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**SOCIALIST  
REVIEW**

June 1913



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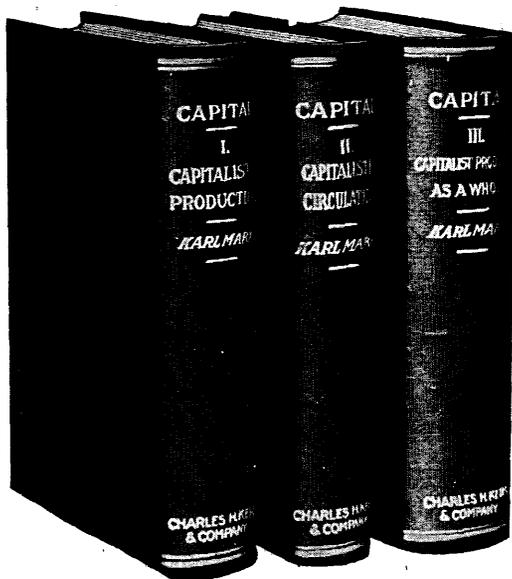
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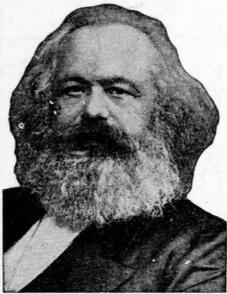
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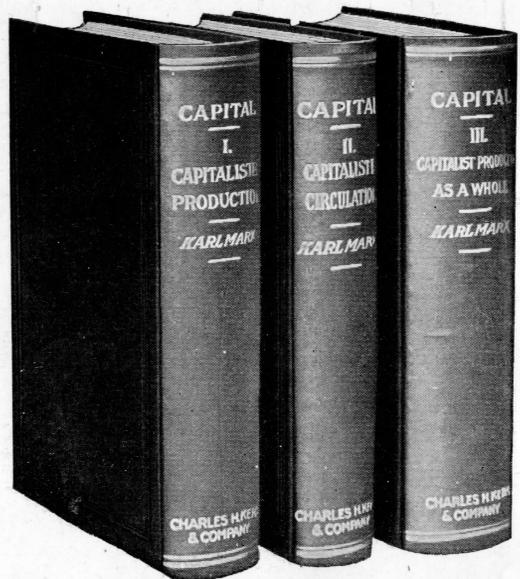
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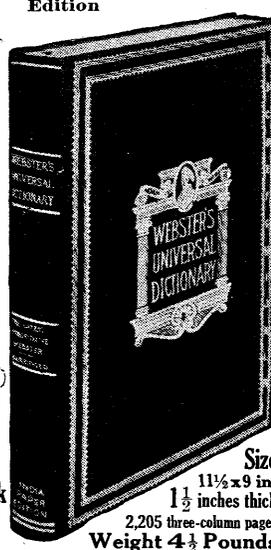
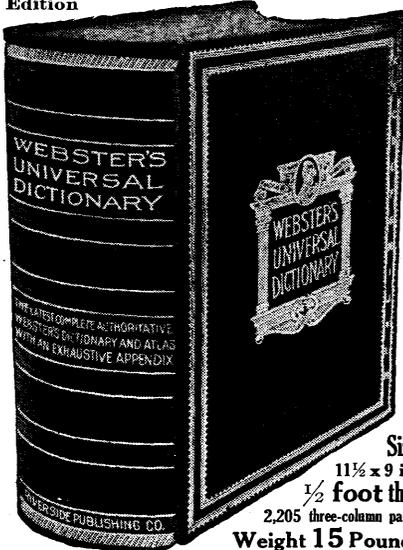
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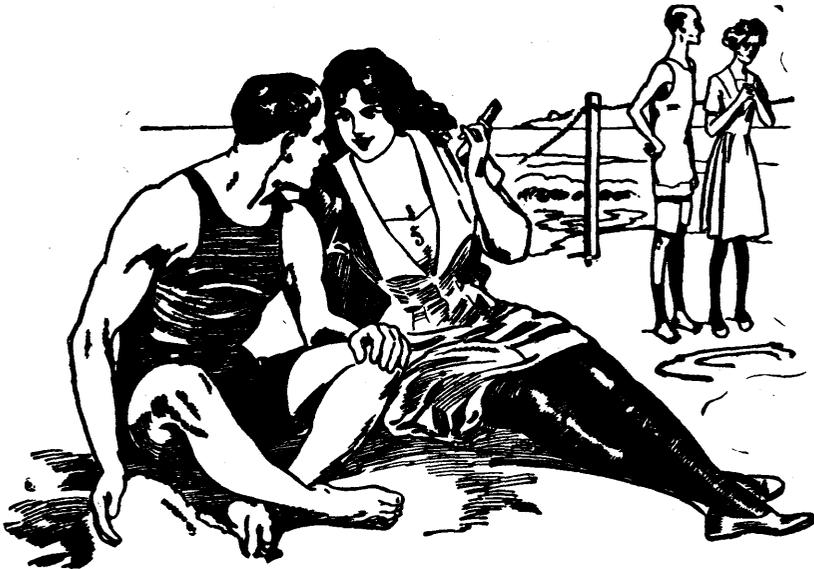
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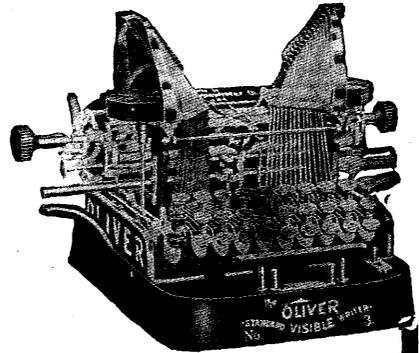
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VOL. XIII

JUNE, 1913

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CHILDREN OF PATERSON STRIKERS ON WAY TO NEW YORK CITY TO BE CARED FOR BY COMRADES.

## On the Paterson Picket Line

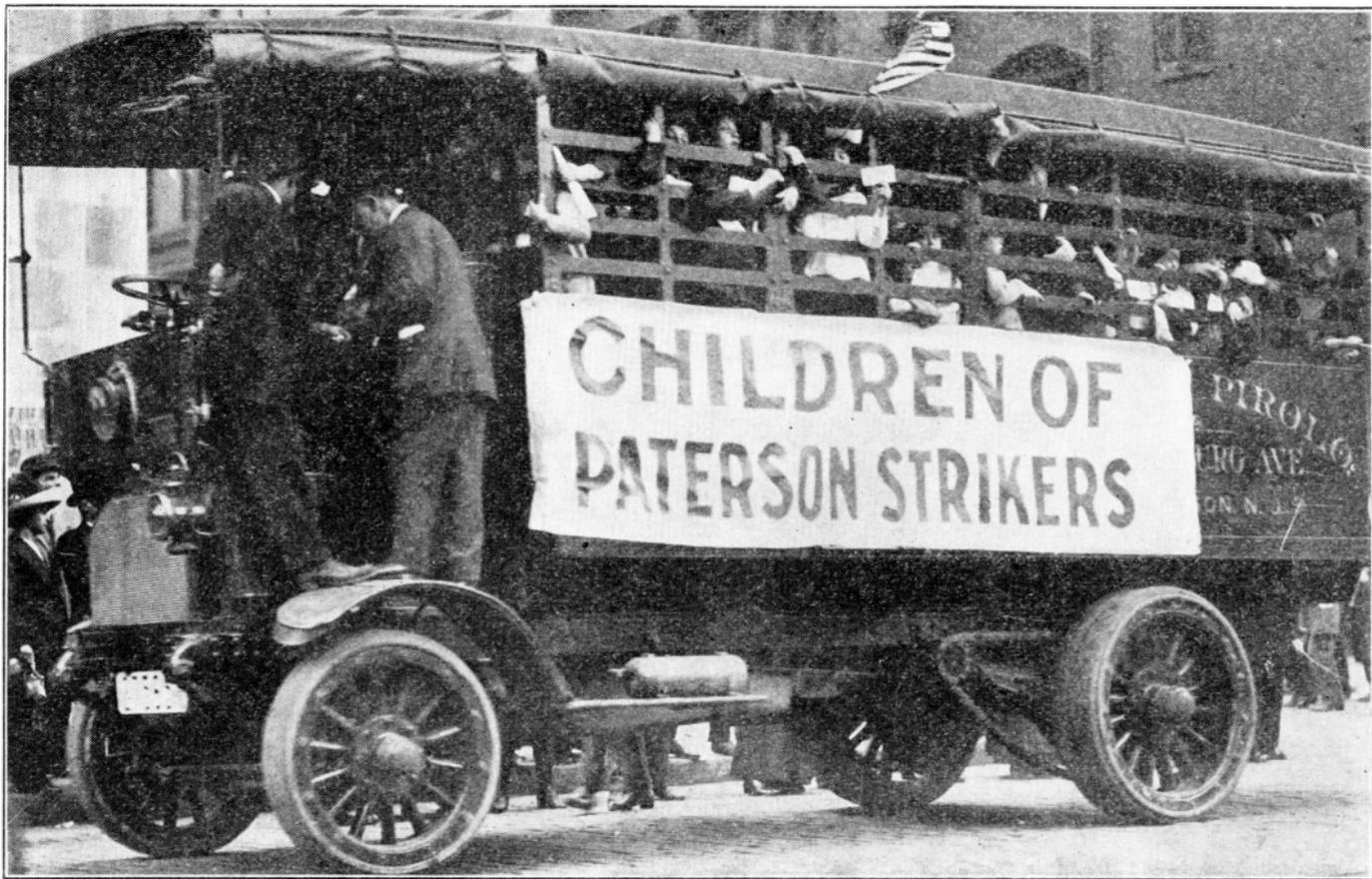
By William D. Haywood

**F**IVE o'clock every morning finds thousands of Paterson silk workers on the picket line with spirits as dauntless as ever despite the fact that after twelve weeks of struggle, starvation is staring them in the face. Some of them have been out in front of the battle for sixteen weeks.

The picket line is the modern barricade. It is there that the strike will be either lost or won. It is the picket line that has taught the Paterson silk workers the

meaning of the class struggle. Here men and women daily meet the guns of hired thugs and the clubs of policemen. Braving death, suffering indignity and humiliation, nearly 800 strikers have been arrested on trumped-up charges and thrown into jail. Some of them have been jailed a number of times.

It takes courage to face a term in the Paterson bastille. It was built in 1854, before the era of alleged prison reform began. In the cellhouse where most of



Photograph by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

CHILDREN OF PATERSON STRIKERS ON WAY TO NEW YORK CITY TO BE CARED FOR BY COMRADES



Photograph by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN AND HAYWOOD LEADING CHILDREN TO CITY HALL, PATERSON. THE MAYOR HAD PROMISED TO TAKE CARE OF STRIKERS' CHILDREN, BUT FAILED TO SHOW UP AT THE MEETING.

the strikers have been thrown the cells are narrow, with two bunks, one above the other. The ventilation is bad and the sanitation worse. The food is on a par with the usual prison fare.

Before being transferred to this county jail, the prisoners are, as a rule, compelled to spend a night in the city jail before appearing before Recorder Carroll's court. The conditions that have been imposed on the strikers in the city jail are beyond description, reminding one of accounts of the hell-holes of Russia. Here seven and eight men have been crowded into a single cell intended to be occupied by one.

No bedding of any kind is provided and no food is furnished. One group of strikers reported they were held for nineteen hours without even water.

In spite of being subjected to such indignities, the strikers are no sooner released than they go back on the picket line, there to face the assassins, detectives and thugs employed by the manufacturers. They have not been backward about firing their guns into crowds of strikers, as was shown by the case of Valentino Modestino, who was killed by two detectives who aimed at the strikers.

Modestino was on the porch of his



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ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN AND HAYWOOD LEADING CHILDREN TO CITY HALL, PATERSON. THE MAYOR HAD PROMISED TO TAKE CARE OF STRIKERS' CHILDREN, BUT FAILED TO SHOW UP AT THE MEETING.

home with one of his children in his arms when two bullets entered his back. He was carried into his home where his wife was about to give birth to a child. He died, leaving behind him three young children and this unborn babe.

Modestino was not a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, but the strikers realized that he was an innocent victim of the class struggle, and the tribute that was paid to him by the silent tread of 20,000 silk workers who marched behind his coffin to its grave, showed they knew in Modestino a comrade had met his death.

#### The Red Carnation.

At the grave brief addresses were made by Carlo Tresca and the writer. After the coffin was lowered silent lines of strikers filed by and dropped into the grave a crimson carnation, symbol of the brotherhood of the workers.

The night preceding this silent manifestation of protest against capitalist brutality the wildest demonstration of the

strike took place in Armory Hall, where John Golden and Sarah Conboy, of the American Federation of Labor, escorted by manufacturers and policemen, came to try to repeat the infamous strikebreaking tactics they attempted a year ago in Lawrence. They came heralded by the local press, by the civil authorities, by the clergy, and the employers as the instruments through which the great silk strike would be settled. The armory had been obtained for them through state officials. The state militia had been called out and stood in the ante-rooms with guns loaded for action. Chief of Police Bimson and his entire force were on hand. The fire department had been ordered to hold themselves in readiness and had their hose attached to hydrants in the immediate vicinity.

The striking silk workers were invited to attend this meeting. It had been previously arranged that they would attend in a body and listen to what the A. F. of L. had to say, providing that they would be given a chance to reply to state the



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

HAYWOOD SPEAKING AT THE GRAVE OF WORKER KILLED BY DETECTIVES.



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

HAYWOOD SPEAKING AT THE GRAVE OF WORKER KILLED BY DETECTIVES.

position of the strikers and the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World.

### 15,000 Cheer for I. W. W.

When organizers of the I. W. W. appeared in the hall, the 15,000 people present went wild. For minute after minute they yelled and cheered with ever-increasing volume. The floor and gallery was a waving forest of the red membership books of the I. W. W. held aloft by what seemed to be countless thousands. After a time Organizer Ewald W. Koettgen of the I. W. W., appeared on the platform and announced that the I. W. W. speakers would not be allowed to present their side. Or rather, he intended to announce this, but he got no further than "I. W. W."—when the audience leaped to its feet, and for perhaps fifteen minutes drowned every utterance with frantic cheers. Koettgen at last managed to make himself heard and said: "Let's all go home." As one man the audience arose and began to file out. As these departed thousands on the outside who had not been able to enter, rushed in and soon the armory was again filled. Those who left went to their own halls where they greeted every utterance of their speakers with roars of applause.

For an hour and three-quarters Golden and Mrs. Conboy tried to speak, only to be drowned down by the unceasing cheers that the audience sent up for the I. W. W. In desperation Mrs. Conboy tried the appeal-to-home-mother-and-patriotism stunt and seizing an American flag, waved it from the stage, which act was greeted by another outburst of derisive cheers. When Golden finally made himself heard about 300 persons stayed to listen, the hall having been cleared by police clubs.

It was the funeral of the A. F. of L., so far as Paterson was concerned. It was remarked afterward that it was indeed fitting and appropriate that the A. F. of L. should choose an armory, the training quarters of the bayonet-carrying murderers of the capitalist class, as its own burying place.

### Still Unbeaten.

The manufacturers could not get it through their heads that this armory meeting was a real expression of the sentiments of the strikers. They declared the workers had been kept out by threats and

intimidation. They requested conferences with shop committees which were granted. The bosses asked that a secret ballot be taken, believing the strikers would all vote to go back to work. This ballot was taken as requested and to the amazement of the manufacturers, the strikers voted overwhelmingly to remain out until their demands were granted.

The workers had already passed an eight-hour law in their mass meetings and this law they declared the manufacturers must obey before there could be any talk of settlement. The bosses were informed this part of the controversy already had been settled by the workers who have declared unanimously they will not work more than eight hours. If the workers are loyal to themselves this law is court-decision-proof, because there is no force that the boss can muster that can compel them to sell more than eight hours of their labor in any one day.

International labor day was celebrated by a mighty parade of Socialists and Industrial Workers of the World, who, with children in red dresses, women with red sashes, and men with red buttons, marched to Slate Mountain, where they picnicked and had dancing and singing all day long.

The women have been an enormous factor in the Paterson strike. Each meeting for them has been attended by bigger and bigger crowds. They are becoming deeply interested in the questions of the hour that are confronting women and are rapidly developing the sentiments that go to make up the great feminist movement of the world.

With them it is not a question of equal suffrage but of economic freedom. The women are ready to assume their share of the responsibility, on the picket line, in jail, even to the extent of sending their children away. Hundreds of children already have found good homes with their "strike parents" in New York.

### The Mother in Jail.

Among the strikers gathered in by the police was a woman with a nursing baby. She was fined \$10 and costs with the alternative of 20 days in jail. She was locked up, but the baby was not allowed to go with her. In twenty-four hours the mother's breasts were filled to bursting,

but the baby on the outside was starving. He refused to take any other form of food. In a few more hours the condition of both mother and baby was dangerous, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn went to see Recorder Carroll about the case. She told him unless the baby was allowed to have its mother it would soon die. Recorder Carroll's reply was as follows:

**"That's None of My Business."**

On Saturday afternoon, May 10, a new trick was sprung. All the papers in New Jersey and New York broke loose with flaring headlines announcing that an attempt had been made to wreck an Erie express train in Paterson, by means of

rocks piled on the tracks, and that the I. W. W. was "suspected." This looks like a scheme similar to the planting of dynamite in Lawrence to discredit the strikers. Or it may be an attempt to influence the minds of jurors in the coming trial of Gurley Flynn, Tresca, Lessig, Quinlan and myself on indictments charging "incitement to assault," riot, disorderly assemblage, and other high crimes.

Quinlan's second trial begins the day this is written, the jury which tried him last week having failed to reach a verdict. He may get as high as seven years in prison if convicted. The authorities hope to convict Quinlan first and thus make the railroading of the others easy.

### ON ONE MEAL A DAY!

A friend who had spent a few days in Paterson said to us today:

"The men and women and children on strike there are down to their last cent. For weeks they have fought on literally **ONE MEAL A DAY** and their ranks are still unbroken, in spite of all the efforts of the manufacturers and the A. F. of L. to kill the strike. Breakfast and supper have ceased to exist for this heroic group. I have seen pale and hungry men and women drink two or three glasses of water to stay the pangs of hunger and then throw up their heads and march out on the early morning picket line.

"At two o'clock the famished groups gather at the soup kitchens and eat their only meal. But everywhere there is no thought of yielding, no complaining, only a grim determination to win out.

"Picketing, singing, attending strike meetings, a walk to get the latest news of the trials going on in Paterson, and again more educational meetings—these things make up the day of the strikers. Money is beginning to come in. But it is coming in so slowly that there is danger that sheer starvation will force the strikers either to their beds or to defeat. Thus far the Socialists and industrial unionists and sympathizers at nearby points have done all the work.

But money is needed **AT ONCE**. I want you to tell our friends who read the REVIEW that we must rush to the aid of those who are putting up the gamest fight ever waged in America on **EMPTY STOMACHS!**"

This comrade deposited a check for \$5.00 to start the good work and said he intended to send in all he could spare every other day **AS LONG AS THE STRIKE LASTS**.

We in this office are doing the same.

A telegram has just been received at this office stating that Patrick Quinlan, one of the strike organizers, has been convicted. Haywood's trial will come up next. Of course Quinlan's case will be appealed.

The authorities are willing to go to any lengths to break the strike. Send your donation to

P. W. KIRSCHBAUM, Treasurer,  
52 Ellison St., Paterson, N. J.

The strikers have fought on **ONE MEAL A DAY**. That meal is now threatened. The silk mills have surrendered at Summit, N. J., granting all their workers a 25 and 35 per cent wage increase and an eight-hour day. Victory is already in sight in Paterson, but the strikers need money for food to hold out.



ALEXANDER SCOTT.

## What the Reds are Doing in Paterson

By

Alexander Scott,

Editor of The Weekly Issue, Socialist Party  
Paper of Passaic County.

**T**HE Socialists of Paterson have from the beginning of the silk strike taken an active part and have performed real service for the strikers. How could they help doing so? The fight of the 25,000 silk workers, organized in the I. W. W., was their fight. A majority of the party members are themselves silk workers.

When the general strike was called, the Socialists rolled up their sleeves, ready for any emergency. No question arose as to whether the workers were being organized by the I. W. W., the A. F. of L., or S. L. P. That did not matter then.

Had the strike been called by the A. F. of L.—much as some of us might doubt the sincerity of the organizers of that organization, and dubious as we might be of the outcome of the strike—there is no doubt but that the Paterson Socialists would have as readily jumped into the fray. In fact, when a year or so ago, the

Detroit faction of the I. W. W. (S. L. P.) attempted, or pretended to organize the textile workers of the Passaic county, the Socialist Party members assisted, and when it was seen that the workers had been defeated through petty political trickery, they just as readily denounced them as traitors to the working class.

In the present strike, the two arms of the revolutionary labor movement have worked in unison. The Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist Party have demonstrated the tremendous power of their organizations when united to fight a common enemy. No force is powerful enough to overcome them.

It is the opinion of the writer that the strike would have been lost had we not all fought together, throwing the weight of our organization and press in with the I. W. W.

Let it here be understood that this article is not written with the purpose of



ALEXANDER SCOTT.

showing the superiority of political action over direct action, but with the view of showing the necessity of both political and industrial union action in the struggle of the working class for emancipation.

The general strike was called for February 28. "Nip the strike in the bud," ordered the mill owners. "Righto. At your service," replied the city administration, the police, the press and some of the clergy.

The police gave orders that all halls be closed against the I. W. W., and got their clubs in readiness. The newspapers put their lying pens to work, and the clergy prepared sermons to suit the occasion. The strikers had already engaged Turn Hall as their headquarters, and the police had ordered this closed, too, and, moreover, intended to enforce the order by means of their clubs and guns, if necessary.

On the first day of the general strike a few hundred strikers filed out of Turn Hall and proceeded peacefully along the sidewalk in double file, when they were brutally attacked by a gang of blue-coated, brass-buttoned ruffians, headed by their Chief. Clubs were swung right and left, and no discrimination was made as to sex or age. One girl was struck and her cries could be heard two blocks distant.

"Well done!" said the silk bosses, and their editorial lackeys echoed, "Well done!" The bosses' papers appeared with headlines announcing, "Rioting Strikers Suppressed by Timely Work of Chief of Police Bimson and his Squad of Men—Strike Being Nipped in the Bud."

Quinlan, Tresca and Miss Flynn and a score of other less known workers in the I. W. W. were locked up. Bail was furnished by Socialists and sympathizers, mostly.

All halls were now closed against the I. W. W., but the union defied the police on the second day, holding a meeting in Turn Hall. This meeting was broken up by the police and the speaker, Wilson B. Killingbeck, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of New Jersey, was arrested. Chief Bimson mounted the platform and read the ancient riot act, ending with this sentence: "God save the KING!" Arrived at the police station, Chief Bimson asked Killingbeck, who had been reading

the State Constitution when arrested: "What unknown law was that you were reading, Mr. Killingbeck?" "That," replied Killingbeck, with a grin, "was the Constitution of the State of New Jersey. It very evidently is new to you Paterson officials." Killingbeck was discharged.

The Socialists were determined that the right of free speech should not be abridged, and Killingbeck with William Glanz, organizer of the local, engaged the largest hall in the city for a protest demonstration to be held on Friday of the same week. The treasury of the party was empty, but no matter.

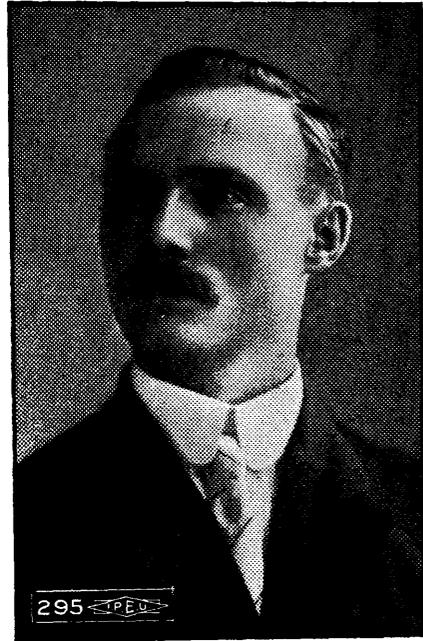
On the morning of the evening on which the monster meeting was to be held, police entered Socialist headquarters and seized 5,000 copies of a strike special of the *Weekly Issue*, organ of the Socialist Party, which had just been issued. The paper had severely criticized the police for their brutality and high-handed action, and contained pictures of the police in action, referring to them as strike-breaking Cossacks. Next a warrant was issued for the arrest of the editor, Alexander Scott, charged with "aiding and abetting hostility to the government," a crime punishable with fifteen years at hard labor. During the day the detectives were unable to locate Scott, but were informed that he would appear at the protest meeting in the evening, and that he would surrender himself there, which he did.

The Socialists had no intention of talking politics at the meeting, so invited the I. W. W. speakers to appear. About 7,000 people packed the Auditorium. The police and city officials were flayed unmercifully by Killingbeck, Miss Flynn, Ewald Koettgen, organizer of the union, and all of the other Socialist and I. W. W. speakers. The editor of the *Weekly Issue* was the last speaker and, when he was through, walked to the foot of the hall, where he was placed under arrest. Fully 3,000 strikers followed him to the police station, hooting the police, and it looked as though an attempt would be made to rescue the prisoner. Chief Bimson's "finest" attacked the crowd like a regiment of Bulgars on the Turkish frontier. Scott was locked up for the night, and released in the morning on \$2,000 bail.

The general strike was now on in earn-



WILSON B. KILLINGBECK.  
State Secretary, S. P., N. J.



WILLIAM BRUECKMAN.  
Socialist Mayor, Haledon.

est. The brutality and repressive measures employed by the police and courts, and the vile misrepresentation of the capitalist press, accomplished what it would have taken years of agitation to accomplish, namely, the solidification of the ranks of the strikers.

Charges of theft were made against the police for the confiscation of the *Weekly Issue*, a Socialist Justice of the Peace, Comrade Paul Heuck, receiving the charge. The four policemen who actually took the papers are now under \$200 bail.

The right (limited, though), of free speech was now established, but the corresponding right of free assemblage was being trampled upon. No parades, no loitering, no picketing, no distribution of literature—unless it be capitalist literature. Hundreds of strikers, and many that were not strikers, were arrested for “loitering,” “blocking the traffic,” “inciting to riot,” and what not. Several were arrested for having the *Issue* in their possession.

It was at this point that State Secretary Killingbeck and William Glanz suggested to the strikers that they go to Haledon, a small borough just outside of

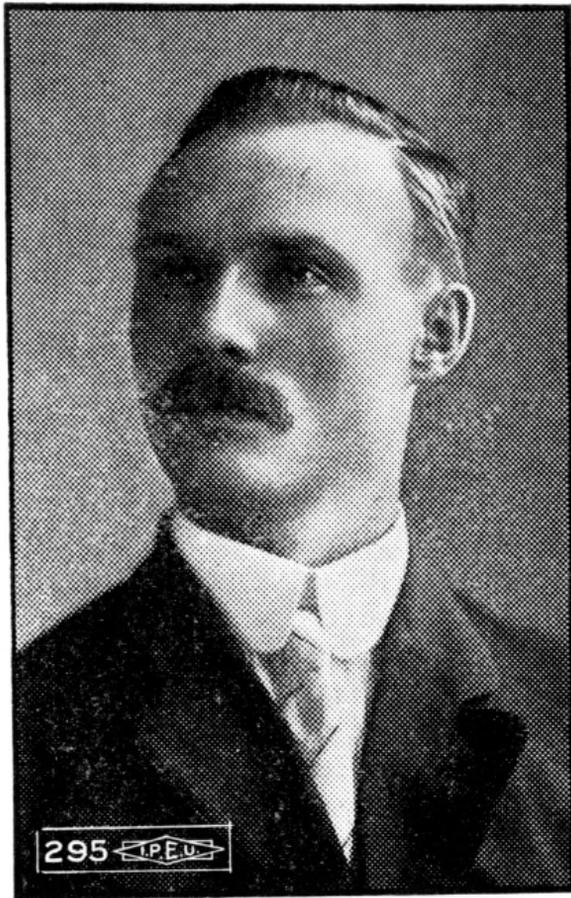
Paterson, to hold meetings. The mayor of Haledon, William Brueckman, is a Socialist, and he extended an invitation to the strikers to exercise their constitutional right in his town. The union accepted and every Sunday afternoon since then mammoth outdoor meetings have been held there. At the first meeting held in Haledon, William D. Haywood made a splendid address, and incidentally mentioned the red flag. This was the beginning of the anti-red flag campaign, about which more will be said.

There have been so many arrests that such things no longer arouse interest.

Everything attempted by the mill owners and their servants in office, kept press and cringing clergy to break the strike has only strengthened it. The newspapers lied as regards the extent of the strike, referred to the I. W. W. as a Godless, anarchistic, red flag organization, libeled the leaders, etc., but the workers paid no heed. The patriotism of the workers was appealed to. A “flag day” was arranged for. Large American flags were strung across the street bearing the inscription: “We live under this flag, we work under this flag, we will defend this



WILSON B. KILLINGBECK.  
State Secretary, S. P., N. J.



WILLIAM BRUECKMAN.  
Socialist Mayor, Haledon.

flag." The liberty loving citizens were urged to trample upon the red flag of anarchy and the I. W. W. and uphold "old glory."

The following clipping from the Newark *Star* about describes how the thing worked:

"With flags flying and the city decked out in gala garb, the great silk mills of Paterson reopened their doors to welcome back 35,000 men and women operatives.

"The ending of the gigantic labor war was beautifully planned. The factory owners were going to forgive their erring workmen. Mayor McBride and the police saw the end of their troubles approaching. The ministers who had urged the workers to return understood that their exhortations were to be obeyed.

"It was a very successful end of the strike, marred by only one thing—none of the strikers went back."

The workers merely winked, got into the spirit of the thing themselves, and on "flag day" thousands were seen on the streets wearing little cards bearing a colored impression of the stars and stripes and this inscription: "WE REFUSE TO SCAB UNDER OUR FLAG." These cards were gotten up by State Secretary Killingbeck, and paid for by Socialists. Killingbeck is seen in the picture wearing one of the cards.

An American flag and a huge sign bearing a similar inscription to the cards was displayed from the windows of the Socialist Party headquarters on the main street. Even the *Weekly Issue* took a patriotic spell and hired a wagon to go through the streets of the city bearing a sign on which was painted the stars and stripes and this inscription: "The *Weekly Issue* Refuses to be Muzzled Under this Flag."

There is no gainsaying the patriotism of the I. W. W.s and the Socialists. As one comrade and striker put it: "We are patriotic as hell."

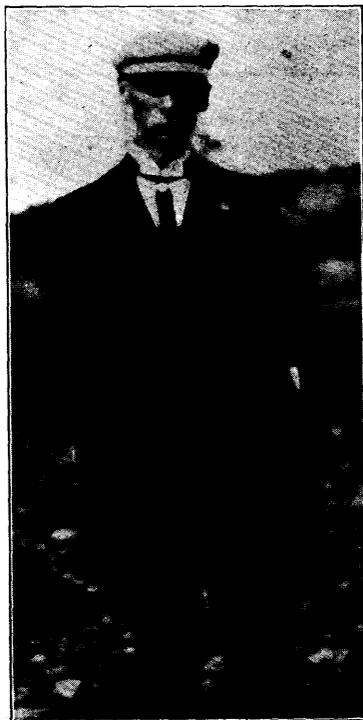
The attempt of the A. F. of L., represented by John Golden, Sarah Conboy and the Trades and Labor Council of Paterson, to break the strike only resulted in welding the forces of the strikers and increasing their loyalty to the I. W. W. If any desire on the part of the workers to desert the I. W. W. for the A. F.

of L. ever existed, the Armory meeting, at which Sarah Conboy and John Golden were to speak, destroyed it.

Space will not permit an account of this most stirring event. Suffice it to say that Golden, Conboy and their whole gang received the biggest turn-down of their lives. The I. W. W. speakers were forbidden to speak. Questions were not even allowed. Upon hearing this 10,000 workers left the hall in a body, shouting "Three cheers for the I. W. W." and leaving the labor fakers standing alone on the platform. About 2,000 returned and decided that since there was going to be no free speech for the I. W. W., neither would there be any free speech for the A. F. of L. The crowd cheered and booed for a solid hour and a half.

Sarah Conboy thought to quiet the mob by holding up the large American flag which covered the speakers' table. The strikers showed a fine sense of humor by shouting "Three cheers for the stars and stripes—hurrah!" and continued to cheer for an hour.

After a while Chief Bimson and his



WILLIAM GLANZ.  
Organizer of S. P., Passaic County.



**WILLIAM GLANZ.**  
Organizer of S. P., Passaic County.

squad of brass-buttoned plug-uglies lined up and cleared the main floor of the hall, driving everyone to the street. The police were thanked for their fine work by those on the platform. The meeting then continued, the speakers addressing their remarks to the newspaper men and a number of I. W. W. strikers in the gallery, who were posing as respectable, disinterested citizens.

The funeral of Modestino Valentino is something to be remembered. This man, who leaves a pregnant wife and several children, was shot by an O'Brien agency detective while standing on the stoop of his own home. Fully 15,000 followed the hearse to the cemetery, while three bands furnished music. Haywood and Tresca delivered short orations over the open grave, and the army of mourners who stood with heads uncovered, threw red flowers on the coffin.

The union asked for a permit for a May day parade, but were denied, whereupon the Socialist Party secured a permit for a Socialist May day parade, and the strikers had their parade anyway. It was a splendid sight. The Socialist Party

headed the procession, which consumed an hour in passing. Hundreds of I. W. W. banners were displayed, and the workers laughed, sang, whistled and cheered.

Many more things should be told about this great labor war, but this is an article—not a book. For instance, there is the trial of Patrick Quinlin and the indictments and future trials of Haywood, Tresca, Miss Flynn, Lessig and the others, but these cannot be covered here. A detective who testified for the defense at the trial of Patrick Quinlin is seen in a picture which accompanies this article.

The Socialists have gathered thousands of dollars for the strikers, and about 250 children have been sent to Socialists and sympathizers in New York and nearby cities to be taken care of.

More money is needed. Send it along at once.

The Paterson strike demonstrates the power and the need of both kinds of working class action. Let us have unity. If you were here you would be taught the necessity of it. Let the revolutionary labor movement use both its arms—and its feet, if necessary.



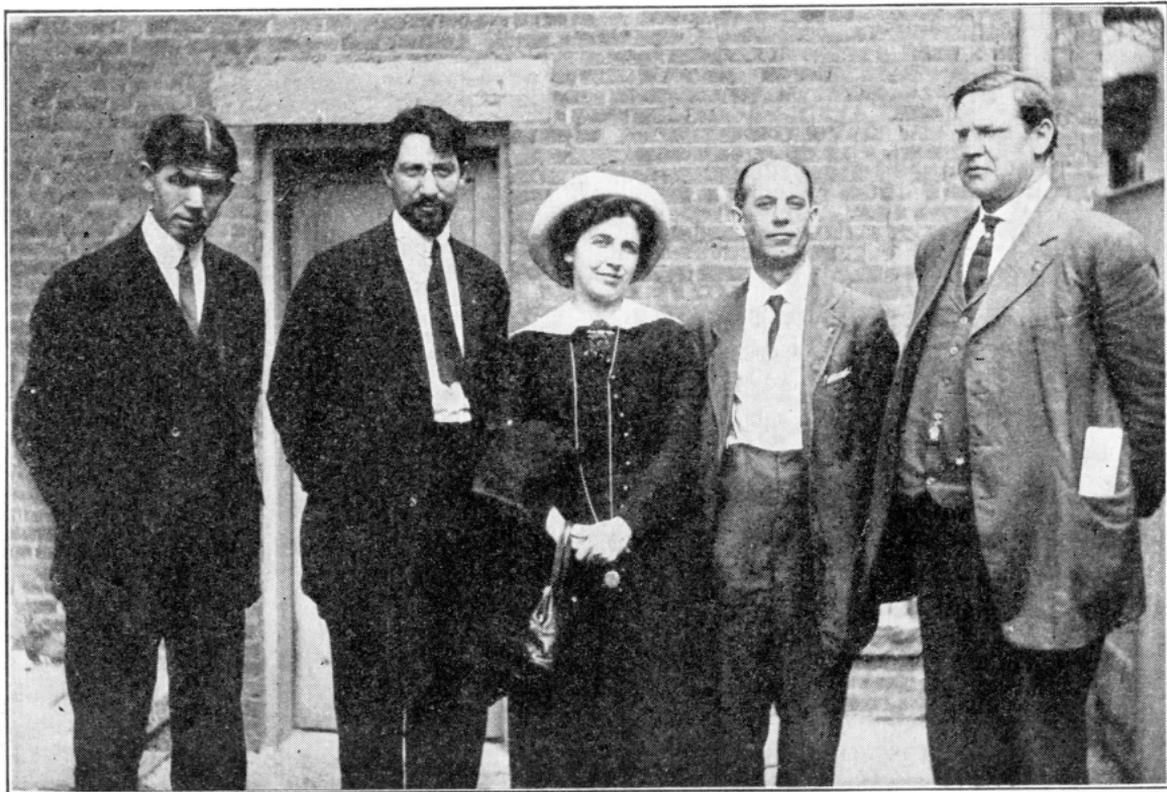
QUINLAN.

TRESCA.

FLYNN.

LESSIG.

HAYWOOD.



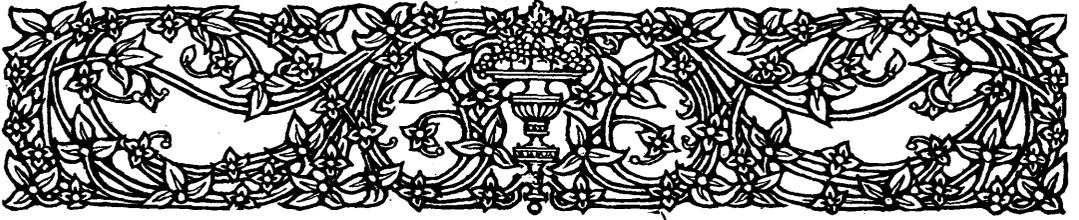
QUINLAN.

TRESCA.

FLYNN.

LESSIG.

HAYWOOD.



# May Day in Manhattan

By Frank Chester Pease

I STOOD at the corner of Twenty-second street and Broadway awaiting the Parade of Labor. All about and from down the distances through the hurtling canyons of architecture was borne the sound of many people in movement. This movement was a march to the sounds of rebel music. There was a tramping and tramping and tramping, and a shouting and singing and hurraing, always with the undertone of tramping, tramping, tramping from that myriad-footed march which filled all the space between the walls of the canyons with a sound like the surge of seas.

After many false alarms, expectant crowds along the walks tip-toeing and straining their necks, a squadron of mounted cossacks high headed above us breaks through the massed crowd along Broadway and THEY come.

THEY come!

THEY come—the Hosts of Labor—the multitudes of Workers—the giant army of Those Who Labor—and are heavy laden—the Makers and Doers and Distributers—the All and in All, without whom there is no all nor any part of all. THEY come—THE POWER.

THEY come, all dressed up in their pathos of sartorial imitation, the smudge of toil partly washed away—for labor must have a clean face this day of publicity—but ah! the bones of their bodies and all the wonderwork of muscles which runs over and under and around their bones refuses to unbend from the distortions which toil

has set upon them, and one sees them for what they are—slaves of the machine.

But slaves or no, here they come, scarlet banners following brass bands which lead the sections and blare the Marseillaise. Pertinent defiant inscriptions done in red letters flung high in the air read into this parade the struggle of the classes. Everywhere, as far as the eye can sense, this glint of scarlet tinctures the human stream pouring through the hazy canyons. Scarlet ribboned, scarlet buttoned, scarlet bannered, the scarlet hosts march by; so many, so very many it would seem as though the whole world of labor were pouring past in a vast unmeasured stream of scarlet.

The red of it all bites into my memory and my memory harks back through the twists and turns of history until I recall that away back there in the almost forgotten, they, the historic fathers of this my class, were liveried in scarlet. I remember that in those distant times they of the scarlet were marked off from the rest of the race and were set apart when they wore this same scarlet. I remember that this scarlet was a badge of shame for it was the badge of toil. And now—now the historic sons of the scarlet have chosen this same scarlet as the badge of their rebellion!

As I stand there watching them march by, they, the power, endlessly marching by, all the steel-hardened dogmas of my Nietzsche and Stirner, all my economic determinisms, all my impersonal mechanistic materialisms, all those renitent negations of the

spirit behind which a modernist needs must bulwark himself if he would be at all in this maddened world, fall away, and I give myself over to the luxury of tears—first in a score of years.

There is something so wonderful, something so very wonderful in a parade of labor that it fills all the space of the spirit, and one finds himself throbbing with sentiments almost atrophied through years of disuse. The tears well up, the heart grows large and swollen, under the clutch of unbidden emotions the voice chokes to an un-sung sob—it is so wonderful, so *very* wonderful!

It must be that we of the revolution, in our propagandizing and organizing and speechifying, deal with the abstract notion of the working class. Then, when we are confronted with all the magic and marvel of tens of thousands of marching workers, we hear, we see, we feel, we sense with all our being the omnipotent power and potentiality and reality of the working class.

It is thus that I felt as I watched the May Day Parade, for it was very real this parade of Manhattan's workers. And it was very real that it was a parade of workers. One would never mistake the bodies of the marchers for the bodies of any others than the workers. One would never mistake the faces of the marchers for the faces of any others than the workers. For these bodies bore all the cruel distortions of the machine which moulds and bends and breaks them to its devilish desire. The faces bore all the cruel stigmata which a monstrous master class of parasites has stamped deep.

On these faces was writ in signs no true son of man could look upon without pain the shameful record of wage slavery. The long hours were there in these faces. The air which holds no breath of summer fields with the flow of green across them had etched its shameful taint on these faces.

The shameful fact that warehouses had been stored with food when these marching thousands needed that food to feed the nerves and muscles with which in turn they feed the machine, was also there in these pinched underfed faces.

Oh, the shame of it!

Oh, if there were even the excuse of there not being enough to go round. Or, if so it were that a parasitic leisure class fitted the immutable scheme of things. Or, again, if it were that the mark of Cain were the mark of toil, and to toil were of necessity to suffer all the mythical tortures of Cain forever and ever.

But I do not believe this. There are many of us who do not believe it. Some day, when there are enough of us who do not believe it, all of us will act. Then we will do away with it.

I do not believe it because these marching thousands cannot be marching for nothing. Their marching seems to me the living symbol of disbelief in the preachments that there is not enough to go round, that a parasite class is a necessity, or even that to toil is to be in shame. Else why should these thousands march? Why should they voluntarily set themselves apart, here in Manhattan, on the first of May, commemorating that distant scarlet date when their fathers arose and said: "Let there be freedom."

And as they marched by in seeming endless ranks, beneath their scarlet banners, beneath their defiant slogans, beneath the insignia of their divided unions, I could not help but believe that the day would surely come when their uniting to march would extend to other actions than marching. I could not but believe these insignia of their divisions would disappear, and that in the place of their many banners there would be one great scarlet banner, and that on this one great banner would be the symbol of One Great Union.

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### HURRAH, FOR THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE!

After listening to a five minute appeal for funds for the Paterson strikers, by William D. Haywood, the delegates to the National Convention of the Workmen's Circle donated \$250.00 and a collection of \$250.00 was also taken up, making \$500.00 even. Our Jewish comrades are always on the job when there is work to be done.

# The Coming Industrial Armageddon

By

**Victor Grayson**

**Former Socialist M. P., England**



VICTOR GRAYSON.

I HAVE always realized how difficult it must be for an American Socialist who has not resided in Great Britain to understand the peculiar complications of British Labor and Socialist politics, and the precise inter-relation of the various parties. Since coming to America my consciousness of this difficulty has been deepened and increased. In the first place, I have discovered that such scanty news as filters through from England is either ill-informed or inaccurate, or so brief and disjointed as to be practically unreliable. Having enjoyed exceptional opportunities of studying the subject on the spot, both as spectator and actor, I propose to review the motives and tendencies of Socialist-Labor activities of the last decade or so; and to predict what I conceive to be the inevitable developments of the near future.

My statement of the case will necessarily be colored by my own temperament and mental viewpoint, but I shall endeavor to place the facts before my readers as dispassionately as I can.

One need scarcely repeat the early history of the two British socialist parties—the I. L. P. and S. D. F.—but the present situation will be rendered more intelligible if a few of the details are briefly mentioned. No English Socialist would now deny the real reason for the original alliance between the Socialists of every shade of opinion and the newly formed Labor Representation Council. Though endowed with splendid enthusiasm, the Socialists were practically powerless from the electoral and financial point of view. On the other hand, the great Trade Unions had masses of accumulated funds which they



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were frittering away in costly and futile strikes, while their individual members were voting their Liberal and Tory masters into Parliament. Hence, certain Socialists conceived the bold idea of weaning the old-fashioned Trade Unionists from their political fetishes by sedulously preaching the doctrine of independent labor representation in the House of Commons. The idea caught on like wildfire, and the Labor Representation Council was soon an accomplished fact. This meant an affiliation of many of the great Trade Unions and the existing Socialist Parties, who levied their members, or detached portions of existing funds to run independent Socialist and Labor members and maintain them when in Parliament.

Naturally, such an alliance between pure Socialists and simple Laborites involved compromise on both sides. The stodgy old Liberal and Trade Unionist had to pledge himself to vote for the L. R. C. nominee, even though he were a hated Socialist; and the Socialist had to curb his religious enthusiasm and support a Labor candidate even though that candidate individually repudiated Socialism.

Certain members of the Socialist Democratic Federation were cute enough to see dangerous rocks ahead, and it was not long before they withdrew in a body from the insidious alliance and determined to keep their flag untainted even at the expense of political impotence. They were derided as mad impossibilists by "respectable Socialists," and assured that they were entering into at least a century's sojourn in the wilderness of street-corner propaganda. The Independent Labor Party and the Fabian Society remained faithful to the alliance and set to work with great cleverness and much energy to win over the Unions which had remained sullenly outside. Little time elapsed before the Angel of Success beamed radiantly on the new project, and the world was staggered by the return of thirty independent Socialist and Labor members to the House of Commons. All the party newspapers spluttered wildly with excitement and astonishment, while the Liberals and Tories themselves felt that humanity was trembling on the edge of a revolutionary abyss. Even the Socialists who had mistrusted the alliance could not resist a feeling of elation at the turn of affairs.

In the new Parliament the Liberals were in power under the leadership of the late Campbell-Bannerman. Prior to the election, the courts had decided that it was illegal for Trade Unions to expend their money on strikes. The new Labor Party vigorously demanded the immediate reversal of this decision; and the Government timidly conceded it. They further set to work to introduce drastic amendments of the Workmen's Compensation Acts, and for once the Government seemed nervously inclined to grant whatever these sturdy envoys of organized labor cared to demand. These initial triumphs gave a tremendous fillip to the new movement, and thousands of old-fashioned Trade Unionists flocked into the fold of independence.

The capitalists and their political hirelings, however, were not exactly asleep—though they had been caught napping once. They began to chloroform the new party with generous doses of hypocritical flattery and canting adulation. Having carefully weighed up and taken the measure of the new members, they set about what proved to be the easy task of keeping them out of mischief. Campbell-Bannerman made public speeches in which he weepfully deplored the fact that the House of Commons had so long been deprived of the picturesque presence of these hob-nailed, but honest statesmen. He expressed agreeable surprise that so much sedate intellectuality could have emanated from the down-trodden and ignorant working class. And the parrot press repeated his chant of oily praise. Unfortunately, the trick worked, and we found our worthy stalwarts earnestly endeavoring to live down to the theory that they were as good, astute and respectable as their betters. There were what biologists call immediate "reversions to type." All the sickly nonconformity and rigid puritanism of their early Liberal days came to the surface of the new M. P.s. They were wheedled on to religious-cum-Liberal platforms to rave about intemperance and the curbing of original sin among infants. They stood cheek by jowl with the master class and plutocratic politicians on the same platforms, and the Socialist element did nothing to prevent the hopeless drift. In the country, they were *too* successful, so to speak, their namby-pambying and coquetting with the Liberals

succeeded in winning over the great miners' organizations, and with their accession the doom of the Labor Party as a proletarian weapon was complete.

So completely were they absorbed, indeed, that they declined to allow any Socialist candidate to call himself a Socialist; and when I was nominated as a Socialist candidate for the Colne Valley, they not only declined to support my candidature, but placed every obstacle in the way of my success. When, without their aid, I won, and refused to abandon my independence by signing their constitution, they ostracized me in the House of Commons. When I attempted to frustrate the visit of England's King to the bloody Czar, the leader of the Labor Party had me closed; when I moved the adjournment of the House over the assassination of Senor Ferrer in Spain, only eighteen (some Liberals and some Tories) stood up to support me—though there were forty so-called Labor and Socialist members in the House; and when on two successive days I demanded the consideration of the unemployed problem instead of futile tinkering with a temperance bill—and was thrown out both times amid the howls of the capitalists—not a single Socialist or Labor member could be found to stand by my side. They sat, like a row of extinct volcanoes, while I was turned into the street.

Truly, even so brief a review of colossal treachery would be sufficient to sour the milk o' human kindness in one's breast; to befoul the pure stream of hope with the stain of cynicism! At first sight it would seem as if, in very sooth, the workers were damned irretrievably to the maddening toil of Sisyphus. Like the convict who recently escaped from jail, they pant and sweat all night in their dark flight, only to find themselves outside the doors of their prison-house when the dawn shows them their whereabouts! They strive and strive and climb and climb only to be battered down again into the mire, or sucked into the treacherous quicksands at the advice of the pilots.

If what I have put down here were all that could be said about the matter, I should be willing to curse God and die! But happily, that is not all that can be said, and though the workers have been fooled and betrayed once again, they have not

given up the fight. The rank and file, though loyal to the last point of endurance, began to see through the game of their leaders. In spite of their self-sacrifice, and the ill-spared coppers which they had spent out for their emancipation, they were painfully aware that their sufferings had not been allayed; that oppression was as powerful and truculent as ever. So, leaving their leaders smugly poised on their little hillocks of self-complacency, they took matters into their own hands. They began to strike in spite of their leaders' pathetic injunctions and advices to get back to their work. In many important cases they blandly told their leaders to go to hell! They declined all attempts at peaceful conciliation or official negotiation. The whole country was thrown into terrible ferment by their lawless conduct and wicked disobedience. Mr. Asquith had to rush back from the continent, bringing with him Mr. Balfour, and the whole machinery of Parliament was used to induce them to submit. Having proved their power, and being again inveigled by false assurances on the part of their leaders, they returned to work with the bulk of their demands nominally conceded. But they were not long back at their tasks before they became grimly conscious that they had been once more tricked.

These strikes, however, were so morally effective, and of such dangerous omen, that the capitalists set to work to render them impossible in the future. Under the plea of belated pity for the aged poor, the Government "granted" an Old-Age Pension of one dollar twenty cents per week to certain persons over seventy years of age providing they fulfilled certain conditions. This was the first subtle move in a series towards devitalizing the Trade Union movement, since Old-Age Pensions was one of the prominent attractions held out to the worker by the Unions. The next move in the game was the institution of Labor Exchanges (with no labor to exchange), which took away still another attraction of the Unions. Then followed what is known as the Osborne Judgment. This was a decision of the Law Lords to the effect that it was illegal for Trade Unions to expend their funds for any political purpose whatever. The Law Lords are, of course, the nominees and legal hire-

lings of the capitalist politicians. Then came the Insurance Act, which was calculated to deliver the final deathblow to the whole organization of labor. And to finish the whole process of destruction, the Labor members were granted a salary of two thousand dollars per year. Of course the other members received the same salary; but as these are all rich, it is not pretended that the benefaction was intended for them.

While this work of diabolical scoundrelism was going on under the generalship of the oily humbug Lloyd George, and his impudent confederate Winston Churchill, backed openly by the Tories—the Labor Party contented itself with pathetically feeble remonstrances in the House of Commons, and noisy declamation on public platforms. And though one of its members—Keir Hardie—was forced to admit that the Labor Party had “ceased to count,” even he was content with the mere assertion of the fact, and still remains a tame and obedient member of that Party at the modest rate of two thousand dollars per year. Naturally, such spineless recreants piously deprecate the strike as a weapon of amelioration, but their own gross inactivity has been largely instrumental in driving the potency of the strike into the heads of the workers. They have tried political action, and proved it to be a pitiful, broken reed. A new light has come into their bewildered eyes. Dimly, perhaps, at present, but none the less surely are they grasping their real relation to the scheme of things. And no method of industrial warfare is too extreme or revolutionary for their acceptance.

In this connection too much praise cannot be given to the able, noble and strenuous activities of our veteran fighter Tom Mann, and his no less valiant coworkers. Sickened to death of barren political action, they are instilling into the minds of the proletariat the value of direct action, and co-ordinating the various important Unions into one fighting instrument without distinction of craft or trade. And the workers are responding with remarkable alacrity!

Of course, these earless protagonists of the gospel of industrial unionism are reviled as insane visionaries—but they plod away at their task and have accomplished more in two years than the Trade Unions

have accomplished in all their existence, and infinitely more than the Labor Party since its inception. They have the transport workers practically unified in a single body, which is quite outside the jurisdiction of the paid official bosses; they are gradually linking together and welding into common unity the other organizations, and are therefore striking terror into the hearts of the capitalist class. I do not personally go all the way with my worthy comrades; for instance, I would not entirely abandon political action. As it seems to me, we should have at least a few members in Parliament and other elective bodies to carry on a system of political sabotage and well thought out obstruction. These members would take no part in the game of legislation except that of fighting Ishmaels. And it is my conviction that a small group of the right sort would make Parliament an invaluable sounding-board for purposes of propaganda.

I have been driven by close observation of society's streams of tendency to the grim view that all means are lawful in our fight with the merciless Moloch of capitalism. I believe that secret propaganda should be carried on in the ranks of the police and the soldiery, so that in times of industrial conflict they may refuse to bludgeon, shoot and bayonet their own class, and, if necessary, turn their deadly instruments against the people who command them. I believe that the workers should not be content merely to strike, but that they should employ every means in their power to prevent the employers from using spunkless scabs. Engineers, for instance, might take home with them some essential parts of machinery; other mechanics might see to it that the vital arteries of commerce were incised; and generally the ingenuity of the whole working class should be strained to devise means of fighting the capitalist with his own weapons.

After all though this may seem extreme advice, it would be unspeakably less than a quid pro quo for the crimes which the plutocrats have committed against the workers for the mere glutting of their greedy maws. True, many would be jailed and tortured, and some put to death, but the blood of the martyrs would water the seeds of the ideal and the harvest would surely come.

Furthermore, no quarter should be shown to the sycophantic sky-pilots who stand smugly by in the black garb of spiritual jugglery while the workers' bodies are being maimed and starved, and their minds and souls degraded and famished! To put it plainly, the workers must cease to show respect to the thousands of hired clerics until these said clerics are prepared to range themselves unconditionally alongside the workers in the task of erecting the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. We must repudiate and despise the false Christs who preach peace when there is no peace. We must decline to reverence their elaborate and costly fanes until the workers are housed in something better than hovels. We must make them turn their collars the right way round and become useful scavengers of our filthy social system, instead of mystic pilots to the skies!

Moreover, the workers should not spend the whole of their accumulated funds in keeping themselves alive either before or during a strike. Again, the children of strikers should be distributed among the rest of the workers in proportion to their means, so that the sight of their privation might not weaken the determination of the men. This is being done magnificently in

the full-blooded strike of the silk weavers which is now being so gloriously waged in Paterson, N. J.

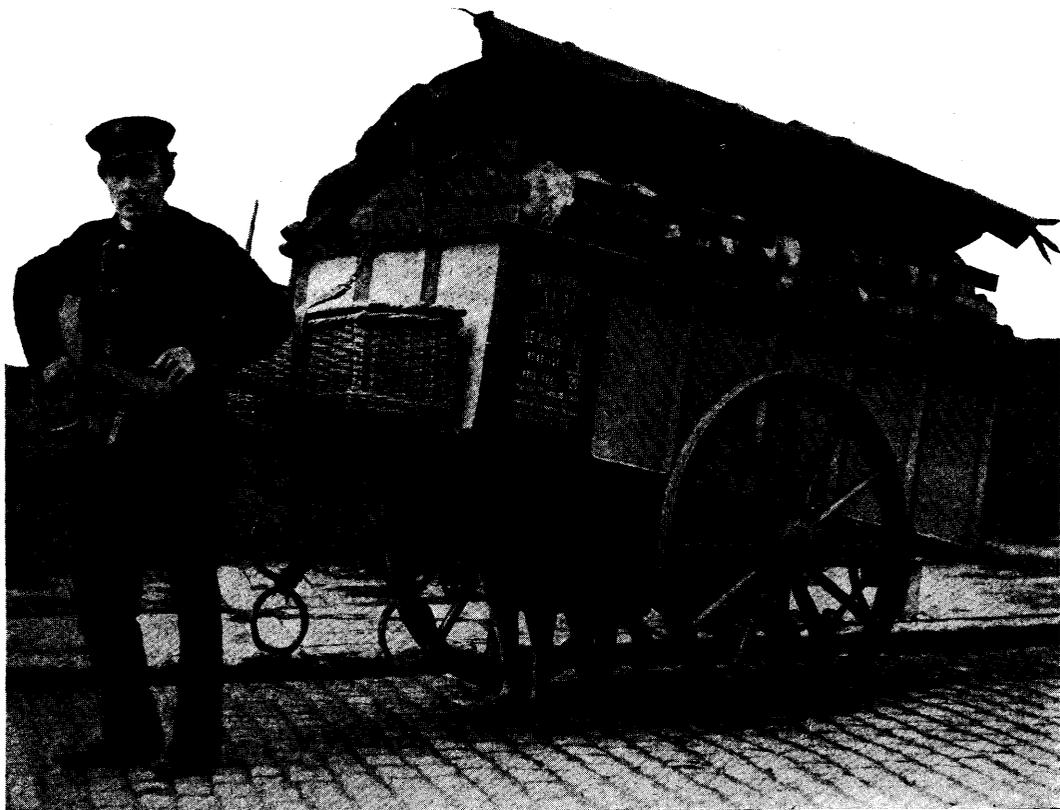
With all these forces at work, and with the barriers of mere nationality broken down; with a worldwide sense of industrial solidarity—there is nothing in or out of God's earth to prevent the triumph of the workers. I am no clairvoyant, but I can see the two great forces of capital and labor ranging themselves for a great final battle—the world's Armageddon. The parasites will fight to the last ditch for their unworthy privileges of plunder; but the awakened Demos will shake them from his back as easily and haughtily as a sea-lion shakes the spray. King Capital owes an age-long and incalculable debt to the democracy, and the democracy will not forget when the day comes. The dumb mouths of history's tortured and murdered myriads will cry out to open ears, and the rights of the yet unborn will stiffen the sinews of the builders of the new world. This great day is surely coming, and sooner than some of us expect. Let us therefore square our shoulders and go forward with fearless courage and dauntless hope into the great struggle for the emancipation of the workers of the world.

#### FROM FAR OFF AUSTRALIA.

Melbourne, April 17, 1913.

Dear Comrades:

We are glad to be able to ask for a further increase of the REVIEW, by fifteen copies. This will bring our total up to 225 monthly. We are not going to stop at this, as the popularity of the magazine is increasing. The total, 225, is made up of 195 coming direct to us, and 30 copies to Comrade J. J. O'Reilly, Broken Hill.—Comrade Andrade.



ONE OF THE MANY CARTS USED TO DELIVER BREAD FROM THE CO-OPERATIVE BAKERIES, BRUSSELS, TO THE STRIKERS.

## The Fight With Folded Arms

William E. Bohn

“SIX days of general strike gained more for us than ten years of propaganda.” This is how Comrade Destrée summed up the situation before the special session of the Belgian Socialist congress on April 24.

As these words are written (May 10), the great Belgian strike has already become a matter of comparatively ancient history. In this country the only excitement visible is called forth by rather acrimonious debates over its theoretic aspects. Was it properly conducted? Was

it called off too soon? Did it weaken or strengthen the working-class? Was the result worth the effort? These are a few of the questions we are asking.

Of course, most of us are not looking for answers. We had those ready before ever the strike was called. Each one thinks just what his own theory or his own prejudice makes him want to think. To many this, one of the most splendid manifestations of unity and high purpose the working-class has ever given, is nothing more than a counter to be thrown



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back and forth in the continuous game of argument mongering.

### **The Belgian Electoral System.**

The electoral system of Belgium dates from 1831, the year of the nation's birth, as a separate political entity. It is a "plural" system of the worst sort. Ordinary folk, like members of the working-class, have one vote apiece. Those who hold a diploma from some higher institution of learning or possess a certain amount of wealth have two votes. Others possessing greater wealth may have three, four or even five votes—in proportion to their holdings. Under this system the Clerical party, merely an ultra conservative party making use of the ecclesiastical machinery, has remained in power for twenty-six years. Last June the Socialists and Liberals formed a combination. The question at issue was the control of the public schools by the church. The Socialists and Liberals had the working-class behind them. Nevertheless the Clericals won by a good majority—1,344,623 against 1,271,919.

It was more evident than ever that successful opposition to the clericals is impossible under the system. The workers saw themselves in a blind alley. They could go on voting for what they wanted world without end—and never get it. Spontaneously strikes and riots broke out. Socialist and labor leaders exerted their influence to bring these to an end. With surprising discipline the men everywhere returned to work. But it was only because they were assured that a general strike was to be organized.

### **Earlier Strikes for Electoral Reform.**

This is not the first time that Belgians have gone on strike for reform of their voting system. Twenty years ago, in 1893, about 200,000 workers answered the strike call to show that they didn't want to be counted as fractional men at the ballot box. Approximately ten years ago, in 1902, more than 300,000 struck for the same purpose. Both these strikes were accounted failures.

### **The Strike of 1913.**

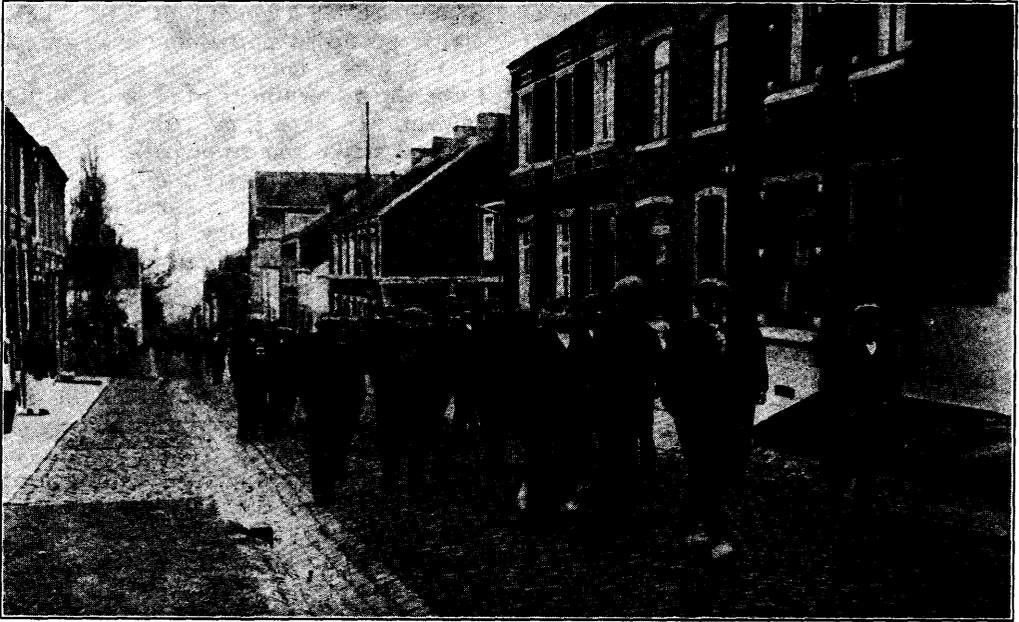
The Socialist party was not slow to make use of the result of last year's election. The annual party congress met immediately after the election and decided

to prepare for a general strike. The Socialist group in parliament was directed to use every means at its command to force the government to promise suffrage reform. In case they failed in this, the general strike was to be called.

Authority to prepare for the strike and call it was vested in a special committee representing the Party and all the labor groups concerned. The preparations were probably the most elaborate ever made. For nine months the Belgian workers cut down their use of luxuries. The sale of malt and spirituous beverages is said to have fallen fifty per cent before the strike was called. Railway traffic and grocery sales also fell off. Large numbers of small dealers were already calling for relief long before the date set for calling the men out. Soup kitchens were arranged for; an elaborate system of registering the strikers and keeping track of them was devised; care of children among bourgeois well-wishers or in foreign countries was provided for; and, most interesting of all, entertainment committees arranged in the various prospective strike centers programs of lectures, concerts, games, and excursions.

As everybody knows, the efforts of the parliamentarians came to naught. The cabinet, led by M. de Broqueville, remained obdurate. The strike committee called the strike for April 14. The mayors of the chief cities of Belgium met at Brussels and tried to make peace. M. de Broqueville told them he was willing to compromise. The strike committee was on the point of recalling the strike order. Then M. de Broqueville withdrew his promise and the strike order stood. On April 14, all the world had its eyes on Belgium.

There are about 800,000 industrial workers in Belgium. Of these 130,000 belonged to the unions which were calling the strike. On the first day 340,000 workers laid down their tools. Within a few days this number was raised to 450,000. Employes of the various public service corporations, such as railways, gas companies, etc., were not called out. Therefore life did not come to a sudden standstill. But everywhere except in Brussels' mines, factories, and docks suddenly became lifeless.



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.  
STREET SCENE IN THE CITY OF ROUX.

From the point of view of numbers involved and stoppage of industry brought about the strike was a complete success.

#### Not the Raised Fist.

From the very beginning the strike was advertised and prepared as a peaceful one. Its slogan was: "The fight of the folded arms, not of the raised fist." In accordance with this policy a sufficient number of men were left in the mines to look after the machinery. All the strikers were warned again and again to commit no acts of violence. Committees of safety were organized and authorized by the general strike committee to see that order was maintained.

In spite of all this, the entire military force of the nation was called out. The police forces of the municipalities were increased. As was to be expected, the only acts of violence were committed by the police and, in one instance, by drunken students. The latter incident is typical: the students fired on a group of strikers, and the latter quietly went and notified the police. One judge asserted that fewer arrests were made during the time of the strike than during a similar period under normal conditions.

#### The Settlement.

On the tenth day, April 24, the strike was officially brought to a close,

Though the events leading up to this conclusion have been interpreted in all sorts of mysterious ways, they are really very simple. Two days after the beginning of the strike parliament convened M. de Broqueville at first refused to pay any attention to the strike or the demand for suffrage reform. Another matter was slated for discussion. By a majority vote, however, the strike was made the special order of business. M. de Broqueville still refused to concede anything. Later, after a good deal of hammering by Liberals and Socialists, he renewed a promise previously made to appoint a commission to take up the matter of the reform of municipal suffrage and made use of certain phrases which gave the impression that the same commission would be empowered to investigate the subject of a general parliamentary suffrage reform. The next day it was discovered that these phrases had been stricken from the official record. M. Masson, a Liberal, introduced a resolution ordering the appointment of the local suffrage commission. About this



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

STREET SCENE IN THE CITY OF ROUX.

there was a heated debate. Finally, M. de Broqueville promised that this commission should be empowered to investigate and report upon all phases of the electoral situation. The resolution was so amended as to include a denunciation of the general strike. With this amendment it passed, the Socialists voting against it.

This event was reported to the strike committee, and it decided to call a special congress of the Socialist party for the following day and advise the conclusion of the strike. The resolution adopted by the committee concluded as follows. "The general strike has achieved everything that could be expected, and the effectiveness of this weapon has again been proved. There will be no peace in the land until equal suffrage has been granted."

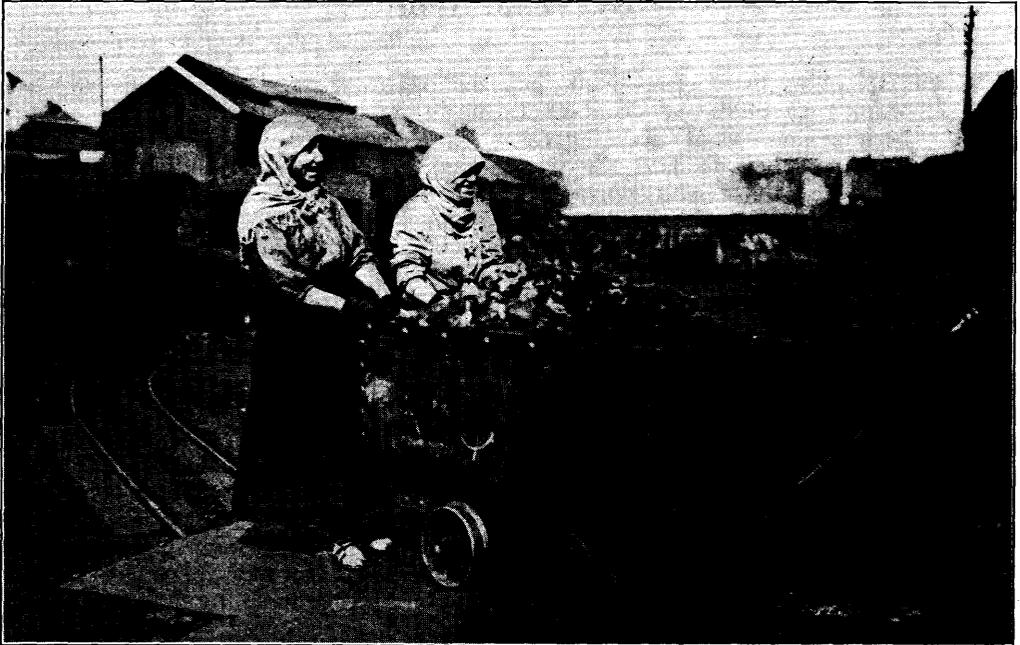
The special congress met and accepted the advice of the committee by a majority of four-fifths against one-fifth. And thus the strike was called off. Orders were telegraphed to all the affiliated bodies, and the men returned to work almost as unanimously as they had come out.

#### Was It a Bad Bargain?

There are some, and not the least ex-

perienced in labor matters, who believe that our Belgian comrades have been the victims of a political chicane. The strike was increasingly successful; within three weeks industry would have been at a standstill; the government was giving way; the working-class was aroused to a point at which it was capable of a great effort; and then the strike was called off because the Prime Minister gave verbal promise that his commission would consider the matter of reform. Now that the strike is ended, he may do as he pleases about keeping his promise. And the workers have lost the enthusiasm of a great moment; you cannot again get them out in such numbers or with such enthusiasm. This, in few words, is the position of the critics.

It seems to the present writer that the vital question, is: Can the great strike be repeated in the immediate future if the government fails, within a reasonable time, to grant the reform demanded? The strike machinery worked perfectly. The men gave a tremendous exhibition of their power and then returned to work in perfect order and without being reduced to the poverty which usually results from great strikes. They showed what they



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

WOMEN WORKERS IN BELGIUM.



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

WOMEN WORKERS IN BELGIUM.

can do, and are willing to do. They seem to be in a position to do the same thing again if it becomes necessary. With the general strike at their call the Socialist parliamentarians are in a very different position from the one they occupied before April 14.

Before the Socialist congress Anseele said: "New struggles lie before us; they will be just as necessary during the sessions of the commissions as they would have been during the discussion of a reform law. We are not playing with this terrible weapon of the general strike. Let not our opponents compel us to take it up again!" And Destree spoke in the same vein: "In the electoral commission the ghost of another possible general strike will be the presiding officer. Let us maintain our unity for future struggles."

It is not by any means necessary that all struggles for improvement round all the world and throughout all time be car-

ried on in exactly the same way. All that we have a right to ask of the workers of Belgium is that they fight to win. If they do it in ten months rather than in ten days, that is their own affair.

There is one suggestion, however, which it is difficult for an American Socialist to refrain from making. In all the talk about suffrage in Belgium there has been singularly little reference to the women. The women have stuck with the men; the burden of saving and managing during the lean months has fallen chiefly on them; they have stood side by side with the men in the strenuous labors of organizations; and yet it does not seem to have occurred very forcibly to the men that if the ballot is such a precious thing to the male creature it may be of some use to the female as well. And the Belgians would not have to look far beyond their own border to discover countries where the words "equal suffrage" have a real meaning.

## Our Elected Servants

By W. J. White

WHEN Socialists elect men or women to office we do it—not because we want some great problem-solver to find the way out of poverty for those who work—but because we need SERVANTS to carry out our wishes, to act, as we direct, in the interests of the working class.

We know very well nobody is going to sacrifice his life or his job or his "chance" in life for us. Nobody ever saw a Democrat or a Republican or a Progressive sitting up nights to do anything for you or me. The only persons who will help the working class are the members OF the working CLASS. They can help themselves if they will vote and strike and stick together; if they will ORGANIZE.

There are members of the working class in the Socialist Party who have spent many sleepless nights in their efforts to help themselves and their comrades. Such men and women are the ones we try to elect to

our public offices. Their interests are bound up in our interests.

We know that the Socialist Party is always wiser than its individual servants. We know that the Socialist movement is great and strong only because all its members are continually studying and struggling and spreading the propaganda of Socialism; because its members are always agitating and organizing the workers of the world.

We know that it is better for the members of the Socialist Party to conduct the affairs of the party, even though they make mistakes, than it is to have a blind movement that follows ignorantly sometimes a wise and class-conscious Socialist and at other times self-seeking politicians. The way to keep any movement clear and revolutionary is to have the rank and file wise, educated, experienced. The rank and file of the working class can always be trusted to look after their own interests if they

have read and studied and been active in the labor movement.

Few Socialists elected to office desire to betray the working class. But they may, themselves, be deceived into acting against the interests of the workers. For this reason the rank and file of the party must be awake to the need of INSTRUCTING their officials in all things these officials shall do, or attempt to do, as servants of the working class.

In Butte, Mont., the Socialist administration conducted Socialist Study Clubs last year. These were attended by Socialist aldermen and Socialist miners, Socialists from the city hall and from union and party headquarters.

The most important achievement of the Butte Socialists during the last administration was the steady campaign of education and organization they waged. The Butte Socialist officials understood that they were elected to SERVE the working class. The workers were on hand ready and eager to co-operate with these officials, to advise and consult them. It was a period of mutual service crowned with wonderful achievement. And at the spring election, in spite of the union of the Republican and Democratic parties of Butte, thanks to the years of EDUCATIONAL work carried on by our comrades, the Socialists defeated the combined forces of the enemy.

In the course of the next few years the Socialist Party is going to carry many cities. It must insist upon a signed resignation from every candidate running for office, so that, in all matters, it shall be not the individual, but the Socialist Party wishes that shall stand supreme.

There will always be danger to the party where it gets into office not through its own strength, but through a division of capitalist politicians, who have been playing the graft game so openly, as in New Castle, Pa., that the "good citizens" are willing to rebuke them by electing our nominees. These people support us, not because they want Socialism or understand the class struggle but in order to punish the old time grafters. They hope to USE the Socialists for their own ends. They do not see the goal of the revolutionary movement; the abolition of the wages system. If they did they would shun us as they do the plague.

Further, such elements as back the Socialist candidates only do so when they hope to control them and in so far as our nominees seek capitalist support, they are unfaithful to the working class.

Craft union officials who seek office on the Socialist ticket through means of compromise and trading with the enemy are candidates we should avoid. All Socialist nominees should be most careful to promise very little before election. The motto of the party candidate should be:

"I will at all times stand ready to do the will and carry out the instructions of the Socialist locals in order that I may best serve the interests of the working class."

Socialists must remember to emphasize the class struggle at all times rather than to promise vague and impossible things such as municipal ownership, which would in all probability not help the working class if secured. We must be willing always to sacrifice votes rather than bury the main issue, which is the abolition of capitalism.

Many unusual events combined to give the Socialists a victory in New Castle, Pa. The Republican county elected a Democrat judge. The district attorney arrested the editors and managers of the Socialist and industrialist papers, Free Press and Solidarity, for alleged violations of the publishing laws, the real cause being their defense of the strikers against the tin trust.

The strike was lost because the men were organized into crafts and could not secure the help of their comrades. The A. F. of L. craft unions stuck to their jobs, brought in scabs, carried in coal for the bosses and aided in the production of goods in the tin mill during the strike.

The editors of the Free Press paid their fines when arrested while those of the I. W. W. went to jail rather than pay good money to capitalist courts. Later the Free Press editors were tried for "seditious libel." The legal battle lasted two years and the men were vindicated.

But all these things showed the class character of the courts. Capitalist newspapers committing the same offenses as Socialist papers went scot free. Then came a liquor fight largely divided into factions of wets and dries. The Socialists stood between and entered a big campaign which resulted in the election of the Socialist mayor, twelve, out of twenty-six, councilmen and two assessors.

Before the talk of election the Socialist Party membership was 200. The party had a live little paper. But the whirlwind campaign was made for votes and not to explain the need and function of Socialism. The cry was not for an educated working class; we forgot to tell the workers that they would have to fight their own battles. We said, "elect us to office and we will do it for you."

After election we had a much larger party membership but the new recruits knew nothing whatever about Socialism. Deals were entered into; log rolling commenced. Three old capitalist politicians were taken into the counsels of the Socialist officials. Committees were chosen to suit these old time-servers and the new Socialist Party politicians. It was trade, trade, trade and compromise.

An old Socialist Party member was slated to become poor director, but party politicians begged to have his name stricken off declaring that the Republican officials would not co-operate with them unless their candidate was elected. But the party membership had dropped off and the old members would have none of this compromise.

Again in New Castle our officials began to be wine and dined by capitalists. One of these well known men, a strong enemy to labor, let the facts be known. According to the evidence he permitted the public to see, it looked as though only one month after election the workers' officials were hobnobbing with the enemies of labor. We believe these New Castle comrades only acted foolishly, but it would be hard to convince the men in the steel mills that they had not sold out. The capitalists published the glowing accounts given out by our Socialist comrades about the wonderful banquet halls they had seen and the good times given them by the exploiters of labor.

Such things destroy all faith in any officials who claim to represent or serve the working class. Socialists must be careful to avoid them. In New Castle the party lost out utterly at the next election and the membership sank below normal size. Many comrades grew discouraged at what looks like failure after what some folks call victory. New Castle is no longer the live and militant center it was before election.

We don't want false victories. What we need above all else is an educated and or-

ganized working class. This is the real work of Socialism, or 90 per cent of it. An educated, organized proletariat will not trust its affairs to anybody. It will insist upon deciding its own issues. It can always be trusted because nothing can stop the revolt of the working class as long as capitalism endures.

Sometimes election victories sound very encouraging and you don't get your name in the papers for running a little Study Club of workmen and women. But it is only when this sound educational work has been carried on for many months or even years that any political victories can be permanent.

The vote catching campaigns of Milwaukee in which Mayor Seidel said:

"It isn't essential that the workers be instructed in Socialism. It doesn't make any difference whether the workers understand Socialism or not" (*Chicago Daily Socialist*), has failed to even catch the votes. Milwaukee failed because there the elected officials felt that they were going to *save the working class*. They seemed to think it was a waste of time to get folks to read the Communist Manifesto and the other works of Marx and Engels. They carried on no classes in scientific Socialism. They trusted to *leaders*.

In Butte the workers are trying to save *themselves*. Their elected officials declare that they are only in office to *serve* the working class.

The battle cry of Milwaukee was, Votes and lower taxes; municipal ownership; reforms. They lost out on a milk and water platform.

The battle cry of Butte is, "Education, agitation, organization and *more* of them!" And when the Democrats and the Republicans united against the Socialists at the last election, and the mine owners discharged 500 active Socialist miners so they would not be in the city to vote, the party carried the city because of its educated membership. Every man and woman was an agitator and a propagandist.

One educated Socialist miner is worth ten of the empty-headed votes that Seidel begged for. The only man who STICKS is the man who KNOWS, and the man whose interests are bound up in the interests of the working class.

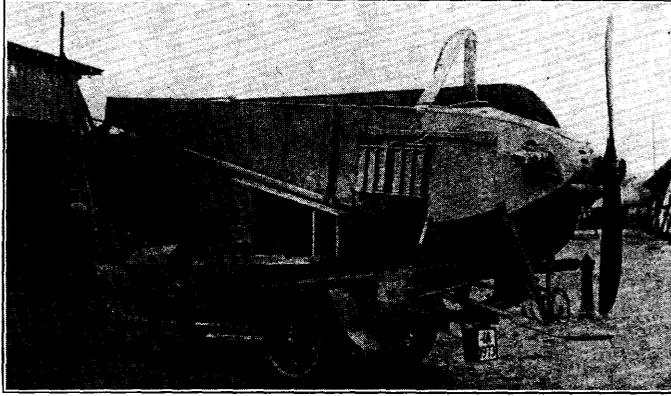


Photo by Paul Thompson.

THE LATEST INVENTION FOR THE "WAR OF THE FUTURE"—  
GERMAN AUTOMOBILE EQUIPPED TO CARRY AN AEROPLANE.

# The Germans in Turkey

Mary E. Marcy

**E**CONOMIC power means political supremacy. Germany realizes this perhaps better than Socialists. In the old, and ineffective times, when one nation wanted to seize another nation, it sent an army to execute its king or emperor. The invaders went into battle with the citizens of the invaded land, and when they had slain a few thousands of them and had demonstrated their power to annihilate the whole nation, hoisted their own flag over the new territory and proclaimed themselves masters.

But the Germans have found a more subtle way to subjugate the "foreigner." The advance of a German army over the border of Turkey would instantly rivet the attention of the whole civilized world. All the other "World Powers" would protect for they are all jealous of German supremacy everywhere. A war between Germany and Turkey over German control of Turkey, would embroil all Europe in war.

But Germany did not send her invading army. Instead she sent her captains of industry to bargain for mining interests, for railroad rights of way, for vast land grants,

for oil options, for factory sites. In this way Germany has quietly established herself in Anatolia and Mesopotamia. She has taken possession of the Anatolian ports, has traversed Asia Minor by a through line of railroad, has obtained concessions for the development of the mineral resources of the country and has taken into her hands the Turkish commerce, finances and credit.

Germany has financed and supported Turkey's war against Bulgaria. She has encouraged the continuance of war. She has thrown open her vast exchequer to furnish the Turks with Krupp guns and all the paraphernalia of modern warfare. Every day's battle throws the Turks more deeply into the debt of the Germans and every week sees the Turkish government granting new concessions to Germany for further favors in the munitions of war.

For many years the Turks have remained the most backward of all the European nations. The faith of the Moslem turns his face ever toward the past. The true Mohammedan stands always in the way of change. In Turkey the new invention has been rejected. New methods of production

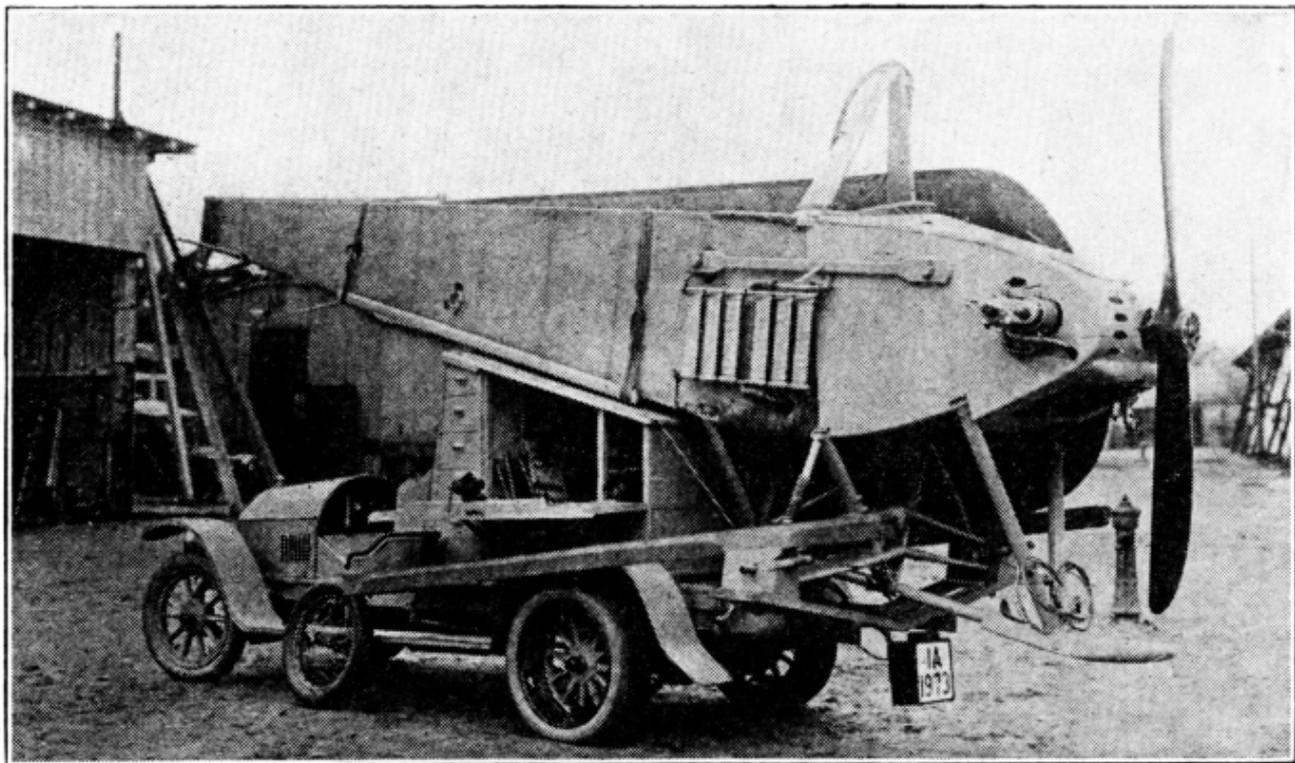
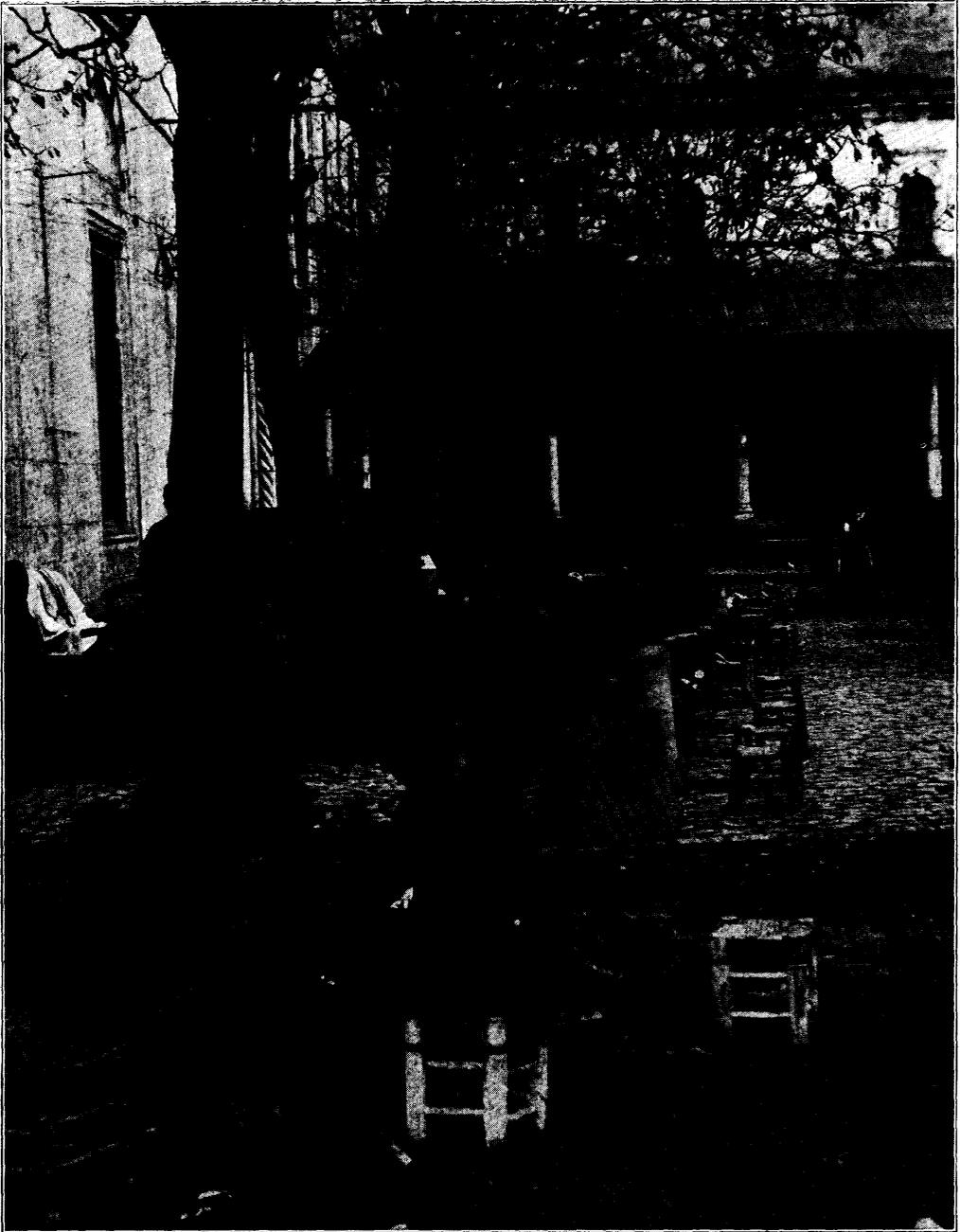


Photo by Paul Thompson.

THE LATEST INVENTION FOR THE "WAR OF THE FUTURE"—  
GERMAN AUTOMOBILE EQUIPPED TO CARRY AN AEROPLANE.



Photographs by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

SCENE SHOWING STREET SHOEMAKERS IN TURKEY.

have been scorned in favor of old ways. Education, real, true, evolutionary education, has been debarred. Science has been stifled and crushed.

But no nation stands still. A country can not remain aloof and backward in this

age. The cost of living rose in Turkey just as it did in America and in Germany.

For gold is produced by almost every nation in the world. And now, by improved methods, it requires very little human labor to produce gold. So gold has dropped in



Photographs by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

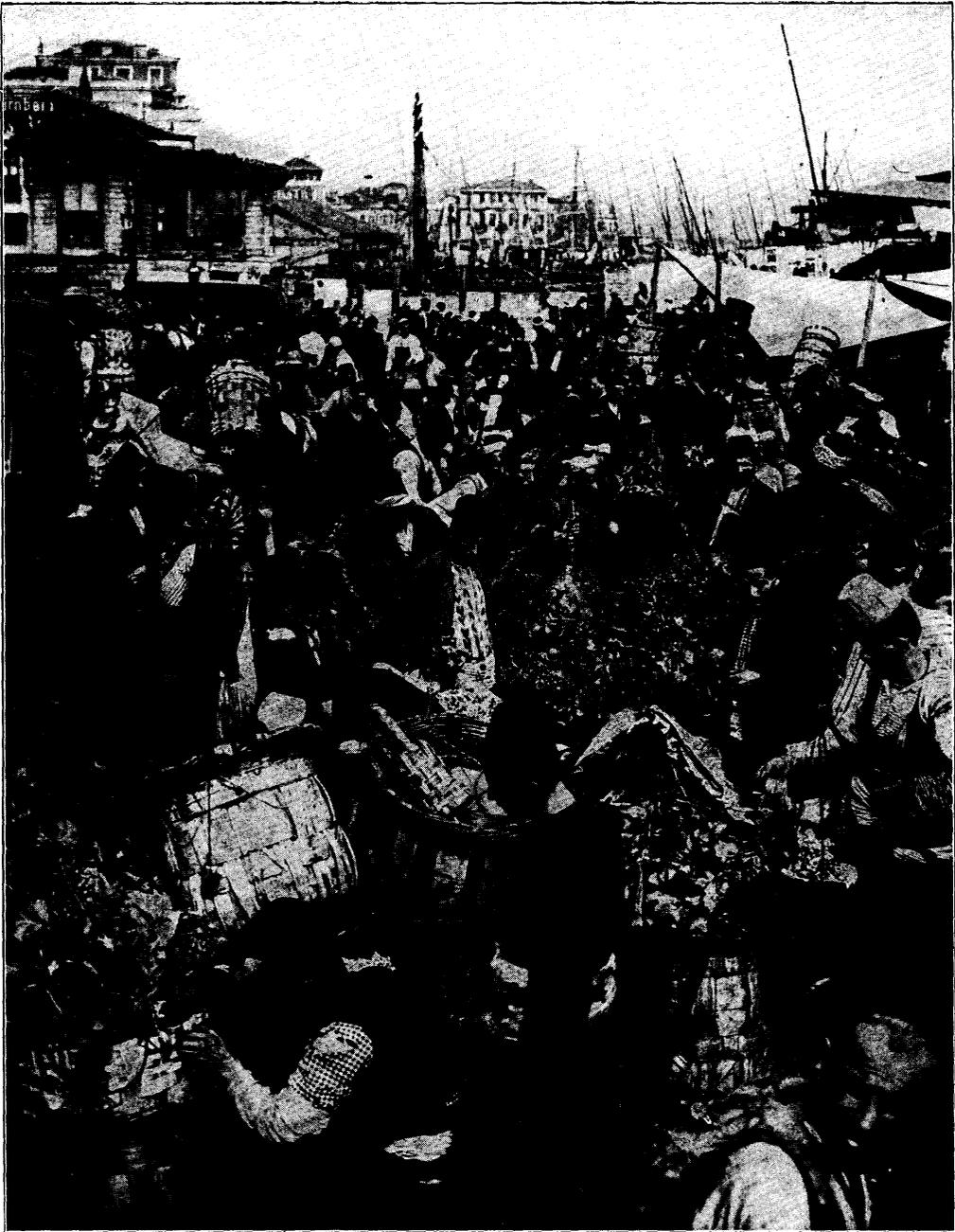
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THE GREEN MARKET IN STAMBOUL, CONSTANTINOPLE.

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became unable to support forty or fifty wives in the style to which the law entitled them to live. Polygamy became less and less popular. "Times grew hard."

The young Turks thought to better conditions in Turkey by emulating their sister



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nations. But the Mohammedan religion blocked this path to progress. It has taken longer to destroy this artificial wall than it took to batter down the closed door of China.

Fortunately Germany has taken a hand. The railroads, mines, lands, industrial concerns, the large import and export trade, lastly, the most profitable branches of agriculture, will be under the supreme control of German financiers, back of whom stands all the power of the German government. All that is left for the Turks is jobs as common laborers under German employers. All profits go to these same employers.

And so the Turkish government is under absolute control of the German financiers who can compel it to obey German mandates at any and all times.

At this time all Germany is highly excited over the disclosure of Dr. Karl Liebknecht, Socialist member of the Reichstag, in regard to the action of the Krupp and other German armament companies in trying to stir up trouble between France and Germany in order to sell munitions of war.

The publication of a letter from Herr von

Gontard, one of the directors of the German Arms and Ammunition Company, to an unnamed person in Paris, in which the latter is urged to secure the insertion of an article in the *Figaro* to the effect that France is increasing her machine gun armament, and thus cause similar action in Germany, furnishes the Socialists with the best proof of their charge of an international armament group which manufactures incidents which go to create a war sentiment through a subservient press.

Dr. Liebknecht charges that the Vickers & Armstrong Company of England was the originator of the Boer war. That the French armament interests, particularly Schneider & Creuzot, had carried on criminal politics in the Balkans for the sake of business and that German cannon and arms industries sell German arms and weapons to everybody so that German soldiers are murdered with them.

The photograph reproduced here shows one of the new German war aeroplanes mounted on an automobile so that it may be run quickly to the scene of disturbance and sprung upon an unsuspecting enemy.

## St. Mary's Fighting Mayor

By Frank Dawson

"**S**TRIKES must, at this time, be won by mass action on the industrial field. Either in the shape of mass picketing, mass scab baiting, mass resistance, or by any other form of mass action, which a given set of circumstances make necessary," Comrade Scott Wilkins, Socialist Mayor of St. Marys, Ohio, told a REVIEW correspondent.

"What has caused you to arrive at such revolutionary ideas on tactics of industrial warfare?" was asked the fighting mayor.

"My experience as political representative of the workers of St. Marys" was the answer. "And," he continued, "I go further than that. I consider that the industrial unions must organize the army that is to overthrow capitalism. I have learned more in my few days with the striking rubber workers of Akron about the class



MAYOR SCOTT WILKINS.



MAYOR SCOTT WILKINS.

struggle and the road to freedom than in my two years of life in a political office.

"Do not misunderstand me. I do not wish to discredit Political Action. If it did not need too much space I would like to call attention to the very real possibilities of Political Action. One thing I will say. The worker should seek with his ballot to capture the machinery of government, especially in the industrial centers, so that he can prevent the importation of the thugs, who today pour into every strike district to assist the local police in defeating those who are fighting for more bread."

A brighter gleam came into the Mayor's eye as he continued, "But while in the thick of industrial conflict no other method of fighting should occupy the worker's mind but how to best use his power against the master class and those who assist him to continue his robbery of the working class. All his knowledge should be used for this object. Promises of Probes, of Arbitration or any other specific thing should not divert him from the task of keeping the scabs out of the factories and winning the strike.

The REVIEW correspondent gasped, but recovering asked, "Surely, Comrade Wilkins, you have gone through some particularly interesting experiences to come to this conclusion?"

Drawing up his chair a little closer to the heat proceeding from an old fashioned fire place and settling himself a little more comfortably as a preliminary, the Mayor said, "Yes, I have." Things have happened since I became Mayor of St. Mary's. A bunch of the I. W. W. boys in St. Mary's, seeing the necessity of industrial organization, after those most active in electing me and my fellow officials had been fired from the jobs and forced to leave town, held a series of street meetings. The masters, whose vision has been sharpened since the election of a Socialist ticket, noted the effect of these meetings and decided they must stop. But the weapon they usually use—the police authority—was barred. The Mayor controls that and he is the servant of the workers. This did not daunt them. If the thing could not be done legally, it could be done illegally.

So a bunch of working class traitors were lined up in the shops by the boss and, after proper drilling, rotten eggs were given

them and they were told to go to it. They did, with so much effect that the first meeting they attended, was broken up. Immediately the egg throwers were arrested and arraigned in the Mayor's Court on a charge of disturbing a public meeting.

Now, I thought, here is where political control of the Local Court shines. I was soon to learn differently. The egg throwers brought with them their organizer, Mr. F. A. White. Mr. White is the principal industrial master of St. Mary's. This was his first appearance in Court AND HE WAS THERE TO DEFEND DISTURBERS OF PUBLIC MEETINGS. Mr. White brought with him the best legal talent in town.

When the case came up, the Attorney for the defense pointed out some obvious defects in the affidavits against the defendants and moved that they be dismissed. These affidavits had been drawn up by the City Solicitor, a bitter anti-socialist. In any case, I could see they would go to the Court of Common Pleas, unheard, and involve the workers in a long legal struggle. Consequently, I dismissed the case but told those present that a meeting would be held that night on the corner of the City Hall Building and that if this unlawful mob attempted to disturb the meeting they would be confronted by a body of workingmen, and these workingmen would be armed with guns and clubs. The affidavits would be written on their heads with clubs instead of on paper with ink. That evening one thousand of the six thousand inhabitants of St. Mary's stood ready to insure the right of free speech and free assemblage with force if necessary. The master's mob of well trained thugs came on the scene with less enthusiasm and when they saw that the workers were prepared to make good, they developed a sudden and severe attack of cold feet.

"Here was the principal industrial master of the town prepared to break the law to prevent the workers enjoying their constitutional right of free speech and free assemblage. He stooped so low as to send children as meeting breakers. We were a regularly elected Socialist Administration with over half the votes in the town to back us up in our actions. Yet when we attempted to enforce the Constitution for the benefit of the wage slaves this believer

in and prater about law and order, opposed the enjoyment of our rights with actual physical violence. Here political action was powerless. Only actual force could cope with the situation.

"The capitalist believes in Law and Order just as long as it conserves his economic interest. When it is used to destroy this interest, he despises and will not obey it, even if based on the Constitution. Witness our experience. So, I maintain the worker should despise and disobey the law whenever it becomes necessary to the advance of his economic interests."

Mayor Scott Wilkins gave the following changes which followed the election of a Socialist ticket in St. Mary's.

"First of all," said the Mayor, "came the action of the old administration in cutting the salaries of the officials who were to follow them. This action was a direct limitation of the power of the new office holders to benefit the workers.

"The salary of the Treasurer of St. Mary's was cut from \$425 to \$150 dollars. It was customary for the banks to furnish the bond as they were fully covered by handling the city money. When the Mayor and Treasurer called on the bank the morning before they were to take their offices, bond was refused them. It was secured from the Columbus Fidelity Co., which charged \$175 dollars for the bond. Book-keeping services cost \$50 and the banks charged \$50 for keeping a record of checks. Thus the Comrade elected had to find \$125 out of his own pocket to keep the Treasurer's office of St. Mary's free from the

hand of the grafter. As a consequence, he has to work for \$1.50 a day in a factory and neglect his official duties.

"Again all men elected had to leave the city to get work outside, unless they owned a little home of their own and had sufficient salary to live on. Many Socialist officials were blacklisted. Three out of seven Councilors have had to work outside the city; have had to let their wives and children stop in the mortgaged homes while they work in industries outside of St. Mary's and spend carfare to attend Council meetings to take good care of Capitalist property.

"Most of those prominent in the election of the Administration were 'fired' and had to leave the town. Homes they had almost paid for were lost. And they accuse the Socialist of breaking up the Home while the Capitalist poses as the savior of family life.

"We, in office could not prevent this. We suffered most from it. Only a strong industrial organization of the workers could have prevented it."

The Mayor wound up with the following statement, "If the masters have the right to use any and all means to hold their power over men, then I, on behalf of the working class, claim the right to do likewise to overthrow that power and so enable the workers to keep the things they have created, or to exchange them for things of equal value. In that way commodities will be distributed in the interest of the working class and not in the interest of a small body of parasites."



# National Committee Meeting, Socialist Party

By Grace Silver

THE National Committee of the Socialist party convened at the Briggs House, Chicago, May 11, 1913. The Committee organized with Morris Hillquit as chairman, and James Reilly as secretary. Early in the morning session it was moved to appoint a special committee to investigate the financial condition and conduct of the National office, including the National campaign committee. Charges of misuse of money and gross inefficiency were made. The following delegates were chosen to serve as a Committee of Investigation:

Germer, Reilly, Stitt Wilson, Solomon, Le Sueur.

Berger admitted later that they had made a mistake in not having ONE of "the other side" on the committee—for appearance sake.

Committee on Organization and Propaganda: Roewer, Gaylord, Duncan, Beardsley, Hickey.

Committee of Permanent Rules of the National Committee: Nichols, Patterson, Goebel, Wiltse, Gease.

Committee on Party Headquarters: Lanfersiek, Latimer, Maurer, Motley, Fenimore.

Committee on Reports of National Officers: Dan White, Strebel, Clifford, Kaplan, Goddard.

Committee on Resolutions: Spargo, Cohen, Hoogerhyde, Richardson, Ball, of New York.

Committee on Young People's Organizations: Hutchinson, of Colo., Bradford, Allen, Ramp, Reynolds.

Committee on International Relations: Hillquit, Aaltonen, Kopelin, McDonald, Stallard.

John Spargo read, on behalf of the N. E. C., a memorial which that body had drawn up setting forth conditions in West Virginia. It was adopted by the National Committee and sent to President Wilson. This belated action of the N. E. C. was doubtless the result of the following telegram:

"Charleston, W. Va.

"To the N. E. C., Socialist Party:

"Comrade: Kern Senate Resolution

providing for an investigation of conditions in West Virginia comes to a vote on Tuesday. Bring all possible pressure to bear to secure its passage. *West Virginia Socialists are disgusted with the paralytic apathy of the National organization. It seems totally oblivious of the epochal struggle now on here. According to the decree of those in power the party is to be exterminated. The Labor-Argus has been confiscated and its editor jailed. The Huntington Socialist has been demolished and its publishers jailed. Doubtless the enormous increase in our vote caused this ruthless war upon our comrades. What have you to say about it?"*

H. W. HOUSTON,  
State Secretary, West Virginia.

A committee of three—Debs, Germer and Berger, were appointed to investigate and lay the workers' protest before President Wilson. Later, Local Milwaukee protested that they could not spare Berger for such a mission at this time. The Committee turned down the recommendation of the N. E. C. to send as many organizers as possible to West Virginia at once. Some of the delegates feared that the agitators sent might not be able to work in harmony with the United Mine Workers. The matter was laid over pending the report of the Berger-Germer-Debs committee.

George Goebel was elected chairman of the second day's session.

Many of the delegates suffered from an extreme sensitiveness. Spargo, in opposing an investigation of the affairs of the National Office, condemned the critics as direct actionists, and claimed that their criticism was nothing but a base attempt at sabotage. When Comrade Patterson intimated that certain delegates who get their bread and butter from the National Office could be depended upon to vote as the administration desired, Gaylord waxed indignant, eloquently denying the allegation that economic determinism ever influenced party office holders. He considered the matter a personal slander and most serious insult to himself.

The Committee voted to instruct its International Secretary, and a special delegate to be chosen for the purpose, to demand of the International Bureau twenty votes, instead of the fourteen now given to the United States; voted to send one delegate for every 10,000 party members, instead of one for every 20,000 as at present; urged upon the International Bureau the advisability of bringing before the International Congress the question of the general strike as an anti-war measure; urged that the next International Congress take up for discussion the question of Direct Action, Sabotage and Revolutionary Syndicalism, and try to discover the cause and effect of these labor phenomena in different countries.

Hillquit argued that the present International Secretary, Kate Richards O'Hare, is incapable of presenting these important matters to the International Bureau and urged that an *experienced* comrade be appointed to accompany—and instruct—her. It was further stated that Comrade O'Hare (who, it will be remembered, was elected to the office by the membership), might be privileged to go over to Europe on condition that she pay her own fare.

Victor Berger being now on the unemployed list, the Committee voted to pay his fare to Europe. They also voted to pay his return fare.

Local St. Louis in a lengthy communication accused Comrade Bessemer of speaking on "Industrial Socialism" before the Karl Marx Club of that city. This organization is not a part of the Socialist party. It is a study club. He was also accused of selling pamphlets in defiance of the capitalists who owned the building. "What is Industrial Socialism," asked Hillquit with a sneer. The Committee ordered the Committee on Resolutions to draw up a constitutional amendment which will prevent Socialist speakers from talking for non-Socialists in the future. It is assumed that they are expected to speak only for—and to—red card members. It is reported that all Chautauqua lecturers will cancel their engagements.

Duncan McDonald served as chairman of the third day's session.

Letters from W. H. Kiintzer and other West Virginia comrades were read, urging that speakers be sent to aid them at

once. The matter was referred to the Debs-Berger-Germer committee, with instructions to tell the comrades in jail that they would get into touch with them as soon as possible. Bessemer, of Ohio, moved to amend and tell them that "We hope, by next fall, to be able to send a few flowers and condolences to our comrades in West Virginia after most of them have starved to death."

Maurer urged the formation of a national strike committee to study the theory of strikes and give advice to strike leaders.

The Committee on Party Headquarters was made a permanent committee and ordered to report to the next N. E. C.

The Committee on young peoples' organizations urged that the various leagues be united in one national body, with a general correspondent at the National office. Adopted.

A committee of three—Le Seuer, Sandberg and Sanial, was appointed to investigate the currency and banking system of the United States and report at the next meeting of the N. E. C.

A motion was made to strike out section VI of Art. 2. The Committee, said Kate Sadler, of Washington, had gone on record as endorsing the West Virginia comrades in their fight. Some of these comrades had captured guns—and used them to protect themselves. She asked if we were going to leave the constitution in such shape that the Party will be unable to support and help the fifty-two comrades now imprisoned in West Virginia. "Besides," Comrade Clifford, of Ohio, added, "the party has avowed a policy of non-interference in industrial matters. Sabotage and violence are industrial, not political weapons. To tell the unions whether they should or should not employ them is an attempt to regulate the policy and practice of those unions."

Those voting in favor of striking out section six were: Ida Callery, S. B. Hutchinson, Stallard, Dietz, Kaplan, Duncan, W. T. Bradford, Bessemer, Clifford, Patterson, Ramp, Hickey, Noble, Bostrom, Sadler, Wagenknecht—Total, 16. Forty-three voted No.

In this connection. Hutchinson, of Colorado, told of the free speech army which passed through Grand Junction on

its way to Denver. As Socialist Chief of Police he not only refused to arrest them, but protected their meeting from outside interference. For his action in this matter he was dismissed from office by the Socialist Mayor, Thomas Todd. "I lost my job but not my manhood," said Comrade Hutchinson.

It was moved to amend section four of Article 5 by inserting the word *shall* in place of the word *need*. The motion was lost, as some of the delegates wished to serve on both the N. C. and N. E. C.

Moved by Bostrom to amend that part of the Constitution defining political action to give it a broader interpretation or to strike it out. Lost.

Since the investigating committee was to bring in a report of vital importance on the following day, some members made an attempt to have an official stenographic report taken. The motion was defeated. Stitt Wilson, Berger and others said in the course of debate that the Ohio delegates could hire a stenographer at their own expense if they so desired. Duncan then moved that those delegates who wished to have a stenographic report should be permitted to hire a stenographer. By 37 to 20 his motion was lost. The chair ruled that no stenographer would be allowed in the hall. Duncan appealed from the decision, and the chair was overruled.

The fourth day's session selected Winfield Gaylord as chairman. The investigating committee brought in a report completely exonerating all of the national officers who had been criticized. This committee had been elected as a result of a motion by Bessemer, instructed by the Ohio state convention, to bring certain matters to the attention of the National Committee and demand that an inquiry be made. He merely demanded an investigation into the affairs of the National Office and the Campaign Committee. He did *not* make any specific charges, although Spargo and his friends sought to make it appear that he had done so. Bessemer then exhibited and read original copies of telegrams which passed between Barnes and Hillquit during the campaign to show that those two conspired to hold up the vote on referendum C, recalling Barnes.

Hillquit made no attempt to deny having sent his telegram but claimed that the originals had been stolen from the National Office and demanded that Bessemer tell from whom he had received the documents.

Bessemer refused. Hillquit then moved that Bessemer be suspended from membership on the committee until such time as he returned said letters and telegrams to the proper official.

Ameringer urged that the Committee use Direct Action and take from Bessemer, at once, by force, such documents as he possessed. At this many delegates, including John Spargo, applauded vociferously. But cooler heads restored order.

The committee proceeded to the election of officers. Oscar Ameringer was chosen permanent chairman; Walter Lanfersiek was given the office of National secretary; Winnie Branstetter was re-elected Woman's correspondent.

The following were elected members of the new National Executive Committee: Adolph Germer, James Maurer, Victor Berger, George Goebel and J. Stitt Wilson.

The Woman's National Committee consists of Bertha Mailley, Anna Maley, May Wood Simons, Gertrude Breslau Fuller, Lena Morrow Lewis, Gertrude Reilly and Alma Kriger.

At the Wednesday evening and Thursday morning sessions the matter of continuing or abolishing the Lyceum Department came up for discussion. The report of Comrade Katterfeld regarding the management of his department showed conclusively that the Lyceum had accomplished more, dollar for dollar of expenditure, than has been accomplished by the old system of routing National organizers. The Lyceum has accomplished the real work of the party during the last year. The Committee finally voted to continue the department for another year, under certain conditions. Contracts for 600 courses must be made by Oct. 1st. Locals will be charged \$100 if they take it upon a subscription basis, or \$50 cash. If 600 locals accept the Lyceum, three speakers shall be assigned to each local; if 1,000 locals accept, four speakers; if 1,500, five speakers.

In this connection Comrade Work took

the floor. He said that the deficit was directly traceable to Comrade Berger. That Berger came into the National office once and talked only of indifferent matters; that he never troubled to inform himself regarding party matters. He made no inquiry regarding party finances. He then saw the Campaign manager, and the next morning moved, in the N. E. C., that all surplus funds in the National Office should be turned over to the Campaign Manager. Work opposed the motion and it was defeated. He said that the Lyceum would need money later. Although the motion was lost, Work said the Campaign committee piled up a big debt and turned it over to the National Office. Berger said he would do the same thing again.

Work was given an ovation. Patterson, of Ohio, said that inasmuch as he "did not vote to kill off Comrade Work, he was not compelled to lay flowers on his grave."

The salary of the National secretary was raised to \$1,800 per year.

Killingbeck, State Secretary of New Jersey, wired the Committee asking for \$100 to aid in freeing Quinlan from jail. Three others, including Haywood, are under indictment. Goebel objected, saying that the Paterson strike "was not our strike," and that no money should be sent because the entire state executive committee had not signed the request. Reilley,

of New Jersey, also objected to money being sent. Duncan, of Montana, said that he approved the motion as read. "In order to secure the support of the New Jersey delegation, I am willing to amend this motion in this manner. Moved that we send \$100 to aid in getting Quinlan out of jail; and that we send an additional \$100 to assist in hanging Bill Haywood." His sarcasm was effective. The motion to send the money was passed without a dissenting vote.

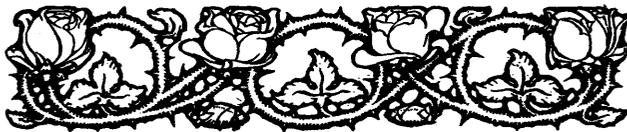
The floor was given to A. B. Baker to speak in behalf of a party owned publishing house. The motion to buy a press, etc., was laid on the table for a year.

The Committee instructed the secretary to notify the state office that they must elect a new delegate, in place of Comrade Bessemer. Clifford assured them that Ohio would doubtless send him back. A delegate said the Committee would refuse to recognize him. And there the matter rests. The committee, however, gladly voted to give him his return fare to Ohio.

U. Soloman ably served his cause as chairman of the last day's session.

Adjourned, sine die, at 5 p. m., May 15.

Copies of the Barnes-Hillquit communications submitted by Comrade Bessemer may be secured by writing any National committeeman of Ohio.



# Hatfield's Challenge to the Socialist Party



Governor Hatfield has declared that every active Socialist in West Virginia shall be jailed or deported. Wholesale arrests of Socialists without warrants have already been made; trials by jury denied; our papers confiscated; presses wrecked and Editors jailed. Shall we stand for our comrades being absolutely within the power of this tool of the Coal Trust and the tin soldiers whom he commands?



By Leslie H. Marcy

LAWRENCE DWYER,  
Socialist and miner. Lost  
leg in mines. Arrested  
scores of times for agi-  
tating.

**A**FTER a reign of terror and absolute lawlessness on the part of the mine owners and some of the constituted authorities in West Virginia for many months, the United Mine Workers of America have signed a truce with Governor Hatfield.

The representatives of the miners on Paint and Cabin Creeks and Coal River, after a stormy session, acceded to the Governor's recommendation as a basis for a settlement of the strike.

The convention roll was made up of ninety-three delegates, of which eighty-five were native West Virginians. At no time until the fourth day could those who favored the Governor's recommendation have secured a majority vote. In fact, many of the delegates came to the con-

vention instructed to vote against the recommendation. On the final ballot a number of the delegates requested to be recorded as having voted against adoption, despite the fact that the sixteen representatives of the United Mine Workers, both state and national, with the exception of two, exerted their influence in favor of the recommendation, as did the attorneys of the organization. They yielded to the Governor's demands with great reluctance.

In accepting the proposition of the Governor, the miners called his attention to the fact that each of the promises made by him, with the exception of the nine-hour day and semi-monthly payday, to which the operators acceded, are statutory rights granted the miners by law.



LAWRENCE DWYER,  
Socialist and miner. Lost  
leg in mines. Arrested  
scores of times for agi-  
tating.

The Governor promised that the guard system should be abolished under his administration.

The recommendations were as follows:

Rights of miners to select check weighman.

Nine-hour day, at same scale of wages as now paid.

No discrimination.

Prices at commissary stores same as elsewhere.

Semi-monthly payday.

There are many who do not believe the Governor will carry out his promises, but in the meantime the miners have gone back to work.

### War on the Socialist Party.

Socialists in West Virginia write that nearly all of the imprisoned striking miners, who are not active in the Socialist Party, have been released. Mother Jones also has been set at liberty. In writing Senator Kern, she says:

"I do not yet know that I am free, but I am inclined to think it was none of his (the Governor's) good wishes."

In the meantime Governor Hatfield has waged a relentless war against all active Socialists. No other one has been released. The Governor has sworn to DRIVE SOCIALISM from the state.

John F. Parsons, A. D. Lavender, E.

B. Vickers, Tom Miskel, Charles Kenney, Cleave Vickers, John Sachrist, G. W. Lavender, Nelson Treadway, John Brown, National Committeeman of the S. P., Charles H. Boswell, editor of the *Labor Argus*, all Socialists, are still held incommunicado.

Fred Merrick, editor of the *Pittsburgh Justice*, who was filling Boswell's place on the *Argus*, was seized, thrown into prison by the Governor's orders and the paper confiscated.

The following letters from comrades tell the story of the suppression of Socialism in Huntington:

"I inclose a picture of the Huntington *Socialist and Labor Star's* force with its fighting clothes on. During the flood half our population was homeless. Two companies of militia, withdrawn from Paint Creek strike zone, where they had been on duty seven months, were quartered on the helpless city. They showed us what military law in the Kanawha county had been. They confiscated whiskey and with their hides full of rot-gut, and their hands full of deadly weapons, they staggered about fighting both the citizens and each other, stealing everything that was not nailed down, and breaking into homes and carrying off what they wanted. The *Socialist and Labor Star* exposed the outrages of these scabherders, who formed a plot for the destruction of the *Star* plant. Fortunately, the comrades were tipped off in time and when, in the night, 150 soldiers started out to demolish our machinery, they found the shop had been converted into a fort. Comrades living near had been summoned and the building was in the hands of twenty determined looking men armed with Winchesters. The gallant warriors decided to delay the attack. The picture I inclose



COMRADES OF THE SOCIALIST AND LABOR STAR.



COMRADES OF THE SOCIALIST AND LABOR STAR.



GROUP OF HUNTINGTON COMRADES. X—COMRADE TAYLOR, WHO WAS SHOT.

shows the mechanical force with their tools—taken the day after the attack.”

“Huntington, May 5, 1913.

“At a mass meeting being held by the Trades and Labor Assembly, May 5th, to protest against the Russianizing of West Virginia, the crowd was fired into by Baldwin-Feltz mine guards sent from the strike zone for that purpose. Comrade W. R. Taylor, aged 60, was shot through the head, while several others, including women and children, narrowly escaped death in the rain of bullets. Comrade George W. Gillespie, member of the S. P. State Executive Committee, had just started to speak to the 3,000 people when the firing began. Although the names of the detectives are known, the authorities have made no attempt to arrest them.”

The last word received from Comrade Thompson reads:

“Things have come to a hell of a pass in, West Virginia. The militant comrades who are not in the bull pen are in hiding across the borders in other states. I am writing this upon the Kentucky mountains. I assisted Comrade ——— in escaping over the line last night. We got out the *Star*, sending one to each of the *Argus* subscribers. Then I took a vacation, with the emphasis on the vacate.”

However, it seems that Comrade Thompson must have returned direct to Huntington, and the following letters tell the story of what happened to him and the paper:

“From Huntington.

“Dear Comrades: Have just read your

letter to Comrade W. H. Thompson asking for news. He was this day literally dragged from his home, his wife and four little ones, at 1 a. m., locked up in the jail here, and this p. m. deported to Charleston, by the Major Tom Divis. If there were any charges against him we could not find out what they were. The Governor wired for his ‘detention’ is all that we can get out of the civil authorities here.

“This p. m. two Baldwin guards went to Mrs. Thompson’s home and searched the house through and through, looking for the mailing list, but the guards refused to show their search warrant, if they had one. Mrs. Thompson didn’t know they were there till one of them was inside the house. I have seen and been in Texas cyclones and her house is more like that than anything else I can compare it to. It looks as if there had been a real cyclone inside. Now please don’t forget the fact that she was all alone, her husband locked up in the county jail, with no charges whatever against him, and these two (I like to have called them men) guards walked into this unprotected workingman’s house and ransacked it to their own satisfaction. This is the West Virginia method of bravery. Two men can walk over a woman, and it is for ‘law and order.’

“*The Socialist and Labor Star* plant was confiscated and the stock damaged to an extent unknown to us, as it is locked up. The cuts for this week’s issue were de-



GROUP OF HUNTINGTON COMRADES. X—COMRADE TAYLOR, WHO WAS SHOT.

stroyed and everything that was breakable and bendable was ruined.

"I visited Comrade Thompson with his wife today in the cell of the county jail. I visited her tonight and saw those four babies clinging to her and crying. Thompson has told the truth to us workers, and what does he get in return? A prison cell. Will the workers stand for it? They are now. There has been no demonstration so far, and I think they are still asleep.

"Comrade Thompson tonight is lying in some vile cell for his brother workers and unless they rally to his support, and do it NOW, they are a set of cowards.

"There were four others deported with Comrade Thompson today. They were George W. Gilispie, R. M. Kephart, Elmer Rumbaugh and F. M. Sturm. Comrade Thompson belongs to the Typographical Union, Gilispie and Kephart belong to the Machinists' Union and Sturm belongs to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and Rumbaugh is just a plain working man, but he had as many of his brother union men to see him off to the military den as did those belonging to the crafts of unions. If the unions rally to these comrades, I am a union woman; if they do not, I say let's cut out this style of union and get another of a type that will stand the test of despotism.

"If Hatfield wants another woman to

keep Mother Jones from getting lonesome, he can find me.

"MRS. SARAH SWANN."

The Coal Baron Governor is certainly making good his program of juggling and deporting EVERY ACTIVE SOCIALIST.

#### Extracts from Official Black List.

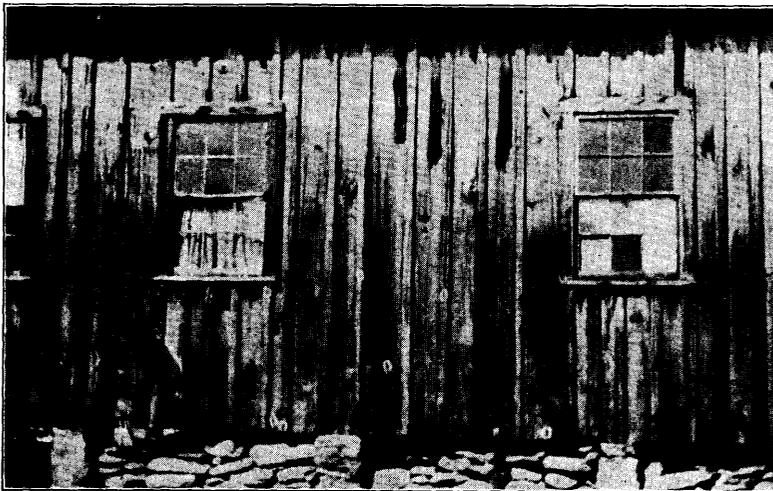
"HENRY THOMAS, who has been making Socialist speeches and advocating organized labor. Description—White, age about 40 years, height 5 feet 6 inches, black hair, smooth shaven, dark complexioned, wears stiff hat.

"JESSE SPADE, one of the chartered members of Mt. Hope Socialist local. Description—American, age about 24 years, 5 feet 11 inches, weight 180 pounds, smooth shaven, ruddy complexion, well dressed.

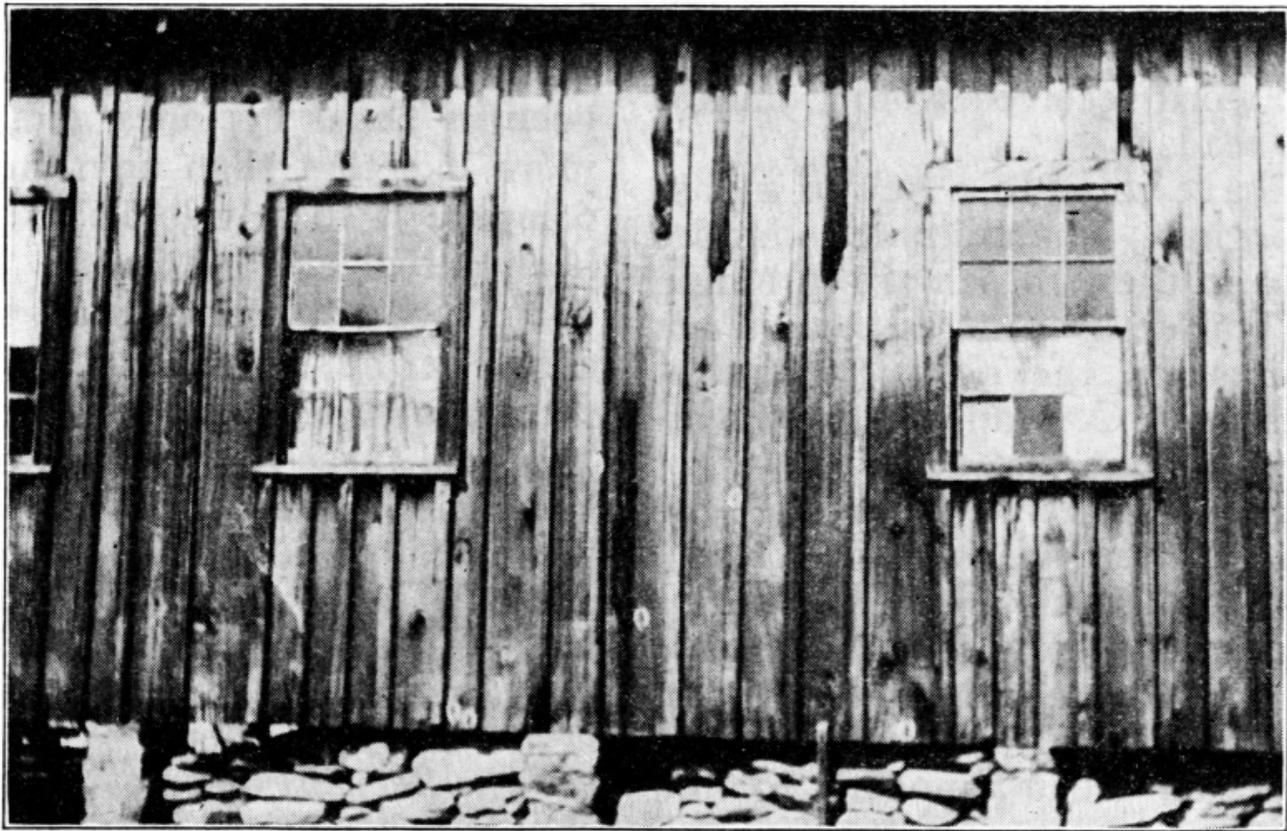
"J. G. BRAGG, union man and Socialist, left Meadow Fork and went to Terry, where he has been chosen by the Socialist Party for constable, American, 40 years of age, weight 180 pounds, height 5 feet 10 inches, intelligent and talkative.

"TOM AKERS, discharged from Minden for agitating unionism and talking Socialism. Description—White, about 30 years old, 5 feet 9 inches, light hair and blue eyes.

"JAMES M. MORGAN, strong Socialist and advocating strike in the New



MINER'S CABIN RIDDLED WITH BULLETS FROM MACHINE GUN ON THE BULL MOOSE ARMORED TRAIN.—MR. ESTEP WAS KILLED, BUT HIS FAMILY ESCAPED.



MINER'S CABIN RIDDLED WITH BULLETS FROM MACHINE GUN ON THE BULL MOOSE ARMORED TRAIN.—MR. ESTEP WAS KILLED, BUT HIS FAMILY ESCAPED.

River Fields. Negro, age 38 years, height 6 feet."

The National Committee received the following plea for help at its meeting held in Chicago, May 10th, and it is up to the rank and file of the party to force immediate action in this crisis. The conditions are so well known that investigating committees are only an insult to the intelligence of the comrades in West Virginia and elsewhere. What they ask for is regular or volunteer organizers. Why should not their request be granted immediately?

### The Plea for Help.

Clarksburg, W. Va., May 9, 1913.

To the National Committee, Socialist Party, Chicago:

Dear Comrades—Owing to the temporary absence of State Secretary Houston, the State Executive Committee motion following was instituted by myself, asking that the four comrades send their vote upon the motion to Executive Secretary Work, so that in the event it carries it may be properly put before you at the annual convention. The committeemen are widely scattered, and there is a possibility that their votes upon the motion will fail to arrive in time.

Following is the motion and comment by myself:

"That the National Committee, in session of May 11, be requested to furnish a number of regular or volunteer organizers to be routed through West Virginia, for the purpose of apprising the people of the outrages upon life, liberty and constitutional right, perpetuated and practiced by government officials, with Hatfield's consent. That the financial deficit, if any, be borne by the national organization."

#### COMMENT:

Comrade John W. Brown, National Committeeman, is now held incommunicado, in the county jail at Clarksburg, by order of Governor Hatfield. When I last saw him we spoke of this plan of reaching the people of West Virginia.

We all are aware of the subsidy of our state press, and now that Governor Hatfield has set the gauge of battle for the Socialists, having eliminated every other element, we must accept the fight or be conquered.

"In this state issue is involved the

greatest violation of constitutional guarantees the American labor movement ever experienced. If we submit tamely we deserve the galling chains of slavery. If we fight as a united working class, we mark another mile post on the road to economic freedom."

The Republican state machine elected Dr. Hatfield as governor of West Virginia by a few thousand majority, after the Bull Moose fused with them. Wilson, for president, received a majority. Hatfield is a "standpatter," having advocated Taft's re-election. His stature as a man and his ability as an executive are pygmy. He is of hasty action and sensitive of criticism.

His official acts are in bad repute even with his supporters, and the press is endeavoring to cover his blunders by flattery. He is of the dictator type of ruler. Coming from McDowell, the border county of Kentucky and West Virginia; he is, as his name implies, a clansman of the McCoy-Hatfield feudists. "Devil Anse" Hatfield, who slew his scores of feudists and government officers, is his uncle. "Devil Anse" could not be captured, but was promised freedom if he would give himself up and come to Charleston to see the governor. He consented, with the provision that he could come armed, which condition was accepted.

Hatfield is the alleged slayer of a negro, who was shot in the back. He has or had investments in saloons and coal mines, and represented to the people that if he were elected the prohibition amendment, if carried (which it has) would be rigidly enforced, and he would abolish the guard system in vogue in the mining camps of West Virginia.

These facts are recounted to illuminate the character of the man Hatfield. Another illustration: In a letter to *The Socialist and Labor Star*, Huntington, W. Va., Comrade Brown remarked: "That 'con' of Hatfield's may look fairly good to some, but when one has to read it behind bars it looks different. The big stiff, we'll sting hell out of him before his four years are over." This letter was published, and with the result shown in a letter to me from Brown: "Hatfield refused my wife a permit to see me on account of a letter I had in the *Star*. \* \* \*



COMRADE FRED H. MERRICK,  
Fighting Editor of *Justice*, Pittsburgh, Pa.



COMRADE EDWARD H. KINTZER,  
State Executive Committeeman of West Virginia.

What does the world think of a governor so small that he would vent his spleen on a defenseless woman?"

But, comrades of the National Committee, the world does not know; even the general public of the state of West Virginia do not know the status of affairs. Some things were mentioned in the press about martial law, military commission, drum-head court martial, acts of violence on the part of miners, inciting to riot, accessory before the fact, inflammatory writing and speaking, jailing without indictment, abolishment of jury trials, arrest without warrant, and the latest act—seizure of the *Labor Argus* and the arrest of Fred H. Merrick.

But the exact facts and the significance is not appreciated because of the color given to them by the subsidized press.

The political side of the Socialist movement in West Virginia is worth noting here. Notwithstanding the somewhat unapproved, impassive tactics used in the strike as, for instance, the use of firearms by the strikers against the machine guns of the operators and their hired mine

guards, the miners never lost sight of political action. Nor were the resistful tactics hurtful when considered in the light of ballots. West Virginia's voters of the Socialist ticket approved by giving 316 per cent gain in 1912 over 1908.

The governor has now eliminated all classes but the Socialists, and is making his fight directly upon them. "Mother" Jones and eleven other prisoners, held under sentence of a drum-head court martial, are all Socialists. Nearly half a hundred others, non-Socialists, tried by the military court, were pardoned.

The impression has been generally gained through the prostitute press that the Socialists are the lawless element, that they have been guilty of murdering coal company employes, since nothing is mentioned of the many miners whose blood has been spilled on the hillsides.

This impression can be corrected by literature and speakers. John Brown is preparing a pamphlet that deserves wide circulation and clearly defines the issue.

If the National Committee will furnish



COMRADE FRED H. MERRICK,  
Fighting Editor of *Justice*, Pittsburgh, Pa.



COMRADE EDWARD H. KINTZER,  
State Executive Committeeman of West Virginia.

speakers, men who do not fear jails and "bull pens," the day can be saved for the Socialists. Otherwise, we are in defeat.

Fraternally yours,

EDWARD H. KINTZER,

State Executive Committeeman.

P. S.—Since writing the above I have learned of the confiscation, by Hatfield's

order, of the "Socialist and Labor Star," and the arrest of its editors, among whom was one of the State Executive Committee—Comrade Gillespie. Therefore, disregard the voting on the motion and act upon the necessity of the preservation of the Socialist Party in the state of West Virginia.

E. H. K.



MOTHER JONES AND FRANK J. HAYES, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS.



NIGHT MEETING OF MINERS.—MOTHER JONES SPEAKING.

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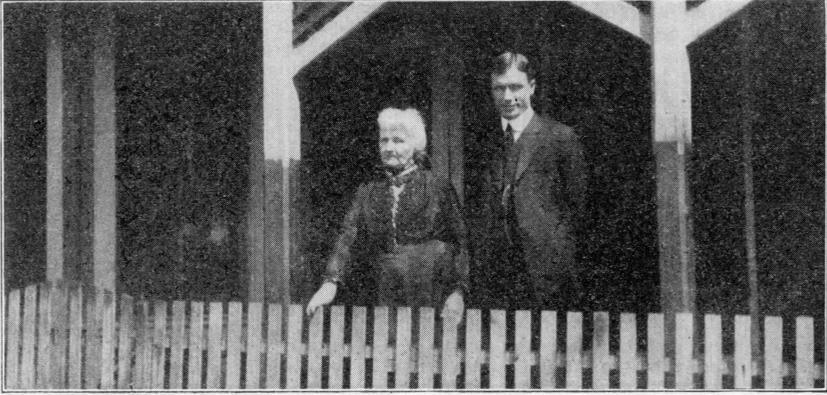
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State Executive Committeeman.

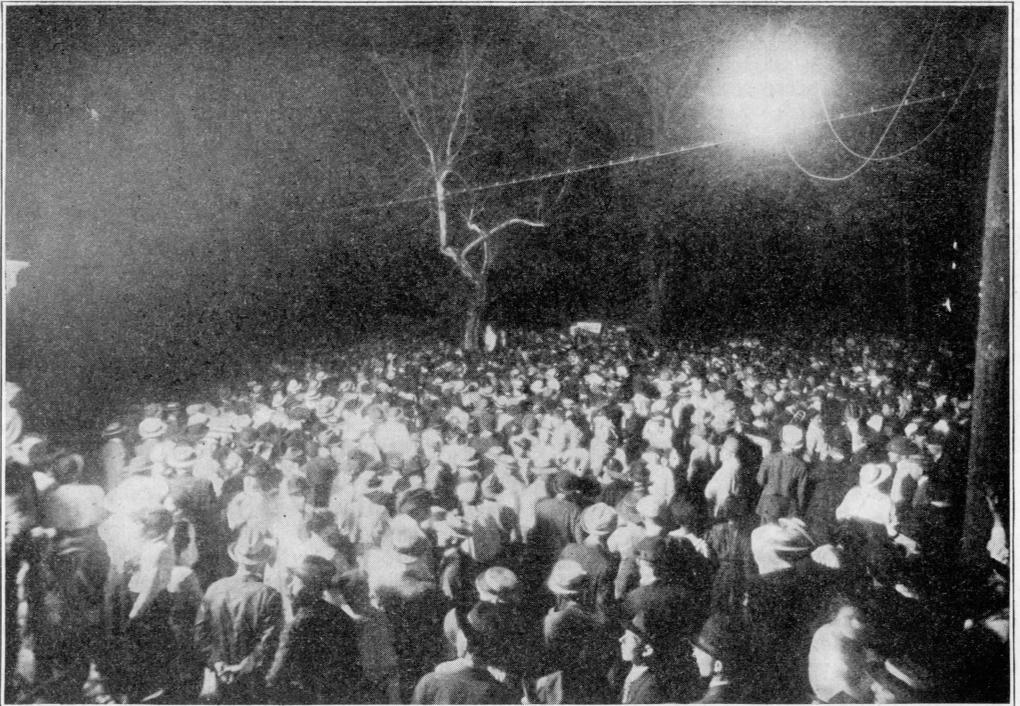
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NIGHT MEETING OF MINERS.—MOTHER JONES SPEAKING.

# THE CLASS STRUGGLE

## Martial Law in Syracuse

Several thousand members of the building trades are on strike at Syracuse, N. Y., for an increase in wages on a sliding scale of from 32 to 40 cents. The strikers claim they would willingly submit their demands to arbitration, but the Syracuse builders have "nothing to arbitrate." The city authorities are seeking to settle the strike, but reports at this time say that the employers hope to secure scabs and beat the strike. As usual they have resorted to any and all means to intimidate the workers. The *New York Call* says:

"Two men are at the point of death tonight in the hospital, twenty-five are seriously wounded, many are under arrest and the city is under martial law as the result of street fighting during the day in which the police clashed with some of the 2,750 union workmen who are on strike for increased wages.

"Infantry, cavalry and artillery companies of the militia took up quarters for the night as darkness fell over the city, at the State Armory, the drill hall at police headquarters and points adjacent to the scene of the early day troubles, all of them in readiness for immediate action.

"When the night force of police went out for duty it was under orders from Chief Cadin to 'shoot to kill at first sign of a fresh outbreak.'

"Striking workmen started a demonstration and fifty policemen were sent out in response

to a riot call. The arrival of the officers seemed the signal for a clash and in a few moments a bloody battle was in progress. The workers wielded clubs and hurled stones, while the policemen used their revolvers. They say they fired first over the heads of the strikers to frighten them. Then they lowered their weapons with deadly effect.

"Patrolman Jacob Manheim was the first to fall. He was hit on the head with a brick. Officer Britbeck was close to Manheim and he clubbed Joseph Coco, the man who had wounded Manheim, and arrested him. Coco went down and was later dragged to arrest.

"For a time it looked as if the strikers might overcome the officers. They were determined and fought well, but the police finally prevailed and the strikers began to retreat from their position in front of the Bishop's house in East Onondaga street.

"The police, many of them covered with blood and some of them so badly wounded that they were disabled, gathered in about twenty-five of their opponents. Of these twenty-five arrested ten were hurt.

"At least three strikers were shot, one in the abdomen and two in the thighs. Ambulances were called and the police kept the strikers back with drawn revolvers while the wounded were taken to hospitals.

"The police patrol and other automobiles rushed the arrested ones to headquarters. The wounded were given attention there."

## I. W. W. Wins in New Jersey

Summit, May 8.—After having lasted almost seven weeks, the strike of the operatives at the North Summit mill of the Summit Silk Company is at an end, the strikers, who are affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World, having won almost a complete victory. They will all return to work tomorrow.

The company concedes to its employes an eight-hour day, an increase in wages of thirty-five per cent on raw weave and of twenty-five per cent on yarn dye. It also agrees to recog-

nize a union shop committee as representative of the company's employes.

When announcement was made that the company had made the demanded concessions there was great jubilation among the strikers. The company made its agreement subject to the conditions that shall govern the end of the Paterson strike. If the Paterson strikers succeed in getting better terms than those accepted here they will be extended to the Summit strikers, but if not, the Summit operatives are to retain what they have received.

## Sectionalism in the Cloak Makers' Union

**I**F you look at the Cloak-makers' Union with the eyes of a stranger, it appears to be one of the strongest organizations in the labor movement. We find, however, if we are "inside" that its foundations are very weak. In fact it goes contrary to its own principles as an organization when it acts in the interests of the **manufacturers**. Personally I want to say that if there is any one group more than

another to which the union owes its existence it is to the **Manufacturers' Association**.

The basis of the union, organized in 1910, is the arbitration plank for the settlement of conflicts between employee and employer through a grievance committee, supposed to consist of three men, one representing the union, one the bosses and one the public.

During the past few months many articles

have been published in the *Zukunft*, *The Forward* and in other papers, written by the upholders of pure-and-simple politics who declare the cloak makers to be all we should desire. Members of the rank and file who wish to protest cannot get their articles published. We may say nothing but good of the union through such papers. I have an idea that if they printed the truth of the wrongs of the rank and file the officers of the union would see to it that these papers received no more of their very profitable union advertisements.

Last week some union workers struck in the shop of a member of the Manufacturers' Association. The officials immediately sent scabs to take their places. Both scabs and strikers were members of the same organization. One point to be noted is that the EMPLOYER was protected by the union officials.

Three months ago when the workers asked Samuels, a well-known manufacturer, to pay a dollar for a garment, he replied that he would give one dollar and a half if they would return to work. Of course the workers went back. But when the season began, Mr. Samuels gave his work out to contractors. Those in his shop had no work. The workers appealed to the union. The union brought up a charge to the grievance committee of the Manufacturers' Association, and it was agreed that a business agent from both parties should decide the matter. They asked Mr. Samuels to sign a contract to give out work to the workers every day for four consecutive months.

Nobody expected any more trouble with Mr. Samuels, but at the end of the week it was found their earnings were only \$7.00 or \$8.00. They demanded to know why Samuels did not live up to his contract. Then it developed that the contract signed by the association and the union officers did not say how much work should be given out by Mr. Samuels. "Hands" were only able to earn from 80 cents to 90 cents a day. When the men struck the union officials sent union scabs to take their places. The strikers were black-listed.

Everybody knows that the cloak trade is divided into sections—operators, tailors and pressers. The tailors are a small minority. They work "hunger hours" and their best wages are \$10.00 a week. In other words, "all is well" when they can make ten dollars a

week. Often they earn as low as \$6.00 or \$7.00. They would gain nothing by asking a rise in wages; if they struck the union would not aid them, although they were members of that union. But the spirit of revolt was not dead in them. A few shops organized and declared that at a certain time the men would stop work and strike as one man.

John De Dyche, the general secretary of the union, sent them a letter warning the men that if they struck he would take away their charter. This was his public announcement that he would protect the bosses and not the workers in his own union. In all these strikes in New York the bosses were willing to settle on the same terms and agreements as the Cloak Makers' Union.

The union officials have signed and pledged themselves to protect the bosses at all hazards and to punish union members who dare to strike in their own self-defense. W. Pavlowsky, Branch 2, King's Co., S. P., and Local 11, Cloak & Shirt Makers' Union.

It will be remembered that during the recent garment workers' strike in New York the *Jewish Forward* printed an editorial declaring the strike ended and congratulating the strikers on having won a victory. The strike was settled by President Rickert of the Garment Workers on a basis of a \$1.00 a week increase WITHOUT CONSULTING THE STRIKERS. The strikers immediately denounced this settlement as a sell-out, claiming better terms could be secured and that they wanted to settle their own strike.

The *Jewish Forward* sought to mollify the strikers and compel their acceptance of this betrayal of their rights and interests. A labor paper says, "In consequence of these treacherous acts, tens of thousands of Jewish and Italian workers gathered in front of the *Forward* building and started a demonstration against it. Large plate glass windows and storm doors on the ground floor were broken. The indignation of the workers was otherwise displayed."

Later events have proved that these demonstrators were right. The strikers took matters in their own hands and settled on much better terms than those Rickert and Abe Cahhan, the socialist editor, tried to force down their throats. There is just one point we want to make. Editors and labor leaders may be side-tracked. The workers must trust in themselves.

## Wireless Strike

THE wireless operators employed by the Marconi Company on the Pacific Coast have struck (April 22). They took this action only after being subjected to every indignity that an arrogant and heartless corporation, interested solely in exploiting and grinding profits out of their men, could inflict. The company flouted their demands for an increased wage, discharged their committees, refused the good offices of the San Francisco

Labor Council arbitration committee, declined mediation to reach an amicable adjustment through a representative of the United States Department of Labor, repudiated its word with its employees, told the men that commercial land operators would not support them in a fight, and showed unmistakably its determination to destroy, if possible, this union of employees. There was no other alternative left open but unconditional surrender or strike;

and the men chose the manly course. President Kouenkamp, who is on the ground and in personal charge, thereupon ordered the strike.

These tactics have a familiar look. Western Union influences, we believe, are undoubtedly back of the Marconi Company, fearing that a victory in the wireless would encourage their employees to demand more money and better working conditions.

Sailors of the Pacific receive \$50 per month for a 9-hour day; wireless operators \$30 to \$35 for second operators, and \$40 to \$45 per month for first operators for a 12-hour day. They asked for \$60 per month for first operator and \$50 per month for second operators on boats. At land stations \$110 per month for first operator and \$95 per month for second and third operators, respectively. Wireless operators rank as petty officers, with all the expenses and incidentals necessary to maintain rank and a good appearance, and they are paid the wage of a Chinese stoker.

The boats on the Pacific are all manned by union men, from the captain down to the deck hand. It is not believed that a scab wire-

less operator would be anxious to plant himself in such an unsympathetic environment, especially for the miserable wages paid.

**These men need help. They should be encouraged and supported so that they may be enabled to hold out against this company until they win their fight for a living wage. Every telegrapher, member and non-member, should do his part. Their victory will be our gain, their defeat our loss.**

**You are urged to give freely and quickly to this good cause, and to work among others to the same end. All contributions should be sent to Wesley Russell, International Secretary-Treasurer, Rooms 922-930 Monon Bldg., 440 South Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill., who will acknowledge receipt promptly.**

In addition, please see to it that every wireless operator in your vicinity, or of your acquaintance, on land or boat stations, is advised of the situation. Yours fraternally, Wesley Russell, International Secretary-Treasurer.

Chicago, April 24, 1913.

## A. F. of L. Shingle Weavers' Strike

WORD comes from Seattle that the working conditions in the shingle mills are so rotten that even the workers who are members of the A. F. of L. are out on strike. The A. F. of L. local workers have advised the men to go out of town and look for jobs. Meanwhile the workers are wondering who will do the picketing and otherwise let the folks know there is a strike on of shingle weavers. Perhaps Casey Jones or some other bright light in the A. F. of L. will tell them after the strike is over.

One of the strikers writes as follows: "A man cannot work one week without losing a finger. Of thirty men who were up at strike headquarters there was not one of the thirty who had ten fingers on his hands and one had only his thumb on his right hand.

"Only last week I met two men carrying one of their fellow workers up the tracks near one of the shingle mills here and when I asked what was the matter they replied in an offhand way, 'Oh! him? Why he just got his hand cut off in the end mill.'"

## The Southern Negro and One Big Union

WITH the advent of sawmills and other big industries, and the construction of numerous lines of railroads in the South, day hands have been hard to get on plantations. So the owners rent to the negro tenant as many acres as he can cultivate. They make one stipulation; nothing but cotton is to be planted on this land and no part of it is to be devoted to the raising of garden truck. This, of course, compels the poor tenant to buy of the master, at exorbitant prices, food and clothing for himself and family, and feed for his work stock. Now, if the negro is energetic and economizes with the hope of "coming out" at the end of the year with something above rent and store account, he is eyed with suspicion. He is also slated for a great beating about the time his crop is to be "laid by," for the purpose of running him off the place and confiscating his season's product. Should he, in desperation, refuse to run, the yarn, "He made a move as if to draw a weapon," is worked again, and one more poor black peon will have gone to join

the innumerable host of his fellows "in the silent halls of death."

The negro is treated with more consideration in the southern lumber industry, but "there's a reason." The boss in this industry has been pitting the negro against the poor white and vice versa, and making suckers out of both. On account of the scarcity of labor he has been compelled to treat the negro with a semblance of fairness, in order to use him as a club to hold over the rebellious white workers.

The negro still has a bloodthirsty enemy in the shape of the deputy sheriff stationed at each saw mill town and paid by the mill company. This contemptible tool of the master class in the South never lets a chance slip to graft on the negro in every way made possible by his ignorance and fear of the law. As these deputy scoundrels are recruited from the "bad native scissorbills," they are just as quick to murder a negro as their plantation prototypes, the overseers.

Since the formation of the National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers of the I. W. W., in this section, the negro and white workers are fast getting together, and beginning to see a great light. They see that they have been played for fools by the bosses, and are banding together under the banner of the I. W. W. They mean to help each other in the fight for better conditions on the job, regardless of their difference in color, which they see cuts no ice with the boss, who would just as soon hire a cheap white as a cheap negro, or vice versa. There are many negroes in the Forest & Lumber Workers' Union. There is room for all of them. The only drawback is the lack of confidence some of them have in their white fellow-workers, caused by the poison injected in their minds by the wily boss. Employers have used every dirty method to keep the two, whose interests are the same, divided. In this way scabs were always available.

Each, though, is becoming educated to the fact that they need the help of the other. In the lumber industry they are about equally divided. To control their jobs they must fight shoulder to shoulder on the industrial battlefield, or else become peons. The negroes naturally feel solidarity among themselves. This spirit has developed through their age-long abuse and exploitation by the whites. It is not a hard matter to make the negro class-conscious. He is bound to be rebellious.

In the recent fight at Merryville, La., where the American Lumber Company blacklisted fifteen of its employes for testifying for the defense in the famous Grabow trial, when the lumber trust tried to convict fifty-nine union men in an effort to stop the agitation for better conditions in the lumber industry, 1,300 members of the Forest and Lumber Workers struck. They meant to force the American Lumber Co. to put these fifteen men back to work. Although not a one of these fifteen was a negro, our colored fellow-workers showed their solidarity by walking out with their white comrades, and no amount of per-

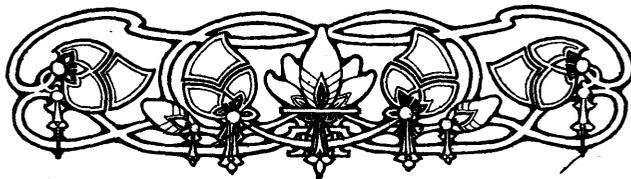
suation or injection of the old race prejudice could induce them to turn traitor and scab.

They were arrested and jailed on different absurd charges, such as "unlawfully meeting in the same hall with white men," but they laughingly lined up and marched to the town bastille, singing the rebel songs they had learned at the daily mass meetings in the Union Hall, and despite threats, after their release, they appeared in greater number the next day to hear the speakers, and sing more songs to fan the flames of discontent.

The writer spent four weeks at Merryville during this strike, and he and Fellow Workers Kelly, Cline and Feligno spoke to the strikers every day in the hall and on the streets, and the conduct of the negro strikers was a revelation to us all, and an eye-opener to the whites. After Fellow Workers Cline, Deeny, Baker and I were forcibly deported by thugs of the company, aided by the Good Citizens' League, the negroes still remained firm and refused to return to work when threatened by the company's deputies. This shows what can be done with the negro workers along organization lines with a little effort. Most of the scabs now working in the plants of the American Lumber Company are negroes gathered from the cotton and sugar plantations. All these fellows need is a little industrial union propaganda. It will then be impossible for a boss to induce them to scab on their fellow-workers who are on a strike. They will be glad to join the union and they will stick when they have become members.

A better understanding exists now between the white and black wage slaves than I thought could be possible in such a comparatively short time. Thanks to the I. W. W. and its organizers, the time is not very far off when the boss will be unable to pit these workers one against the other. They will all be in the One Big Union, which recognizes the fact that there are only two classes in the world today, the Employing Class and the Working Class, and that there can be no peace as long as one is robbed by the other.

PHINEAS EASTMAN.



# Socialist Theory and Tactics

By Charles A. Rice

Effects of Pure-and-Simplism in Germany

Part IV—Continued

C. *Effects of pure-and-simplism upon the German labor movement since 1900.*

The rapid growth and concentration of industry and commerce, the consolidation of financial capital and banking in Germany together with the tendencies of German capitalism connected with trade expansion beyond the bounds of Germany and colonial garb,—all this complex process of advanced capitalism dates from the latter part of the 90's of the last century. But it became especially pronounced and rapid since 1900.

During the last 12 years Germany's industry and commerce stimulated and monopolized the home market and made large inroads into the world market. German exporters carried the commercial war right into England and captured the English home market at some very important points. German footwear, for instance, at one time became a serious menace to the English shoe industry. This competitive invasion of the English market by the German export trade assumed such proportions that the stolid English manufacturer became alarmed and began to mutter approvingly to Joe Chamberlain's tune of giving up free trade in favor of protection.

German electrical machinery, the equipment for manufacturing beet-root sugar, agricultural machinery and implements, chemicals, laboratory equipment, and many other products of German industry, found their way to Russia, Turkey, Western Europe, China, and Africa to such an extent as to forestall, outdo, or even crowd out their English, French or American competitors. At one time German exports began flooding the markets of South America at such a rapid rate as to arouse a howl of rage and distress in the camp of Yankee exporters at seeing their chances for doing a rushing business with their Latin-American cousins snatched from under their very noses.

During this period, Germany's merchant marine and all its shipping facilities have

made giant strides and thus have given a tremendous lift in helping nurse Germany's industries and international trade to their present athletic proportions and combative strength.

Right here we must note certain peculiarities of German capitalism responsible for its enormous and rapid growth as sketched above. A full grasp of these peculiarities will also make it quite clear that parliamentary pure-and-simplism was in no appreciable measure instrumental in or responsible for the fact, (referred to a few paragraphs above under point b), that the workers in Germany's industries are somewhat better protected as to life and limb and that German plants are better equipped so as to care for sanitation, hygiene, and other comforts for safeguarding the health of their workers.

The phenomenal conquests that Germany's industries have made in the foreign markets, were not due to what is usually termed *cheapness*. The German exporter did not trip or "freeze" out his English or American rival by underselling in cut-throat competition. German steamship lines do from time to time go in for slicing rates when they are in a race for getting the lion's share of the trans-Atlantic passenger traffic. With this and a few other exceptions, however, German industry and commerce on the whole give a wide berth to price wars in foreign markets. German success in the export game, for the most part, was and is, due to more rational and, hence, more efficient methods of getting at the consumer than cheap selling in the ordinary sense.

The German exporter, in the first place, profits by all the knowledge obtained for him by the very excellent *consular service* that Germany has organized all over the world. This service, like every other type of organized effort on the part of Germany's ruling class, is really a model of its kind in point of thoroughness and efficiency

and puts to shame anything done so far by any other government along this line.

Germany sends her best men, highly competent, trained for the work and well equipped, to every nook and corner of the world offering any prospects for the German export trade. These men make a thorough study of the needs and trade possibilities in their respective territories. They go into minute detail and spare no efforts and means to get at the bottom facts and internal situation of every branch of industry, every line of commerce. These German consulates are genuine laboratories for commercial research carried on by experts in the field. The data and reliable information so obtained are transmitted to Germany in a well-digested form. In this way German industry and trade are kept well posted on all the facts and situations in the foreign markets that have any bearing on exports.

Besides, every industrial or commercial center of the world has its German colony and its German press. These keep in close touch with the Fatherland and contribute their immense share in the service of German capitalism. They carry on a sort of indirect propaganda for Germanizing the world in a variety of ways. Munich beer, German toys, laboratory apparatus, and a host of other things "made in Germany" find their way abroad in response to this Pan-Germanic propaganda no less and probably more than do German books, German art and science, and many other products of German culture in general.

But the German exporter does not rely upon these agencies alone. He himself or his representative comes to the foreign market and settles down in real earnest. His British or American competitor mostly fails because he is and always tries to be as much of a *foreigner* as possible. He appears a hide-bound Britisher or Yankee, narrow-minded in his patriotic provincialism, ignorant of everything in connection with the country and the people he wants to trade in. He is a conceited highbrow. He does not speak the language of the country, and has no conception of its needs. He looks down upon the native and so can never become *popular*.

But an unpopular *man* or firm cannot *sell*, cannot attract the consumer. If he *does* get him, he wants *spot* cash. He

knows no other terms. He is cocksure that his machine or his article is the best and the *cheapest*. He spends enormous sums for advertising, and so he thinks the native *did* adopt or ought to have adopted his, the American's or Britisher's, point of view. This smug foreign highbrow expects the native to dig down for solid *cash*.

The German exporter is the exact reverse in all the above respects. He studies and speaks the language of the country. He identifies himself with the life of the people he expects to do business with. He takes an intelligent interest in local affairs. He tries to be popular and serviceable. He knows the needs of the market. He does not depend so much on advertising. Nor does he squat down in the capitals all the time, but goes out into the heart of the country and tries to find out what the farmer, landowner, manufacturer, or merchant wants, what he *can* afford to buy and on *what terms* he is ready to do business.

In this way the German very often succeeds where the Englishman or American fails. The American article may be cheaper and of superior construction or more economical in other respects. But the German make, not much inferior in efficiency and workmanship, can be had on *long-term credit* and easy payments, while the Yankee or Britisher wants his cash down. This is a difference in favor of the German that has far more weight with many buyers, especially in Russia and Eastern Europe, than mechanical excellence and cheapness. The Singer Sewing Machine Company is the only American concern having a firm foothold in Russia because it adopted German business methods, while McCormick Harvester Trust lost the race to German farm machinery in the same market because the Russian landowner or farmer prefers a dearer article sold on *easy terms* including a long-time stretch of credit than a superior and cheaper one sold on the cash down basis.

These are the peculiarities of the German foreign trade, which to a great extent enable the German exporter to hold his ground in the fierce competition and frequently outrace his competitors irrespective of price levels.

The German manufacturer is thus relieved of some of the strain his competitors know too well of striving for *cheap* pro-

duction under maximum *speed*. Since he is relatively independent of the cost of production in so far as his foreign trade is concerned, he can afford to make concessions to his employes. Since he is not compelled, at least to the same extent as competitors, to speed up the productive process at all cost, he can better afford to be less reckless where the lives and health of his employes are at stake. He is therefore apt to be more tractable, more willing to grant certain reforms demanded by public opinion, and to equip his plant more in accordance with modern sanitary requirements and safety regulation required by the law.

Besides, German industry has not entered yet the *automatic* stage. *Self-acting machinery* of the kind and scope employed in some large American industries (glass blowing, cement making), is almost unknown in Germany. German industry still depends upon the skilled craftsman and the trained mechanic to a far greater extent than is the case in the United States, that is the ratio of skilled labor to unskilled labor in the former industry is far higher than in the latter. The German craftsman can therefore very often gain more concessions from *his* employer than the American from *his*.

Moreover, German industry is not trusted to the same degree as is the case with us. The German steel industry, for instance, is not anywhere as concentrated, integrated, and consolidated, nor is it remotely as formidable as to its resources and power as is our United States Steel Corporation. The German mechanic and even laborer is therefore not so overawed and browbeaten. Even his *craft* union can do some effective fighting and coerce the stiff-backed employer to accede to its demands or come to some terms.

Besides, German manufacturers, having entered the competitive field at a far later stage than that of the English industry during the first half of the 19th century, have profited by English experience. They knew that in order to compete successfully in the world market, they must adopt more rational methods of shop work and accord better treatment to their employes than did the English exploiters of factory workers prior to the 10-hour law.

All the above peculiarities of German capitalism account for the strange fact that German shop slaves are somewhat better off than are their fellow slaves in England or the United States, especially with respect to safety and health as affected by rational plant equipment and sanitation.

Let us now turn again to where we started. The matchless growth of German capitalism since 1900, its swift dash for supremacy at home and for the lion's share in the international market proved a very powerful stimulus for organizing Germany's toilers at the point of production.

German industry, on one hand, had practically no access to immigrant labor power; on the other, it needed a vast amount of highly skilled help of competent and intelligent craftsman and mechanics. On this account, it had to and did absorb all the available labor power. In fact, this absorption was so great that German wage-workers know the curse of *unemployment* only by hearsay,—that is a glutted labor market on a scale at all comparable to what obtains in the rest of the industrial world. According to the statement issued by the British Board of Trade, the percent of unemployed during the period of 1903-1909 was 2.2 for Germany and 14 for the United States.

This factor of rapid absorption was alone sufficient to make the workers more aggressive than they had been prior to 1900. They were, at this period (since 1900), quite in a position to present effective demands, to fight for a higher standard of life and a larger say in questions connected with the hours of labor and general terms of shop work.

And so the workers utilized to good advantage the favorable start that their economic position had given them by giving it stable, *organized* expression. They began to flock to their craft unions to such an extent as to overcome the inertia previously injected into them by pure-and-simplism. They made very large inroads among the wage-slaves herded together in the various Christian and other "yellow" unions and won over a great many thousands of them for class-conscious trade-unionism.

(To be continued.)

# EDITORIAL

## Help For West Virginia

It is greatly to be deplored that the National Committee, which met in Chicago, May 10th to 15th, failed to dispatch the help called for to our friends in West Virginia.

Fifty-two comrades are still confined in the drumhead bull pen and in the prison of that state. The Socialist Party National Committeeman, Comrade John Brown, Comrade Gillespie, member of the State Executive Committee, Comrades Boswell, editor of the confiscated *Labor Argus*, W. H. Thompson, editor of the *Huntington Socialist and Labor Star*, and Fred Merrick, editor of the *Pittsburgh Justice*, are among the victims of Governor Hatfield's military despotism.

Hatfield has declared that he will crush the Socialist movement and run every Socialist out of the state of West Virginia. After the arrest of Comrade Thompson, in Huntington, the state thugs held up Mrs. Thompson, and ransacked their home from garret to cellar declaring they would find the list of subscribers to the Socialist paper. The scheme was to force every Socialist out of that state.

The National Committee sent a memorial to President Wilson demanding an investigation of conditions in West Virginia. They also appointed a committee to investigate the situation there. Comrade Berger who was appointed on this committee said that he would serve only on the understanding that he should conduct his investigations from his room in a hotel. Debs and Germer were also appointed. The "Three Musketeers" from Ohio offered to go into the homes of the miners, to get into the fight and help organize the state. Unfortunately none of these militants were added to the committee.

On the second day of the convention a

telegram was received by the committee, from Milwaukee declaring that the Cream City could not spare Comrade Berger from his duties there. Comrade Berger was also elected special delegate to be sent to Europe to lay certain matters before the International Congress. It was noteworthy that Milwaukee had no opposition to make to such a trip being taken by Berger.

The REVIEW thinks we have had enough of investigations. Our comrades in West Virginia are fully capable of informing us about conditions there. They are more capable of judging of these conditions than any stranger. They have asked for all the party organizers and speakers available, to be sent to West Virginia at once.

Doubtless the National Committee acted with good intentions, but this is no time for words. We need action.

The REVIEW is going to ask for volunteers. We want to urge that every state in the union elect a party organizer or speaker to be sent to West Virginia at once, such speakers and organizers to place themselves unreservedly at the disposal of the Socialist Party state office as suggested by Comrade Kintzer, acting secretary, in his appeal for immediate help.

We want to remind the party locals that the organizers and speakers thus sent into West Virginia can report conditions for the papers of the entire state and the entire Socialist press will be able to turn a steady stream of publicity upon conditions there.

We must plan to make the fight easier for our brave comrades in West Virginia. The expenses of speakers who enter the war zone must be borne by those at home. This is the surest way to effect the release of the miners and Socialists now imprisoned, to assure the miners that we intend to stick with them to the bitter end, and to

**Save the Socialist Party in West Virginia.**

M. E. M.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

## An International Syndicalist Congress?

—Is syndicalism to become international? This is the question raised by two appeals recently sent out. The first of these was published in the February number of the *Syndicalist*, organ of the English Syndicalist League. It is the result of a conference of English revolutionary unionists held at London in November. After declaring that the cause of syndicalism suffers from lack of international unity the authors of this appeal suggested the month of May as the time, and London as the place, for the holding of an international congress.

About the same time a number of Dutch unions, numbering together 11,500 members, launched a similar proposal. About this document an extremely interesting and important discussion is going on in the syndicalist press. Nothing which has thus far occurred so clearly mirrors the status of syndicalism in the various countries involved.

Following are the reasons why the 11,500 Dutch unionists wish to found a new international:

"The Secretariat of National Trade Union Centers, with headquarters at Berlin, cannot serve satisfactorily as an international bond because all revolutionary propaganda, properly so-called, is systematically excluded from its consideration.

"The Secretariat opposes the idea of real international union congresses in which delegates from the various organizations might meet. It contents itself with conferences of secretaries of the affiliated national organizations.

"The discussions which take place at these conferences have to do chiefly with the gathering of statistics, the study of social legislation, the mutual aid of the various national organizations, etc. Such questions as those of the general strike and antimilitarism are not placed on its program. The French Confederation General du Travail, which is affiliated with the Secretariat, has frequently attempted to introduce questions like these, but always without success.

"In 1902, at Stuttgart, the Dutch Secretariat, which then belonged to the international body, proposed the calling of international labor congresses, but was supported by France alone. The delegates of other nations declared that the Socialist congresses and those

of the various international trade unions are sufficient. The French C. G. T. made a similar proposal at Budapest in 1911 with no better success.

"At the international congresses now held the national unions occupy a secondary position. Organizations are admitted only on condition that they recognize the necessity of political action. The political parties dominate these congresses, and their interests shape the discussions.

"We others, revolutionary workers organized in independent unions, do not wish to be under the tutelage of political parties. We wish to control our own propaganda. This is why we cherish the idea of international congresses frankly syndicalist, congresses where we can gather as unionized workers taught by our life-experience.

"We do not wish to be ordered about or guided by leaders; we wish to decide for ourselves what is to the interest of the working-class."

Then followed questions as to when and where it will be best to hold the first international syndicalist congress.

The interesting thing about the reception given to this appeal lies in the fact that the French are the only ones heard from who have not been enthusiastic about it. Germans, Belgians, English, and Americans\* are in favor. On the contrary, the editor of *La Vie Ouvriere*, probably representing the great body of sentiment in the French C. G. T., is vigorously opposed to the proposal. He does not want the labor movement of France cut off from the main current of the labor movement of Europe.

It is practically accurate to say that wherever syndicalism means at present dual unionism the idea of the new international is favored; in the one country where it does not mean that, it is opposed.

But opposed or not, the international syndicalist congress will probably be held before the year is out.

**Patriotism for Profit.**—Socialists have long been trying to convince the world that most wars are carried on for the benefit of groups of capitalists. What they have usually had in mind is that the capitalists on the victorious side gain new

\*It should be noted that the American "Syndicalists" are entirely distinct from and opposed to the I. W. W.

markets or protect and enlarge old ones. But during the past month even Socialists have had a surprise. The connection between profits and patriotism is closer than most of them imagined. And the revelation of the true state of affairs has been so sudden, so dramatic, that all civilized nations have been standing agape before it.

The Germans are most intimately involved in this affair, but, strange to say, they are the least surprised of all. Part of the amazing story German workers had read in Vorwaerts before it was thundered forth in the discussions before the Reichstag. On April 14, for example, the official organ of the Social Democracy published various documents which proved conclusively that there exists a combine among German armament firms definitely formed to set the price of armament materials to be delivered to the German government.

Even before this a government investigation had shown that the famous Krupp Company, of Essen, had been systematically bribing German army officers to betray military secrets which would be useful to it in its business. No one who is not a German can appreciate what a shock this gave the patient, faithful German people. The Krupps, who treated their workers as their beloved children; the Krupps who formed the chief bulwark against the wicked French; the Krupps, whose centenary the Kaiser himself had honored with his presence—these mighty, fatherly, patriotic Krupps were criminally bribing the servants of the Fatherland for gain!

But this news had already had time to soak in when, on April 18, Comrade Carl Liebknecht read before the Reichstag a letter from the German Arms Company to a Paris correspondent. This letter, signed by a certain Herr Gontard, an official of the Arms Company and brother of a German general, read in part as follows: "Use every effort to have inserted in one of the widest read French journals, preferably Figaro, an article containing the following: 'The French military authorities have decided to hasten the arming of their forces with machine guns and to order twice as many of these arms as they at first intended.'"

On April 27, Comrade Liebknecht fin-



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ished his picture of international capitalism by proving, again by the use of actual documents, that various arms and munition companies in Germany, Austria, and Belgium had entered into a combine to make common use of professional military "secrets," and to raise the prices of their wares.

The effect of the amazing news from Berlin has been electric. At the very mo-

ment when Germany is increasing her navy and raising her standing army by 136,000 men, when France is on the point of going back to the three-year military service, it is thundered from the rooftops that these two great nations have been baited like a pair of dogs by the manufacturers of instruments of murder. International capitalism stands revealed as it never did before.

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# NEWS AND VIEWS



SOCIALIST MEETING—WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—FROM COMRADE GEORGE A. BROWN.

**The Only Magazine.**—To my way of thinking the REVIEW is the only magazine worth while, and I think I have demonstrated that fact to the REVIEW bunch. The editorial in the April issue is sure O. K., also article by Wm. E. Walling is timely, which article is being very widely discussed. In fact the whole get up of the magazine is extra fine. Wishing you continued success and hoping I am the tailender of the REVIEW boosters, I am, yours for the One Big Union, Chris Butler, Goldfield, Nev.

**From Indianapolis.**—The comrades of fifth ward branch of Local Marian Co. S. P. have expressed their opinion about the REVIEW in this manner, that it is Revolutionary, sticks to the class struggle and does not compromise, that is the reason the majority of the comrades take it. J. W. Carter, Lit. Agent.

**From South Africa.**—Comrade Mussared, president of Fordsburg Branch Amalgamated Engineer's Society, writes: "Have posted a specimen copy of the REVIEW to all our branches in South Africa. It is the finest tool made. I do not lose an opportunity for using it. Yours for the revolt.

**From a Sailor Comrade.**—U. S. N., Asiatic Station, March 25th.—Dear Comrades: After much time spent in traveling from the west coast of the United States I have at last arrived at a destination where I believe I am destined to remain for some time. There were Socialists on every ship I boarded while in the Philippine Islands and China. The Filipinos are advancing as a small fire and has already begun to be an unquenchable flame. Please send me your latest catalogue and en-

closed you find a money order for which I wish to receive the REVIEW for a year.

**From a Nebraska "Red."**—Since my old subscription expired I have sorely missed the REVIEW and hereafter will watch my expiration more closely. I intend to drop all "yellow," so-called Socialist papers from my list and only take "red" papers and the Fighting Magazine. Hurrah for Haywood and the general strike. Belgium has vindicated the general strike as a working class weapon. I predict a revolution in organization and tactics in the A. F. of L. within two years as a result of the lesson taught by our comrades in Belgium. Yours for the speeding up system. B.

**From Miles City, Mont.**—Enclosed find money order for \$1.50 for which please enter my name for one year for the best magazine in America and please send me four Socialist Classics. Geo. S. Marrell.

**By the Way.**—Was there anything better than "Violence in West Virginia" by R. H. Chaplin? Yes, we are learning the class-struggle through the REVIEW columns. C. H. B.

**From New Zealand.**—I believe my subscription to the magazine which I like above all others runs out with the May or June number. Hence my sending you a money order for one dollar thirty-six cents for which please place my name on the renewal list for one year's supply of your REVIEW, which seems well adapted for clarifying clouded and ghostly brains. Yet at the same time it is most invigorating and refreshing to the more clear-headed wage slaves of all climes. I am sending a good hearty hand shake with May



SOCIALIST MEETING—WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—FROM COMRADE GEORGE A. BROWN.

day greetings and a comrade's love to all of you. J. Grose.

From Vineland, N. J.—It's getting so I just have to show the REVIEW, that's all, sells itself. Geo. K. Whiteside.

From Rhondda, England—Enclosed please find £4/13/6 (\$22.77) for 40 REVIEWS for eight months from May to December inclusive and oblige. Yours fraternally, H. J. Lewis.

Hates to Miss a Copy—I hate to miss a copy let alone two, because the FIGHTING MAGAZINE certainly handles the right dope, and I don't want you to miss me any more. Walter Thomas, St. David, Ill.

Isle of Pines Socialist Club, West Indies, May 6, 1913—Dear Comrades: Find enclosed P. O. money order for payment on our share of stock in the Socialist publishing house. Fraternally, D. H. Howell, Secy.

Illegally Suspended—Roland D. Sawyer, who received the highest number of votes as National Committeeman for Massachusetts, was unable to attend the meeting held in Chicago May 10th to 15th. It is reported that the State committee of Massachusetts suspended him for six months, although Comrade Sawyer is in good standing in his local and throughout the state and that they appointed a substitute in his place, who attended the convention. We understand this is direct violation of the state constitution of Massachusetts. It is worthy of note to know that the substitute is a craft union rooter. Perhaps this explains why Comrade Sawyer was illegally barred from attending the meeting. Every one knows he is an Industrial Unionist.

Young Socialists, Attention.—The Young People's Economic Study Club, 491 Stryker avenue, St. Paul, Minn., care Sam Willensky, desires to get in touch with other young people's Socialist study clubs and leagues. Kindly communicate with them at the above address. These young Socialists in St. Paul are carrying on study clubs and propaganda work. We hope our friends will write them.

Like Haywood.—The recall of Bill Haywood from his position on the national executive committee of the Socialist Party of the United States will come as a surprise to many in this country. We here, removed from petty personalities, have generally regarded Haywood as a man, cool-headed and capable, who saw emancipation for labor in industrial and political action without compromising with any section or group. "Bill" cannot be downed. He has logic on his side, and logic will prevail.—Maoriland Worker, New Zealand.

Industrial Conspiracies—Latest ringing message from Darrow, stinging rebuke to pure and simple political actionists. Masterly analysis of United States Constitution. Great propaganda price, 10c; \$5.00 per hundred. Publishers, Turner, Newman & Knispel. Make all checks payable to Otto Newman, Box 701, Portland, Oregon.—Advertisement.

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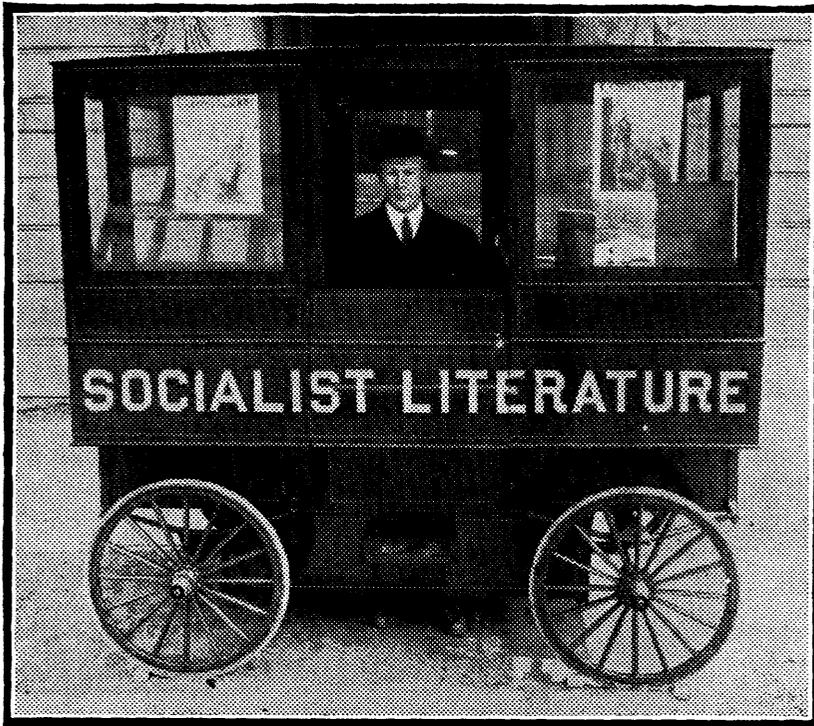
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**Rochester's Literature Wagon.**—Months ago our enthusiastic comrade, J. Harry Sager, happened to be in Indianapolis, when to his great astonishment he beheld a strange vehicle passing along the street. No horse, no gasoline. It was pushed along by a man on the inside. Sager stopped the combination of wagon, man and literature and asked it some questions. The man turned out to be a comrade named Jackman, who for some months had been making his living by selling Socialist literature to the people of the Indiana city. Sager came home with an idea.

It's nothing new, by the way, for Comrade Sager to get hold of an idea. He's full of them. It is because he has so many that he troubles the minds of a good many people. He catches them on the Pullman cars and in the hotels, offices and everywhere else, and before they know it he has them trying to answer his flood of unanswerable questions regarding present conditions and the reason behind them. This comrade came home filled to the brim with the new idea. He let no grass grow under his feet before he had a subscription list going the rounds. He laid hold of another enthusiast by the name of Frank Bailey, who did a lot of work on the thing, and who is the man finally selected to sell literature from our wagon.

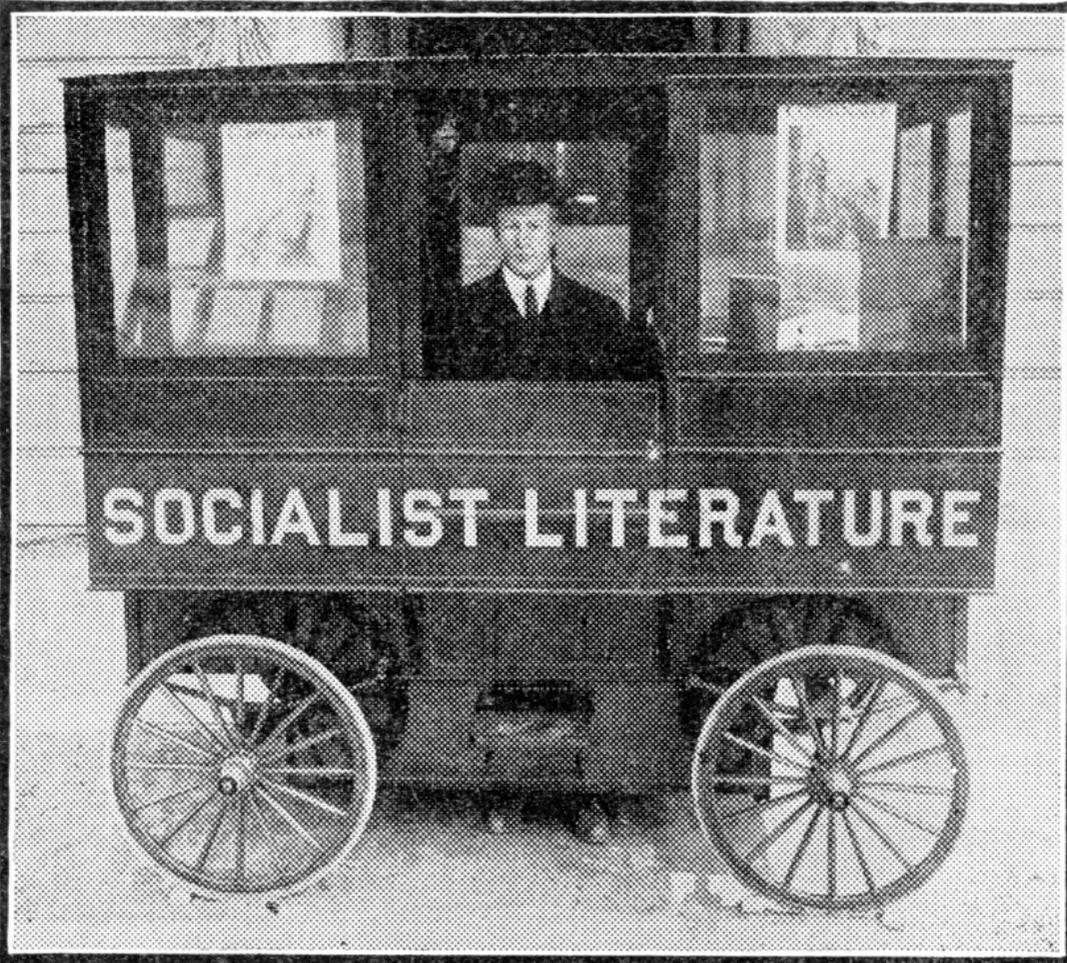
It was built by the R. J. Smith Company of this city, and is a beauty. It is, of course, red all over. The wheels are small and furnished with rubber tires. The floor of the

vehicle, which is about a foot above the ground, is so arranged that it can be thrown open, so that a man on the inside may walk on the ground while he propels the wagon. When the wagon is at rest on a cold day, the floor can be closed and the occupant can stand a foot above the ground and be warm. The vehicle itself cost over a hundred and twenty-five dollars.

There's a lot of good shelf room on the inside, and it will all be needed. In the warm days of the year the seller will generally remain outside. There is a removable tongue, so that the wagon may be drawn if desired. This will allow the man to be outside as much as possible. And he will want to be, for he must be fishing. He must attract customers.

We have a new slogan here. It runs like this: "Get a man to reading and you've got him." What do you think about it? We are acting on this principle. There is a whole section of our population who read on Socialism, but they read only what our enemies say about it. In other words, they read what it is **not**, instead of what it is. Let us get them, if possible, to read the truth.

Carry the capitalist papers, Yes, as many as may be needed to help pay expenses; for that is what we are seeking to do. We do not desire to make any revenue out of this thing. We want this wagon to serve for propaganda purposes only. We need to pay our seller. He earns every cent he gets, too, and more. When we find that we are making



**SOCIALIST LITERATURE**

money on the wagon we shall put down the price of the literature. So, then, let the literature wagons increase. All power to the Socialist literature wagon!—The Young People's Socialist League, Rochester, N. Y., Kendrick P. Shedd, Manager.

**Mayor Kirkpatrick.**—Comrade M. E. Kirkpatrick was re-elected at Granite City, Ill., by nearly three times the vote he received two years ago. In their weekly Socialist Bulletin the St. Louis comrades say that the Granite City Socialists carried on a campaign along revolutionary lines. Mayor Kirkpatrick's reply to the steel owners in behalf of the strikers during the trouble in Granite City showed the working class what he would do when it came to a fight between the workers and the master class. Billy Bessemer of Ohio was on the job to aid the mayor in his campaign. The St. Louis comrades claim that the party in their city has lost 9,000 votes in the last two years. They say this is all due to the reform platform. The following is a quotation from an editorial on Mayor Kirkpatrick:

"A short time ago a class of workmen, who were not members of any organization, went on strike, the men placed pickets around the Commonwealth Steel Works, this being the plant they were formerly employed by. The officials of the company immediately appealed to the mayor to have the men arrested. The mayor informed the company that the men had a constitutional right to do peaceable picketing and he would not interfere with that right. So, without the strong arm of the law, which is always invoked by the corporations who are fighting strikers, the factory soon took the men back and gave them all they were contending for.

"This should sink deep in the minds of the members of organized labor in this city."

**Evolution and Revolution.**—Charles B. Baldwin, editor of the Saturday Journal, Rochester, Pa., says: "This book by Mark Fisher certainly will have a wonderful sale. It is clear and concise. It is the one book that we have needed for years." Price 10 cents a copy; \$1.00 a dozen; \$5.00 a hundred.

**The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals.**—When I was a lad some one, a kind benefactor, put Büchner's "Force and Matter" into my hands, and this kept me in the straight and narrow path until the present time. The book went through ten or twelve editions.

Now, almost at the age of fifty, I have received yours, "The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals," by M. H. Fitch. What a remarkable work; concise, crisp, compact and to the point! I have read it once and am going through it three or four times more. Like Büchner's, this work should, in my humble estimation, also have ten editions, and with its vigor, vim, virility, should sell in the tens of thousands. I have in my library almost everything of Haeckel, Spencer and Darwin, but nothing (up to date) to equal this \$1.00 book.—Samuel Regendorf, Cincinnati.

## Evolution and Revolution

This new book by Mark Fisher is a bright, clear, scientific sketch of human development from the caveman to the revolutionary wage-worker of the twentieth century. This bird's-eye view of the growth of the human animal shows how at every step this growth has been closely related to the development of tools, from rude stones and clubs to the modern automatic machine that turns out its finished product with little expenditure of human labor power. This little book is the clearest and simplest exposition of the Socialist movement we have ever read. It will help you to answer the questions your neighbors and shop-mates are asking you, and it will shed light on some things about which your own mind may be a trifle hazy. The book is certainly an eye-opener. Sixty-four large pages, with a striking red cover. Price 10c; \$1.00 a dozen; \$5.00 a hundred.

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 "The Social Evil," J. H. Greer, M. D.  
 "Socialism Made Easy," Connolly.  
 "The New Socialism," LaMonte.  
 "Crime and Criminals," Darrow.  
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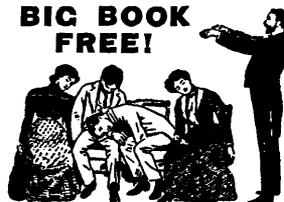
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ASSETS		LIABILITIES	
Cash on hand .....	\$ 89.39	Paid-up capital Stock .....	\$37,220.00
Books, bound and unbound .....	11,025.45	Loans from stockholders .....	4,066.92
Electrotype plates .....	14,258.76	Accounts payable .....	197.95
Copyrights .....	10,332.21	Surplus .....	1,430.71
International Socialist Review .....	5,000.00		
Office furniture and fixtures .....	764.00		
Accounts receivable .....	1,095.77		
Real estate .....	450.00		
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$42,915.58</b>	<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$42,915.58</b>

The National Investigating Committee of the Socialist Party in reporting last year on our Socialist Publishing House said: "We find from the books of the company that the statement following, published in the International Socialist Review, February, 1912, is true;" and "Your Committee wants to say that all the books of the C. H. Kerr Company, stock books, minutes of directors and stockholders' ledgers, letters, proxies and the names and residences of shareholders were promptly given to your committee and that we have carefully examined the same and have reported herein the facts as we have found them and we believe that no Socialist publishing house has more open methods of conducting the publishing business than this one."

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