in the interest of the people back of it, has come only once in a generation. Each time it has represented the interest of a distinct class or coalition of classes and has flourished unto victory as the class it represented has grown in numbers and wealth. Those which have weakened or perished, lost their power only when industrial evolution weakened or destroyed the class which made them necessary.

A party results from the vital forces of history. Before it can develop, the economic life of the nation must produce a social class which measures up in numbers, wealth or physical prowess, with the other social class or classes which are represented by parties. The European aristocracy ruled by the power of the sword. The modern plutocracy, in all nations, rules by the power of wealth. The power of the medieval church as a governing machine was developed largely from the influence which the only great body of trained intellect in society exerted over the blind ignorance of all social classes.

## THE GREAT PARTIES.

In the United States there have been just five great parties. Each one of these represented a class which at times ruled the land and at other times divided government with an equally powerful social class or classes. These parties have been the Federalist, the Democratic, the Whig, the Southern Slavocrat, and the Republican.

The Federalist party represented the commercial capitalist class before the rise of manufactures.

The Jeffersonian Democratic party was the party of small property holders, business men and farmers, who made war on the aristocracy of finance and commerce. The Jacksonian Democratic party was this party of Jefferson, tremendously increased in numbers and power by the addition of the mighty farming class of the frontier and many of the newly enfranchised wage workers of the eastern cities.

The Whig party was the party of the manufacturing capitalists after the comparative decline of American ocean commerce.

The Slavocrat party at first "bored from within" the Democratic and Whig parties, skilfully compromising with both dominant social classes of the North. Only in 1860 did it have a party wholly its own—the southern section of the Democratic party.

The Republican party was at first a coalition of a majority of the farmers, capitalists and wageworkers of the North. The capi-

talists wanted to keep the southern markets. The wage-workers wanted the western lands kept free for their possession. The farmers wanted both the southern markets and the western lands. Since the war the wage-workers have counted for nothing in the Republican party. The farmer influence has decreased from fifty per cent to one per cent. The influence of the great capitalists has increased from fifty per cent to ninety-nine per cent.

The Northern section of the Democratic party, since the war, has been the party of the farmers and small business men when out of power, and one of the parties of plutocracy, when in power. This is proved by the present status of William Jennings Bryan on the one hand and Governors Wilson of New Jersey, Dix of New York, Baldwin of Connecticut and Harmon of Ohio, on the other.

No other classes, and hence no other parties, ever had a "ghost of a show" to rule America. A great party implies and includes various elements of power. These must be systematized into a working force by the experience and responsibility which ultimately train those who direct its course. It springs fundamentally, as we have said, from the interests of a social class. It naturally produces a system of political philosophy or quickly adopts one of long standing and bends its tenets to suit its political needs. It is absolutely essential that those who are gathered in its ranks, especially those who do its pioneering, feel themselves the equals of their opponents in the power of knowledge. Party pride must develop. Also a steady enthusiasm for party ideals. These arise from a full consciousness of the fact that the class it represents can rule the land—from a profound belief that it alone can rule the land well.

In 1828 and 1860 the Western farmers sneered at the Eastern intellectuals who declared that Andrew Jackson or Abraham Lincoln were too ignorant to be president. So even do the revolutionary workers today, when maintaining the dignity and capacity of their class.

Quite a number of small and some quite large political organizations beside the main parties have developed. But in the very nature of things these lesser movements were doomed to ultimate failure.

They may be divided into four groups. It should be noted that we omit from these groups the Liberty party and the Free Soil party, which were the seed of the Republican party.

#### THE SMALL PARTIES.

The FREAK parties numbered two, the Anti-Masonic and the Prohibition. The Anti-Masonic party developed in the thirties of the last century and was an attempt to destroy the order of the Free Masons, which, it was thought, was dangerous to the welfare of society. The Prohibition party requires no comment.

The PARTIES OF SUBTERFUGE have also been two. They were the American or Know Nothing party and the Constitutional Union party. We do not mean by the descriptive name of this pair that subterfuge is a quality never practiced by other political organizations. But the two mentioned, the second of which in reality was but a continuation of the first, were developed for no other purpose than to dig holes in the sand for ostrich heads. The great struggle over slavery was nearing its climax. The citizens of the border states and many elsewhere, after the break up of the Whig party, dared not face the issue. So they made for themselves a house of straw and later, by changing its name and its supposed principles, tried to turn it into a bomb-proof. When the present class-struggle nears its revolutionary climax, similar parties will again develop. They will furnish a partial political refuge for trimming middle class elements and for hypocrites and cowards from among the classes at war.

The GREAT MAN parties have been curiously logical in their sequence. Of these there have been three. There will never be another. In an age of extreme individualism, when the farmers and small business people were independent and the individual was exaggerated in every phase of the Nation's life and thought, we find a great party organized about a really great man—Andrew Jackson. The mighty influence of the strenuous frontiersman is shown in the amazing inconsistency of policy which characterized his party. His individual prominence is proven by the fact that he was elected before his organization had crystallized. Then, in an age of democracy run mad, he reared a political despotism which

leaped from this extreme to that. This was the only time in American history when great national policies were profoundly influenced by the character and acts of an individual.

The second of these movements was that of Henry George. He made an effort to form a compromise policy which would weld together the decadent middle class of the large cities and the growing organizations of labor. The middle class pulled him back and the working class was disorganized. A part was chloroformed by the American Federation of Labor. A part moved on beyond the grasp of his son and heir—toward Socialism. Timely death cut short a hopeless career. Henry George was a man of mental parts and of high character. But of the real forces which moved modern industrial society he knew as little as a Tasmanian Bushman knows of an electrical dynamo which he sees for the first time.

The DEATH-BED parties are the fourth group of minor political organizations which have developed in America, and a marvelous group they have been. The first one was the New England Federalist crowd after the complete downfall of this party of commercial capitalists and the beginning of the War of 1812. It tried to start a secession movement in New England. There were hints of rejoining the British Empire. They bitterly opposed the War of 1812 because it injured their trade. Stewing in their own gall, they died at the return of peace and five years later no one could be found who would admit that he belonged to the New England Federalist party in its last days.

The Ku Klux Klan Democrats were active during the Reconstruction period following the Civil War. These tried to perpetuate slavery and prevent the Republican party from gaining a foothold in the South. They used shot-guns and bowie-knives and stuffed ballot-boxes until their various methods developed into a fine art. Their slogan was "the Negro must not rise." They have, even to the present, been more or less successful. But the slow moving forces against them are resistless. One of the blindest fallacies known to American history is the view that black slavery in the South completely perished during the Civil War. But it is now, in reality, passing.

The Anti-Negro Democrats of the South are the Death Bed party of the old social system which lingers after its industrial basis has been swept away.

The Death-Bed party of the American farmers and small business classes was at first the Greenback party and later the Populist party. The Republican and Democratic crowd of "Insurgents" from the Middle West is the poodle dog heir of the Populist party. Fifteen years ago, under Bryan, this element showed fight. At present it can merely whine in the house of its master.

#### THE LAST OF THE DEATH-BED PARTIES.

The "Labor" party of the old time craft-unions is the last of the Death-Bed parties. It differs from its predecessors only in that it is dying in its infancy. Its first feeble efforts to clothe its hopeless soul in the flesh and blood of earthly substance resulted in still-births. When at last in California it was nursed into life, the bills were secretly paid. It was even then told about town that the paternal ancestor was quite respectable and that the swaddling clothes were of rich fabric. The "Labor" party on the Pacific Coast, as in Australia and in England, was brought forth with the collar of plutocracy riveted about its neck. Had it been launched twenty years ago such a party in America might have grown into considerable strength. But the cause of the present death rattle in the throat of the infant is not difficult to discover.

Again and again and again does the Socialist party proclaim the fundamental fact of all social and political life in this generation. Tools are being replaced by machines. The skilled workman is relegated to the scrap heap with his old fashioned means of production. Unemployment and child labor grow with the machine process. Machines make necessary great capital, the corporation and the trust. The latest product of machines is the industrial empire of America. This empire has raised into power a selfish, vulgar, insolent and brutal ruling class of the great rich. To make war upon this empire in the interest of labor we must unite the whole working class. This is easy because its old time natural divisions—craft divisions—have largely disappeared. To

conquer the empire of industry we must fight with one purpose in view—its destruction. More and more are the Socialists recognizing that instead of "Join the union of your craft," we must say to the workers, "Organize one big union." Instead of singing that old song, "A Fair Day's Wages for a Fair Day's Work," and similar contemptible rot, we must urge the workers to take possession of their whole product. The feeble claim expressed by "let the unions run the political government," we must smother with the final message of the labor-union in this age, "Let one big union own and run the whole nation—its lands, its machines, and its industrial government."

#### HOW DO THE CRAFT UNIONS MANAGE TO LIVE?

Three types of the old fashioned unions have a chance to continue during the present and the immediate future. First, those which are *bona fide*—which are composed of members in trades where tools are still used. Second, those which, though they should long ago have been buried, are kept above ground as ugly scare-crows to frighten the workers out of really organizing. Third, those which are used either by the great capitalists to beat down the middle class capitalists, or by the middle class capitalists to make head against the trusts. The first and the third of these groups can increase wages and improve industrial conditions only by organizing job-trusts and, through high dues and high initiation fees, making war on the unorganized, the young and even upon the members of their own unions who have come from other cities.

Of the first class the plumbers, the brick layers and the cotton cloth printers may be given as examples. Of the second class, the International Boot and Shoeworkers Union. Of the third class nine-tenths of the remaining craft unions in America.

#### THE "TRIUMPH" IN SAN FRANCISCO.

In San Francisco the "victory" of the craft unions and their political party was made possible because of two of the conditions mentioned above. In the evolution of capitalism in that great center of the economic life of the Pacific Coast region, the struggle between the great and the small capitalist was perhaps

fiercer than in any other city in the world. The anti-trust sentiment among the mass of the population was intense. The middle class laid hold of this sentiment in order to use it against the great capitalists. Then the great capitalists set to work to capture the unions. The craft union leaders were shrewd enough to play their game hard. The building trades unions, the back-bone of the San Francisco labor organizations, made a coalition at first with the small contractors against the great contractors, then with the great contractors against the small contractors. The builders association, the real estate men and the property holders in general were constantly re-aligning their forces with the fortunes of war. Now the building trades fought on this side and now on that. And they temporarily gained much.

In this, the greatest sporting city of its size in the world, the labor leaders in politics coalesced with the whole sporting fraternity. They marked the cards and won the game.

Then came the earthquake and fire. The building trades clinched their grip on the throat of the property interests. Some trades secured a dollar an hour wage. Mountain wall initiation fees and closed books shut out competition and developed the job trust in each of the building trades. To retain this position they must continue to hold political power. Incidentally they did exactly what American politicians since the time of John Hancock have done. They feathered their nests. Their enemies caught them "with the goods on," sent the leaders to jail, and thought that they had thus destroyed their power. But they reckoned without their host. The old party machines had practically ceased to exist. The rank and file of the "Labor" party could not be again led into the old ways. Capitalism, great or small, forced back on its haunches, will trim and make peace with God, Man, Devil, or all three of them at once. The predominant capitalist interests of the city were those which controlled real estate, building construction, commerce and banking. These agreed to turn down the manufacturing interests in order that San Francisco might maintain its hold on the West as the gateway to the Pacific. It conceded the eight-

hour day, high wages to the craft unionists, and political jobs to the leaders. If unemployed workers have a nickel for ferry toll when they came to town, they are permitted to enter across the Golden Gate. When they ask for jobs, however, they are told that they may leave via the land route south, that walking is good, and that their appetities will not be taken away from them on the way out.

Such is San Francisco, craft unionized and craft union ruled. This condition will undoubtedly last until the next panic. Then this house of cards will topple. Craft unionism is dependent for every source of its power upon jobs. Its idle members are not soldiers of their class fighting for principles, but beggars cringing before their masters and pleading to be again enslaved. That time will come. Then, if the Socialist party does not rise to the occasion, who will rule San Francisco?

The "Labor" party in San Francisco came into being and continues among us because of the peculiar conditions obtaining in that city. It may spring up in Los Angeles and some other Pacific Coast towns. It will never develop in other portions of the country as a real party. Of course "labor leaders" will often be used as decoy ducks by the old political machines in New York, Chicago and some other places as long as there is a craft union in existence. And some few bona fide craft unions will continue to exist until the end of capitalism. Fake unions will continue to grow only as long as any considerable portion of the working class remains in total ignorance of the causes of its social condition. But industry is too highly organized, the class struggle is too fierce, knowledge is too widely disseminated among the workers and the Socialist party is too well grounded, to permit the development of a real national "Labor" party such as now afflicts the working class movements of England and Australia.

#### THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The Socialist party is the product of working class experience. Two facts gave occasion for its rise. The first was the panic of 1893-8. The second was the

great A. R. U. strike of 1894. We cannot here enter into an examination of this intensely interesting period in the history of the American labor movement. Some, indeed, seek to find the beginnings of the American Socialist movement in the efforts put forth by the old Socialist Labor party. They are in error. The old Socialist Labor party was prevented from being of any large use in the growth of the American Socialist movement by the character and activities of most of the first Americans who joined the German comrades. The Socialist Party developed, not in New York, Hoboken, Jersey City and Yonkers, but in the West. The American Railway Union was at the time probably the most advanced economic organization of its size in the world. Its virile rank and file had a clear view of the nature of the organization that must bring immediate relief to the workers. When it was crushed by the political power of the capitalist class, its leadership made the error of deserting the industrial field entirely. They declared for political action only and the result was the Socialist Party. Further experience led this western movement into an understanding of the necessary relationship between industrial and political organizations.

The Socialist Party, the result of twenty years of experience, is here to stay. Its form of organization permits that degree of difference of opinion which is necessary to growth. Its educational work has brought thousands to a clear knowledge of the labor movement as a whole. Its propaganda and organization have now entered every state in the Union. Its disruptions and failures here and there are followed by re-organization and progress. As a movement it cannot be destroyed nor even temporarily checked. It has now, during the second decade of its development, become proof alike against capitalist enemies and reactionary movements among undeveloped workers. Where it develops rapidly it is at first opportunistic. Where opposing forces retard its growth it becomes strong through fighting and the intensive education of its membership. The Socialist Party is here to stay until the end of capitalism because it is the political party of the working class. There is no other

and will be no other national party of the workers. Unbalanced and uninformed individuals or groups sometimes desert its standards because they do not understand the problems attending its growth. When, at certain times or in certain places it falls into error, only the Pharisee cries that the whole movement has been destroyed.

Most of those who today decry political organization and political action by the working class were those who yesterday held the same attitude toward economic organization and action by the workers.

These Socialists who would have the Socialist party join with the "Labor" party in order to capture a city, would tomorrow have the "Labor" party join forces with the Republican or Democratic parties in order to capture a state.

The vast majority of the working class who are not in and of the Socialist Party are still uninformed of its principles and purposes. They must be reached through Socialist agitation and Socialist education, not through the surrender of Socialist principles in order to be agreeable.

Of course, there are and always will be a pack of camp following weaklings, who, when they meet the enemy, think that by turning and marching with them they are

marching to a victory for the working class.

#### THE DIFFERENCE.

The fundamental difference between the Socialist Party and all so-called "Labor" parties, is that the Socialist Party fights not primarily for the POLITICAL supremacy of a crowd of wage-workers, but what is of real significance, for the INDUSTRIAL supremacy of the whole working class. The "Labor" Party represents but a small and diminishing part of the working class. The Socialist Party represents all workers regardless of race, sex, age, skill or labor-union affiliation.

The "Labor" Party is a party of shifting purposes. The Socialist party is a party of fundamental principles.

The "Labor" Party is temporary. The Socialist party is permanent.

The "Labor" Party demands bread and gets crumbs. The Socialist Party demands freedom for the workers and gets a fight on its hands.

The "Labor" Party draws and breeds the office seeking politician. The Socialist party draws and breeds the revolutionary soldier.

The Socialist Party and the "Labor" party are not and never can be friends. They are and must remain irreconcilable enemies.

**"That we are a party of the class struggle, who have nothing in common with any other party, and who have to fight and conquer all other parties, in order to attain our goal, is something which we must never for a moment lose sight of."**

**From "No Compromise," by William Liebknecht.**

# THE CLASS WAR IN ENGLAND

BY

TOM MANN

**A**T THE present hour there is a strike on in the printing trades. It was thought that London and the country would have been united over this struggle, which is a demand for a 48-hour week for all in the trades working more than that number, but with an expressed willingness on the part of the unions to accept of a 50-hour week now, and a further reduction of two hours on 1st of January, 1912. The newspaper men in London work 42 hours and operators in the general trade 48, but the case hands in jobbing offices work 52 1-2. The effort now is confined to the London men, and so far about 400 of the firms have conceded the 50 hours, but they have exacted and obtained an understanding from the men to make no further demand for a reduction of hours for five years.

These agreements, however, are likely to be properly valued when the right hour comes for general action.

## The Transport Workers.

It is one of the inglorious experiences of the last 20 years that whilst it was the British trade unionists that brought into existence the International Transport Workers Federation, until three months ago there was no organized relationship between the 20 or more unions connected with the carrying industry to secure concerted action in this country. As the result of special efforts to rectify this serious weakness, the federations of the unions connected with shipping, docks and river work have now federated, and it is probable that amalgamation will follow, in some instances at least. Mr. Ben Tillett, of the London Dockers union, is the secretary *pro tem*, and there is urgent need for a vigorous organizing campaign, and this to be followed by equally vigorous fighting for general betterment. Unfortunately at present the railwaymen's union keeps aloof from this new combination of transport workers and it

is vital that they should belong to it; the absence of solidarity in this regard must continue to be a source of weakness till rectified.

Looking a little ahead and asking "in what direction should concerted action be taken?" I have no hesitancy in replying, "REDUCE THE WORKING HOURS." This is the real key to the advance of the working class. Do we want the unemployed problem dealt with? Then reduce the hours of work; no "State organization of the unemployed on productive work" can make such satisfactory provision for existing unemployed, as will be provided by absorbing every available worker into the ranks of the regularly employed. Not a plutocratic state government devising means for workers to be shut off from their fellows in ordinary industrial life, still leaving them to work the present inordinate number of hours, but the industrially organized workers themselves reducing the hours, stage by stage, as often as necessary; not only keeping pace with advancing methods of production, but rapidly encroaching upon the exploiting power of the capitalists and steadily and surely taking an ever-increasing proportion of the results of their own labor until they take over the industry itself. The clarion call now is—REDUCE THE HOURS OF WORK! There is no genuine alternative.

In this regard I want to back up the stand taken by ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE in his article in the *January Review*. He there says the true "union never forgets the imperative need of reducing unemployment, and so constantly aims at the shortening of the working day; it cares more to cut ten minutes from the day's work than it does to add ten cents to the day's pay." And again on page 406: "The new unionism has ever before its eyes the shortening of the working day as a means of reducing the unemployed, as well as of giving the workers more

leisure for study and thought and organization." This is the real line of advance, instead of which many are looking to parliaments to pass measures to provide work. I am not for blaming them, but for helping on the real movement that has scored in the past, and that is destined to secure our economic redemption.

I wish also to say that I was delighted on receiving the February number of the *Review* to find a strong backing in the editorial notes of the Oregon men's demand for an eight-hour day in 1912. I congratulate the editorial writer heartily and ask permission to quote an important sentence or two that those who missed them or may have forgotten them may be put in touch with the same.

"Get together. The eight-hour day in 1912 is a possibility for all of us who stand together and demand it; and when once we have united to get that, we shall be in a position to demand more and ever more until we control the machines by which we must live. Discuss the eight-hour day in your Socialist Party Local and in your union. Talk about it to every wage-worker you meet. Write about it to the papers, speak of it from the soap-box and help start an agitation that by next year will sweep everything before it. It can be done. The time is ripe. This can be made a winning fight, and if we win, it is the beginning of the end of capitalism."

To all of which I say Hear, hear! and more. I for one will battle away to achieve the object. The only difference that may characterize my advocacy will be that while demanding authority to establish the eight-hour day for general workers, I shall continue as I have been doing for some time now, i. e., advocate a six-hour day for all workers below ground, and for workers in the chemical trades who are subjected to more exacting and exhausting toil than the average of workers. May I add that I am also persistently declaring that immediately we get power to achieve something substantial as the result of removing competition for employment by the policy of reduced working hours, the very first thing should be a "minimum wage," below which no man should work. In this

country there are millions of men not receiving more than 20s a week. This should be raised to 30s at one sweep, and could be done with the utmost ease, if only solidity was a fact in our class. To promote that solidity is therefore the chief work in which we can engage; also it will be necessary to guard against the idea gaining ground that there is anything sacred in "eight" hours. The object must ever be to KEEP ALL EMPLOYED and to raise the standard of life. Of course we cannot by any possibility get ALL workers organized, but we can treble our present numbers if only the work is tackled in grim earnest. And we may be quite sure that mass action will become not merely a possibility, but an actual fact.

I urge that the reduction of hours be made an international question without delay. As the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW has entered the field, would it not be possible to open up with other countries? There are many thousands in this country quite prepared to co-operate, and it would certainly help the comrades in the United States to have the same demand made here as there, but Germany and France would probably come into line, too. If all unions and societies who carry a resolution in favor of the proposed action were to inform the editor, no doubt a list could be compiled so far as that was desirable, and means could be devised of keeping in touch with important centers. I hope efforts will be made to get every labor council and every union to carry a resolution favorable to the demand. If all Socialist advocates would make a point of submitting the resolution at each of the meetings they address it would help materially in developing and focussing opinion. Comrades Debs and Haywood will be able to bring it before hundreds of thousands of energetic industrialists, and if each of the writers and speakers act as requested in the February REVIEW an enormous volume of favorable opinion will soon grow into readiness for determined action.

In concluding this little contribution, I desire to express my most hearty admiration for the tone, style and character of the REVIEW.

# ITALIAN FARM LABORERS FOR REVOLUTIONARY ACTION

BY

ODON POR

**N**EARLY two hundred thousand farm laborers were represented at the Fourth Congress of the National Federation of Italian Farm Laborers, held recently in Bologna. This federation refuses admission to such local organizations as have not been thoroughly tried in action and do not accept the revolutionary principles of the class struggle, well knowing that elements that are not class conscious always handicap the realization of daring initiatives. If the federation were not so rigorous in enforcing this criterion it could easily raise the mere number of its membership to four hundred thousand, this being the number of the actually organized farm laborers in Italy. Owing, in a great degree, to such a careful selection, this organization has been capable of evolving a class of workers which is undoubtedly the most advanced in the world, both in respect to the state of mind of the single workers in it and the various means of action adopted by them.

Those who watched this movement from its early beginnings, some twenty-five years ago, but especially since the foundation of the Federation in 1901, are struck with the great change in the mentality of the workers, developed during the last ten years. The first Congress, deliberating in the name of 227,000 farm laborers, peasants, small landowners, Socialists, republicans and what not, was dominated by an overpowering enthusiasm. These different classes, with contradicting economic and political interests and ideals, came together believing it possible to abolish the contradictions with a sentimental manifestation and by passing a resolution proclaiming the socialization of the land as the ultimate common goal. The struggles that followed, the lost battles, the victories and the tentatives have proved the sterility of sentimentalism as a power productive of united revolutionary action.

The diverging economic and political tendencies could not live side by side, soon the membership of the federation was 50,000, and many persons, who attended the first congress, came out in the open as relentless enemies of the federation. However, the real proletariat has kept joining the federation in larger and larger masses, substituting the dissident elements, so that this last Congress could be the vital expression of 200,000 men and women with homogenous wills and well defined aims, capable of mobilizing at first notice, more than a million persons.

Far from vanishing, this enthusiasm of the first years has reappeared, disciplined and conscious, reaffirming itself in this last Congress in a marvelous unison. Evidently a psychological transformation has been going on, the reasons of which we cannot find in the proceedings of the Congress but out in the movement. The Congress itself was of importance only as far as it summed up the new tendencies of the movement and gave them a national expression, marking, so to say officially, the entering of the movement into its second phase.

Characteristic of the first phase of the movement were the numberless strikes, involving from a handful sometimes as many as 50,000 or more workers, once victorious, once defeated, but, on the whole, elevating the standard of living to a very high level. It was, in short, a movement like any other primitive unional movement, determined by the industrial and agricultural conditions of a given district and confined to the same, whose success was limited by its force of local resistance and attack.

Reading the history of the early agrarian strikes or talking about them with the leaders or the workers we can reconstruct the psychology characteristic of this first period. Before the advent of any modern mass movement the peasants

competed with each other along all lines and submitted to every abuse on the part of the landowners because conscious of their individual helplessness. The first step ahead was taken when urged by insupportable conditions and the Socialist propaganda they united in smaller local organizations and began to fight a disordered battle winning many victories. Then when the farm laborers and peasants of a whole province united into one provincial organization, they were at once fired by a consciousness of enormous collective force, which appeared as if by magic.\*

Naturally, the landowners who were attacked, unexpectedly, were obliged to make concessions. The peasants to whom only yesterday it seemed impossible to negotiate on equal terms with the landowners, the peasants who knew no rights and were ignored by the laws, and who were left unaided in all their troubles, found themselves, all at once, supported by the affectionate solidarity of their comrades. This sudden mutation of the situation was richer in sentimentalism than substantiated by consciousness and took away from the workers the exact notion of their real force. They began to demand too much in proportion to their actual power, moreover, the proprietors began to organize their resistance against the organized peasants and great losses on the part of the workers were unavoidable.

These defeats proved to be salutary in the long run, inasmuch as they forced the workers to concentrate all their attention on the problems of organization with the result that the provincial organizations became even vaster bodies than mere industrial organizations, embracing workers who form a substantial element of labor in a line of industries like agriculture, food industries, building industries and so on.

In these provincial organizations lies the force of the national movement. A province is a geographical unity and the crops vary to a certain extent, from province to province, so that, for instance, while in one province the harvest is already over, in the other it has just begun. Because of these conditions the

strike movements in the agricultural industry cannot be started everywhere simultaneously. In other words, there is no uniformity of production determining uniformity of action. Even the provinces themselves are subdivided in many districts on the basis of the conditions of production and secular traditions. It is enough of a staff of men that they acquire mastery over all the conditions in one province and organize a homogeneous movement, for instance, by abolishing, in one district, some old traditions of work or by determining, through the pressure of organization, new uniform methods of production.

The National Federation, from its very foundation, was aware of these facts and allowed the provincial organizations a complete autonomy, reserving for itself the function of integrating the provincial movements into a national movement through emphasizing the importance of essentially similar lines of action, by bringing common aim, mutual understanding and mutual aid amongst the various provincial organizations, establishing a complete moral unity if a complete industrial unity in action is impossible.

In this the federation has fully succeeded and we see that when one province is engaged in a great struggle the others come to its aid with active solidarity. However, a strong national federation is of supreme importance from various reasons. It is the means by which the movement may be expanded into the regions where the working class is yet backward, whose backwardness handicaps, to a great degree, the advance of those desiring to go ahead; it watches that the immature movements do not degenerate but evolve normally; it bears the successful experiments of one locality to another, creating thus a uniform method of action notwithstanding the diversity of conditions, as far as essentials are concerned; it is the medium of contact between the provincial organizations and has a moral and educational function by the force of which it prepares a nationwide movement against the impending nationwide resistance of the organized landowners, who are attempting to destroy the proletarian organizations with all the means at their disposal, such as

\*See Nino Mazzoni, in the *Giornale Degli Economisti*, Rome, 1905.

mutual insurance funds against strikes, with lock-outs and by using the authority and the military force of the State.

This federation, unlike any other labor federation in the world, is, then, not ordering movements or binding locals with contracts, etc., but gives them free hand to settle local conditions in relation to national tendencies. In short, it coordinates and integrates the movement; it rather spreads its spirit than pretends to direct it in every detail or to lead it. This healthy decentralization renders the movement alive, multiform and complicated and imparts individuality to every single organization within it. Thus the movement offers not the aspect of an inert but well-regimented mass under an iron, but unproductive discipline, but of a movement in which the conditions of spontaneous generation for new actions are fostered, in which discipline comes not from enforced by-laws and resolutions, but from the sense of collectivity matured in the local organizations.

This sense of national discipline is acquired by the local groups through facing the various problems in all their aspects and in their organic nature, through the liberty of initiative, through a sense of responsibility which goes with conscious liberty, through the pride they take in forwarding the general interests of their whole movement without being forced to it.

In these local and provincial organizations, existing throughout the vast agricultural belt of Italy, the whole working class is maturing simultaneously, forging the mightiest arms against the centralized present regime. For the intensifying of the movement, through decentralization, grinds the power of the capitalist forces and of the State, both prepared for centralized action only. The ruling class with its political, administrative and military institutions, is attacked on all sides, in every locality and continuously and not only at its central point, the Parliamentary Government. This is a continuous guerilla war, which, while strengthening the militant labor-bodies, through keeping them always in action, exhausts the enemy that finds it beyond its resources to be everywhere and everywhere defend the interests of the capitalist class with the same readiness.

This independence of the local and provincial organization is chiefly responsible for the maturing of this class of workers. They learned how to manage their own movement and how to solve problems demanding immediate attention. Every organized worker in the local and provincial organizations is engaged in the struggles and must know, perfectly, the conditions upon which the action of the organization is based and, therefore, he is capable of judging the possibilities and opportunities of immediate and further progress. And these decentralized bodies, which, however, are organically connected with the national movement, contributes, to the greatest extent, to the formation of a psychology very different from the psychology of mere crowds massing together under a spontaneous impulse without consciousness of their class.

In this new psychology the forces of contagion and suggestion are reduced to a very minimal function, while the critical sense in the individual, continually called upon to decide, is the chief formative power of mass action. The critical sense far from weakening the dynamical qualities of big movements, intensifies them and gives them a determined scope. These new conscious masses, unlike to those first crowds gathered under the stimulus of enthusiasm or dire misery, know exactly what they are fighting for, what immediate results are obtainable, know the reasons of an eventual loss and therefore, know what subsequent steps are to be taken in order to assure continuous success.

Not a knowledge of general theories, ideas and conceptions—which is essentially middle-class knowledge—inspires these men of the new masses, but the valuation of their own capacities. Owing to this organic maturity we see the local groups, the obscure local men take the most far-reaching initiatives, which grow later, into provincial and even national issues. By determining issues of principles they ultimately influence the attitude of the whole working class.

This process is entirely the reverse of the processes that go on in the working class movements of other countries. The mammoth centralized trade and industrial federations in Germany never pro-

pose a new line of action. While accepting the Socialist platform they are victims of a political fetishism which makes them await the Socialist future as something that must come inevitably through the fatal evolution of the political and economic structure of society, as something the advent of which they can neither hasten nor can others prevent. They do not consider as their chief function the evolving of the economic structure of the future society, they, therefore, move always and only in the limited circle of the improving of labor conditions. They never break through this circle by assuming the functions of the capitalist class as owners and managers of industrial enterprises.

I believe that this is entirely due to the form of organization which offers no chance for the germination and bursting forth of the revolutionary consciousness in the individual workers. The numeric force is no force at all. It is the force of the individual workers that counts in the vital movements of all organizations. And this individual force can evolve only under conditions of liberty of action and initiative, which the German organizations have not. The German strikes, though involve hundreds of thousands of workers, are essentially speculative moves. The leaders of the German federations ask themselves, sure of the obedience of the mass, how many millions can they afford to spend to gain as many more?

Such reasoning is unknown in a federation like that of the Italian farmer laborers. Within this federation, when the local organizations see a good opportunity for struggle, they fight, or if there is no opportunity for a struggle then they

create one. They do not fight on the basis of money, but on the basis of the consciousness of the workers. The National Federation of Farm Laborers has had an income for 1910 of less than six thousand dollars. The battles of the same year involved more than a hundred thousand workers and many millions of dollars. The budget of the local organizations is just enough to keep them going. The accumulation of strike funds during peace times is not known. The strikers have to provide for their needs themselves. And yet the intense movements follow one another. Discouragement is unknown. If the fight has to go on, the workers sell their last things, their beds and tables and keep on fighting. The women are the first in sacrificing every thing for the movement. They have been revolutionized along with the men. Besides the most important movements, even if successful in the long run, bring, rather greater immediate material sufferings than gains. However, the victorious affirmation of a revolutionary principle makes up for the loss and satisfies the workers.

In Germany the leaders do not move and the masses are satisfied. The German labor leaders do not take new initiatives feeling the impossibility of carrying them out. They are dealing with an immature mass, capable only of mute obedience when the risk is proven small. The only preoccupation on the mind of the leaders of this federation of farm laborers is that the initiatives of the locals follow one another too quickly; that a tendency in a district may go too far before the other districts are prepared to follow or come to its aid.

(To be Continued.)



# EDITORIAL

**Manifest Destiny.** As we go to press the fighting between insurrectos and federals in Mexico has been resumed after a brief truce. The capitalist press admits the general spread of the insurrection, and all hopes of a treaty of peace between Diaz and Madero seem to be at an end. The northern half of Mexico may be completely in the hands of the rebels by the time this issue of the Review reaches its readers. Meanwhile the Chicago Tribune raises the question—a very important one to the American capitalist class—of whether Madero has any such effective control over his soldiers as to afford any assurance that he will be able to protect property interests in the event of the complete overthrow of Diaz. Truth will probably compel a negative reply. Madero himself is a capitalist and a friend of capitalists, but the rank and file of the insurrectos are either soldiers of fortune out for loot, or even worse from the capitalist viewpoint, revolutionary wage-workers with no regard for the sacredness of capitalist property. So the trend of events points strongly to the truth of a report sent out by the Socialist press correspondent at Washington to the effect that Taft had already decided on the invasion of Mexico and its occupation by an army of over 200,000 men, to include the entire national guard; that he had confided his intention to the representatives of the leading newspapers of the country, and had asked their help in preparing the public mind for war. All this is neither more nor less than we should expect. The railroads and the most important industries of Mexico are already owned by American capitalists, and the rest of the industries are rapidly drifting into the same strong hands. These capitalists already control the government of the United States. They have until lately had an excellent working agreement with Diaz, under which he, in return for a small share of the spoils, furnished the soldiers needed to overawe the slaves, and relieved his American allies of all personal responsibility for the bloody de-

tails. This agreement now becomes void by the collapse of the Diaz government. Madero on one side and Morgan on the other would no doubt gladly ratify a new agreement along the same lines. But unfortunately Madero has not the goods to deliver. What can the American capitalists do? It is no doubt embarrassing and inconvenient to come out openly as the owners of the United States government in general and of the new military government of Mexico in particular. But the sad alternative is the loss of all their Mexican investments. Better anything than that. So American capitalism must push on to its Manifest Destiny.

**Workers and War.** But all this does not mean that the working class of the United States should calmly accept the decision of the capitalists and approve it. True, no efforts of ours can for the time being prevent the complete conquest of Mexico by American capital backed by American bayonets. But since capital to retain its spoils is obliged to throw off the mask and stand revealed as the dictator of our so-called republic, we have an unexpected and unequalled opportunity to open the eyes of millions of hitherto contented and loyal workers. Let us speak out in no uncertain tones. This war against the workers of Mexico is a class war, a war of masters against slaves. Our masters here can wage that war against the slaves of Mexico only because we, the American wage-slaves, are ignorant and divided. So our every effort must be to unite, educate, organize.

**War Upon Workers.** In this task our capitalist masters have in their shortsighted arrogance found a new way to help. Elsewhere in this issue of the Review will be found details of the kidnaping of two officials of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers. Detectives in the employ of the Steel Trust, in flagrant violation of law, carried these men away from Indiana to California, without allowing them

any chance to appeal to the courts for protection. Moreover, the detectives forced their way into the offices of the union, burglarized the safe in broad daylight without interference from the police or courts, and carried away the records of the organization. The object of this outrage is, of course, to wreck a labor organization which stands in the way of bigger profits for the capitalists. It will fail, just as the murderous attack upon Haywood failed. Haywood was saved from death because the wage-workers of America were ready to rise in revolt to defend him. The capitalists dared not kill him, and today he is in the front of the new battle started by this new attack on labor. Little will be settled by what happens inside the court room at Los Angeles. High-priced detectives are experts in manufacturing evidence; capitalistic officials have ample experience and notorious skill in the packing of juries. Even though, as we firmly believe, the Los Angeles Times building was blown up by gas from leaky pipes, the jury will be found to convict the McNamara brothers of dynamiting unless the wage-workers of America rally to their support. But they are rallying. Craft divisions and controversies over tactics vanish in the presence of a common danger. The Class Struggle is upon us, on a battlefield greater than ever before. The cap-

italists realize this already, and the workers by the million are awakening to it. There can be no permanent truce until the capitalist class is destroyed. It may triumph for a moment, but it can never destroy the working class, since only by the working class does it live. The working class is the one essential class, without which this modern world could not go on. Awakened and united it is irresistible. It is awakening and it is uniting. Every ounce of effort now counts ten-fold.

**The Present Need.** The present need is MORE CLEAR-HEADED REVOLUTIONISTS. Without them we can do nothing; with them we can do everything. An avalanche of Socialist votes will be irresistible if there is a revolutionist behind each vote, but any votes that we may gain by emphasizing petty reforms in our electoral programs will count for nothing when a crisis comes. Capitalism is rushing headlong to its downfall, because the events of every day tend to convince every thinking wage-worker that his own life and liberty can be secured only by doing his part in the class war—only through REVOLUTION. To bring these facts home to the understanding of every wage-worker we can reach—this is the need of the hour by the side of which all else is trifling.



# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**SIX Socialist Congresses.** Easter week is the open season for Socialist congresses. This year the comrades of England, France, Belgium, Holland, and Sweden foregathered at almost exactly the same time. The reports of so many conferences occurring simultaneously give one a birds-eye view of the state of Socialism over a large part of Europe.

A rapid reading of motions passed and speeches made leaves one with three rather distinct impressions. (1) In all of the countries represented there is a constantly growing feeling of unity and enthusiasm. There were sharp differences of opinion, but there was no division as to the fact that the enemy is capitalism and that the fight must be waged with constantly increasing vigor. (2) The traditional division between reformists and out-and-out working-class revolutionists is still the vital one within the Socialist movement. Though in general the tide is setting more and more unmistakably in favor of a clear, uncompromising attitude, the problem of tactics cannot by any means be regarded as settled. (3) Parliamentary representation can be made profitable to the working-class only at the cost of eternal vigilance. In all of the five countries in which congresses were held the facts brought out in debate went to show that merely electing socialists to parliamentary bodies is of little profit. The new experiences of the past year go to demonstrate anew the oft repeated truth that what counts is the never ending activity of the rank and file. In practically all the parliamentary groups in question there has appeared some tendency to forget purely working-class demands. It must be recorded, however, that in every case the parliamentary groups showed themselves willing to accept the rule of the rank and file as represented by the convention. An awakened proletariat has shown itself perfectly able to keep its representatives up to the mark set in party programs.

In the following brief summary it will be possible to designate merely a few of the many problems taken up for discussion.

In **England** the thirty-first annual conference of the Social-Democratic party met at Coventry. It was decided by a large majority not to take any steps looking toward union with the Labor Party. The fact was recognized that the S. D. P. had not made great progress, but the general feeling was that the organization should continue as a representative of clear, class-conscious Socialism. A resolution to call a conference to discuss forming a union of all Socialist organizations in England was carried. The problem of armaments and foreign policy called forth the warmest discussion. A resolution was submitted calling upon the organization, its executive, organ, and individual members "to combat with their utmost energy, the demands for additional armaments." The movers of this resolution bitterly criticized the members of the executive who have raised the anti-German cry and supported the government in its policy of naval expansion. Comrade Quelch, for the executive, moved an amendment which, while declaring adhesion to the anti-militarist position of the international movement, declared for "the maintenance of an adequate navy for national defence," as one of the necessary means for giving effect to the decisions of the international congresses. This amendment was carried by a vote of 47 to 33.

The Independent Labor Party held its nineteenth annual conference at Birmingham. Here the great discussion concerned itself with the attitude taken by the labor group in Parliament. A motion was introduced calling upon the members of this group to assert their independence of the accepted rules of English Parliamentary procedure and insist on presenting for action real working-class problems. George Lansbury supported this motion and Ramsay MacDonald opposed

it. Discussion developed the fact that hardly any faction of the Independent Labor Party is content with the tactics of the labor group. The form of the resolution, however, was not satisfactory to the majority, and it was finally withdrawn.

In **France** the eighth congress of the Socialist Party was held at Saint-Quentin. The principal subjects discussed were municipal socialism, the agrarian problem, and the position of the parliamentary group. The most significant debate was on the last named topic. The Socialist deputies were commended for their energetic fight against the government of M. Briand, but severely criticized for giving over much support to the comparatively liberal regime of M. Monis, the present premier. Comrade Jaurès replied that the present ministry, in part through the support of the Socialist deputies, had done much to aid the railway employes in their struggle against the companies. The group, however, declared itself willing to submit to the will of the party so soon as the party saw fit to give definite instructions.

In **Belgium** the twenty-sixth annual congress of the Labor (Socialist) Party was held at Brussels. The Socialist movement of Belgium finds itself just now in a critical position. It is making a campaign for universal, equal suffrage, as opposed to a class system, and at the same time making propaganda against an educational bill which has been introduced into the Belgian Parliament by the clerical majority. Comrade Vandervelde introduced a resolution in favor of combining with the Liberal Party in making a fight on the proposed educational measure. He was energetically opposed by a number of delegates. His resolution was finally amended so as to make it clear that beyond a united campaign against the measure in question there was to be no union with the Liberals. In its amended form it was finally carried. Plans were outlined for a vigorous independent campaign for a new suffrage law.

In **Holland** the annual Socialist Congress was held at Utrecht. Chief attention was given to the character of the party press and to plans for a gigantic suffrage demonstration. In Holland, as

in many other European countries, the demand of the moment is for a democratic suffrage law.

In **Sweden** the eighteenth annual congress of the Social Democratic Party met at Stockholm. The party was reported to have made rapid progress during the past year. Strong anti-militarist resolutions were adopted and the Socialist deputies in Parliament were directed to be content with no half-way measures in their fight for disarmament.

**FRANCE. The Government vs. Big Business.** The sequel of the great railway strike has developed an interesting situation. It will be remembered that the strike was lost because the government placed itself at the disposition of the railway companies. M. Briand, at that time premier, called upon the strikers to do service as military reservists. And this move broke the back of the strike. This was chapter one.

In chapter two the tables were turned. At least M. Briand found that playing the brutal strong-arm man of capitalism has its disadvantages. The public became aroused. The supporters of M. Briand in the Chamber of Deputies began to think about future elections. M. Briand's majority fell off and he was forced to resign his position.

Now the tale enters upon an entirely new phase. Briand showed how effectively a government can serve the capitalists. Now we are to have a chance to see whether a capitalist government can be forced to carry out its pledges to the working-class. For M. Monis, the present premier, went into office pledged to right some of the wrongs suffered by the railway workers.

At the end of the strike last autumn 2,558 employes were refused their old positions. Some of them had served the companies for twenty or thirty years; many more possessed medals awarded for faithful or heroic service. But they were union men, they had been active in the strike; they were not wanted. Since last October most of them have lived in dire poverty.

When M. Briand broke the strike he got from the companies a promise that they would take back all except those

who had been guilty of destruction of property. Obviously this pledge has not been kept. When M. Monis went into office he was practically pledged to do something for the black-listed men. He has done nothing so far, but he has promised to try. We shall see.

The matter caused a dramatic scene in the chamber on April 14. It developed during a discussion that the Minister of Public Affairs had forced the directors of the government line to reconsider the list of black-listed employes, as a result 87 were taken back into the service and 27 were left unemployed. A motion was made calling upon all the railway companies, involved in the strike to do what had been done in the government service and instructing the Premier to see to it that this demand was heeded. M. Monis declared that if the companies refused to do as desired he would return to the Chamber and demand power to force them to submit.

Here the matter rests for the present. The situation is an interesting one, and well worth watching. The radical government has the fear of future Socialist victories before its eyes, and will doubtless do its best to make good with the working-class. It will be interesting to discover how much power it can really bring to bear on the lords of industry.

**FRANCE.** **The Uprising in the Champagne Country.** Thus far the riots in the departments of Marne and Aube have led to nothing but misery. The government has offered no relief. On the contrary it has sent soldiers into the regions affected. More than a hundred arrests have been made. The population is more than ever wrought up.

Meantime numerous investigations have been made and the exact nature of the uprising has become clearer than ever. M. Pierre Menatte, editor of *La Vie Ouvriere*, has recently made a tour through the Champagne region, and his investigations throw a flood of light on the situation. He reports the most pitiable poverty, peasant huts bare of the necessities of life, the people starved and disheartened. When he asked them how they had plucked up courage to refuse to pay their taxes they informed him that

it took no courage. Not one of them had the necessary money. Their property is mortgaged and their crops are claimed by creditors before they have been marketed.

It goes without saying that the wage-earners are worse off than the proprietors. Wages have necessarily fallen with the price of grapes and wine.

Under these circumstances the poor tillers of the soil, proprietors and wage-earners together, rose like the peasants in the middle ages. Blinded by rage, by mere brute instinct, they rushed to the cellars of the great wine merchants. They smashed presses and broke bottles till wine ran in floods down the streets.

Repeated efforts have been made to educate the wine-growers, to make them see their class interests and defend them in an organized and effective manner. So far these efforts have not succeeded. Readers of the REVIEW will recall the attempts to organize the wage-earners in the wine producing regions of southern France. In 1905 the proprietors and many of their employes joined in an organization known as the Confederation Viticole. This organization was organized to protect the interests, not of a class, but of a region, of an industry. It soon came to be dominated by the largest proprietors. Its activity has naturally tended to obliterate class interests. The syndicate of agrarian wage-earners, known as *Travailleurs de la Terre*, has done its best to free rural proletarians from the bourgeois organization under the influence of which they have fallen. But it has had a long and hard fight.

The situation in the champagne region is much the same. In 1904 was organized the Federation Viticole, with the ostensible purpose of defending the interests of the wine growers of this region. But from the beginning it has been dominated absolutely by representatives of the great concerns. Its first president was M. Chandon of the house of Moet and Chandon. Nevertheless it has been practically impossible to tear the small proprietors and wage-earners from the grasp of this organization. The means it advocates are absolutely inadequate. If the government accedes to all its demands the lot of the workers will not be in the least improved.

Nevertheless when Emile Moreau was asked about his efforts to start a revolutionary movement among the workers in the vineyards he answered: "It has all been in vain. They have not wanted to understand us. Everyone is afraid. The notes of the wine growers are bought up by agents who have no difficulty in instilling caution into their victims. Nothing is lent to those who make propaganda against the merchants."

Of course this situation will clear itself sooner or later. Soemtime the poor small "proprietors" and their poorer employes will see that their only salvation lies in an organized political and industrial effort of their class. But that day is not yet.

Meanwhile the situation has its lessons. The agrarian problem is ever pressing upon us. In this case, at least, it appears clearly enough that capitalism produces on the land much the same results as in centers of industry. The only really important distinction seems to be that the agricultural workers are more difficult to organize than their fellow proletarians who work in factories and live in cities.



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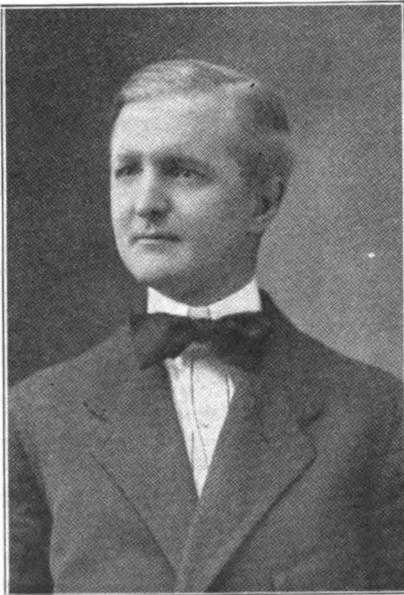
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# NEWS AND VIEWS

**"World of Labor" Discontinued.**—With this issue we discontinue the "World of Labor" department which has been a feature of the Review from the beginning. Comrade Max S. Hayes finds it impossible, through pressure of other work, to continue as editor of the department, and in view of this we have decided that it will be better to combine our labor news with other news in one department. We are sure that the readers of the Review will join us in hearty appreciation for the work Comrade Hayes has done on the Review for nearly eleven years, and in the best of wishes to him in the plucky fight he continues to put up from within the American Federation of Labor.

**Now Convalescent.**—Many comrades in the Eastern and Middle Eastern states will recognize the picture of Comrade Leslie H. Marcy of the Review staff, who is just now slowly convalescing from a season of severe illness which for a time caused great concern among his friends. Comrade Mrs. Mary E. Marcy, well known to all readers of the Review, has been so completely occupied in the care of her husband that her course in economics was unavoidably omitted from this month's Review. Her eighth lesson will, however, appear in the July issue. Only those friends of the Review who have been close to it during the past three years can realize how great has been the service rendered by the Comrades Marcy. When the present revolutionary character of the Review was determined upon, and its literary



*Leslie H. Marcy*

form made popular, the Marcys were called upon to assist both in the editing of the Review and its circulation. Their success needs no comment. The Review has increased its circulation from 3,000 to 45,000. But the improvement of its contents in value to the movement cannot be expressed in figures. We are sure that all who have worked with us in arriving at these large results will rejoice to learn that on the day the June number goes to the printer, Comrade Marcy again appeared at his desk in the office. Both are now prepared to take up again the direction of that mighty campaign of the Review which all realize has just begun.



MARY E. MARCY.

**Buttonworkers' Strike Settled.**—Buttonworkers of Muscatine, Iowa, on strike for a number of weeks, have reached an agreement with their employers, and have returned to work. The agreement includes an increase in wages

and readjustment of a number of grievances relative to the weighing of the product produced by the workmen and workwomen. Over 1,000 were involved in the controversy.

**San Francisco Revolutionary!**—(By Cloudesley Johns, Editor of Revolt.)—By an overwhelming majority in one of the largest business meetings ever held in San Francisco, the Local rejected the recommendations of the Campaign Committee (elected five months ago by an Opportunist majority) to expunge or alter the following sections of the party platform: "We stand in absolute antagonism to the Capitalist Class and to every candidate of that class, including the candidates of the so-called Union Labor Party.

"We call attention to the failure and neglect of the McCarthy administration to advance the interests of the working class in San Francisco."

Subsequent motions to add a paragraph and to make a transposition were voted down two to one after discussion in which it was pointed out that the leaders of the Union Labor Party would be glad to have even the chance to say that the Socialist party had "changed its platform." They would not need to say in what respect it had been changed, and the repeated recent publication in the capitalist press of reports that the Socialist party was considering the amendment of the platform by eliminating the anti-McCarthy planks would provide the desired inference.

The recommendation of the Campaign Committee that William McDevitt, candidate for Mayor of San Francisco, be removed from the ticket and some member who could "qualify" if elected be substituted, also was rejected, by a vote of 138 to 60 (two of the minority voting in the affirmative in the hope that reconsideration might be effected if ever the revolutionary majority should be missing from a meeting). Argument tended to show that there was every probability that McDevitt could qualify if elected (the point being a question of what constitutes legal residence for five years), but the greatest stress was laid upon the fact that McDevitt as candidate stands for a campaign of propaganda for revolutionary socialism, to develop Socialist voters, and not to win non-Socialist votes for our candidates in this election at the expense of propaganda. This position of the advocates of McDevitt as candidate was cheered to the echo by the great gathering of party members and onlookers which filled the hall. Many applications for membership were received from men who have been out of the party for months or years because it had shown a tendency toward compromise.

Whatever may happen in California (and the slogan of "elect our candidates at any cost" will meet a ready response, undoubtedly, for some time to come), San Francisco, at least, bids fair to remain a revolutionary oasis even if in a desert of worthless opportunism.

**Socialists Object to Legislative Caucus.**—The following resolutions were passed by the General Membership of Local Allegheny County (Pa.) of the Socialist Party, Sunday,

April 23, and are here published by request of the local:

Whereas, Victor L. Berger, representative of the Socialist Party in the United States Congress, entered into a legislative caucus with Republican and Democratic trades unionists upon the invitation of Samuel Gompers, and

Whereas, it has always been one of the cardinal principles of the Socialist Party that its nominees should not confer or caucus with nominees of other parties, to the end that the elected officers of the Socialist Party shall not fuse or compromise with the legislators of other parties, and

Whereas, Samuel Gompers has repeatedly made outrageous attacks upon the Socialist Party, one of these attacks within the last few weeks, and

Whereas, Samuel Gompers is a member of the Civic Federation of Labor, a body devoted to the purpose of defeating the working class on the economic and political fields, and

Whereas, trade unionists who are elected on the Democratic and Republican tickets are worse enemies of the working class than capitalists elected on these tickets, and

Whereas, the effect of such caucuses is to compromise the Socialist Party in taking part in legislation with members of the Republican and Democratic parties, and

Whereas, it will make it extremely difficult to elect Socialists in the districts from which these labor representatives come if they can claim they have caucused with Comrade Berger,

Therefore, be it resolved by Local Allegheny County, in convention assembled, that we deeply regret the conduct of Comrade Berger in this matter, and call upon the National Executive Committee to call Comrade Berger's attention to this as a compromise and request him to desist from entering into caucuses or conferences with members of other political parties than the Socialist Party.

**Growth of Party Membership.**—From recent bulletins issued by the National Secretary of the Socialist party we learn that the membership dues received at the National Office during April, 1911, amounted to \$3,942.95, indicating a membership of 78,859. The actual membership is always in excess of the number who pay dues in any one month, and it is safe to say that we have already 100,000 members who have paid dues since the first of 1911. An analysis of the receipts and expenditures in the monthly financial report will make it clear that the National Office has more money than it can spend to good advantage, and every active member is well aware that practically all the state organizations are in urgent and pressing need of more money to enlarge their work. As we stated last month, the Twenty-first ward branch of Local Cook County has initiated the constitutional amendment proposed on page 638 of the April Review. Some time is, however, required to bring the matter to a referendum in Cook County, and time might be saved if other locals would initiate the same

motion independently. Local Washington County, Pa., has already done this, but unfortunately not in the form of a constitutional amendment, so that it will be far better if other locals will initiate the amendment as first published rather than second the motion from Pennsylvania. The second clause as published in the April Review increasing the percentage of dues to be set aside for convention expenses is necessary if special assessments are to be avoided.



HARRY SIBBLE.

**A Successful Literature Seller.**—In Harry Sible, whose portrait is given above as he appears in his full war paint, the Socialists of British Columbia believe they have the champion literature seller of the movement. For eight years he has peddled socialist literature into almost every nook and cranny of this big province wherever a few workers may be found gathered together, relying almost entirely on foot transportation. In the winter months he naturally seeks the large cities, in

fact there is only one date in the year he feels he has to keep, and that is to be in Victoria when the Provincial Parliament opens in the middle of January so that he may spoil the Egyptians, represented in this case by the Conservative members, by selling them the real dope. There is no explanation of the fact, but by some piece of good luck or good guidance Harry has the privilege of displaying his wares in the lobbies of the house, where he makes hay for himself by taking orders for red literature in the form of books and magazines. No other individual is so favored.

By the first of March Harry starts on his summer tour. Generally he works his way northward about 80 miles to Nanaimo, calling on the farmers and wage earners. But nothing need be said about his route, the outstanding feature of his career is this, he sells enough socialist books to make a living, and has done so for eight consecutive years. In 1910, the only year he kept strict account, he disposed of 1,206 socialist books, ranging in price from 25c to \$3.00. Of Ancient Lowly he placed 150 sets, which sold readily to wage-earners, preachers, lawyers, and business-men. He says it is very easy to sell this book to clergymen.

Between Vancouver Island and the Mainland of British Columbia lie many small islands which Harry considers as being in his territory. A year ago he conceived the idea that he ought to have a gasoline launch to do them justice, and now he is the proud possessor of one fully equipped on which he has spent all told \$280. This summer he will work his way as far north as Prince Rupert, a distance of 300 miles, making calls wherever white folks are to be found. The women of Victoria Local have presented him with a large red flag bearing the well known legend "Workers of the World Unite," which he will fly from the stern.

If it be true that 67 per cent of all conversions to socialism are made through the reading of literature on the subject, then it must be admitted that Comrade Harry Sible is one of the most efficient workers for the cause. In his steady plodding way he is reaching thousands that can not be got at otherwise. Furthermore his long career is a proof of the increasing interest in Socialism, for during it all he has never received one cent of financial assistance from the party.

F. Dundas Todd.



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**National Referendum "A" Carried.**—By a vote of 9,050 to 8,511 the Socialist party of America has decided to add a new section to the constitution, as follows: "All national party officers shall be elected annually and shall not hold the same office longer than two terms." This action is, we believe, a happy solution for a number of vexatious questions.

The Western Federation of Miners has finally received a charter from the American Federation of Labor. The most revolutionary of the great labor organizations of the United States has technically come under the jurisdiction of Samuel Gompers and his conservative associates. This news, however, is not half so alarming as might appear at first sight. Fortunately, Mr. Gompers will have little power to shape the tactics of the western miners, while their entrance into the A. F. of L. may soon bring about a closer union between the metal miners and the coal miners. Moreover we predict that unless the tactics of the A. F. of L. are radically changed the miners will not long remain inside.

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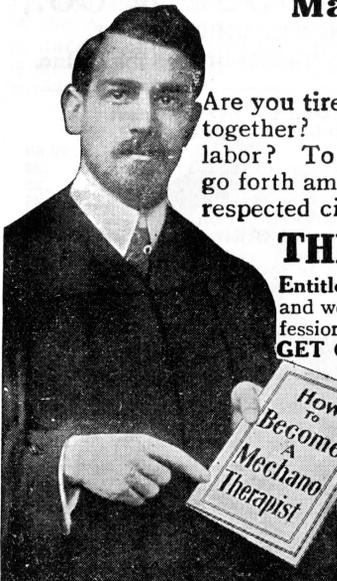
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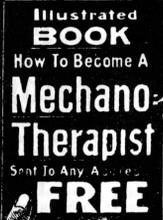
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By PETER E. BURROWES

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we bought from him the entire edition, bound and unbound. The last of the sheets have just been bound for us in attractive and tasteful style, and as the book was never electrotyped, there will be no more editions. To make sure of a copy, order at once.

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## EXTRACTS FROM THE ESSAYS

Life would never have been a problem if the workers of the world had been its thinkers, and it will lose its problems when they find their brains. —**Monsieur Diabolus.**

The creative force of society is the working man. There is none other but he who is wholly necessary; none other but he whose rest or absence never can be endured. Upon this necessary man, this salvation man and his interest alone Socialism plants its banner.—**The Spiritual Life of Man.**

Socialism is the science of proletarian experience.—**The Envriron.**

The principal thing that becomes impossible to a property-conscious class is intellectual originality, or any tint near to it that would entitle the tinted to the rank of a hero. If you will have heroes to admire, you must go back to individualism, or find spots of it in history; you cannot find heroes after class-consciousness is established.—**The Far Man.**

We do not tell the world that man's salvation rests on the benevolent impulses of good men, or that its disasters have flowed from the malignant influence of unfriendly spirits. We do not attribute the revolutions which have come upon nations to the crimes of the ambitious or to the strenuous virtues of heroes; but we declare these great events of history to be always and obviously traceable to the master-fact—the system of economic production, the way the people were

getting their living before the revolution was forced into history.

This economic conception of history's process which leads to Socialism is itself an outflow from the master-fact. As clear as that the direction of the mountain ranges is the master-fact in the direction of the rivers, so clear is it that the economic conditions under which the race lives direct the flow of politics and indicate the pathway of the ethical, poetical and religious life coming after. It is not with love, nor fellowship, nor hope, nor resolution, nor anger, nor selfishness, nor despair (for these are all modified by the master-fact), that Socialism makes its alliance, but with the economic activity.—**The Master-Fact in Society.**

No half-hearted, half-headed, half-interested allies will carry this fight to the ramparts. The economic pressure which finally calls the capitalist down must come from the working class alone. It must come from wage slaves, conscious of their slavery and their strength, conscious of their economic power, their social necessity and their historic mission.—**The Revolutionary Message.**

Woe to the people who are led by an organizer who finally knows; but to the man who knows not, save that he is experimenting, together with his fellows, for a moving together by the aid of experience, give your faith.—**Pass It On.**

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