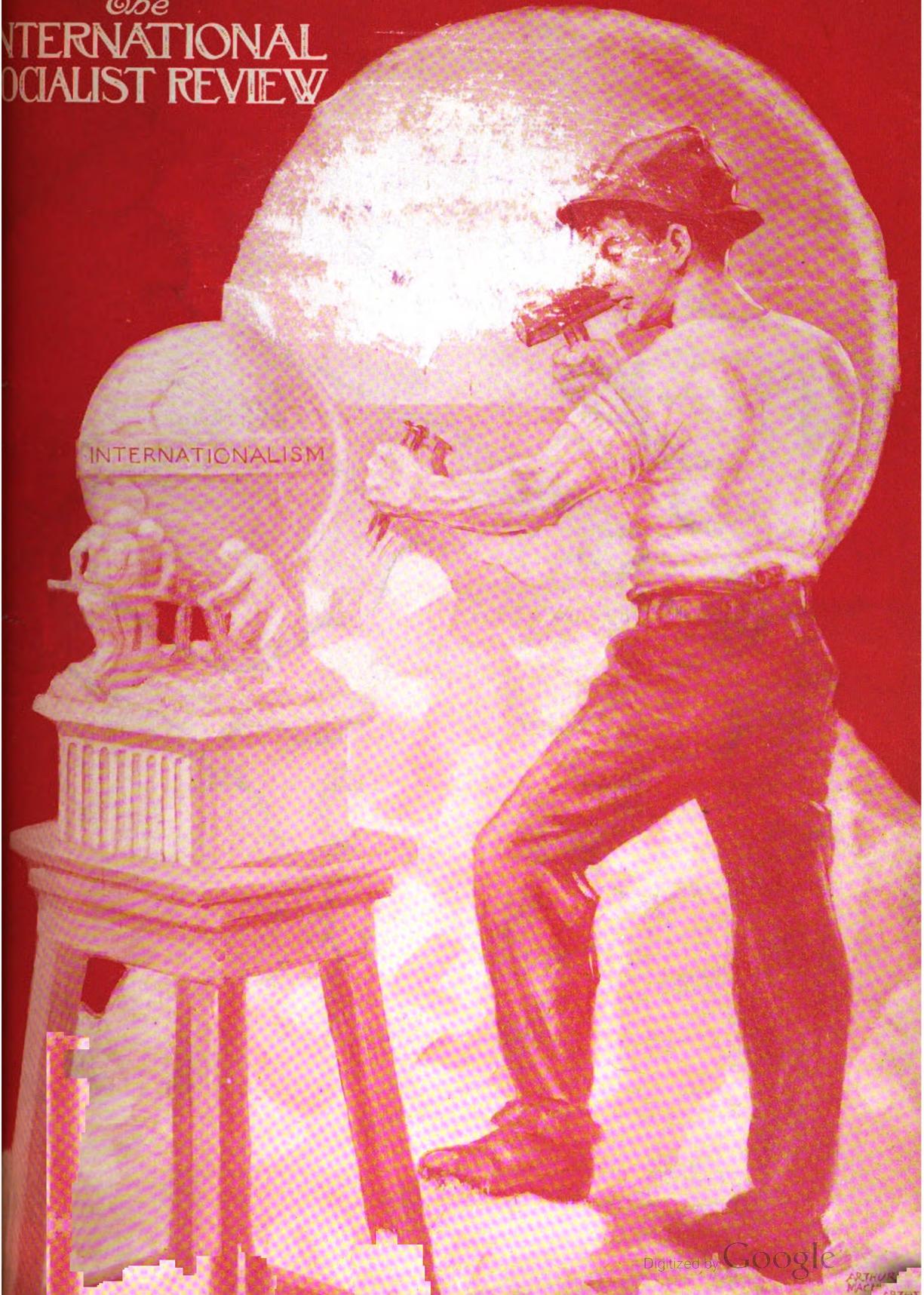


MAY, 1916

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The
INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW



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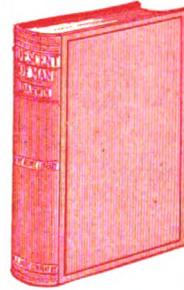


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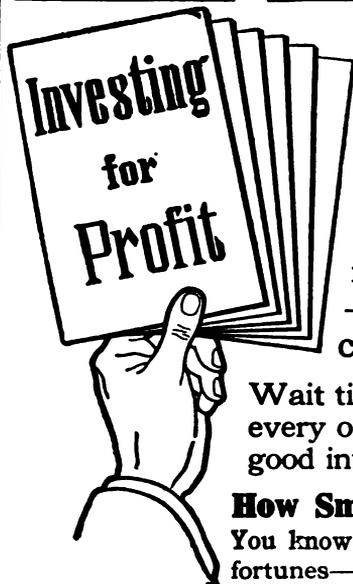
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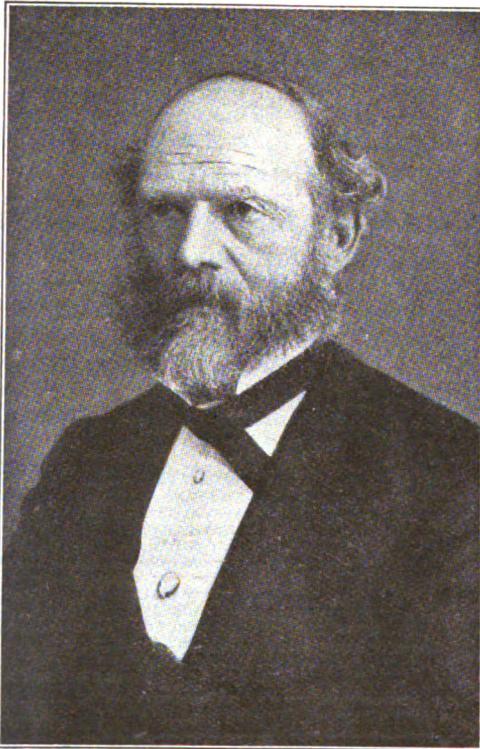
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ANCIENT SOCIETY

OR

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LEWIS H. MORGAN

One American and only one is recognized by the universities of Europe as one of the world's great scientists. That American is LEWIS H. MORGAN, the author of this book. He was the pioneer writer on the subject. His conclusions have been fully sustained by later investigators.

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GOVERNMENT

By Carl Sandburg

The Government—I heard about the Government and I went out to find it. I said I would look closely at it when I saw it.

Then I saw a policeman dragging a drunken man to the calaboose. It was the Government in action.

I saw a ward alderman slip into an office one morning and talk with a judge. Later in the day the judge dismissed a case against a pickpocket who was a live ward worker for the alderman. Again I saw this was the Government, doing things.

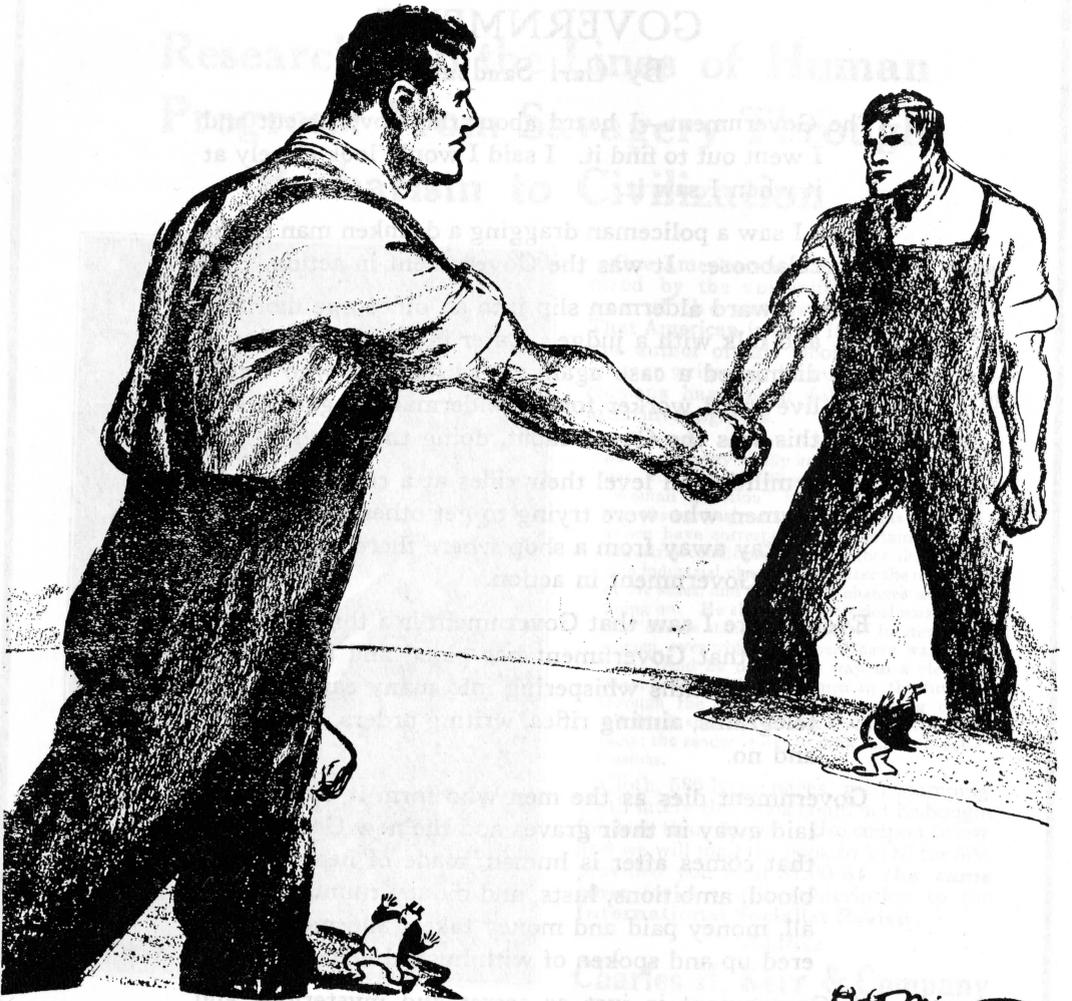
I saw militiamen level their rifles at a crowd of workingmen who were trying to get other workingmen to stay away from a shop where there was a strike on. Government in action.

Everywhere I saw that Government is a thing made of men, that Government has blood and bones, it is many mouths whispering into many ears, sending telegrams, aiming rifles, writing orders, saying yes and no.

Government dies as the men who form it die and are laid away in their graves and the new Government that comes after is human, made of heartbeats of blood, ambitions, lusts, and money running thru it all, money paid and money taken, and money covered up and spoken of with hushed voices.

A Government is just as secret and mysterious and sensitive as any human sinner carrying a load of germs, traditions and corpuscles handed down from fathers and mothers away back.

ANCIENT SOCIETY



From New York Call.

Phil Minner

HANDS 'ROUND THE WORLD

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Hands 'Round the World

By C. A. MILLER

Have you heard the song of the mighty shells
That sail thru the billowless blue?
Have you thot of the tale the cannon tells
And the message it sends to you?
There is no horror of death or hell
That is worse than the bullet's whine;
No pain or anguish that tongue can tell
Unknown to the firing line.

And the men that fight and the men that fall
Are the sons of the working class;
Brothers and Comrades, one and all,
Trod down like the helpless grass!
Crushed by the system of greed and gain—
The rule of profit and spoil—
"For King and Country?" alas, how vain,
Is that boast for the Sons of Toil!

A country in which they are robbed and ruled
And trained to fight like dogs;
By the same old gags, forever fooled
And slaughtered like helpless hogs.
Must we fight forever the senseless wars
Of a heartless ruling clan?
Must we bear forever the bloody scars
That were borne by the Son of Man?

Ah, yes, we must fight, and fight again,
'Till the lesson at last is learned,
And the weapons that now we wield in vain
On the ruling class are turned.
Oh, let us fight, if we must fight,
And fall, if we must fall,
Beneath the banner of human right,
For the equal rights of all.

Hands 'round the world! We are comrades, all
Who toil for our daily bread.
Hands 'round the world! Let the system fall
That covers the earth with dead!
Hands 'round the world—our banner red—
The red flag! Wave it high
And swear by all of our martyred dead
Beneath it to live or die.

May

1916

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Vol. XVI

Edited by Charles H. Kerr

No. 11

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

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

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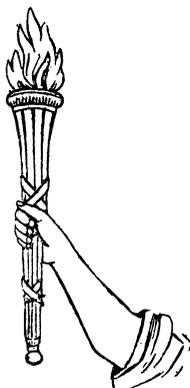
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THE BATTLE CRY OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL

By S. J. Rutgers, Holland

THERE is a dawn of hope; there is new life among the ruins of Europe; there is the actual beginning of a new International! There is only a beginning and it is concealed by the hatred of the old party leaders, but it is living and it is growing. It stands for the new facts on the old fundamentals. Its revolutionary spirit takes its force from the solid ground of economic facts in the never-resting class struggle.

The first meeting of French, German, English and comrades from other belligerent and neutral nations during the war, at Zimmerwald in Switzerland, was a promise, was the beginning of a new understanding. But the resolution adopted by the majority of this Zimmerwalder Conference proved to be a compromise, was confusing by its statement that the right of self-determination of peoples must be the indestructible foundation of national relations. And what was still worse, the accepted resolution did not indicate a definite method of fighting, did not come to a clear understanding that our only hope is in a series of mass actions on

the industrial as well as on the political field.

In compromising with those who did not even recognize that a split in the old parties is inevitable and necessary, that a reorganization of the old International with the old leaders, who surrendered to the enemy when their resistance was needed most, is impossible, the Zimmerwalder Conference lost its practical influence. It was a first symbol, a hopeful effort, a historical event, if you like, but not a BANNER around which to gather the defeated and scattered troops to inspire enthusiasm for a new fight.

The results soon proved its failure. The minority group from Germany, as represented at Zimmerwald by Ledebour and Hoffman, to whose influence much of the compromising was due, made a declaration in the German Parliament, which showed better than discussions could do, the failure of the Zimmerwalder compromise. Altho they voted against the war credits, as promised in Zimmerwald, they declared at the same time, that in this war, because there

were no rebellious soldiers in Germany, the German military forces gained a most favorable position, etc. This, of course, means, that French and Russian Socialists should have to support their governments; it means Nationalism instead of International Solidarity.

This illustrates the inadequacy of the *majority* resolution of Zimmerwald and it teaches us, for the hundredth time, the lesson that compromise is a bad policy for Socialists.

THE MINORITY.

There, however, was a minority at Zimmerwald who made their own resolution, which was voted down by the majority because it meant a split in the old parties, a new International, and a new revolutionary fighting tactic.

This minority kept together also after the Conference, publishing International pamphlets (International Flugblatter (I. F.), address: Fritz Flaxten, 23 Rotachstr. Zurich, Switzerland), and its policy is embodied in the minority resolution as presented to the Zimmerwalder Conference and officially approved by groups in most of the European countries (see below). There soon will meet another Conference in which there will be no compromising and in which no doubt a fighting resolution will be adopted: the resolution of the left wing of the Zimmerwalder Conference.

In each country, and we may expect also in the United States, there will be a group supporting this policy, fighting for it Internationally. And our INTERNATIONAL REVIEW, which always took the part of uncompromising class struggle and of revolutionary mass action, will no doubt be in the front line, will no doubt become the rallying point for those, who, not satisfied with theoretical discussions only, will prepare for a practical fight against the new form of Imperialistic Capitalism, together with those of our European comrades who remained International Socialists in the storms of an intensified class struggle.

The minority resolution of the so-called Left Wing of the Zimmerwald Conference has already been accepted and signed by the following groups: A delegate from the revolutionary Socialists in Germany, representing the group of "International Socialists of Germany"; a delegate from the revolutionary Socialists in Switzerland; the Central Committee of the Socialist party in

Russia; the Executive Committee of the Socialist democrats of Russian Poland and Lithuania; the Central Committee of the Social Democrats in Lettland; Ungdomsforbund der Schwedischen and Norwegian social-democrats.

The Social-Democratic minority party in Holland (S. D. P.) also accepted this program as a basis for co-operation at a second International Conference.

The Resolution reads as follows:

The world war, now ruining Europe, is an imperialistic war, waged for the political and economic exploitation of the world to get hold of markets, raw materials and spheres of investment, etc. It is a product of capitalist development, which, at the same time that the world management becomes international, leaves in existence the national capitalist states, with their conflicting interests.

When the bourgeoisie and the governments try to mask this character of the world war, by presenting it as a war, forced upon the nations for national independence, the means deceiving the proletariat, because this war is waged for the very purpose of subjugating foreign people and foreign countries.

As fraudulent is the legend about a defense of democracy in this war, for Imperialism means the unscrupulous supremacy of Big Capital and political reaction.

The overcoming of Imperialism is only possible by doing away with the antithesis, from which it originated, which means Socialist Organization of the Capitalist Society, for which objective conditions are ripe.

At the beginning of the war the majority of the labor leaders failed to apply this only possible tactic against imperialism. Overwhelmed by nationalism, carried away by opportunism, *they surrendered the workers to imperialism the very moment of the outbreak of the war and abandoned the fundamentals of Socialism, thereby giving up the real fight for proletarian interests.*

Social patriotism and social imperialism, as accepted in Germany, not only by the openly patriotic majority of the former Socialist leaders, but also by the center of the party around Kautsky, in France by the majority, in England and Russia by a part of the leaders (Hyndmann, the Fabians, the trade-unionists, Plechanow, Ruban-

owics, the group Nasche Djelo), form a greater danger to the working class than the bourgeois apostles of Imperialism, because they mislead the class-conscious workers by abusing the Socialist flag. *The uncompromising fight against Social Imperialism is fundamental to a revolutionary mobilization of the proletariat and the rebirth of the International.*

It is the problem before the Socialist parties, as well as the Socialist minorities in the now Social imperialistic parties, to awake and to lead the mass of the workers in a *revolutionary struggle* against the capitalist governments, to conquer political power for the Socialist organization of society.

Without giving up the fight for every inch of ground under present Capitalism, for every reform that will strengthen the working class, without denouncing any means of organizing and propaganda, the social-democrats, on the contrary, will have to use all of the reforms in our minimum program *to intensify* the present *war crisis*, as well as every other social or political crisis of capitalism, to an attack on its foundations. When this struggle is fought *with Socialism as its issue*, the workers will become unaccessible for a policy of subjugating one people by another, as the result of continuing the domination of one nation by another, and the cry for new annexations will not tempt because of any national solidarity, which has now led the workers to the battlefield.

The beginning of this struggle forms *the fight against the world-war, to end the general murder as soon as possible*. This fight requires *the voting against war credits, the giving up of any participation in capitalist governments*, the criticism of the capitalist, anti-socialist character of the war in Parliament and in the legal, and if necessary, illegal press, the uncompromising fight

against social-patriotism and the use of *every action among the people, resulting from the war (misery, losses in the war, etc.) to organize street demonstrations* opposed to the government. It requires the propaganda of *International Solidarity in the trenches*, the support of *economic strikes* and the endeavor to enlarge these, whenever conditions are favorable, into *political strikes*. *Civil war, not civil peace*, is the issue.

Contrary to all illusions, as to the possibility of getting a permanent peace or a beginning of disarmament by whatever decree of diplomacy and governments, the revolutionary Social democrats must show the workers over and over again, that the *social revolution* alone can bring permanent peace as well as the liberation of the human race.

* * *

American Comrades! This resolution breathes the fighting spirit of a new generation.

It means a fight against Imperialism and Patriotism, against the defense of capitalist Fatherlands; it means a fight against "socialistic" imperialism and "socialistic" patriotism as well. It means intensifying our economic action to a series of mass actions, street demonstrations and industrial strikes, as a means of disorganizing the capitalist state and strengthening the power of labor. It means the social revolution as a practical issue of the class struggle; civil war till the final victory.

This always has been the spirit of our INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Maybe some of our comrades have temporarily lost somewhat of their self-confidence and fighting spirit. Those have been mistaken. There will be new life, new and bigger fighting, new methods in future. Don't stay behind; be in the first ranks and others will follow. Conditions are ripe, where are the hands to reap the harvest?





—New York Call.

WAR IS —!

WHEN THEY ASK YOU

IN just a little while your boss is going to tell the newspaper publishers and his paid servants, the congressmen and senators and aldermen, the governors and mayors, that unless you will consent to work longer hours or for lower wages, he will have to close down his factory, his mine, his shop or his mill.

He will say that the German workers or the English or French workers are working for lower wages than you receive and he will appeal to you to produce more for lower pay.

He will say that unless you do these things the "barbarous" Germans will take away his business by selling the thing you produce at a lower price than he can sell them—at a profit to himself.

He is going to beg you to be Patriotic—and protect his business against the English or the Germans.

And the Germans and French and Bel-

gian and English employers are going to appeal to *their* working men and women to save "their country," and the business of *their* employers from the French or the Americans or the Germans.

And in every land they will appeal to your Patriotism.

All over the warring nations of Europe the Capitalist, or employing class, is talking of commercial war to follow the present military conflict.

In every country they say the whole life of the nation will depend on whether the workers of that nation will work for lower wages or can be forced to work for lower wages.

Now if the German workers yield to pressure and accept lower wages and longer hours the German employers can afford to sell their commodities at lower price than the American and English employers.

Then suppose the English workers offer

to work for less than the Germans and the American workers decide to be very "patriotic" and work for less than the English, what will happen?

The same thing will happen as occurs when many men are fighting for jobs today: men offer to sell their labor power below the prevailing wage scale to get jobs. The higher priced men are let out and the lower priced men get the jobs. But along comes the unmarried men, and the unorganized workers who work for still lower wages, and the men who cut the prevailing wage scale find wages lowered.

And this keeps on. The bosses always looking for lower wages and more profits and the spineless, brainless workers competing with each other to see which can work for the lowest wages and get the job. The struggle never ends and this is why wages stick just around the barest cost of living in the unorganized industries.

But the employing classes, especially in Europe, have already announced that they mean to make this a national issue, a national struggle for the business of other nations.

And what are the French and English workers, the German and Belgian and American workers going to do about it?

What are you going to do about it?

The bosses are going to threaten you with losing your jobs, unless you will work for lower wages. They will appeal to you to save your country, commercially—and their businesses. They will try to force lower wages upon you.

They will appeal to the Patriotism of fake labor leaders like Sammie Gompers to get the craft unions into line for wage reductions.

Now this is what we all need to remember: that working for lower wages will injure the working class. It will set the pace for our French comrades, our German and English fellow workers and help to force them to accepting lower wages. And the lowering of wages will never end.

Every time a group of workers maintains its wage scale or raises it, it will spur our "foreign" friends to do the same thing.

They have fought and are fighting the great war for the benefit of their national exploiters. We must urge them not to fight their commercial battles and prove them-

selves "Patriotic" spineless tools of the capitalist class.

For such a fight we need—not individual struggles, nor craft strikes nor even national industrial union battle alone—we must have some sort of real international working class organization for carrying on agitation and educational work, for communicating with the various national groups so that they can act together on the industrial field and maintain and raise their wage scale, expose the "Patriotism" bred of a creed for profits and to organize and educate the international working class for the revolution.

If all the machinists and electricians, the moulders and machine builders, the miners and the railroad men, the boilermakers and producers generally, declare they will go on general strike rather than submit to a wage reduction or longer hours of labor, if they demand even higher wages and revolution, they can force the capitalists of every nation to grant all their demands. They can gain time and strength and experience and knowledge for the revolution.

The REVIEW is going to jump into the fight now. We are going to try to get in touch with the national labor organizations as soon as possible with a view of getting them to take a stand for raising wages in the interests of the workers instead of permitting them to be lowered for the benefit of the capitalist class.

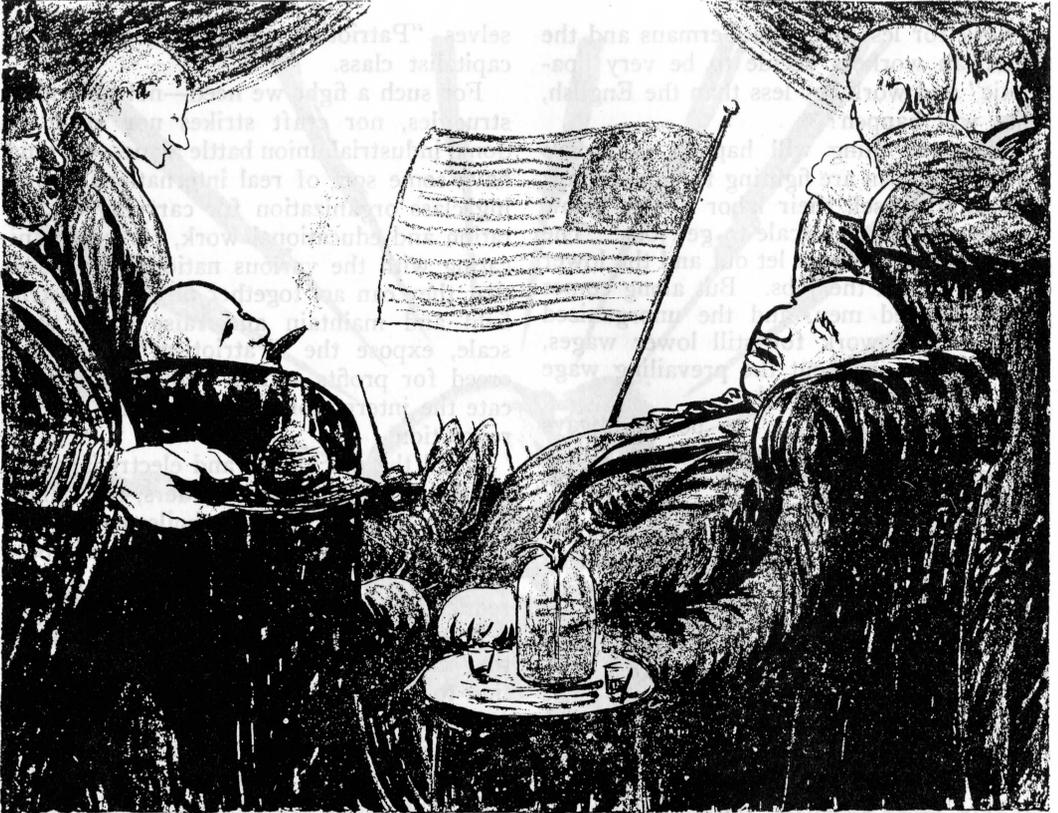
The ruling classes are going to do all they can thru Church, Press, School and College to arouse the nationalistic pride of the workers. By every means they will seek to inspire hatred in the minds of the workers in each country for the workers in every other country. They will call this "Patriotism."

Patriotism means the sacrifice of those who produce—for the benefit of those who rob and exploit them.

The capitalist class is the same in every country. It will sacrifice millions of useful working men—in war, in factory, mines or mills—for the enrichment of the non-producing property owners.

The working class has no country. The employing class has stolen them all. And so our battle cry should be:

To the bitter end for the working class, but not one life for "Patriotism."



From *The Masses*.

WHADDAYE MEAN 'OUR BOYS'?

"Our Boys! I tell you what, there's nobody in the world like 'em!"

Marching Through Mexico

By JOHN KENNETH TURNER

THE time has come for the real American rebel to show himself and prove his courage.

The first revolution of this century **WORTHY OF THE NAME OF REVOLUTION** stands in imminent and terrible danger of being crushed under the military heel of the "Land of the Free."

There are readers of this magazine who believe that nationality, at least as a general thing, is not worth fighting for. But there may be instances where a struggle to maintain nationality is flesh and blood of the world struggle for true liberty. There is at least one such case—the case of Mexico.

Are your opinions formed and your emotions controlled by the daily press, in spite of your knowledge that it habitually colors

and manufactures "news" to serve special interests?

Have you swallowed the tale that Mexicans are not human, like the rest of the world, that they are all thieves and cut-throats, fighting only for loot and the love of it, and that we ourselves are **MORE THAN HUMAN**, appointed by an all-wise God to go down and "straighten 'em out"?

For such parlor radicals as believe the American conquest of Mexico is inevitable and, therefore, not worth opposing, I have no respect. I contend that no reactionary thing is inevitable—unless it is due to the weakness or cowardice of the very "revolutionists" who fancy themselves as carrying forward the true banner of liberty.

I do not claim to be an authority on any

other subject except Mexico. Believe me when I tell you that there are just as brave, humane, intelligent, self-sacrificing, well-informed and REVOLUTIONARY men at the head of the Mexican Constitutionalist party as are to be found in the United States; that our military officers who would be given the job of "straightening 'em out" are SAVAGES in comparison with the men they would straighten out; that, on the day Wilson ordered troops across the line, the Mexican Revolution had clarified itself to a greater extent, and was nearer an ultimate triumph, than at any previous time during its five years heroic uphill fight against the combined plots of the modern Holy Alliance, composed of Mexican emigrés, American financiers, and British oil men—and that the invasion was ordered for this very reason.

Are YOU one of those to be taken in by the argument that the "punitive expedition" is *necessary*, either as a means for guarding our border, "maintaining our national honor," or enforcing the inviolability of our soil?

To guard our border is to guard our border. Twenty-two thousand men were "guarding our border," but when the test came they were asleep!

How much national honor is there in chasing a fleeing and discredited bandit? Even were he caught it would not restore the personal honor of General Pershing and Colonel Slocum, who, in the face of repeated warnings, failed to prepare against his attack.

As to the inviolability of our sovereign soil, how can we talk of such things when hundreds of our marines are treading the sovereign soil of Hayti, shooting and bludgeoning the Haytiens at the behest of J. P. Morgan; when a company of our marines are quartered upon the sovereign soil of Nicaragua, protecting a Morgan-imposed dictator against the fury of an outraged populace; when we hold the Philippines in face of an overwhelming dissent of the inhabitants? To say nothing our ruthless violation of Mexican soil two years ago, and its violation today!

A year or two ago a company of Canadian soldiers fired on a party of hunters on the American side, killing one or more. Did we invade Canada on account of that?

Would Americans look with complacency upon the landing of a Japanese army in

California because of an anti-Japanese riot in San Francisco?

As a "punitive expedition" merely—the thing that is solemnly pretended to be—nothing could be more ridiculous than our present Mexican invasion, *even from the point of view of one who cares nothing for the sovereignty of Mexico.*

President Wilson, after grooming Villa for a year, had been forced to drop him suddenly—for reasons that need not be gone into here. Villa was angry at Wilson and at all Americans; for the Americans he knew had backed him side by side with Wilson. Villa's armies had just been scattered by Carranza. Villa's last chance was to provoke intervention and call the people to his banner as the savior of Mexico. That German agents furnished a part of the motive there is every reason to believe. Previously German agents had paid Huerta to try to provoke intervention, so that the United States would be forced to use the munitions that are now going to the Allies.

So Villa rode north, dodging Carranza armies, boasting that he would attack the United States and provoke intervention. He reached Columbus—and found Colonel Slocum asleep.

It is the first principle of warfare to avoid doing what your enemy wants you to do. Why, then, did Wilson do what Villa wanted him to do?

The second step in our farcical enterprise was to give Villa a start of six days and ten hours before sending the army after him, thus insuring that he would not be caught, at least not for a long time.

"Get the army across the line; that's the essential thing," the interventionists whispered to one another. "Once get the soldiers across, and you can leave the rest to us—and to them."

So the army went across—and Funston established his remarkable censorship.

Why? Surely not to prevent the facts from getting to Villa; for Villa was already in the mountains, far from any telegraph. Again why? There can be but one reasonable answer — TO PREVENT THE FACTS FROM GETTING TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

Yes; leave it to Funston—and us!

Funston put 13,000 troops over the line. Funston raised an issue over the use of the Mexican railroads. Tho we were as-

sured there would be no "interference with Mexican sovereignty," Funston wanted to take the railroads of Chihuahua away from Carranza, change the Mexican engineers, trainmen and telegraphers for American engineers, trainmen and telegraphers, change the Mexican guards for American guards, police the stations along the way with American soldiers—in brief, *to take away completely Carranza's means of transportation and communication in the northern part of the Republic!*

Funston was not satisfied with the privilege of transporting supplies over Carranza's railroads. He wanted to TAKE the railroads. Why? "Military necessity," answered Funston. Military necessity in the job of catching Villa? Or in the job of beating Carranza, when the hour is ripe to throw off the mask?

Leave it to them—our soldiers! Pershing put a regiment of negro cavalrymen at the head of his expedition. March 29 these black riders "surprised" a town and killed 60 Mexicans. April 1 they "surprised" another town and killed between 30 or 40 Mexicans. The censorship prevents us from knowing just what happened at these encounters. But even the censored report itself convicts our glorious army. *This report says that not one American was killed in either engagement.*

THEN THERE COULD NOT HAVE BEEN A BATTLE. THERE COULD NOT HAVE BEEN RESISTANCE. IT MUST HAVE BEEN MURDER AND MASSACRE IN COLD BLOOD.

Meanwhile, they helped the thing along at Washington. Congress helped by rushing through the preparedness bills and a bill immediately adding 20,000 men to the regular army.

President Wilson helped—by fooling the American people and trying to fool Carranza. His old clever, hypocritical way.

Wilson, at the start, gave out the "assurance" that there was no intention of infringing upon the sovereignty of Mexico. Words as empty as if they had come from the Kaiser in the act of landing an army in New York. As a conservative weekly magazine says: "By whatever NAME you call it, this movement of troops is war."

When the Jingo sheets became indiscreet in their manifestation of glee, Wilson denounced them, charging them with trying to bring about a condition that may lead to

war—*knowing that no act of theirs, nor all of their acts together, could lead so directly to war as his own act of ordering the troops into Mexico.*

Wilson well knows that these self-righteous poses of his—and these solemn promises—will not prevent war, and that they serve a certain necessary political end. **THEY PAVE THE WAY FOR BLAMING THE WAR ONTO CARRANZA WHEN IT COMES.**

Finally, Wilson tells the American people, over his own signature, that "*the expedition into Mexico was ordered under an agreement with the de facto government of Mexico.*"

No more brazen falsehood—no falsehood more easily provable as such—was ever uttered than this. The expedition was ordered the day following Villa's raid and before ONE WORD had been heard from Carranza on the subject.

After Carranza learned that Wilson was determined on the invasion, whether or no, Carranza, with the patience and forbearance he has always preserved toward Wilson, offered a *proposal looking toward an agreement.*

THE ADMINISTRATION LYINGLY PRETENDED THAT THIS PROPOSAL MEANT CONSENT.

Carranza proved that it meant nothing of the sort, by renewing the proposal and asking for a definite agreement, or protocol, in which would be set down in writing the precise purpose of the expedition, and setting a limit upon the time and the territory to be covered as well as upon the number of troops to be used.

At the present writing the administration has corroborated all the other evidences of its insincerity by refusing to sign such an agreement.

Therefore, one month after Wilson's order to invade Mexico, Carranza had not yet consented to such an invasion, and had not entered into any agreement regarding it.

Should Carranza's proposed protocol be signed by Wilson, I do not believe that it will be with any intention of respecting it. President Wilson's WORDS about Mexico have always been fine. Because of his fine words—and because he refused to recognize Huerta—Wilson has fooled many people, even some Socialists. Had I followed Wilson's ACTS regarding Mexico any less closely these three years than I have, I my-

self might be deceived into thinking him only a blind and blundering tool. BUT I COULD FILL THIS ENTIRE PAGE WITH INSTANCES OF WILSON'S DAGGER THRUSTS AT MEXICAN SOVEREIGNTY AND MEXICAN DEMOCRACY, EVEN WHILE THOSE FINE PHRASES WERE STILL TREMBLING ON HIS LIPS.

"Punitive expeditions" have been employed in history many times as opening wedges for wars of conquest. I denounce the present "punitive expedition" as but the culmination of a series of outrageous interferences with Mexican sovereignty, perpetrated with a view to saving American concessionaires from a just accounting with the rising revolution.

I denounce the watchful waiting of Woodrow Wilson as a deliberate, cunning and hypocritical watchful waiting for A TIME THAT WAS RIPE to restore the Mexican grafters with the approval of the American people.

As a political wizard, seeking re-election, President Wilson played his trump card when he denounced the pro-intervention agitation as a conspiracy "for the purpose of bringing about intervention in the interest of certain American owners of Mexican properties."

Intervention cannot be brought about by these men—except as they operate through President Wilson. WILSON IS THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY AND NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES—AND THE ARMY IS MASSESACREING MEXICANS ON MEXICAN SOIL. I, in turn, denounce President Wilson himself as the Machievellian ringleader of the very conspiracy that he denounces.

I hesitate to praise individuals, especially individuals who hold the reins of government. But in this crisis it is only just and fair to say that our invasion of Mexico is the best evidence that Carranza remains true to the cause he represents.

Wilson has never loved Carranza—because Carranza had steadfastly refused to be dictated to by Wilson. After Wilson's recognition of Carranza—forced by the Pan-American diplomats—Wall Street would not loan Carranza one dollar, *overwhelming evidence that Carranza refused the Wall Street terms.*

The organized wage-workers of Mexico

are for Carranza to a man. Carranza has assisted the workers to organize and has helped them win their strike. One year ago, May 1, Carranza presided over an International Labor Day celebration of workmen in the Mexican capital; he is probably the first head of any government ever to have done so radical a thing. Carranza is dividing up millions of acres of lands, and had instituted almost innumerable steps looking toward the democratization of industry and finance, as well as of government.

I do not speak of Carranza alone, but the party of Carranza; for the Constitutionalist Party has proved itself bigger than any one man.

There are American Socialists who have inclined toward derision of the Mexican Revolution because its program is not an exact copy of the platform of the American Socialist party. That the Constitutionalist program is not more revolutionary than it is not the fault of Mexicans, but of Americans—of American Socialists.

The Constitutionalist party has practically obliterated the organized Mexican Reaction. Privilege in Mexico has found its last refuge in the Foreign Interests. The leaders of the Constitutionalist Party have long desired to treat Foreign Privilege precisely as they have treated Mexican Privilege. Why have they not done it?

ONLY BECAUSE WHAT WE BOASTINGLY TERM THE REVOLUTION IN THIS COUNTRY IS SO WEAK AND COWARDLY THAT IT DOES NOT PREVENT THE CONSTANT SHAKING OF THE AMERICAN MAILED FIST IN THEIR FACES.

Carranza has whipped the Mexican Reaction. Do you expect him to whip the American Reaction also?

So I say that the Cause of Mexico in this crisis is the Cause of all true Revolutionists everywhere.

So I say that, so long as Americans who call themselves "revolutionists" offer no more vigorous opposition to their government's interference with the Mexican Revolution than they have to date, I, for one, will confess to a hundred times more respect for the Revolution and Revolutionists of Mexico than for anything claiming the name of Revolution to be found in the United States.

No American who loves liberty can go to Mexico and fight for it—unless he fights on the side of Mexico.

I am not advising Americans to go to Mexico to fight against the United States. It would be more effective to give Wall Street's Government something to think about at home.

I have personal knowledge that leading men of the Constitutionalist party are looking to the American Socialists as their last

hope to prevent this country from launching a war to smash the Revolution and restore Privilege in their country.

If just cause for insurrection ever CAN exist in the United States, it exists now. American Socialists who criticised their European comrades for failing to stop the Great War can never again hold up their heads if they fail to employ every effective means for preventing a war of their government upon Mexico.



—“AND I GOT LIFE!”



Will the Rail Strike Be Side-tracked?

By JACK PHILLIPS

THE biggest and most powerful labor unions in the United States will come to a show-down and go thru a test this spring and summer.

The liveliest question today in the organized labor world is: Will the four big railroad brotherhoods stick together in a joint national movement and by force of industrial organization compel the railroad companies to establish an eight-hour day with time and a half for overtime?

Rank and file members of the big brotherhoods are ready for any tactics that will win.

It is almost universally conceded that if the 380,000 members of the brotherhoods walk-out and stay out, with transportation tied up from coast to coast, there will be nothing to it. Railroad companies would not be able to go into the labor market and hire enough strikebreakers to properly man the roads. There are no laws of civil or military service by which the strikers could be conscripted for railroad work. Neither the national congress nor the president, during a quadrennial election year, would take any action to force an immense body of influential voters to work, even if they possessed that power.

It's all in the cards for the rail men to win—if they are ready to strike in order to win.

What will happen? Will there be a strike? With the rank and file roused to a

fighting point by the treacherous arbitration tricks of the past and by a rotten payroll game, will there be a strike? And if not, why not? And in the event that no strike takes place and the brotherhoods take what is handed to them, as in previous years, what will be the accruing result in the organized labor world? Will it push along industrial unionism and a wider, surer, solidarity of railroad labor all the way down the line from engineer and conductor to shop man, track man and car cleaner? Or will the rebellion of the rank and file die down and railroad labor, like stock yards cattle, be led forth to more slaughters by arbitration in future years?

These are the questions and thoughts rail men are talking these days. It's a big show-down; everybody's watching. Let's see how some of the upstanding facts look.

The grand chiefs and high men of the four rail unions are all men of peace. None has directed a strike.

Talk they understand from much experience. Action—direct action—direct economic pressure they understand only in theory. They are familiar with the operation of grievance committees and boards of mediation, conciliation, arbitration, and all the other ations.

Talk? Yes, they are there with the talk. Speeches, arguments, quizzes, public hearings, formal press statements, piles of statistical documents—these the brotherhood

grand chiefs understand from experience. But how to slacken all work, stop all wheels, end all passenger and freight traffic on a transcontinental railroad system, this they do not understand from experience. It has never been done. If it is done this year it will be for the first time. And the direction of such a huge strike will be in the hands of men who have never talked strike and who have never thought out loud in strike terms.

It is of significance. It does mean something, that every time a railroad company manager or press agent lately has accused the brotherhood officers of plans to call a strike, the brotherhood officers have hotly denied such intentions. The grand robberies of passengers and shippers through robbery fares and rates based on a robbery capitalization—the huge con game by which railroad multimillionaires are made—the fact that railroads are owned and manipulated by financiers whose morals are the same stuff as pickpockets, porch climbers and dark alley sluggers—these conditions do not find voice among the railroad brotherhood officers. They always keep inside a certain limit of polite respectability. Keeping off from strike talk and steering away from calling railroad finance by the name of robbery, they maintain a status with all that section of the public who wish to be known as nice and decent. In other words, the leadership of railroad unions today is not one of agitation or rebellion. It is completely lacking in the drive of fighting, passionate, protest which must furnish motor power for any big movement of the troops of labor, or putting it another way, the railroad brotherhood officers are not working class men and when it comes to the vital tactics by which labor must win, they look like a bunch of quitters.

That the railroad brotherhoods, and notably the engineers, have come to be called "the aristocrats of labor," is not accidental. The epithet circulates and goes, not merely because the engineers are the highest paid workers in railway crafts, but also because there has been an aloofness, a nose-in-the-air manner, a see-who-I-am way, about the engineers as an organization.

Recordbreaking salaries is not the cause of this feeling. If the grand chief of the engineers or the firemen can fill his job, prove his loyalty to the working class, he is worth the \$10,000 a year he is paid. The

same goes for the \$7,500 a year heads of the trainmen and conductors.

Because these high salaries are paid these railroad brotherhood officials is taken as all the more reason why they should personally be free from fear of being broke and without money. Their bank accounts have put them into a class where they don't need to be afraid of strike tactics, where economic independence should render them the more able to think in strike terms.

Running thru the magazines of the railroad unions these days is the loud cry that the companies are outplaying the unions in "publicity." Newspapers, news articles and editorials hostile to the unions are quoted. "Lies, lies and more lies" is the frantic answer of the rail editors of the rail union official journals. Says the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine for April on page 329:

"The press agencies, of course, are controlled by Big Business and the combined railroad corporations constitute a very prominent and very important factor in Big Business and hence the press agencies help circulate this stuff with the result that references to it appeared in the press in all parts of the country."

The "stuff" referred to by the firemen's magazine was a charge in the New York *World* news story that President W. S. Carter of the firemen "is the man who is universally credited with being the originator and organizer of the plan for a country-wide strike on steam railroads."

To be exact and precise, getting down to real fundamentals, if you want to make a railroad brotherhood official hot under the collar, accuse him of planning a strike. If it happens that the strike is to be directed against a bunch of conspirators, thieves and absentee landlords, if the strike is to be aimed at a plunderbund of looters who have grabbed natural resources, patents, and vast tools of transportation for purposes of exploiting labor and the traveling public, that doesn't make any difference. In the code of honor of a railroad brotherhood official the worst accusation you can hurl at him, second only to stealing and downright dishonesty, is the charge that he is an agitator and a disturber of the public peace, plotting a strike of workers against capitalists.

Almost it raises the question: Can an organization be called a labor union if its

officials blush and get mad and holler when they are accused of nation-wide strike tactics? Again, says the firemen's magazine, on page 328 of the April number:

"A great publicity machine has been created by the railroads and this publicity machine has the free and full co-operation of all the newspapers, magazines and other periodicals that are controlled by the 'invisible government.' The methods to which we refer can be classed as the most dishonorable known to the journalistic profession. Thru a liberal use of the sharp practice strategy known only to unscrupulous journalism, utter falsehoods are told with a plausibility that easily misleads casual readers into accepting them as truths, libel action being guarded against by the adroit use of terms such as 'alleged,' 'it seems,' 'it is reported'."

Now this big kick is all perfectly true. There isn't a doubt but the newspapers and magazines are in total a great publicity machine obedient to the will and wish of the railroad managers. And every time they have a chance to slip the knife into railroad labor and turn the edge of news stories against railroad labor and for the railroad managers, they will do it. From the New York *World* in the east, through the *Tribune* in Chicago and on west to the *Otis Times* in Los Angeles, the newspapers will deliver a bat in the jaw and a kick in the pants to organized labor; railroaders, ironworkers, hop pickers, or workers in the textile or any other craft or industry.

It's nothing new to hear that the press is against labor. The peculiar feature of this wail from the firemen's magazine now is that it comes at this time. What's the reason the firemen's magazine has gone along year after year without raising a kick against the tactics of the press whereby the public has been fooled into belief that rail workers are ingrates if they rebel and strike? Doesn't President Carter of the firemen and every brotherhood official know that for years and years it has been the persistent set policy of the railroad-fed press of the United States to print stories and stories about what a happy-happy lot of cocky daisies the railroad engineers and trainmen are?

Why, of course, Carter knows that. Warren Stone, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, knows it.

And yet, on looking thru back files

of the official magazines of these brotherhoods, it is a hard job to find printed protest against the rotten, reptile, railroad-fed press of the United States. Why silence year in and year out and now a sudden burst of anger against the railroad-fed daily press?

Look thru the files of the official *Locomotive Engineers' Journal* for last year. For five months last year an arbitration board sat in Chicago passing on the demands of the engineers and firemen of 98 western railways. It was the greatest arbitration hearing of a cause between capital and labor that the world had ever seen. Month by month there ought to have been pages and pages of information printed in the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal* telling all about what was going on at that arbitration board. It wouldn't have cost any more and it would have been a favor, a decent thing to print summaries of all important statements of facts, figures and arguments before that board. During three of the five months there wasn't a half page about the big Chicago arbitration hearing. One month there was a page. Another month nothing.

To be exact, as a publicity machine in the service of the railroad men who pay dues and hard cash to keep up publication of the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal*, that magazine published under the direction of Warren, Grand Chief Warren Stone, was a failure and a fizzle for fair.

Stone gave the arbitration board a list of the land stealings of American railroads. The list told of millions of acres of stolen land now held in fee simple by the rail corporation. It was a hummer of a list.

But outside of a dozen or two of people present at the arbitration hearing, the statement didn't get very far. The railroad-fed daily press wouldn't print it. There was one good place Stone might have published it and that was in the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal*. Did he? He did not. So it looks either as tho the official brotherhood magazine suppresses news of vital interest to railroad engineers or else Warren Stone isn't very anxious to stir up hatred in his own ranks against the predatory capitalists and absentee landlords who own the American railroads.

Also it happened that Charles Nagel, a St. Louis corporation lawyer, himself a railroad director, sat in the capacity of "fair and impartial umpire" on the arbitration



SOME OF THE BOYS

board. After the rotten decision handing down a wage raise of \$500,000 where \$45,000,000 was asked for, came along, Stone and others let out a howl that it was dirty trickery done by railroad-fed Nagel. The record of Nagel as railroad lobbyist, attorney and director, was attacked by Stone. Was it published in his own official journal? Not so anybody could notice it. The railroad-fed daily press didn't give any wide circulation to Stone's innuendoes that Charley Nagel was a crook. It might have been expected that this live snappy news would be printed full and fair in the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal*. But there was nothing doing.

On the face of some things that have happened there is plenty of basis for the accusation against rail union officers that they are quitters and four-flushers at the publicity game.

At the precise moment when they are logically expected to step to the front and hurl decent challenge and manly defiance at the conspirators, thieves and absentee landlords who own the American railways, they turn tail and run. There is one press association in this country which is not railroad-fed. It is ready to serve 700 after-

noon papers and will print and send out over its leased wires the most radical sort of statements, when those statements connect up strictly with the news of the day. Of course, many of the railroad-fed newspapers which get this wire service don't print all the news that comes ticked off on the wires. But the point here is that the railroad brotherhood officials have chances for the "publicity" they hunger for and they don't utilize those chances. One of the best recent instances is what happened March 30. The combined brotherhoods that day made history. For the first time since a railroad whistle ever blew over American prairies, the combined railroads of the United States were served with a notice by the combined brotherhoods of all train and engine men of the United States. The railroads were asked to join in a collective movement and make reply to the demands of the brotherhoods of an eight-hour day and time and a half for overtime. It was the psychological moment for the brotherhood officers to voice publicly from coast to coast the magnificent rebellion and manhood of the rank and file of the brotherhoods who are ready for strike tactics in order to enforce their demands. And here's what hap-

pened. The United Press asked Warren Stone at Cleveland for a statement and he took it into his ample and bulging head that what most needed covering was "the constant circulation of reports that 300,000 employees were ready for an immediate strike." So he opened his ample mouth and said:

"Those reports are probably circulated to affect the stock market. There could not possibly be a strike short of 90 days from now, even though one were contemplated, which is not. It would take nearly 60 days to get a referendum vote on a strike. The executive committee of the brotherhoods can't call a strike. Should the railroads refuse to grant the demands, arbitration would be the next logical step."

During May and June three of the big brotherhoods hold conventions. At those meets, agents of the railroad companies in all forms and shapes will be busy. Nothing but an aggressive leadership acting in clear understanding of and close sympathy with the aggressive rank and file who want real action and not talk, will be able to defeat the railroad agents, the "company men."

Already there are telegraph stories of the engineers on the Union Pacific thru some sort of official action withdrawing from the concerted movements of the brotherhoods. Maybe it's true, maybe not. It would be natural for such stories to start and be spread by the railroad-fed press. It would be the first step in rousing suspicion and dissension with a view of splitting the biggest and most powerful combination of skilled workers operating a necessary public monopoly ever seen in the history of the world.

Just what did Warren Stone and W. S.

Carter mean in early 1915 when they argued before the western railway arbitration board that unless the arbitration ended with some real pay raises for the men, it was goodbye for arbitration. They practically served notice on the companies that the temper of the workers was such that they never again would accept an arbitration if they were tricked in 1915.

But tricked they were. They were trimmed and soaked for suckers and come-ons, out-talked, out-played, whipsawed.

And Tim Shea, vice-president of the firemen, gave out a wonderfully pointed and brilliant interview in January at Chicago. He said that the workers are thru with arbitration and this time they wouldn't wait for arbitration, but on the refusal of their demands they would walk out and leave the dickering and the talking to come afterward. He said strike tactics would come before arbitration jockeying.

Yet now comes Warren Stone, the labor leader with a corporation lawyer manner and vocabulary, stating explicitly to the United Press on March 30, that "should the railroads refuse to grant the demands, arbitration would be the next logical step."

If all of Stone's natural leanings were known to be for strike in preference to arbitration, if he favored direct action instead of mediation boards and state legislatures, there might be reason to suppose that the United Press misquoted Stone. On the face of everything, the dope seems to be that Stone and other forces at the top of the brotherhoods are heart and hand, hoof and heel, with those railroad managers and those railroad-fed newspapers who are clamoring for arbitration.

A few months will tell the story.



ARBITRATION BAIT.



THE TREASURES OF COAL

By Georg Lidy Weissenburg

WHEN we refer to coal as the black diamond we usually have in mind its important usefulness as a source of heat and as a means of producing power through the aid of the steam engine. However, this unpretentious black crystal also contains many other elements which are of immense value to mankind.

In order to better understand how these treasures have been collected and stored away we must turn our eyes to the by-gone history of the planet upon which we are living and ask ourselves the question, Where does coal come from and how has it been created? When men first found these black stones they did not know what to make of them. It is said that monks of the cloister Klosteroda, in the duchy of Limburg (Holland), around the year 1100, who were the first to discover that coal could be burned, tried unsuccessfully to find an explanation for this curious phenomenon. Athanasius Kircher pronounced coal to be solidified, but still burnable lava, and wrote a big folio book about the terrors of the underworld.

Around the year 1700 a Swiss, named Scheuchzer, came nearer to the truth by describing coal as wood that had turned to

stone. He was the first to find a petrified giant salamander, which he took for the skeleton of a man that was drowned during the deluge, as described in the Bible. Then the theory of the naturalist Buffon was in vogue for a long time, contending that coal was the petrified mud of all kinds of sea plants, which had been washed to certain localities and gradually covered with ground.

It was reserved for the microscope to bring light to this question. In 1883 it was first applied on discolored coal and the following modern theory was adopted: At the remote time of the world's history called the "carboniferous period" there were extensive swamps, with luxurious growths of vegetation of quite a different character from that of the present day. Thick accumulations of a kind of fern-like palms and shave-grass (horse-tail) of a tremendous height fell down time after time and thus large quantities of vegetable matter collected in much the same way as peat is formed at the present day. These became covered by the sedimentation of clay and sand and so were preserved.

With a slow and continual sinking of the area, owing to the movements of the earth's

crust, a great thickness of alternate layers of sand, clay and vegetable matter was piled up. Under this enormous pressure and with various chemical reactions in the presence of water, acting for millions of years, the sands have been turned into sandstone, the clays into shale and the vegetable matter into coal.

Coal is found as beds or seams, varying in thickness from a fraction of an inch to thirty feet or more, interbedded with sandstone and shales in the rocks of various geological periods. Trunks and roots of fossil trees are frequently found in the rocks of the coal measures.

Recently Dr. Bergius, of Hanover, Germany, by subjecting peat or wood to high pressure in a closed receptacle, heating it to several hundred degrees, obtained real coal in an artificial way.

Coal confirms the theory that nothing is lost in this world. Chemicals, liquids or anything else may change their form by burning or evaporation; the ashes and the smoke or the vapors are simply the divided elements of the former product. So when we place coal in our stoves we receive the heat of the sun rays that have been absorbed and stored in the plants and trees some millions of years ago. By means of the steam engine, which turns the dynamo, we produce electricity, and with the electric lamp we even reclaim the daylight of by-gone ages. The illuminating gas, which also comes from coal, gives the same result in a simpler way.

Now the vegetation of the coal age, no doubt, included all kinds of flowers of all colors of the rainbow and of various scents. The fruits they carried were probably sweet and nutritious, while many leaves and roots contained juices of healing power. The extraction of these most valuable gifts of nature means lifting the real treasures of coal.

This has been attained first and most completely in Germany, the homeland of applied chemistry. This country has advanced so tremendously over the rest of the world that it practically enjoys a complete monopoly in everything that is derived from coal tar.

The first measure to divide coal into its original elements is dry distillation, as applied in gas plants. What it has taken nature thousands of years to produce, modern science reclaims within a few hours in the gas oven which is used in the production of



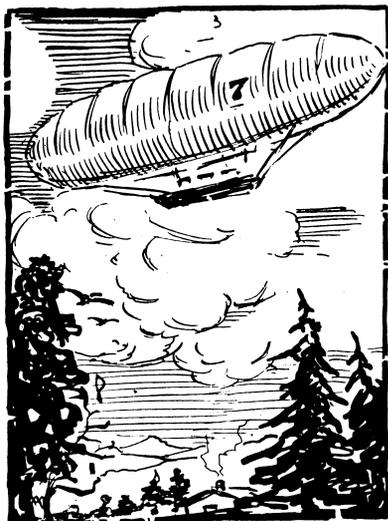
illuminating gas. The gas oven is an iron tube in which coal is heated under the exclusion of air. In this way the coal is not burned to ashes as it occurs in the open air, but a number of different gases and vapors are developed, while the solid which remains is coke.

When the vapors are cooled down in the condenser we obtain three main products: a thick, brownish-black substance, the tar; then a watery liquid of a piercing smell, the ammoniacal liquor, and finally, a gas that does not change its form—the well-known illuminating gas.

The next process to bring the hidden treasures to light is to gradually subject the tar to temperatures of varying degrees in a closed iron receptacle of cylindrical form. The escaping vapors are again cooled down and condensed. If the heat does not go beyond 170 degrees, the condensed vapors yield a light-brown, thin liquid, the so-called light oil.

The next stage of refinement of the light oil yields the so-called hydrocarbonates of the group of benzols. The most important of these is benzol, used as a fuel for automobiles, aeroplanes and airships, substituting benzine, which is derived from petroleum. The further treatment of benzol furnishes the material for the aniline dye-stuff industry.

Of the remaining hydrocarbonates of the benzol group we may mention saccharin, which has a 400 times higher sweetening power than cane sugar but has no nutritive value. Right next to this comes one of the



most terrible explosives, namely, trotyl, which is used for shells and shrapnel. Such contrasting factors are sleeping within the innocent coal.

The second distillate is prepared by heating the tar to a temperature between 230 and 270 degrees, yielding the liquid carbonic acid and the solid naphthalin. The first named is a well-known disinfectant, and so are lysol and cresol, which are made from it. The pure, crystalized carbolic acid called phenol yields on one hand the yellow explosive, picric acid, to inflict horrible wounds, and on the other hand, the so-valuable antiseptic, salicyclic acid, to heal



them. The solid naphthalin, when melted, is equal in quality to benzine for driving explosion motors. It is also the raw product for a great many different dyestuffs, of which artificial indigo is the most important one.

The two last distillates, the anthracene oil and the heavy oil, are obtained by heating the tar above 270 degrees.

What finally remains of the tar is pitch, which is about half the quantity under process. Pitch is often converted into saturated felt for roofing and soft pitch for paving; some of it is used for varnishes and as a binder in briquettes. It is also employed instead of oil to keep down the dust on streets and roads.

The anthracene oil and heavy oil are used as preserving fluids against rotting of railroad ties and other wood exposed to rain. They are also used as fuel for the Diesel motor, the most economic engine in existence, which has made possible the long-range submarine and airship.

But this is not all. From the anthracene oil is separated anthracene, from which is manufactured a bright red color, called madder-red, and also a number of other comprising the group of alizarines.

Without going into further details of the aniline dye industry, it may be said that any kind of material, be it silk, cotton, wool, linen or paper, is nowadays dyed in all colors of the rainbow by dyestuffs obtained from coal. The fez of the Turk, the poncho of the Argentine gaucho, the finest Persian rugs and cheapest jute carpets, the uniform of the highest general and the lowest soldier, the silk garments of the queen, the hat of the beggar, the cowl of the monk, and the purples of the cardinal,—are all dyed and beautified with the marvelous products gathered from lifeless coal.

However, modern science was not satisfied with this. From benzol has been isolated the odor of the sweet-scented jasmine; from carbolic acid has been lured the aroma of Woodruff of May-wine fame. In this line we may mention the artificial scent of vanilla, the modest violet, terpineol, heliotrope and also rose oil. Of course, artificial perfumes are much cheaper than the natural ones, and, we dare say, just as good to tickle the nerves of the nose. So, for instance, natural vanilla has cost about \$900 per pound, while coal gives it to us at less than \$4.

Here are some of the medicines made from coal: Salipyrine, salol and aspirin, which latter is used for rheumatism and neuralgia. Then the fever medicines: antipyrin, pyramidon, antifebrin and phenacetin. A few years ago a cure was worked out from benzol against syphilis—this disease of diseases—by Professor Ehrlich, of Frankfurt, which called Salvarsan, commonly known as 606.

About twelve years ago it required some 20,000 oxen to produce one pound of adrenalin, which is used to regulate the pressure of the blood. In 1904 the chemist Dr. Stolz, of Hoechstler Farbwerke, extracted this important stimulant from coal tar and it is known commercially as suprarenin.

Leaving aside the illuminating gas, which is too well known to need describing, we come to the third product of the splitting process—ammoniacal liquor. This is a combination of nitrogen and hydrogen, which by treatment of steam and lime can be transformed into ammonia gas. In this gas we

have in a changed form the albumen created during the carboniferous period. By a further treatment with sulphuric acid we obtain a white crystal, the sulphate of ammonia. This is put on the fields as fertilizer and thus the plants digest the so-long stored albumen, thereby adapting it again to human use.

These are some of the treasures extracted from the black diamond up to the present day. It has been said that Germany made, before the war, upward of 1,200 coal-tar products. During the war she has been credited with having elaborated about a hundred more, among others, artificial rubber, and one is said to be food. Why not? Probably the future will hand us some more of the wealth of the past.

However, only a small fraction of the world's coal output passes through the coke oven and only a few of the above mentioned treasures can be extracted except in Germany, where the coal-tar industry was born and is being carefully developed.





Edward Claes

THE FLIGHT FROM BELGIUM, 1914

THE EXILED BELGIAN WORKERS IN ENGLAND DURING THE WAR

By Camille David

THE emigration of a part of the Belgian population during German occupancy of their country will stand out as one of the most curious and interesting incidents of the European war. Flying before the German invasion, nearly one-sixth of the civil population left their homes and chose the adventures of exile rather than the brutal yoke of the enemy. In this study we shall concern ourselves especially with the workers who took refuge in England.

The causes of their flight are various. From the beginning of the war, Belgium, submerged by wave after wave of German troops, witnessed the closing of its factories, its blast-furnaces and its mines, as these waves advanced. The mobilization of the Belgian army had moreover suddenly snatched thousands of workers out of the

industries. Still, in spite of the scarcity of labor, the factories were continuing to run after a fashion. But it was only the last quiverings of life in a dying industry. Certain large factories of the Charleroi district, which in normal times employ 2,000 laborers, were compelled to operate with 200 of the least vigorous men. On August 16, 1914, in the valley of the Sambre, I was shown a factory of 1,200 workers which had only 18 left. Some factories had indeed tried to hire women, but this resource was not sufficient to sustain the life of the industry.

The region of Liège resounded with the roar of cannon, and not a single factory was running. Upon the fall of Liège the battle line widened, it ascended the course of the Meuse and the Sambre, continuing up to the Borinage and the vicinity of Mons.

Fire and pillage advanced, drove back the frightened population, traced for the German armies a road red with blood and with the flames of houses. If the factories suffered but little from the invasion, the little houses of working people were the special targets of the German fire.

The population in flight, the roads of communication destroyed or monopolized by the armies, the factories under military occupation, how could industrial life have continued?

With the Germans in occupation of the southern half of Belgium, a sort of lull ensued. Little by little the people returned to the fields of disaster, to weep over the ruins and hope for revenge and liberation in the near future. Unemployment continued, of necessity. Moreover no decisive action had as yet brought victory to either side. Anvers was still holding all Germany in check.

But then came the fall of the entrenched camp, the retreat of the Belgian army, and the flight of the inhabitants of Anvers. Those who had fled from the devastated district and had taken refuge in Flanders, continued their flight, some embarking for England, others going to join in France their countrymen who had been driven like cattle before the German waves. Several thousand passed into Holland.

During the active period of the war in Belgium and France, that is to say, during the months of August, September and October, 1914, nobody thought of working. And when the occupation of Belgium became an accomplished fact, other elements came into the problem which made it impossible even to consider resumption of work. The invader requisitioned the raw materials in factories and warehouses, dismantled the machinery, and shipped it into Germany. Here are to be found, without doubt, the principal causes of the industrial crisis in Belgium, a crisis not yet over, and of the emigration of part of the working class.

There are other reasons besides. The treasuries of the labor unions contained at the end of the first week of war only about \$12.00 per member, so that it was impossible to pay out-of-work benefits. The money would not have lasted two weeks. Only benefits for sickness and accident continued to be paid.

Thrown on their own resources, the

workers dreamed of following the example of those who had left their native country. England attracted them irresistibly. Wonderful stories were told of it. Workers were welcomed there with open arms and were paid fabulous wages—so it was asserted. And then the exodus began.

Contrary to the general belief, it was not the aristocracy of labor which first migrated, but rather the poorest class. The workers who had a little money, and who, in general, looked for a short war, remained in the country for weeks longer. The flood of refugees that poured over Holland and England during the first months of the war was composed principally of fugitives from Anvers and from a certain part of the province of Liège. For the most part they were not workers definitely classified, and when this was the case, the trades were not those especially in demand in England.

But life in Belgium became harder, the difficulty of getting food increased. The war, instead of being short, showed itself destined to be long. Savings were exhausted, and compulsory unemployment weighed heavily upon the workers. The heads of the unions carried on an active propaganda to induce the laborers to go and work in England where hands were needed for the munition factories. It was, therefore, a duty, a patriotic duty, for the workers to migrate, if they wished that Belgium be freed. It was then that little by little the industrial regions of Liège, Anvers and Charleroi were drained of their best workers.

A large proportion of these workers landed in England. Thus, from January to March, 1915, the average arrivals were a thousand a day. The German authorities in Belgium, who had done all they could to impoverish the country industrially, became excited over this continual emigration, and all the more so because the workers remaining in the country refused to work for them. They closed the frontier, and the number of arrivals in England dropped abruptly to 300 a day, diminished from day to day, and finally became insignificant. Not only did the Germans close the frontier in a military sense, refusing passports (which for that matter could be dispensed with); they organized patrols and veritable man-hunts in the zone fronting on Holland. They even erected miles of electrically charged wire barriers, which caused the death of



many Belgian workers. There perished, before the eyes of his wife and child, Camille Fromont, an active member of the Anvers Central Section of Metallurgists. The German authorities hunted down the heads of the unions and imprisoned them.

The number of Belgians who took refuge in England is estimated at 250,000.

Disembarked in England, these exiles, for the most part without resources, fell into the hands of relief committees; they found themselves tossed about from bureau to bureau in a strange land, and confronted with insurmountable difficulties. Their ignorance of the English language, of the laws and customs of their adopted country, left them lost in the streets of London. Unable to make inquiries, transplanted suddenly into unknown surroundings, the workers experienced for the most part a great disillusionment. The English government had indeed, with the co-operation of the Belgian consul, Mr. Pollet, established a special bureau to find work for the Belgian laborers. But this official bureau, a sort of section of the so-called "Board of Trade," or Labor Exchange, quickly found itself swamped. Its methods of organization and of working, inspired, of course, by English precedents, were unintelligible to the Belgian laborers. It merely placed them in jobs, and when this was accomplished, left them to their own resources. However, admirably conceived, this organization did not meet all needs.

On the other hand, it was not without a

certain mistrust that the English laborers saw foreign workers taking places by their sides, and conflicts threatened to break out pretty much everywhere.

Out of the 250,000 exiles—this figure includes women and children—it was estimated that about 10,000 laborers were able to work in the munition factories. A certain number of other laborers found work in other industries, but their number is relatively small.

These 10,000 laborers, belonging to the metal-working industry, had to be grouped into a special organization of their own, such as they had in Belgium. In view of this, the Central Belgian Metallurgists' Union sent a delegation into England headed by W. Eekelers and Longville. They, assisted by the Belgian Socialist deputy, Emile Royer, at once put themselves in touch with the English official bureau, already mentioned; it approved their plan of establishing a special organization which should take into its hands the defense of the interests of the exiled Belgian workers.

The first thing to do was to smooth over the difficulties which were arising between the English trades unions and the Belgian laborers. It was necessary to put the latter on their guard against the possible encroachments of the munition law, encroachments which often were unintentional, but which were costly to the workers. It was necessary to familiarize them with the countless legal restrictions which arise from the necessities of national defense. It was necessary to defend them against the possible abuses of employers. It was necessary to protect them by taking advantage of the extremely complicated English labor laws. It was necessary to organize into a single body all the Belgian workers scattered to the four corners of England. But it was not possible for a Belgian organization to establish itself on English soil; the law of the country forbade it. On the other hand, in order to have any strength, it was necessary to lean upon one of those labor organizations, so strong and so wonderfully fashioned, which are found in Great Britain. Conferences were held between the delegates of the Central Belgian Metallurgists' Union and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (A. S. E.), the powerful English organization. The negotiations were friendly, and their first result was the dis-

appearance of the suspicions which had existed against the Belgian workers. But time was pressing, and as the A. S. E. could not act without the consent of its sections in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, the Belgian delegates put themselves in touch with another great labor organization, the "Workers' Union."

It should be understood that this is the Workers' Union that was founded May 1, 1898, by Charles Duncan, a member of Parliament. It receives into its organization of over 150,000 members, all English workers whose occupation does not permit them to enter the regular trade unions. It is the most Socialist organization in England.

An understanding was quickly reached, on the following basis. The Workers' Union was to put at the disposal of the Central Belgian Metallurgists' Union its offices and equipment, was to pay benefits direct, and was to concern itself with the defense of the Belgian workers before the courts. As compensation, the "Central Belgian" was to turn over fifty per cent of its receipts to the treasury of the Workers' Union; the remaining fifty per cent to be paid into the treasury of the "Central Belgian" upon the return to Belgium. And, starting from June, 1915, the Central Belgian Metallurgists' Union became a section of the Workers' Union.

Immediately the secretary, W. Eekelers, set to work. There was certainly need of it. Everything had to be done in the way of organization. Nevertheless, after three months of existence, the new organization had succeeded in organizing more than 1,500 metal workers into 16 sections. Today, it numbers more than 4,000 members and 29 sections. These are established in the principal industrial centers, such as Acton, Alexandria, Barrow-in-Furness, Birmingham, Coventry, Erith, Hayes, Ipswich, Letchworth, Newcastle, Portsmouth, Richmond, Sheffield, Westminster and Edmon-ton.

Since September, 1915, an official organ, *Le Metallurgiste Belge*, published in French and Flemish, has appeared regularly each month.

Still in touch with conquered Belgium, the "Central" continues there an intense propaganda for the migration of the workers. The emigrants, when once they have crossed the frontier into Holland, are received by members, entertained gratis and

transported into England on the same terms. If without resources, they receive help in the form of money. Work is found for them and they are distributed into the factories according to their trades. In this way up to date more than 600 workmen have been placed.

The "Central" takes care that the hiring of the workers is done according to the English laws, it intervenes in conflicts with employers, and defends the workers gratis before the courts.

The question of workshop casualties is very complicated in England. As is well known, insurance is compulsory, and is at the employers' expense. But the regulations in case of accident are not always easy to follow. The worker is obliged to bring two witnesses of his accident. If no one was present, the employer is obliged to prove that the accident did not take place in his factory. On the other hand, a worker disabled by accident who returns to the factory after weeks of unemployment and resumes his customary occupation has no claim to any insurance indemnity. For lack of understanding the English language, several Belgian workers lost their rights to benefits under the law. At present the worker who has met with an accident fills out a simple form which he transmits to the secretary of his section, and the "Central" undertakes his defense. At Richmond, for example, for a case of death, the maximum indemnity, \$1,500, was obtained.

The Munition Law provides that night work must be paid for as double time. Work after noon on Saturday is figured as follows: the first two hours at 25 per cent extra, the remaining hours at 50 per cent. Sunday time is counted the same as night, that is, double. Certain interruptions occurred, chiefly in the Belgian factories established in England. After intervention by the "Central," everything became normal again.

The Belgian soldiers who come into England for their furloughs, and who are old members of the Belgian "Central," receive a benefit of \$2.50.

A bureau for sending money into Belgium has been started, and is proving very useful. These remittances, intended for the wives or children of the workers established here, diminish proportionately as the misery which reigns in the invaded country is alleviated by the relief committee. More

than \$24,000 has been sent thru the "Committee for Relief of Belgium," which has realized a considerable profit thru the discount on foreign exchange; this profit has been applied to the work of feeding the population. The remittances have been made without expense for the members of the "Central." At an average charge of one penny, the bureau undertakes to send into Belgium postal cards, and, in evasion of military rules, letters for the families of members.

The "Central," moreover, undertakes to bring into England the wives and families of exiled workers. Regular payments are made by members to the different committees appointed to provide aid for soldiers, such as the "British Gifts for Soldiers," and special committees aiding prisoners of war and soldiers on furlough.

Many public meetings are held in the industrial centers.

Grammars and dictionaries are sold at reduced prices to members who are endeavoring to learn the English language, which will bring the workers of the two nations closer together.

Relations with the trades-unions are ideal. The early disputes have disappeared. Several sections, like those of Latchworth, Coventry and Richmond, are affiliated with the trades councils.

Finally, as a result of its ever-growing influence, the Central Belgian Metallurgists' Union has succeeded in raising the wages of its members to the extent of 35 per cent for machine workers and 20 per cent for hand workers. From this fact, in the shops at Richmond alone, the Belgian workers have profited to the extent of over \$20,000. The Belgian workers, who labor more rapidly than the English workers, found that certain Belgian employers wished to diminish the piece-work scale by 20 per cent. This is forbidden by the Munitions Law. The "Central" intervened successfully, for it makes it a point of honor not to allow its members to play the part of scabs or "black-legs." Carrying further its sentiment of justice and gratitude toward the English workers, it points out those who work below the scale.

Non-unionists are greeted cordially and advice is given them gratis. As no other Belgian union is operating in England, the "Central Metallurgists'" has welcomed into its body unionists of other trades, on the

same terms as its own members. This affiliation is, of course, only temporary, and upon the return to Belgium, the sums paid by these members will be turned into the treasuries of their respective unions.

The success of the organization is considerable. It has enlisted members of a great variety of trades and occupations. In its organization are Catholics, Liberals, Socialists. Several of its new members were, before the war, bitter opponents of any union movement.

A section has been organized in France. The members of an English section who remove to France are admitted there to all their rights as members. The same with those who leave France and establish themselves in England. The success of this useful work is partly indicated by the fact that the net receipts for 1915, after deducting the expenses of organization, printing and propaganda, amounted to over \$6,000.

* * *

How does this organism function? The new member applies to a branch secretary, who fills out his application card. He soon receives a membership card indicating his name, his number, and the name and address of the secretary, in order that the member may always know where to address him. This card also indicates the payments of dues as made from time to time. These payments, according to the Belgian system, are receipted for by adhesive stamps. That is a novelty in England, where the receipt for dues is made by a simple signature, a defective method. Thus several English organizations have asked for information about the stamp system.

The member pays dues of 20 cents a week. This entitles him, apart from the advantages above mentioned, to the following benefits:

- Strike and lockout, \$2.50 weekly.
- Blacklisted, \$3.75 weekly.
- Permanent disability from illness, \$150.
- Accident, \$2.50 weekly.
- Sickness, \$1.75 to \$2.50, according to age.
- Legal assistance.
- Life insurance for self and wife.

* * *

Upon arrival in England the Belgian laborers, accustomed in their own country to low wages, are overwhelmed with surprise at the high prices paid here for labor.

The average wage of a qualified worker is \$20.00. However, this scale is not uniform; each district fixes its wages. Thus they are higher at London and Coventry than at Ipswich or Newcastle. Certain Belgian and French employers desired to pay Belgian wages. That did not succeed, and they were obliged to yield and accept the English scale. The highest wages are paid at Letchworth, but the output is enormous. A single factory with 1,200 laborers produces 33,000 three and a half-inch shells a week.

A certain number of Belgian women refugees are also employed in munition factories. At Richmond alone there are 300. These are working-women from the National Arms Factory of Herstal (Liège). Their wage varies from \$10 to \$20 weekly. The labor of women is regarded on the same footing as that of men. They belong to the "Central Metallurgists'" with the same rights as men.

Out of these wages the members of the "Central" give up a total of about 50 cents a week, for dues and various payments to enterprises for the common benefit. By reason of the absence of canteens, the workers are obliged to make their purchases hastily outside of working hours, and they

find that they are invariably obliged to pay higher prices than their English comrades.

The question of lodging has not yet been solved satisfactorily. It is on record, for example, that a landlord at Erith charged four laborers \$5.00 a week for room only, while the rent he paid for the entire house was only \$2.75. The question of co-operative housekeeping is one that as yet has been impossible to consider.

The Belgian laborer is an enormous worker. If he produces and even over-produces, as a matter of patriotic duty, it is none the less true that a real danger is involved in this fact. Overwork exhausts his strength to such an extent that in certain regions a general enfeeblement of the working element is observed. In one factory a man is known to have died of exhaustion at the end of three months. He worked 120 hours a week!

Some workers forget that the body is only a wonderful machine, and that when the gearing is once worn out, it is done with. The appetite for great gains fascinates them and they forget that when the war is over it will still be necessary to work. The union is opposing this tendency to excessive production, which inevitably results in exhaustion.





STORIES OF THE CAVE PEOPLE

By Mary E. Marcy

FOR many years the Bow and Arrow Folks had been the most ferocious as well as the most skillful of all the tribes that dwelt in the heart of the luxuriant lands along the banks of the Father of Rivers. Every other tribe had long since learned to hate and fear them beyond any other living creatures.

The Bow and Arrow Folks might wander whithersoever they wished, might drive the Hairy Folk and the Tree Dwellers and the Cave People from the places that had known them, might bring death and destruction in their train, provided only that they traveled and fought in numbers and bore wide quivers filled with very many of their magical stinging darts.

Up to the appearance of the Dart or Arrow Throwers, with their marvelous weapons, the Cave People had always been able to meet their human foes on terms nearly approaching equality. The Hairy People and the Tree Dwellers, and even the man-eaters, had all to come to close quarters in their life and death contests. Then there was much to the advantage of the Cave People, who were of heavier build and who possessed greater strength and speed of limb than any of their man enemies. None of these was able to shoot a dart across the river into the breast of an enemy.

But the Arrow People were more fearful than the great saber-tooth himself. One

could dig pits, covered with branches of leaves in the hope that they might stumble into these and hence be dispatched to the long sleep; it was quite as likely as not that the Arrow People would not approach near enough to fall into them.

When the Arrow People came whooping over the hills sending down their rain of arrows into the flesh of the Cave People, Strong Arm had gathered his small band about the big fire where they had crouched low. But even the protecting blaze could not prevail against the invaders. Their darts flew through the smoke and the flame and pinned more than one of the Cave People to the earth.

And when Strong Arm was wounded so that blood dripped red from a hole in his breast the Cave People flung themselves into the brush and made their way on their bellies as silent as snakes, far out beyond the old hollow. With much caution they gathered together about some grey stone boulders that banked the wild berry thicket.

Then it was that some one silently gathered twigs and leaves and dead branches for the making of a fire. And a youth struck a spark from his flint stones and by the light of the flames the Cave People saw and were astonished that it was One Ear who had come back to his own people.

No one of the older members of the tribe had forgotten One Ear nor how he had lost

one of his ears when he was only a small boy not many moons from his mother's breast. It was this way:

One Ear had wandered from the caves and beyond the space where it was safe for the children of the tribe to go alone. No one marked his ramblings and he chattered and scampered about, plucking the red blossoms of the eegari and chasing birds from their nests in happy content. But he had not gone far when he heard the grunt of the wild and hairy hog which was thrusting her short tusk into the soil for tender roots. A litter of small black pigs followed close to their mother's side and set up a mighty squealing when they beheld in One Ear a possible enemy.

Immediately the old sow turned upon One Ear and bit at his feet and snapped at his legs and tripped him. Then she flew upon him with the wild fury of the forest mother who believes her young to be endangered. One Ear raised his own voice in yells of terror and threw up his arms and rolled into the bushes and sent his small brown feet kicking with mighty show into the face of the foe.

And the uproar increased while the blood poured from the side of the boy's head whence the wild sow had torn his small ear in her attack. Soon the mother of One Ear and other members of the tribe of Cave People appeared with their long bone weapons in their hands and killed the hog and carried back as many of the young pigs as had not scampered away in the conflict. And there was much feasting in the Hollow that day and a great noise from the wails of One Ear, whose wounds were many times licked and plastered and caressed by his distracted mother.

And so the boy came to be called One Ear. It was impossible to forget one so distinctly different from other members of the tribe of Cave People and so, when One Ear was later captured by the Arrow Folk during a raid made on the people of the Hollow, One Ear was long mourned and thought of by the tribe.

Now he was come back to his own people. And in the light made by the flames of the fire, the Cave People saw that he bore many of the strange darts that the enemy had used with so much skill and accuracy. The Cave People were almost afraid of him, but One Ear at once showed himself friendly and busied himself in helping to build cov-

erings of sticks and brush and leaves to form huts for the tribe.

The night was very dark and the Cave People were worn and weary and very much afraid. They knew very little about the life and the woods and the things that surrounded them. When a man stumbled over a loose stone and slipped and fell, the Cave People believed that some of the tribe's numerous enemies had wrought the evil.

Little they understood of the causes of the natural events that occurred around and to them. And so they peopled the woods, the Hollow, the night and all things with spirits or evil ghosts that sought to do them harm.

There were terrors everywhere, both the enemies which they could see and the enemies which they could not see. The enemies who dwelt in the dead tree trunks that lay upon the ground over which they stumbled, the spirits who were hidden in the stones that scratched their feet, the evil magic-workers who entered their stomachs and made them sick and haunted the feet of the unwary to cause them to faint before the blows of the Arrow People and who sent men and women upon the Long Sleep from which their spirits arose to prowl about over the lands.

Primitive men knew nothing about natural laws. They had no ideas about what caused the rain; therefore, they thought someone made it rain. They knew nothing about the melting of snows upon the mountain tops that flowed downward, swelling the Father of Rivers far beyond "his" banks and thus causing the floods; therefore, some evil enemy wrought the disaster.

They knew truly that men and women



did not altogether die. All men possessed two selves—the self with whom you might fight and dance, whom you might touch and see and smell in the light of broad day. Then there was also a spirit self, who came to you in dreams and who worked evil or good unto you.

When a child was lost in the wood and devoured by the wild enemies of the tribe, the people knew that it was an evil spirit that had lured his footsteps into the danger.

It is true, too, that they believed in good spirits; the spirits who sent rain when the earth was parched; the kindly magic-makers who delivered an attacking enemy into your hand to his own disaster, who stood beside you unseen during great dangers and thrust forth obstructions in the paths of those who would take you unawares.

But considered in a broad way, from the viewpoint of primitive man, the world was peopled chiefly with enemies who were down upon you at the slightest opening, who might anywhere and in the strangest form imaginable pounce upon you to your own destruction or disaster.

It cheered the Cave People greatly when they saw that One Ear had returned to the tribe bringing some of the magical arrows, so effectively employed by the Dart Throwers. They believed that the bone javelin of Strong Arm possessed some of the strength and skill of this mighty cave man; they knew that the dried head of the green snake which had been killed by Big Foot and a great boulder were filled with his valor and his wisdom, for they had seen Run Fast elude the wild boar with this snake head in her hands, if any one thing was sure in all the muddle of strange things and stranger events in this world, it was that weapons or adornments or tools, acquired the characteristics of their owners, and that these characteristics might be transferred to him who was fortunate enough to secure them. The darts or the arrows of the Dart Throwers brought skill to the holders and so the Cave People were cheered when they beheld the darts in the hands of One Ear.

All through the night, as they huddled and shivered in the shadows, the Cave People kept the big fire burning and listened for the Arrow People. It was when the moon rode high in the heavens that the soft wind brought the scent of the enemy approaching with quiet and with caution. With quiver-

ing nostrils Strong Arm, who, in spite of the pain he suffered from his wounds, was the first to smell the coming Arrow Throwers, gathered the tribe behind the protection of the giant rocks.

And when they advanced within the circle of light thrown out by the flames of the fire, One Ear drew his great bow to his shoulder and sent arrow after arrow into the gleaming breasts of those who made the attack, until the Arrow people were confounded and afraid and fled away in the night whence they had come.

And for days there was peace and the Cave people encamped themselves near a fresh water hole and built more mud caves and huts of the branches of trees. But evil spirits hovered over Strong Arm and entered into him and gave him fever and sickness and pain from the wound in his breast, until at last he died in the night and his Spirit passed out of his body. So thought the cave dwellers.

And they mourned for Strong Arm, both in their hearts and with loud voices, for they knew that his spirit would hover about to see what they said of his words and his deeds and they desired very strongly to please and propitiate the Spirit of Strong Arm, for he had always been a powerful and wise man, able to help those he loved and bring evil to those whom he had hated. And they wanted to win the support and friendship of the Spirit of Strong Arm in order that it might work good in their behalf.

So even Big Foot, who had always feared and envied Strong Arm, spoke loudly in his behalf, saying "Brave, Brave, Strong, Strong," and he screamed as though he had lost his best friend. This was all done to show the Spirit of Strong Arm in what high esteem Big Foot held him.

The Cave People chopped up the body of Strong Arm and roasted his arms and his legs and his head on the coals so that every member of the tribe might acquire some of the noble virtues of the mighty chief by eating a portion of his body. To Laughing Boy was apportioned the hands of his father, and he ate them, stripping the flesh from the bones so that his own hands might become skillful and quick in killing the enemy. The remainder of the body of Strong Arm was laid in a cavity in the earth, along with his sharp bone javelin, and

his stone knife and his flint; and food also, which they knew he would need in the Spirit Land where he had gone. These things they covered with earth and leaves and weighed them down with heavy stones so that neither wild boar, nor any other wild animal might devour the remains of Strong Arm.

And in the night the Spirit of Strong Arm came back to his people in their dreams, telling them many things. Once he appeared in a dream to Quack Quack, with his bone javelin in his hands, and the cry of danger upon his lips and a long arrow thrust in his hair. And Quack Quack and the Cave People knew that this was a warning to them that the Arrow Throwers were again stealing upon them to drive them from their new land, so they gathered up their bone weapons, and the bow and arrows which One Ear had brought, and their knives and their adornments, and wandered toward the North in the hope of escaping.

But the Hairy Folk fell upon them, and the Man-eaters and the Tree People nagged them and stole their food and wrecked disaster at every step, so that there was no peace, only constant fighting and death and terror in all the days.

So the Cave People traveled wearily and furtively, ever farther North, where the fruit grows only in one season and the cold descends over the earth for a long period of the year, and where men are only able to survive by learning new things and new

methods of keeping food against the barren days.

Then, more than in all the previous history of their lives, the Cave People began to progress, began to plan, to build, to preserve and store food and finally to bury one tuber in order that it might become the father of many potatoes; to salt their meats so that they would not spoil and finally they discovered that skins used formerly only as a means of adornment, or decoration—skins which had formerly been merely visible proof of a man's skill and valor in the hunt, were a warm and comfortable protection against the cold days which had come upon them in the strange new land.

Many died and many fell in the long wars that the Cave People fought during their long journey to the North country, but One Ear grew strong and wise and tall in his young manhood. And, because of the things he had learned from the Arrow Throwers, he became a leader of the tribe, which he taught also to hurl the death-tipped darts, both to bring down the beasts of the forests and for the protection of the tribe in battle with its human enemies.

And so the cool climate and the changing seasons drove the Cave People to learn, to discover, to invent. And for the first time they began to consider the earth and to subdue a little of it for their own food and clothing and for their own shelter and security.



THE CRISIS IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

By J. O. Bentall

BY THIS time nearly all the opinionated Socialists and non-Socialists have given this waiting, anxious world the correct judgment of the German Social Democrats who voted for the war budget instead of letting their bodies be pumped full of steel.

The question has almost split the Socialist party and has been a side-splitter to the Capitalists.

And, do you wonder?

The power, the influence, the numbers, the acts, the ideas and ideals, the position and fame, the vigor and courage, the successes and hopes, the conquests and victories of the Social Democrats of Germany made them the object of the tensest attention of all civilization at the critical moment of the latest world catastrophe.

Here was a Party that represented a movement over half a century old, a movement made up of heretics and fanatics unlike all others since the world began, heretics and fanatics whose earmark was the advocacy of justice and whose power was in reason and science.

From a handful of persecuted, jailed and executed wage slaves the party had grown until it could muster four million votes and elect one hundred ten members to the Reichstag.

This was no small business.

And, during all the years of development and in its vast literature of propaganda this party had advocated disarmament and stood as a stone wall against militarism and war.

It had held that the workers hold no grievance against each other and that if the masters want war let them fight it out themselves. It had held that all wars have been in the interest of the master class and that the only reward the workers received was privation, suffering and death.

Four million voters with one hundred ten members in the Reichstag took this position.

No wonder the world stood breathless when the Kaiser asked: "Will you now vote for war?"

They hesitated a moment. Again the spokesman for the master class asked: "Will you now vote for war? Say yes." "Yes."

One hundred nine said yes. A lone fellow said "No," and it wasn't worth while to shoot him. He was harmless.

The soldiers who had held their guns ready to fire set them down and the Kaiser curled his mustache, while the beasts of war licked their chops like jackals over a fallen prey in the forest.

So the Social Democrats voted for the war budget and the rank and file of them enlisted to shoot down good Social Democrats of France, of England, of Russia, of any country in all the wide world—all in the interest of the master class.

Now when these one hundred nine voted for the war budget, was that the thing to do?

Why, certainly.

You could not expect them to be willing to be shot down for having been foolish for over fifty years. This was no time to face guns and put on bravery and jump into heroism. They did the logical thing. What else could they do? It would have done no earthly good to have refused and been killed. The world was not ready to declare the war off and go to their funeral.

Now it is easy to go over the ground and see the mistakes of the German Social Democracy. In doing so it is not for us to blame the German Party but to put ourselves wise.

Here are the facts: The German Social Democrats worked year in and year out for political success. They said, let us educate the workers to vote right. Let us elect our men and become strong in the Reichstag. Let us win in the battle of the ballot.

They put up marvelous campaigns. They increased their vote by millions.

They elected an unexpectedly large number to the highest legislative body of the empire. They went after a certain thing and got it. They succeeded in what they set out to do. It was a wonderful success.

But they set out to get the wrong thing.

They set out to get a man with one leg, and one arm, and one brain lobe. They got him.

But in the fight with another man who had two legs and two arms and complete brain lobes he fell and fell badly. It was to be expected.

Had the Social Democrats of Germany paid as much attention to the development of industrial power as to political power, the present war could not have been pulled off.

The propaganda was one-sided. Their organization was one sided.

With organized labor practically under their control the Social Democrats should have declared boldly that they were in charge of all the activities of the workers, industrial and political, to direct and develop in every expression of working class effort the giant organization that meant power unconquerable.

Come away from words now and put this into concrete form. I mean that the Socialists should have organized to take complete control and make all workers realize that there was room for all, and scope large enough for all activities.

That the workers must secure their own raw material and their own industries as fast as they can. That they must secure their own points of distribution and control the means of transportation. That they must act in unity in cases of strikes and lockouts. That they must feed the workers in periods of industrial war and starve the masters into submission. That they must refuse to build up an army and a navy, and deny the masters their services in shipping material or making implements for war. That the munition plants be destroyed and battleships sunk. That if the masters begin slaughter the workers will tear up bridges and railroads and blow into atoms powder houses and gun factories. That bread be refused the emperor and all his family, the officers and all the

soldiers until they join the workers in peace. That all the members of the master class be notified that if they begin murder they will be the first to enjoy it.

So that when the Kaiser representing the master class declared war the Social Democracy could have called upon four million to say "No, there shall be no war," to say "No" with set faces and hard fists and ready hands. To say "No" by stopping traffic in war material and supplies. To say "No" by surrounding the legislative chambers and protecting their members in the Reichstag. To say "No" by shattering every fort and smashing every gun.

Four million men in Germany could have done all this without any great loss of life. These four million with the millions in France, England, Russia and the smaller countries could have put a stop to the war when it began and saved the lives of twenty million slain in battle and a hundred million worse than slain at home.

But the German Social Democrats were afraid they might offend some thin skinned Sunday School girl or some middle-class business man. It sacrificed everything to policy and depended on politics.

So we don't blame the one hundred and nine for not being willing to be shot for being foolish for the last fifty years.

All this comes to us on this side of the water as a lesson whose text is dripping with the blood of the workers on the other side.

The question is, what shall we do in face of it all? Shall we go on and serenely call for votes and neglect all else? Shall we tell the capitalist bloodhounds that we want to help them get a small army and a small navy and increase it as we go along for "defense?" Shall we continue to spend time and money to send men to Congress to tell the plutes there that we think they are nice and that we are ready to help them defend "our" country in case of need?

Criminals of all criminals are those who are supposed to be Socialists and have their eyes open and know better and still stand with the capitalists in their murder plots against the people.

That war is a future certainty in this

country cannot be escaped. What the President and congress are doing now to carry out the wishes of the masters is what the Reichstag in Germany did for many years prior to the war.

This is the time for the socialists to consider the war budget—not five years from now when the masses will be at blood heat in face of trumped up causes for war that may look good to the public at large. And at such a time martyrdom is a futile mockery, and no one can see it for the smoke of battle.

We have a million voters in this country who can be educated in the right direction. There is another million who will follow in opposition to war. If it be treason to serve notice on our government and the master class that we will frustrate their militaristic exploits and put a definite stop to their plans for murder, let them make the most of it.

This is a good time to fill the jails with such traitors. This is a good time to shoot a few of them. This is a good time to have our press suppressed and our speakers hanged. It would mean something and the people would probably arise and take sides. We could probably make the capitalists so busy with us that they would find little or no time for their buncomb preparedness.

Every socialist paper should come out boldly advocating these direct and definite methods. Every socialist speaker should "talk right out in meeting" what we propose. The socialist party should come out with a manifesto declaring that it means business and will use all means in this business.

If we begin now as Socialists to organize for the purpose of becoming a power and not only a political party, we can do anything we please. If we organize now to take full charge of all working class activities, putting the workers who are socialists into the harness in every department of industry, so great an army will rally to our ranks that the plutes will not dare to make as much as a toy pistol or a firecracker.

To stop making guns and cannon, snells and bullets, forts and battleships now—that is our business. To start telling the plutes not to use these implements of murder after they have them

ready will be like pulling the trigger with the muzzle at our own head. That's what the German Social Democrats did.

The duty of the Socialists at this time is clear.

First, to create an anti-war psychology in press, in speech, in campaigns.

Secondly, to organize and crystallize the anti-war sentiment into militant, fearless working class organization that can and will take charge.

Thirdly, to acquire power by acquiring actual industries one after another, beginning with the food industry and continuing along the lines of greatest needs.

The organization formed to do this must be wholly made up of socialists, socialists who stand together on the rock foundation of the class struggle. Half baked socialist politicians should be tabooed. Don't let them in.

This organization should be the Socialist movement in action. It should use every kind of action that would bring results. It should put no limit to the means employed to gain working class advantage.

If the Socialist party could and would function as a department of the real Socialist movement in organized form, good and well. To leave the whole business of the Socialists to the Socialist party is a crude absurdity. That's what they did in Germany and other warring countries. The Socialist party is too narrow and too small to handle all the business of the working class. We must have an organization that is commensurate with the duties and responsibilities of the socialists as a whole.

And we have no time to lose. Tomorrow we should be ready to send our delegates to the munition shops and tell the engineer to shove in the throttle and shut down the infernal business of making death dealing stuff. Tomorrow we should go to the plutes and tell them that bread is more necessary than guns and that clothing is in greater demand than battleships. Tomorrow we should be in position to serve notice on the master class that we are not going to wait till they have the biggest navy in the world and the greatest army and the largest supply of war material before we put in our protest, but *now*; put in the protest,

not in paper wars, but in direct demands backed by power to secure them.

Wilson, the president of the plutes, is now calling for a navy that will cost one billion dollars a year. The army to be increased to similar proportions. After the plutes get a couple of million young fools drilled to murder with shining weapons in their hands, we will have a swell time to handle them.

Start now.

This is the crisis in the socialist movement.

Stop the coaling of all the present war vessels. A good job for the general strike.

Stop making of shells and guns right now. Again, to use the general strike

would look good.

The masters have gone at this war business too boldly. They are too raw. We must meet them. If we help them get ready we will have made ourselves ready to help them in the coming bloodshed.

If we refuse now to help them they can't get ready and we will be ready to save ourselves from destruction.

The socialist movement is the only power apparent in this country to save us from the fate of Europe. The call goes forth for one big united body of the working class to crystallize into power our demands for peace and justice for ourselves, our children and our children's children.

What Kind of Organization?

By J. V. Wills,

General Secretary, Building Workers Industrial Union, England

HOW to make ends meet is the problem which confronts every worker owing to the enormously increased prices of food, etc. The purchasing power is determined by wages, and to get a correct view of the problem we must analyze wages into categories, i. e., the nominal and real wages. Nominal wages represent the amount of money received per week; real wages, the amount of the necessary commodities of life that the money will purchase.

Now, while the prices of commodities have risen, wages have not risen to the same extent. In many instances indeed they have remained stationary. This means that the real wages of the workers have been reduced, and consequently their standard of livelihood has dropped.

If the individual worker approaches the boss and asks for more money in order to meet the increased prices, what happens? The usual reply is, "If you are not satisfied there are others who are willing to take your place at the same money." This is sufficient to show that the individual working man is no match for the individual capitalist. But because the workman can find

no redress as an individual, his case is not at all hopeless, for while one boss is more than a match for one workman, he cannot beat a number of workmen who are properly organized and have united demands.

These few words show the necessity for the workers to organize with their mates if they ever hope to improve their position. Æsop, in one of his fables, says, "While you can easily snap a single piece of wood if a number of pieces are tied together securely it is almost beyond human possibility to break them."

Having agreed that organization is necessary, it is now our purpose to find out what sort of organization is required. Trade unions have existed in the building industry for a large number of years, but when their strength is tested they prove a lamentable failure. In the building industry men labor in a co-operative manner. The employer organizes the workers upon the job for the purpose of producing profits. That is, he insists that all sections shall work harmoniously and co-operatively, in order to produce wealth for his benefit. Yet in spite of this lesson all trade union effort to organize the building workers in the past

has been upon lines which divide the men into craft unions. As a result we get the weakness and other evil consequences that sectionalism produces.

When a dispute occurs with an employer the workers are often defeated by one section remaining at work when another has gone out on strike. No one will deny that those crafts remaining at work are really blacklegging quite as effectively as the professional blacklegs. From what cause does this deplorable state of affairs arise? It is not because those who stay at work are not imbued with the same spirit of unionism as those on strike. Neither do they wish to see the strikers defeated, for they are generally the first to resent having to remain at work. It is because sectionalism cannot supply that concrete cohesion required effectively to combat the growing combination of capital.

It will be a surprise to many to know that there is not one union in the building industry whose friendly benefits are solvent! Hence the unions have to resort continually to levies in order to meet their increased liabilities. Bad as this position is, it is made worse by the fact that practically the whole of the vitality of the various unions is absorbed in administering these friendly benefits.

Again, building workers are spread all over the United Kingdom; in many small towns and villages the number of men engaged in the building industry does not amount to more than 200 or 250. Now, to organize these men on craft lines means that a branch of each union must be established in each of the small towns. This means, of course, that the carpenters, bricklayers, masons, painters, plumbers, plasterers, laborers, and so on are all split up into small factions. By this method there is not the slightest hope of ever being able to effect any considerable improvement in the conditions of labor or wages. *This fact alone explains why three-quarters of a million of building workers remain unorganized in this country.* For the above reasons it was necessary for building workers to look for a better form of organization than craft unions. That is why the B. W. I. U. was brought into existence.

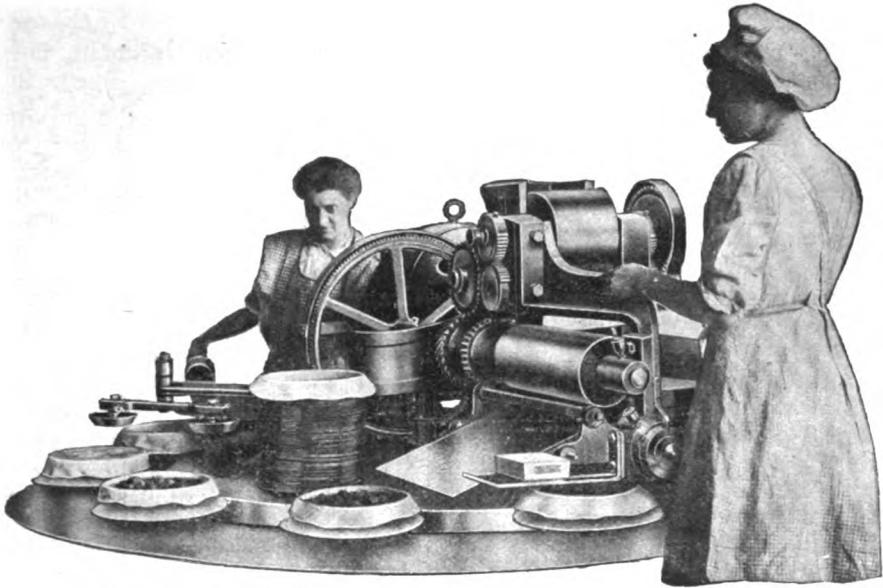
Industrial Unionism Necessary.

Now what is the meaning of an industrial union as applied to the building industry? It means that every worker in the building industry should belong to one union. That the laborer (who requires just as much housing, clothing, food and recreation for his wife and children as other people) should belong to the same organization as the mechanic. They both need to organize for the improvement of their conditions; and it is only by working together in one union that both can be uplifted. The grievances of the laborer must become those of the mechanic, and the grievances of the mechanic must become those of the laborer. The highest paid must unite with the lowest paid to secure the better pay desired for all. "An injury to one must be the concern of all."

Many will say there still exists a great cleavage between the so-called skilled and the unskilled. That we readily admit; but if that cleavage is to be removed, if we are to arrive at a stage when the identity of interests is realized by all, we must meet in the same branch room, hold the same ticket, and assist in building up the same union. That alone will make true progress possible.

The railway men have already realized how powerful it is to be organized in this manner; the engine-cleaner and the engine-driver unite to fight for a common cause. The miners do likewise, and secure to the membership of their union all those who work in and about the mines. The success of this policy is proved by the fact that both of these powerful sections have already received considerable advances. The building workers, on the other hand, are still dragging behind, asking and not receiving.

If one union is good for the railway men and miners, it is good for the building workers. Not until recently have the building workers had an opportunity of organizing in this manner. They should do so now by joining the *Building Workers' Industrial Union*—the only organization in this country that admits ALL building workers to its membership.



THIS IS A COLBORNE ROTARY AUTOMATIC PIE MACHINE UNDER ACTUAL OPERATION IN THE PIE PLANT OF THE PITTSFORD PURITY PIE CO., OF INDIANAPOLIS. THE GIRLS ON THIS MACHINE ARE TURNING OUT FROM 600 TO 800 PIES PER HOUR.

AUTOMATIC PIE-MAKING

By Dudley Foulk

WHEN I was a boy, and when you were a boy or a girl, one day in the week was set apart by our mothers and grandmothers, set apart and devoted to the solemnities of bread and PIE-MAKING. It was conceivable that Wash Day be held over in times of rain, sickness, flood or earthquake. Mending, ironing and cleaning days might be switched around in the weekly calendar in response to urgent expediency. Only Baking Day was unalterable and absolute. Saturday was held sacred to Pies and Bread as regularly as the weeks ran round.

When grandmother died, Aunt Bina baked pies for the funeral supper and when Aunt Bina passed out, mother and the other aunts came forth on the sixth day of the week to provide Uncle John and his youngsters with pies for seven days. Babies were born and people passed away, but in every "respectable" home PIES WERE BAKED ON SATURDAY.

I well recall the delicious kitchen savors of the Sixth Day, when the fragrance of pies arose like incense before the altar of some high, gastronomic god.

And pie-making was some job in those days. We children usually picked the currants and cherries, and gooseberries, the blue-berries and strawberries. Sometimes we were marshaled into the kitchen or snared to pit cherries on the back porch. Sometimes there was apple and rhubarb paring and slicing for the girls.

No man will forget the flavor of the pies of his mother's baking just as no woman can ever forget the weary hours of back-breaking, life-sapping, flesh searing labor she spent, week after week, month after month, year after year, over red-hot stoves in kitchens that were themselves like ovens—to produce those pies.

And so we want to be glad of the new division of labor that is becoming both possible and general thru the invention and introduction of AUTOMATIC PIE-MAKING MACHINES. Already a large percent of the pies eaten in the United States are made by automatic pie-making machines. Gigantic pie factories now rank with the vast laundries and enormous bakeries that divide the labor of the home, as the mills and shops and factories and

machines have revolutionized the labor of men. Gas and electric lighting, municipal water supply, municipal sewerage and steam heating have come to lighten the burdens of the home.

Clothing is made in mills and factories, fruit is put up and preserved by machinery, huge soap-plants have been built, carpets are woven by machine instead of by hand labor, and hundreds of other branches of home industry are now conducted outside the home.

The automatic pie-making machines are bound to some day take the drudgery out of Saturday just as machine steam laundries are making Wash Day and Ironing Day periods of calm and pleasure instead of aches and confusion.

Somebody has computed the figures and claims that any number of wives of farmers have baked, individually, pies sufficient, if piled flat, one on top of another, to tower above two of the tallest buildings, set end on end. And every one of these pies represented an appalling amount of human labor.

It would take a large-sized family, possessed of enormous appetites for pastry, over sixty years, to consume the number of pies baked in a single day by the Case & Martin Pie Company, one big concern located in Chicago. This company bakes from 20,000 to 30,000 pies by machinery every working day in the year. Under the old home production method, it would take sixty housewives, baking ten pies a week, one year to make 30,000 pies. This institution has given 6,000 housewives, who baked on the average five pies a week, "free Saturdays" by taking over a part of the

labor of the home.

And this is only one concern in a single city. Probably the Moody & Waters Pie Company of Chicago, supplies as large a number of pies per year as the Case & Martin people, and these are only two of the larger pie-making companies in this city.

The bakery of the John R. Thompson Company, owners of a string of dairy lunch rooms and restaurants extending all over the United States, is looked upon by advocates of the new automatic pie-making system, as one of the model plants of the world. It represents modernization in pie-baking to the most advanced degree.

The Colborne Manufacturing Company of Chicago, makers of the best and most modern pie-making machinery, claim that "five girls at \$20.00 a month and one forewoman, at \$32.00 a month, run one of the large Colborne Automatic Pie Machines and manufacture all the pies made."

They say that if skilled bakers were employed instead of these unskilled girls, the labor bill would amount to at least \$432.00 per month against the \$132.00 now paid, an increase in wages alone of \$300 a month, even if the automatic machines were still used but operated by skilled labor.

If the Colborne automatic machines were discarded and the old hand methods restored, an enormous addition of labor cost would be the result—"for these automatic pie-making machines can turn out, with six unskilled girls at the helm, from 1,200 to 1,800 pies per hour."

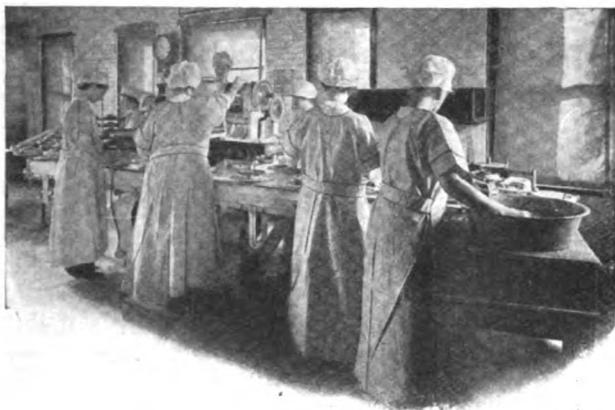
MACHINES MADE BY COLBORNE MFG. CO.

The automatic fruit strainer, made by the Colborne people, which prepares the fruit for the pies, not only strains, but removes seeds and peelings from cooked fruit, while their automatic apple slicer does this work more uniformly and more speedily than can be accomplished by the most skillful operatives.

Their automatic cherry-pitters pit 4,000 pounds of cherries every day, a labor which it would require many efficient and experienced women to perform in the same period of time. Their automatic plate washers clean up the dishes and remove the need of human dish washers.



THE ABOVE PICTURE SHOWS THE COLBORNE LARGE AUTOMATIC PIE MACHINE IN THE CASE & MARTIN BAKERY.



COLBORNE LARGE AUTOMATIC PIE MACHINE IN OPERATION IN THE PIE BAKERY OF A. HAGAMAN, ALBANY, N. Y. TWELVE TO EIGHTEEN HUNDRED PIES PER HOUR MAY BE MADE ON THIS MACHINE WITHOUT TAXING IT.

The Colborne Crust Roller saves the flour dusting in which hand bakers indulge to prevent the dough from sticking to the boards and rolls the dough to any uniform thickness desired with breath taking speed (just as wet clothes are wrung thru a clothes wringer). Their rotary pie machine rolls the dough, dampens the lower crust, trims the pies (to any size desired) and turns out an hourly average of six hundred pies when operated by three girls.

The Automatic Pie Machine, the most modern product of the Colborne Company, is practically automatic in all its operations. It will turn out thirty completed pies, with top crusts, per minute. It rolls the upper and lower crusts, dampens the lower crusts, to cause the uppers to stick to them, trims the pies and delivers them complete, ready for the oven. When this automatic machine is operated by six unskilled girls it turns out from 1,200 to 2,000 pies per hour. Automatic pie-markers decorate the upper crust of these pies.

We may expect the machine to further invade the field of baking from now on. The small bakers and small bakeries are

disappearing before the onrush of the modern factories. They cannot compete with hand labor against machine production. They are becoming every day more and more obsolete.

Hand weaving was compelled to yield before the machine. Human energy in the glass blowing industry is rapidly passing; machine molding is taking the place of the old-time molders. Specialization is the order of the day and the specialist in the field of production can only establish himself by eliminating competition, by making commodities representing a smaller amount of human labor thru the use of modern machines.

And modern machinery requires more and more capital with every improvement that takes place in the machine. The more automatic the machine the more will it eliminate skilled labor and even unskilled labor.

As the machinery of production grows more automatic, in this and other similar fields, production will ultimately doubtless resolve itself into being carried on chiefly by the chemists and mechanics aided by a few unskilled workers.



COLBORNE AUTOMATIC PIE MACHINE 20 FEET LONG, 5 FEET HIGH, WEIGHS 6,000 POUNDS, CAPACITY 30 PIES PER MINUTE, OR 43,000 PER 24 HOURS.

Socialists and Militarism

By WILLIAM E. BOHN

THIS article is only in part an answer to the one by Comrade Henry Slobodin in the March number of the Review. I return to this subject of militarism, and especially to the notion of the citizen army, because in relation to them our American Socialist Party faces a great opportunity and grave danger. It is more than ever necessary that we should think straight with regard to these matters. It is quite possible that our million votes may have a decisive influence on the nation in its present crisis. Among the farmers and members of the middle class there is a determined opposition to any extensive military equipment. A sharp campaign by the Socialist Party would add largely to this opposition.

Our referendum on the subject proves that the great majority of our members are opposed to all forms of militarism as a regular feature of the life of this nation. Everywhere I go I find that our members are quite clear in their opinion. But our agitation is slow in getting under way. We are against any form of militarism, but not enough against it to make a great stir in the world. So it is necessary to return to this subject again and again.

Comrade Henry Slobodin's two articles on the subject prove how dangerous it is to trust even the most brilliant leader with regard to a matter so vital in the life of the working-class. In his article in the January Review Slobodin maintained with great vehemence that American Socialists "stand committed in favor of universal training and a citizen army." His reason, given at great length, is that European Socialists from 1869 to 1907 passed resolutions in favor of this thing. I answered in the February REVIEW that the Socialists of the United States are obliged to decide for themselves in the year 1916 what is opposed to the interests of the working-class and what is not. In the March REVIEW Slobodin acknowledges that "perhaps Socialists are no longer bound by the resolutions of the Second International." Imagine what must be the effect on non-Socialist working-class readers of

such a reversal as this. The necessity of thinking clearly before we write was never better demonstrated.

Another point in Slobodin's more recent article shows the danger of controversial writing with regard to so grave a matter. I took occasion to remark that if the nation goes in for preparedness at all it will probably go the whole length, in fact, not to do so would be foolish. This remark I supported with the further one that at the present time military efficiency depends upon equipment and organization, "the mobilization of the national life." In reply Slobodin quotes from Bernhardt three or four phrases to the effect that "heightened demands" are now made the "individual character of the soldier." Of course, everybody knows that Bernhardt's book was written to show that the whole nation, its industry, its education, its agriculture, its transportation, etc., must be directed toward military ends if the nation is to succeed in modern warfare. But it is a pity that Slobodin did not read the paragraphs from which his phrases were selected. In one of them he would have found the surprising information that demands are made on individual character because of "the immensity of the armies, the vast extent of the spheres of operation and fields of battle, and the difficulty, inseparable from all these conditions of giving direct orders." In the following paragraph he might have learned that "It is one thing to lead 100,000 men or perhaps 200,000 men in a rich country seamed with roads, and concentrate them for a battle—it is another thing to manoeuvre 800,000 men on a scene of war stripped bare by the enemy." Bernhardt goes on from this to argue that peace manoeuvres must be prosecuted on a scale hitherto unthought of. One wonders what Bernhardt would think of Slobodin's army with its weapons behind the kitchen stove.

Or again, how can we be helped in our thought by knowing that a writer believes in "universal military training," but not "universal military service?" Where and

when is training to be received if there is no service?

In conclusion Slobodin acknowledges that I am right in supposing that any sort of military training induces a military, not a militant, state of mind. And still he is in favor of such training. Or at least he is willing to use his influence in favor of it and urges other Socialists to do likewise. He even goes so far as to compare the effort to secure it to the effort to secure higher wages.

But this is enough of mere controversy. Comrade Slobodin nowhere in these articles places his argument on the basis which seems to me fundamental to working-class thought. It is necessary to stop answering him in order to discuss the really important aspects of the question of militarism.

Let us regard the matter briefly from two points of view. As Socialists most of us believe that the chief features of our political life are causally related to our form of industrial organization. War is a continuation of policies pursued during times of what we please to call peace. Our economic organization is a very complicated one and human nature is actuated by complex motives. Nevertheless, I think most of us agree that the important wars of the present time are caused directly or indirectly by the character of our economic organization.

If this is true, how should we act toward the proposal to spend part of our national energy in the acquirement of military organization and equipment? Each one of us possesses a certain amount of social influence. Our Party possesses great influence. Each one is in control of his own influence. Co-operatively we control the influence of our Party. How shall we direct these influences in the face of the present crisis?

If our economic organization is the chief cause of war at the present time, the simple, obvious thing for us to do is to direct our influence against the continuation of this cause. Once get the majority of people to see this cause, and understand the possibility of removing it, and we shall have gone a long way toward making war impossible. Every bit of time or energy

which we devote to fostering war or the preparation for war is deducted from the sum total which we can devote to the effort to abolish it—if it does not, in fact, furnish an impulse in the opposite direction.

Or look at the subject in a still simpler manner. The working people of the country are the great majority. They are surely the main source of additions to "our" national wealth. Under present conditions they suffer much from economic, political and social restrictions. Socialists are, for the most part, working people and now and always give evidence of a purpose to reconstruct society, or influence the evolution of society, in such a way as to give the working people a maximum of human possibilities.

Now military organizations and operations under modern conditions have universally a certain character. They make for authority on the part of the ruling classes and submission on the part of the common soldiers drawn from the working classes. This statement holds true of professional armies like that of England, of conscript armies like that of Germany, of citizen armies like that of Australia, and of militia bodies like our own state organizations. That it will continue to hold true is indicated by the very nature of military operations. All human experience goes to show that democracy and the militarism of the present and immediate future cannot be mixed.

Such knowledge of human nature as is possessed by every normal adult leads us to take for granted that a ruling class used to command and a working-class used to obey will remain indefinitely in their respective positions. Therefore, it is evident that militarism in any conceivable form will tend to keep the working people in their present position with all the economic, political and social restrictions which belong to it.

This very simple and obvious course of reasoning leads to the conclusion that Socialists, organized as they are for the purpose of freeing the working class from its present restrictions, must, of necessity, oppose militarism with all their might.

LABOR NOTES

The Passing of the Telegraph Operator

THE scientific monthlies are now enthusiastic over the latest improvement in sending telegrams which, they claim, will make the telegraph operator unnecessary.

Striking efficiency, they say, has been reached in telegraphic communication thru the development of a new transmitting and receiving mechanism which is rapidly being put into use in large cities thruout the country.

It is a printing telegraph system of pronounced flexibility which materially increases the traffic carrying capacity of existing wire facilities. Altho the apparatus is complex in itself, its operation is said to be so simple that it will obviate the need of employing telegraphers and will resolve the work of receiving and sending messages to the simple routine of operating a typewriter keyboard and tearing off one communication after another as they are printed on a roll of paper.

In this way a girl entirely unversed in the Morse code and the use of the telegraph key, but experienced as a typist, is made just as capable of sending a telegram from New York to Chicago, or to some other point, as if she were a veteran telegrapher.

To the telegraph operators this is important, for notwithstanding the fact that heretofore this class of skilled workers has been much in demand and has been able to maintain a somewhat higher wage scale than unskilled laborers, all the years these men and women have spent in learning this trade and in becoming expert or skilled in it, will count for nothing. They will have to begin all over again and find some new field for their labors.

Thus we have seen the *beginnings* of the passing of the molders, the glassblowers, the typesetters, the railroad engineers, to some extent, the boilermakers and the car builders, the stenographers, who are slowly yielding before the dictagraph, and a host of others.

During periods of great expansion, of building, constructing, or during a period of "war orders," the pinch is nowhere so greatly felt, but the scale is everywhere

downward for the skilled trades. New demands create new trades—temporary trades—during boom times, but the inevitable reaction is bound to come.

The telegraph companies appreciate the possibilities in cutting the wage scale on operators, altho the typists will need to receive nearly as much as the former operators, as the latter were badly underpaid—but the important phase is the high speed transmission and great volume of traffic that may be handled over *one line* by use of this invention.

Altho not representing the limit of flexibility of the system, quadruple-duplex operation is made possible. By this is meant that four channels in each direction are provided on a single line.

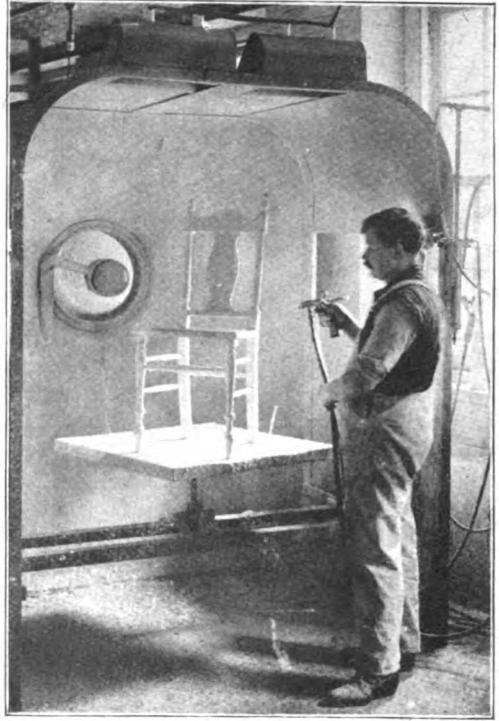
Forty-five words a minute is the average transmission now. Under the new system 180 words may be sent in each direction over a wire in one minute, or a total of 360. *Popular Mechanics* says:

"The instruments included in the new equipment consist essentially of a tape perforator, electric transmitter, a distributor, a receiving printer, and an automatic controller. To understand the operation of these devices it is first necessary to differentiate between tape transmission and the old method. The code used is known as an equal-letter, five-unit plan. Each individual signal requires exactly the same line-time for transmission and consists of five units, whether it represents a letter or a figure. A narrow tape is punched crosswise, each line of holes representing some specific character. This is done by a small machine fitted with a standard typewriter keyboard. When the letter "A" is struck, the tape is perforated with five holes representative of that letter in the code. An average of about 45 words a minute are punched in this way. The tape, as it is perforated, is extended to the transmitter. Fingers in this instrument pass through the holes and operate a series of levers which set up in turn the proper combinations for the signals.

"Positive and negative impulses sent out by the transmitting mechanism actuate the

printing receiver at the other end of the line and cause the message to be typed out. Every function performed by the printer is controlled by the perforations in the distant tape, even to the extent of line spacing and carriage shifting.

"This explains roughly the manner in which the telegraphing is done. The most salient feature, however, is that not merely one message may be transmitted in each direction over a line in this way, but four messages in each direction, or a total of eight, simultaneously. This obviously requires the use of a battery of four transmitting and receiving instruments. The device known as the distributor makes this possible by alternately connecting first one and then another of the transmitting and receiving instruments for a brief flash in which one signal is sent. Thus in sending four distinct messages, a single letter of the first, second, third, and fourth is sent successively, and the routine then repeated. From this it may be seen that when a signal is being sent from one transmitter to a receiver, the other three senders and printers are not literally in operation."



A Shower-Bath of Paint

A MACHINE that paints several chairs or tables in the time that an ordinary workman would take to paint one—and paints them better—is now being successfully used by furniture-makers. It is an application of the familiar paint-sprayer or "air-brush," adapted to do fine work by being driven electrically. A contributor to *The Edison Monthly* (New York, November) notes that while scenery, newspaper-illustration, and possibly, it is whispered, somewhat of serious art, have prospered of late through the medium of the air-brush, the use of the contrivance as a paint-dispenser on a scale purely vulgar and commercial has been reserved for recent days. He goes on:

"Perhaps it would be more correct to say that its application in this connection was but experimental. And no doubt it would have continued so had the experimenters, as at first, persisted in the use of

non-electric motive power. Happily, however, the irregularities and jolts of the former drive were found unnecessary and the device supplied from the Edison mains has made its way into an important number of big furniture-establishments.

"The air-brush itself looks remarkably like a Colt revolver, trigger and all, excepting, naturally, a peculiar barrel-tip quite as deadly in suggestion as the remainder of the mechanism. Introduced at the breach, the paint-screen finds itself suddenly whirled toward this peculiar opening by seventy pounds air-pressure turned on immediately behind the paint-tube. The result, a fine and what would seem a waterish spray is emitted to cover with unbelievable rapidity the chair or whatever else is subjected to its attentions. With either paint or varnish the machine works fully 300 per cent faster than the fastest workman."

Imperialistic Socialism

By Henry L. Slobodin

SOcialists never tire repeating that social development is the most complex phenomenon in the range of evolution. Yet, in practice, they frequently forget this proposition and act as if the transition from theory to practice is the simplest thing. Our experience, however, is that things generally, and things social particularly, look startlingly different when realized from what they looked when merely written in a program.

I have now in mind the Socialist attitude towards nationalism. On paper, the Socialists solved the problem of racialism or nationalism, with one grand sweep of the hand. The working class knows no nationality. The solidarity of the interests of the capitalist class of all countries on one hand and of the working class of all countries on the other became an axiom. There was no other division to be recognized. The class struggle superseded the national struggle. So it was on paper.

In reality, the thing took quite a different aspect. When the idea of international class solidarity was first put forth, it found Europe partitioned largely among several big nationalities, with many small nationalities squeezed into them as raisins into a cake. Germany and Italy were in the period of unifying and coalescing their Germans and Italians, respectively. This work they speedily accomplished. And there you had Russia sprawling over one-sixth of the land area of the globe, covering Russia proper and also taking in Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland, Oukraina, Caucasus and numerous races like the Jews, without any definite territory of their own. Austria was a crazy-quilt of nationalities and races, with the German and Magyar nationalities dominating all. Germany had part of Poland under its thumb, to say nothing of the Jews, Wends, Letts and Slavs in Prussia.

The Germans in Germany and Austria, the Russians in Russia, while economically oppressed, were nationally a dominating race. Their language, religion, literature and customs were protected and fostered by their respective governments. Demands of national self-expression, freedom of language and religious worship would have been superfluous in the program of the German or Russian Socialists.

But there were dozens of nationalities scattered over these empires whose language was officially banished; whose literature was proscribed; whose religion was oppressed. For these nationalities national self-expression, freedom of language and religious worship were immediate, living problems. With these problems pressing upon them, Poles, Jews, Oukrainians, could no more think of other social problems than a person lacking air could think of athletic exercise.

Such were the national conditions to which the Socialist movement at the outset addressed itself.

How did these aspirations for national freedom, known in Europe as national self-determination, stand the acid test of the class struggle?

In the concert of Socialist powers the German Social Democracy played the first fiddle. Completely satisfied with the conditions of their own national existence, they could afford an attitude of lofty contempt towards national aspirations. Predominating not only numerically but economically and politically as well, their advice to subject races was—become assimilated. The Russian Socialists were not slow in imitating a worthy example. Assimilate became the order of the day for subject races. On the fringe of every oppressed nationality there was always to be found a group of "assimilated," Germanised or Russianised, members of their own race. They formed a group of

“assimilators” who joined in the advice of the dominant nationality—become assimilated. This meant that the German solution for oppressed nationalities was—become Germans. The Russian solution was—become Russians. And the class struggles were claimed by these assimilators as a basis for their demand.

Why, they said, obscure the great doctrine of class solidarity of the working class of all nations by national issues?

Moreover, it was said, the existence of diverse nationalities was conducive to race hatreds and wars, not to speak of religious hatreds and wars. With race and religious diversities eliminated, the class struggle will be fought on clear lines. The elimination of race differences appeared to the “assimilators” as a measure of progress and they refused to be swayed by sentimental motives.

Almost every Polish or Jewish Socialist knows that, in his young days, he assumed the attitude of lofty contempt toward the aspirations of his race for national and religious freedom.

This is the way some Socialists attempted to carry out the great and, to them, simple idea of class struggle through the diversities and complexities of nationalities and religions.

How did it work in prosaic reality?

It will be admitted that tolerance is not one of the besetting sins of Socialists. The Socialists were sincerely and honestly indignant at the ignorance and superstition of small nationalities which insisted in obtruding their national struggles where the class struggle alone was in place. There arose a kind of imperialistic Socialism which demanded what in theory it claimed to be, a “nation-less” organization of society, but which, in reality, could not avoid being, as they well knew, a German, or Russian, or English society, with all other nationalities and races completely absorbed and assimilated.

Imperialism is the attempt of a dominant race to extend its dominion over other races and assimilate them wherever possible. It matters not whether it is done in the name of “the white man’s

burden,” “kultur,” or “Socialism.” Imperialism can achieve its dominion only through oppression and violence, altho the violence need not be of physical nature.

That there was a strong tendency on the part of the great powers in the Socialist movement to do violence to the small nationalities cannot be denied. And the Socialist movement deserves all the more credit that, notwithstanding strong pressure, it refused to be bent in that direction. One has only to recall the attitude of many Russian revolutionaries toward the first Jewish programs in the eighties. They excused them, and almost hailed them as a manifestation of “the uplift of the people’s soul.” The idea being that the people will first try their hand on the Jews, then turn on the Tzar and then on the capitalists. And the Jewish “assimilators,” standing amidst the wreck and ruin of their own race, repeated dazedly —“the uplift of the people’s soul.”

The unreality of Socialist imperialism made it impossible for this method to emerge from the domain of theory. It would be going too far afield to discuss here whether the amalgamation of all races into one would, from a bio-social point of view, be for the benefit of mankind and civilization. The fact remains that, all the theories of amalgamation to the contrary notwithstanding, the racial and national tendencies show, with enlarged opportunities, diverging rather than converging characteristics. Not alone historic nations, like Poles, Bohemians or Jews, show a determined desire for national existence and self-determination, but even the smallest races, to the world at large obscure and unknown, are now heard from, one after another, coming out with demands for freedom of national existence. When the Lithuanians demand to be distinguished from the Poles, the Letts from the Lithuanians, the Oukrainians from the Russians, only an ethnologist could orient himself in the grounds for these claims. Yet all of them, as well as the numerous tribes inhabiting Caucasus and the Balkans and the Armenians and the Arabs, all clamor for

national freedom and self-determination. From all corners of the globe we hear, in tongues whose existence we did not suspect, the same cry for national or racial freedom. And when, in a given territory, a voice is heard in one tongue, voices in a dozen other tongues suddenly break out, each clamoring to be heard on its own account. Tongues and customs considered dead these thousand years are now being exhumed for modern use so as to furnish a given racial group with a racial livery.

The Jews are turning back to the use of ancient Hebrew; the Irish to the Gaelic tongues.

There is no reason to believe that this universal outbreak of nationalism and racialism lacks the elements of historic permanency. At any rate, it is real, and when theory and reality meet in conflict, it is not reality that steps aside. And the Socialist movement will not sidestep reality for the sake of a theory. It is not a question whether Socialism should

favor nationalism or racialism. The question is whether Socialism will recognize a fact.

And why should not it?

What anti-national Socialism offers, under the guise of revolutionary Socialism, is imperialistic Socialism. The choice is not between revolutionary Socialism and nationalistic Socialism. The choice is between imperialistic, oppressive Socialism on one hand and libertarian, emancipating Socialism on the other. True, international Socialism lies with the latter. Because it will recognize the right of all races and nations to equality of freedom and self-determination, Socialism and the class struggle will, for that reason, be none the less revolutionary and international. The fact remains that the very word international implies the existence of diverse nations. The class struggle will be fought on clear lines, not when there will be no nations or races, the wildest of chimeras, but when national and racial oppression will be removed and all nations afforded equal rights.

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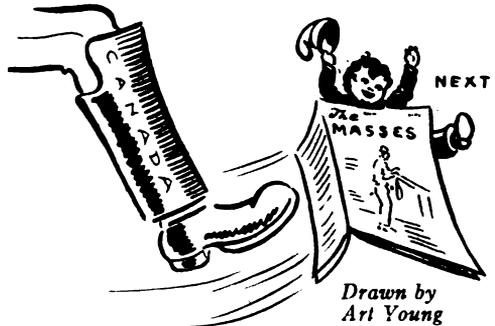
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THE MASSES

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- - -

NEW YORK





EDITORIAL

POWER

It is Power that makes the wheels of industry revolve, that makes trains of cars loaded with food stuffs, cloth and clothing, with fuel and the other necessities of life, to climb the mountain roads and rush down over the plains, to the back gates of our cities to supply the needs of the nations of the earth.

It is Power that digs canals, lifts the steel girders to build bridges that span the rivers; Power that transports men from one land to another, that carries the workers from their homes to their places of employment, that sends the news from one end of the world to another, that lights our cities, carries water into our homes!

Power that removes sewerage and garbage from millions of flats and houses, that builds and weaves, that sows and reaps, that fills our harbors with ocean liners and dots the seas with vessels laden with all the things needed by mankind today! Power! Steam power, gas explosion and water power united with the brain and hand power of the workers of the world!

It was a great step forward when early man threw the burden from his own shoulders and first hitched his ox and his horse to the plow; when he allowed the water in the mill pond to turn the wheels that ground his grain, when he set aloft a crude windmill to pump his water.

But it was steam power, harnessed to new and gigantic machines, that made the railroads, steamships, modern shops, mills and factories possible. Horsepower and the reaper and binder set free many of the laborers on the farms, so that workers were available for the growing industries in mill and factory. And steam power and the gas engine have taken the jobs of still more

farmers during the past few years and sent them toward the industrial centers looking for jobs.

In the old days man worked unceasingly to provide for his own wants and the needs of his family. In the good-days-a-coming, POWER, outside of man, will accomplish all the drudgery of the world's work. Capitalists today see this and are planning to monopolize the world's greatest natural power to their own profit.

The REVIEW has received a letter from the Committee of Industrial Relations, Washington, D. C., to this effect. It says:

"An enormous grab at the public wealth has recently been made by big corporations with the help of the United States Senate.

"The Shields Water Power bill, which has passed the Senate and is now in the House of Representatives of Congress, is the worst attempt to get the natural resources of the people into private hands that has been pulled off in years.

"Unless the people back home beat this iniquitous grab in the House of Representatives, the biggest remaining source of public wealth will pass into the hands of private privilege, WITHOUT COMPENSATION AND FOREVER.

"THE BILL WILL GIVE AWAY ALL THE WATER POWER OF ALL THE NAVIGABLE RIVERS IN THE UNITED STATES. Write quickly and protest to your congressman."

* * *

There is only one known kind of natural power that pours and pours and will continue to lavish its strength, ready to be harnessed by the hand of man to fetch and carry at his bidding, to dredge and drain and irrigate, to blast and lift the ore, to

push the farm machines, the cars, the ships, to plow and plant, to reap and stack, to thresh and grind and bind! Power to spin and weave, to cut and sew, to feed and kill and pack! Power, in short, which, if controlled by the working class, will ultimately accomplish most of the world's work and liberate man from excessive and degrading toil.

Water power is the one great natural force that continually renews itself. Water expands and evaporates, is crystalized and condensed, going round and round in a continuous circle of perpetual force or motion. It IS Perpetual Motion! Nature herself lifts into the heavens, day after day and year after year, oceans of water, to send it tumbling down in springs and rivers and floods to refresh the thirsty earth and to supply sufficient power to carry the BURDEN of the labor of the world. Man has only to stretch out his hand and catch and conquer and harness this fugitive, titanic force.

Here is the Power that shall free man from moling in the mines, shall turn him from prison factories and mills, as the farm machine has partly freed him from the soil. The Force is here. We have Electricity to transmit it. All we need is the organization of the working class to take control and use this Power in the interests of the people who *make* things, instead of for the benefit of those who *take* things.

In private hands the water power of the United States, harnessed and developed, will bring to its owners an almost limitless economic advantage. The capitalist class is depending upon the workers to develop this power, to direct and utilize this power—for the benefit and profit of this class. Congress will probably endorse the action of the Senate and give away this greatest of all ungarnered forces—to private individuals.

But it will not be forever. The greatest machine the world has ever invented, run by whatsoever power you will, is still made, operated and controlled by the hands and brains of Labor. Without these hands and brains, machines are but dead lumps of iron and steel; Power is but coal or oil beneath the surface of the earth, or water tumbling down the slopes of mountains in spring and river.

It is the hand of the Worker that guides these things, that directs their force, that utilizes them. And these hands can *hold*

these things, can *keep* these things whenever they are organized into a working-class union determined to overthrow the wages system.

Congresses and Senates may give; it remains always possible for the organized workers to take back again. Capitalists may own—but it is the workers who operate. The hands of the workers open the throttles and throw the switches. All they need is organization to enable them to take the world for the workers.

Workers of the world—you are at the helm. Your hands are on the levers of the world. Power is yours to command. Organize and you can do all things.

(M. E. M.)

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, Etc., Required by Act of Congress of August 24, 1912
Of International Socialist Review, published monthly at Chicago, Ill., for April 1, 1916.
STATE OF ILLINOIS,
COUNTY OF COOK—ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Charles H. Kerr, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the International Socialist Review, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 448, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Charles H. Kerr & Company, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.

Editor, Charles H. Kerr, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.

Managing Editor, Mary E. Marcy, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.

Business Manager, Leslie H. Marcy, 841 East Ohio street, Chicago.

2. That the owners are (give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock):

Charles H. Kerr, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.

(All others hold less than 1 per cent each.)

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are (if there are none, so state):

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association or corporation has any interest, direct or indirect, in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is _____ (This information is required from daily publications only.)

CHARLES H. KERR, Editor.
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23d day of March, 1916.

MICHAEL J. O'MALLEY.
(My commission expires March 8, 1920.)



INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The Internationalism of Capital.—Such internationalism as we have is a product of capitalist development. In the early days of the war it became clear that one result of it will be the creation of new international units. We may see the world divided into three great empires, controlled by the Central Powers, the Entente Powers, and America. Or, to speak more exactly, we may experience a half competitive, half co-operative, control of the world by the capitalists of these three power groups. There will be changes, of course. Fifty years change friends to enemies, and occasionally a decade will suffice. But the world as it will be at the close of the war seems now to be taking rather definite form.

The Central powers were, as always, the first to make their organization effective. Even before the war the Germans had organized the Turkish army, officered it and prepared themselves to make it a part of their military machine. As soon as the Austrians began to suffer defeat the forces of the dual monarchy were treated in the same way. Then they began to win. The agricultural, mineral and industrial resources of all territories within the iron ring have been centrally administered to ward off economic exhaustion. Fighting as separate units, as mere allies, the Central Powers would have been defeated long ago.

During the past two months there has come evidence that the Entente Powers have learned the lesson. During the last days of February there assembled in Paris delegates from the two houses of the English parliament to sit with similarly

chosen representatives from the French Chamber and Senate in an international parliament. *L'Humanité* reports that little was done except to provide for a combined effort to maintain credit. To be sure a certain degree of military unity had been provided for at an earlier date. But, according to the French view, the final result was a sense of common interest.

Just a month later occurred a conference of the prime ministers of Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and Serbia. Terms of peace were discussed and it was again decided that no country would offer separate terms to the enemy.

A hundred years ago the English were taught that it was a matter of duty to hate a Frenchman as they did the devil. If France ever regains her position of military dictator on the continent, they may have this doctrine revamped for them. But this seems improbable. The old wars brought about no such co-operation as we see now. And this drawing together of peoples cannot be without results. If French and English statesmen get together, why should not French and English labor unions do the same thing? Some may say that they have already done so. They have hardly done so in anything but vague language and their sentiment. They have never mapped out definite policies as have the capitalist statesmen. Capitalism is far in the lead.

The Socialist International.—Camille Huysmans, secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, has seen the necessity of defending the inaction of that body.

Apparently a little more has been done than is commonly thought. In any case, it is evident from the statement that the weakness of the Bureau is but the weakness of the movement itself.

This explanation was made at the annual congress of the Dutch party. The Bureau has done two things: (1) it has called various group meetings of socialists of allied or neutral countries; (2) it has called to the Hague, its present seat, representatives of the various parties in order to keep in touch with the movement. These activities have been carried on by the Executive Committee, for it has not been thought wise to call a meeting of the bureau as a whole. Certain of the parties, it has been generally understood, would refuse to meet the delegates of enemy countries. Therefore a general meeting, thus incomplete, would have been worse than none. The French even refused to send a delegation to talk over the situation privately with the Executive Committee.

The proposals for peace recently advanced by the French Socialist Party, according to Huysmans, give ground for hope. On some such basis representatives of the French and of the German minority may be able to get together. Then it may be possible to have a general meeting. The explanation concluded with the somewhat worn formula that "the International is not dead."

Strictly speaking, the Bureau has done nothing but seek for the basis of an international understanding. The reason this has not been found is that, with things as they are, it does not exist. So the Bureau is not to be blamed if its showing is a poor one.

The Division in Germany.—The Socialist group in the Reichstag is now definitely divided. On March 25, Hugo Haase, until recently floor-leader of the group, made a stinging speech against the war. "The Socialists of all countries hate war," he cried, "we want peace." Philip Scheidemann shouted that the Socialists would never desert the government. There was a great tumult. Haase was forbidden to proceed and, with 18 other deputies, he withdrew. Thereupon the group held a meeting and expelled the rebels.

The reports that a new party has been formed are evidently the result of some misunderstanding. A new party could not be formed over night. But from this time on there will probably be two groups of Socialists in the Reichstag. It is much better to have it so.

The Socialists of Austria.—We are all badly informed about Austria. Practically no reports on the social and political conditions in that country circulate in the press. From time to time letters and unsigned manifestoes have been published, but they have given so dark a picture that they have naturally been discredited. In general one gathers from them that whereas the German Socialists have supported the government and gone in jingoistically for the war, the Czechish comrades have, for the most part, opposed both government and war. This may be partly due to the fact that a victory for Germany will mean further suppression of non-German nations of Austria-Hungary, while a defeat may mean greater liberty for them. But the Germans and non-Germans have long had separate Socialist parties and there is nothing new about their taking opposite sides.

The most recent manifesto contains stories of iron despotism and cruel persecutions. Men have been shot or imprisoned when they asked for peace. Both local and national governments are carried on without reference to the will of the representatives of the people. In order to beat down Czarism, Austro-Hungarians are forced to submit to tyranny as terrible as any that ever disgraced Russia. Discussion of conditions has become an impossibility and only the return of peace can reveal to the outside world what is now taking place.

In the face of this the manifestants cry out: "No solidarity with the ruling system in Austria," and to the slogan of the government, "Hold out to the end!" they answer "We will—for our own principles!"

French Socialist Party. In the face of great difficulties the French party is maintaining its organization. This is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that a densely populated section of northeastern France is in possession of

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Dear Sir: Your Appliance did all you claim for the little boy and more, for it cured him sound and well. We let him wear it for about a year in all, although it cured him three months after he had begun to wear it. We had tried several other remedies and got no relief, and I shall certainly recommend it to friends, for we surely owe it to you.

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the Germans. Before the war, according to *l'Humanite*, the party was composed of 83 departmental sections. All of these have been retained. Departments occupied by the enemy are represented by groups which have migrated within the French lines. Before the war there were 75,312 members. In 1915 there were 24,638. The great falling off is due to military service, death and poverty. In 1916 the number of the previous year has at least been maintained.

The enthusiasm of party workers increases, and the influence of Socialist thought is said to increase.

Labor Conditions in France. In England the government and the capitalists are barely succeeding in "muddling along" through the mess they have got into with the workers. In France it is different. There not a strike has occurred, it is said, since the war began. Investigators sent by Lloyd-George returned with a golden report. "The spirit which dominates the nation has prevented difficulties arising in the manufacture of war materials," it said, and "the increased production is due to one cause only—patriotic enthusiasm."

The second part of this picture is denounced as false by M. Merrheim, secretary of the Metal Workers of France. "The workingmen cannot help themselves," he affirms, "for the simple reason that the great majority of them—probably about 80 per cent—are men under the colors and are subject to military discipline in the factories." Any man who objected would be sent to the front. The manufacturers are making great fortunes, for there is not even the show of limiting some of them that we have seen tried in England. Children and women work night and day. The unions have protested and urged governmental directors, but with no effect. Wages have gone down about 40 per cent, while the cost of living has advanced more than that.

But even now the capitalists are unhappy. They fear the return of peace. There will be, they think, lack of labor, lack of capital, lack of transportation facilities. And when these patriotic workers become mere civilians again what will they do?

In an effort to find out, the Federation of French Manufacturers and Merchants invited Joubaix, Secretary of the Federation General du Travail, to make a speech. He did so. He said that after the war hours must be shortened, unions must be recognized, and in general the workers must be treated like fellow citizens. M. André Lebon, for the Manufacturers, said he did not agree with all this, but that some sort of peace must be patched up between labor and capital or class war would soon follow the international one.

The striking thing about all this is that we have almost identical reports from the warring nations. One capitalist is, after all, astonishingly like another capitalist.

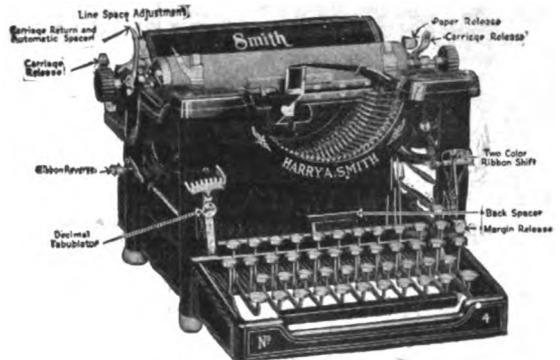
A Strike in Scotland. It is said that 8,000 workers are out along the Clyde. Apparently these are the same munition workers who have all along been trying to protect themselves against the dangers of "dilution." Just why the strike was called does not appear clearly in the cablegrams. The operation of their agreement with the employers affords plenty of opportunity for quarrels. Probably the men's committee was ignored in the ruling on some point.

Strike in Australian Mines. It was announced in last month's REVIEW that the silver miners of Broken Hill, Australia, are out on strike. The Broken Hill workers lead a hard life. The rainfall, about 10 inches, leaves the place a desert. The gases in the mines are so poisonous that it is impossible for the men to work an eight-hour day and maintain their health. This was officially determined by a government commission. So the men are striking for a 44-hour week. That is, they want Saturday afternoons off.

The government is proposing a four-day week, with, it is to be supposed, four days' pay. An attempt to arbitrate was about to be made when the latest papers left Australia (end of February).

SOCIALISTS CHALLENGED I challenge every Socialist, Radical, Single Taxer, or Reformer to send ten cents (money refunded if dissatisfied) for my book, "Why Things Happen to Happen." Are you sure you're right? W. Harry Spears, Hamilton, Ohio.

"COSMIC REVOLUTION." Solomon's philosophy—*not Moses' or Christ's*—proved by reason, science and facts. 25 cents. S. C. Baker, Centerville, Ala.



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H. A. SMITH, Room 562-231 N. Fifth Ave., Chicago, Ill. Ship me your Model No. 4 typewriter F. O. B. Chicago, as described in this advertisement. I will pay you the \$28.00 balance of the SPECIAL \$34.15 purchase price, at the rate of \$2.00 per month. The title to remain in you until fully paid for. It is understood that I have five days in which to examine and try the typewriter. If I choose not to keep it I will carefully repack it and return it to the express agent. It is understood that you give the standard guarantee.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Putting One Over the Miners

AFTER viewing the recent convention of the U. M. W. of A., held in the city of Indianapolis, Ind., we can but look upon the administration with suspicion. After wind-jamming the slaves, who were sent there as representatives of the miners, they tell them to return home while the officials beg, barter and compromise at the feet of the capitalist class.

Oh, you United Mine Workers of America!—you who strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. You, who have sent hundreds of thousands of dollars into the Russianized state of West Virginia to be spent by a bunch of labor fakirs and industrial traitors, revelling in drunken debauchery and compromising our every effort!—when will you wake up? Oh, you miners of the competitive states! You furnish the money and the traitors spend it, and at the same time you boast of what you have done for West Virginia. While you have done some good, we are honest enough to admit, there is a great wrong you have done also. You have permitted us to be dominated over and over-run with every type of industrial traitor and labor fakir in the union.

You have also permitted thousands of dollars of your money to be spent in political campaigns that were detrimental to the cause of industrial freedom.

Every time we make a move to better our conditions the Czar from Pennsylvania puts in his oar. We cannot recall any official of our own district organization even for embezzlement or crooked dealings of any kind, because of the interference of the representatives of the International Union. We furnish the money for the advancement of the union and our money is being spent to crush organization. We would do well to investigate this matter for ourselves and not leave it up to the International Union to do so.

We, in West Virginia, are getting tired of being called the pull-back of the organization when we, who put up the money are alone responsible by putting our money in the hands of official pirates and compromisers to be spent in fighting us instead of being used to further the cause of organized labor

in West Virginia. But we are fast coming to our right minds in the Russianized state of West Virginia, and if the policy of the union is not changed in the near future, there will be more secessionists in West Virginia. We are tired of being robbed by the officials of our own district who are backed up by the officials of the International Union, and if there is not something doing shortly, there will be another step made toward the advancement of the *one big union*.

FRED MOONEY.

From One of the B. of R. T.

IN answer to your article on the general strike in the railway service, in which you ask the question, "Who is going to put the brakes on?" I believe I, a train service employe of fourteen years' experience, can give you a good answer. First, I wish to say I am and have been a member of the B. of R. T. for ten years and I am a close observer.

P. H. Morris rendered valuable service to the General Managers' Association. After delivering the 100,000 trainmen bound by contract to the general managers he attempted to deliver them politically thru the Railway Employes & Investors' Association, but he failed to make a go of it. But he had a safe henchman, Lee, in charge of the industrial organization. Well, you know the general managers remembered his service and promoted him to the position of an assistant to one of the vice-presidents (7th, C., B. & Q.). Lee is on the job. There is more democracy in Tammany Hall than in the B. of R. T. Anyone familiar with the workings of the organization knows this. Lee is at the head of the machine thru patronage and the good wishes of the general managers. His moral function is to control us.

Well, the men are restless; they know they are getting it in the neck. The general managers and the big capitalists know better than the men that a political revolution is at hand, so the henchmen, consciously or unconsciously, are going to be a factor in assuring a return of Mr. Wilson and, of course, a vindication of his military policy.

In other words, I believe a grand opportunity is here offered for an American political trick.

Samuel Gompers got the provision in the Clayton Bill to prevent certain funds from being used to prosecute unruly labor leaders. Pure bunk! Again, the Seamen's Bill. But the S. S. China cleared from Frisco the other day with 143 chinks and 14 Filipinos, because the Wilson administration agreed with the master not to enforce it. Wilson has done nothing for the workers. Now the trick—a threat to call a general strike. Lots of press agent work. "The consumers and the public would suffer, etc." Presto! Enters Mr. Wilson; a grand-stand play; talks rough to the general managers; forces what would look like a good settlement a week or so before election and then a mad attempt to be made to rush labor to put the hero back on the job.

Would not a few concessions from the general managers be worth trading for a military machine capable of enforcing the Dick military bill? Then Wilson would give labor what they voted for—the bayonet. He let Ludlow go by; why won't he give labor what they want? Both the Republican and Democratic parties are committed to the military machine. Therefore, the masses must be delivered up for the success of the force that is to keep the machine-displaced slave in trim to die by slow starvation. Here is a live chance for the smooth political trickster to prevent such a political revolution as occurred when Lincoln was put on the job. Do you see now who will put the brakes on? And by and by, as the automatic machine makes tramps of the workers, the big capitalists will have the military machine to do as the capitalists of Europe are today doing.

A COMRADE.

The Cave Stories—A California comrade, in sending in a subscription, writes: "If possible, begin with the October number, as I want all of the Cave Stories. They jolt every time."—W. M. B.

Oregon—A comrade writes: "Times are hard, but I have taken the REVIEW so long that I can't get along without it, but do not change the name of the REVIEW. It means just what it says. Other Socialist (so-called) magazines and papers have come and gone, and we appreciate the fact that the REVIEW has been on the revolutionary firing line all these years."—W. G.

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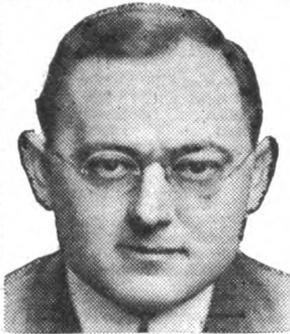


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HEALS DAY AND NIGHT**

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I AM FREE — YOU CAN BE FREE

My catarrh was filthy and loathsome. It made me ill. It dulled my mind. It undermined my health and was weakening my will. The hawking, coughing, spitting made me obnoxious to all and my foul breath and disgusting habits made even my loved ones avoid me secretly. My delight in life was dulled and my faculties impaired. I knew that in time it would be a timely grave because every moment of the



Notice to Canadian Comrades—Comrades passing through Guelph should take time to drop in and shake hands with our comrade, James Smith, who runs a Socialist news stand opposite the Grand Trunk Railway Station in the King Edward Hotel block. You will receive a warm welcome and will also have an opportunity to purchase a lot of Socialist literature.

From a War Widow—"My husband was in the army for four years, and my son served during the Spanish-American war, so I have had enough murder in my family. I am now trying to eke out an existence on \$12.00 per month pension. I herewith enclose my mite, as I missed your Review so much."

Millers Miners' Union—At Millers, Nevada, No. 264, Western Federation of Miners renews their standing bundle order for another year and their secretary, Mr. H. A. Beckmann adds, "the boys certainly enjoy your magazine." You miners who read this, as well as the REVIEW regularly, should get busy in your union and round up a regular standing bundle. It will not only help the REVIEW, but will also help you to "wise up" the boys.

On Unity—I wish to call the attention of the readers of the REVIEW who are members of the Socialist Party to the coming Unity conference with the Socialist Labor Party. The membership of the Socialist Party passed the referendum to hold such conference by an overwhelming vote, thus indicating their desire to do away with the present disgraceful situation of two parties of Socialism, taking the field against one another as well as against the capitalist parties. It is the duty of the members, therefore, to look up this question and see if some practical basis of unity cannot be worked out. We must not allow any committee to do our thinking for us on this any more than on any other question.

Of course the readers of THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, constituting the "red" wing of the Socialist Party, already agree with the Socialist Labor Party on nearly all questions of tactics, from revolutionary political action to Industrial Unionism. But "Bergerism" seems unfortunately to have the upper hand in the Socialist Party, and therefore there is little hope in the near future that either the S. L. P. or the S. P. will take the position of the other. The only plan, therefore, that can unify the movement is a federative plan of unity, such as healed the split in France between the "possibilists" and the "impossibilists." This would work as follows:

The Socialist Labor Party would come into the Socialist or United Socialist Party as an autonomous or nearly autonomous body, similar to a state organization or foreign federation of the present Socialist Party. The S. L. P. would give up its right to nominate a separate ticket, but would retain jurisdiction over its members, and own and publish its own papers on its own responsibility. It would pay into the treasury of the United Party the same amount of dues as a state organization of equal numbers, and be entitled to the same number of National Committeemen and Dele-

gates to conventions as would a state organization of equal numbers. This plan would give these revolutionary Socialists representation in proportion to their strength, whereas, if they joined the Socialist Party as individuals, as our bourgeois opportunists of the Milwaukee stripe would be only too eager to have them do, it is plain that they would be in a hopeless minority everywhere, even with the support of the radical element of the Socialist Party, and could consequently not express themselves.

It might be urged that this having two autonomous Socialist bodies in the same federation would cause trouble, but it certainly couldn't cause as much trouble as the presence of two Socialist parties in the field is causing the movement. Then again, the Socialist Party itself is composed of autonomous state organizations, differing greatly in policy with regard to tactics—from the Berger-Wisconsin organization to the states of Washington and Oregon. Indeed, "state autonomy" was the original compromise on which the Socialist Party was founded, as any student of party history knows. The unity plan on the federative basis would therefore introduce nothing new in the way of organization.

I can understand, of course, that the opportunistic wing of the Socialist Party will fight the federative plan, and try to "starve" the intrepid rebels of the S. L. P. into joining as individuals, in despair. This only emphasizes the duty of the radical element of the Socialist Party to fight for the federative plan, and thereby secure unity on the only possible lines. The real reds of the S. P. should make the federal plan of unity an issue in every branch or local meeting of their respective organizations, and try, by getting resolutions passed setting forth and supporting the federative plan, to secure its adoption. The membership of the party must get busy if we are to have even formal unity in the movement. Yours for Unity, Clarence Hotson.

* * *

When Mr. Gideon, of the Advisory Board of the National Education Association, called at the office of the REVIEW this month in his campaign to secure simplified spelling in the periodicals, he told an amusing story of a particularly pompous business man in this city whom he had tried to enlist in the interests of the association.

"I might, I say, I *might* persuade myself to permit of the use of simplified spelling in such words as—as—'thru' for through, or of 'catalog' for catalogue, my dear sir," this as from one conferring royal favor.

"But I should draw the line. I should find it necessary to draw the line in the spelling of—well—Heaven—for instance. I could never yield that point, my dear sir. Never! I should never permit this to be desecrated to 'Heven.' No, my dear sir. I should *insist* upon Heaven remaining as it was spelled—ages ago—by all the saints and the prophets—*H-E-A-V-E-N.*"

All of which was, of course, somewhat beside the point. Who ever heard of *any* of the saints or prophets writing or even *speaking* in English?

Metal and Machinery Workers—I noticed an article in the REVIEW in regard to a steel and machinery workers' union. It has been suggested that we make it metal and machinery workers. This would take in men who are employed at all classes of metal and machinery work, which would be all the more powerful. I do not think it would be wise to leave out the brass workers or any others who may be employed at metal work of any kind, and as we have a metal and machinery workers' charter here in Cleveland, Ohio, and a few of us are paying dues to hold it, what is the matter with making Cleveland the headquarters and working along the same lines as the agricultural workers' organization of the I. W. W.? I have heard so much talk about what we are going to do and what we would like to do. We could keep on talking about it forever and we would be in the same place we are at present. Come on, now, fellow-workers. Action is the slogan of today. Let us do it right now. We have the charter and let every worker who is interested in this move transfer to or join this local without delay. All who are willing to get into action, communicate with Solidarity, 112 Hamilton avenue, room 301, Cleveland, Ohio.



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If you have Pyorrhea or Riggs Disease, gingivitis, receding gums, elongated or loose teeth; soft, discolored or spongy gums; if your breath is foul, if your teeth pain while eating; if you are subject to bad tastes—then, for your own sake, send for my book and learn how easy this method is—how painless and speedy—how it may quickly and permanently give you sound, healthy teeth.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Cost of Books Advanced. In the last few weeks the price of book paper has more than doubled. Not only is this true, but it is impossible in the present market to buy at any price paper equal to that which we have been using in our standard books, with any assurance that the paper when it arrives from the mill will be up to the old standard of quality. This state of things is in all probability only temporary, but it is serious while it lasts. In view of all the facts our wisest course seems to be to *stop printing books* for the present. Fortunately, we have a fairly large stock on hand. It is essential that we protect our co-operative stockholders, of whom we have now nearly 3,000, in their right to buy our books at 40 per cent discount from retail prices, we prepaying postage. In order to do this, we are obliged to make the two announcements explained in the following paragraphs.

Quantity Discounts Withdrawn. We have been allowing stockholders a discount of 50 per cent on orders accompanied by \$10.00 or more. This discount is withdrawn for the present, and until further notice no one can buy our books at better than 40 per cent discount. Cash must accompany order, and we will pay postage or expressage.

Book and Stock Combination Offer Withdrawn. For the last few months we have been offering special inducements to *new* stockholders in the shape of books at *less than cost* with a share of stock. The increased cost of book paper compels us to withdraw this offer. In future no one can buy our cloth-bound books, transportation charges prepaid, at better than 40 per cent discount, and no one but a stockholder can have this discount. But any one can become a stockholder by paying \$10.00, and we will, if desired, accept this \$10.00 in ten monthly installments of \$1.00 each, and allow the 40 per cent discount as soon as the first payment is made. A booklet, "The Story of a Socialist Publishing House," explaining in full detail how our company is organized and why Socialists should subscribe for stock in it, will be mailed free upon request.

Classics of Science Free to REVIEW Hustlers. As announced on a cover page of this month's REVIEW, we have purchased a large quantity of the best scientific works in the English language to give as premiums to those who send us new subscriptions for the REVIEW. The books are by great English scientists, and need no testimonials. The titles and subjects treated are as follows:

The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection; or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life. By Charles Darwin.

The Descent of Man; and Selection in Relation to Sex. By Charles Darwin. Explains how free selection on the part of the female improves the species.

First Principles. By Herbert Spencer. The Unknowable, the Knowable, the Indestructibility of Matter, the Persistence of Force, the Law of Evolution, etc.

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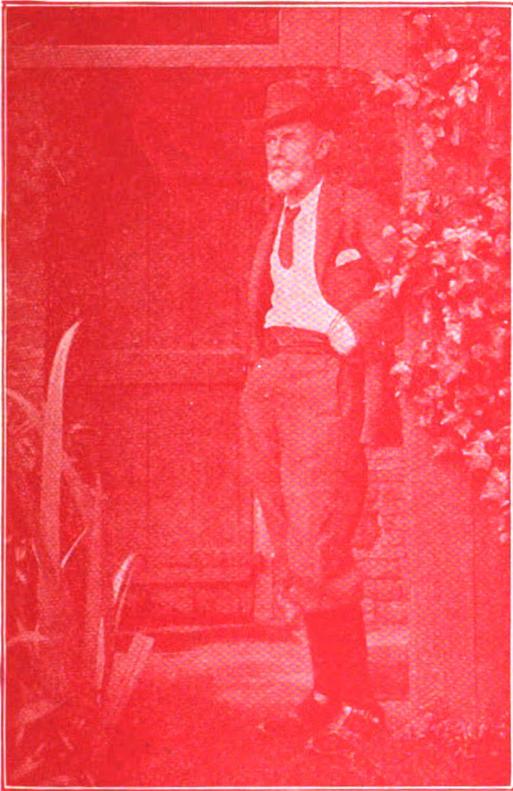
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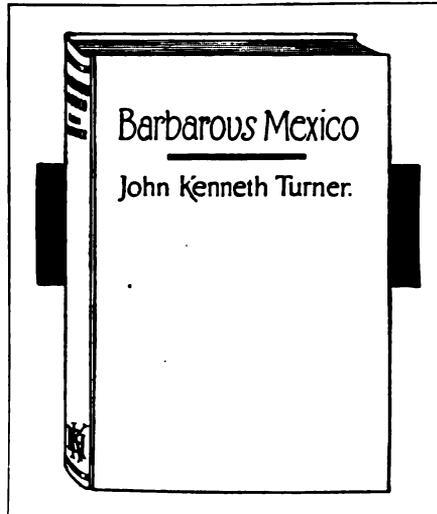
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