

MARCH, 1912

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The
INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW



THE BATTLE FOR BREAD AT LAWRENCE

What Debs Says

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EUGENE V. DEBS

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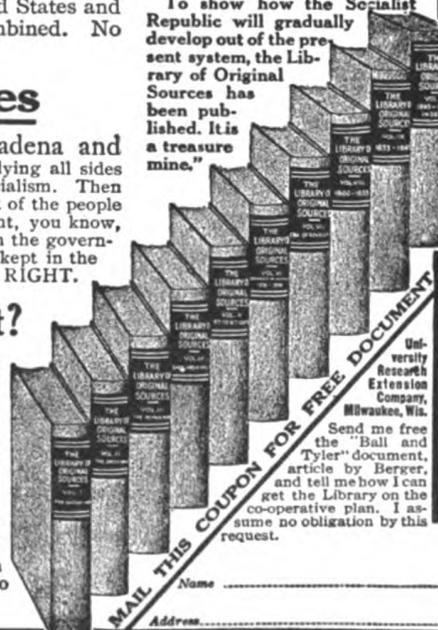
Victor L. Berger

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We, as socialists are vitally interested in the development of civilization. History for us is not a collection of shallow village tales, the story of coronations, weddings and burials of kings. For us the true lesson of history is the story of progress of mankind by gradual steps from brutal slavery to enlightenment, culture and humanity.

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To show how the Socialist Republic will gradually develop out of the present system, the Library of Original Sources has been published. It is a treasure mine."



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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: **Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives LaMonte, William E. Bohn, Lealie H. Marcy, Frank Bohn, William D. Haywood, Phillips Russell**

The Editor is responsible only for views expressed on the editorial page and in unsigned department matter. Each contributor and associate editor is responsible for views expressed over his own signature.

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DEPARTMENTS

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HAYWOOD TALKING TO 10,000 TEXTILE STRIKERS—LAWRENCE



ON LAWRENCE COMMON.

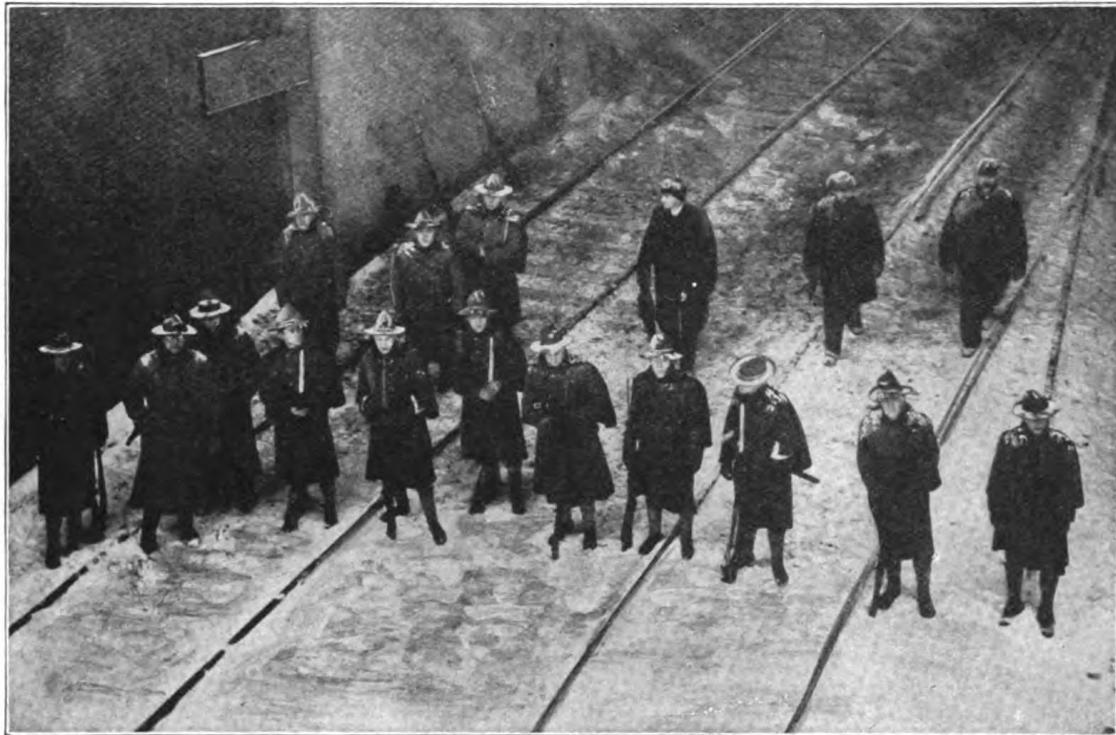
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**INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

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MARCH, 1912

No. 9



SOLDIERS GUARDING RAILWAY AND ATLANTIC MILLS.

THE BATTLE FOR BREAD AT LAWRENCE

BY
MARY E. MARCY

THE strike of the 25,000 textile workers at Lawrence, Mass., came so suddenly that the Woolen Trust was overwhelmed. It started January 12, pay day at the mills. Without warning the mill owners docked the pay envelopes of their employes for two hours in time and wages as a result of the new 54-hour law which went into effect January first.

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The drop averaged only 20 cents a worker and the American Woolen Company fondly imagined that their wage slaves had been sufficiently starved and cowed into docility to endure the cut, just as they had suffered a speeding up of the machines so that the output per worker in 54 hours was greater than it had been on the 56-hour basis.

But trouble started with the opening of the docked pay envelopes, and before the day was spent, Lawrence had a wholly unexpected problem on its hands. The disturbance spread quickly and within an hour 5,000 striking men and women were marching through the streets of the mill district, urging other mill workers to join them.

Their number was augmented at every step and soon "ten thousand singing, cheering men and women, boys and girls, in ragged, irregular lines, marching and

counter-marching through snow and slush of a raw January afternoon—a procession of the nations of the world never equaled in the 'greatest show on earth'—surged through the streets of Lawrence. . . . You listened to the quavering notes of the Marseillaise from a trudging group of French women and you heard the strain caught up by hundreds of other marchers and melting away into the whistled chorus of ragtime from a bunch of doffer boys. Strange songs and strange shouts from strange un-at-home-looking men and women, 10,000 of them; striking because their pay envelope had been cut 'four loaves of bread.'"—*The Survey*.

As a matter of fact the "violence" bewailed by the mill owners consisted probably in half a dozen windows smashed on the first day of the strike, for the strikers were busy holding mass meetings under the auspices of the I. W. W. on the days following, and planning ways for carrying on and extending the fight.

But the redoubtable Mayor of Lawrence knew his duty to the mill owners and he did not flinch. When the strikers, blue and shivering in the keen 10 degrees below zero January wind, decided that the city hall was better suited for mass meetings than the commons, Mayor Scanlon burned his protestations of concern for the workers and the business men of Lawrence, behind him, and called for the militia.

Even the capitalist press, which has ever been notoriously unfair to the working class in its struggles with the employers, reported that outside of preventing the bismirchment of the precincts of the city hall by working class boots, soldier duty for the first week of the strike consisted in looking wise and parading the mill district.

Mr. Lewis E. Palmer says



WOMEN STRIKERS WERE ACTIVE.

in the *Survey*, February 3: "The Boston reporters did their best to manufacture daily stories about outbreaks between soldiers and strikers and they usually managed to draw good bold face lines from the head writers. The newspaper photographers were everywhere and perhaps the best example of their art was a picture of one of their own number being 'repelled at the point of a bayonet' by a citizen soldier who was trying hard to 'see red.' By January 22 Col. E. Leroy Sweetser had a complete regiment of militia at his command, and some people wondered why."

Now everybody knows that the Woolen Trust has based its demands for a higher protective tariff on wool on the alleged necessity of paying higher wages in America than are necessary to support workers abroad. The claim has been made for the past thirty years that the protective tariff was levied primarily for the protection of American workers "against the pauper labor of Europe." But it has come about that the American workers have been reduced to pauperism under the benign influence of high tariff.

Wm. N. Wood, president of the American Woolen Company that operates these mills, is a very particular friend of both Taft and Roosevelt, as has been made manifest by the substantial favors bestowed on him by them as chief executives of the United States.

The Woolen Trust controls more than thirty-two of the largest mills in America. Its plants cover over 650,000 acres and its stone shops contain more than 11,000,000 acres of floor space. In seven years the trust has paid out over \$25,000,000 in dividends and accumulated a surplus of over \$11,000,000. So much for the mill owners. Turn now to the condition of the workers. Mr. Palmer says:

"In a dingy back room of an Italian house I saw over fifty empty pay envelopes which had been returned to the bank as representing average wages of men employes. The amounts written on those envelopes together with the character of the work performed are classified as follows:"

| | |
|--------------------------|--------|
| 1 week winding room..... | \$6.34 |
| 1 week winding room..... | 5.50 |
| 1 week winding room..... | 6.10 |
| 1 week winding room..... | 4.55 |
| 1 week winding room..... | 4.18 |

| | |
|--------------------------------------|------|
| 1 week winding room..... | 6.20 |
| 1 week winding room..... | 5.53 |
| 1 week winding room..... | 5.99 |
| 1 week winding room..... | 5.50 |
| 1 week and 1 hour winding room..... | 5.60 |
| 1 week and 1 hour winding room..... | 6.40 |
| 1 week and 1 hour winding room..... | 5.29 |
| 1 week spinning room..... | 5.71 |
| 1 week spinning room..... | 4.92 |
| 1 week spinning room..... | 5.83 |
| 1 week spinning room..... | 6.55 |
| 1 week spinning room..... | 4.92 |
| 1 week spinning room..... | 4.51 |
| 1 week spinning room..... | 6.37 |
| 1 week spinning room..... | 5.90 |
| 1 week spooling room..... | 6.05 |
| 1 week drawing room..... | 6.74 |
| 1 week drawing room..... | 5.57 |
| 1 week drawing room..... | 5.50 |
| 1 week and 6 hours drawing room..... | 5.27 |
| 1 week drawing and doffing..... | 7.05 |
| 1 week bobbin setter..... | 4.18 |
| 1 week bobbin setter..... | 5.10 |
| 1 week bobbin setter..... | 4.92 |
| 1 week bobbin setter..... | 4.18 |
| 1 week carding room..... | 3.06 |
| 1 week and 5 hours carding room..... | 7.01 |
| 1 week beaming room..... | 5.83 |
| 1 week dryer house..... | 6.83 |
| 1 week combing room..... | 6.90 |
| 1 week combing room..... | 6.39 |
| 1 week 3 hours combing room..... | 6.60 |
| 1 week 3 hours combing room..... | 6.16 |
| 4 days winding room..... | 3.50 |
| 4½ days spinning room..... | 3.33 |
| 5½ days winding room..... | 4.59 |
| 3 days combing room..... | 3.06 |
| 4 days combing room..... | 4.40 |
| 3½ days combing room..... | 3.51 |
| 5 days winding room..... | 4.79 |
| 5 days combing room..... | 6.79 |
| 4½ days combing room..... | 5.19 |
| 4½ days beaming room..... | 4.95 |
| 5 days drawing room..... | 6.03 |
| 3 days beaming room..... | 3.00 |
| 4½ days winding room..... | 4.99 |
| 5 days winding room..... | 4.40 |
| 4 days winding room..... | 3.70 |
| 5 days winding room..... | 4.91 |

It would seem that, wrapped up in all the red tape of Schedule K, their excellencies, the two Williams, have delivered a full sized joker to the working classes of America.

The primary cause of the strike, a cut of 22 cents in the weekly wage was, after the arrival of Joseph J. Ettor, organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World, merged into a series of demands. These demands included a 15 per cent increase in wages, the abolition of the bonus and premium system and double pay for overtime work.

With the accession of Ettor a new spirit of militancy began to premeate the



CITY FIREMEN PLAYING HOSE ON FOOT BRIDGE TO HOLD STRIKERS IN CHECK.

strikers. Too late the mill owners offer to grant the original demand. But the new spirit of solidarity among the men and women, bringing with it a sense of their own power, welded them together in a determination to secure more of their product—to improve their condition.

Detectives in the employ of the Woolen Trust appeared overnight, and, with their advent, dynamite scare-headlines began to work their way to the front pages of the metropolitan dailies, charging the strikers with attempts to blow up the mills.

“The police made arrests on the slightest provocation and the fine social sense of Judge Mahoney, who has dealt out the severest sentences possible, is shown in a statement which he made in disposing of the case of Salvatore Toresse. The judge said: ‘This is an epoch in our history. Never can any of us remember when such demonstra-

tions of lawless presumption have taken place. These men, mostly foreigners, perhaps do not mean to be offenders. They do not . . . know the laws. Therefore the only way we can teach them is to deal out the severest sentences.’ Toresse was fined \$100 for intimidation and \$10 for disturbance and given six months for rioting.’ (*The Survey.*)

Commenting on the fact that the innocent workingmen arrested on a charge of dynamiting were still being held, the *Lawrence Leader*, of January 28, says:

It is no longer whispered—it is being almost published from the house-tops—that a cruel, wicked conspiracy to discredit the strikers was framed-up and the dynamite “planted” where it could be “found” quickly. The object, it is said, was not so much a newspaper fake as it was to turn public sympathy abroad from the strikers and to lead the world to believe that reckless, dangerous anarchists were the ringleaders of the strike.

Members of the state police have practically admitted that the whole business was a frame-

up. It's up to them to produce the vile, low-down conspirators.

The finger of suspicion points strongly, it is said, towards a well-known "captain of industry" as the instigator of the "plant" and to three or four local men as the tools in the matter.

Before many days had passed, the residents of Lawrence were so thoroughly alive to the methods employed by the private detectives, that the mere discovery of dynamite was enough to lay any one of them open to suspicion.

Haywood Arrives.

January 24 Haywood reached Lawrence to help carry on the strike. We quote from the *Evening Tribune*, Lawrence:

William D. Haywood arrived in Lawrence at 11.50 o'clock from New York City Wednesday morning and over 10,000 strikers turned out together with three bands and two drum corps, to greet him at the North station with a tremendous ovation.

Long before the time when he was scheduled to arrive the strikers assembled at the depot in eager anticipation of the coming of the famous labor organizer. Even at 9 o'clock there was a large crowd awaiting his arrival. Before 10 o'clock the number of strikers at the station had been greatly increased. The sidewalks on Essex street were filled to their greatest capacities. Common street was crowded all morning also with strikers wend-

ing their way to the Boston & Maine station. About 10:30 o'clock the Franco-Belgian band arrived, having marched from the Franco-Belgian hall on Mason street. This band was followed by about 200 of the Franco-Belgian element of the strikers. The band stopped in front of the postoffice and played several selections.

The number of strikers was being continually augmented and the crowd seemed to be growing restless. About 11 o'clock a parade of about a thousand strikers came up Essex street. In this parade were the Umberto and the Bellini bands and St. Joseph's drum corps. When this contingent arrived there was great cheering. The bands played almost continuously and there was a great deal of noise. Every time that the cab train came in sight the crowd would commence cheering and the bands would play with renewed vigor.

Shortly after 11:30 o'clock a large parade came up Common street and joined forces with the strikers already at the station. At the head of this parade there was a sign painted on cardboard in large black letters, "All in One." There were many American flags carried by the strikers.

Finally the time for the arrival of Mr. Haywood came and when the train came in sight there was a great demonstration. When the train was approaching the crowd kept pushing up near the tracks and it looked as if someone would be run over.

When the strikers caught sight of Haywood they went almost insane with delight and cheered incessantly while the bands and drum corps boomed out stirring selections. The scene was certainly a wild one. As Mr. Hay-



THE GREATEST DEMONSTRATION EVER ACCORDED A "VISITOR" IN LAWRENCE—*Lawrence Tribune*.

wood came out of the car he took off his hat and waved it to the crowd. The strikers surrounded Haywood and then the parade started down Common street. Haywood was near the head of the parade and was surrounded by thousands of howling and cheering strikers. The parade was over 10,000 strong. The bands played and excitement of the highest pitch prevailed.

In the afternoon a monster mass meeting was held on the commons. Arthur Giovanitti, editor of a New York Italian Socialist paper and Adam Olzewski, editor of the *Polish Daily People*, addressed the crowd in Italian and Polish. John Mullen and S. J. Pothier of the Shoe Workers' Protective Union of Haverhill, presented \$800 to the strikers on behalf of their organization, promising more to come. Ettor also spoke.

When Haywood was introduced there was such an enthusiastic demonstration that it was many moments before he could make himself heard. He said in part:

"Sister and Brother workers: There are times in every man's life when he feels that words cannot express his feelings. That is the way that I feel now when I look out into this sea of faces. The ovation that was given to me this morning was certainly marvelous and I deeply appreciate it. Mr. Ettor has told you of my history with the I. W. W. My dream in life is to see all workers united in one big union. You should carry this idea into effect because without it you will be forced back into the mills and have even worse conditions, not only in the textile works, but all workers. It behooves you to stick together and fight this present strike to a finish. You will win out if you are loyal to yourself. I saw in one of the papers that Lawrence was afraid of my coming. It is not Lawrence that fears my coming, it is the bosses and the superintendents and the owners of the mills that fear me. This is a familiar scene to me, to see soldiers guarding mills, as I have often been in just such strikes before, but I have never, in all my experience, seen a strike defeated by soldiers. It is necessary to keep a tight rein on yourselves. If we can prevail on other workers who handle your goods to help you out by going on strike we will tie up the railroads, put the city in darkness and starve the soldiers out. The only way to make such a condition possible is to have one big union. In London once when there was a strike everything was stopped and it became necessary for the officers of the soldiers to ask permission to carry food to the horses who were starving. In France they stopped the railroads and won a strike in three days. Soon I hope to see the workers so organized that when the mills in Lawrence go on strike, for instance, the mills in every city will go on

strike. In this way you will lock the bosses out for once and for all. You have been ground down terribly in these mills. I can see that by your faces. Let me urge you on in this strike. I came here to say that the working class all over the country will help you out. In a few days I am going to the west and in every city that I go to I will say to the unions: 'Help the strikers in Lawrence by sending provisions and money.' Don't let the bosses fool you. This international question will never be solved unless you solve it yourselves. Stand heart to heart, mind to mind, and hand to hand with all your fellow workers and you will win out.

"All you people come from other nations and you all come to America with the expectation of improving your conditions. You expected to find a land of the free, but you found we of America were but economic slaves as you were in your own home. I come to extend to you tonight the hand of brotherhood with no thought of nationality. There is no foreigner here except the capitalist and he will not be a foreigner long for we will make a worker of him. Do not let them divide you by sex, color, creed or nationality, for as you stand today you are invincible. If the Poles, Italians and Greeks stand together they are invincible. The I. W. W. is composed of different nationalities and with such a fighting committee you can lick 'Billy' Wood. 'Billy' Wood can lick one Pole, in fact he can lick all the Poles, but he can not lick all the nationalities put together. We have got 'Billy' Wood licked now. He never did anything but make trouble.

"You can't weave cloth with bayonets. The blue cloth that you have woven has gone to clothe those soldiers, but it will wear out. United in this organization we will never weave any more for them; let them go naked.

"Don't let this be a single handed struggle. Join hands with the others. Let us build up a new organization in which every man contributes his part toward the welfare of others. Let us enforce a regime in which no man can make anything for profit.

"The only way to win is to unite with all other textile workers. No one branch can get along without the other. The woolsorter is necessary, no matter how stinking his job may be. You are textile workers but you don't seem to realize what an important factor you as textile workers are to society. You are the men and women who clothe the world. You make the clothes for the working class and the robes for the rich. The continuance of civilization is in many cases due to your efforts. You are more important to society than any judge on the supreme bench, than any judge, lawyer, politician or capitalist or any man who does not work for an honest living. Those who do nothing are always looked up to as the prominent citizens of a city.

"It is an inspiration to see you all together in one great cause. I hope to see the boundary line between all nations broken down and one

great nation of the working class. There are only two nations in the world today; the working class on one side and the capitalists on the other. We of the working class must stand together."

The wonderful solidarity displayed by the strikers has surprised everybody. There are more languages spoken in the confines of Lawrence than in any other district of its size in the world. But in spite of these barriers, the strike was an almost spontaneous one and seventeen races, differing widely in speech and custom, rose in a concerted protest. Lacking anything like a substantial organization at the outset, they have clung together in furthering a common cause without dissension. Too much credit cannot be given Comrades Joseph Ettor and Wm. D. Haywood in the splendid work of organization and education they have carried on in Lawrence. Says the *Outlook* for February 10:

"Haywood does not want unions of weavers, unions of spinners, unions of loom-fixers, unions of wool-sorters, but he wants one comprehensive union of all textile workers, which in time will take over the textile factories, as the steel workers will take over the steel mills and the railway workers the railways. Haywood interprets the class conflict literally as a war which is always on, which becomes daily more bitter and uncompromising, which can end only with the conquest of a capitalistic society by proletarians or wage-workers, organized industry by industry.

"Haywood places no trust in trade agreements, which, according to his theory, lead merely to social peace and 'put the workers to sleep.' Let the employer lock out his men when he pleases, and let

the workmen strike when they please. He is opposed to arbitration, conciliation, compromise; to sliding scales, profit-sharing, welfare work; to everything, in short, which may weaken the revolutionary force of the workers. He does not ask for the closed shop or the official recognition of the union, for he has no intention of recognizing the employer. What he desires is not a treaty of industrial peace between the two high contracting parties, but merely the creation of a proletarian impulse which will eventually revolutionize society. Haywood is a man who believes in men, not as you and I believe in them, but fervently, uncompromisingly, with an obstinate faith in the universal good will and constancy of the workers, worthy of a great religious leader. That is



HAYWOOD LEAVING STRIKE HEADQUARTERS.

what makes him supremely dangerous."

Governor Foss, himself one of the mill owners, and Mayor Scanlon have never before met "strike leaders" like Ettor and Haywood. This is probably their first experience with representatives of labor who cannot be "reached" in some way. More than one attempt was made to come to an "understanding" with Ettor. It was even shown how he could persuade the strikers to accept a few of their demands, call off the strike and make himself the most popular labor leader in the country with the mill companies, but in preference, the *Boston Herald* says:

"He is to be found at almost any hour in some long low-ceiled hall talking earnestly to row upon row of set faces which strangely contrast the racial peculiarities of many quarters of the earth."

Talking, talking, always talking on One Big Union. It was agreed by the mill owners long before Haywood's arrival that he was the worst possible man they could have opposing them.

Haywood and some of the strikers conferred with the Investigating Committee when it came to Lawrence.

Speaker Cushing opened the meeting by saying that the legislators came informally, being there on their own responsibility, without any particular authority, for the purpose of finding out



JOSEPH J. ETTOR.

conditions, preparatory to acting on various bills, which had been introduced relative to the industrial struggle in Lawrence.

One of the bills was introduced in the house by a Socialist, Representative Morrell of Haverhill, while Senator Barlow of Lowell introduced a bill in the senate.

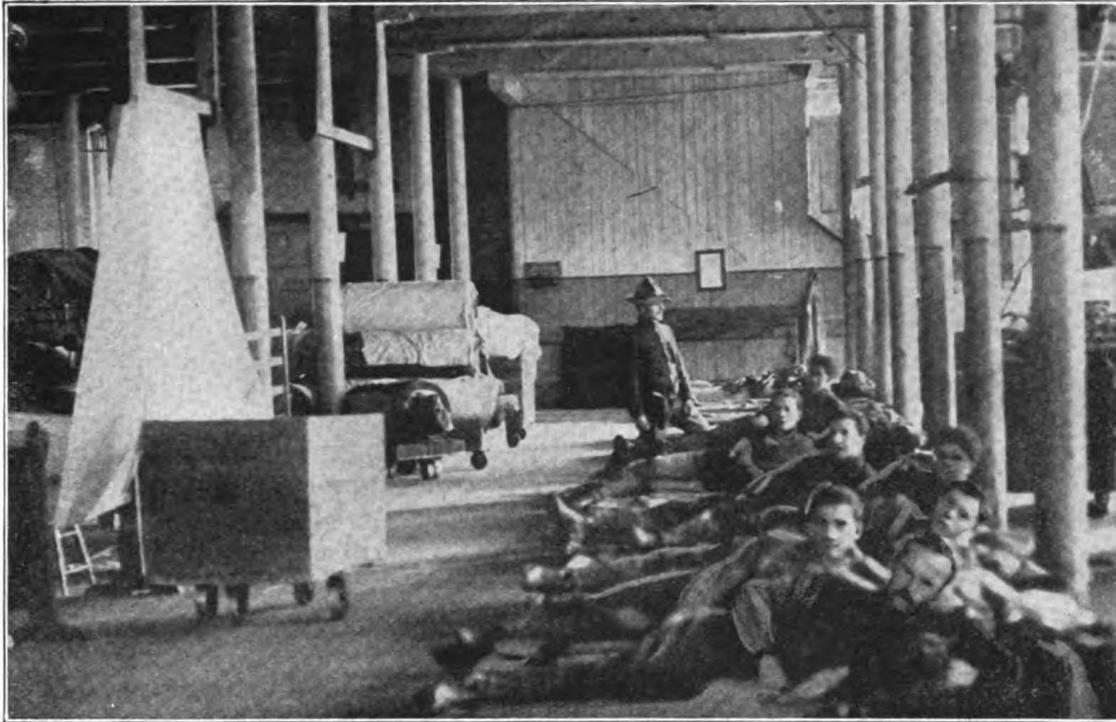
Unfortunately none of the investigators themselves were Socialists. In reporting the investigation, the *Outlook* correspondent, February 10, says:

"I have rarely seen anything more sensational and dramatic than a certain quiet intellectual collision which I witnessed in the Mayor's office at Lawrence between Haywood and a few strikers and an investigating committee of the State Legislature. It was a war of philosophies à outrance, compared to which a bloody affray between militia and strikers would have seemed puerile and insignificant. The committee, composed of men of exceptional intellectual attainments, were thrown upon the defensive. 'What can your state do?' asked the strikers, almost in so many words. 'If you find one party wrong, can your state force it to do right? Can you legislators be impartial as arbitrators, when you have not lived the bitter life of the workers? Would you arbitrate a question of life and death, and are the worst wages paid in these mills anything short of death? Do you investigate because conditions are bad, or because the workers broke loose and struck? Why did you not come before the strike? Can you weave cloth with the bayonets of your militia, or spin with the clubs of your policemen? What can your State of Massachusetts do to make wrong right for the workingmen who form the bulk of your citizens?'"

Haywood quoted some pay envelopes received by spinners at the Wood mill, \$6.99, \$6.74, \$5.45, \$6.30 and \$8.25, the latter being for extra work. He also called attention to the fact that on the envelope of the one marked \$5.45, there was a little advice about the benefits of saving money and the name of a local bank was given advertising. He thought that this was heaping on abuse.

Mr. Haywood was asked what his idea was relative to a committee coming to Lawrence to investigate conditions here, and later to investigate conditions throughout the state.

Haywood replied: "I have no hope in a legislative investigation, as I think it will result in nothing. The workers here have broken loose and other cities are soon going to break loose, too. It is immaterial to me, however, whether or not there is a legislative investigation.



SOLDIERS IN SLEEPING QUARTERS IN THE LOWER PACIFIC MILLS.

"We have no hope in the two political parties which you represent, but I have no doubt that if the legislative committee comes here the strikers will give them all the information they want, and will furnish guides to bring you through the homes of the workers.

"If you gentlemen desire to improve conditions here, you could do well by withdrawing the militia and urge upon the legislature, favorable action on the bill for \$10,000 for the Lawrence strikers, or double that amount.

"I have no question that the strikers here could improve conditions in the mills themselves, because they have the labor power.

"It is a vital matter, however, and I am glad to see that it has aroused the politicians, and it is high time that they saw it was someone else other than the 'upper ten' who were responsible for the prosperity of good old Massachusetts. Good will result if you go about the investigation honestly."

Representative Bothfell asked Mr. Haywood what impression in his opinion the state board of arbitration had made upon the strikers, and Haywood replied:

"The state board of arbitration made

a bad showing here. They could not deliver the goods. They could not get the operators into the conference."

On February 2, Ettor was arrested on a charge of complicity in the murder of Anna La Pizza, an Italian woman who was shot during a street meeting in Lawrence, January 30. Several business men in Lawrence proved that Ettor was not present at the time of the shooting but he was refused bail. Every one recognized this as another move on the part of the mill owners to cripple the strike.

The strikers were denied the privilege of congregating to hold meetings. Col. Sweetser is reported as saying:

"I will allow no mass meetings. I will allow no parades. We are going to look for trouble—legitimate trouble from now on. We are not looking for peace now."

On January 30 John Rami, an 18-year-old Syrian striker, was bayoneted by a member of a squad of Massachusetts militia. The boy was stuck through the back like a pig as he ran with seven companions before an unprovoked charge of the state soldiers. He died a few hours afterward in the Lawrence hospital. Many other strikers were injured by the soldiers.



ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

But in spite of these disasters and the threat of Col. Sweetser, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn gathered together 12,000 strikers and marched with them down to hold a meeting on the commons. The soldiers faced them with bayonets, but yielded before the determined crowd of men and women.

At present a reign of terror has the entire city of Lawrence in its grip. Fourteen hundred soldiers have converted the streets into an armed camp. The classic doors of one of our oldest colleges have been thrown open to permit the youth of "our best families" to join the militia and "insolent, well-fed Harvard men parade up and down, their rifles loaded with ball cartridge, their bayonets glittering, keen and hungry for the blood of the strikers who are fighting the resources of the entire state to secure a wage that will enable them to live in comparative sufficiency and decency." (*New York Call*.)

Wm. E. Trautmann and James P. Thompson, organizers for the I. W. W., have joined Haywood in Lawrence, to help in the work of organization. Telegrams have been sent to the Switchmen's Unions and other railroad organizations asking them to refuse to handle the goods of the woolen companies, and Haywood has been called to Fall River and New

Bedford where the workers are taking up plans for a state-wide strike in the textile mills.

Plans were laid for sending the children of the strikers to New York to be cared for during the fight and in response to the enthusiastic appeal of the *New York Call*, over 1,000 men and women offered to care for children until the strike was over.

The Lawrence strike is one of the most inspiring struggles the American workers have ever known. Separated by many different languages, customs and religions, the men and women, the boys and girls of Lawrence have joined hands to fight as one man against the common enemy—the woolen companies.

The strikers are accustomed to hunger and cold; hardships for themselves they can hope to endure, now that comrades in other cities have offered to feed and care for the children so that they may struggle on unhindered by the cries of the little ones for bread.

The American Woolen Company, supported by the officials of the state and the nation, by the militia, the police and the courts, upheld by a lying press, is in a panic of fear. This is the busy season of the year in the mills. Cloth is needed. Orders are waiting to be filled and the woolen company must continue to exploit its wage slaves or become unable to pay dividends upon its stock. It is a case of dividends against more bread for the striking workers in Lawrence.

In response to a motion by Comrade Haywood, the members of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party have issued a call for funds to aid the strikers. The Socialists at Lawrence have set the wheels revolving by a movement to recall Mayor Scanlon. Socialist locals in Massachusetts and in every state in the union are holding meetings and selling literature and collecting donations to send to Lawrence.

On Sunday, Feb. 11th, at the Grand Central Station, New York City, 5,000 comrades met a carload of little strikers from Lawrence. The police, delegated to "preserve order" were swept aside and the children were caught up and swung shoulder high by strong working-class arms. At the Labor Temple warm food



A STRIKER'S FAMILY.

and clothes awaited them after which the comrades who were to care for them took the children home. Philadelphia has offered to care for 250 children. The tocsin of class solidarity has sounded throughout the land. Now is the time to show your colors.

This is your fight and my fight. An injury to one worker is an injury to all

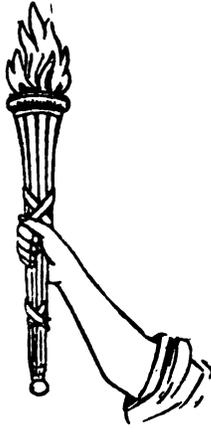
workers. We cannot save ourselves without freeing the whole working class. Now is the time to show the men and women at Lawrence that Socialism means something today as well as the abolition of wage slavery tomorrow.

Send donations to the REVIEW or to Joseph Bedard, secretary, 9 Mason street, Lawrence, Mass.





NEW YORK SOCIALISTS CARING FOR CHILDREN AT LABOR TEMPLE.



Rational Political Action

BY

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

WHEN I was a Washington correspondent some years ago there fell under my observation of the shifting show two facts about government by a political machine that seemed to me fairly illuminating.

The first was that while it was one of the dullerest of all human devices it was endowed with extraordinary power to bedevil and frustrate good intentions.

For instance, one of the most familiar spectacles was the young member that had come to his first term in Congress with really high ideals and a sincere purpose to be straight and serve the people. In every case the machine made short work of such a one. Usually it got him; if, for reasons of superior character or otherwise it could not get him it made him a mummy. He could no more get the simplest thing done than I can dance a hornpipe on the Washington monument. From first to last I saw about a hundred of these excellent young men land as members of Congress of their proud native land, and I never saw one of them that made any other kind of record but this. The machine either rolled away with them or rolled over them; one thing or the other.

The second fact was that judged merely on the basis of efficiency and nothing higher, the machine style of government was a failure. It never got anywhere; it never did anything. As a system of government it was a piece of old punk. No matter which party might be in power, the result was always the same. The party would come in with a program and a lot of beautiful promises and then fail utterly to carry

them out. It could not carry them out, even when it wished, even when they were plainly advisable, for the reason that the machine style of government was a worthless instrument. It rumbled around and around the halls of legislation, but it never showed a particle of result except that the regular bills were carried in the regular way. The appropriations were not usually wrecked and the financial interests got the laws they wanted. But so far as following the party's platform and supposed intentions was concerned, there was none of that ever, because there was nothing to do it with. The party in power had no tool. It was tied up with a system, and that system was the real government; the rest was but a counterfeit, and would be so long as structural conditions remained unchanged.

It made no difference how progressive and admirable might be the ideas that were sought to be established. They all perished upon the barricades of that system. The Populist party had an admirable program; it aimed far above the greasy thought of its day and stood for a measure of real democracy and political and industrial freedom. With deep interest I saw its rise, fair promise, decline and destruction. Having some of the best purposes that up to its time had ever been enunciated in a platform, it went the road to destruction because it insisted upon playing the game and getting entangled with the system.

It went out to get offices and put men into jobs. That finished it.

Seeing so many of these wrecks about me, a vague notion began to form in my

mind that this was not the best way to effect things; the system wasted too much in time and effort and never arrived. So long as a party made its object the getting of votes and the filling of offices it would land where the Populist party had landed, and that no matter how lofty might be its aims. To declare good intentions evidently meant nothing. The floor of Congress was paved with good intentions. The grandest platform ever written by man was worthless when it got into that place. If its advocates played the game, there was but one way in which they could play it and that was in accordance with the established rules. They were always thinking and dreaming that they could play it in some other way but they never did and never could. They were always imagining that the thing to do was to get into office and then they could do many fine things and carry out their ideals; but when they got into office they always found that they could not do otherwise than other men had done for the reason that they and all other men that went about their work in that way were bound hand and foot to the existing system. That is to say, the exact method by which the government was carried forward was fixed as between iron walls by unchangeable custom. A gigantic machinery had been erected and with it alone things could be done. Either you must surrender to this machinery or give up every chance of achieving anything.

The essence of the system and the motive force of the machinery were compromise and bargain. Do this for me and I will do that for you. I will vote for your eight-hour law if you will vote for my public building at Yapbank. Be a good Indian and stay on the reservation and you can get your pet measure through. Fall to playing any independent tricks and you might as well go out into the woods and climb trees. You think you can get out of Congress without the stench of compromise on your clothing. You do but dream. In the halls of Congress there is no other atmosphere. Compromise is the way we do things here. It is a mighty bad way and never gets very far but it is our way, and we have none other.

So seasoned veterans might have talked to one of these ambitious youngsters. So in effect they did talk, and they

told the exact and literal truth. Outside of the regular routine of legislation very little was done at any time, and what was achieved was on the bargain counter basis.

It occurred to me then and to others like me that were merely impartial observers of men and manners, that there might easily be a better way of doing things. There was the Populist party, for instance. Much as we used to make fun of it (under orders from headquarters) we knew that it had a rational and admirable program and that it never ought to have gone to smash. But that is just where it went, nevertheless, through trying to get into the dirty game on the bargain counter. Suppose, instead, that it had kept itself intact and independent, standing aloof and insisting always upon its ideas as the only salvation for the nation. It could have raised in this country an incomparable amount of trouble, it could have seen a handful of its ideas put into practical operation and itself a vital power instead of a sign of laughter.

This was felt by more than one of us, though we did not go far enough to formulate a basic idea of it. Some years afterward I found the identical thing lucidly and firmly expressed in one of Wendell Phillips's incomparable orations. "Give me," said Mr. Phillips, "fifty thousand men that will stand together, shoulder to shoulder, without compromise and without surrender, insisting upon an ideal, and they will rule the nation with their ideas."

If experience and observation go for anything, I am obliged to believe that he was absolutely right. The greatest force in this country is not the force of electoral college votes, nor of the number of men that may be shunted into office. The real force is the force of ideas. Except momentarily at times of great pressure the party that has a majority in Congress never achieves anything. The real possibility of an achieving force lies in persistent ideals.

The story of the American Abolition movement is the best illustration of this. The Abolitionists never elected anybody to office; they never carried Baraboo or M'Indoes Falls; they never distinguished themselves as practical politicians; as constructors of a vote-getting machine they would be regarded as comical failures. Yet they drove the whole nation before them by the

sheer force of their ideals, and when African slavery was abolished in this country it was the Abolitionists alone that had abolished it. Even when they seemed to be most derided and least effectual they were the irresistible conquerors because they steadfastly and unceasingly proclaimed an eternal truth.

What are majorities and elections, seats in Congress or men in office? Nothing but instruments with which to accomplish certain results. Need anyone that believes in any high and true ideal care by what name are known the instruments that realize this ideal? Not in the least, if they be honest and decent and if they involve on his part no particle of contamination, compromise, surrender, bargaining, nor yielding from his protest. Unless he be carried away with mere lust for office and personal glory he will be as well satisfied to see practical or essential progress toward his ideals come from one source as from another. What he wants is that men shall be free. Whether they are liberated by his personal friends or by his enemies can make no difference to him. His part in life is to insist always upon freedom, to proclaim it and demand it, to accept nothing short of it, to insist upon the full measure of it, to rebel against the lack of it or any proposition that in any degree falls short of it, to persist and to struggle on without ceasing for his ideal in its absolute purity.

But it does not follow that he must get an office in which to do all nor any of this. He can do it a great deal better from the outside, while he waits and works for the full day of promise. Let somebody else pass palliative legislation, make deals and preliminary reforms, and mix the compromises. Who does this he need not care; it is none of his affair. His work is to insist with all his strength upon the ultimate goal; not for his own sake but for the sake of the ideal.

And this to my mind represents the greatest political power in the world. Party majorities and blowing in the streets on election night the tin horns of triumph are about on a plane so far as real significance or value are concerned. The real aim is changed conditions. And if I know anything about politics after many years of professional connection therewith, this is the true way to secure changed conditions.

Let us suppose in this country a political party with a program that proposes a great and radical transformation of the existing system of society, and proposes it upon lofty grounds of the highest welfare of mankind. Let us suppose that it is based upon vital and enduring truth and that the success of its ideals would mean the emancipation of the race.

If such a party should go into the dirty game of practical politics, seeking success by compromise and bargain, striving to put men into office, dealing for place and recognition, concerned about the good opinion of its enemies, elated when men spoke well of it, depressed by evil report, tacking and shifting, taking advantage of a local issue here and of a temporary unrest there, intent upon the goal of this office or that, it would inevitably fall into the pit that has engulfed all other parties. Nothing on earth could save it. It would be adopting the iron-walled path of the machine system of government and down that path it must inevitably go, for from it there is absolutely no escape, and at its end is ruin.

These are the facts. No doubt the way to the Co-operative Commonwealth would look rosier if they were otherwise; they are not otherwise; they are exactly thus.

But suppose a party that kept forever in full sight the ultimate goal and never once varied from it. Suppose that it strove to increase its vote for this object and for none other. Suppose its membership to be held together by the inspiration of that purpose, to be informed of it and prepared to work for it unswervingly, to wait for it if necessary. Suppose this party at all times to insist in its agitation upon this object and to proclaim that it would never be content for one moment with anything else; that this reform and that reform were well enough for other parties but for this particular party nothing would be accepted but the fullest measure of its ideals. Suppose that by agitation, propaganda, education, literature, campaigns, meetings, a party press and every means in its power it steadily increased its membership and its vote. Suppose it regarded its vote as the index of its converts and sought for such votes and for none others. Suppose the entire body was convinced of the party's full program, aims and philosophy. Suppose that all other men knew that this

growing party was thus convinced and thus determined, and that its growth menaced every day more and more the existing structure of society, menaced it with overthrow and a new structure. What then?

Such a party would be the greatest political power that ever existed in this or any other country. It would drive the other parties before it like sand before a wind. They would be compelled to adopt one after another the expedients of reform to head off the increasing threat of this one party's progress toward the revolutionary ideal. But this one party would have no more need to waste its time upon palliative measures than it would have to soil itself with the dirt of practical politics and the bar-

gain counter. The other parties would do all that and do it well. The one party would be concerned with nothing but making converts to its philosophy and preparing for the revolution that its steadfast course would render inevitable. Such a party would represent the highest possible efficiency in politics, the greatest force in the state, and the ultimate triumph of its full philosophy would be beyond question.

In other words, and to drop all supposition, we can have a vote-getting machine and go to perdition with it; or we can have the Co-operative Commonwealth and working class government. But we cannot have both.

"All parties without exception recognize us as a political power, and exactly in proportion to our power. Even the craziest reactionary that denies us the right of existence courts our favor and by his acts gives the lie to his words. From the fact that our assistance is sought by other parties some of our comrades draw the strange conclusion that we should reverse the party tactics and, in place of the old policy of the class struggle against all other parties, substitute the commercial politics of log rolling, wire pulling and compromise. Such persons forget that the power which makes our alliance sought for, even by our bitterest enemies, would have had absolutely no existence were it not for the old class struggle tactics. * * *

"Just in this fact lies our strength, that we are not like the others, and that we are not only not like the others, and that we are not simply different from the others, but that we are their deadly enemy, who have sworn to storm and demolish the Bastille of Capitalism, whose defenders all those others are. Therefore we are only strong when we are alone."—Wilhelm Liebknecht.



The Beef Trust on Trial

BY

ANTON RUDOWSKY

WHEN Upton Sinclair published his book, "The Jungle," about seven years ago, it caused profound consternation among the American packing companies. And it was no wonder. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of men and women became temporary vegetarians. The decline in the exports of meat and meat products was phenomenal. As this decline followed closely after the big strike of the packing house workers in 1904 in Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha and other places, it was explained that the falling off in sales was probably due to the revolt of the workers.

At last, by order of Terrible Teddy, the Government made its own investigation in the packing plants—to reassure the

public, strengthen the market and save the packers from further enormous losses. The Government report corroborated all the allegations contained in the "Jungle," but also showed what great and wonderful changes had taken place in the packing industry. They said the plants were clean and that a hundred government inspectors were on the job every day inspecting the animals as well as the dressed meat so that no impurities would be likely to get into the stomachs of those who bought their beefsteaks from the big packing companies.

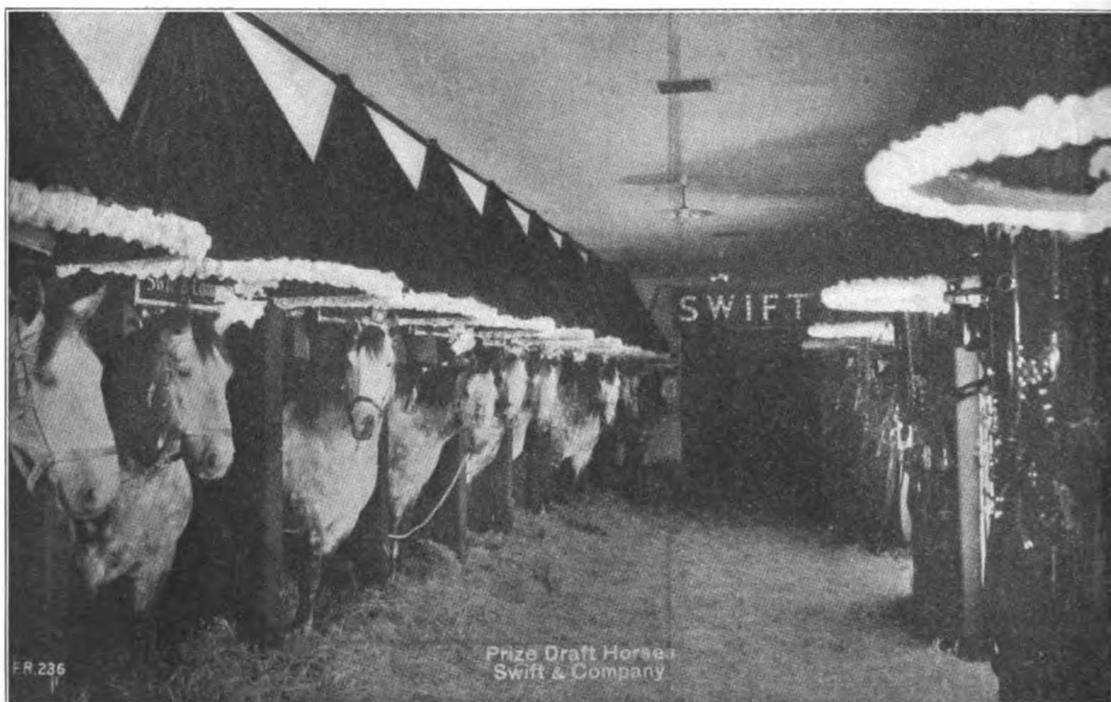
Proletarians had never cared much about the investigation anyway. They are always too busy trying to get the money to pay the butcher to stop for other matters. But the dirt and the nauseating

stench in packingtown disappeared. White caps and aprons are now furnished employees in departments where visitors are invited when they go to see the wonders of the great packing house district. The beef trust needed the investigation badly. And the immunity bath saved them from further losses.

The stage is now set for another comedy. The Beef Trust is to be tried again. Financiers declare that Morgan and Loeb, the backers of the Trust, will not permit the emasculation of the combine. The Army and Navy Department of Great

ened: The packing companies are running on about one-fifth time and Trust Buster Taft may find that he has to come to the rescue. It is good politics to play a little comedy for the benefit of the working class. But it is not good politics to injure your own friends.

However, this trial and its consequent disclosures supply valuable object lessons to the student of political economy. The development of the packing industry is closely related to certain scientific discoveries of the last thirty years. These discoveries are in turn the results of the



THERE ARE VELVET HANGINGS IN THE STOCK YARDS STABLES.

Britain has discovered that if the courts decide against the Beef Trust, the packing companies will probably be unable to supply the meat required by these departments, which have been entirely supplied for some years with the American product. A war might break out and the soldiers be unable to get any of Armour's canned beef. So the British War Department has refused to renew its contract with the Beef Trust. And the packing combine lost the privilege of supplying the meat for the British Army and Navy. A large order gone to pot!

The ruin of the industry is again threat-

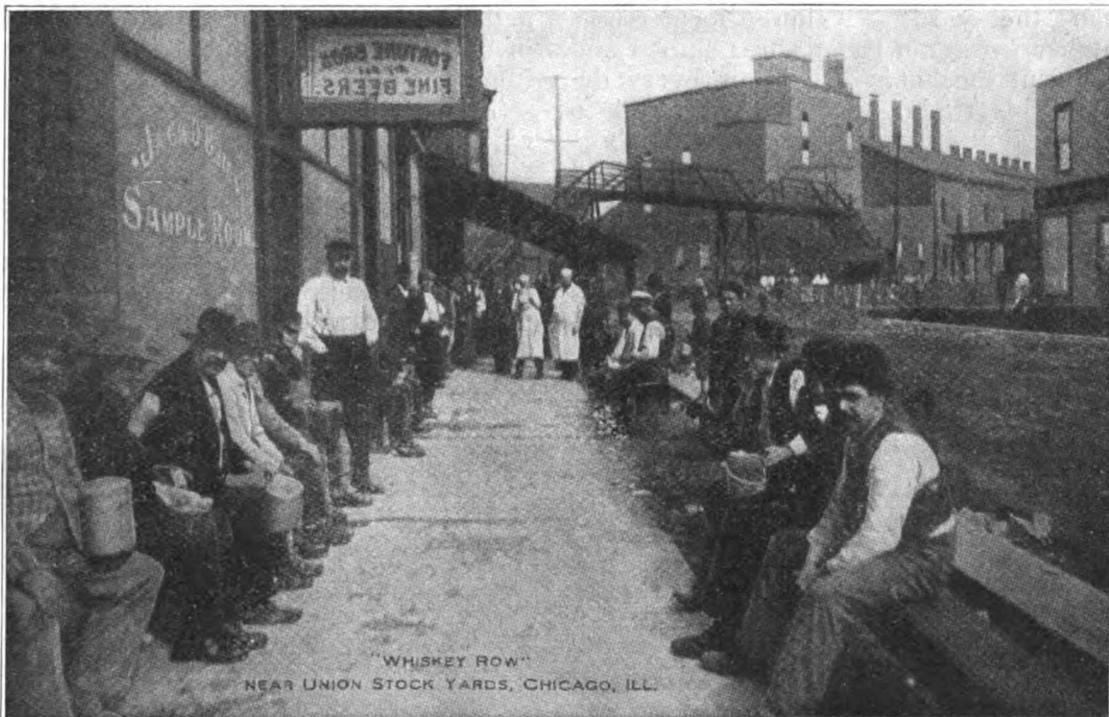
pressing need of modernized methods of production caused by the expansion of markets in all directions.

So long as the consumption of meat and meat products, except smoked and pickled goods, was immediate, the industry had to be confined to localities where meat was needed. The master butchers of yore bought their live stock, killed, dressed and sold the meats and products in the local markets from day to day. Except ham and smoked sausage there was no production in excess of the demand. The highest number of men employed by one master in big industrial centers was per-

haps fifty men. In small towns from two to three journeymen helped the masters. All employees were skilled men and proficient craftsmen, acquainted with every detail of the work. Today the largest employer in the meat packing industry in a city like Berlin, Germany, where all live stock must be killed in communal slaughter houses, requires only fifty-six men. Compare such a plant with the plants of Swift & Company and the Armour Packing Company which employ respectively 26,000 and 38,000 men and women.

had to be done within a week's time, and it took nearly as long to run a hog, or a lot of cattle or sheep through the various processes before they were finally ready for the market.

The invention of artificial ice-making and cooling by Prof. Lind and of meat preservation by Prof. Liebeck gave the signal for a revolution in the meat packing industry. Meat could now be dressed, thrown into the coolers and shipped in refrigerator cars without danger of deterioration. It was sent to larger markets, distributing points also equipped



MEN EAT THEIR LUNCHEES IN THE COLD OF WHISKEY ROW.

Cattle and hog raisers in the United States ship the surplus supply of live stock that cannot be used in local markets, to England, France and Germany. In the latter country the hog barons "junkers" used their power in legislative bodies to secure laws especially designed to keep out all imported live stock from the markets. They succeeded to some extent in thus keeping up the prices on their own live stock. The law of supply and demand was temporarily neutralized.

The killing of live stock, the dressing and selling of meat products in those days

with ice machines or to seaports where steamers containing cooling rooms could take the dressed meat to all corners of the globe. The conserving process suggested the packing of prepared meat into cans. Thus safeguarded against deterioration, caused by exposure to the open air, the goods can now be kept and preserved for weeks or months, and they have been known to be kept for years and then consumed.

Production for a larger market and for the export trade could only develop in cities centrally located, within easy reach

of all rural districts, so that livestock could be shipped to the market with dispatch.

Cincinnati was the first pork-packing center, but the growth of Chicago as the largest railroad and lake shipping city of the world has made it the logical center of the international packing industry.

With the increase in the size of packing plants there came a subdivision of the labor process on an ever larger scale. New and ever larger labor-saving machines were installed.

The moving benches, lately introduced, displaced almost the last skilled worker from the yards. Where formerly a butcher workman had to be a skilled and proficient mechanic and know every detail of his trade, he is now reduced to a mere link in the long chain of laborers required in the never interrupted process of preparing meat for market.

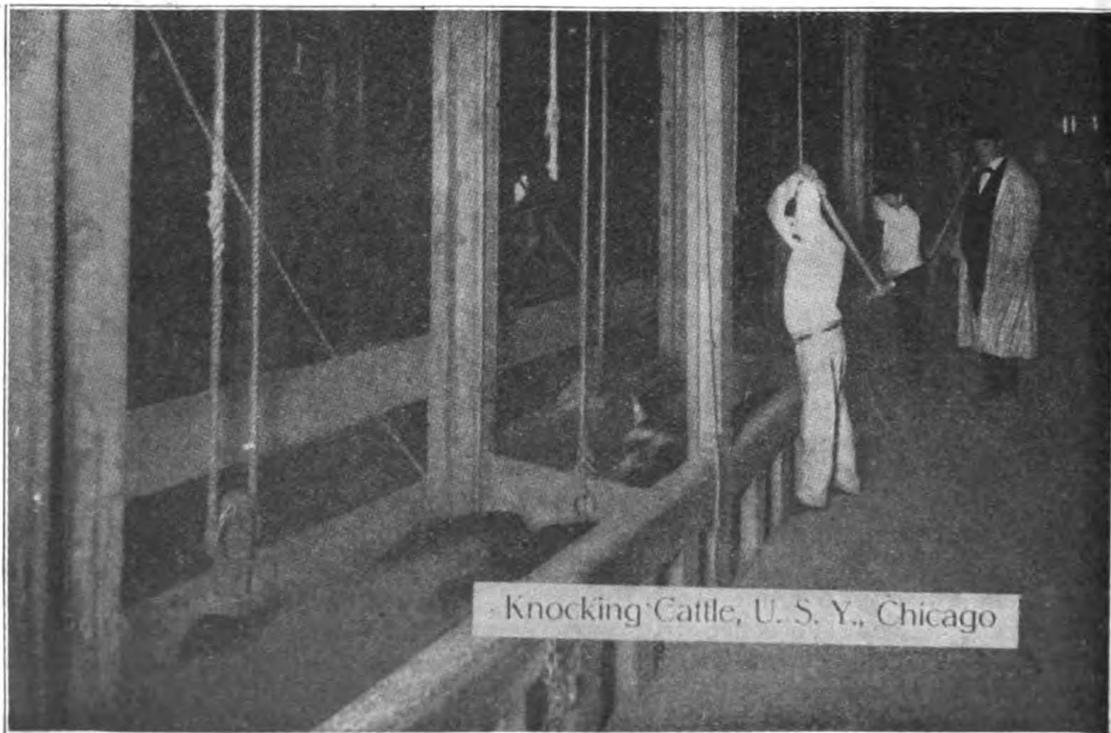
Forty-six operations, again subdivided into over 120 hand operations, are required, for example, in the beef-killing department. The man who stuns the cattle with the huge iron hammer is compelled to knock down 250 head in one

hour. The men cutting the throats and performing the other operations are obliged to keep the pace set by the "knocker."

In the hog-killing department twenty-eight operations are performed by 120 workers to get the porker into the next department, where the animals are cut up and the various parts automatically passed on to the respective departments to be turned into different brands of meat products.

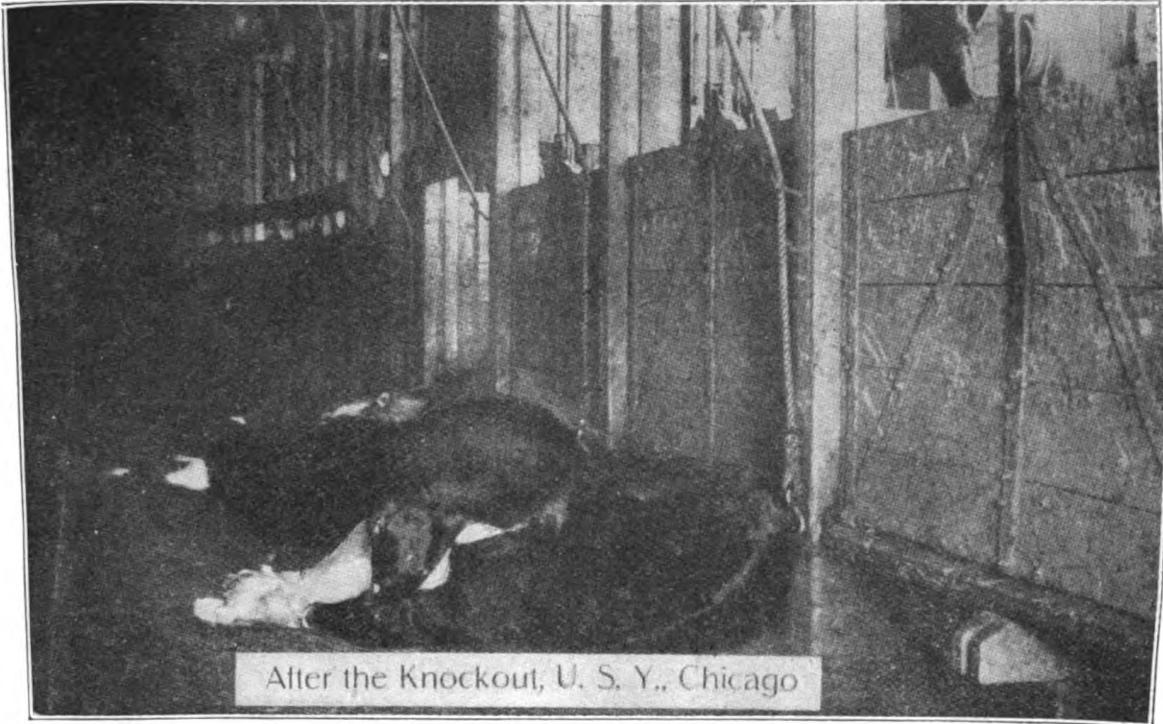
Squealing and kicking, a hog is jerked into mid-air by an automatic wheel bearing a chain attachment that hauls up the next porker. The pig-sticker is compelled to stop the screams of 800 hogs in one hour. With equal rapidity other functions are performed.

The small master butcher is allowed to exist only in the role of distributor and agent of the Trust. He is absolutely dependent upon the supply of beef and pork that the Beef Trust allows him. When here and there, apparently independent packers are allowed to get supplies of livestock, they usually have to depend on the stock-raising farmer of the immediate vicinity. Often they have to



Knocking Cattle, U. S. Y., Chicago

ONE MAN KNOCKS OUT 250 HEAD OF CATTLE AN HOUR.



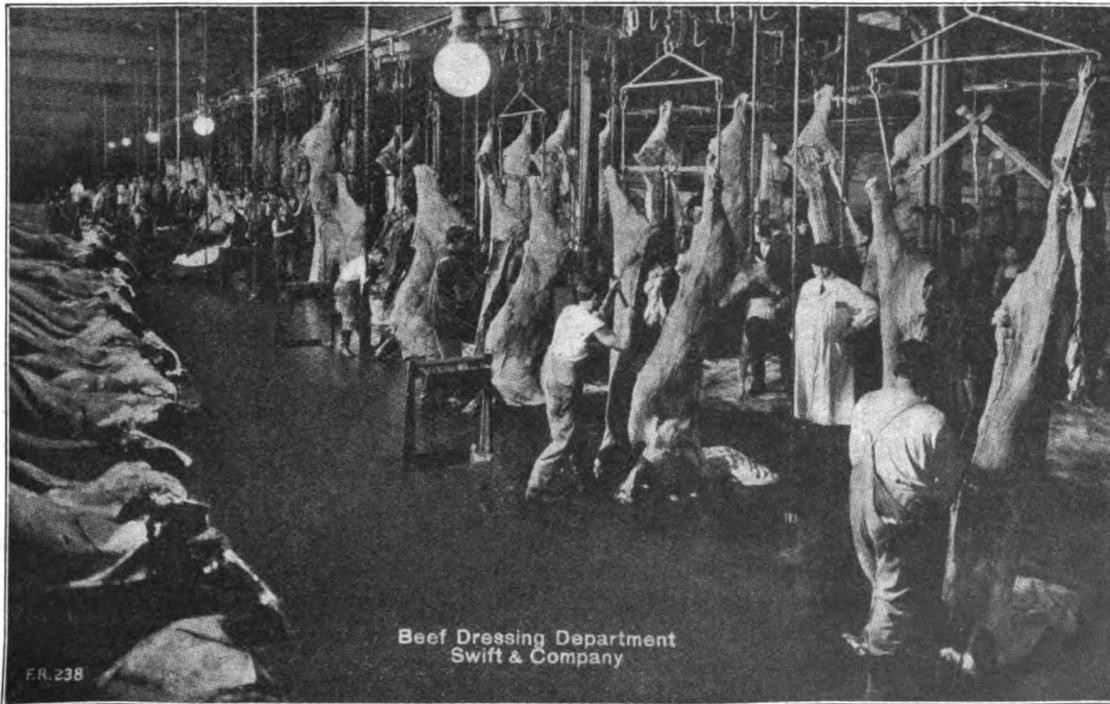
After the Knockout, U. S. Y., Chicago

ON THE WAY TO THE STICKERS.

be satisfied with the livestock left over and not sold in the Stock Yards in the big packing centers.

On an average 850 loaded cars are

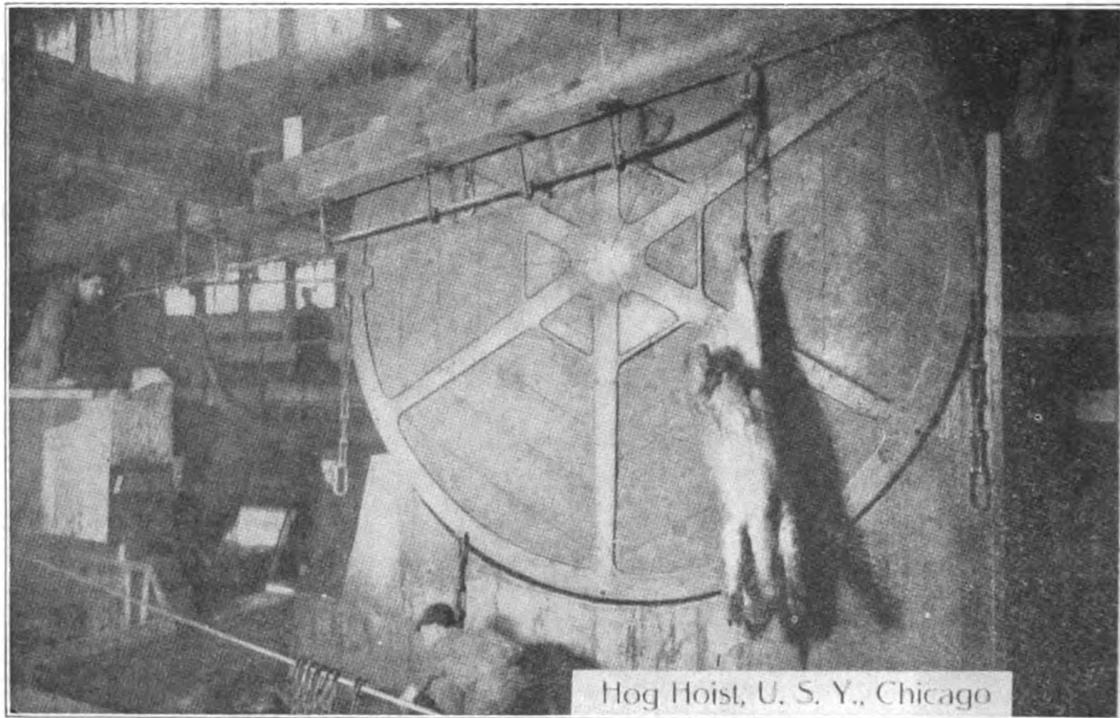
shipped into the Chicago Stock Yards every day the year round and about 60,000 head of livestock are killed and transformed into meat products every day.



Beef Dressing Department
Swift & Company

F.R. 238

BEEF DRESSERS HAVE TO KEEP PACE WITH THE KNOCKERS.



Hog Hoist, U. S. Y., Chicago

800 SQUEALING HOGS ARE SILENCED BY THE PIG-STICKERS EVERY HOUR.

Over 900 cars, packed with meat products, leave the terminals at the Stock Yards daily to supply meat in many far nooks and corners of the globe.

Much could be written of the wonderful mechanical appliances installed, by which the cost of production, the labor power cost, is brought to the lowest possible point.

So rapidly are the various operations performed that within one hour and a half after a live animal enters the slaughtering pens the meat is dressed and ready for the chilling process in the great coolers.

How the Beef Trust manufactures its own tin cans, builds its own refrigerator cars, established its own printing plant and daily paper (*The Drovers' Journal*), the story of its ice manufacturing plant, how the entire industry is a community in itself, containing more workers and their dependents than the state of Nevada possesses population, it would take a whole volume to tell. But in these days of scientific production everything is saved. Odds and ends are worked up into soap, glue, grease, fertilizer, collar buttons, combs and other useful commodities.

The grease is no longer skimmed from the ill-smelling Bubbly Creek described by Sinclair. The water is run through a new sort of a separator and screen that combs out every particle of grease and bone. Not one ounce of hoof that goes into the packing houses is wasted, as might be guessed, since the output of cars daily is many carloads bigger than the intake.

As a huge mechanical instrument of production, the packing industry has reached a stage of perfection almost unequaled in any other field.

But the tens of thousands of workers in the packing industry have little to say concerning the conduct of this modern industrial state of which they are so important a part. They have no vote in the administration of affairs in this industrial commonwealth. But one time, some years ago, they established certain rights and used them to say a word and more as to the disposal of their labor power.

The Knights of Labor were the first to wake them up. In 1885 they won the eight-hour day for everybody in the packing industry and without a strike. It was virtually the first industry in which the workers had gained such a revolutioniz-



Scalding Hogs, U. S. Y., Chicago

BEFORE THE HOGS HAVE CEASED JERKING THEY ARE THROWN INTO SCALDING VATS.

ing point. Over 2,500 more employes were added to the pay roll as a result of the curtailment of competition among workers for jobs and wages went up. Common laborers were able to demand 22 cents an hour, while many "skilled" workers today have to be content with 16 or 17 cents an hour.

The packing house workers only enjoyed this prosperity for six months. Agents of the company were made officers of the assemblies of the workers, or officers of the workers' assemblies became agents of the company. The employers took away all the concessions that had been granted. The employes went on strike. Governor Oglesby called for the militia to cow the men. But they did not return to work. Just as the strike was practically won, General Master Powderly of the K. of L. issued the peremptory order for the strikers to return to work. The trial against Spies, Parsons and their associates was in full swing. The newspapers howled against strikers and called them "direct actionists." Master Powderly did not wish to be identified with so unpopular a cause, and for this reason the strike was called

off. Over 4,000 workers found themselves without jobs.

Thereafter new machines rapidly displaced human labor power, and the skilled workers gradually disappeared. Women and even children began to work in the meat-packing plants. The North Germans, Irish and Bohemians, who formerly predominated, were slowly supplanted by workers from Austria-Hungary, Lithuania and Slavonia. Wages were slaughtered, too, and the conditions became appalling. A spirit of revolt arose. The teamsters in the yards first struck in 1902 and, supported by their comrades, they won the strike. Other strikes followed, and the packing companies were unable to check the flood toward organization. So they set their agents to work again to divide the workers on other issues.

Fifty-six crafts had to organize into as many craft unions. One was used to defeat the other. The engineers and firemen, for example, both organized in separate craft organizations, were cheated out of an eight-hour day by a board of arbitration composed of clergymen. The form of organization precluded any concerted move.

Later revolt broke out anew. A portion of the workers went out on strike, while others remained at work. All lost in the long run. Organization was completely wiped out.

But the agitation had taken deep root. The hope of the toilers centered now on the political field. They turned toward the Socialist Party. They hoped for reforms through political action. Two socialist representatives, Olsen and Ambrose, were elected into the legislature of Illinois in 1904. But they were not the type of men to "stay in."

Meanwhile the sales of beef products had decreased enormously, partly as a result of Sinclair's exposures in the "Jungle." The packing plants only wanted a few men for two or three days a week. All the nerve was taken out of everybody. The labor movement temporarily died in Packingtown.

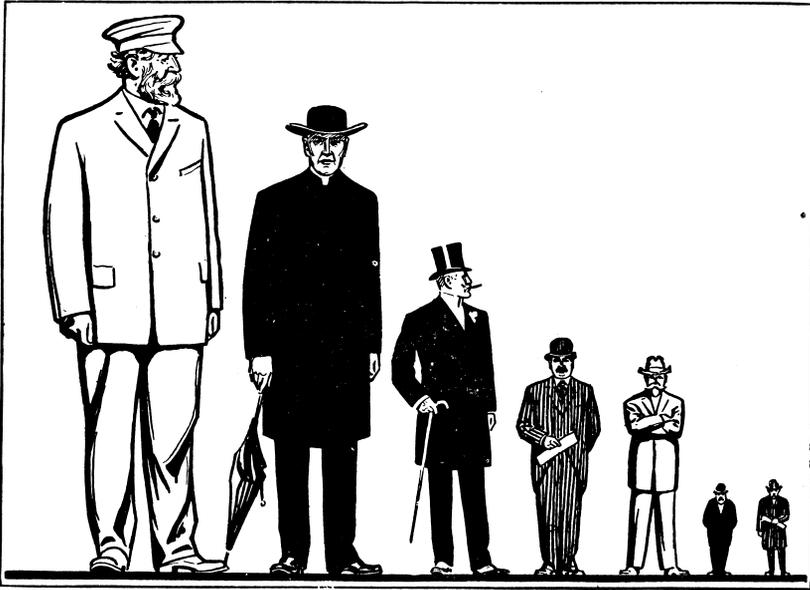
Today Packingtown is wrapped in gloom. Working conditions are almost as bad as they can be. The speeding up of the machines, the introduction of more labor-saving implements, have increased the productivity of the worker about 30 per cent as against 1905. Wages are cut right and left. So appalling is the misery "back of the yards" that reformers and settlement workers despair of ever accomplishing anything there. Their resources do not go far enough to do much in the way of ameliorating con-

ditions. The packers always welcome the charity or settlement workers. Such people keep the workers from the acts of desperation that are the result of hopelessness.

The Socialists will regain the Packingtown districts. They must do it. They can do it. But they must show the workers, thousands of whom are already hearing this message, that charity and reliance will not bring relief. And they must show them how to fight on the job by organizing into One Big Union, the industrial union embracing every worker in the Yards.

The message of One Big Union has been heard in the Stock Yards of Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha and other places. And thousands are eager for the new unionism. The toilers have started to get together. Neither charity nor the acts of the kind-hearted settlement workers will be able to long delay the day when the organized working class will put the Beef Trust on Trial—not to dissolve the Octopus, not to smash the institution, not separate the wonderful apparatus of production into component, disconnected parts, but to redeem to the workers the wealth they alone created and to bring happiness and blessings to the workers of Packingtown the happiness that all the workers the world over will enjoy.





—Literary Digest.

COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF PARTIES IN THE NEW REICHSTAG.

The Socialists have 110 members; Centrists, 91; Conservatives, 66; National Liberals, 47; Radicals, 44; Poles, 18; all others, 19.

The Elections In Germany

BY

ANTON PANNEKOEK

THE elections to the German Reichstag have resulted in a great victory for the Social Democratic Party.

In 1907 the Socialists entered the national assembly with 43 members, and by means of victories at by-elections this number was raised to 53. The great electoral battle of 1912, however, gives us quite a different story to tell. The first ballot, on January 12, gave the Socialists 67 seats, of which 25 represent newly conquered districts. The party of the working-class was, moreover, left as contestant in 121 reballotings. The second elections have netted 43 seats. Thus the Social Democratic group numbers 110 members in the new chamber.

Even more important than the number of seats is the number of votes registered. The popular vote of the Social

Democratic Party has increased by a million since 1907; it has grown from three and a quarter millions to four and a quarter. At the present moment more than a third of all voters (34.8 per cent) support this party. If the German electoral law were a really just and democratic one, giving the same influence to every vote cast, a third of the representatives would now be Socialists. But this is not the case. The electoral districts have not been altered since 1871. Since this date the great cities and the industrial regions, in which Socialism is strongest, have developed tremendously, while the rural districts have become partly depopulated. A simple comparison will show the injustice of the system which has resulted: Comrades Ledebour and Zubeil were elected in Berlin by 142,502 and 162,717 votes, respectively,

while in the rural districts representatives of the Conservative and Centrist parties were elected by fewer than 10,000 votes.

The enormous increase in the number of Socialist votes was universally expected. The last Reichstag had done all in its power to embitter the masses of the people. In 1907 Premier Bülow promised a liberal regime and thereby gathered about his standard the majority of the small bourgeoisie, the government employes, the middle-class, the intellectuals, all those who really cared little or nothing about the outcome of the election. All of these joined themselves with the Conservatives and, although the number of Socialist votes increased from three to three and a quarter millions, the Socialist group in the Reichstag was cut down from 81 to 43. There was great rejoicing throughout the bourgeois world. The Kaiser himself, speaking in poetic phrases from the balcony of his palace, referred to the Social Democracy as a power which had been "trampled underfoot." The government and the parliamentary majority thought now that they could be as arbitrarily reactionary as they pleased. In the beginning Bülow governed with the support of a majority made up of Conservatives and Liberals. The Conservatives represented, of course, the landed aristocracy. The Liberals included the National Liberals, representatives of "big business," and the Free-Thinkers (Freisinnigen), who represented commerce and the purely financial, stock-exchange interests, which in the past had opposed militarism and the whole reactionary policy of the government. The new government was, naturally enough, anything but liberal. A new law to regulate organizations and public meetings was passed, but it left intact nearly all the police restrictions for which Prussia is famous. In fact, it cut off some of the liberties previously enjoyed; the Poles were forbidden to employ their mother tongue in public meetings and persons under eighteen years of age were denied the privilege of taking part in political organizations or gatherings. All this was openly designed to hinder the labor movement. The Liberals of all shades of opinion supported this law.

Then came the new tax laws. There were constantly increasing demands upon the national treasury. In 1908 the cost of

maintaining the army amounted to 854,000,000 marks, that of maintaining the navy to 339,000,000, while military pensions reached the figure of 146,000,000. During the two years from 1908 to 1910 the imperial debt increased from 4,000,000,000 marks to 5,000,000,000. The income of the nation was not keeping pace with the expenditures. If the constant increase in the imperial debt was to be stopped a greatly increased revenue would have to be provided. In 1908 the government introduced a new revenue law. Under its provisions 400,000,000 marks were to be raised annually from a tax on such articles of consumption as beer, tobacco, whiskey, gas, and electricity, and 100,000,000 from an income tax. The Liberals were willing to vote for these provisions despite the fact that, contrary to the Liberal program, the money was to be raised from the poverty-stricken masses of the people. But the Conservatives would not agree to the income tax provision. They joined themselves to the Centrum (the Catholic party), cut loose from the Liberals, and brought about the downfall of Bülow. The new government bloc dropped the income tax, added to the law provisions for revenue on matches, gas mantles, coffee, and tea, and finally forced it through the Reichstag. Needless to say, it aroused the greatest discontent. The Liberals now made the most strenuous opposition to the "Blue-Black" bloc, thinking thereby to win back the favor of the electorate. When, however, in 1910-11 the revision of the sickness and accident insurance law was undertaken all the bourgeois found themselves in accord. The changes were made in the direction of depriving the working-class of the large share it had previously had in the administration of the law. And the Liberals as well as the Conservatives and Centrists were in favor of these changes.

So the last Reichstag has produced nothing but increase of burdens and decrease of rights. Naturally enough the German workers looked forward to the election as a grand opportunity to settle accounts with their rulers. They knew that a large proportion of the people who had been deceived in 1907 would now vote the Socialist ticket. And in the bourgeois parties there was everywhere in evidence the ap-

prehensive fear of the sinner approaching his punishment.

This sketch of the political conditions which determined the result of the election throws little light, however, on the real meaning of what has happened. Anyone who supposes that the policies of the last Reichstag have been finally eliminated deceives himself. On the contrary, the bourgeois parties will keep to their old course. For this course is not the result of passing temporary impulse, but rather an inevitable result of the development of German capitalism in the direction of imperialism.

* * *

Imperialism is the modern form of capitalism. It has appeared during the past ten or twenty years in all nations. Capital knows no country. The capitalist is not content to exploit the workers of his own land and merely export products to foreign shores. He does not find adequate conditions for development in his country. Therefore *capital is exported* to foreign parts, especially to regions still agrarian in character, to build railways, harbors, or irrigation plants, to lay out plantations, to open mines or factories—in short, to exploit the natives in any way possible. To this end it is necessary to conquer the natives or to make the native government dependent on the enterprising capitalists. This process necessarily involves competition among the various capitalist governments. Imperialist politics is the politics of force, of conquest, of colonial war. It results, therefore, in growing danger of war between civilized nations and the necessity of increased armaments. During the last ten years all the great nations have increased their armies, and especially their navies, at a tremendous rate. The budgets devoted to this increase are being rapidly swelled by hundreds of millions, and constantly growing burdens of taxation are laid upon the shoulders of the masses of the people. There is no money left for social reforms. On the other hand, the spirit of violence and intolerance which is developed toward the people of other countries leads to high-handed brutality at home. Thus the capitalist mind in time reaches a point at which it will hear of no concessions to the working-class. Moreover, the fear of a revolution is diminished. The participation of the entire world in

capitalist production gives new life to industry. Prosperity rules, and the capitalists fancy their mastery of the situation firmer than ever. Individual business men combine in trusts and associations which are able to resist any demands of the workers for increased wages. At the same time prices mount higher, in part because of the combination of capitalists, in part because of the gradual introduction of modern industry into lands which had hitherto furnished raw materials and a market for manufactured products. This is, then, the sum total of the result of imperialism: colonial wars, increased armaments, danger of war, taxes, high cost of living, reaction and suppression of the workers, neglect of social reform.

Since 1890 Germany has been on this downward road. Kaiser Wilhelm II, as the trusted representative of big business, has been the most energetic advocate of the imperialist policy. In numerous public addresses he has urged the necessity of a strong navy. But in German bourgeois circles there has long been little understanding of this policy. There has been dissatisfaction with the burdens, disgust at the horrors revealed in the colonial administration, and exasperation at the tyranny and reaction at home. The demands of big business were, of course, ruthlessly asserted. Members of the Reichstag scolded at the shameless demands of the government and thought with fear and trembling of the moment when they would have to face their constituents, but after all did not dare to vote against the military and naval appropriations. The Kaiser was held up to ridicule when he visited Jerusalem and called on Abdul Hamid in order to secure for German capital entrance into Asia and, more especially, to gain for it the Bagdad railway concession. University professors scolded the government and, occasionally, even gave a word of praise to the Social Democracy for its proud and consistent opposition to all this. The theories, ideals, and party programs of the older, undeveloped, home-keeping capitalism still dominate the thinking of the German bourgeoisie and the German intellectual classes. In the meantime the government and the great bank-capitalists have already put in practice the imperialist policy.

This state of affairs could not go on in-

definitely. Imperialism is a necessity for the possessing and ruling class. Without it this class would be suffocated in its own surplus product and go down in a great crisis. Imperialism affords the only barrier against the rising tide of Socialism. Colonies promise the business man new markets in foreign parts. Colonial mines and railways offer the landholder and money-capitalist new avenues for investment and speculation. Scholars, for their part, are given the opportunity to explore and study hitherto unknown regions. People of intelligence and conscience have pointed out to them the study of bearing "the white man's burden"—that is, of carrying "civilization," or capitalism, to the barbarians of Asia or Africa. And to the bourgeoisie as a whole is given a new world ideal, the vision of its own nation standing dominant among all the peoples of the earth. And this vision, it is hoped, will do something to inspire those who have found themselves powerless in the path of the overpowering ideals of humanity and world brotherhood represented by the Social Democracy.

All of this, naturally, was bound to take definite political form. Herein lies the significance of the election of 1907. An intelligent, experienced financier, Dernburg by name, was placed at the head of the colonial office. In the course of a discussion of the appropriations for a colonial war he came into collision with the Centrists. The liberal bourgeoisie, inspired by its long standing hatred for the clericals, supported Dernburg, had its interest in colonization aroused, and suddenly became conscious of the surpassing beauty and glory of world-politics. As a result, all the wise professors entered the campaign against the blacks and the reds. A wave of enthusiasm carried all the philistines along in the imperialist flood, and the advance of Socialism was checked for the moment. The election of 1907 was a victory of the newly aroused, youthful spirit of imperialism, a victory of the imperialist illusion.

The five years which followed were sufficient to dispel this illusion so far as the mass of the German people were concerned. The great body of the citizens came to know what imperialism really is. They have discovered that for them it has nothing to offer but oppression and heavy burdens.

With this knowledge has come the beginning of a rebellion against it. Not only the working-class, but also the small business people, the farmers, and government officials have suffered. Thus it has come about that this new form of capitalism tends much more strongly than the old to drive these sections of the middle-class into the Socialist movement, and thereby to undermine capitalism itself. For since the last shreds of Liberal opposition went down with the Bülow bloc the only party that consistently opposes the imperialist tendency is the Social Democracy. The election of 1912 is, therefore, the answer to the election of 1907. The result is the defeat of imperialism unmasked, the beginning of the revolt of the masses against it, the natural result of the imperialist disillusionment.

Naturally this does not mean a change in the policy of the German government. The only change in the aspect of affairs lies in the fact that the Social Democracy has grown so strong that it is no longer possible to have two capitalist parties, one Conservative-Liberal and the other Conservative-Clerical. Supporting all governmental action there must now stand one Conservative-Liberal-Clerical majority. All capitalist parties must co-operate in order to furnish to the big business interests the canons, dreadnoughts, taxes, and laws against the working-class. If any one of these parties deserts the bloc, the opposition will have a majority and the government's game will be up. But the imperialist policy is firmer in the saddle than ever. The Social Democracy is a powerless minority in the Reichstag. It can do nothing but protest. Capital can safely rely on the capitalist majority to grant all that is demanded. Appropriations for increases in the army and navy and limitation of the right to strike were promised by the government before the election; it is, then, to be taken for granted that those who voted against Socialism were in favor of these things. With firm step German imperialism goes on to fasten its hold on Africa, China, and Turkey and to prepare for the great conflicts of the future, especially for a possible conflict with England. But the further it pursues this policy the more it will rouse the opposition of the masses. Stronger resolutions on the part of the ruling capitalist

power, constantly rising rebellion in the working-class—this means a fiercer class-struggle. Harder battles than have yet been fought are what the immediate future has in store for the German working-class.

Imperialism has not only changed the policies of the ruling capitalist class; it has also transformed the tactics of the working-class. It intensifies the parliamentary struggles; but parliamentarianism is inadequate to the gigantic conflict which has been entered upon by bourgeoisie and proletariat. Twenty years ago it seemed that parliamentarianism offered a straight and regular road to revolution. The increasing strength of the Socialist group in the Reichstag forced the bourgeoisie to grant a number of reforms; and wherever universal male suffrage prevailed there was a basis for believing that in the course of time education and organization of the masses would secure a majority in parliament. But these expectations have been transformed into dreams by the growth of imperialism. The method of electing the members of the Reichstag has become so undemocratic that a Socialist majority is unthinkable. If the proletariat is ever to achieve a political conquest of the state and thus overthrow the capitalist regime, it must first achieve more political rights by means of non-parliamentary means, *by the action of the masses themselves*.

Under imperialism the working-class cannot win in parliament any further reforms, any greater rights, any diminution of oppression or want. On the other hand, the proletariat has to defend itself against increased burdens and tyranny. The miseries under which it suffers at present cannot be abolished by parliament, for they result only in part from the actions of parliament. In reality the real power of parliament is decreasing at the present time. The policies of the state are more and more shaped behind closed doors by a small group of magnates and ministers. The will of this small group cannot be successfully opposed with parliamentary resolutions; the only force that can make them sit up and take notice is the demonstrated power of the masses themselves. The dissatisfaction with the tax measures passed by the Reichstag was expressed in the election. In fact, the election was chiefly useful as a demonstration of four and a quarter millions of

people against the capitalist parties. But against the high cost of living nothing can be done with the ballot. Spontaneous uprisings like those which occurred in France and Austria must voice the feeling of discontent in cases like this.

Above all does the constantly increasing danger of war spur the people on to action. Wars are not instituted by parliament, but by the government and the capitalists who stand behind it. The growing opposition of interests of the various governments constantly increases the international tension; again and again new reasons for fighting are discovered, as recently in Morocco, and there is danger of an immediate declaration of war. But a war resulting from such a cause would be the greatest calamity which could overtake the world, and especially the working-class. The transportation of all able-bodied men to the borders to butcher one another by millions, complete demoralization of industry, crises and starvation everywhere, the destruction of all civilization, degeneration into barbarism—only a world revolution could put a stop to the horrors of a world war. For the workers, for all the population beyond a small number of great capitalists, war would be the most terrible misfortune, and they stand ready to risk everything to prevent it. But this is impossible by means of parliamentary methods. The only adequate means lies in the action of the masses themselves.

Thus it comes about that imperialism forces the working-class to rise in its might, either to force from the ruling class new political rights or to fight against war. It is no wonder that during the past five years mass actions have become more and more common in Germany. "Mass action is the legitimate offspring of imperialism," said recently the *Leipziger Zeitung*, a paper which formerly led in the warfare of the principles of capitalism and now leads no less in the revolutionary fight against imperialism. Mass actions begin with mere meetings and demonstrations, developing sometimes into huge street demonstrations, like those which played a part two years ago in the fight for a new electoral law in Prussia; and as the last, and most powerful, weapon the working-class has at its disposal the general strike.

The German working-class has shown

the workers of the world **how parliamentarianism can be made a weapon in the revolutionary struggle.** Parliamentary activity still serves to carry the truth about capitalism and its tyranny into the smallest villages and to weld the workers into powerful united body. But parliamentary activity is no longer viewed in Germany as the cure-all of the Socialist movement. During the past ten years there has come about a great change in the thinking of the German working-class. This fact has not been universally observed because it is not evident in the speeches of the Socialist parliamentarians, who are mostly reformists. It is much more evident in the press; in numerous Socialist papers of the more radical sort it is being remarked with increased frequency that the conquest of power is not to be brought about by the use of the ballot alone, but that the masses themselves must enter into the conflict. And among the workers of the great cities one can see developing, slowly but none the less certainly, the readiness to employ new methods in the great conflict. Naturally enough, this has brought about internal struggles within the party. The heated discussions at the last party congress grew out of the fact that the executive committee had not been sufficiently prompt in calling upon the masses of the people to demonstrate against the threatened war. Since 1905 the party has recognized in the general strike an important weapon to be used in warding off attacks on the imperial electoral law and in winning new political rights. As to its use in other cases, nothing has as yet been formally decided. The party leaders fear that an official recognition of it as a weapon against war would expose the party to legal persecution and turn

one of the strongest national prejudices against us. But it is clear that in time of actual danger of war, when it is a matter of life or death, of destruction or victory, the action of the masses will be determined, not by party resolutions, but by the deepest impulses of the people. And among the people there is dawning, especially since the Morocco affair, the determination not to be led to the field of slaughter, but rather to resist with any means which offer. When recently Rosa Luxemburg declared in a mass meeting in Berlin that in case of a threatened war the workers must employ all means to prevent it, even the mass strike, her words were greeted by a demonstration which lasted several minutes. But the central organ of the party, *Vorwaerts*, omitted just these words from its report of the meeting. This fact reflects in a strong light the tendencies of German Socialism.

Thus it is evident that the tactics and thinking of the German workers are adapting themselves to the new forms of capitalism. Here the tremendous power of international Socialism stands opposed to a capitalism which is inferior only to that of America in strength, in unity of organization, in degree of development, and in ruthlessness. Imperialism will continue to control our national policies; the elections have served to strengthen its grip. We face new and terrible struggles. But they will not take place exclusively in parliament; the masses themselves will act directly to oppose the oppressions and dangers of imperialism until it is finally and completely defeated, until the proletariat is victorious, until we have the revolution.

—Translated by William E. Bohn.

BILL HAYWOOD

BY

TOM FLYNN

(Suggested by reading Henry Frank's letter About Haywood's N. Y. Speech. This letter Appeared in the N. Y. Call.)

He wonders where you got it, Bill,
Your clear and ready speech,
Was it down in the depths of the drip-
ping mines,
Where the straining timbers screech?

Or was it the roar of the fire-hung blast,
As it tore men's lives away,
That taught you to think what a man
should think,
And say what a man should say?

Or may be the yawn of the open shaft,
Pit black as the mouth of hell,
That helped to give you the ready speech
They say you can use so well.

For you are only a miner, Bill,
Did you not dig out the ore?
So what should you know of the grace
of speech
High-sounding and rhythmic lore?

Mayhap it came in the hammer's clank,
Or the crunch of the cutting drill,
Or the crushing crash of the falling rocks
That ever lurk there to kill.

Or may be the rush of the water, Bill,
That flows in the flooding mine,
Where men are drowned like cornered
rats,
That taught you of words refine.

Perhaps 'twas the damp of the Western
jail,
Or the walls of their prison strong,
That taught you to notice the children's
wail
And rage at the workers' wrong.

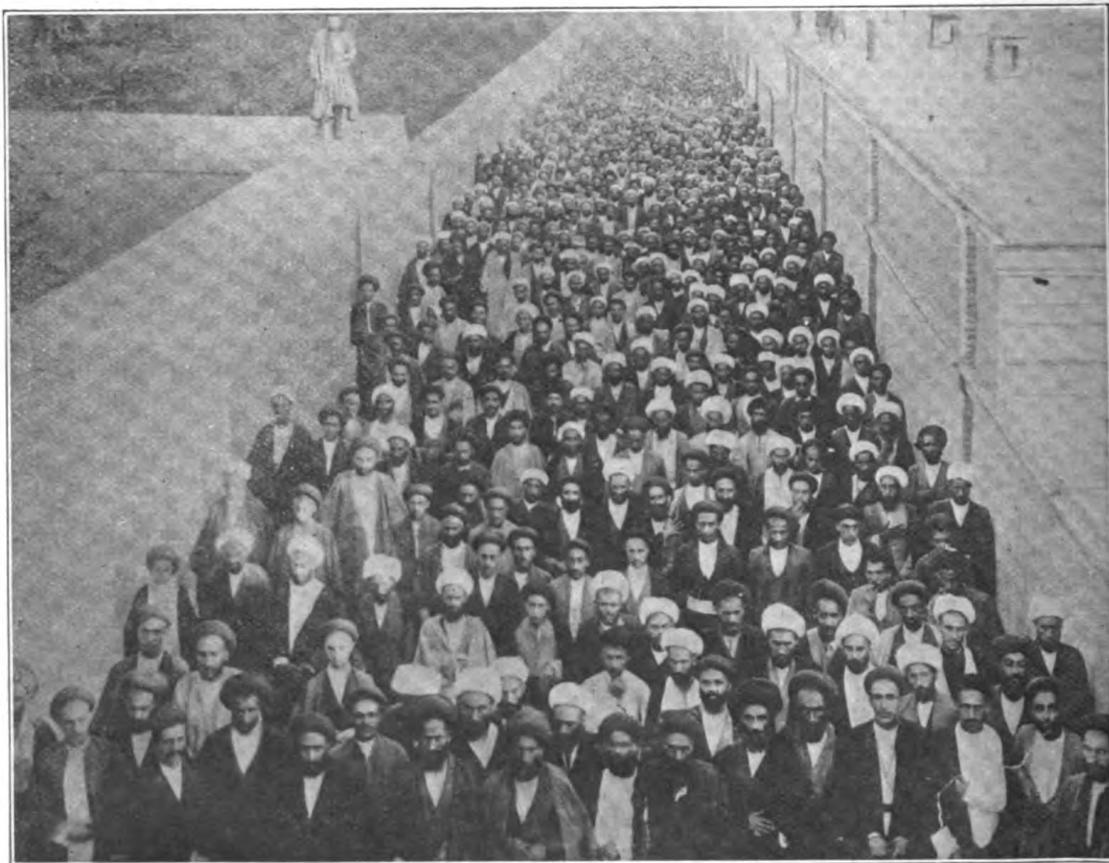
Revolution! That means what it means,
my friend,
Strong, steady and undismayed,
That the workers shall take with the
hand of the strong
Making no masquerade.

That means we shall pull the old system
down,
And trample it in its fall,
That means just this—and nothing but
this—
Or else—means nothing at all.

We shall not look for a purchased law,
Sold out by a servile Court,
But will play the game till the one to
lose
Shall pay for the winner's sport.

We want the men who are used to toil,
Not dreamers of idle dreams,
Nor the politicians who compromise,
Nor the "intellectual's" schemes.

We want the men who can look at Death
When the hirelings shoot to kill,
And that's why we want such men as
you,
Our lion-hearted Bill!



PERSIANS PARADING IN PROTEST AGAINST RUSSIAN INVASION.

The Capitalist Quarrel in Persia

BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

SO THEY put Shuster out. Probably by this time most of us have forgotten who Shuster is—or was—but it will be remembered that only a few weeks ago the newspapers were making an almighty fuss over the fact that Russia had demanded that Persia give the hook to W. Morgan Shuster, the young American who went over to Teheran last May to straighten out Persia's tangled finances. And Persia, after a hopeless sob or two, did so.

Hence, Mr. Shuster is no longer connected with Persia's Treasury Department. But who put him in there in the first place?

We don't know exactly, of course. Of all the enlightened people in the world, we Americans of the working class know least about our government. We are kept continually in the dark as to its doings. We might toil on from year to year and never know there was a government, except that once in a while we



RUSSIAN COSSACKS INVADING PERSIA.

commit an offense against somebody's property, or we interfere with somebody's profits, and then the government descends on us like a thousand of brick with its laws and judges and agents and inspectors and soldiery.

As regards Shuster, the story as originally given out was that Persia had such an admiration for Yankee methods and Yankee business sense that she applied to the United States government for a brisk, sharp young man to become her Treasurer-General. The United States replied that it had several such young men. So the Persian minister at Washington, we are told, looked over a few names and finally selected W. Morgan Shuster as the right party—selected him, one newspaper put it, **“with the assistance of the State Department.”**

So, mark you, young Mr. Shuster wasn't selected at random. His name wasn't taken out of a grab bag by the Persian minister with his eyes blindfolded, but **“with the assistance of the State Department.”** Get that.

Now, our State Department doesn't do things without reasons. Hence we may safely conclude that Mr. Shuster wasn't sent to Persia without a reason any more

than Robert Bacon of J. P. Morgan's firm was sent as ambassador to France without a reason. J. P. Morgan wanted to list American stocks on the French bourse and incidentally get some money for the Pennsylvania Railroad, and Bacon was sent to look after the job, just as **“our”** diplomats are sent to Russia to look after the interests of the International Harvester Company, Russia being a tremendous agricultural country, and therefore needing much farm machinery.

Anyhow, Shuster went to Persia and got busy. The first time he turned around in his swivel chair he bumped into Russia. He continued to bump into Russia. It seemed he couldn't make a move without stepping on Russia's toes, and, of course, Russia let loose an awful yell each time, calling on the other European powers to witness the behavior of this boorish interloper.

Now, why these screams from Russia? Let us speculate. In the western part of Persia there is a large strip of territory stretching from the Luristan hills down to the Persian gulf. This territory is fairly oozy with oil. You have only to sink a hole in any part of this strip and you get a gusher of rich petroleum.



A TURKISH GENERAL AND PERSIAN MOUNTAINEERS.

There are two great oil-producing countries. The biggest is the United States. Next is Russia. The oil business of this country is in the hands of the Standard Oil Company. The Russian oil business is likewise practically dominated by a syndicate of capitalists. More than anything else in the world, these Russian oil kings fear our own dear old John D. and his crowd.

Russia has had her eye on these rich Persian oil fields for a long time. For years she has been steadily pushing her "sphere of influence" southward from the Caspian Sea. She has already engulfed the Luristan hills and is still crowding her way south.

The Standard Oil Company does a considerable business in Persia and owns quite a few concessions there. So when Shuster arrives—well, there is no actual proof, of course, but the Russian Bear sniffs the American and decides he smells suspiciously of Standard Oil. That explains the ensuing roars.

It doesn't take the Russian government, prodded on by her oil capitalists, very long to find excuses for objecting to the presence of Shuster. His dismissal is demanded. And when Persia is slow about tying the can to the American, Russia shoves several regiments of Cossacks into Persian territory and occupies

two provinces. Great Britain, not to be outdone, seizes the opportunity to rush two regiments of Indian troops into Shiraz, on the Persian gulf.

Then poor old Persia, hoping to save the remainder of her shirt, Russia and Great Britain having already stolen everything else, is forced to hand Shuster his walking papers.

Russia by this time has probably tipped a wink to our Oil Trust and told it to try again.

And then here comes an American journal and says:

"The sight of Morgan Shuster standing up for the rights of Persia to self-government, and single handed fighting the aggression of Russia on the one hand and of England on the other, is enough to make the heart of an American swell with pride." Can you beat it? Trying to stir up our "patriotism" in behalf of a representative of American capitalism who has gotten into trouble in a country 10,000 miles away! If conditions were ripe Standard Oil could easily invent an excuse for war out of this incident in the same way that the Sugar Trust egged us on into declaring a war against Spain in order that it might tighten its grip on the cane fields of Cuba and the Philippines.

Of course, the working class has no interest in this quarrel between Russian, British and American capitalists on the other side of the world. The only concern of working people is the eighty cents of which they are robbed out of every dollar's worth of value they produce. All the quarrels, the fights, the tricks, the "diplomatic negotiations" that nations indulge in these days are merely features of the constant struggle between the capitalists of the world over the possession of that eighty cents. Having robbed the

working class, they next try to rob each other.

It behooves us to be on our guard, however, when such incidents as this Shuster affair arise. The big capitalists of each country in their fights for the good things of the world are constantly seeking an excuse for war, and if war comes the members of the working class, of course, will do the fighting while the capitalists, like buzzards, will sit off at a distance and enjoy their feasts after the fighting is over.

The Green-Eyed Poll Parrots

Extracts taken from a Lecture Delivered by Comrade PETER KINNEAR before the Tenth Ward Socialist Party Branch, Columbus, Ohio

A TEACHER had a very dull pupil in her school. For weeks she tried to impress on his mind that the three cardinal principles of the Declaration of Independence were Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. Johnnie being unable to master these, she became discouraged and adopted another method.

She handed him three buttons, a white one to represent Life, a brown one to represent Liberty, and a red one to represent the Pursuit of Happiness.

"Now, Johnnie," she said, "go home and try to memorize the three meanings of these three buttons and in a few days I will call on you to give them before the class."

After a few days the teacher called on Johnnie to tell the class what the three cardinal principles of the Declaration of Independence were.

The boy arose slowly from his seat and drew forth from his pocket two buttons. "Teacher," he said, "I have two of them with me, Life and Liberty, but ma sewed the Pursuit of Happiness on my pants this morning."

So we in our time possess two liberties. We have Religious and Political Liberty, but Industrial Liberty, the Pursuit of Happiness, is sewed on to the pants of

the Capitalist Class.

And this is the Socialist Party's contention today. We wish to gain industrial liberty, freedom from work for the capitalist class. However, to this class everything that is old is right and every new thing is wrong.

They admit that Socialism might be practical "if we could change human nature," and this, they say, is impossible. It might mean dividing up, with nothing to divide, and they say that would be of no benefit to the workers, anyway. And again, they caution, Socialism might have something to do with religion and that's against the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. But the best reason of all, they claim, is that it "won't work because it has never been tried."

Now, there is some hope for us and also these skeptics who in all past history have been the unfailing barometers of advancement. Their distrust rose high with every step forward proposed by the working class.

But let us look back a few thousand years and take our consolation out of the past.

We find a subject people rebelling against the impositions of the master class in the exodus of the Children of Israel out of Egypt and into the Promised

Land. Moses, their leader, found in the bullrushes of the Nile by the Egyptian princess, adopted and raised in court, became a power throughout the land.

His heart bled and went out to his race. He saw them tilling the soil for the masters and receiving back in product only enough to keep body and soul together. The ruling class in that, as in our body, recognized the great principle that, to have good and faithful slaves, it was necessary to keep them exploited to the minimum of existence. Otherwise they might become rebellious and throw off their yoke of slavery.

Moses realized that with the exploitation to which his race had to submit it was only a matter of a very short time when a strike for liberty would become an impossibility. Consequently he and the wise men of the different tribes commenced to lay plans for the exodus of his people.

At once the Green-eyed Poll Parrots, the hirelings and spies in the pay of the Egyptians, commenced to get busy and serve their masters.

"Why, this man Moses is an anarchist," they croaked. "He's a visionary. There is no promised land. You Children of Israel are ungrateful. Didn't the Egyptians feed us when we were in want? Didn't they allow us to speak our mother tongue and cherish our traditions?" Then they would shake their owly heads and solemnly croak: "It won't work. It can't be did. It never was, and it never will be."

But we read that Moses actually did lead the Children of Israel out of bondage, but they say now that, after all these centuries, you can hear their croaking cries in the corridors of the Pyramids, echoing faintly: "It won't work. It can't be did. It never was, and it never will be."

Other great revolutionary events to bring joy into the minds and hearts of the struggling slave were in the days of Christ.

In that day the ruling class, through the established Jewish church, taught the working class, who tilled the soil in the interests of the master class, that it had no soul, therefore it had no right to the Kingdom of Heaven. In other words, the only difference between the worker and

the animal was that the worker could speak and think, though he dared not express himself against the established order of things.

This idea had been taught the worker so long that he actually believed it and accepted it as his gospel. The nobles and established Jewish church controlled the avenues of education, consequently education was only for the select few, and consisted mostly of the interpretation of the Scriptures and their relation to the working class. There was no hope of heaven for the working class. The workers, having no education, naturally had no ideals; their thoughts of liberty became stunted. They were living automatons, the ideal workingmen from the viewpoint of the ruling class.

Christ, who was a workingman, saw the condition of his own class. It was a class of abject slaves to the established church. Realizing the economic level to which they had sunk, he set about organizing the workers into communistic unions. 'Way above the average worker in intelligence, he commenced to instill in these workers' minds a new ideal for them to strive for.

With the organization of the communistic unions came better food and shelter. Better food and plenty of it made for healthy vigorous minds. The workers began to think.

Jesus now commenced to interpret the Scriptures from the viewpoint of the working class. Minds were ripening for the newer ideal—the thought of the Kingdom of Heaven. The worker felt that he had a soul. "Thy Kingdom on Earth as in Heaven" was given a new meaning, and could be brought about by doing unto others as you would they do unto you. The principle that those who do not sow shall not reap, became the cry of the communistic unions, whose membership ran into thousands.

Naturally the ruling class became suspicious of the large and revolutionary following of Christ, who was speaking nothing but the truth. He was actually talking about a new Kingdom on Earth ruled by the working class. He arrayed class against class. He even went so far, in his indignant wrath as to create a panic in Jerusalem, by going into the sacred tem-

ple, the headquarters of the money changers, and driving them out. This was a sensation and could compare in our time to Gene Debs walking into the New York stock exchange and driving the brokers into the street. The next day we would have a panic.

The Jerusalem Panic brought out the Green-Eyed Poll Parrots. They put on their emerald robes and blinked their owl eyes as they stalked the streets of Jerusalem. "Why, this man Christ is an anarchist," they croaked. "Why, you workers can't establish a kingdom on earth, you'd have to change human nature first, and we have been trying to do this for years through the church," and then they added: "It's against the religion of the fathers," and with a last appeal they threw out their chests and solemnly croaked: "It won't work. It can't be did. It never was, and it never will be."

History again has written in the affirmative. The rotten carcasses of the Green-Eyed Poll Parrots have long ago been forgotten, even though they went to the length of crucifying this man Christ. The idea that the worker has a soul prevailed, even though the masters persecuted those who believed in this idea for centuries.

However, the Established Order of Rule, seeing the intensity of the belief of the working class for this new idea, for which men were willing to sacrifice their lives, laid plans to capture the revolutionary movement.

The Established Church and nobles now discovered the half-way house, "Purgatory." Through this idea the church set itself up as the direct mediator between God and Man. The principle now was, Hell on earth, Purgatory to follow and Heaven to come, providing you paid your way through Purgatory. The price, as a rule, was always a little more than the workers had.

Gradually mankind drifted into the Dark Ages. The ideal of the workers again became lost to them. Those who had opinions and expressed them against the Established Order of Things were put to death. Superstitious Faith and Fanaticism ran riot. But the greater these persecutions became, the more intense be-

came the desire of the workers for religious liberty.

Again, from the common people, sprang Martin Luther. The reformationist came from poor and humble parents. Educated in the monasteries of Europe, he had a splendid opportunity to see how the game of church and state were used to exploit the workers.

He advocated the right of man to worship God in his own way.

His plea met its responsive note in the hearts of thousands. Followers of Luther sprang up like mushrooms all over Europe, contending from the highways and byways for religious liberty.

Again the Green-Eyed Poll Parrots came forth from the tall timbers and high grass. For once they told the truth, "It was against religion and the Established Order of Things." They were in their glory and put on extra large green goggles to impress the natives and with a chant that can still be heard commenced to repeat the stereotyped arguments of old.

"Why Luther is a heretic," they croaked in unison, as they solemnly added: "Why he's been damned and all those that listen to him. You can't have more than one religion on earth, because God won't allow it. It is against God and the Church." Then they took on a prayerful attitude and chanted: "Why you're placing your right to the Kingdom of Heaven in jeopardy. You will have to change human nature first, and we have been trying to do this for 1,500 years." Then, as a last resort, they would croak: "It won't work. It can't be did. It never was, and it never will be."

It took 30 years of intense warfare against the Established Order of Things to decide this great question of religious liberty that today makes it possible for mankind to worship God in his own way or not at all.

Luther's name is embellished on the pages of history, but the Poll Parrots are quietly slumbering in their forgotten graves.

Religious liberty brought an intense desire on the part of mankind for education. Germany now became the cradle of education. With education came another desire, the wish of man to have a say in

his own government. The new education gradually evolved the next great step that was essential to man's progress.

In the past man had been cowed by belief in the divine right of kings. If by chance nature endowed the king with an heir that was an idiot, why by the divine right of rule men were governed by an idiot. Now, the king could do no wrong, therefore everything the idiot commanded was right.

The demand of men to have a say in government crystallized in the American Revolution.

Again the Green-Eyed Poll Parrots came forth from the tall timbers, contending against political liberty. They critically shook their heads as they gazed after Washington's half-starved army. Here was a contention that had no precedent, that was against all law in the Established Order of Things and had to be rooted out at once. "Why, it's against religion," they croaked. "Proof? Why, there's Tom Paine, an active supporter of this new dream of mankind." And they raised their croaking voices and shouted: "Man has always been ruled by a king, because God intended it to be so. He sent his dictates to Samuel from heaven. What would you common people do with a government? Run it into the ground in four weeks and then beg for a king. You don't know how to vote. One state will be fighting another. Religion will go out of existence." Then they sadly shook their heads and wailed: "You will have to change human nature first and that is impossible." They squinted their eyes after Washington's retreating patriots and croaked. "It won't work. It can't be did. It never was, and it never will be."

History again has written in the affirmative. The Green-Eyed Poll Parrots again took to the woods, blinking their eyes at the progress of man in the last one hundred and thirty years, unable to comprehend the advance of man.

With political liberty came a greater activity on the part of man for educational training. This he demanded for all. The little red school house became the greatest symbol of man's progress. With these educational facilities, man was able, through the invention of ma-

chinery, to lighten his toil and free himself from drudgery.

Step by step he learned to harness Nature to do his bidding. He learned the uses of steam and electricity and how to apply them to his needs. Today he stands aghast at the monster machinery of production that his energy and knowledge have brought forth.

But today he is governed by it, enslaved by its very productiveness. The machine has turned into a curse where it should be a blessing. However, the mind of man will yet turn the productiveness of machinery to his own benefit, marking the next great step necessary to his freedom.

The private ownership of the machines has created the newer slavery—Industrial Slavery. The social ownership of the machines will bring the newer freedom—Industrial Freedom.

Industrial Freedom today is sewed on the breeches of the capitalist system, because the machine today is used to produce goods for personal profit instead of for use. The newer interpretation on the part of the workers regarding profits is that profits are robbery—pure and simple. They are questioning the right of the ruling class to allow them and their kind to suffer for the want of something to eat in a land that is unexcelled for productiveness.

The newer idea, one for all and all for one, each to have an equal opportunity to share in the fruits of machine production is agitating the worker's mind. The thought that we are all dependent on one another is growing by leaps and bounds. The solution to Industrial Freedom lies in the ownership of these monster machines, the modern tools of production. To bring plenty for all, these machines must be owned by those that use them. The workers must receive the benefit of the machines they operate.

And this newer idea that will drive the workers into action for Industrial Freedom is *SOCIALISM*.

Its growth is becoming so tremendous throughout the nation that to save itself the ruling class is again sending its Green-Eyed Poll Parrots throughout the land, contending against this newer idea of the working class.

Again the same old arguments are fished out of the dust heap by the same old motley crew that harassed Moses, that crucified Christ, that damned Luther, that danced with joy at Washington's starving army at Valley Forge. They are contending throughout the land from rostrum and pulpit that Socialism is against religion; that it will destroy the home; that it will lower the morals of the nation; that it is robbery; that it is of foreign importation, therefore un-American; that it will destroy the incentive in man; that all men would be equal in an industrial democracy—and we trust to God that this is true.

And last of all they contend that things have always been as they are now, that they are so intended by the Creator, that there should always be masters and slaves. They say that to accomplish the dream of Socialism, we would have to change human nature.

And in unison this same old anvil chorus, with their croaking Poll Parrot voices, with their ears cocked for the master's bidding and the jingling price of their service held before their eyes, gibber away: "It won't work. It can't

be did. It never was, and it never will be."

But Poll Parrots cannot stay the social unrest that today is prevalent throughout the land. Their arguments are weak. They have no solution to offer for plain old poverty. They cannot face honest men on the rostrum and debate this great principle.

These Poll Parrots are like Don Quixote fighting the windmills. Socialism is a scientific truth. It takes its interpretation from the past. It demands that the rights of man shall prevail over the rights of property, and that Social wealth shall be used in the best interests of man and not to the enslavement of man.

And then only will we have the material interpretation of the philosopher's dream of old, "Thy Kingdom Come on Earth." The Green-Eyed Poll Parrots of our time, with their mouthings from the past, "It won't work. It can't be did. It never was, and it never will be," will fold up their tents like Arabs and silently steal away. For with Socialism will come the destruction of the master class and all of its institutions and retainers.





TURKISH TROOPS BEING INSPECTED.

The Brigandage of Tripoli

BY ARTHUR M. GIOVANNITTI

IT IS a Socialist axiom that all wars are iniquitous from the point of view of humanity and disastrous and reactionary from the proletarian standpoint.

We shall leave to humanitarians and sentimentalists, of which lately there is such an over-abundant plethora, to condemn war at their peace dinners and diplomatic picnics at The Hague on account of its atrocities and horrors, and sticking closely to our class division of humanity we shall consider war strictly from the point of view of the working class.

The working class, which does not declare war, is in the enormous majority the one that fights it—therefore it is the interest of the capitalist class to pretend that in all wars it is always in the main the welfare of the masses that is involved.

Never so much our rulers and masters insisted on this as in the present bloody vaudeville of Tripoli which has been described in the gaudiest colors as the prom-

ised land of the poor, half starved Italian peasantry and a sort of holy sepulchre to rescue from the clutches of the “unspeakable Turk” in the name of civilization and Christianity. Strange as it may seem, a few Italian Socialists, Syndicalists and even Anarchists have openly come out in defence of the Tripolitan hold-up, claiming that the Italian working class would highly benefit by the capture of those squalid and half deserted lands, so that the issues have been confounded to such an extent that it is almost impossible to lay all the blame of this impending disaster at the door of capitalism and the monarchy.

But what are the real interests involved in the present war between Italy and Turkey? To the simplicists who have a ready-made creed in politics and economics, as in everything else, this war is explained only by the tendency of a growing nation to expand whenever its political boundary has become too narrow for its industrial and

commercial activities—but for those who see and study things and events from a broader field of view the answer is quite different.

As a matter of fact, you cannot explain in the same way the seizure of Tripoli by Italy and that, for instance, of the Philippines by the United States for, although the reason is the same—colonial expansion—the economic forces that make for it are divers and disparaging. Colonization, which, in the original sense of the word means the development of virgin territories, means, as a fact, a different thing to each separate nation; to some it means the exploitation of national products; to others, as in the case of Transvaal, Congo, Morocco, etc., the exploitation of natural resources, and to others still, and this in most instances, the general wanton plundering of everything that is worth anything.

Altogether, however, with the possible exception of when it has a mere political reason, colonization means only one thing—pillage.

The excuse is always the same: Civilization—an elastic and malleable word which may mean according to the points of view the Bible or the public school, the cannon or the locomotive, but which, ultimately signifies nothing but capitalism, whether it be investments, taxation or pure and simple highway robbery.

However, it would be wrong to infer from the fact that all capitalist countries have more or less taken to “colonizing” that Capitalism means necessarily war, or rather that the bourgeoisie is war-like and trouble-making; for no class in history was ever, by disposition and natural temperament, so disposed to peace as the capitalist class.

The bourgeoisie, which—as a class—has not fought for its birthright as the proletariat will fight, but has made the people do it—will fight, or rather will make others fight for her only when her existence is imperiled. Were it not so, with the psychology which is the same in all thieves, whether burglars or pickpockets, the capitalist class would ask for nothing better than to quietly keep on enjoying the spoils of their cunning and dextrous plundering, without raising the least disturbance. It is, as a matter of side illustration, just on account of this peaceful disposition, determined by the fact that it has no natural

means of defence and no hope of surviving its defeat as the other classes of history had, that Capitalism has become the champion of Christianity, philanthropy and democracy, the moral, economic and political trinity of peace, charity and good will, the only things that can save it from Socialism, which means the absolute dictatorship of the working class.

The capitalist class, therefore, recurs to war only when it is strictly compelled to do so for its own conservation; that is the maintenance of internal peace and the continuance of the existing order of things—exploitation and profits.

Whenever this peace is disturbed, which may be only by these profits being endangered by the growing demand of the working class—the only one that has any fighting spirit—the bourgeoisie opens the safety valve and tries to expand.

This expansion is determined in the different countries by two factors: either an excessive growth of production unaccompanied by a proportional growth of the producers and therefore of the consumers, or, vice versa, by an excessive growth of the population (consumers), unaccompanied by a similar growth of production. In the first instance, it being necessary to give an outlet to products, we have the seizure of foreign commercial markets; in the second an exportation of men, either by emigration or by the capture of unexploited territories. In both instances, if it is necessary in order to keep peace at home, Capitalism will declare war abroad, but in no instance and for no reasons whatever will it reduce its profits.

By the former reason we will have sooner or later (and nothing short of an economic revolution can avert it) war between the United States and Japan for the control of the Asiatic markets, and by the latter we are now assisting to the bloody tragi-comedy between Italy and Turkey for the possession of Tripolitania.

No other economic reason can be found on the side of Italy, which has taken the aggressive, that that of relieving internal conditions by securing more land for the over-abundance of idle arms.

Italy, in fact, is not suffering exactly from what you may call over-production; she has not an overflow of idle capital and therefore has nothing to export and nothing to invest but men.

The Italian proletariat, especially in the south, has remained through the last forty years what it has always been, the same people of old, mostly addicted to agriculture, stock raising and other labors that are strictly confined to the surface land. Now during these forty years the population has steadily grown with that impetus that has made Italian fecundity famous all over the world, whilst the land has remained the same.

The Italian bourgeoisie having, through their utter lack of courage and capacity, been unable to create industries adequate to the necessity and even to apply modern systems to farming that the land might have grown more productive, has been left to face a desperate problem—that of maintaining 35,000,000 people on the resources of the country and at the same time keep their own profits at the same level. After years of discussion, scheming and heavy thinking they have been able to find only one solution: to depopulate the country.

There were, of course, other remedies—heroic remedies—like, for instance, the drainage of swampy lands, of which there are enormous tracts, the irrigation of dry ones, the further development of existing industries (iron, coal, silk, woolens, sulphur, sugar, etc.) and the creation of new ones; but the Italian bourgeoisie, being the most cowardly and impotent pack of greedy fools that ever dishonored mankind, had no heart to undertake such a tremendous task, and the Italian government could not think of saving a few million on the army, the navy, the royal appanage, the church and other similar leeches. If you only consider that Italy spends for the Ministry of Agriculture only 20,000,000 francs a year (\$5,000,000), while it pays the king alone 16,000,000 and the pope 4,000,000 (which, by the way, he haughtily refuses, so that he might still pose as a prisoner), you will have a faint idea of the shameful conditions that exist there.

The only remedy then, that was left was emigration. For the last thirty years the Italians have been emigrating at the rate of three to four hundred thousand a year, flocking mostly to the United States and South America. Here, however, the Italian peasant, which gives the highest percentage of emigration, has lost its characteristics, and having developed at home

a sullen hatred for the land which has been such a cruel step-mother to him, he has refrained from agriculture and invaded the industrial fields.

Had the Italian peasantry in the United States taken to farming they could, perhaps, upon their return home do what the landlord bourgeoisie had not been able to do: develop, fertilize and till the soil after the scientific American ways and still manage to live—but as they have become industrialized and as the few Italian industries are over-crowded, it follows that all those who emigrate to the United States are entirely lost to the mother country. The few that return home either become small proprietors and business men there or, and this in most cases, sell whatever they have however they best can, gather all their family and clan and sail again for America.

All efforts, both by the Italian and American governments, equally interested in the game, to direct the Italian immigration towards the agricultural south and west of the United States, having failed, and America having already a fast growing army of unemployed industrial workers, Italy has seen lately another specter loom up in her stormy sky—that of a coming restriction of immigration by Uncle Sam, whose symptoms are already apparent. This, added to the strained relations with Argentina, where peonage is still in full force, the growing industrial disturbances at home, the great national disasters of the past few years (volcanic eruptions, floods, earthquakes and lately the cholera, which have been conscientiously aided by the government in its work of devastation) has made Italy look towards Africa to secure a nearer territory for the outlet of idle and, therefore, dangerous arms. Hence the conquest of Tripolitania. This is the only reason for the present war. No other economic interests are involved in it, with the possible exception of those of the Bank of Rome, which during the last few years has invested a few millions in Tripoli, in a manner that falls nothing short of open brigandage.

This Bank of Rome, whether to prepare the ground and reason for the war, already planned, in accord with the government, or to further the interests of the Catholic Church, by which it is owned, controlled and operated; after having established a

branch in Tripoli, has been profusely loaning to the natives and mortgaging heavily their lands and property. The primitive Arabs and Bedouins, unfamiliar with the business ways of the white, rushed at this unexpected Christian manna that seemed to fall from heaven and borrowed whatever they could get, mortgaging the land, the houses, the trees, even their camels and horses.

The holy bank at the beginning was kind and lenient with them, renewing their mortgages and delaying payments, thus inducing them to get still further into debt, until at last having realized that it had a secure clutch on the poor people's throats, refused any further prolongation of payments and promptly dispossessed them and expropriated their property.

This went on in such a shameful manner that the Turkish governor was compelled to issue an edict whereby he enjoined the native population from having further business dealings with the Italians, thus producing a strained situation that culminated just before the war in a general boycott of all Italian goods by Tripoli.

Italy had now at last the excuse that she had been looking for so long and probably had been patiently preparing, to declare war without interference by the Powers, which, had it been only a question of take and hold, would have each one done the thing itself with quicker and better success.

But this was not sufficient, for if this was enough justification in the interested eyes of international capital, before the world at large it was not enough to warrant such a high-handed act of piracy. It had to be cloaked, like the stealings and ravaging of India, China, Egypt, Tunis, Morocco, etc., with the blue mantle of civilization; for capitalism is always very particular about keeping the appearances of justice and morality. Moreover, Italy had to somewhat justify the burglary at home, where patriotism was called a synonymism of liberty and where the Garibaldian tradition, which has made of the Italians the knight-errants of the world freedom, would have been shocked by such an unwarranted invasion of another people's country.

The Italians, who during the last century have made their own the cause of all peoples and fought in succession by regular

expeditions, in South America for the emancipation of the negroes, in Poland against Russia, in France against Prussia for the republic and the commune, and more lately in Greece against Turkey for the emancipation of Crete, and in Mexico against Diaz, could have been won over to the cause of war only if their national pride, rather than the pope's pocket-book, had been hurt and outraged.

To this it must be added that after the disastrous adventure in Abyssinia seventeen years ago, the warlike spirit of the nation had been abated, the army discredited and demoralized and the anti-militarist sentiment fostered by the Socialist propaganda had taken alarming proportions.

Only a shocking deed could overcome all these difficulties and this, intentionally or not does not matter, was ably prepared and brought about by the buccaneers of the Bank of Rome in connivance with the government and the church. When the poor natives realized at last in what an infamous way they were being spoiled, all their dormant primitive instincts blazed up again and, driven to despair and finding no redress, they undertook to harass, insult and persecute the Italian residents, murdering a few of the most hated ones.

Everything was now in perfect order—Italy could sharpen the stiletto of the brigand and make it pass for the avenging sword of Justice. She should go.

Horrible stories of Arabian and Turkish crimes were printed and circulated; of a plain murder they made a massacre, of a burglary an expedition of Raisuli; they spoke of Italian girls kidnapped for the harems of the Moslems or altogether raped in the public squares, and with these and kindred stories, in most cases shameful and arrant fabrications, they bore so much on the spirit of the people that it became worked up to such a frenzy that even the blind beggars began clamoring for war.

And the king declared war without even convoking the parliament.

Italy will take Tripoli. It may take months, years perhaps for the Arabs are determined and have real Mauser rifles instead of flint and stock guns, but ultimately "civilized" warfare will win over primitive ways. But will Tripoli solve the problem, the many problems that Italy is fac-

ing today? And what benefit will the Italian working class derive from a few square miles of cultivatable land and an immense ocean of hot moving sand after hundreds of millions have been spent, thousands of lives destroyed and the bloody hoofs of militarism trampled a great part of that splendid class consciousness that so patiently and laboriously had been cultivated?

So far, from the war, that she has heralded and acclaimed as a holy crusade she has reaped nothing but misery and humiliation, new taxes of money and blood and the atrocious anxiety of the waiting. The people have seen their country stand shamefaced before the nations of the world to answer for nameless atrocities that have been perpetrated by the flower of its youth, they have seen the ghastly and infamous gallows that their fathers had abolished, even for punishing the murderer and parricide, raised up again in the squares of Tripoli by their grandchildren to hang men guilty of having defended their coun-

try and their homes, they have seen the most beastly primitive instincts reconquer the better nature of man, the loftiest virtues fade before military arrogance, peace ranked with cowardice, humanity with fear, brutality with heroism and over all the bloody laughing fangs of murder enthroned. But when, after the effects of the drunken brawl of pillage and slaughter have passed, they shall reckon at last their costs and their gains, they will bitterly realize that patriotism that wants to help them only by sending them to another country to fight working men is a sham and a fraud.

And instead of going to Tripoli or anywhere else in the world they will finally understand that it is better to settle wrongs where they are, and that if they must kill, and get killed for their bread and their existence, it might as well be in a revolution as a capitalist war and rather than shoot a lot of ragged beggars abroad, they will hang a few well-fed thieves at home if necessary to destroy capitalism.



WAR IS HELL! LET THE CAPITALISTS GO TO—WAR.

Tools and Tactics

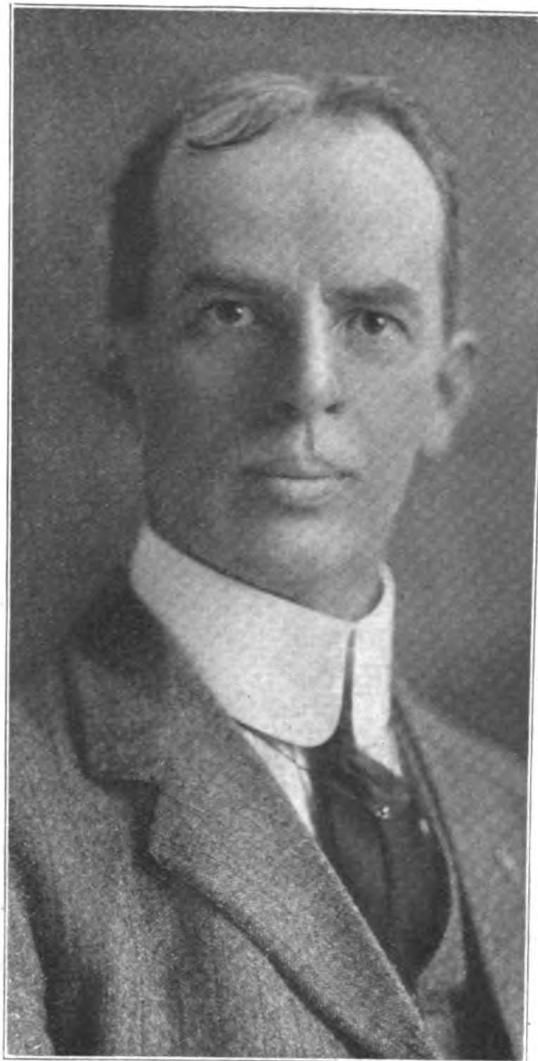
BY

ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE

I HAVE been commanded by my Editorial Chief, Comrade Kerr, to write for the March REVIEW on tactics; and, of course, I must obey. For has not the vivid imagination of my good Connecticut comrade and neighbor, Robert Hunter, the Sage and Squire of Highland Farm, recently pictured the kindly Kerr as the John D. Rockefeller of the Socialist publishing business greedily reaching out his octopus-tentacles to swallow the Socialist movement? It matters not whether or no I have anything to say; the Boss has spoken, and write I must, or be whisked straightway into the copious Kerr interior. Of two evils I choose the lesser, and the REVIEW readers must suffer.

New tactics are merely a means to an end, so that unless we are all clear and agreed as what the end or goal is, we shall but waste our time discussing tactics. We must answer the question, 'Whither?' before we take up the question, 'How?', and I suspect that when we shall have fully answered the former, most of the difficulties of the latter will have vanished.

What then is our goal? The easy answer that will come of itself to the lips of every comrade is the abolition of exploitation of man by man. Very good, as far as it goes; but it does not go very far. That is merely negative, to state what we are going to get rid of. We must know what the positive thing is we are trying to bring into the world. And this positive good for which we are all striving is what I have often described as World-wide Brotherhood. It is quite true that this Brotherhood is the necessary consequence of the abolition of exploitation, but it is only because the latter brings in its train the infinite emotional enrichment of the race implied by the former that it is worth fighting for.



ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE.

Ruskin rightly said that the richest nation was the nation containing the greatest number of healthy and happy human beings. So that our goal is to people the world with the maximum number of joy-filled and joy-radiating human beings. That means to fill the world to the saturation point with love, for love is the great begetter of joy. How infinitely it will multiply the joy of every human being to be keenly, vividly conscious of the fact that he or she is beloved by all other human beings! We have as yet no conception of the vast sum of pleasur-

able emotion this old world is capable of holding. Our ideal is to fill it to the brim with love and the joy that love begets.

Now, if love is to be the chiefest good in the world in the wonderful days a-coming, it follows that we want every bit of love we can squeeze into the world today. In a word, love is both the goal and the road to the goal. Socialist tactics in their broadest outlines were laid down once for all by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto when they wrote: "Workingmen of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain." The power of the working class depends absolutely upon the unity of the working class, call it by what name you will—class consciousness, solidarity or fellowship or comradeship.

The one task that confronts every Socialist individual and party in the world is to multiply to the maximum in the breast of each worker his or her sympathy with and love for his or her fellow-workers all over the world. This involves increasing their knowledge of each other. For one cannot love a person of whom one can form no definite idea. This is after all the great justification of our extremely expensive and unwieldy international congresses. Though their practical work in its net results may not bulk up very large, the international sympathy and understanding and love they generate is worth far more than we pay out for it.

The Socialist movement needs both HEARTS and BRAINS. But while the world contains very few people outside of lunatic asylums who have not brains enough to make good Socialists, unfortunately the cruelties of capitalist civilization have so deformed and mal-formed the characters of untold thousands that they have not hearts enough to make good Socialists. Atrophied hearts both inside and outside the movement are the great obstacles impeding the advancing march of our conquering army. But very few of these hearts are so completely atrophied that they cannot be warmed into healthy life again by the persistent and unrebuffable love of their fellows.

To be a Socialist one must have brains

enough to see the conflict between the worker and the shirker, to realize that it is impossible to serve the immediate interests of the employer and the employe at the same time. But to be an ideal Socialist one should also have a big enough heart to love all mankind, the employer as well as the employe. The Socialist with both a clear brain and a loving heart will realize that the only practical way to show his love for the capitalists as a class is to fight them with every particle of energy he or she possesses. The more a Socialist loves a capitalist the harder he will hit him when he finds himself opposed to him in the hideous class war. For it is only by the defeat of the capitalist class and the victory of the workers that the true interests (not the immediate, conscious interests) of even the capitalists can be served. To-day even the most fortunately situated capitalist cannot share his joys with a sufficiently large number of people to enjoy them adequately himself. To share a pleasure with one person is to double it; with two persons is to increase it four-fold. This is the geometrical progression of the emotions. When you once realize what this means, you will see that every day that moribund capitalism is prolonged deprives its financial beneficiaries of an incalculable multiplication of their pleasures.

Hence, the more you love a capitalist, the harder you will fight him if you are properly equipped with both brain and heart. The worker who has a big heart and a feeble brain is apt to ignore the class struggle and thus become an unwitting traitor to his class and to humanity. The worker with a clear brain, but an atrophied heart, is too apt to develop diabolical hatred of all capitalists, and thus to become a criminal or an anarchist, a believer in and a practitioner of the **propaganda by the deed**, which, in plain English, means assassination and senseless destruction of property.

Either of these extremes is deplorable, but the deficiency of heart imperils the Socialist movement far more than the deficiency of brain. The latter only acts as a brake on the wheels of the chariot of progress; the former may so stimulate the forces of reaction as to set back the

hands on the clock of Time for decades.

The great mission then of the class-conscious Socialist is to inspire the workers to love one another. It would seem that it might not be amiss to begin by persuading the Socialists to cease hating one another. Most (not all) of the scraps between Socialists are due to misunderstandings. The opposite factions do not use the terms over which they wrangle in the same sense. If they would agree on their definitions the row would in most cases cease or never begin.

Here we have one part of the party brandishing their tomahawks and howling for the scalps of all their comrades who believe in some mysterious entity known as "DIRECT ACTION"; while the other half fiercely vow that never, no NEVER, will they abandon this same mysterious and undefined thing "DIRECT ACTION." The party is rent asunder almost, and yet if the combatants would but agree on a definition of direct action, ninety-nine per cent of them would stop fighting immediately, for they would find that they and their opponents were in perfect accord.

The opponents of direct action always use the words as though they meant bomb-throwing and assassination. The defenders and champions of direct action have nothing of the kind in mind. The fight waxes hotter and hotter, and each side is fighting a man of straw.

This sort of thing is a disgrace to the movement. It must be and will be stopped. On most essentials ninety-nine Socialists out of a hundred are in perfect harmony. Most of the fights between Socialists are merely ghosts or hallucinations of the combatants, having no existence in sober reality. Take the recent rumpus as a sample. Let our veteran warrior, Comrade Hillquit define Direct Action, and Bohn and Haywood and I will denounce and condemn it just as fiercely as he and Spargo and Hunter do. But let me or Kerr define Direct Action, and I am inclined to believe that Hunter and Spargo and Hillquit will favor it just as enthusiastically as we do. By direct action I mean forcing concessions from governments or employers by the economic might of the organized workers without recourse to politics. I

know that practically all the opponents of Direct Action have gone on record again and again as favoring the forcing of such concessions by craft unions, and that of late they have again and again admitted the superiority and inevitability of the industrial form of labor organization.

I have no inordinate affection for the words, "Direct Action," and if their use is splitting the party I am wholly willing to abandon them. But considering that for many years the phrase, "Propaganda by the deed," has been used all over the world to mean precisely what the opponents of Direct Action now insist that Direct Action means, would it not be less confusing for them to back down and permit us to keep this convenient phrase, in view of the fact that we cover by it not a single individualistic or anarchistic mode of conflict?

But I want Socialism, and I want it soon. I'm getting old. I don't like to look at the gray hairs when I brush my scanty wisps. And I know that if we are to have Socialism in my time, we must have a united Socialist movement cemented together by true comradeship. Hence I am willing to agree henceforth to use the words Direct Action as synonymous with stabbing an unarmed woman in the back at midnight in a dark alley. Will that bring peace? If it will, I stand ready to sign the compact. But until I see some reason to believe that such an abuse of language will promote harmony, I shall continue to use the words in their obvious surface sense.

The most essential thing in tactics, then, is harmony within the Socialist party, and that depends very largely upon agreement as to definitions. Is that too much to ask?

Politics and Unionism.

There are honest differences of opinion within the party as to the relative importance of political and economic organization. But there are extremely few of us who do not believe in the necessity of labor union organization. Again, nearly all of us are agreed that there is no necessity for any organic connection between the political organization and the unions.

Differences begin to appear when we

approach the question of the attitude of the political party toward the unions. Just as some holds of ships are divided up into different water-tight compartments, so some comrades divide their brains up into different thought-tight compartments, and attempt to keep their thoughts on politics entirely uncontaminated by their thoughts on labor unionism and its struggles. This is the sort of thinking that Engels called "metaphysical," and he thought it was one of Marx's greatest achievements that he had replaced it by the "dialectic" mode of reasoning, which looks on all things as fluid and inter-related, and hence holds that to isolate any fact or thought and look at it by itself alone without considering its dynamic relations to other facts and thoughts is to fail to see it whole, and thus to lead the thinker astray. The machine process, with its insistence upon causation, is more and more causing the workers subject to its daily influence to think dialectically. But the educated bourgeois world still for the most part reasons metaphysically, and that part of the working class who are as yet more influenced by the pulpit and the capitalist press than they are by the machine process, naturally still retain more or less of the metaphysical habit of thought.

Here you have the line of cleavage within the Socialist party. The metaphysical thinkers who have not as yet been sufficiently disciplined by the machine process cling to the idea that politics can be kept wholly separate from industrial activity. Those, on the contrary, who have been molded mentally by the machine and are thus the typical modern proletariat, know that the reactions of politics on unionism and the reactions of unionism on politics are so frequent and incessant that they cannot be kept in distinct compartments. It is scarcely necessary to say that as the invasion of the machine proceeds and the machine process becomes more and more nearly universal the former faction will decrease and the latter faction increase.

The tactics of the near future will recognize that political action must be supported by industrial organization and action. It thus becomes obvious that the

sort of tactics we employ are determined in the last analysis by the sort of tools we use.

As soon as the comrades realize that politics and unionism are so closely related that neutrality on the union field is impossible, the socialist party must declare to the workers that unity is just as important on the industrial field as it is on the political. And that means endorsing the principle of Industrial Unionism. In my opinion we are ready for that step now. But if the Oklahoma City convention decides otherwise I am content to wait for the machine process to do its perfect work. For that step is inevitable soon.

To say that craft divisions are responsible for the lack of unity on the industrial field is to indulge in a trite truism today. But there are still many who do not realize that so long as the craft union was based on the possession of some peculiar skill by the craftsmen, the separate craft union had its economic justification. This is still largely true of such crafts as carpentry and cigar-making. But in craft after craft the skill is passing from the man to the machine; and when this takes place the craft union loses its economic justification. This is what happened to the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers when the special knack of riveting passed from the man to the pneumatic riveter. From that day the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers as a craft union was doomed. Federated with the other building trades it could have lived. But when its economic justification was removed by the pneumatic riveter the effort to prolong its life by dynamite was destined to futility.

The skill of the glass-blower has passed from the man to the machine. The process is daily taking place now in this craft and now in that, and each time the machine drives home the lesson of the essential unity and democracy of the working class. Note the progress in this direction in the United Mine Workers of America since the machine began to mine coal. See how rapidly the Granite Cutters are joining the Socialist party since the pneumatic chisel began to cut granite.

Tactics are made by tools, and with every new invention tools are more and

more forcing the workers to adopt the tactics of solidarity, both in politics and unionism. It is idle to fight against this process. Nothing can stop it. It will proceed until it democratizes and unites the workers sufficiently to make them victorious over all the hosts of capitalism.

We shall then have reached the goal—

World-wide Brotherhood.

And the tactics that we cannot but use to reach it are the tactics taught by Jesus and Marx—

“Love thy neighbor as thyself.”

“Workers of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain.”

A Japanese Victory

BY

S. KATAYAMA

FOR the first time labor asserted its power in Japan. For the past two days and today (January 2d) the street railway of Tokyo stopped running. Over 6,000 drivers and conductors left their work. Only a few cars ran in some parts of the city, a part of the day on the last day of the last year. They stopped entirely at night. The day was intended to run through the New Year's eve.

On New Year's day only a few cars started lazily in the morning on some lines but these soon stopped, and there was no car running in the afternoon. There are 118 miles of street railway in Tokyo now.

Almighty police authority could do nothing but beg the workers in vain. Everyone must walk, unless he could command the jinrikisha, cab or automobile. It was a sight. A city of two millions without street railways. For the first time the public realized the power of labor, and they complained, not against the workers, but against the company and against the city authorities.

The workers are not organized at all, but they acted as a body and made a fine demonstration of their power and solidarity.

The last day of December and the New Year's day are the most busy days of the year, and the workers knew it very well. They chose these to show the power and usefulness of their work. The public, as well as the city authorities, were obliged to recognize it by sheer necessity.

Cause of Strike.

The Tokyo Street Railway Company was the most powerful monopoly in Ja-

pan. It was a Tammany Hall of Tokyo, and the very source of corruption for the municipal politics. The company controlled the city council and the board of aldermen. Its capital stock amounts to 37,000,000 yen (yen is fifty cents in American gold). The stock is well watered and grown to the most enormous size and its stockholders and the directors of the company pocketed enormous amount of profits in various forms. When, however, there was no more great profit to be squeezed out of the company, then they started to sell the street railway to the city. The city authorities being puppets of the company, were always willing to buy at the highest price imaginable. Two or three times the question was brought up to the city council, and every time they speculated on the stocks, making big profits by stock gambling, but the last three or four years industry in Japan has been at the lowest ebb, and the big stockholders were all hard up; this time they wished honestly to sell the railway to the city and the last cabinet, under Prince Katsura, came to their help. All the legal matters were waived for the time being and hastily the business was closed, and the Tokyo Street Railway became the property of the city on the first of August last. It was sold to the city at 64,160,000 yen. Its nominal stock value amounted only to 37,390,000 yen. This transaction was made in spite of the heated opposition of the citizens. City people did not oppose the municipal ownership of the street railway, but they opposed this because of price agreed being too high. Even ac-

cepting the company figures, the city paid over 8,000,000 yen more than they ought.

The company at its last meeting voted 1,000,000 yen as a bonus to be given to the workers and directors of the company. Now the present strike was over this one million yen. It was promised by the directors on the first part of August last that it would be distributed in the middle of September at the latest. But it was not done till the very last day or two of December, and then only after many attempts and agitations. We had had two or three special meetings on this particular question and I wrote an article in the *Oriental Economist*, a powerful economic, three-times-monthly paper, stating clearly the grievances and demands of the workers, and also attacked the company as well as the city authorities. But they were not convinced of the necessity of action. So complaints among the street railway employes grew more and more strong and every one of the entire workers was dissatisfied with the neglect and heedlessness of the old company, and moreover, if the workers spoke to the city authorities about the matter then they were instantly dismissed, for the city officers who manage the street railways are the old company's directors. Thus the complaints of the workers became stronger.

At last the money was distributed on the 29th and 30th of December, but everyone was not satisfied with the result. It was known soon that the million yen was divided quite unevenly. At the start 400,000 yen were distributed to a few persons, including the directors and the president of the company, and 300,000 yen to engineers, clerks and bosses, numbering some 800 persons, and the remaining 300,000 yen to 6,000, including drivers, conductors and other workers, so that some got only a few yen. None got more than 150 yen. Nobody was satisfied with the share. But what should they do with their complaints? They were not organized and have no organs to express their desires. However, consensus of opinion came to only one thing; that was to express their dissatisfaction by means of a strike, or by quitting their work one by one quietly and quickly.

Within a few hours all car drivers and conductors went out; and the city was quiet for two days.

Result of Strike.

Beside the substantial result of the strike, it impressed the city of 2,000,000 people in the most forcible manner. The public recognized the power of labor and submitted to its command, and the city authorities, as well as directors of the company, simply begged the men to work, and at once the directors agreed and consented to distribute out of their own bonus some 200,000 yen more (\$100,000 in American gold). Thus the happy New Year strike won this for the workers. There were no dismissals or arrests; but most peacefully they won their victory.

But yet the distribution has been kept secret and the workers may demand publicity in the matter. In that event the case will take some time to settle. It is reported through the press that there was formed a city reform association, composing M. Ps., lawyers and newspapers (10), to settle the matter amicably by urging the old street railway company to make the distribution of the bonus just and fair.

Workers, however, seem not so firm on the point and they seem satisfied with 200,000 yen and late on the afternoon of the second of January cars are running nearly everywhere.

Other Strikes of the Year.

The last year was a very eventful one for the workers of Japan. There were many strikes throughout Japan, although mostly small ones. Especially printers and typesetters struck in several places. There was a strike in Yokohama on the *Advertiser*, an English daily, and on the *Japan Times* at Tokyo, also being in English; the Methodist Printing House of Tokyo had a strike involving 600 workers, and one other printing house had a strike involving some eight hundred workers. In all but the last strike the men won what they demanded and they are better treated. This last one failed because in this case pickets were arrested and severe police interferences intimidated the strikers, but those that won their strikes made great gains for the cause of labor.

Some Questions Answered

BY

HENRY L. SLOBODIN

A. Does Socialism mean equal compensation? Will, under Socialism, each member of society receive an equal share of the common product?

B. The question may mean two things. Either that every human being should receive an equal share of the produced wealth; or that every producer should receive an equal share. On close examination both propositions will be found absurd. In the first instance we cannot offer to an infant and to an adult equal shares of everything produced. But even the second case, that is to give an equal share to each producer, is impractical and even impossible. The wants and demands of different persons vary immensely nor is it possible to divide everything equally. Could we, for instance, make and enforce a regulation that everyone should get an equal share of the water supplied by the city or of the public parks provided by the city? It would have been manifestly absurd to do any such thing. It may safely be assumed that under Socialism the main necessities of life will be provided on the same plan as the water and parks are provided now.

A. When I ask whether under Socialism each producer will get an equal share, I don't mean an equal amount of each thing produced but an equal amount in value only, it being understood that each producer will be at liberty to select such things as he may want.

B. In answer to this I will say that there will exist absolutely no necessity for such provision of equality of distribution even in value, if the distribution will be

made on the same general plan as the distribution of the benefits of the water works and parks are taking place now. Wherever one will get all he wants nobody will want more. Nor is there any justice in a plan of rigid equality of distribution where one would get more than he needs and another less.

A. Is the plan of the Socialists then to give to every one according to his needs?

B. Such, no doubt, is the ultimate object of the Socialists and of our ideal of a true Socialist society. But it is not the immediate plan of the Socialists. The Socialists hold that even after Socialism is introduced, it will take some time before society will reach the economic state where every member will get all he wants and where no one will want more than he needs for his life and comfort. The generation which will still remember the slavery of capitalistic surfeit on one side, and capitalistic privation on the other will have to pass away; the sordid viciousness of the present generation of men which is infused into them with their mother's milk, and which makes a man most happy when he can get and keep more wealth than his neighbor, though he may not need the surplus at all and his neighbor may need it badly, will have to disappear. For the present capitalistic happiness consists not so much in having things which you do not actually need as in keeping them from those who need them badly. The generation of men with the remnants of such capitalistic consciences will have to disappear from the earthly scene. A new type of truly free men and women

will arise who will know nothing of the sordid incentive of the capitalistic society, who will not base their happiness on the senseless hoarding of material things and consequent privation of other men and women. The happiness of this new generation of men and women will find its source in the plenty which all will enjoy and the social gladness of all mankind.

A. But until then, what is the present plan of the Socialists. What share and compensation do they propose to each producer?

B. To every one the full fruit of his or her labor is the present demand of the Socialists. This is a demand of conditional justice and not of the ideal justice which the demand—to every one according to his needs—contemplates. This is a demand of the collectivist Socialist. I demand—to every one the full fruit of his labor—takes into consideration the inequality of the capacities and abilities of different men. This inequality of physical and mental ability results naturally in difference of productivity. One man can produce more than another. One man can work better than another. And so long as one man can and does produce more than another, justice demands that the compensation of each should be commensurate with his productivity. The injustice of this plan is that it admits that men are not of equal physical and mental ability; that there are superior and inferior men. Such inequality will be merely a remnant of capitalistic conditions of inequality of opportunity. There will be no such difference in productivity among the men and women reared under the conditions which a Socialist society will provide.

A. Do then the Socialists intend to make all men and women physically and mentally equal, that is, alike and similar to each other?

B. I am glad that you have put this question in this form—"equal, that is, alike and similar?" The question contains the elements of confusion of ideas. This confusion is common alike to those who oppose Socialism and to those who merely doubt its soundness; to professors and other priests of official capitalistic sciences and to the ignorant ditch-digger, who fears that, under Socialism, he will have to divide up. Does equality really

mean likeness or similarity or identity? Does it really mean that if you are given an equal opportunity with your brother or neighbor, for life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, that your opportunity is like, similar, identical, the same as the opportunity of your brother; that you must be treated alike; given an education in the same subjects; taught the same profession and compelled to do the same work? Manifestly not. Equality of opportunity means everything that is the opposite of likeness, similarity, sameness. What it really means, is that the capabilities of each infant and child should be equally well studied; the differences in character and temperament should be equally well determined; and each person should receive equal attention and have his or her faculties equally well developed. It is a striking illustration of the persistence of human error that equality should so long and so widely be confused with sameness.

That the error is partly born of purpose, is shown when on other occasions such a confusion of terms and conceptions is usually declared ridiculous. As for instance, for a father to give an equal opportunity to his four sons is a natural and laudable thing to do. But we would find it manifestly unnatural and reprehensible if the father should understand equality of opportunity to mean education in the same subjects; the same profession for all four sons; where it is evident for even a superficial observer that the boys show different temperaments and inclinations. No one would hesitate one moment to advise the father that equality of opportunity means to give to each boy a chance to develop freely the faculties and gifts with which nature endowed him. To compel all four boys to pursue the same studies and adopt the same profession would be giving the most unequal treatment and offering them the most unequal opportunities. The profession may be very well fitted for one of the boys but not at all suited for the others. Hence such treatment would be unjust, unfair, unequal. Equality of treatment and opportunity for the boys would mean to treat each according to his natural capacities, and give to each an opportunity to bring out what is best in him. Such a treatment has

nothing of the elements of sameness in it and is the least calculated to bring up men and women, who are physically and mentally the same. Nature is infinitely rich in variety and millions of men may be equal, physically and mentally equal and, at the same time, no two of them be exactly similar in any of their characteristics. Equality of opportunity will further diversity of character, temperament, natural gift and endowment as no other thing ever did. As another illustration: The class of manual laborers, low in the economic scale, have more sameness in their lives than any other class. Opportunity they have none. They have equality of what I may term, non-opportunity. What is the result? Mentally they are almost stereotyped, so much alike they are to one another. Even physically there is greater likeness among them than you will find in other classes. There is the same dullness stamped in the features of their faces. If you want to find diversity of individual character you must go to the classes that have more opportunities. It is therefore one of the objects of Socialism to bring about, through equality of opportunity, a greater diversity of individuality and character.

A. I will admit that I committed an error in confusing equality of opportunity with sameness of individuality and character. But you admit the existing inequality of individual ability and consequent productivity, and for that reason you, Socialists, propose to secure to each man the full fruit of his labor. Will not this actually create classes in society? And will not those who will get more want to keep it and accumulate more? And may they not attempt to perpetuate themselves as a class, as upper classes always did, and thus prevent the introduction of the social state where every one will get according to his needs? This transition from a state of society where every one gets the full product of his labor to a state where every one will get according to his needs does not seem to be clear. You admit the latter to be the ultimate goal to which Socialists strive, but you have not shown that there will be an economic necessity for it. And, according to your own position, the validity

of any social ideal must be tested by its economic necessity.

B. Yes, and it will be easy for me to prove that this ideal state where every one will get according to his needs, will be brought about by no other than economic factors; that we, humans, with our desires and ideals are merely limping behind the car of stern economic necessity.

But I must first dispose of your fear concerning classes, in a state where every one would get the full product of his labor. The upper and lower classes were always and are now such, not merely because the upper class had more good things than the lower. The true key to the situation was the fact that the upper class had in its possession and control the things by which the lower class made their livelihood and that the lower class was therefore dependent on the upper class. In order to have economic classes, the means of life for the whole people, the instruments of production, must be owned by one class, and used by another. A state of society in which all the instruments of production are owned and operated in common by the whole people can have no classes. What could these people of superior productivity accumulate? Only things for consumption—things to eat, things to wear, things to enjoy. Could those people by accumulating a store of these things make any one dependent upon them, hold other people in subjection, and thereby constitute themselves into a class? Such a thing is impossible so long as the common source of life and riches—the instruments of production—remain common property, open and accessible to all. So much for your fear of the existence and perpetuation of classes in a collectivist society.

Now, as to the economic necessity which will bring about the true Socialist state where every one will receive according to his needs. At this state of our discussion I will advance the proposition which I have held in reserve until now, namely, that, under Socialism, there will be no actual difference between two states of society, the one where every one gets the full product of his labor and the one where every one gets according to his needs. For in any Socialist society every one will get all he needs and more. No-

body will bother how much of the common product the other uses, no more than we bother now how much air, sunshine, water, streets, parks each of us use though they are very valuable things. There is so much of it and every one is welcome to all he wants. In a Socialist society there will be so much of all things that we need that each of us will be welcome to all he wants.

A. This sound very nice. But so far it is a bare assertion on your part. Where will you get all the nice things which every one will want? How will you satisfy those who make more than others?

B. Yes, and where is the economic necessity for these things? I think you asked this question before. It is the most important point of all. If I show no economic necessity, I prove nothing. I will show the economic necessity by pointing out the tendencies which assert themselves even now and which all make for my proposition. What are these economic tendencies? First: The ever diminishing significance of the personal equation as a factor in the production of the necessities of life. Second: The ever growing differentiation and social character of production. Third: The growing change in human needs, wants and aspirations.

Now, as to the first. With the introduction of machinery the skill of a certain person loses its importance in production. There was a time when knowledge of trades were kept as secrets in families. Subsequently these secrets were transferred to guilds. Machinery has played havoc with these secrets of trade. Not that less skill is required now in production than before. Just on the contrary. But the spreading of elementary knowledge and education and the widespread introduction of machinery have divested all crafts of their secrets and mysteries. It requires now for the acquisition of any trade no more than ordinary intelligence and education. Such acquisition is easily accessible to any one, and it takes even less time to learn a trade. Unusual talent and genius may be more a hindrance for the learning of an ordinary trade than a help. The tendency is to reduce the part of the mechanic in production to moving of levers, pushing of

buttons, oiling, etc. We have not reached that stage yet, but we are coming to it at a rapid rate. Moreover the capacity for more work, for better work, comes into play only when the workingmen must work long hours or with great intensity, as any one familiar with the conditions in a shop will tell you. There will be practically no difference at all between the productivity of two workingmen when they work four or five hours a day and at an ordinary rate of speed. But compel the same two workingmen to work 8 to 10 hours a day and at a high and intense speed and the difference in their productivity may become very great. Now in a state where every one will get the full product of his labor there will be no compelling necessity for people to work long hours or with unusual speed. Hence the difference in productivity will be insignificant. And the ability of the producer will weigh very little in the production of the necessities of life.

A. This may be used as an argument against Socialism. For it would mean putting a premium on indifference to work and laziness. Such a system of society would become fatal to further progress of society. For eventually it would reduce the average productivity so that it would impoverish society to an extent that it would not be able to provide even the necessities of life. Your Socialist system would destroy the incentive to do more work, to do better work.

B. Oh yes; we have heard a great deal about Socialism destroying the incentive. This we will answer in good time. In the meanwhile you are wandering from the subject. I am not done answering your questions as to how a Socialist society will provide every one according to his needs and will not demand from one more work than from the other. You remember that I have advanced three propositions concerning the tendencies in the mode of production. The first—the ever decreasing weight of personal equation in production of the necessities of life—I have proven. Now, as to the second—the ever growing social character of work. By social character of work I mean the ever growing sub-division of labor. Ordinarily a workingman makes now only a small part of the complete work. And this

small part is growing ever smaller. The time when one man produced a complete commodity by his own unaided hands has passed away. The tendency is to reduce the human part in production to superintendence of the machine. Now, when a workingman used to make a complete product, his productivity could be measured by the result of his work. If one tailor made one coat in a day and the other two coats then the second tailor was twice as productive as the first. But with the introduction of machinery we could measure productivity only by the speed with which it is driven and the hours of work. And where both the speed of the machine and the hours which it is made to work will be regulated by society for a whole trade, or at least by shop, there will be no difference in productivity and therefore no practical difference in compensation. And now as to third proposition—the change in individual needs, wants and aspirations. What I want to prove is that under Socialism no one will want to get more things than his neighbor. All the instruments of production will belong to all in common. There will be no classes. There will be no upper and lower classes. How will it be possible for one to accumulate things of value? There will be no object, no motive for doing it.

A. But if every one is to get the full product of his labor and assuming that there will be a difference in productivity there must result a difference in compensation. One will get more than the other and the one who will get more may want to accumulate valuable things.

B. Valuable things? What sort of things, for instance?

A. Things to eat, to wear, to enjoy.

B. Ah, I see. You are afraid that Vanderbilt may want to keep his 200 pairs of trousers. There will be absolutely no objection to any one accumulating a thousand suits of clothes, provided he renders the equivalent in work. But will any one do it? We think not. There will be no reason for it. The motive will be wanting. Did it ever occur to you to inquire into the motives which actuate the members

of the upper class to acquire all sorts of things from which they apparently derive neither use nor joy? Did you ever think of the psychological reason for such action? These things are accumulated by the members of the upper class not because they are useful, enjoyable, or valuable, but because their possession is associated with superior position in society; because having these things is a badge of membership in the upper class. Every one knows how quickly the members of the 400 will abandon the use of an article of luxury once its use becomes common. The bicycle is an example. You may readily see that Vanderbilt accumulated his 200 pair of trousers not because he needs them or derives any benefit from them, but only because having these things is now considered the proper thing for a member of the smart set. Now, under Socialism the whole people will be admitted to the 400; every one will be in the smart set. Having certain things will be no badge of social superiority. For any one could have them for the asking. Result—no one will want to have them. Any one who will want to accumulate 200 pairs of trousers will be an object of pity; for people will doubt his sanity. He will be looked upon then in the same light in which we would look now upon any one who would try to lay up a stock of fresh air, sunshine and water in bottles and barrels. In one word, the capitalists hold and cling to the instruments of production because these secure to them their position of economic superiority. And they cling to the many superfluous objects of luxury, because these objects are a badge of social superiority. After we abolish the basis and foundation of social superiority by making the instruments of production common property, the badge of social superiority will lose all sense and will disappear of itself.

A. But will there be no motive for people to do better than others? Will there be no desire to distinguish oneself and rise above the average?

B. You are returning to the question of the incentive under Socialism. We shall take it up in our next session.

EDITORIAL

Join the Socialist Party. Something must happen soon. Not for forty years have there been such unmistakeable signs of unrest and change. Mr. Gary of the Steel Trust voiced the feeling of the more intelligent capitalists when he said in a recent speech:

I tell you, gentlemen, that there are things being said nowadays which are very similar to things said just before the French revolution. I tell you that the spark may yet make a flame, and that soon. * * * Unless capitalists, corporations, rich men, powerful men themselves take a leading part in trying to improve the conditions of humanity, great changes will come and they will come mighty quickly, *and the mob will bring them.*

Mr. Gary's words are significant. The failure of the steel trust to make any concession to its over-worked and under-paid laborers is more significant still. Mr. Gary sees the necessity of doing something. But the stockholders who pay his salary want dividends, therefore he will probably do nothing. The MOB must do what the mob needs to have done. The work of the Socialist party is to ORGANIZE the mob. If you are one of the mob, one of those with nothing to lose but your chains and all the world to gain, you BELONG in the Socialist party; you need it and it needs you. Come in with your eager desire for a share in the good things of life, with your relentless determination to crush the power that enslaves you. In the Socialist party you will find a hundred thousand comrades who want the things you want, and will help you get them. And if you are not one of the mob, but have brains to understand and heart to feel that the mob is right, come in, but take a back seat for a while and listen. You will find that many of the things you have learned among the capitalists and their retainers are not so. Use your eyes, your ears and your brain and you will come by and by to see that the instincts of the rebellious wage-worker are more scientific, because more closely related to the great process by which society is evolving, than are the theories of the philanthropic reformer. When you have learned this, and not till then, you will be ready to

take an intelligent part in the discussions of the party.

New Methods Needed. Comrade Work, the National Secretary of the Socialist party, has made in his annual report a number of suggestions which have not yet received the attention they deserve. The party has outgrown its constitution, and the coming national convention must undertake a thorough revision. We regret that our space permits only the briefest comment on the most important of his suggestions. The constitution certainly should provide that vacancies in national offices be filled by the next highest candidate at the preceding election who is eligible. The signing of undated resignations by candidates for political office should be made obligatory. No one should be allowed to run for office who has not been a party member at least three years, except in the case of a local recently organized. Candidates for president and vice-president should be nominated by referendum vote. State organizations should be compelled on penalty of forfeiting their charters to furnish the national office with a list of local secretaries. The provision in the constitution allowing the national office to hold an election for state officers on petition of a certain number of members should be stricken out. The percentage of locals required to initiate a referendum should be increased. Delegate bodies, including city and county locals which do not hold meetings attended by all members, should not be allowed to initiate or second referendums, and branches of locals should be allowed to do so. All these suggestions seem to us excellent. But we dissent from Comrade Work's view that the national office should be allowed to publish an official organ, or to become "the greatest if not the only publisher of Socialist literature." Once give the national officers power to dictate what party members shall or shall not read, and the way is opened for a self-perpetuating dictatorship which would almost inevitably use its power in the interest of an inner clique. Free discussion of all party questions is essential if democratic control

of the party is to continue. It is just as well to face the fact that there are two opposing tendencies in the Socialist party, one proletarian and revolutionary, the other led by craft union officials and office seekers. The great mass of the membership want Socialism, but have no very definite ideas as to tactics. Consequently, both the right and the left wing of the movement are now represented on the National Executive Committee, and every important question that comes up receives full discussion and is decided on its merits. We have free speech and a free press; these we must keep and the Socialist party will live and grow, to become one of the greatest forces in the final overthrow of capitalism.

Vote for Referendum A. The National Committee made an expensive mistake in voting to have the National Convention at Oklahoma City. The place is far west

and south from where most of the members and delegates of the party live. Local Everett, Washington, has moved that the convention be held at Indianapolis. There are many good reasons for the change, but one will suffice. The round-trip fare from Chicago to Oklahoma City is \$38.60; from Chicago to Indianapolis, \$7.40. In the case of two-thirds of the 293 delegates the difference in railroad fare in favor of Indianapolis will average at least \$30 per delegate, and in the case of the delegates from the Pacific coast and the Northwest there will be little saving, so that a conservative estimate of the net difference in railroad fare is five thousand dollars. Moreover, our date conflicts with an immense Baptist convention to be held at Oklahoma City, and this will make decent hotel accommodations there scarce and expensive. The referendum should certainly carry.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The Uprising of China

THE world belongs to the capitalists. The capitalists are busy dividing it and making the most of it. This much is clear to the most casual onlooker. But the rapid game of division and exploitation does present problems and uncertainties. What groups of capitalists are to "sit in" at the final deal? Which nations are, in the main, to be exploited by their own capitalists and which ones are to be given over entirely to foreigners? These questions have been answered in part, but only in part. Hardly a month passes without the furnishing of new data toward a complete answer. The whole of the continent of Africa, it seems certain, is to be given up to the big business houses of Europe. Persia, the events of the past few weeks have shown, is not after all to belong to the rising business interests of Persia, but to those of England and Russia. And now comes China.

Most of us had thought that the case of

China was settled. The great Empire of the Sun, the Kingdom of the Center, the ancient seat of art and learning, was to be sliced up by Europeans and Americans. The possession of a civilization older than those of northern Europe and America combined did not in any degree raise it above the fate of Zululand or the Congo region. This is what we thought. But we thought wrong.

For the Chinese have risen. They have asserted their right and their ability to persist as a power in the world. This is the meaning of the Chinese revolution. It is not too much to say that, except for the rise to power of the working-class, this is the most important single development witnessed by the present generation.

At the time of the writing of the present article the revolution appears to be completely successful. Premier Yuan Shi-Kai has given his promise that the baby Emperor will "withdraw" before February

18. Dr. Wu Ting-Fang, whom many Americans remember as a singularly adroit and diplomatic representative of China at Washington, has drawn a provisional constitution for the republic that is to be. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, acting as temporary head of the new government, seems to be adequately in command of the situation. Japan and Russia have troops hovering about the northern boundary of the ancient empire, but so well are things managed that they have no opportunity to interpose. The revolution seems to be an accomplished fact.

Now is the time, then, to take a look over the situation and see just what it is that has happened. It goes without saying, of course, that this is not a revolution against rulership and exploitation in general. It is not an uprising of the workers of China against capitalism. It is not *the revolution*; it is only *a revolution*. That is to say, like those which occurred recently in Turkey and Portugal it is a national and bourgeois movement. It indicates, on the one hand, the Chinese have entered upon the modern capitalistic stage in their economic development and, on the other, that they have asserted themselves as a nation against division and absorption by foreign powers. These two things have naturally come simultaneously, for the second is a result of the first.

To be sure the events of the past few months have been in part inspired by opposition to the dominion of the Manchus, but this aspect of them has been much exaggerated by dispatches and discussions in the capitalist press. The Manchus are as foreign to the Chinese as the Germans or the English. They are a branch of the Tartar tribes. Their dominion over China is, in the long annals of Chinese history, a comparatively recent thing. It dates from the year 1644. In that year they were called in to aid in a factional fight, and they have remained ever since. It is not true, as often stated, that they retained all lucrative position for themselves. They constituted themselves a military caste. In numbers they have all along constituted a negligible part of the population. At the present time there are about five millions of them, while the total population is well over the four hun-

dred million mark. But up to the year 1907 the Manchus were strictly forbidden to enter upon any civil pursuit. They could not enter into business, agriculture, or any other lucrative field of endeavor. In the councils of state they were assured a permanent majority, but for the rest all of them were forced to serve as soldiers for very small pay. It is as a military caste that they have been able to hold their dominion for the past two hundred and fifty years. Wherever their rule has been effective at all it has been tyrannical in the extreme. They have been hated with a whole-hearted and deep-seated hatred. But they maintained their authority. They would still maintain it had they not proved unequal to the task of standing between the business interests of China and the rapacious capitalists of Europe and America.

They have been the less able to do this because of the fact that the development of modern conditions has divided the Manchurians themselves into capitalist class and working-class. One section of them became great land-holders; another enjoyed the benefits of a tremendous system of political graft, and so became possessed of great wealth and industrial interests. But the great majority, prevented from taking part in industry, sank into unutterable poverty. When, in 1907, a decree was issued relieving them from the duty of military service, thousands of them became beggars. The class-struggle split the power of the Manchu race.

But even had this not occurred, the Manchu dynasty would still have been unable to rise to the need of the hour and maintain its position in modern China. The Manchus stood committed to feudalism. When, in 1898, Emperor Kwang-Su was driven from power by the present Dowager Empress, it meant that all government reforms had been brought to an end. It was the momentary triumph of reaction. From that time on the government of China has lacked the intelligence and the willingness to serve the modern business interests of the empire.

Under these circumstances, one concession after another has gone to foreign capitalists. English, French, German, and American capitalists have received permission to build railways. Recently a

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combination of English, French and German capitalists was formed for the purpose of constructing and owning all railways of the empire. The Chinese were quick to see the meaning of this. Ready means of communication are an absolute necessity to an empire as large as that of China. Under the misrule of the Manchu dynasty the ancient highways of the nation have fallen into such disrepair that they are now of little service. If China would maintain its integrity as a nation it must have adequate railway service and must have control of such service. Place the foreigner in possession of the railways and it meant the end of a united and independent China.

So the idea of "the railways for the Chinese" developed into a great patriotic national movement. Of course, it was a movement in favor of Chinese capitalists as against foreign capitalists. But for the moment it was the thing. In 1906 the government was forced to undertake the construction of a line from Peking to Kalgau with exclusively Chinese capital. In 1907 the population rose against a concession of the Shanghai-Han-Chau-Ningpo line to a British company. Two provinces sent to the government petitions promising to raise the necessary capital if the concession were cancelled. Great public meetings were held and money for the purchase of stock was contributed by everyone who had money to contribute. Soldiers telegraphed that they would go without part of their pay in order that the government itself might be able to take stock. It is related that in Han-Chau a variety actress called together the prostitutes of the town and collected from them 20,000 dollars which were to be used in the purchase of stock. Finally the sum of 20,000,000 dollars was subscribed. A committee was sent to Peking, accompanied by procession of fanatically-excited citizens. When the petition was denied and the concession to the English was confirmed, members of the cabinet were mobbed and a number of persons emphasized their protest by committing suicide.

The actual beginning of the revolution resulted from another incident in this railway war. Two provinces—Se-Chuan and Hu-Nan—had secured the privilege

of building a road with a capital raised among their own citizens. Ten million taels were paid in and work was begun. Then the government borrowed part of the money and neglected to pay it back. Soon the ten millions were gone and there was little to show for them. The people saw that they had been betrayed. The newspapers called it another Panama scandal. Finally, last May, an edict was issued requiring that all railways be turned over to the government. Everyone knew that this was nothing but a move to put power into the hands of the mandarins in order that they might sell out to the foreigners. The railway war took on unexampled proportions. Meetings were held and petitions signed. Appeals were sent to other provinces and to the Chinese populations in foreign lands. On the 24th of August the "League for the Protection of Railways" declared a general strike in industry and institutions of learning. A royal commissioner sent to look into affairs was mobbed. There were a series of collisions between mob and troops. In all some 12,000 persons were killed. This was in September and October. From that time on the revolutionary leaders have been marshalling their forces for the present conflict.

All of this makes it easy to understand why the revolution has been liberally financed by Chinese capitalists. It is said that at the beginning of open hostility the revolutionary treasury had at its disposal the sum of \$15,000,000. It helps one to understand, also, why the poor, even those who cannot hope to own railway stocks, are behind the movement. It is not because they hate the Manchus. Often enough the poor Manchus fought with the Chinese against Chinese mandarins who had helped betray their nation to the foreigner. This conflict has been a great national movement against domination by Europeans and Americans.

What the future holds for China is, of course, problematical. One great advantage the new republic will have: its people are racially a unit. They are accustomed, moreover, to co-operation and community effort. They have a single national literature and a language which, in printed form, at least, is universally intelligible. Their chances for national

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unity are much greater than those of Austria or Russia. Even in the matter of political intelligence they are better off than most of us suppose. Since they were roused by the defeat at the hands of the Japanese and by the surprising result of the Russo-Japanese war, their eagerness for education and advancement has been astounding. Tens of thousands have studied in foreign countries. Municipalities have made generous provisions for education. Large individual donations to educational purposes have become so common as to excite no surprise or comment. For some time there have been provincial assemblies, and the demand for a national parliament has been wire-spread and persistent. Political interest seems to penetrate to the remotest villages. Of course, there are foreign foes eagerly watching for a chance to intervene. And the early days of any government are dangerous ones. The future must tell its own tale.

In the meantime all those who are truly interested in the progress of the world must rejoice at what has taken place in China. To be sure foreign capital will continue to play a large part in Chinese business. The Standard Oil Company is said to distribute 110,000,000 liters of its product annually from a single Chinese city. It is persistently rumored that this company has given its financial support to the revolution. The American Tobacco Company is not far behind in successful effort. Moreover, to build up at the rate required by conditions im-

mense quantities of foreign capital will be required. The only change brought about so far as business is concerned, lies in the fact that hereafter Chinese capitalists will have a chance, the further fact and the Chinese government will be the organ of capitalist control. This means anything but a set-back for capitalism. In the long run it will not even mean a set-back for European and American capitalism. They will have among the 400,000,000 people of China such a market as the world has never dreamed of hitherto.

Nevertheless the Chinese revolution is a good thing for the world. It indicates that China has entered upon the final stage of capitalist development. It will go on rapidly now. Its working-class will find in time that their countrymen will not allow patriotism to hinder exploitation. Class feeling will soon take the place of national enthusiasm. Then the Chinese proletariat will be ready to join world movement of the working-class. And this revolution places beyond the realm of possibility the ultimate subjugation of the Chinese. This oriental race, with all its traditions, its distinctive qualities, its possibilities of rich contributions to the world consciousness, is not to be flattened out and made of non-effect by the ruthless energy of European and American business men. From now on it will take its place among the nations, to develop through capitalism to Socialism and whatever lies beyond, preserving its own character and making the world the richer for it.

The Labor Struggle

Sammy and the Socialists.—In the *American Federationist* for February, "Sham" Gompers returns to the task which he enjoys more than any other, save perhaps sticking his legs under the banquet tables of the Civic Federation, and that is swatting the Socialists. Every time his direction of affairs in the labor world has gone askew, Sam has sought to distract attention from the main issue by rigging up a dummy, labeling it "Socialism," and then knocking the everlasting stuffing out of it.

This time Sam devotes nearly six pages to a denial of the statement that there is any such thing as "Gompersism" or that the hor-

rible thing exists in the American Federation of Labor. He quotes extensively from the Socialist press, and tries his best to prove, though with poor success, that the Socialists belong with labor haters like Kirby, Post, Parry, Burns, "and their ilk." Gompers can be so absurd sometimes, that he ought to have the title of the Grand Old Woman of the American labor movement.

But there is one point that ought to be brought to the attention of the entire membership of the Socialist Party, especially in Los Angeles and in other centers where the trade union forces have "gone over" to the



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Socialist Party, and that is the statement wherein Gompers says:

"Union labor has on occasions given Socialist local tickets its support as against the old parties, but by way of protest against corruption or machine politics, **rather than under conviction of Socialist doctrines.**"

Of course all Socialists who have not gone buggo over the subject of getting into office understood that, but we are glad to have this frank statement from the head of the American Federation of Labor. It is to be hoped that all persons who, if the Socialist ticket had won in Los Angeles, would have called it a "Socialist" victory will put this statement of Sammy's in their pipes and smoke it.

Gompers in his argument makes another telling point, but not in the way he thinks he does. That is his quotation of Victor L. Berger's signed article in the *Milwaukee Social Democratic Herald* of July 31, 1909, in which Berger declares that "in view of the plutocratic law-making of the present day, it is easy to predict that the safety and hope of this country will finally lie in one direction only—**that of a violent and bloody revolution.** Therefore, I say, each of the 500,000 Socialist voters, and of the two million workmen who instinctively incline our way, should, besides doing much reading and still more thinking, also have a good rifle and the necessary rounds of ammunition in his home and be prepared to back up his ballot with his bullets if necessary."

No wonder Gompers is indignant at some of the Socialists. The pure and simple political actionist, when he contemplates a possible defeat of his demands, arrives at exactly the same point as the McNamaras and the pure and simple trade unionist. Instead of **class action** he can think only of individual and reactionary methods of warfare like bullets, bombs or "mounting the barricades."

Sharing and Shearing.—And now it is shown that the Steel Trust's much-lauded "profit-sharing plan for employes" means an average of 50 cents a month for its beneficiaries. Oh, yes, \$6 a year will do much toward "reconciling the interests of Capital and Labor"! This "profit-sharing" scheme of course is simply the old game of profit-shearing, with a little cheese rubbed on it to make it smell good.

How to Create Jobs.—Organizers for the Brotherhood of Machinists have been busy going around among the wage slaves of the Remington Typewriter Works at Iliion, N. Y., and telling them to come out of their trance. Incidentally they have been sending cold chills into the hearts of the bosses, especially when they insisted on pointing out the contrast in the selling price of a machine, which is \$100, and the average wages of the workers, which is considerably below one-fifth of that amount. The Remington Company boasts that "a typewriter is turned out every minute," or 3,600 every week. Let's do a little figuring. There are 2,500 workers in the Iliion plant. They work 60 hours a week. 60 times 2,500 is 150,-

000, which is the number of hours of labor time required to turn out the company's regular quota of 3,600 machines. Very well; suppose the workers organize industrially, fight, and reduce the working hours for each man to 48 a week; 48 into 150,000 goes 3,104 times, which will be the number of workers required to turn out those 3,600 machines a week. Subtract 2,500 from 3,104 and you get 604. In short, the workers of this factory by shortening their hours from 60 to 48 a week **could create employment for 604 more people**, thus lessening competition for jobs, reducing the army of possible scabs, and making it possible to raise wages. The same procedure will work everywhere.

Keeping 'Em Divided.—It is the boast of the A. F. of L. that Whitehead & Hoag, the New Jersey button manufacturers, "employ members of eighteen labor organizations." Eighteen crafts not only in one industry, but in one factory, all with separate contracts and agreements no doubt, and all the rest busy scabbing when one is on strike! Can you beat it?

"A Christian" in Action.—The Socialists in Pittsburg, made it so hot for one Raymond Robins, a gospel spieler for the Men and Religion Backward Movement, that he forgot all his Christlikeness and called one of them "an intellectual ass." Robins was formerly quite a hero among the trade unions in Chicago and in other cities, and his wife is president of the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago. He is now taking capitalist money to show that there is no such a thing as a class struggle.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Haywood in Toledo.—The Review-Haywood meeting in Toledo, January 29, was a big success from every point of view. More than 1,000 tickets were sold and fully 800 persons attended the meeting. The interest was intense, the audience paying Comrade Haywood the tribute of perfect silence when his utterances revealed the tragedies of the class struggle, and applauding him generously for his matchless sarcasm and his convincing argument.

The members of Local Toledo believe that the strength of the party must be gauged, not by mere numbers, but by the number that insist upon preserving, at all hazards, the working class character of the party and who stand for the triumph of the workers by every weapon within their reach.

We figure that the strongest factor in the building of a revolutionary, uncompromising movement is the right kind of literature. Hence, it is our object to see to it that the REVIEW is read by a constantly increasing number of workers. The message which this fighting magazine carries each month is the strong rock upon which we must build our faith, if the Socialist Party is to train the working class to fulfill its historic mission.

Toledo has had about sixteen years of reform and the administrations of "good men." The Socialists here have had a big job on their hands. Perhaps, reformers have kept us from the pitfalls of reform. Sam Jones and Brand Whitlock have forced us to stand for something more than municipal ownership and remedial legislation if we would get the ear of the working class. So, the members of Local Toledo were not shocked by anything that Haywood had to say, because vote-catching is not our business.

Two Socialists were elected to the city council last November. They are advocating in that body the right of city employees to organize. Through this medium, we are suggesting to the city workers, from the street sweepers, up to the firemen and policemen, and all other workers employed by the city, the formation of a municipal labor organization. One of our councilmen has already experienced the direct action of the capitalist class by being discharged from the shop for his opposition in the council to the vacation of a street in favor of a steel plant that pays its men sixteen cents an hour and works them twelve hours a day.

More power to Haywood and the REVIEW! They teach the naked truth, without "trimming."

J. BATES, Secretary.

From New Zealand. Comrade J. E. Duncan, of Auckland, writes sending in a large order for books, and a share of stock: "I think the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is the very

best magazine I have ever read." Other letters from New Zealand show us that the comrades are awake to the need of revolutionary action. The little band of Reds there are maintaining two splendid papers and they are seeing to it that every workingman and woman in the country shall hear what a REVOLUTIONARY Socialist party and a revolutionary union mean.

More from Auckland. The same mail brought us an order from Comrade E. Jensen for \$119.00 worth of books and REVIEWS.

Sets Seal on Revolutionary Syndicalism. Christianaia, Norway.—In the last few weeks a most significant change has become evident in the labor union movement of Norway.

In Sweden and Denmark the current of revolutionary syndicalism has for some time been quite strong, but in Norway this current was unknown up to last year. Now a particular type of syndicalism has developed here which, while not repudiating political action, nevertheless upholds the employment in the economic struggle of sabotage and the greater part of the other weapons of revolutionary syndicalism. This movement is being led by very intelligent agitators who have already obtained much influence. Their principal headquarters were until lately at Drontjem.

Recently, after debates lasting three days, the resolution offered by the radicals was rejected by a vote of 181 to 164, and a compromise resolution was adopted. But last week the principles governing union activity were discussed for four days behind closed doors in this city, and, in spite of the opposition of the union leaders, the radicals' resolution was adopted by 221 votes against 212. In addition to sabotage, the resolution recommends the non-observance of contracts made with employers.

During the debates the editor in chief of *Socialdemokraten* (the official organ of the Social Democratic party of Norway) assailed violently certain doctrines of the new movement. Thereupon the assemblage by a vote of 300 to 3, and in spite of the opposition of the chairman, protested energetically against the journal *Socialdemokraten*.

As the convention was called by the political organization of the Social Democrats of Christiania, it is very probable that other sections will join in the protest. This is, surely, the first time that a Socialist political organization has thus set the seal of approval upon the methods of revolutionary syndicalism.

The event is of especial importance in view of the claims so often made that revolutionary syndicalism, sabotage and the other syndicalist methods, only appeal to workers of Latin origin, and can never find firm foothold in countries of Germanic or Anglo-Saxon population. These claims would seem to be amply

Socialist Councilmen—Columbus, Ohio



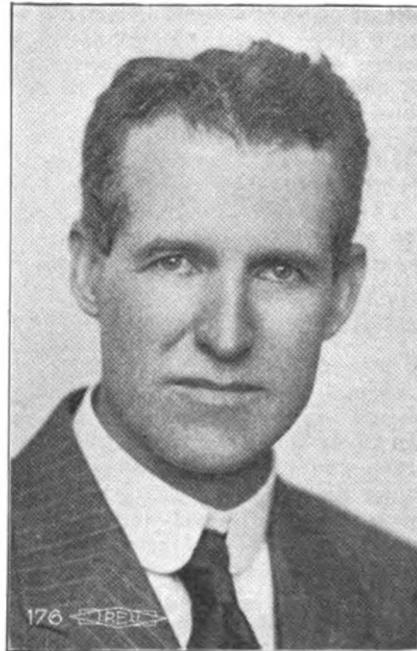
FRED P. ZIMPFER,
First Ward.



F. M. WILSON,
Tenth Ward.



JOHN P. BOHNERT,
Eleventh Ward.



C. E. WARREN,
Thirteenth Ward.

refuted by recent developments in this country.—New York Call.

Local Columbus.—At the last city election the Socialists at Columbus polled 11,000 straight, class conscious votes, electing four councilmen, four assessors and three members of the board of education. On the morning after election a prominent Columbus business man declared that the Socialists could have swept the city if they had not carried the red flag in the monster parade the Saturday night before election. It is sufficient to quote the reply the comrades made in their splendid paper, the *Socialist*, to show where they stand:

The Socialist party has no apology to offer for its platform, its candidates or the RED FLAG. The working class will understand the true significance of the Red Flag before another election and that emblem of human brotherhood will be the insignia of victory.

The Local will put off two rousing Haywood lectures on April 7th.

Accept My Congratulations for the February issue of the REVIEW. Haywood's speech is certainly plain talk. It's what we need. La Monte's article is also to the point.

COMRADE FLURY, Philadelphia, Pa.

From Australia. I indite these few lines to show my appreciation of your splendid uncompromising magazine and to congratulate you on the manner in which you sustain the strict principles of international Socialism. Your magazine, rightly termed the fighting magazine, is getting a good name in Australia and big sales of it here are badly required to brush away the mental cobwebs of fossilism and to rejuvenate the apathetic and cowardly trade unionists here who are afraid to strike. The sound logic, analytical criticism, thorough knowledge and relentless exposures of the REVIEW is greatly appreciated here, for nearly all the branches of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Australia are as fearless, scientific and uncompromising as your REVIEW, owing to the existence of the middle class "Labor Party." The accession to power of the Labor Party has sealed their own doom, and has opened, or is beginning to open, the eyes of the befooled workers. And their to be expected act of "playing the game," as Comrade Charles Edward Russell aptly puts it, glaringly points out the uselessness of reform, and half-measures generally. The lesson to be learned is that the thorough understanding of the basic principle of Socialism, the class struggle, is the principle method of consolidating the workers by making them fully realize their time mission and purpose in life. When I collect a few photographs I will send you an article on "Conscription in Australia." By the time this letter reaches you I will have resigned my position as secretary of the above party, intending to take a tour around the world, when I hope to have the pleasure of visiting Chicago.

J. BLUMENTHAL, Secretary,
International Socialist Party.
Sydney, N. S. W. Australia.

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EDITOR INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW: The Socialist party dues paying membership is about 100,000, and we are proud of it. We would not like to see even a minority of such membership lost.

Yet our system of electing the National Committee, is such as to in many instances deprive the minority of representation. This fact is galling to a large number of Socialists, when any action is taken, not to their liking.

Labor produces all wealth; wealth should belong to the creator thereof. This fundamentally just demand, naturally involves the right of minorities to their share of power. We can never have Socialism until the rights of the minorities and individuals are recognized.

In order to devise a system of elections, that will ensure just proportional representation on committees, I submit the following:

Amend Article VI, Sec. I, to read: Nominations from ten locals shall entitle a candidate to be placed on the ballot. Each individual member may vote for seven candidates, two of which should be marked 1st choice, 2nd choice. Election committees shall count how many 1st and 2nd choice votes each candidate shall have received, and in a separate column give the grand total vote received by each. The canvassing committee at the National headquarters shall declare each candidate elected, who shall have received one-seventh or more of the total 1st choice vote and add thereto, all those who shall have received one-seventh or more of the 2nd choice vote. If the number of names thus secured exceeds seven, the lowest on the 2nd choice shall be dropped; if it fall short of seven, such shortage shall be made up from the remaining candidates who shall have received the highest grand total vote.

Example: Four candidates have been declared elected, because they received at least one-seventh of the total 1st choice vote; two additional candidates were declared elected, because they received at least one-seventh of the 2nd choice vote—leaving one more to be declared elected, and from the remaining list of candidates, the one who has received the highest grand total of votes is declared elected, and thus we have seven members of the National Executive Committee.

| | 1st Choice | 2nd Choice | Grand Totals |
|-------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Bell | 4,000 | 9,000 | 60,000 |
| Berger | *25,000 | *20,000 | 30,000 |
| Bohn | *15,000 | *11,000 | 40,000 |
| Branstetter | *14,000 | *13,000 | 50,000 |
| Carey | *10,000 | *11,000 | 70,000 |
| Harriman | *20,000 | 6,000 | 100,000 |
| Haywood | *11,000 | 9,000 | 125,000 |
| Kirkpatrick | 500 | 9,000 | 150,000 |
| Maley | 400 | *11,000 | 130,000 |
| Maurer | 100 | 1,000 | 117,000 |
| Totals | 100,000 | 100,000 | 872,000 |

Berger, Bohn, Branstetter, Carey, Harriman, Haywood and Maley are elected.

A progressive minority, could thus by unit-

ing upon a candidate, get him elected, if they could muster one-seventh of the total 1st choice vote. Thus many errors of the executive committee would be avoided, because the minority would have a watch dog or two. In case of a reactionary minority, it would be better to have it represented than to "put our foot on their neck," so to speak, and have them knock the party on the outside and "sulk in their tent." Yours in the Revolution,

PETER J. HOLT, State Sec'y. Utah.
Box 477.

Quick Action. "The ten REVIEWS sold within a day of their receipt. Send 50 next time."—Comrade McCaleb, Pennsylvania.

Worth Copying. Comrade Conrad, who is one of the live wires in the growing movement at Wabash, Ind., describes a scheme that he says brings results. On each copy of the REVIEW and other Socialist literature handled by the local, he and his comrades put a little printed sticker telling where and when the local meets. This enables persons who want to know about Socialism and the party to find headquarters and get the right information.

Best Yet. "Please send 60 copies of the February REVIEW. It's the best number yet. We are fortunate in being able to get such a magazine as this."—Comrade Mary Cornwell, New York.

Sure a Hummer. "February REVIEW just received and absorbed. The REVIEW is sure a hummer and is doing a world of good. Enclosed I send you P. O. order for \$1 for which send me 20 copies. I won't let go of mine and so many are stirred up about Haywood's speech, I shall make them buy a copy of their own. I will try and buy a share of stock in Kerr & Company as soon as I can, seeing you are under the papal ban and are about to be investigated."—Comrade Stanley, Florida.

His Second Order. "Enclosed find check for \$5 for which please send 100 more of the February REVIEW. They are great and are going like hot cakes, so rush along the other 100 as soon as you can."—"Hustler" Schmidt, Pittsburg.

The Voice of Labor. Copy of the January number of the *Voice of Labor*. Johannesburg, South Africa, edited by Archibald Crawford, whom many of us had the pleasure of meeting during his recent trip around the world, is at hand, better than ever and full of the fine spirit of revolt. The South Africa comrades are pushing the REVIEW in that district. They hope to add 1,000 permanent names to our subscription list within the next year. Comrade Crawford has promised to contribute an article each month if time can be spared from the work in Johannesburg. Those of our readers who are acquainted with Comrade Crawford and his writings will realize what treats are in store for them. Rumor has it that Comrade Glenn, also of Johannesburg, has reached New York. We hope America will be able to keep him for some time. Com-

WHAT IS IN THE PEOPLE ANYWAY?

By **EDMOND R. MORAS, M. D.**

Harvard University Medical School, '88; College of Physicians and Surgeons (Chicago) '89. Formerly House Physician and Surgeon in Cook County Hospital (Chicago); Professor of Obstetrics, College of Physicians and Surgeons (Chicago), etc.

A dear old lady writes me:

"What is in the people anyway—the Hospitals and Sanitariums are full!"

My reply is:

People fill up Hospitals and Sanitariums **because they are not posted on themselves** as they are on their business, finances, politics, etc. If people dealt with their affairs **as they do with themselves** it would soon land them into Court or the Poorhouse; as it is, it lands them into Hospitals, Sanitariums and Cemeteriums. This is true, indeed **truer** of doctors and surgeons, lawyers and preachers than of poorman, richman, beggarman, thief.

Most humans eat and drink and drug themselves into heart failure, nerve prostration, dyspepsia, appendicitis, Bright's disease, auto-toxemia, pneumonia, rheumatism, cancer, apoplexy, typhoid, etc., etc. That's why Hospitals, Sanitariums and Cemeteries are full of 'em.

Ignorance of civic laws does not exempt the offender from public disgrace and punishment. But ignorance or disregard of Health Laws does. It will not always be so, for people will some day recognize the elementary principles of right and wrong in health matters; and, then, people will compel their professional and judicial and legislative and executive "servants" to toe the mark.

It's coming—for, don't you know that against every "preventable" death by violence there are thousands of preventable deaths by non-violence—that is, by disease and surgical operations? Are the lives of the former more valuable than of the latter? Look you to your God and Conscience, you who aviate in the hierachy of Business, Finance and Politics and who could and should **help to right** this civilized blunder. . . . For, there is a far graver economic question of Crime and Loss in cases of illnesses and operations and deaths **from disease-causes** than there is in cases of injury and death **from violence**.

What is in the People anyway?

Not HEALTH surely.

Surely not the Kind of Health which through the thick-and-fast and wear-and-tear of Business and Politics **can be banked on** today and tomorrow, next week and the week after, next year and the year after, **next decade and decades after.**

For, that Kind of Health **does not** fill Hospitals, Sanitariums, Jails and Asylums. But, it **does make** Home Sweet Home.

Well or sick **you need Autology as you need light, air, water and food.** That you may **be shown** Write for "**Guide to Autology,**" which contains **Newer Thoughts and Newer Suggestions and Newer Commonsense** for the good of **your body and your brain, in health and in sickness than are to be found anywhere else—barring nowhere and nobody.** I mean every syllable of that. And it's yours for 10 cents (dime or stamps).

Address to E. R. MORAS, M. D., DEPARTMENT 046, Highland Park, Ill.

rade Glenn has never been found far from the line of battle in any time of trouble.

From Portland: A resolution was passed by Local Portland, Oregon, as follows: "Relative to Berger's Old Age Pension Bill . . . reported to a committee here . . . was reported on as follows: . . . "We note, with some amusement, that pensions are to be granted to deserving men and women over the age of 60 years. We are uncertain as to whether this bill was aimed to assist the capitalist class and their retainers, or whether the National Executive Committee has arrived at its dotage, but we are positive that the great majority of the most deserving workers do not reach the age of 60. Life insurance statistics, which are thorough and reliable, and cover all classes, show that those persons commencing to work at the age of 20 years reach an average age of 61, but as most workers commence to work before the age of 20, it will be readily seen that the number of workers to exceed the age of 60 would be extremely small. . . . Our largest corporations refuse to employ men over the age of 45 on the assumption that the worker is no longer up to the average social efficiency so that had Comrade Berger shown a revolutionary spirit he would have placed the age limit at 45 and made the pension a sufficient amount to sustain a worker as befits the only useful members of society. Yours for Revolution, C. E. Bennett, M. E. Dorffman, and E. Taylor, committee, Local Branch 1, Portland, Oregon.

The Haverhill, Mass., Socialist Fair and Bazaar was an immense success. There was an exhibition of 56 different Socialist papers and magazines in 16 different languages. The management expressed its heartfelt thanks to the *Appeal*, *The Daily Call*, the *Rip Saw*, the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, and other periodicals for their donations and help in making the affair a success. Secretary M. J. Donohoe reports that the comrades worked hard to get the ideas of Socialism before the people of Haverhill. Mrs. Hartley Burke was one of the most tireless in contributing to the success of the enterprise.

Sends Subs Conditionally. Comrade Friedman of Los Angeles, sends in \$5.00 for five yearly REVIEW subscriptions and says: "Rumor has it that the politicians in the party are trying to oust Charles H. Kerr and the other editors of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for the reason that the REVIEW is carrying on a propaganda of education along industrial lines. I strongly approve of your policy and desire to state that if given a guarantee that Kerr and his associate editors will remain at their desks for the ensuing year, the enclosed money order is to be used as payment for my own and four other yearly REVIEW subs to be sent to names given below who want the REVIEW on the same conditions, and I pledge myself to work and gather more subscriptions for the REVIEW if it keeps on at the tune it is playing at present.

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B6001 Genuine Coin Gold 100-Pc. Dinner Set
A most magnificent 100-piece Set of Dishes, made of finest pure white under-glazed porcelain china, polished to a brilliant lustre and richly decorated with real coin gold. The Empire design is entirely new and fascinating. Sold in retail stores at 50 per cent more than we ask. Price, \$9.95
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All the points which give perfect satisfaction are embodied in this elegant Rocker. It has a high, broad back, large comfortable seat and is upholstered in famous "Imperial" leather (nearly like genuine leather.) Seat contains "Monarch" steel spring construction frame is of highly finished American quartered oak and is uniquely carved. Price, \$3.95
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Does the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund Stand for Labor Unionist and Socialistic Principles? In reference as to whether this society stands for labor unionist and Socialistic principles, for which it declares, Branch No. 172, of Easton, Pa., paid sick and death benefits for the late Arnold Steinweg, who was a strike breaker at the Standard Silk Mill in Phillipsburg, N. J. According to an article in *Solidarity*, the official paper of this society, they cannot declare for any political party, or they would lose their charter; therefore, it means that this, and all other foreign-speaking societies of this kind, stands for this present system of society to this extent—that a member can go and take another person's place in the case of a strike, and buy non-union made goods, and vote for the republican or democratic party, and if expelled, he could sue and recover damages, if I understand the law right.

And they are taking the strongest workers here, and probably all over, to serve as officials and other things, to the detriment of labor unions and the Socialist Party.

ALVIN HUFF, Easton, Pa.

Surprised. Comrade Barker, of Arkansas, who was among the first to take advantage of our new credit plan, says he was surprised to find how easily the *REVIEW* sells. Though he got his bundle late in January, he disposed of them in time to put in an increased order for February.

A Good Idea. Comrade Willison, of Ohio, has a scheme for selling Socialist literature in his town which is worth noting. He orders a bundle of *REVIEWS*, puts them on the newsstands in his town at a price which will enable the dealers to earn a small profit, and then takes back all the copies they don't sell and distributes them elsewhere.

A Successful Study Club. Comrade Thomson from Kansas City, writes that the comrades there are conducting a most successful study club. He says the students start out using Mary E. Marcy's *Shop Talks on Economics*; take up *Value, Price and Profit* from page 53, on through the book and expect to wind up with *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*. We are glad to advise other locals contemplating study clubs that these three books may be secured at 10 cents each; or at 6 cents each when ordered through the local secretary.

All to the Good. Comrade Schindler, of Utah, writes: "THE REVIEW is ALL good. It struck me just right when I read it last night. That Alaskan miner hit the nail when he advised the other Socialist periodicals to follow the lead of the *REVIEW*, and advocate industrial unionism. I like Charles Edward Russell's articles and Mary E. Marcy is a splendid writer."

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Keep Away from Portland. There are at present 14,000 unemployed in Portland, Oregon. This is not due to business depression, but to a misrepresentation by lying advertisements spread broadcast throughout the country by the Boosters' Clubs and commercial bodies acting with the railroads. Congested labor conditions reduce labor to a starving condition. A hungry stomach "knows no law." The action of the police in rounding up large bodies of workers and ordering them out of town is inhuman in that it forces them to face exposure along the roads amid the rigors of midwinter, to starvation or into crime.—The League of the Unemployed. W. T. Nef, Secretary.

Building Up a Socialist Library. Comrade Hood, a miner of Wyoming, sends in eight

yearly subscriptions for which he gets 16 cloth bound books on scientific Socialism, and he isn't through yet, he says. He writes that he is making a circulating library out of these books and intends to add to it regularly. Almost any other comrade may do the same, or eight comrades can combine, send a dollar each for a year's subscription to the REVIEW, and get 16 volumes which they can pass around among themselves until all are read. Then they can present the library to their local or union if they like.

The 3 Hour Day, published at 324 West 80th street, Seattle, is a snappy little monthly journal devoted to the propaganda which its name implies. Its program will appeal to every wage worker. Sample copies mailed on application.



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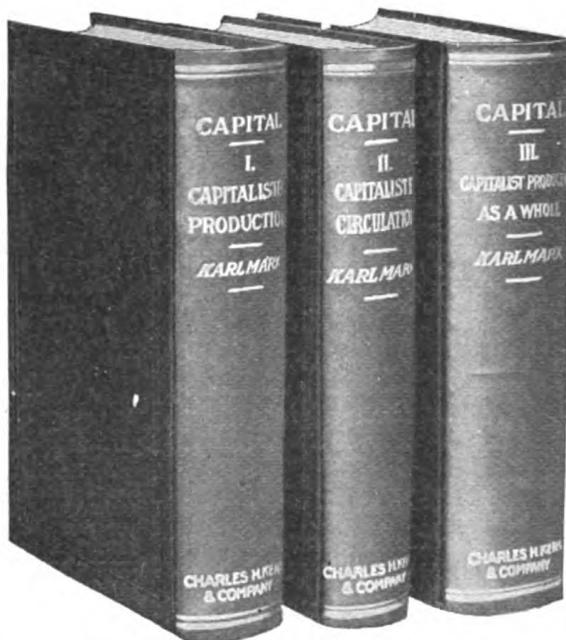
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