

AUG. 1916

The

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MEXICO FOR THE MEXICANS

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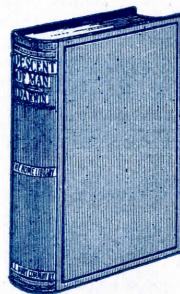
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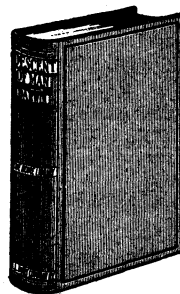
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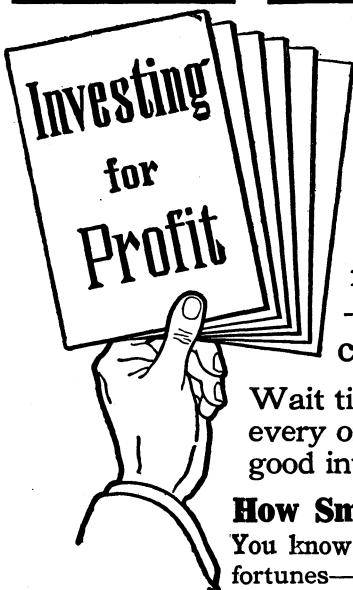
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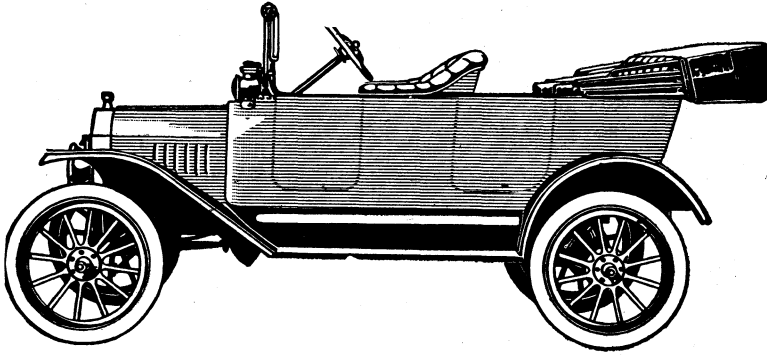
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No. 2

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Mary E. Marcy, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy, Frank Bohn,
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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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From the Masses

Preparedness Gods



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The
INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XVII

AUGUST, 1916

No. 2

DOINGS OF THE MONTH



Kirby, in *N. Y. World*.

TRULY LOYAL NOW

HEARST, the Mexican rancher, who publishes American newspapers, has had his Mexican property confiscated by the Carranza government. Dispatches say John C. Hayes, manager of Hearst's Babicora ranch, passed through the field headquarters of Gen. Pershing July 11 with the information that the Carranza government has seized the Hearst ranch and appointed a manager. Certainly, it ought to be easy for the Carranza government in any court of arbitration in the world to prove that Hearst is a traitor to the Mexican government and by lies, falsehoods and prevarications repeated from day to day, year in and year out, in cartoons, news stories and editorials, tried to bring on a hell-roaring war between the United States and Mexico. The treason of Hearst, the Mexican rancher, to the Mexican government is easily provable. And there are more and more American

workingmen, knowing the Hearst newspapers, knowing the Hearst mines of Lead, S. D., and knowing the Hearst-bred pressmen's strike in Chicago wherein three strikers were killed by professional gunmen—these American workingmen look on Hearst as a more dangerous enemy than any Mexican, any Japanese, or any powers outside this country. Hearst can go right on calling his papers American. But the working class has got his number. He has less influence in proportion to his circulation than anybody that ever printed a newspaper or magazine in this country.

GREETINGS, Henry Ford. You are a traitor to your class. You have millions at your finger ends and you can write a check for tens of millions that would get cashed. Banks are falling over each other

Starrett, in *N. Y. Tribune*.

HENRY FORD AT LEAST SETS THE EXAMPLE

to get your deposits. Streams of profits pour in to you. Yet though you are a Man of Property you talk and act like a Human Being. And because you are going along putting humanity first and property last, you are the cause of headaches and sickness and worry among the editorial newspaper lackeys and the preachers and press agents of Big Business. When you began paying a \$5 a day minimum wage to the 30,000 people in your works, you put yourself on record as a traitor to the propertied class which believes in buying labor power at the current market rate instead of at the price of decent living. Again, when you placed your curse on war and militarism, supplying Congressman Tavenner with \$100,000 for the printing of his speeches mailed out in Illinois of copies showing the fraud and fake of the munitions-makers, you were out of your class, you were advocating the cause of the working class. And now in your statement to a reporter for the *Christian Science Monitor* to the effect that if a strike ever comes in your shops you will not under any conditions call for the state militia to shoot up your workmen, you again are with Humanity and against the propertied class. You act like one of those great careless men who become remembered in history.

AMERICAN manufacturers are making soft-nosed dum-dum bullets and shipping and selling these American-made dum-dum bullets to Mexico. Who these Ameri-

Fitzpatrick, in *St. Louis Post Dispatch*.

IS THIS GOOD BUSINESS?

can manufacturers are, their names and addresses, what clubs, societies and churches they attend,—what cities they live in from which they direct the making, shipping and selling of soft-nosed dum-dum bullets—is not published in American newspapers. The following information, word for word, as here printed first appeared in the *Chicago Tribune* editorial column, later in the *Santa Fe New Mexican* and still later in the *Chicago Daily News*:

Nine days after the raid on Columbus the Ward Line steamer *Esperanza* arrived in Vera Cruz with 1,350,000 rounds of ammunition, all soft nosed or dum-dum bullets, for the Carranza government.

On April 1 the Ward Line steamer *Monterey* landed at Vera Cruz 1,350,000 rounds of ammunition.

On May 13, a month after the Carranza garrison at Parral had attempted to ambush the advance guard of the American expeditionary troops under Major Tompkins, and had attacked them, the *Esperanza* landed at Vera Cruz 300,000 rounds of ammunition.

During these months ammunition has been going over the border in quantities, as well as other supplies for Carranza troops.

Our soldiers are now about to meet a large enemy force, armed and equipped by their own countrymen, with the permission of the government that is now sending them into the field. The American soldiers who died in battle will be shot by American bullets, propelled by American powder, from guns held by soldiers fed by American food, supported by a government established through the influence of the American government.

There the information ends. Readers of the American newspapers printing this stuff get all the knowledge they want in this in-

stance except the name or names of the American manufacturers involved. The profiteers on American soil who have their hand in on this game of making, shipping, and selling soft-nosed dum-dum bullets are traitors to their country in the same sense that Benedict Arnold was a traitor. That is, if treason consists of selling out your own people.

Dum-dum bullets are forbidden in so-called civilized warfare because the soft metal of them spreads when it enters a human body and tears a wider and rougher line of passage than the clean hole made by an ordinary bullet of so-called civilized warfare.

How much cash are American manufacturers getting in the dum-dum bullet trade? And what are the names of the manufacturers? How would big photographs of some of these dum-dum bullet makers look carried at the head of a preparedness parade?

WHEN history is written of the past two years in America it will be stated as a cold fact of politics that Woodrow Wilson was the president of the United States and it rested more on Woodrow Wilson than any other one person in this country to say whether or not this nation should take part in the wild cataclysm of war going on over in Europe. In the controversy over the Lusitania and in other disputes it rested on the say-so of Woodrow Wilson, one little 150-pound man, whether the United States should send its fleet to European waters and convoy an army of troops to Flanders or elsewhere. At various times there have been nervous little nincompoops and lightweight of history holding places of power and using their power to play hell with the working class, but Woodrow Wilson has been no such nincompoop or lightweight, in spite of the representations of Socialist papers like the *Milwaukee Leader*. In the Mexican situation again the choice has been clearly a personal one with Wilson and his decision was against war. The cards were all stacked and congressmen were ready after the Columbus raid to call on Congress for the passage of a declaration of war. Wilson, by thrusting a so-called "punitive expedition" into Mexico, outplayed the war fools and ended the possibilities of war. All the uniformed jingoes of the military caste of the United States are at the present writ-

ing compelled to live in pup tents down among the alkali stretches of the Mexican border. In three speeches in early July President Wilson repeated that he will not allow American capitalist interests to force him to favor a war with Mexico. So long as certain American Socialist and labor papers and politicians are noisily accusing Wilson of being a war fool, it will be necessary to remind those papers and politicians that Wilson's record amid terrific pressure and playing a lone-handed game is that of being a peace fool instead of a war fool. To howl suspicions of militarism against a president who has kept the working class of America out of war during a hair-trigger period is a species of treachery to the working class that does no good. The whole cause of working class organization would be farther behind if this country had now a putty president like McKinley or a fat-headed reactionary like Cleveland, or a war-howling mouthpiece of the Steel Trust like the Great Betrayed, Theodore Roosevelt.

WHILE the newspapers are filled with calls for patriotic young men to join the militia and learn how to fight for the American flag—

And while preachers and special advocates, press agents and singers of "The Star Spangled Banner" are staging preparedness parades, and telling the working class the United States is a *free* country worth fighting for—

The Duluth *News-Tribune*, a newspaper run by and for business interests, a witness without prejudice for the working class, prints these sinister facts on date of June 28:

"Carlo Tresca, leader of miners on Mesaba range, now striking, was arrested this afternoon by Patrolmen Dan Sullivan and Fred Anthony on a warrant sworn out by Police Chief Owen Gately. Tresca is charged with criminal libel for allowing the red banner, 'Murdered by Oliver Gunmen,' to be carried at the head of the funeral procession of John Alar, the striking miner who was shot and killed in a gun fight.

Tresca said: "The police are our publicity agents and we could do little without them. I did not carry the banner and they cannot prove that I did!"

This cold, brief narrative tells in a nutshell why the American working class has



UNDER THE STARS AND STRIPES ON THE
MESABA RANGE

failed to respond to the whirlwind preparedness propaganda of the past year. The get-ready-for-national-defense campaign in newspapers, magazines, pulpits, military and munitions manufacturing quarters the past year has been one of the shrewdest and most powerful opinion-molding crusades ever conducted by American capitalists. Its net result has been the most complete failure that was ever recorded in this country as the outcome of an enormous outlay of cash for clever agitation that made people think. More and more as the working class has thought about preparedness, it has rejected it. The employers are able to mobilize their workers for marches thru city streets behind flags and drums and brass bands. But they are not able to march them through the doorways of armories for enlistment in the National guard. *And the reason for this is that the workers believe this is not yet enough of a free country for the working class to enlist and fight and die for. If such events as those which have occurred in Mesaba range cities were impossible if working men asserting the decent and human rights of men were not subjected to a false arrest on false charges based on false laws, it would be easier for the stupid and greedy munitions interests of this country to enlist workmen for war. So long as the working class feels that the flag stands for property instead of men, women and*

children, so long will the flag be taken as a joke by workmen such as those of the Mesaba range, for whom the flag represents nothing but suppression, handcuffs, bars, and bread and water from tin dishes.

DON'T worry about this talk of bankrupt nations and exhaustion from economic losses incurred by the war. The earth, the mines, the forests and fields will be left after the war. The chief loss to the human race as a result of the war will be the loss of productive power thru live, productive men being transformed into dead, unproductive men. In other words, the most valuable material destroyed by the war is human machinery. Of course, there will be transfers of credits and cash, and some nations will be worse off than others, and the United States capitalists will grab off more than the ruling class of any other nation in war profits. But the international working class will not be a loser in capital. Much of its best young life blood will have been drained away. But it will have suffered no economic loss. Having nothing to be bankrupted of it cannot be bankrupted.

FOURTEEN business agents of painters' and electrical workers' unions in Chicago were found guilty of extortion, boycott, malicious mischief, and the getting of money under false pretenses, in a jury trial running from April 22 to June 19. Evidence was based on testimony of storekeepers and contractors who told stories of window smashings during 1915, causing thousands of dollars damage. The graft of the convicted men, according to witnesses, was to collect cash from those whose property was destroyed under the threat of further property destruction. Collections ran from \$50 to \$200. In effect, it was a system of sabotage carried on for the purpose of getting cash into the pockets of the labor union officers. They were "sab cats" for cash and cash only. The significant feature of the trial was that the labor men were not able to produce evidence showing any principles, any idealism, any viewpoints except that of cash. Their slogan was, "Kick in," and the forthcoming cash went into their personal pockets.

THE fight of the Chicago Teachers' Federation for legal right to existence is really a contest of national importance. In the peremptory dismissal of 42 teachers June 27, because of membership in the Teachers' Federation, the Chicago Board of Education struck a blow at the right of government employes to organize. Nothing in the whole affair is of greater significance than the statements of school board President Jake Loeb that the teachers were moulding "the delicate, plastic mind of the school child" into sympathy with organized labor.

The 42 teachers all had markings on the records of School Superintendent John D. Shoop as "excellent," "superior" and "good." As educators there was no fault found with them. "Insubordination" was the charge. And the "insubordination" consisted of improper handling of "the delicate, plastic mind of the school child."

Dismissal of the 42 Teachers' Federation members was accomplished by a vote of nine trustees against eight. If no court action or pressure by the city council comes to set right this situation, it must be counted as a defeat for the working class, for the strongest and sanest forces of the community in which is located America's chief labor market.

That Jake Loeb, the school board president who manipulated the ousting, is a Russian Jew whose father came from Kovno to Archey Road, is a fact which has roused working class Jews to the formation of a league to let it be known that Jake Loeb, with his czar tactics, is only a mouthpiece and a tool of modern feudalism, a Jew whose tongue has a Cossack thirst.

SOMETIMES old proverbs flash into our heads. There's a hoary one runs like this:

"The words of his mouth were as butter, yet war was in his heart." This fits in with the latest sermon from Butter-Mouth Judge Elbert Gary, head of the steel trust, who spills this:

"To employers of labor I would say: Treat your men right; treat them justly and liberally. To employes I would say: Loyal, efficient service is sure to be rewarded. To both employer and employe I would emphasize the fact that each must rely on the other for success; neither is independent of the other; they succeed or they fail together."

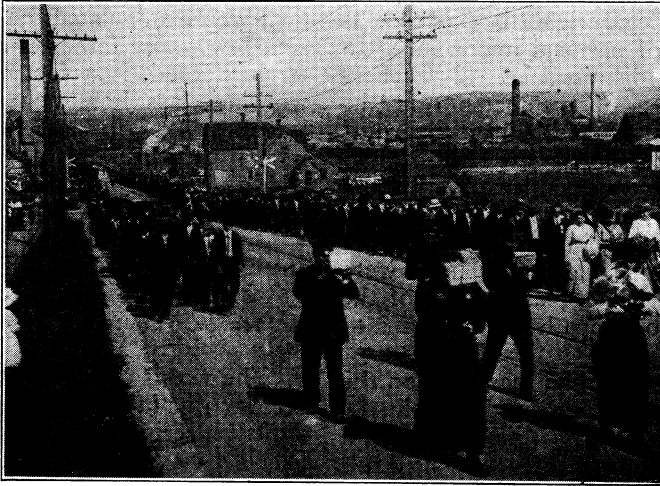
This from the head of the concern which is the world's greatest employer of 12-hour-day, 7-day-week workmen!

PRISONERS OF WAR NOT ALLOWED TO READ THE REVIEW, BUT—

The following letter to the REVIEW was written by a German comrade now a prisoner in England. For obvious reasons, we do not give his name, number or address: "As a member of the Party, I wish to congratulate our Comrades in America for the stand they have taken towards this horrible war, and allow me to say that there are a few left in this camp who stick to our old ideal of freedom. Altho interned, we are following the movement with keen interest.

"We are not allowed to read the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, but somehow or other we manage to get one in, and whenever this happens, it has to go the whole round of the camp.

"Hoping you will give this to the knowledge of our Comrades and excuse me for this short letter, as there is no more space, yours faithfully."



PARADE OF STRIKING IRON MINERS

The Iron Heel on the Mesaba Range

By LESLIE H. MARCY

Photographs by George Dawson

WHEN Jack London, the rebel, wrote his wild drama of the Iron Heel, back in 1907, few of us thought we would ever live to see his dream come true, although, at that very time, the iron miners of the North were on strike.

We were all carried away on a mighty wave of enthusiasm in those days by the splendid victories of the Western Federation of Miners. Were not Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone saved by the magnificent solidarity of the working class? So we dubbed Jack's vision a pipe dream, discounted the future and went to sleep.

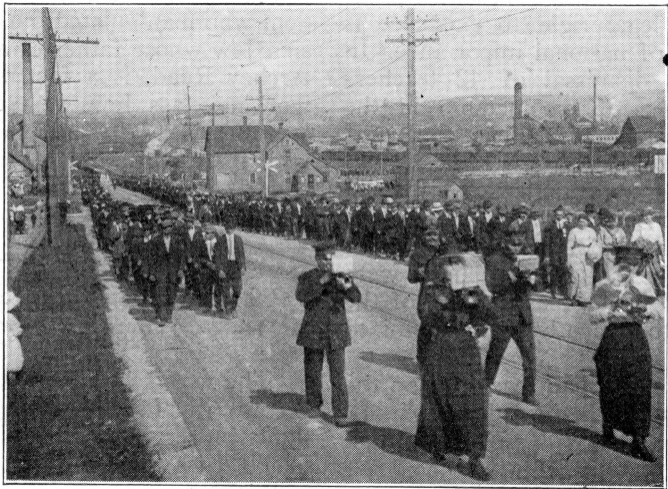
Since then the scenes have shifted; the Iron Heel of the steel trust has wiped out all labor organizations in the steel industry; the coal barons declared war on the coal miners of West Virginia, and won with an army of gunmen. They carried a curtain of fire into Colorado and made the workers dig their own graves. The copper kings of Michigan destroyed all organization among their slaves in one short winter. Have you

forgotten the working class dead at Calumet and Ludlow? **THE IRON HEEL OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS IN FREE AMERICA HAS BECOME A COLD BLOODED FACT.**

Twenty thousand iron miners in the state of Minnesota are making their last stand. They have revolted against the Steel Trust by going on strike, and the fighting power of these men is made up of **SEVERAL THOUSAND CLASS CONSCIOUS WORKERS.** Their fight is your fight! The amount of support you give them will accurately register the militant strength of the socialist movement in this country.

The Socialists among the Finnish miners have been the only force the companies have been unable to overcome, as there has been no labor organization on the range for several years.

Our Finnish comrades do not confine themselves to any one line of action. They believe the miners should be organized at the point of production in an industrial union, therefore, when they



PARADE OF STRIKING IRON MINERS



THE FAMOUS RED BANNER THEY CARRIED

went on strike they called upon the I. W. W. to help them organize and win their demands.

Experienced organizers were immediately sent to co-operate with the comrades. Before they could cover the range the men in mine after mine had downed tools. They started first at the St. James mine near Aurora, on account of unfair conditions. The mine owners refused to meet the men and war was immediately declared.

Declaration of War.

Fellow Workers and Friends:

War has been declared against the steel trust and the independent mining companies of Minnesota, by the Industrial Workers of the World.

The iron miners are mustering. Twenty thousand have left the mines and pits.

More than seven thousand have already been sworn in.

The steam shovels are idle. The drills are silent.

The miners are on strike in the following camps: Hibbing, 4,000; Chisholm, 2,800; Virginia, 2,500; Buhl, 1,400; Eveleth, 1,600; Gilbert, 900; Biwabik, 600; Aurora, 900; Kinney, 800, and other small camps.

The demands are \$2.75 a day for top men. For miners, dry places, \$3.00; for miners, wet places, \$3.50; the 8-hour day; abolition of contract labor; bi-monthly pay days; to be paid at once when discharged or leaving work.

It is the iron miners who are making these demands. Men who are doing hard, hazardous work. They take their lives into their hands every time they go down into the mines or pits.

They are the men who produce the ore that is converted into iron and steel to make the machinery of the world. Without these men civilization could not exist.

These barehanded iron miners, driven to desperation, have declared industrial war against the United States steel corporation. The masters of bread are fighting with their usual weapons—gunmen, detectives, courts and the press.

We are united, but must have help. This is your fight. You must raise money for food, clothing, shelter and organization work.

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

Meanwhile moves the Iron Heel, the steel trust's Juggernaut! How deliberate and impassive its gunmen travel in armored motor cars. Private mine guards on the pay-rolls of the mining corporations have been deputized by the AUTHORITIES of St. Louis county to keep LAW and ORDER! How well these hired assassins do their work is told by the strikers in their bulletin:

"John Aller was murdered by the Oliver Mining Company gunmen at his home near the property, Thursday, June 22, 1916, at 6 o'clock in the morning. The strikers who were on picket line on that morning say that the gunmen deliberately walked into Aller's house and shot him three times in the back. John Aller was a married man and leaves his wife and three children, the oldest being five years old and the youngest is an infant boy. They are orphaned because their father demanded a right for all of them to live. The strikers are supporting this fatherless family.

"The funeral of this murdered striker was held on Sunday, June 26. The funeral rites were held in the Finnish Socialist



THE FAMOUS RED BANNER THEY CARRIED



A FAMILIAR SCENE IN MINNESOTA THESE DAYS. STRIKING MINERS ON THE MARCH

hall at Virginia. Fully seven thousand strikers accompanied the murdered brother to the cemetery. The Catholic priests of all nationalities on the range refused to perform the rite over the remains of John Aller. It was the wish of the unfortunate widow, that the priest should officiate. The priests, however, being loyal to the master class, refused to do so, although the organizers did everything they could to obtain them. The funeral was headed by a large banner carried by four women, upon which was inscribed: **MURDERED BY OLIVER GUNMEN.** The Finnish Socialist band of Virginia played the funeral music and marched at the head of the parade. At the grave of John Aller, funeral orations

were delivered in all languages of the strikers."

Up to date not a single gunman has been arrested for this foul murder! But Carlo Tresca and six other strike leaders were promptly arrested, thrown into jail and charged with criminal libel because the strikers carried a red banner at the funeral of their fellow-worker, reading, **Murdered by Oliver Gunmen!**

Little, Tresca and Gilday were kidnaped on Saturday night and when the news reached the miners of Buhl and Hibbing, they lined up three thousand strong and started to Virginia. It is needless to add that these organizers were immediately released on bail. Such is the majesty of law and order in the State of Minnesota!



TAKING THE OATH OF SOLIDARITY AT THE GRAVE OF THEIR MURDERED COMRADE ALLAR



A FAMILIAR SCENE IN MINNESOTA THESE DAYS. STRIKING MINERS ON THE MARCH



TAKING THE OATH OF SOLIDARITY AT THE GRAVE OF THEIR MURDERED
COMRADE ALLAR

The Iron Heel and the Governor

The *Labor World*, official weekly paper of the Duluth labor unions, says:

"Governor Burnquist can stop the deputizing of private guards if he cares to do it. Unprejudiced people on the range, who are in closer touch with the situation than are the editors of the local daily press, will tell him where the responsibility lies, namely, at the door of the authorities who invite trouble when they deputize the men who are paid by the mining companies and who know no other masters.

"But the governor has not yet proven himself big enough for the job. He has the power to do this if he wants to exercise that power."

"The Governor knows there are two sides to every question. However, his representative, sent to the range to investigate the trouble got his information from one side and, we are reliably informed by Mayor Boylan of Virginia, made no attempt to get the other side, the miners' side."

Whether the strike is won or lost depends upon the miners themselves. The I. W. W. is a part of that strike and will fight to the limit of its resources. The following telegram was sent to Governor Burnquist:

J. A. A. Burnquist:

Governor of the State of Minnesota, Executive Mansion, St. Paul, Minn.

You instructed sheriff of St. Louis county to disarm miners, peaceful citizens.

We submit herewith gross violation of personal liberty of miners and ask you to remove all mine guards from within city limits of mining towns. Otherwise our miners will be instructed to defend themselves by constitutional rights.

Seven mine guards forcibly entered home of strikers at Gilbert Friday night, June 30, 1916, with drawn guns. They threatened strikers if they do not return to work. They snatched a baby from the arms of its mother and brutalized it.

The clear facts in our possession are ready to be submitted to your representatives.

George Andreytchine was imprisoned 24 hours in Itasca county without a charge being placed against him. Inquiry was futile. Are we in Russia?

(Signed) Sam Scarlet, Carlo Tresca, F. Rusel, Joe Gilday, L. Ha Lareen, V. Wesaman, S. Attaviani, M. Schustrick, J. S. Siltis.

I Hundreds of Arrests

A gunman was killed by a man whose wife had been struck by a thug. Twelve I. W. W. organizers are held on first degree murder charges for this. These men must have a first class lawyer to defend them and Judge O. N. Hilton of Denver has been secured.

Their names are: Frank Little, Joe

Schmidt, Carlo Tresca, Sam Scarlett, James Gilday, L. Ahlgren, Frank Russell, Joseph Nickich, John Orlandich, Joseph Cerruogdrdovich, Leo Stark, Frank Wesserman.

A large number of strikers who were peacefully parading from Aurora to Biwabik, where they expected to attend a strike meeting, were arrested and will be tried in court at Virginia.

At Nashwauk, twenty Austrian, Italian and Finnish pickets were arrested and thrown in jail by Deputy Sheriff T. T. Riley, assisted by an army of deputies. They will *probably* be taken to Grand Rapids for trial.

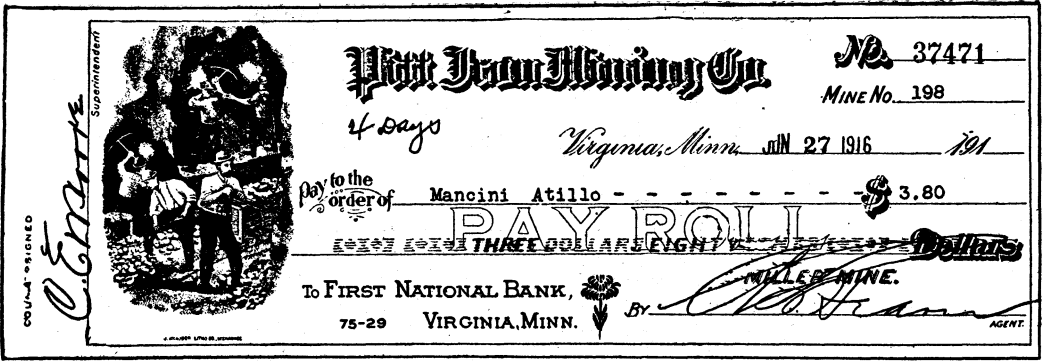
Chief Hayes said, "We haven't allowed the I. W. W. agitators to get even a toe-hold here. The Socialists got the ball park for a picnic and as soon as we found that it was to be but a screen for a strike meeting we soon put the 'kibosh' on them."

At Chisholm, Sheriff John R. Meining, at a meeting of mining company police, stated that "men deputized at the mines had full powers of deputy sheriffs and that their duties were not confined to the property they were assigned to protect, but extended throughout the county." He further informed these deputized thugs that "he had communicated with the attorney general and an opinion received from him on the question of mobs was to the effect that in times of disturbance, such as now exist on the range, three men constitute a mob and should be immediately dispersed."

Some of the municipal authorities are friendly, but helpless when contending against the steel corporation. On July 7th a meeting was held, composed of officials of the Range Municipalities with committees from the striking miners from the different mines. Wages and working conditions were discussed and miner after miner testified to low wages and rotten conditions. Thousands of miners work only seven months and their pay does not average \$2.50 a day.

Listen to Mike Stark of Chisholm:

Mike Stark, of Chisholm: I am a miner for fourteen years—over fourteen years, and I have eight children—I have seven living and one died. I worked now for last three years, I have got \$59 check (a month), \$61, \$62, \$63, \$67, up to \$70 (a month)—but a couple of



FACSIMILE PAY CHECK FOR FOUR DAYS' WORK AT HIBBING

times over \$70 in three years, and I send four kids to the school, and the teacher would like to have the children dressed and clean and everything like that. I like to do that myself. And the children go to church, the priest likes to see that the wife is dressed nice like the American ladies, and the children dressed nice like the American children. I like that too, but I can't. You fellows think—a single man maybe get \$50 or \$60 check for his own self, and we are nine of us. I get \$60, \$70, and I have extra—I pay rent—no, I don't pay rent—but we pay wood, we can't get that any more. Before we used to get it, but now they don't let us. We pay coal, pay insurance, pay taxes, pay light, pay water—now, I think, fellows, how I can live. I have a little property and I shouldn't say that I don't have it because I get it from the school board. And now I have to give my property back. I can't go any further.

And another thing is, you know, the drivers wait for the car with a mule, you know. There was a poor year and the captain came around and saw driver waiting for the car, and he say: "What the hell you doing here with this mule." He says: "I got to wait a minute or two until we get car there." He says: "Go down with that mule to the trammer shaft so he get better air." Now see, a man working there day and night, month and month, and year and year, and nobody asks him if he likes air, or "how you feel?" "Do you feel bad working there?" or "what is the matter with you?" Nobody don't ask me, but when the first of the month I know when I receive check, well, you know—\$2.39—"god darn it, you're a poor man! You're no good!" So I am no good working in there.

And listen again, you free American citizens, to this miner,—



JUST A FEW OF THE RED GIRLS AT THE FINNISH PICNIC



JUST A FEW OF THE RED GIRLS AT THE FINNISH PICNIC



Wife and Kiddies of the Murdered Miner, John Aller. Carlo Tresca is Presenting Money Collected at a Benefit Meeting of Miners.

Fulvio Pettinelli: Gentlemen, I like to tell you that I come in here in this country five years and a half ago. I been working in mine ever since. First I came to this country I worked Lincoln mine, and had bad place. No air at all, whatever, and that is my brother was working with me. There I wouldn't get no candles—you couldn't get no match to burn. You couldn't light matches by no means, only by means of acetylene—carbide lamps—you know what that is, and I worked there last seven or eight months there, at least. At last I was exhausted and had to quit. I worked in there for only \$2.60 a day all that time.

Later I worked for the Oliver Iron Mining Company at the Alpena. Two years ago I struck a hard place, and I make \$1.97. Some other times I make over \$3.00 and \$3.50. What I should do then? Two years ago I got married and got American girl. I believe she has right to live as another American, so I believe further I got right to live. What should I say when I got \$1.97? I should tell her: "This month don't order meat or nothing. I only get \$1.97." I should only pay rent of the house, insurance, and such things. That month when I work contract and strike bad place we no have enough to eat. I work in some other places in Alpena for \$2.17. What do you think of that. Get \$45 or \$50. I should have paid \$12.00 for rent of the house. I should pay \$5 or \$6 meat; \$30 on grocery bill. What will be left? Nothing. We have to go without clothes. If we eat we don't dress, and if we dress we don't eat. That is fact.

Such is the testimony of these men who are being crushed by the Iron Heel of the Steel Trust. The Norman property is operated by the Oliver Mining Company,

a subsidiary of the Steel Trust. This branch of the industry is represented in the United States Smelter by the Pittsburgh millionaire after whom the mining company is named, and also the Oliver Steel works, near Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Norman mine is one of hundreds being operated by the Steel Trust on the Mesaba Range. It is located at Virginia, Minnesota. Here the trust is absolutely in control. The private police of the Oliver Mining Company are a conscienceless lot of wretches. Like the cossacks of Pennsylvania, recruited from the dregs of society, they are vigilant in the interests of the company.

True, these gentlemanly mine owners and guards do not eat the miners' flesh or drink their blood, **BUT THEY DO LIVE ON THEIR LABOR, THEIR DENIAL, THEIR WEARINESS AND WANT.**

Hundreds of iron miners, deformed and degraded by years of hard labor for wife and children, go to their graves every year without ever having even one look in at one luxury of life.

The iron miners of Minnesota are appealing to you for aid. Their women and children must be provided for. This calls for immediate action by you. Take this matter up at the next meeting of



Wife and Kiddies of the Murdered Miner, John Aller.
Carlo Tresca is Presenting Money Collected at
a Benefit Meeting of Miners.

your local or union. Pull off a picnic or get up an entertainment. Have a tag day in your town—anything to get in the game and help these workers who are standing firm in the face of overwhelming odds. Remit to John Leppanen, Secy.-Treas., Box 372, Virginia, Minn., or to William D. Haywood, Secy.-Treas., 164 W. Washington, St., Chicago, Ill.

The Finnish Socialists are literally working night and day to aid the strikers. Their daily newspaper, *Sosalisti*, is devoting a front page every day.

In Duluth Chief of Police Mc Kercher said he would crush any attempt to bring out the dockworkers, and that absolutely no street meetings could be held. On July 2 the Finnish Socialists held a picnic at Fairmont Park and, although the chief had notified them there should be no speaking and absolutely no collection for the miners, there was a large enthusiastic crowd, many speeches and \$56.17 collection.

Again on July 4, when celebrations were

held nation-wide to celebrate "life, liberty and happiness"—the Finnish Socialists held an open-air meeting at First avenue South, where the strike was discussed. Police attempted to arrest Wm. Tanner, but the crowd protested so vigorously, he was released. They marched to the Finnish hall, where they were joined by the crowd from an adjourned I. W. W. meeting, and a protest meeting was held and resolutions passed denouncing the unwarranted usurpation of power by the police. These resolutions are published elsewhere.

On Sunday, July 9, 2,000 Finnish Socialists held a meeting, but the police were conspicuous by their absence.

Meetings are planned for Duluth, Two Harbors and Allouez, and it is hoped the ore-dock workers will all heed the call of their battling brothers on the Range and join in the valiant struggle for industrial emancipation.

Never was there a better time with war-orders flooding the big factories of the land, for the miners and ore-dock workers to demand some adequate share of "prosperity"; never a juster cause against a more pitiless or ruthless foe.

All together now, comrades—to win!

A PLEA FOR PREPAREDNESS

By the Pacific Cost Business Men's Preparedness League

ADEQUATE TROOPS NEEDED TO DEAL WITH DOMESTIC STRIFE AND TO SUPPRESS PROBABLE LABOR UPRISINGS

IN the general apprehension for greater Preparedness to cope with foreign nations it is believed that a necessity fully as grave and serious is being overlooked or at least greatly minimized; and that is the need for an adequate military establishment to act as a civil police force.

The *Post-Intelligencer* of May 22nd quotes Ex-President Taft in his address before the League to Enforce Peace as saying: "We need a police force at home." In fact Mr. Taft has heretofore affirmed the need for greater preparedness for riots and internal disturbances. Bulletins of Manufacturer's and Employer's Associations in the East, notably in New Jersey, which has been the scene of so many acute labor disturbances, have urgently treated of this need, but they have been given scant hearing outside the councils of business men themselves.

In the hearings before the Industrial Relations Commission at Seattle a representative business man, Mr. J. V. Patterson, addressing the labor members on the commis-

sion, with great courage stated, "We will fight you. We will rise with a counter revolution; we certainly have the power. We will destroy you. Let us have no more class legislation, or we will have it repealed with bayonets! We will do it; no doubt about that."

Due to lack of sufficient militia, business men in the United States have frequently been placed under the undue burden of having to engage and pay for the services of men recruited privately and to have them commissioned as deputies by the civil authorities. In the nature of things these private forces are without efficient military training, as at Youngstown, Ohio, in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. In the single month of October, in 1913, the meagre military forces of four separate states were required in the field against labor; in Calumet, Michigan, in Indianapolis and in Colorado and West Virginia.

Certainly no intelligent person can oppose "Preparedness" when he reflects upon what may happen in the event of a general strike of the two million railroad workers of the country to gain the eight-hour workday, and which is even now threatened. It must be remembered that the Federal troops were

required to suppress the strike of the American Railway Union, which was an effort in precisely the same direction and under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs. That disturbance, it will not be forgotten, was largely local in character, when now it would be widespread and in the nature of a general rebellion against the business and transportation interests of the whole country.

In view of these facts we urge all business men, whether affiliated with the League or not, to spare no effort to further the idea of preparedness; and it is doubly im-

portant that all employers take advantage of this opportune time to solicit personally their loyal and dependable employes to join the militia of their several states.

In this entire matter business men should be sensible of the advantages to be had from military training in point of greater discipline and efficiency of the work people for their ordinary civil employment. Every employe returning from training camp or militia drill will forthwith show himself more obedient and faithful, and the trouble-maker will disappear.

ABOLITION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

WE revolutionists have been re-proached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labor, which property is alleged to be the ground work of all personal freedom, activity and independence.

Hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property! Do you mean the property of the petty artisan and the small peasant, a form of property that preceded the capitalist form? There is no need to abolish that; the development of industry has to a great extent already destroyed it, and is still destroying it daily.

Or do you mean modern capitalist private property?

But does wage-labor create any property for the laborer? Not a bit. It creates capital, i. e., that kind of property which exploits wage-labor, and which cannot increase except upon condition of getting a new supply of wage-labor for fresh exploitation. Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage-labor. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

To be a capitalist, is to have not only a purely personal, but a social status in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion.

Capital is, therefore, not a personal, it is a social power.

When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property

of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class-character.

Let us now take wage-labor.

The average price of wage-labor is the minimum wage, i. e., that quantum of the means of subsistence, which is absolutely requisite to keep the laborer in bare existence as a laborer. What, therefore, the wage-laborer appropriates by means of his labor, merely suffices to prolong and reproduce a bare existence. We, by no means, intend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labor, an appropriation that is made for the maintenance and reproduction of human life, and that leaves no surplus wherewith to command the labor of others. All that we want to do away with is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the laborer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only in so far as the interest of the ruling class requires it.

In capitalist society, living labor is but a means to increase accumulated labor (capital). In socialist society, accumulated capital is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the laborer.

In capitalist society, therefore, the past dominates the present; in socialist society, the present dominates the past. In capitalist society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality.

And the abolition of this state of things is called by the capitalist, abolition of individuality and freedom! And rightly so. The abolition of capitalist individuality, capitalist independence, and capitalist freedom is undoubtedly aimed at.

By freedom is meant, under the present capitalist conditions of production, free trade, free selling and buying.

But if selling and buying disappears, free selling and buying disappears also. This talk about free selling and buying, and all the other "brave words" of our capitalist class about freedom in general, have a meaning, if any, only in contrast with restricted selling and buying, with the fettered traders of the Middle Ages, but have no meaning when opposed to the socialist abolition of buying and selling, of the capitalist conditions of production, and of the capitalist class itself.

You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend.

From the moment when labor can no longer be converted into capital, money, or rent, into a social power capable of being monopolized, i. e., from the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into capitalist property, into capital, from that moment, you say, individuality vanishes.

You must, therefore, confess that by "individual" you mean no other person than the capitalist, than the middle-class owner of property. This person must, indeed, be swept out of the way, and made impossible.

Socialism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labor of others by means of such appropriation.

It has been objected, that upon the

abolition of private property all work will cease, and universal laziness will overtake us.

Accordingly to this capitalist society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything, do not work. The whole of this objection is but another expression of the tautology; that there can no longer be any wage-labor when there is no longer any capital.

All objections urged against the Communistic mode of producing and appropriating material products, have, in the same way, been urged against the Communistic modes of producing and appropriating intellectual products. Just as, to the capitalist, the disappearance of class property is the disappearance of production itself, so that disappearance of class culture is to him identical with the disappearance of all culture.

That culture, the loss of which he laments, is, for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine.

But don't wrangle with us so long as you apply, to our intended abolition of capitalist property, the standard of your capitalist notions of freedom, culture, law, etc. Your very ideas are but the outgrowth of the conditions of your capitalist production and capitalist property, just as your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will whose essential character and direction are determined by the economic conditions of existence of your class.

The selfish misconception that induces you to transform into eternal laws of nature and of reason the social forms springing from your present mode of production and form of property—historical relations that rise and disappear in the progress of production—this misconception you share with every ruling class that has preceded you. What you see clearly in the case of ancient property, what you admit in the case of feudal property, you are, of course, forbidden to admit in the case of your own capitalist form of property.

Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists.

On what foundation is the present fam-

ily, the capitalist family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the capitalist class. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution.

The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.

Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty.

But you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations when we replace home education by social.

And your education! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention, direct or indirect, of society by means of schools, etc.? The socialists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.

The capitalist clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed correlation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the workers are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor.

But you Communists would introduce community of women, screams the whole capitalist class in chorus.

The capitalist sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women.

He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.

For the rest, nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our capitalist at the community of women which, they pretend, is to be openly and officially

established by the Socialists. The Socialists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial.

Our capitalist, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each others' wives.

Capitalist marriage is in reality a system of wives in common and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with, is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalized community of women. For the rest, it is self-evident, that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, i. e., of prostitution both public and private.

The Socialists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationalities.

The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the capitalist sense of the word.

National differences, and antagonisms between peoples, are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

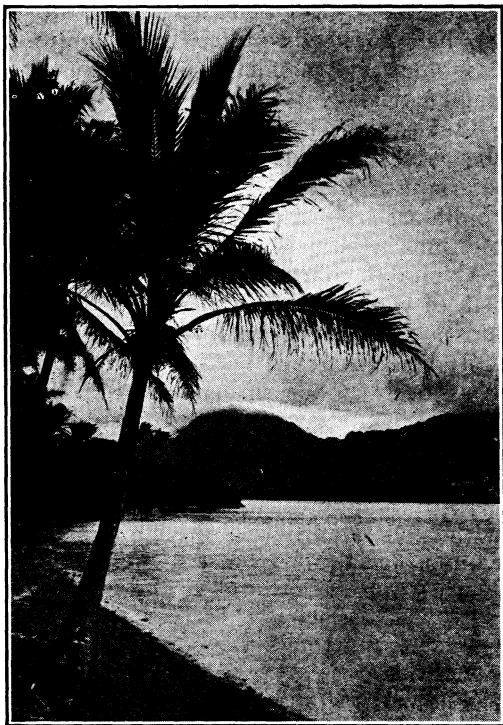
The supremacy of the working class will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

—From *Communist Manifesto*.

THE HAWAIIAN PINEAPPLE

By MARION WRIGHT



IN THE PINEAPPLE COUNTRY

BY long odds the finest pineapples in the world are raised in the Hawaiian Islands, and during the past half a dozen years the Hawaiian canned pineapple has swept all others out of the American market. In fact, this fruit, canned, is jucier, more tender and better flavored than the fresh pineapple of other lands. In Porto Rico the Hawaiian canned pineapple sells where the fresh native fruit finds no purchaser.

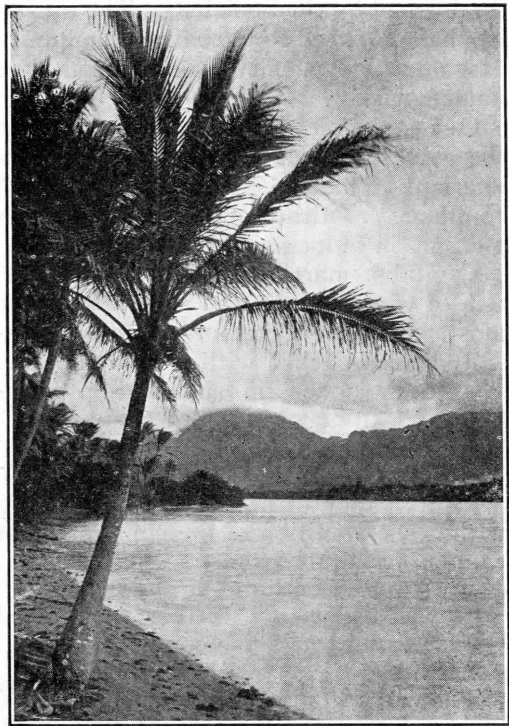
A dozen years ago there was practically no pineapple industry in Hawaii. Today the biggest Chicago and California packers are seeking to buy up every available acre of pine-producing land in the Islands. Fortunately for the prospective American small farmer in Hawaii the land laws do not permit any one corporation to own more than a thousand acres, and so fast as the lands now under lease to the big companies revert to the government they are cut up into small tracts for the homesteader. Pineapples are the hope of the small farmer of the Islands.

There is no waste product to the Hawaiian pineapple. A few years ago there was no demand save at the soda fountains

for pineapple juice. Today Hawaiian pineapple juice in bottles is known throughout America and the demand exceeds the supply. Pinectar, a sweetened extract of the juice, is known to every frequenter of the soda water counter, and pineapple chips swell every confectioner's candy case.

Everything about the Hawaiian pineapple sells as a choice tid-bit except the tops, and these are planted again to grow other fruit. Planting this fruit for the market began a great many years ago, but it never amounted to anything on account of mainland duties and difficulties of transportation until the Islands were annexed by the United States. Simultaneously with the organization of the first pineapple company was the opening of a cannery to care for the fruit.

From the beginning made by the pioneers a score of years ago has developed an industry that is growing silently and surely, extending to nearly every island in the group. In the district of Wahiawa, on the island of Oahu, the cultivation of the fruit for shipping fresh, and in cans and jars, has grown to such



IN THE PINEAPPLE COUNTRY

an extent that it became necessary to construct a special branch railroad in to take care of the product. Before long that part of Oahu will be dotted with canneries. Immense fields of pines are seen along the line and during the harvest season it is a glorious sight to see the fruit-laden plants in rows, seemingly interminable in length.

Experience has proved that there are greater returns from pineapple cultivation than anything else so far introduced into the Islands, and it is especially adapted for the small farmer. Pineapples are practically free from any serious pest, and in that respect the plant is much different from coffee or sugar cane.

The canneries pay the planter from \$25 to \$30 a ton for the fruit delivered at the cannery, and the cash returns to the farmer will average \$125 an acre per crop, and he will have two crops in three years. There is nothing on the mainland that will bring the grower such sure returns per acre. In shipping fresh fruit the returns are much larger, but the risk of loss

is proportionately greater. Fresh fruit brings about \$80 per ton, laid down in San Francisco.

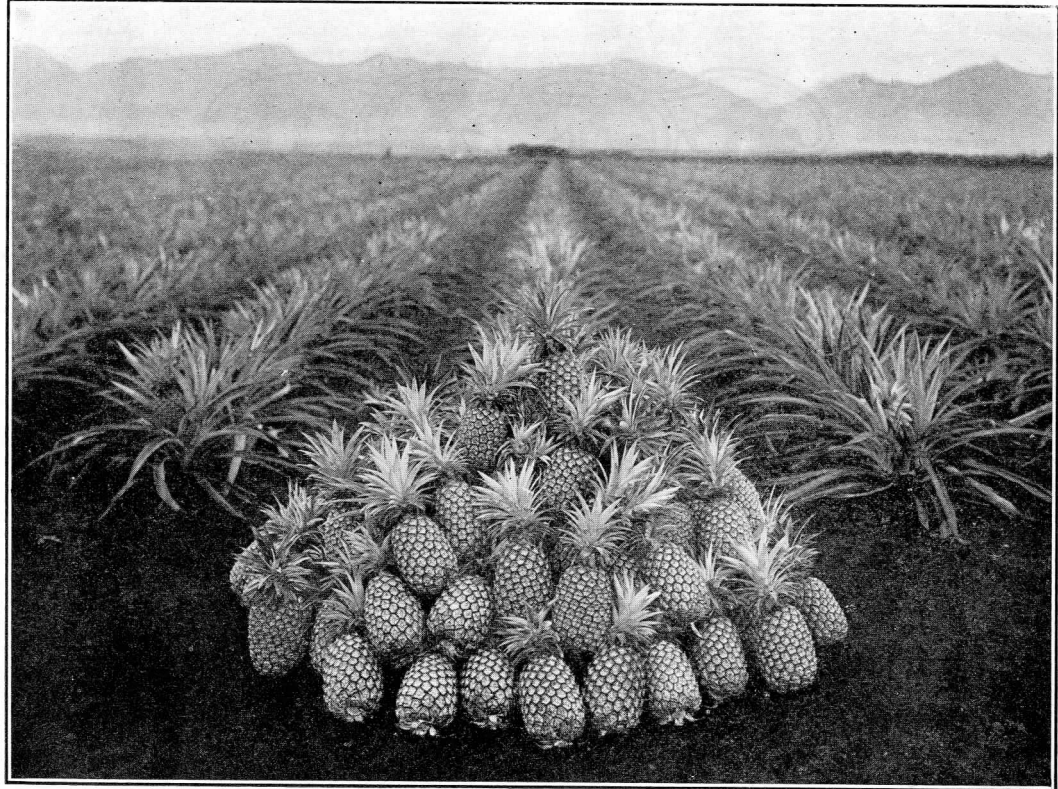
In cultivating, where large fruit is desired the plants are placed in rows about eight feet apart to allow ample room for the cultivator. For the fancy grocery trade large pineapples are in demand, but for the wholesale market there is a preference for the smaller fruit for the reason that it finds a more ready sale at lower prices, and the dealers can compete with it more successfully with the Florida and Cuban product sold in the eastern cities.

A field of growing pineapples is perhaps the most beautiful sight that can cheer the eye of its owner. The fruit grows on a spreading palm, knee-high to waist-high, according to the variety, and is of a beautiful gray green color. The lines of the pineapple plant are as pleasing as its color; the long, gray leaves sweep away from the center of the plant in perfect arcs, making beautiful decorative forms wherever the eye reaches.

The blossom does not amount to much



PILED-UP SUNSHINE



PILED-UP SUNSHINE

in size, but it is of a pretty purplish blue, and its appearance on the plant is interesting to watch. The first sign of the formation of a fruit is a tiny "crown" which develops slowly into a miniature of the matured pineapple. The blue blossoms come out, a tiny flower at each "eye," while the fruit is very small, and drop off long before it has attained its full size.

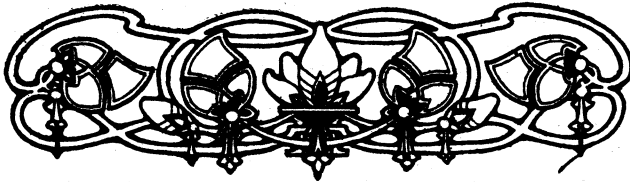
At least 95 per cent of Hawaiian pineapples are allowed to fully ripen in the field and are immediately preserved in modern canneries on the ground.

A new pineapple patch is set out with slips which are either crowns cut from the ripened pineapple or the shoots which grow directly under the fruit, and which we sometimes find on a fresh pineapple from the market. The new plant takes eighteen months to ripen its first fruit.

It is not cut down, and in the course of time bears a second and even a third crop.

If you have a dream of working under blue skies, with vistas of purple mountains and the sea in the distance, and standing in the midst of your own perfumed fields instead of contending with the bricks, stones, smoke and muck of the city, give up the overworked idea of small fruits and vegetables and take up the subject of raising pineapples in Hawaii.

Pineapple farming is little more than a dozen years old, but it has already become the industry second only to sugar. A single field near Honolulu has rows two and a half miles long where they raise only the choicest fruit—the Smooth Cayenne—which weighs ten to twelve pounds and ripens to a rich, golden yellow.





From *Collier's Weekly*.

THIS HUGE SUM MUST REMAIN MORE OR LESS DORMANT UNTIL ORDER SHALL PREVAIL

MEXICO FOR THE MEXICANS

By Dante Barton

WHY is there such a tremendous pressure of special interests and of the political forces they control to bring on a war of American conquest or dictatorship in Mexico?

Read the following extracts from a recent open letter to President Wilson by Dr. J. W. Slaughter of Philadelphia, a man who knows Mexico and who is a noted economist and student of international affairs.

"There is hardly any foreign investment in Mexico which has not secured a privileged position with the expectation of extravagant returns."

"Little of the great wealth of Mexico is held by the Mexicans. Nearly all of her resources were sold to foreign concessionaries by Diaz and his científicos. The Mexicans have no desire to curtail the legitimate investment of capital in their country, but they do wish to end the all but universal rule of special privilege.

"The revolutionary leaders were preparing with great deliberation to deal with the most central and important of all Mexican problems, which was, indeed, the prime motive of the revolution, *that of securing the economic independence of the republic.*"

That is the meat of the answer to the questions given above. That explains why the American interests who have helped to rob the land and the other natural resources of Mexico from the great mass of the people of Mexico now want the mass of Mexican people beaten down, by American military power, into subjection to that robbery.

For this Mexican revolution directed by Carranza, is, as Doctor Slaughter says and proves, "a *real* revolution, with definite purposes designed to give liberty to the Mexican people for the first time in their known history. The revolution was the outcome of forces that had been generating for many

years and was certain of success if it could be kept free from external intervention."

The following paragraphs from an address of Doctor Slaughter before the Philadelphia City Club throw more light on the splendid reforms that the Mexican people are fighting for and that they were about to get when the special privilege grabbers began stirring up trouble across the border:

"If one asks a few common soldiers, chosen at random, what they are fighting for, the majority will answer that they are fighting to gain access to the land.

"Mexico is a country of great landholders, with the dispossessed common people until lately tied to the land in a form of serfdom. In the old days the land was held in the community method of ownership, worked in common, with common participation in the benefits. A long chapter of Mexican economic history is needed to describe the process by which the Indians were dispossessed. It began in colonial days, but developed into a profusion of corrupt and unjust practices under the Diaz dictatorship. Every rural Mexican carries a rankling sense of injustice.

"The program of Mr. Carranza contains agrarian reform as one of its cardinal elements. The situation is in a measure simplified by the voluntary exile of the more reactionary hacendados. Their peons settled quietly on the land and have received the benefits of their labor for the first time in their generation. Mr. Carranza has already promulgated a decree by which there is to be a testing of the great land owners' titles, and, if there is evidence of injustice in the acquisition of lands, the ownership of these lands is to be vested again in the communities that originally owned them. Certain great estates will probably be confiscated and divided, but Mr. Carranza has no great sympathy with confiscation as a policy.

"In addition, a land tax is proposed which would be graduated so as to bear lightly on the small holder, but to make ownership of great estates an impossibility. The leaders of the revolution have not yet seen the great desirability of a uniform rate which will collect from the landholders according to the value of the land.

"The final group of reforms which remain to be carried out and through which Mexico will encounter her most serious difficulties, express the very essence of the revolutionary movement. They represent the intention to secure the economic independence of the country. The whole civil struggle has been a war upon the concession system with its political, economic and social ramifications.

"I was given copies of the contracts by which Lord Cowdray's company obtained their oil rights. Their provisions were of such a character that a little while before the beginning of the European war Lord Charles Beresford, a representative of extreme conservatism, declared in the House of Commons that it was a disgrace for the citizens of any civilized country to be party to that contract. In addition to almost unrestricted rights of exploitation of oil, the Cowdray interests hold two and a half million hectares of land, port works, the Tehuantepec Railway, and most of the electric lighting and tramway systems of the Republic.

"American interests, all more or less privileged, aggregate, it is said, a billion dollars.

"The whole intent of the revolution is to end a system by which the natural resources of the country are drained by foreign capitalists grown accustomed to expect extravagant returns."—*Industrial Relations Committee.*



"Our" National Insurance and Collection Agency

By FREDERICK C. HOWE

In the last analysis the U. S. Government is the great *force* that keeps the American working class in subjection because its power is used to prevent the working class from escaping from wage slavery, while it protects the property of the owning class and helps that class to acquire more property.

And now comes the demand that the U. S. Government become the National Insurance and Collection Agency *abroad* for the United States capitalists!

You know that if you went down into Mexico or up into Canada and bought three or four sheep or a suit of clothes the United States Government would not protect *your* property, nor go to war to protect it. You know that if you go over into Mexico or Canada and get into trouble with the "natives" your (?) government is not going to do anything to punish the "foreigners" who may send you on the Long Road. "Your" country did nothing to protect the Colorado mine strikers at home, nor the wives and children of these strikers. "Your" country failed to protect the striking West Virginia miners and the peaceful strikers in the Pittsburgh district. In fact, the wheels of "your" government are being oiled to railroad these workingmen to the penitentiary. "Your" government is silent about the condition of the Minnesota miners who are waging so gallant a fight for better conditions and higher wages today.

Neither at home nor abroad does "your" government do anything for propertyless wage workers. It is an institution organized and perpetuated for the benefit of the pirate wing of the *owning* class.

Elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW we hope to publish a short account of the way the workers of Mexico and the workers of America met recently and protested against war between the United States and Mexico. It is the big munition-makers and other great American monopolists who are urging and insisting and plotting to cause *war in Mexico* today.

Mr. John Hays Hammond, the great mining and financial expert, who owns a million-acre ranch in Mexico, says in a recent number of the Forum:

"In order to stimulate the investment of American capital in foreign lands, it is a prerequisite that the investor be assured of protection by his government. . . . It is imperative that our government secure the fair treatment of its citizens who have invested their capital . . . under laws obtaining in the country when those investments were made. Laws which result in the confiscation of property, legally acquired, do not justify a great nation in repudiating its obligation to obtain redress for its citizens."

This is the way the big capitalists to whom Diaz gave invaluable mining concessions, and large land grants, feel about the Mexican question. Although their country is marvelously rich in soil, mines, oil—few of these treasures remain to the Mexican people. Almost everything holding promise of rich harvests and immense profits has already been bought or bribed out of Diaz, who literally gave away the cream of Mexico over the heads of the Mexican people for his own aggrandizement.

These capitalists, most of whom obtained grants or concessions by fraud, are demanding that the U. S. Government constitute itself their private collection agency.

During his administration, President Taft and Mr. Knox accomplished much toward passing laws whereby the government would become a *guarantor of returns on foreign investments*. President Wilson, on the other hand, has always fought this policy, but it remains to be seen whether or not Big Capital can whip him into line.

In his new book "Why War"? Dr. Frederick C. Howe says:

"The last twenty-five years have been years of rapid monopoly expansion. The movement is not confined to the United States. It is common to Great Britain, Germany, France, and other countries as well. It has extended to nearly all of the major industries. *With the suppression of competition profits have increased*. These profits have not been content with the limited returns of competitive business."

The Rockefeller interests, for example, started a chain of lunch rooms in New York City, but they discovered that owing to the

keen competition in this business they were able to make only a little more than the *average* rate of profit. They decided it was better to invest their money in securing oil grants, mines, rights of way for railroads, etc., etc., in "half civilized" countries, where they could still reap *monopoly* profits.

"They also sought foreign fields where the resources of nature are still unexploited and where contracts and concessions make it possible to exploit weaker peoples more easily than at home.

"During these years banking and credit transactions have developed more rapidly than in the previous ten centuries. There has been a revolution in this field as well as in industry.

"The savings of hundreds of millions of people have accumulated in the banking institutions, from which they have flowed into the greater metropolises of London, New York, Paris, Vienna and Berlin.

"Finance is no longer local. It is no longer national, as it was fifty years ago. It has become as international as the post or the telegraph. Branches of the great European banks are to be found all over the world. They are owned and directed from the capitals of Europe. These banks are agencies for the securing of concessions and opportunities for investments. They are the center for the strengthening of political power. The concessions are financed by the banking institutions at home. By these means the savings of hundreds of millions of depositors, which have run into the thousands of millions of dollars, have been made available for the development of the most distant corners of the earth. And these banks and financial institutions are closely identified with their respective governments. They are owned by the ruling classes, and through these means are merged with the foreign and domestic policy of the government."

And this system is precisely what our own capitalist class, here in America, is now perfecting and extending. Note how Dr. Howe says it has worked out in the past.

The World a Market Place.

"The world has become a vast financial market place for the flotation of securities and the promotion of investments. The colossal income from rents, royalties, from lands and mines, from railroads and other

forms of monopoly, have created a surplus of *capital* that has overflowed into every quarter of the globe. The capital so invested amounts to approximately \$40,000,000,000.

"Through these investments there has resulted, and is resulting, a merger of interests between the investing classes and the state (or government) which has created a new feudalism on an international scale. It has extended the economic and political interests of the ruling classes *beyond the boundaries of their respective nations*. Through high finance nationalism has expanded into internationalism, and the narrow, dynastic controversies of earlier generations have been changed into overseas (or over the boundary line) complications.

"Through the *investor the world has been laid with mines* (profit-making mines) which are a constant menace to the peace of mankind.

"Protection to the investor is a cause of endless international complications. It involves *preparedness*, a strong navy, and increased military expenditure. Nations are embroiled in controversies. (This, of course, to protect the large capitalists of the *home* country.)

Imperialism.

"Overseas (or over the border line) financing is a merger of four activities, all dangerous to the peace of the world. These activities are:

"1. The making of loans to foreign nations, like Russia and Turkey, as well as to weaker countries like Mexico, Central and South America.

"2. The securing of concessions for railroads, mines, franchise corporations, oil wells, forests, lands, docks and other resources and opportunities to be developed under contracts with the granting government and under the implied or expressed protection of the government of the investing country. Concessions are usually parcelled out to the (capitalists of the) same countries that control the foreign loans.

"3. The financing and promotion of the sale of munitions of war to weaker peoples frequently as a condition to the making of a loan, the banking institutions being closely related to the makers of war munitions.

"4. A close working arrangement and understanding with the (home) govern-

ment, and especially with the foreign office, as to the terms of the concessions, etc., etc.

"The motive in all these transactions is to secure a complete and exclusive monopoly in the concessions or territory from which all other financiers and countries can be excluded."

Now, this is all very true and very interesting. But just think it over. You would not expect the United States government to protect your small business, or even your small *job* even in the United States. People would laugh at you if you did. But the capitalist not only expects, but *receives*, protection for his investments—his business, his oil wells, his mines, his railroads—whether they be made at *home* or abroad.

All the workingman has to *sell* is his labor power, his strength or his brains. And "our" government does not even provide him a job. It does not even *feed* him if he cannot get a job and is actually starving on the streets. It is not *your* government or *my* government—it is the *force behind the capitalist*, or non-producing class. It is the policeman's club, the law, the courts, the prisons and jails, the army and navy of the capitalist class.

Intervention.

In discussing "intervention," Dr. Howe says:

"The financiers expect their governments to see that the weaker countries pay their interest punctually, and to intervene for them with arms if necessary. If the exploited nation cannot or will not meet its obligations and threatens bankruptcy (or civil war, as in Mexico), the investors raise complaints about the "swindling barbarians" who must be subdued.

"Sometimes the coveted spot of earth is so wild and uncivilized that the investing classes find it necessary to induce their government to conquer it before they can safely allow their money to go there. They invest money in harbor and railroad building, etc., and it is dangerous to do this unless there is some security in the territory. In this way German colonies were established."

But "your" government does not take the trouble even to collect *your* wages and *my* wages. It does not even take the trouble to protect the lives of its industrial workers—the railroad men, the factory workers, the children toiling in mines and mills. It is

government for the millionaire private property owners—not your government or mine.

Dr. Howe shows how the foreign investors help to protect their foreign investments, usually secured from some weak or greedy ruler of the weaker nations. It is opposed to their interests to have such a dictator overthrown by the exploited people.

"In many instances the first loans to weak countries are used by them for guns, cannon, fortresses, and railroads, all of which mean profits for the mining and manufacturing, and particularly for the munition interests at home. The fleet must be kept in readiness to safeguard the foreign investments, and this means profits for the war traders. Both the home governments and the weak foreign government pay monopoly prices for guns and armor-plate. The arms and iron industry, which are closely related to the financial interests, are, therefore, often the first and chief beneficiaries of the government's alliance with the investor.

"The millions invested in the arms industry, and the fact that it is a close monopoly, make it the great power that it is. Capitalists readily lend the sums needed in this industry; while the big banks are interested in seeing that it is well supplied with capital, the financiers are interested in *imperialism* because it means a still greater borrowing on the part of the home government.

"In general, the new imperialism seeks 'spheres of influence' in semi-civilized countries, or countries with an old civilization but lacking in modern industrial development. And the wealth sought is (usually) not conquered land, but opportunity to work mines, build railroads, and get commissions for the placing of large sums of money. For this purpose conquest is sometimes necessary."

It has been said over and over again that American capitalists secured their oil-wells, mining interests, railroad privileges in Mexico through the corruption of Diaz, who, it has been claimed, practically gave away the natural resources of the Mexican people to American capitalists right and left for an interest in these holdings, or for sums of money for his own Mexican autocracy.

Dr. Howe says:

"Border fights among less civilized na-

tives serve as a means of depriving them of their lands. A riot in Bechuanaland in Africa, in 1897, was called a rebellion and used as a pretext for driving 8,000 natives from their lands. The Belgian rubber industry on the Congo, in which King Leopold and a group of financiers were interested, was an extreme example of the abuse of the natives.

"The military classes look with favor upon imperialism. It offers a wider field and greater chances of advancement for them. The nobility see in imperialism opportunity for their sons. The posts in the civil and military service in India are so numerous that they not only supply the upper class with careers for the younger sons, but many are left for the sons of the upper middle class also. James Mill called this 'a system of outdoor relief for the upper classes.'

"Here are the elements of the new imperialism; a ruling class at home which is also the owning and investing class; great financial houses closely related to the government, and owned and controlled by the class which rules; surplus capital and a falling domestic interest rate, facing backward civilizations ready to be exploited by the more highly organized nations.

"Added to these is the diplomatic policy of protection to foreign investments, the doctrine that the flag follows the investor and backs up his private contracts. The land, mining, railroad, and oil grants secured by German, English and American in-

vestors in *Mexico*; the mine concessions in South Africa . . . the Chinese five-power loan are all indicative of the methods employed to secure concessions and make investments which the governments of the investing countries have not hesitated to enforce by a show of strength.

"The rule of 'Let the Buyer Beware' does not apply in international dealings when the 'developed' nation is too weak to resist."

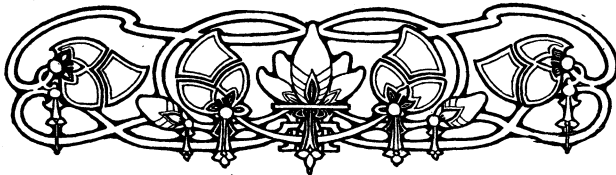
The lands of almost all of the non-European peoples, with the exception of those of South America, Central America, and Asia have become mere hunting grounds for European capitalists.

And who protects the interests of these mighty profit-hunters? Who mans the giant battleships? Who makes England the Mistress of the Seas, for the protection of English investors at home and abroad?

Who is it may shoulder his gun and crush the liberty-loving Mexican people in order to make *stable* the *profits* and *dividends* of the American thief and investor in *Mexico*?

The *workingman* who possesses nothing either *at home or abroad!* Who gets nothing and gives all; who rivets his own chains as he fights to increase the power of the capitalist class!

(From "Why War?" by Dr. Frederic C. Howe, the best book on the economic causes of war that has appeared in years. Price, \$1.50 net. Orders may be sent to the publishers of this magazine.)





IT WON'T WORK

IT CAN'T BE DONE

By WILLIAM O. NIMOCK

WHEN Samuel Morse announced to the world that he had succeeded in putting electricity into harness and had produced a workable electro-magnetic telegraph which would annihilate time and space, and which has since proven to be such a blessing to mankind, the public gave no support to the project; instead it denounced the telegraph as being an utter impossibility and subjected it to the most cruel, sarcastic and merciless ridicule.

Mr. Morse struggled on with a determination that would have baffled one less courageous and, after repeated appeals to congress for an appropriation with which to construct a line, his efforts were rewarded with a sum to defray the expense of a line from Washington to Baltimore in 1843. The appropriation was for \$30,000.

Wires were put up, instruments were installed and, in 1844, the first telegraph was given a most severe test. Although it proved to be a pronounced success, the general public for a long time lived in doubt and disbelief. One would-be humorist in congress, who considered the telegraph appropriation so much sheer waste, proposed an amendment for a part of the \$30,000 to be apportioned for surveying a railroad to the moon.

Packages were hung on telegraph wires by people who wished to test the efficacy of the Morse system, while people stood around to find out whether parcels were transportable by telegraph. Such experi-

menters were loud in their denunciation of the telegraph.

When James K. Polk was nominated for president in the city of Baltimore in 1844 a special train and a favored crew was made up to bear the news to Washington. In spite of the fact that the party had been informed that the news would precede them by telegraph they were amazed beyond measure, on alighting from the train in Washington, to see boys selling extra editions of newspapers containing the news of the new nominee—received by wire.

When the making of gas from coal was first discovered and pronounced a success for lighting purposes, and before it was generally known to be a success, the idea met with nothing but general doubt and ridicule. People said:

"You might as well talk of burning smoke or the wind."

When Robert Fulton announced that he had discovered a way to propel a boat up-stream by steam power, and that he would give an exhibition up the Hudson river in the Clermont, the crowd which assembled on the wharf on August 1st, 1807, to witness the trial indulged in all manner of doubting jests. The Clermont was contemptuously dubbed "Fulton's Folly" and the general verdict was that the boat would never leave the dock. If it did, they said, it would only be to float down stream, because "steam power could never move a boat against the current." The ridicule was not silenced until the boat moved out into mid-stream and



IT'LL NEVER GO AGIN THE CURRENT

smoothly glided up against the current. Then folks said it might be possible to send a boat up-stream by steam power but a steam boat could never cross the ocean. They proved their theories by scientific principles while a steam-propelled ship was crossing the Atlantic.

When Stevenson invented the locomotive our "best people" denounced him and declared he was in league with the devil, for, they insisted, "if the Lord had ever intended his people to travel at the awful rate of fifteen miles an hour he would have said something about it in His Book." People refused to go themselves and to allow their children to go to look at a locomotive engine for fear of bringing a curse upon them.

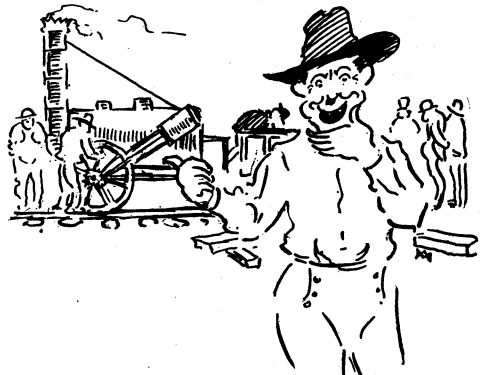
The use of a church or school house for holding railroad meetings was promptly refused for the same reason, the applicants being invariably told the church was dedicated to the service of God and the schools to the education of innocent children and that both were too sacred for holding meetings in the interest of the devil. Read this from N. A. Richardson's book on Industrial Problems:

"The school board at Lancaster, Ohio, in 1828, refused to permit the school house to be used for the discussion of the question as to whether railroads were practical or not, and the matter was recently called to mind by an old document that reads as follows:

"You are welcome to use the school house to debate all *proper* questions in, but such things as railroads and telegraphs are impossibilities and rank infidelity. There is nothing in the word of God about them. They are devices of Satan to lead immortal souls to hell."

According to the logic of that day it was proven by the law of atmospheric resistance and the weakness of molecular cohesion and several other "scientific" reasons that it was a human impossibility to attain a greater speed by steam power than nine miles an hour. And just about the time the moss-backs had established their contention the new locomotives were making sixty.

After his wonderful contribution to the world of science on the laws of molecular



IT AIN'T SCIENTIFIC

attraction, Sir Isaac Newton, who had progressed in years and was then living a rather idle and pleasurable existence, declared his belief that the knowledge of man would so increase that some day he would be able to travel the globe at the rate of *fifty miles an hour*.

The scientific world could account for this rash statement on the part of Newton in no other way than the puerility attendant on old age. They declared the man must be in his dotage and Voltaire, the brilliant French infidel, wrote of him:

"Now look at the mighty mind of Newton, the great philosopher who discovered the law of gravitation. When he becomes old and goes into his dotage he begins to study the bible and in order to credit its fabulous nonsense he would have us believe that the knowledge of mankind will so increase that by and by we shall be able to travel fifty miles an hour. Poor dotard!"

When Bell began to say it would one day be possible for people to talk to each other over the long distance telephone from New York to San Francisco and recognize the familiar voice of a friend, "sensible" folks wondered why "dreamers" did not stop putting nonsense into the heads of the young and the lazy and tend to the farm work. They wasted much breath that they might better have expended trying to persuade "flighty" youths that such ideas would never get them anywhere nor put any money in the bank. And yet today we are promised

much greater marvels in the realm of the telephone.

* * *

There are always those of the It Can't Be Done chorus, who refuse to work for anything, believe in anything or expect and desire anything new. They proved that the earth could not revolve on its axis because people would fall off into space if this were true. They knew the peasants would never be freed from the land and allowed to travel about from one place to another looking for work—because, at one stage in human history, they could remember no time when the serf was not bound to the soil.

They were certain that the idea of a gas explosion engine—an engine that would develop power through the explosion of gas—was the nightmare of a diseased brain and they have always claimed that the ruling class owns and rules through superior virtue and intelligence.

We heard one of these It Can't Be Done persons singing a plaintive solo a few days ago. He knows that the people who work for a living will never be able to run the factories and mills and shops and railroads without the help and advice of the millionaires who employ them.

"They are not smart enough," he said.

But we thought of the men working on the farms all over this great wide prairie country today, and of the men on the railroads and in the mines, the shops and mills. And we remembered Robert Fulton and what the people had said about the first steam boat; how the preachers had prophesied and the scientists had proved that the steam boat could never cross the Atlantic when a steam boat made the trip and shocked them from their futile theories and wranglings.

It Is Being Done. The working man today produces all the useful and necessary things in the world. He does it all; makes it all; plans it all. The only reason he is despised and exploited is because he has not yet realized that he has only to join hands with his fellow workers of other nations to be strong enough to take over the industries of the world and use them for the benefit of those who perform some useful service in society.

It can be done!



THE PROPHETS DON'T MENTION IT

THE LEFT WING

The Passing of the Old Democracy

By S. J. Rutgers

Imperialism means the end of the middle class democracy, as we have already stated. Imperialism means the control of Big monopolistic Capital over all other grades of capitalists; means the Government of money kings (Plutocracy).

The old democracy is the form of government which best suited the interests of competitive capitalism in its growth. It permitted the capitalist class to rule with the help of the farmers and the old middle classes, against the interests of the feudal classes and land aristocracy. During the period of conflicting interests among the different groups of the bourgeoisie, the labor class succeeded in getting some results by using its political influence, together with some of the capitalist groups. This was the period in which reformistic socialism originated.

The highest forms of this "democracy" were developed in countries with prevailing middle-class interests. The most perfect example is, perhaps, Switzerland, a country with prevailing small industries and small farmers. Another example is France, with its numerous class of small farmers. Germany never developed this system of democracy to its full extent, because of its special historical development. When in 1848 the bourgeoisie in Germany gathered sufficient strength to make a political revolution, and the King of Prussia barely escaped falling into the hands of the insurgents, the bourgeoisie decided not to use the situation to its full extent, not to establish a bourgeois democratic Government after the French model.

It has been generally admitted among European socialists, that fear for the growing influence of the laboring class, at that time, prevented the German bourgeoisie from striving for a fully developed middle class democracy, and that it therefore preferred to make a pact with the feudal classes. The result was, that feudal aristocracy put itself into the serv-

ice of modern capitalism, and became a capitalist force of great importance.

Although in Europe this is the general conception, I have met American Comrades who ventured the supposition that it was not Feudalism that became the servant of capitalism, but that Feudalism maintained a leading position as such. That this conception is wrong is proven by the fact that German capitalism developed in a short time the most efficient capitalist organization of Europe. The fact that the German capitalists could leave their Governmental affairs to a special class of efficient bureaucrats had the double advantage of leaving them to their task of industrial development, and avoiding the more direct class conflicts with their workers on the political field.

They could leave this to the "Junkers" and pretend that reactionary measures were taken against the wishes of the "liberal" bourgeoisie. This not only proved the most efficient method of government during the development of capitalism, but it will be easily understood that this more absolutist form of Government proved to fit most admirably the capitalist conditions under the early Imperialism.

England, the oldest among capitalist States, also had a special development of its own. In the first part of the eighteenth century, during the beginning of capitalism, it was most brutal in its governmental system. But it soon gained a position of absolute control over world industry, and could afford to originate a democratic regime, in which the upper layers of the working class counterbalanced the interests of land aristocracy; the class of small farmers and the old middle classes being early ruined by the marvelous growth of young capitalism.

This necessity of giving political influence to parts of the laboring class is one of the reasons for the better situation which skilled labor in England has long enjoyed, but at the same time capi-

talist class thought it wise to establish a system of capitalist safety valves, which nowhere else has been developed in such a degree. Not only is the power of the Senate in England stronger than on the Continent, and is the power of Parliament restricted by an elaborate system of "traditions." But in England originated the dominating political power of the judges, a system afterwards introduced from England into your political machinery.

Whatever may be the historical differences in European "democracies" they are all alike in that they are middle class democracies, originating in the necessity of uniting different groups of capitalists, with somewhat different interests, into one strong government, in which occasionally some upper layers of labor might co-operate.

The same holds true in the United States. The original democracy was mainly a democracy of farmers and small capitalists, and it combined features of different European countries.

Now we have seen that under Imperialism the capitalist interests gradually consolidate into *one* common interest, under the control of Big monopolistic capital. This not only does away with the original capitalist necessity for "democracy" and turns it from a tool to further capitalist interests into a stumbling block, but we *actually notice* in all of the leading countries a passing away of the old democracy, a growing reaction, and a tendency towards absolutism. In Europe, this process has been proceeding during at least twenty years, and it has been recognized in the "Left Wing" socialist press. Details will not much interest my American readers, and the few examples in my June article will be a sufficient indication for those who are familiar with recent European history.

But the United States having developed even farther into Imperialism than Europe, we must expect to find, and indeed, do find, the same tendency. It is, to my mind, one of the funniest experiences, to hear members of the working class in the United States, and even well informed socialists, boast of their American "political democracy." And it is one of the best features of your Interna-

tional Review to have constantly, issue after issue, year after year, pointed to the facts that illustrate the passing away of those old forms of democracy.

What do you mean by your "democracy?"

Is it the fact that your "Boss" sometimes pats you on the back and calls you a jolly old boy, asking you about your wife and the kids, perhaps indexing your name for future reference? If so, there may be some democracy, although even this is on the decline.

Does political democracy simply mean that you have a vote for Congress, or for some of the political officers? Suppose at the moment you have to vote somebody with a revolver tells you how to vote, or somebody with a bag of dollars is willing to pay for the vote, and you need the money badly. Or suppose they fool you about your interests at school, in the press and in the church, and prevent you from getting your own informations about your class interests. Political democracy requires something more than a vote, something more than a formality.

Democracy means that your class must influence the Government in the broadest sense, according to its importance and its number. A farmers' democracy means that the interests of the farmers are taken care of.

Nowadays the workers are in the majority, but nobody supposes that they can dictate a policy that takes care of their interests. Many of you only look to political *forms* and the vote, and don't understand why there is no such thing as political influence of the working class.

But when you look at the *facts* there will be no longer any doubt.

It is not the most important fact, but it is an interesting one, that far more than one-third of the workers do not even have a vote: Negroes in the South, immigrants in the North, and men who must keep moving in pursuit of jobs are barred, and this percentage has been vastly increasing in the last twenty years, so as to surpass, nowadays, that in most of the European countries.

But even if all of the workers of the United States had a vote, this would not make a real difference. Congress has lost so much of its influence that it is only a

lame wing of the real Government. The Senate has increased its power and exercises it with real class consciousness.

The power of the President of the United States, in important issues like peace and war, is greater even than that of the King of England. It is of little importance that the Constitution tells you that Congress declares war, because Congress simply has to approve the results of the diplomacy of the President and the executive powers. This has been shown again and again in the last months, and it makes no difference in practice, whether this is a result of Presidential aggression or Congressional self-elimination.

The most effective method of doing away with democracy, however, is in the political function of the judges, with the Supreme Court as its highest and unparalleled form. Nowhere in the world will you find an equally reactionary institution. What becomes of the influence of your Congress, as compared with that of the executive power of Governors, Mayors, Judges, and the Police? Look over the pages of your International Review and see what has become of democracy in your courts, and under the rifles of your most brutal police and militia. And yet, these institutions form a part of your government as well, and certainly are of much more importance in the practical life of the workers than Congress. What becomes of your freedom of speech and press, as soon as you use them for a real attack on capitalist institutions?

If you look beyond the form to the facts, there proves to be no greater lie than that of political democracy in the United States.

Some clever headed theoreticians will answer: we cannot deny the facts, but there is something in the form, because this will enable us to have real democracy in the future. They forget two facts: first, that in the whole capitalist world, and especially in the United States, there is no tendency towards more democracy, but that on the contrary, a primitive middle class democracy is **on the decline**, is lost, and second, that

if, by some unexpected wonder, the workers should succeed in using the old democratic forms in a real fight, the capitalist class would change the forms, rather than allow an easy victory to its enemies. The reality is, that Capital deliberately fools you with the form, as long as you allow yourself to be fooled, and that this is the only reason and the only "advantage" of this sham "democracy."

It is one of the most important necessities, if you wish to get out of the present stagnation, that you realize without and reserve that there exists no such a thing as political democracy in the United States, and that the old forms of parliamentary methods will not develop into real political democracy, and therefore, have only a restricted, temporary meaning to labor.

It certainly is an advantage that present-day "democratic" forms enable socialists to demonstrate effectively the class differences and class antagonisms. Congress can be a valuable platform for socialist propaganda, as for instance, is shown by the activities of Karl Liebknecht, in the Prussian Diet. But we must see its limits; we must understand that in the class struggle it is only power that counts, and that old parliamentary forms will be changed, in fact are uninterruptedly changed, as soon as they are no longer in the interest of the ruling class.

The old style of parliamentary action is rapidly losing its significance for the working class, but remember, that there is a very great difference between what we nowadays call parliamentary action and the political influences of the working class.

About this difference and the future of a new "mass" democracy on the industrial, as well as on the political field, will deal the next and last article in this series.

What this difference is, and what is the future of a new "mass" democracy on the industrial as well as the political field, will be the subjects of the next and concluding article in this series.



ON THE JUNK PILE

THE CAT IS OUT OF THE BAG

THE naval officers responsible for recruiting youths from the paths of industrial peace to the path of war have let the Cat out of the Bag in their most recent posters soliciting volunteers. The navy department of the U. S. Government gives you a little bird's-eye sketch of the life of the industrial wage worker that is causing many substantial citizens to sit up on their hind legs and protest.

They feel that their paternalistic (?) efforts to make the wilderness of America blossom like Ludlow, Colorado, Pittsburgh and the West Virginia mining districts, are unappreciated and calumniated by the recruiting officers. They prefer to have the American working youth told how much better off he is than the young man in France and Germany; to have it asserted how free and fortunate he is and what wonderful opportunities this country offers to the honest and industrious man who lives economically.

The poster reads:

"Young man, think over what you have now and what promise the future holds for you; then learn what the navy offers you. Check up . . . each item (showing the

rewards in civil as compared to those in naval life), then judge which column sums up higher."

Read the navy department description of a workingman's life and prospects and see if this does not fit your own case better than anything you have read in a long time. And remember that this is a government description of what *your* (?) country does for the men who produce the useful and necessary things of life:

In Civil Life

1. Jobs uncertain, strikes, layoffs, sickness.
2. Promotion and advancement uncertain and slow.
3. Favoritism and partiality frequently shown.
4. Pay small and limited while learning a trade.
5. Same old monotonous grind every day.
6. Stuffy, gloomy, uninteresting working place.
7. When sick your pay stops and doctor's bill starts.
8. If disabled or injured you receive little or no pay.
9. If you die, your family get only what you have saved from your small wages.

10. Little *clear money*; nearly all your pay goes for living expenses.

11. Old age, sickness, little money saved, your job goes to a younger and more active man.

We think this is the best description of the hopelessness of the lot of the wage-worker we have ever read. It expresses the uncertainty of us who have to depend upon a boss for a chance to make a living and the impossibility of getting out of the treadmill. It tells you what you may expect after you have slaved to make dividends for somebody else all your life:

"Old age, sickness, little money saved, your job goes to a younger and more active man."

The government, or representatives of the government of the *owning* class have

spoken. At a moment when the business men of this country are greedy to secure the wealth of the weaker nations, it speaks the truth in order to lure you into the army and navy. It is asking you to fight for "your country," and then it shows you what "your country" has done to the man who works when he can get a job.

Such a country belongs to the exploiting class; assuredly it is not worth fighting *for*. It is partly responsible for making the industrial life of the workers the hell recruiting agents so aptly describe.

Socialism, industrial democracy, would make every nation the country of the workers in it. That would mean the country of the working class. The fight of the revolutionary workers to abolish the profit system is the only fight worth while.

FACE TO FACE

By George P. West

WHILE every big special interest newspaper and every jingoist in the country is shouting for war with Mexico, five official representatives of the Mexican labor movement are meeting with the executive council of the American Federation of Labor in complete harmony and friendship.

At the Federation headquarters in Washington, the common interests of the peoples of the United States and of Mexico are being emphasized in the conferences that are proceeding with a view to removing misunderstandings and preventing war.

The Washington meetings are historic as being the most effective effort ever made by the workers of two countries to avoid war. Mexican delegates to the conference are in close touch with First Chief Carranza, while American labor through President Gompers is making its wishes known to the American administration.

The Mexican labor representatives include Carlos Lovera, Baltazar Pages, Luis Morones, Salvador Gonzalo Garcia and Colonel Edmund Martinez. They are here at the invitation of President Gompers.

Women and children will join with the men of Mexico in resisting American occu-

pation, the Mexican delegates told Washington newspaper correspondents who had asked what would happen if the American troops are not withdrawn.

The interview was arranged in the office of the Committee on Industrial Relations by Lincoln Steffens, who led the questioning with a view to bringing out the attitude of the Mexican people.

"We represent 60 Mexican labor unions with a membership of 100,000," said Carlos Lovera, of Yucatan, and chief spokesman for the Mexicans. "We realize that it is quite possible we shall have to go to war when we have no quarrel, and we are here to do what we can to prevent it. It may be that we shall fail, just as labor failed in Europe.

"Since we arrived here we have learned that the American people do not want war, and especially the working people. To a certain extent we can carry that news to the Mexicans and give them that impression, that the American people have no quarrel with us and do not want war. We believe the trouble is made by the special interests and not by the people.

"Mr. Carranza does not want war, nor do the men around him.

"As far as we know, we don't think there is anyone in Mexico that wants war.

"Labor and the government of Mexico are working together. The government recognizes us, and the labor movement agrees to help the Constitutionalist revolution. We had regiments in the field, under our own officers. They were called the 'red battalions.'

"When we have a big strike now, the military does not help the employers. They do not interfere, they do not help us, but they leave us free to use the strike weapon. The government of Yucatan is helping all they can. We have the eight-hour day and the English week of 44 hours. We quit work at 11 o'clock on Saturday morning and are paid for the full day.

"On the day we left Mexico we had the first actual distribution of land in Yucatan."

The Mexican delegates were told that Americans say Mexicans are treacherous. They said that the Mexicans believed the same thing about Americans. Asked why, Lovera said:

"In the first place, the war of 1848. The United States took California and Arizona, New Mexico and Texas, nearly half our country. General Grant and many other Americans have condemned that war. After that, the United States government and press tried to support the Diaz government, which was bad for the Mexican people. Then there was the part we believe Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson took in overthrowing Madero. He was a friend of Huerta and used his influence to put Huerta in power.

"Now we see a punitive expedition taking heavy artillery into Mexico to capture a bandit. They have set their military base 150 miles south of the border. Besides, they are talking of building military railroads. Do you use heavy artillery to chase bandits?

"Even Mr. Carranza would not be able to control the people and prevent war if the troops stay in Mexico. Mr. Carranza feels no different about it from all the people of Mexico."

The Mexicans were asked about American ownership of mines and railroads.

"Until the revolution," said Lovera, "employes on the railroads with \$100 a month were all Americans. For thirty or forty years the Mexicans did all the track work

and all the hard labor, under the command of Americans. No matter how bright or capable a Mexican might be, he could not be promoted. The American employes were paid in gold. The Mexicans got silver; they got about one-half or one-fourth of what the Americans used to get. It was the same in the mines."

After answering many questions from the newspaper men, the Mexican delegation, through Mr. Lovera, questioned the correspondents.

"Why is it," he asked, "that there is such a difference between the feeling of the American people and the way the American press expresses itself? We all see that the American people do not want war, yet the press talks as if the people wanted war. Pictures of Villa and Carranza shaking hands and saying: 'Now we'll clean up the gringos.' Is that the way to keep peace? We know that Villa is dead or has left the country. Carranza would not accept his services. The Carranza army shoots every Villa bandit they can catch.

"When Carranza ordered the release of the prisoners, the papers said: 'Carranza backs down.' They should have told the truth, that Carranza realized it would not be justice to keep prisoners when war had not been declared.

"Will you adjust your conduct to the feeling of the American people? We know that the American press is more powerful than that of any other country. We know the great power of the press. You might say that you lead public opinion. They don't do that in Mexico. We tell our people that the American people don't want war, but there is no one to say that in America.

"War means crushing our revolution. It means crushing our ideals. It means the occupation of Mexico after a little struggle."

Lovera was interrupted here by Colonel Martinez.

"I don't agree with you," he said. "It would not be so easy as that. We are united. The women and children will fight. It would be a long struggle.

"Why should the United States make war on us? Villa's army is gone. He is dead or has left the country. His last stroke was to start trouble between the United States and Mexico. The American people ought to be more lenient. The Mexicans are doing all

they can. How long did it take you to capture the James boys? Yet our land is different from Missouri and Kansas. It is mountainous and thinly settled and there are many wild places."

Lovera said:

"We think the real bandits are in Wall street. To catch them the United States would have to send a punitive expedition to New York. We hear talk about going to Mexico and helping them, paying the Mexican laborers real money. You can pay real money to labor without going to Mexico. Why don't the Americans start here? How about Colorado?"

"The American people are very good and very kind and very civilized. We saw them in Mexico whipping the people and doing things such as were not done since the Spanish inquisition.

"Our aim is not to do away with the Americans, but to get the rights of free

speech and free assemblage, the right to strike, a free press, and also to get rid of the big ranches. For many years they have been taking the land away from the people, so that the people had to work in the mines and big plantations and mills for a few cents a day or starve. We want to change that."

All of the Mexican delegation now in Washington are men of intelligence and ability, and of influence in Mexico. They have a fine feeling of brotherhood with the workers of every country, and are filled with zeal for the upbuilding of a great Mexican labor movement that can form part of a Pan-American Federation of Labor.

After leaving Washington, Lovera and Pages will go to Central and South America to further cooperation between the labor movements of every American country.—
From Committee on Industrial Relations.

THE DRONE

By C. M. Drake

"WHY are you chopping the heads off of your unborn bees?" the visitor cried as he saw the bee man shaving the comb with a knife.

"These are drone bees. Drones do not work. They would eat the honey of the workers," the bee man replied.

"Killing thousands of innocent drone babies for honey money," laughed the visitor. "You are as bad as the capitalists."

"Not so. They kill the workers for money. I kill the useless idle class of whom there are far too many. The workers will now carry out the headless bodies from the hive, and fill the cells with honey. So I am helping the workers. A drone brings in no honey nor bee bread, as you call it. He eats what workers produce."

"But won't the father or mother bees be sorry you killed them?"

"A drone has no father. He was hatched from an unfertilized egg laid by his mother. So he has only one grandfather, his mother's father, and it is very doubtful if he gets any mother love," the bee man said.

"No brotherly love or sisterly love, either?"

"Only a scant sisterly toleration from the sisters until the swarming season is over. He is then abused and driven from the hive to die anywhere, if he is not in a queenless hive. He may have added a little to the warmth of the hive at times. One out of thousands has met a virgin queen on her one wedding trip, as it is called, up in the air, and has given his life and the whole of his organs of reproduction which the queen has torn from him as they parted. These sexual organs are taken back to the hive by the queen and with their help she becomes a perfect mother bee in a few days after the meeting."

"Given his life"? the visitor repeated.

"Yes, the male never gets back to the hive. A little while before he might have been flying about in play. Then he smelled the air track of a flying virgin who wanted a mate. His sense of smell is almost beyond our belief. He followed the virgin, met her, and died in a few moments after the mating. For that one meeting thousands of

other drones were raised and never had a chance to mate. Looks almost like a waste, but it is Nature's way with many other animals and plants," said the bee man.

"But you say he is not the father of the drones."

"He is not. The mother bee lays all of the eggs, sometimes thousands in a day during the swarming season. If an egg is to produce a worker or female, the queen squeezes a minute drop of sperm upon the egg from a sac containing the sperm. This sperm came from the drone—enough to last her for a few years, maybe. If she puts none of the sperm upon the egg it will produce a drone or male bee. If she has never met a drone all of her eggs will produce drones only."

"When the supply gets low and too many drone eggs are laid, the workers build queen cells and raise a new mother bee. They try to do this when there are other drones flying, though they preserve their own drones then. Inbreeding is better than no breeding. It sometimes happens that the queen is not mated during the few days when she must mate or fail to mate. Or she may lose her way or she may be caught. Then the colony may die."

"Does she know when she lays a drone egg?"

"I think so, usually," the bee man replied. It may be the size of the wax cell that tells her. You see the size of the drone cells is much larger than the worker cells. But she has been forced to lay drone eggs in worker cells. Then the workers raise the waxen cells higher before they cap over the larvæ. Bees show a great deal of what we call judgment, at times, and a great lack of it at other times."

"Especially when one stings," said the visitor slapping a stinger.

"That is one thing I like about drones. They have no stings. There would prob-

ably have been no honey bees now had they no stings to defend their stores. Yet had the drones been fighters the workers could not have driven them away when it was desirable. The drones are the bigger but they lack preparedness."

"How much have the workers wasted on those drones you are murdering, Mr. Bee Man"?

"Perhaps weeks of work and much food. It takes about 24 days to make a drone from an egg; 21 days for a worker; about 16 for a queen who is fed special food in a special cell. The eggs hatch in about three days. The larvæ, looking like worms, their ancestors, are fed with partly digested food from the tips of the worker bees' tongues. Fed a sort of chyle—digested honey and pollen. The larvæ grow very fast. They spin a web about their bodies in the cells. They are covered with caps of pollen and wax while changing to bees. They gnaw out of the cells, hunt up a sip of honey; have a short play life, and —"

"Do they ever get lost as children do?"

"Sure. But they notice their home very carefully in their first flights. Perhaps the smell of their home guides them. Yet I have seen them go into the wrong hive and get pulled and punished for so doing, though not always. - Bees may have what is called the homing instinct. Some cats, dogs, horses, birds, and humans have it so that it is hard to lose them."

"I have it about dinner time," the visitor said, looking at his watch. "I suppose drones can fly as fast as our birdmen do."

"Just about, I think, with their four wings, on their wedding way. But not on long trips. Those who are not workers tire easily. And so do those who work too hard. My front rows of hives catch many a worker loaded with honey, too tired to fly farther. Like a man loaded with money, the hotel-hive welcomes the rich ones."



Some Personal Reminiscences of Professor J. Howard Moore

By Louis S. Vineburg

IT was in the spring of 1910 that I first met Professor Moore. The Young Peoples Socialist League in Chicago had arranged a series of lectures for every Sunday evening, and through the efforts of the Secretary the services of Professor Moore were secured.

Needless to say, the lectures were well attended from the start; and how keenly they were appreciated by the growing audiences was later demonstrated in whole-hearted enthusiasm.

The charming simplicity with which he delivered such advanced lectures as those on "The Origin of the Higher Peoples," "The Savage Survivals in Higher Peoples," and "The Law of Biogenesis," not only awakened an interest in the Comrades who were either members of the League, or merely visitors, but also served to rouse some of the older intellectuals, who, apparently having lost all interest in the elementary discussions of the League, had gone into strict retirement.

As is customary with Socialists, the meetings were usually thrown open for discussion. Although at first thought this would seem unwarranted in Professor Moore's lectures, since they were, strictly speaking, of a scientific nature, the custom was, nevertheless, observed.

Of course, as could be expected, some of the questions pertained as little to the subject as the subject itself pertained to the Ten Commandments. Yet they were at all times answered with such thorough analysis, such abundance of tolerance, and spirit of gentleness that even the most timid were encouraged to seek enlightenment on points obscure to them. And to add that all this was at a time when a serious ailment had been setting in—an ailment which was finally to terminate in a suicide—one must feel nothing but the greatest admiration for such sincere efforts.

For a long time after hearing the lectures I harbored the desire to have those on The Law of Biogenesis appear in book form. I felt that the message they contained must prove of vital importance to every man and woman—particularly to parents of children. It was, therefore, with this object in view, that I set out one day for the home of Professor Moore.

Arriving there, I at once unfolded my project. He listened attentively to the purpose of my visit and shook his head negatively, though sadly. "It is very kind of you," he began, "but the fact of the matter is that the lectures in question are a part of a course for High School students, which I soon intend to place in the hands of the publishers."

In answer to this objection I summoned all the enthusiasm at my command and pointed out how grateful the workingmen and women would be for the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the important facts with which the book would deal—the knowledge of which their lot in life had deprived them. This touched him deeply, and he consented without any further remonstrances.

After the necessary arrangement with Comrade Kerr for its publication, the question of royalty came up. I promised Comrade Kerr that I would take the matter up with Professor Moore, and as soon as the opportunity presented itself I set out again on my mission. This time there was no deliberation on his part. Rising from his seat and walking up to me, he laid his hands on my shoulders, and, with a look full of tenderness and sympathy, said: "Never mind the royalty. I am very glad to help in any way I can."

It may not be out of place to mention here that Professor Moore was a Socialist, and that he was thoroughly convinced that the cause of labor must ultimately triumph. How deeply he felt the injustice of the present social arrangement

one can readily discern in his clarion call for action on the part of the proletariat:

"Shake off your chains! Be free! Take your inalienable rights! Is this not *your* world as much as anybody's? Be *men*, not doormats! Light the red hell of revolution, if need be!"—From *The New Ethics*.

It was not the cause of humanity alone that he championed. The dumb, four-footed animals came in for even a greater share of his sympathy. The following extract epitomizes his mournful plaint for the beasts of burden:

"The stars of heaven never looked down on a more pitiful sight than that of a horse, after having drudged faithfully all his days in the service of his lord, cast out in his helpless old age to wander and perish."—From *Better World Philosophy*.

As a scientist he based his convictions on the works of Darwin, Haeckel, Spencer, and the other pioneers of truth. But it was not that in itself which has won for him the high regard he attained among the emancipated scientists. It was due, rather, to the ingenious manner in which he interwove his doctrines with the teachings of those great masters, whose worth he acknowledged. The *Biogenetic Principle*, as enunciated by Haeckel, elicited from him such startling utterance of a great thought as this:

"No wonder the child loves the camp-fire. The camp-fire was the ancestor of the hearth—the first bright spot in that dark world out of which our forefathers groped their way so long ago."—*The Law of Biogenesis*.

And again, writing elsewhere, he says: "All civilized peoples have come from savage peoples. They have 'grown' from savages, just as you and I as individuals

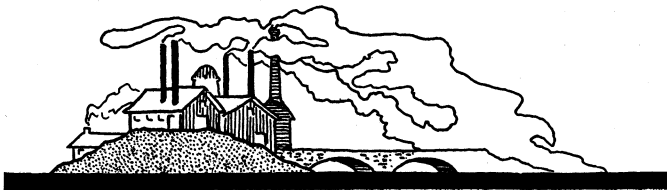
have grown from babies."—*Savage Survivals*.

Some critics maintain that his masterpiece, as an author, is his "*Universal Kinship*," recently reprinted in a handsome new edition by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., as are the other books I quoted from above, with the exception of "*The New Ethics*." But whether or not this criticism is justifiable can best be judged from a personal perusal of his books. I can do no better here than quote from a chapter on "*Man an Animal*," in which he says:

"Man has not a spark of so-called 'divinity' about him. In important respects he is the most highly evolved of animals; but in origin, disposition, and form he is no more 'divine' than the dog who laps his sores, the terrapin who waddles in his carapace or the unfastidious worm who dines on the dust of his feet."

In the *REVIEW* for June appears what may be termed his "last word" on the subject of religion. In this he takes the occasion to express his scorn for those scientists who still look to heaven for an explanation of the facts which have long since been established by men who were more courageous than themselves and who have reasoned from the material world about them. "No true scientist," he says, "can pray. Prayer is unscientific. No evolutionist can believe in the divine origin of anything."—*The Source of Religion*.

Indeed, all his works are replete with the sublimest thoughts and inspirations, and the least that we, as Comrades, can do as proof of our mission to spread enlightenment is first, to acquaint ourselves with Professor Moore's books, and secondly, to pass the knowledge on to others. Thus his efforts shall not have been in vain.



Henry Dubb on the Proposed Socialist Platform

To the Editor and all other Fellow-Comrades:

I have been waiting to "get back" at you social-cut-ups for quite a spell. You folks have been roasting me and a few million more of my family ever since you have had a ticket in the field—because we wouldn't vote for your know-it-alls.

But, I have got the goods on you this time! Your proposed platform proves it! And I'll bet you, yourselves, have not laid off to read it. I have not met one of you who has, and you're always talking about *us* not reading and being educated-like. Far be it from me to pile up any pebbles in your pursuit of political documents, but the thing I am kicking about is that it takes so dang long to finish the job. Why man, this platform is four or five times as long as *The Declaration of Independence!* Your literary lights evidently overlooked the fact that we like short stuff right to the point, such as employees' notices and auction sale announcements.

However, we Dubbs always believe in doing a fellow critter a good turn, so I am going to describe your platform to you as we go through this letter, so you will know it when you see it in your papers—and they do say that you agitators are so busy "saving us"—you don't have much time for *reading*—sort-o'-got the *talking* habit, hey, Bill?

Well, anyway, here goes for your platform, which you will find printed all out on the back page of your American Socialist of July 15th. (Understand, right here, I don't blame you for its appearance on the back page.) Some fellow has been sending me this paper for the past three months and them Ryan cartoons kind a got under my hide.

The article begins with an obituary notice about how the platform "happened to happen." It reads, "This draft was originally drawn up by the joint meeting of the outgoing and incoming National Executive Committees" and that the presidential and vice-presidential candidates were also there, or thereabouts. It also says, "it was revised" and that,

"the Socialist Party is the only party that will have a platform ADOPTED by the rank and file of the party membership."

I have always been wondering where the rank and file got off at in your organization. Now the mystery is cleared up. I always wondered where they got their ideas. Now I know. Your leaders make your ideas and platforms for you. Just like they do in the old parties. The leaders adopt the ideas and hand them down to you; you adopt and hand them down to us.

If I haven't got this straight I want you to come back at me right sharp.

You can tell by the way I write that I am a bit above the rest of the Dubb family and don't believe half I read in the Chicago papers anyway. I know there is no black hand work in this case. It is all as clear as day. The committee going out "hands it" (the platform) to the bunch coming in, who in turn slip it to the P. and the V. P. elect. It is then "revised" by parties unknown. And then you people who put up the money have the right to vote for it. Am I right? This, I think, is called the "modus work-us."

What I can't understand is why it should take so long to tell it. You must have some lawyers and literary fellows hanging around. Anyway, a Socialist Party man I met in Joe Leland's Shoe Shop this morning tells me that you are going to take sixty days to study it all out. That you will make bucksaw marks in front of what you want and doughnut holes against what doesn't look good. This sounds good to me.

But to get back at the platform: It reminds me of an old crazy quilt up in the garret which my grandmother gave me when I got married. You all know what they look like. No particular pattern and pieced together. Some pieces of silk alongside a patch of calico. The colors are something like those on Joseph's coat. They seem to swear at each other in all languages, including Yiddish. There was no harmony like you see in the rainbow on a summer's afternoon after it has

rained and the sun comes out. It was stuffed with a lot of cotton batton.

Your proposed platform starts out with a lot of batton or bunk about brotherhood. Just as if there could be any brotherhood under this system. Listen, the way it reads, "The Socialist Party of America reaffirms its steadfast adherence to the principles of international brotherhood, world peace and industrial democracy." Now, to get down to brass tacks, as we say when we put down the carpets every spring, what are the principles of international brotherhood? I do not know; do you? It sounds to me very much like what we hear on the 4th of July's political spell-binders on the court house steps. I read some of John Spargo's pamphlets and it seems to me you ought to get after him to put these *great* principles into simple English and write them out for us in black and white. We are simple folk, you know, and have to be shown.

What has become of your principles of international socialism you were always reaffirming in the past?

What are the principles of world peace, as well as the principles of industrial democracy? Come across with the goods and cut out the glittering generalities. They make a fellow swear.

Am glad to see that, "Socialism would not abolish private property but greatly extend it." I want all I can get, but as the rich own almost all of this free country at the present time I am wondering how you can establish collective ownership. In other words, when it comes to the "show down" are you going to buy the railroads, telegraphs and telephones, express service, steamboat lines and all other social means of transportation and communication and all large industries? If you are not going to buy this wealth, how do you expect to get it "in the hands of the people?"

I am with you in your opposition to war, but I can't quite hitch up these two paragraphs:

"The Socialist Party maintains its attitude of unalterable opposition to war."

"That no war shall be declared or waged by the United States without the referendum vote of the entire people, except for the purpose of repelling invasion." As all wars are waged in the interests of the capitalists, why should a referendum vote of the entire people of the United States be taken? Why take a referendum vote at all if you are opposed to war? Who is to determine whether the war is one of invasion or conquest? All the Socialists at war in Europe rose to arms to repel so-called invasions.

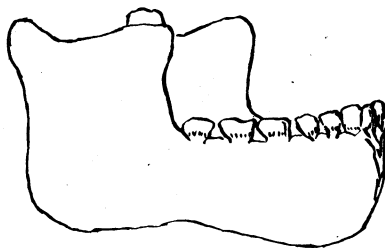
At the time the war broke out in Europe the most intelligent Socialists of all countries were advocating the use of the general strike in case of war. Why is there no place for this mighty force in your platform?

So far as the political demands are concerned they're familiar patches on most every political platform.

The industrial demands are utopian and empty baubles unless a way is pointed out to secure them. If they are worth mentioning at all they are worth organizing to get. But the importance of organization on the industrial field is not even hinted at. Then why the hot air? To get votes?

By far the most fascinating part of the platform is the Minority Report, which we should all vote for. It will add guts and backbone which will otherwise be lacking.

I suppose you have already come to the conclusion that the writer carries a red card in the Socialist Party. You bet your sweet life he does, but he does not belong to that large and respectable part of our membership which still belongs to the Dubb family. I hope you will discuss as well as improve this proposed platform intelligently during the next sixty days.



The oldest and most primitive underjawbone of a human being so far known, the so-called *Homo Heidelbergensis*, who lived in the last division of the Tertiary age. Found in the sands of Mauer near Heidelberg. (After Schoetensack.)

The Origin and Earliest Traces of Man

By WILHELM BOELSCHÉ

Extracts from Wilhelm Boelsché's "Der Mensch der Vorzeit—Erster Teil—Der Mensch in der Tertiarzeit und im Diluvium," translated by Alfred D. Schoch.

THE human hand, as a product of this earthly planet, was impossible so long as the five-toed foot of the land vertebrates had not developed. The carboniferous age may be taken as the beginning point of this latter accomplishment. More exactly this hand must then have passed through the stage of the climbing hand of the higher mammals. The oldest mammalian hands of this kind known to us belong to the first section of the Tertiary age, the Eocene period; it seems a likely supposition that they may go still further back into the latest Cretaceous times. At any rate the human hand at the very beginning of the Tertiary age was "possible."

The human brain in exactly the same degree presupposes the development of the vertebrate brain to the stage of the highest mammals below man. A direct comparison with it is possible only in the case of the apes, and especially in a narrower sense of the so-called man-like apes, such as the gibbon, the orang-outang and gorilla. So far as the very scanty remains up to the present picture it, the development of the apes in that Eocene period was even then going at full swing. From the middle third of the Tertiary age, the Miocene period, we have already unmistakable bones of genuine man-like apes. At this time, consequently, was fulfilled here also the last previous condition for the human brain; from then on it could have developed. For numerous reasons, however, it is probable that man did not exactly follow these manlike apes, but that he had already appeared parallel with them. Man today possesses a

far stronger brain than these highest apes; in compensation, however, his dentition is far weaker, and lacks especially the very prominent canines. It does not seem, though, that this dentition is a subsequent new formation developed backwards from a gorilla dentition. Rather it preserves precisely a more simple, primitive character, such as we are accustomed to find, in contrast to strongly specialized dentitions, at the source of all the higher mammals in general, as well as also in a narrower sense within the separate branches of this mammalian family again in the older forms of each.

So there is a very strong probability that man may be a comparatively primitive creation of that place in the lineage of the apes where the man-like apes first branched off. These man-like apes developed strong tooth-weapons (especially the enlarged canine teeth), but, with the brain part of their skulls and with the brain itself, they made, probably for this very reason, no further progress above the (already, at any rate, compared with the other mammals, enormously high), brain development of the original point of departure. Man, on the contrary, kept his simple and primitive dentition, but in contrast to and parallel with the manlike apes made a mighty advance as regards the upper part of the skull and the brain.

Now if the man-like apes had already gone their way to their goal in the Miocene period, we will necessarily have to put back into the Eocene the common point of departure where development forked into the

two branches, and then nothing stands in the way of assuming that somewhere along in the later Eocene man also in his most unmistakable primitive form had already separated himself from the family tree of the apes. Just as the man-like apes on their part, he for his part may then also have been a finished product in all essential particulars as regards his brain development. There may still have been some considerable differences in the shape of his bones, of course, compared with today, but they were not necessarily great enough to shut out the most important consequence. For only a certain moderate advance over the manlike apes was needed to come to this, and furthermore we see the same thing today in the widest sense even among varieties of man (like the Australian negroes), such as even now show really notable peculiarities of such bone-structure.

This consequence was the first human use of tools.

So in all probability we can first look for such human tools from the beginning of the Miocene period on. That is enormously far back. In all certainty from then to now a space of a number of millions of years has passed. Still there is nothing to prevent such tools from being preserved somewhere or other in a protected spot . . . in case above all they used the most durable of all materials, namely, hard stone. Of animal bones we have, in fact, a plenty from those days. Bone-remains of a human being of about the middle of the Tertiary age, it is true, have so far never been found. But human bones are, in any case, much more perishable than stone. With the general possibility of the existence of human life at that time, which really rests on very good indications, the discovery of an unmistakable stone tool in undisturbed surroundings of those days would necessarily be complete proof that already "the time was fulfilled," and that really most peculiar event of our planet had finally taken place.

. . . The earliest tools . . . must have been in the first place simply stones, sticks and similar unworked products of nature of a handy shape picked up and sorted out. For preservation after so long a time stones will be the ones to occupy our attention above all others. We should consequently search for them in the old Tertiary strata.

But the pity is, we will hardly recognize them as such. For who is to examine such a single stone as a pure product of nature to decide whether it *might have* served as the first human tool, or whether it really *did* serve this purpose? Stones that *might* be useful to people, in case there were any people there, may perhaps exist on the moon. In this embarrassment it would give us a slight foothold if such evidently handy-shaped stones, a lot of them in a pile, had already been brought together at that time somewhere or other. But a far better indication would be the first traces, even though crude ones, of artificial improvement, such as sharpening, of such stones. . . Consequently it is not surprising that the very earliest "fact" of prehistoric civilization today still leads directly to an open question in dispute. From undisturbed strata of the Miocene period, never altered again after that time, a quantity of pieces of stone have been collected in recent years which are suspected of really having been worked over; of course, worked over in such a simple and crude way that doubt may still venture to question the fact, and has done so. The most important and least objectionable locality of such finds is near Aurillac in the department of Cantal in southern France. Sand strata of the Miocene period were covered there in this far-away epoch with lava from the once vigorously active Auvergne volcanoes. In these sands are found bones of the hipparion horse, with three hoofs on each foot, and of the dinotherium elephant, with tusks in the lower jaw bending downward, very peculiar animals, consequently, pointing to a far-away primitive world. Besides, there are found in them, collected at definite places into big piles, loose pieces of flint, of which about two-thirds show more or less clear traces of some working over, but already done at the time they were embedded in these sands, that is to say, back in the Miocene period itself.

. . . From larger lumps of flint smaller handy pieces appear broken off, with the characteristic mark where they were hit, as it produced on such shell-shaped fragments when split off with a powerful outside blow. Such pieces struck off are then often provided with all sorts of finer traces of subsequent blows for the purpose of fitting them more exactly to their purpose; one edge especially often

appears notched with numerous small chips removed or with dints (retouch marks, as they have also been called). So, according to the individual treatment, the fragment of stone appears really more and more plainly accommodated to the purpose of a cutting, stabbing or digging instrument.

In part later, but still fully accredited corresponding Tertiary traces have also been found in Belgium and England. So these people must already have had a certain territorial extension over Europe at that time. The mass of traces at one spot may indicate that here we have come upon nothing less than supply points where numerous generations kept coming, because the flint-material they sought for was obtainable there in unusual abundance. As animals keep coming from a distance to a drinking place or a salt-lick, so these people anxious for material for tools kept going to their good, old place.

At the places of these finds, as we have said, no skeleton-remains of a human being have ever been detected. . . . Also no find has ever yet been made, at any rate, that would disclose that the first degree of culture of Aurillac was anywhere surpassed before the end of the Tertiary age. For the present we may conclude we have here a uniform stage of the general primitive culture, not merely an outer zone locally belated at that time. And the only Tertiary remains of man so far discovered would seem to agree with this view, a relic which can not be older than the very end of the Tertiary age, and along with which no tools were found.

So far, unfortunately, it is a question of only a single human lower jawbone, which came to light October 21, 1907, while working a sand-pit near the place called Mauer, southeastward from Heidelberg. The Neckar formed a loop here in early times, and piled up great heaps of sand and gravel, in which numerous animal bones (remains of elephants, rhinoceroses, wild oxen, wild horses, etc.), from the old overflow zone of the river came also to be stored up. Elephants, rhinoceroses and other animals now strange to this region still lived here in Germany, it is true, during all the diluvial epoch, which came next after the Tertiary age, but some of the special varieties occurring there in the Neckar sand of the respective strata of the finds (especially the rhinoceros species of the so-called "Etrus-

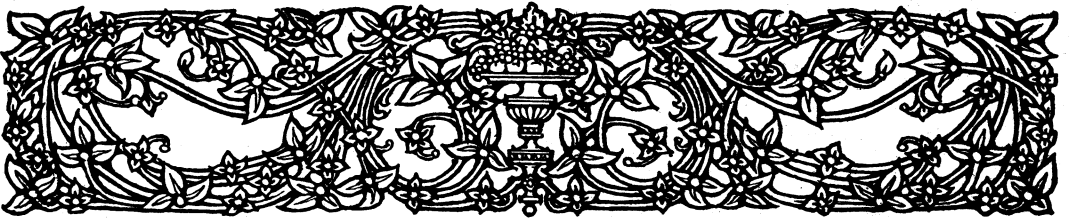
can rhinoceros"), still point with great definiteness to the last division of the Tertiary age itself. The human lower jawbone found in the same situation and preservation (the stratum of the find is absolutely irreproachable), should consequently belong to a human being, though a late one, of the Tertiary age also. The noted Heidelberg anthropologist Otto Schoetensack, to whom we owe the description of him, has called him provisionally *Homo Heidelbergensis* (man of Heidelberg).

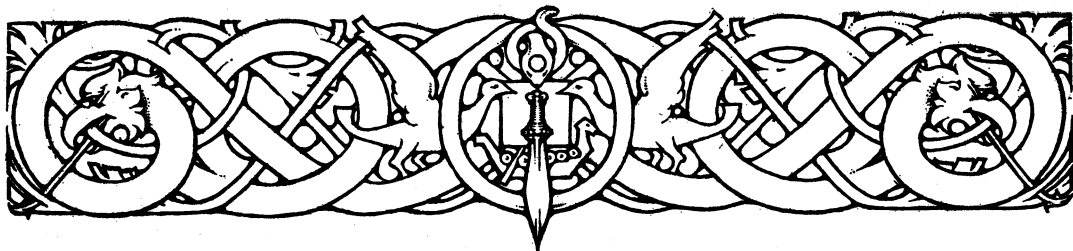
To judge by the bone found, he represents without any doubt a variety or sub-variety of man that differs considerably from the type living today. The general massiveness is enormous, the chin is entirely lacking, and the build of the rising parts at the back still betrays pronounced features of an ape-like primitive type, which in this case the man-like apes have preserved far more faithfully than present-day man. These details are, in any case, of very great interest for the theory of the animal origin of man. For a moment one could almost be tempted to believe in view of them that there really still lived here near Heidelberg in relatively so late an hour a prehuman, that is, a transition form, in fact, standing before all culture. Such a thing, of course, would not be impossible, for about the same time or even a little later there still existed in Java the celebrated pithekanthropos, which somehow really pointed as well to such a surviving intermediate form. But still the absolutely human dentition, along with human size, speaks notwithstanding for an already human upper skull and so also a human brain development, and consequently it becomes much more probable that we are already within the human and cultural domain, in other words, that we have before us the man of Aurillac, who already knew how to make those primitive tools.

We recall how an Australian skull, which is far more primitive than ours, still exists in connection with a quite efficient culture . . . and so find it quite possible that at least this section of culture could have already come forth at that time from a brain in a still more ape-like skull in some respects. The lack of a chin might, it is true, indicate that these people could have had as yet no real language in the human sense, and that would then separate them still further and more fundamentally from

the Australians, as well as from all real humans in general. Yet this characteristic appears quite prominent as well in a diluvial, culturally already very active race of men, of which we are to have more to say soon; in their case attention has further been called with special emphasis to the lack of certain places in the bone structure of the region of the chin, said to be indispensable to our language, where muscles could be attached. So their lack continued long past the time of Tertiary man. But anyway the indication in this matter of language itself is not absolutely certain: it is possible that a somewhat awkward human language, too, may have existed along with such a chin-formation, and that, from the opposite point of view, the long term of its existence first gradually, so to say, trained the bone, and little by little changed it into a chin.

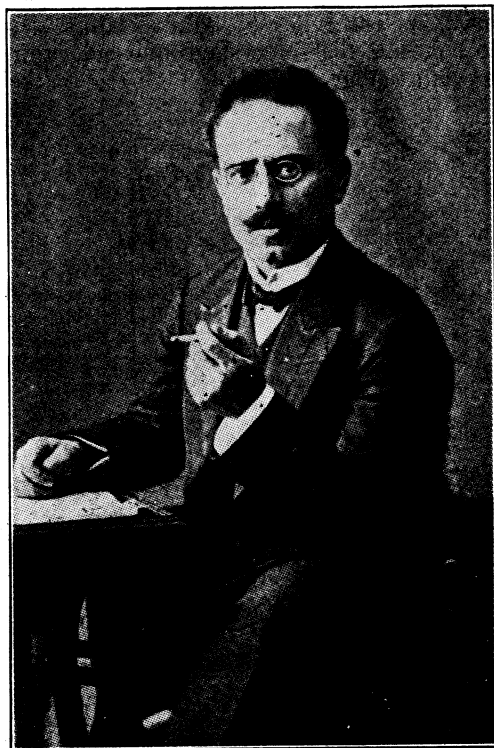
Between the culture of Aurillac and the man of Heidelberg there lies, even if the latter still belongs to the Tertiary age, a period of time of certainly over a million years. So if the flint-sharpeners of Aurillac already had the skull of the Heidelberg, and this Heidelberger still simply chipped flint into rough tools in the same way, then we would have to assume that this first epoch of primitive culture had simply lasted through an enormously long period of time without achieving any new advance. And we are strengthened in this view when, even on this side of the whole Tertiary age, in the period nearer to us, which stands between that time and the period of our narrower, gradually dated "history of civilization," we still come upon most ancient relics of culture which seem to continue the same stage of crude implements of stone.





INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN



COMRADE LIEBKNECHT

**Liebknecht
Convicted**

On June 28 Karl Liebknecht was convicted of "attempted treason, gross insubordination, and resistance to the authorities." His trial was before a court-martial. The sentence imposed was the lightest possible, thirty months' penal servitude and dismissal from the army.

This trial and conviction resulted from

Comrade Liebknecht's activities in connection with the May-day celebration in the famous Potsdam Square, Berlin. There was no contest as to the chief facts. Liebknecht acknowledged distributing a May-day leaflet and crying "Down with war!" and "Down with the government." The police reported that he resisted arrest. At first he was accused merely of disturbing the peace and rousing class hatred; then the charge was changed to one of high treason. The discussion of the case in the Reichstag was reported in the July REVIEW. By a large majority the accused man was denied the protection of parliamentary immunity.

Since the July REVIEW went to press a report of a speech delivered on this occasion by Haase has reached us. It should be referred to here in order to make our record complete and to let our readers know that one voice was raised in defense of a man who faced the fury of Prussian militarism. At one point Haase said: "The charge of treason is not made in the indictment by anybody but the Berlin chief of police, Von Jagow. He, on the other hand, does not consider the leaflet treasonable. He rather rests his charge upon another count. His letter to the governor-general declares: 'The Reichstag deputy, Liebknecht, also admits that he worked with friends in the enemy countries who had the same idea about ending this war.' This, gentlemen, is supposed to constitute treason!" The remainder of the speech



COMRADE LIEBKNECHT

shows clearly that extraordinary interpretations were being put upon Lieb-knecht's acts and that the case against him was trumped up for the sake of reducing him to silence.

The history of the case shows that Haase was right. At first Lieb-knecht was accused of disorder as anyone else might have been. Then the government saw its chance and changed the charge to one of high treason—at the same time sending out orders to the Reichstag deputies that immunity was to be denied. Then the ministry evidently took fright. Conviction of high treason would have meant death. What would martyrdom lead to? They could not tell. So the indictment was changed again, this time to one of attempted treason. The sentence connected with conviction for this crime ranges from thirty months to fifteen years penal servitude, and Lieb-knecht was given the minimum sentence. The government has been clever. It has silenced its most active foe without making a martyr of him.

There was another great meeting in Potsdam Square on the evening of June 28. It was dispersed by the police and 20 persons were arrested.

American press comment on this trial has been extremely amusing. One would think that a great daily would find it useful to have on its staff at least one man somewhat conversant with Socialism. A paper so provided would not tell its confiding readers that Lieb-knecht has been expelled from his party. This report probably developed from the news that Lieb-knecht is no longer a member of the regular Social Democratic group in the Reichstag.

Another curious and interesting thing previously commented on in the REVIEW has reappeared in this connection. Anti-Germans in this country and England have made a hero of Lieb-knecht. They are fighting the German government; he is fighting the German government; therefore he is on their side. So the *New York Times*, so *London Justice*. And German "war socialists" have done the same thing in regard to anti-war socialists in England and Italy. There is a massive stupidity or perversity in such a representation that staggers one's faith

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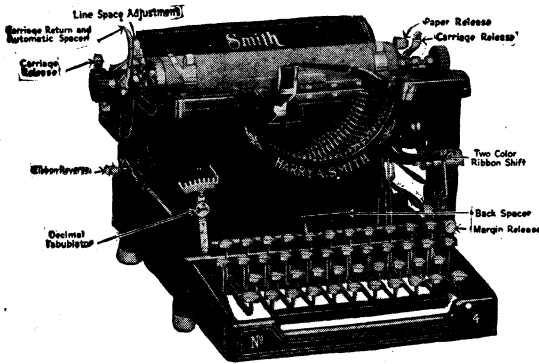
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in humanity. If Liebknecht were here or in England or in Italy he would be opposing the war and the government just as he is doing. And only those who fight against capitalist government everywhere and in all its manifestations are his comrades. The others—those who attempt to utilize his heroism and his intellect against Germany and in favor of England—are a sorry sight.

Berlin Socialists Against War

During the last days of June there occurred a conference of representatives from the various electoral districts of Berlin and its environs. Almost unanimously this body voted support to the so-called Minority Group in the Reichstag. It happens that the Berlin deputies have been staunch anti-war men from the beginning. This conference was chosen for the express purpose of approving or condemning their attitude. The delegates came instructed from local membership meetings. So the conference unquestionably represented the view of the Socialists of Berlin. It is pleasant to know that Herr Haenisch, who has been so prominently before the world as an apologist for the government, was denounced by his constituents in a membership meeting at Nieder-Barmen. He is a member of the Landtag.

English Labor Against Conference

A severe blow has been struck against the proposal to hold a great conference of labor unionists in connection with peace negotiations which must eventually terminate the war. This proposal was inaugurated by the American Federation of Labor. It has received support in various countries. On July 5 it failed to receive support at a conference of English and French unionists held at Leeds, England. The French were in favor of it and the English opposed. The English were in the majority. The English delegates also defeated a French resolution in favor of the freedom of the seas after the war. They would not do anything to endanger England's food supply by interfering with the power of the English fleet."

International Capitalism and the Future

As usual, it is the powers of capitalism that lead. In March was held at Paris the great military conference of the nations allied

with Britain. On June 14 began, also in Paris, another conference of these same allies. But this second conference had little to do with military matters. Only incidentally did it throw light on the causes or results of war. It was called to formulate economic policies for the time of peace.

Here is a part of what Aristide Briand had to say in welcoming the delegates: "The war will demonstrate to the allied nations that their peaceful tasks cannot be taken up and performed successfully unless they are inspired by ideas of solidarity and of mutual protection. Only on this condition can they feel themselves secure against a return to errors of the past of which our enemies have so largely taken advantage in establishing their commercial enterprises.

"The war has opened our eyes to a great peril. It has abundantly shown toward what economic slavery we were to be forced. It is necessary to recognize that great harm had been done; our adversaries nearly succeeded. Then came the war. All of our sacrifices will not have been in vain if we are finally assured of the economic liberation of the world and its restoration to sound commercial practices. * * * If it is proved that former errors came near to allowing our enemies to exercise an intolerable tyranny over the productive forces of the world, you will resolutely abandon them and betake yourselves to new paths."

Just what the conference decided to do has not yet been reported—or had not been when the most recent papers were sent from France. But the topics discussed and the tendencies of the decisions reached are clearly foreshadowed in one quotation. The economic boycott of the central powers, the formation of a tariff league, the formulation of mutually advantageous policies with regard to foreign markets—these were among the matters taken up and the temper of the delegates was evidently ready for radical action.

All of this is important. It shows, for one thing, that the rulers of England and France know more about the war than they have told the public. Nobody pretended—at this conference—that this

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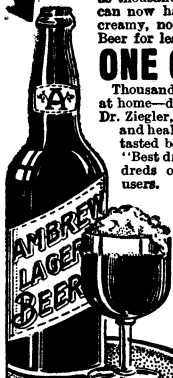
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bloody cataclysm is due to the wickedness of the Prussians. Nobody said that it would be enough to put down German militarism. It was acknowledged in every sentence that the real enemy is the German business man. "He nearly had us beaten—then came the war." They should be thankful for the war. Perhaps they were. To bring the world back to sound methods, their methods, they must combine and beat the Germans in the markets of the world. This must be done, evidently, whether German militarism is put down or not. So militarism is not the only thing.

Furthermore, this conference is the forerunner of the new capitalism. While the workers are being driven apart or are striving ineffectually to get together, the governments, which more directly represent business, are forming such commercial units as never were known before. The great work of the business of our next period will be internationalism. The governments are taking charge, not because capitalism has failed, but because the new forms demanded by the present crisis cannot be created by unofficial individuals. The support of millions of people, cooperative control of great military and naval forces, the prestige of ancient political bodies—all these are essential to the success of the stupendous undertakings which are now contemplated.

One cannot help wondering what will be the political results of such developments. England and France are now very close. Will their economic battle against Germany not bring them closer? And then what of French and English workers? Is it along this route that we are to expect working-class internationalism?

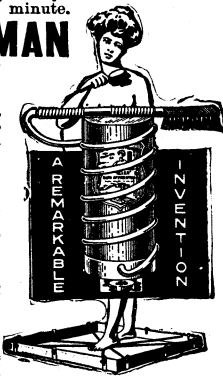
This time it is in France that **War-Socialism** Socialists are enchanted by **Once More** the beauty of the state capitalism which makes modern warfare possible. *L'Humanité*, in an editorial, finds great satisfaction in the fact that Albert Thomas, a Socialist, is in control of 800,000 workers. As a cabinet member he has charge of the government's munitions-providing activities. The government is controlling sugar refineries and importing coal. It even dares to tell the

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\$195.00 TWELVE HOURS AFTER APPOINTMENT: Langley, everyman, \$115 first day; Rasp, agent, \$185 in 73 days; Beem, solicitor, \$164.25 weekly for 12 weeks; Korstad, farmer, \$2212 in a few weeks; Zimmerman, farmer, \$3856 in 30 days; Juell, clerk, \$6800; Hart, farmer, \$5000; Wilson, cashier, \$3000 in 30 days. Let us refer you to these men, to the U. S. government, to banks, business houses, noted people. Heed this caution from Chas. Starr, of Mich.: "Sorry this deal is closed. Should have acted sooner but was skeptical. Your local man's great success has set everybody talking and proves I was a chump. Wonderful what a man can do with a real opportunity." Then read this from Lodewick who acted quickly: "Lucky I answered ad. It's great. Money coming fast." Which will you be, Starr, a victim of "neglected opportunities" or Lodewick, the "early bird"? Avoid regret—send a postal this very minute.

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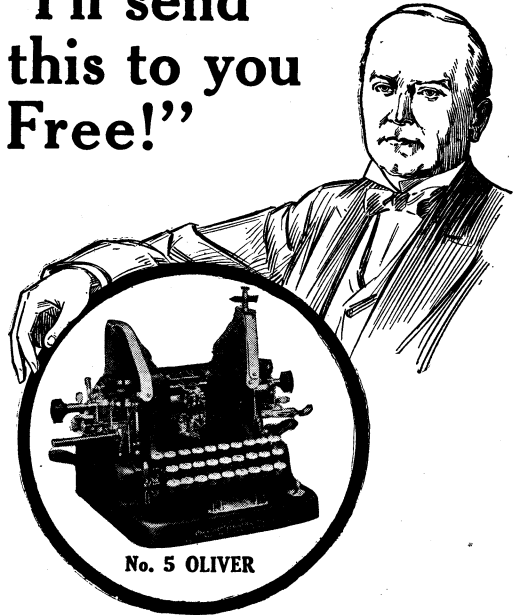
landlord that you are excused from paying rent. England has done something of the same sort, and Germany has gone much farther. The appointment of Herr Batocki as a sort of minister of food is regarded as quite a Socialist triumph.

All of which shows how much we think of forms and how little we care for substance. In all the warring countries men and women are working longer hours than they have at any time since the rise of the labor movement. In some trades in England they are getting high wages, but for the most part the cost of living has gone up more rapidly than the wage scale. The London *Herald* published recently figures which show that foodstuffs advanced fifty per cent in England between July 1914, and June, 1916. "It will be said that wages have risen," comments George Lansbury, "but this is true only of certain industries. Large masses of the population have received no increases at all, and it is certain that no ordinary working people have received an increase equivalent to these increased prices." In France and Germany wages are worse than in England.

The government control of business did not come by the will of the working people, and it does not serve their purpose or give them a better life. It was called into being to preserve capitalism and bridge over the interval between two of its stages. But just because the government for the moment has something to do with coal and rent some think we are hovering on the brink of paradise. We are presently to be booted into Socialism by the great god Mars. They will have a sad moment when they discover where Mars has really landed them.

The I. L. P. War Resolution Here is the text of resolution on war adopted at the Easter conference of the English Independent Labor Party: "This conference is of the opinion that the Socialists of all nations should agree that henceforth the Socialist parties should refuse support to every war entered into by any government, whatever the ostensible object of the war and even if such war be nominally of a defensive character, and instructs the I. L. P. to bring forward this policy for adoption at the next International Socialist Conference."

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Hot Sellers—Comrade Shenberger of York, Pa., writes: "I have no trouble getting rid of the REVIEWS. They go very fast and I think I shall have to order more than I have ever taken before, and now we expect to have lectures every week." Why not follow Comrade Shenberger's example and let the REVIEW do some of the work for Socialism?

For the Farmers—We have never seen a book which explained the relation of the farmers to the farm workers and to the capitalist class and wage workers in other fields of industry. But Charles H. Kerr & Co. has one now. It is called "How the Farmer Can Get His," by Mary Marcy, and sells for 10 cents. The farmer is up against it on every side and he tries to take it out of the farm workers. And the farm workers try to get all they can, just as the farmer tries to get all he can. "How the Farmer Can Get His" will explain to the farm workers and the farmers the economics of the situation. Send 10 cents for a copy of it yourself and pass it on to the first farmer you meet.

Do You Want an Auto?—If you will send us 700 yearly REVIEW subs. in the U. S., outside of Chicago, we will send you free, a 1916 Model, Five-Passenger Ford Touring Car. You can send six months or three months subs. if you want to. Write for free samples and sub. blanks. If a bunch of wobblers or Socialists would get together they could easily win a free car in two months.

Better Be Exterminated—Enclosed find a dime for the June REVIEW. I would like to send a year's sub., but Capitalism and the High Cost of Living has got me about picked to the bone. Between the war in Europe and the high cost of living in America, I guess the world will become depopulated, but I have come to the conclusion that if the damn fools can't be improved upon they had better be exterminated.—W. R. Stimson, Cal.

"Dick" West, known as "Tramp Editor" West—Took part in the San Diego "Free Speech" fight. Active in expose of San Francisco employment bureaus. Last heard of in 1914. Please communicate with your wife, Mrs. Dick West. Anyone having a knowledge of West or his whereabouts kindly communicate. Address Box 1279, Los Angeles, Cal.

Some Sunday School—The Socialist Sunday School at 737 Prospect avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, has been the only one to successfully answer all the questions on economics which

we printed in the November number of the REVIEW. We hope other schools will follow their example and take up the good work of education. Once the young folks know where their interests lie, nothing can side-track them from the real working class movement. And Marxian economics will teach them the things they need and want to know. Why not take up the study of Mary Marcy's "Shop Talks" as a starter? Is there anybody in your local who can answer the questions contained in this 10-cent book?

Setting a Fast Pace—The I. W. W. rebels in Seattle are going some these days. Two hundred July REVIEWS were sold in two days and they wired in for 300 more copies. The secretary writes that dues stamps sales have increased 100 per cent in the last two months and literature sales are averaging as high as \$27 a meeting. Two thousand five hundred copies of the Industrial Worker and Solidarity are sold regularly every week, and the boys are sending \$50 per week to the Minnesota iron miners. In other words, the Seattle locals of the I. W. W. are militant workers who not only take solidarity, but back it up with action on the soap box and on the job.

The Lumber Workers' Conference—The Lumber Workers' Conference held last month in Seattle was a decided success. Between five and six hundred lumber workers were present and every seat in the I. W. W. hall was filled and many had to stand. The enthusiasm generated within the convention is bound to result in organization work in the timber industries. Three thousand lumber workers in the northwest will be lined up before the end of the year. More power to the boys who throw the canthooks! By combining their power on the job they can throw the hooks into the lumber barons of the northwest.

Arbitration Bunk Again—The longshoremen on the Pacific Coast are out again, but are not showing the same spirit they did in the first strike, when every port went out at the same time along the coast and they had the bosses on their knees, but foolishly agreed to arbitration and went back to work, thus giving the bosses an opportunity to gather scabs.

In this strike they have already made a bad break by working on those cocks which have agreed to pay the scale, while the scabs work

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Margwarth, says, I am making \$19.00 per day. Schermerhorn, eight dozen machines first month. Shaffer, am selling four out of five demonstrations. Vaughn, wires "ship six dozen by first Express." Lewis, sells four first hour. Men, women, everybody makes money. No experience necessary. Protected territory. Big book, "The Power and Love of Beauty and Health" Free. Investigate now. A postal will do. A big surprise awaits you. Address, Blackstone Mfg. Co. 156 Meredith Bldg. Toledo, O.



the other ones. It now looks as if the outcome will be a compromise. If they would only use their heads more and their hands and feet less, they would get all their demands.

From Way Down in Texas—"I happened to be late going to town this month and was unable to buy a single copy of the REVIEW from our local news stand dealer, who told me that his bundle of twenty were sold as soon as received. I read the REVIEW now for three years and I do not like to miss a single number, so send me a copy by return mail for the enclosed 10 cents."—F. W., Fort Worth, Tex.

Lay On, MacDuff—"My two REVIEWS are arriving punctually the first of every month, bringing with them news, direct, truthful and, above all, helpful to the disinherited, but this month's has got them all beat to a standstill. The most veritable dunderhead could not fail in understanding its mission. 'Lay on, MacDuff.' Yours for the O. B. U. and Solidarity."—Robt. Connellan (Dublin Bob), No. 27, 994.

Redding, Cal.—"Last number went great; sold eleven copies in one hour."—W. H.

From the Harvest—The Agricultural Workers' Organization is certainly making hay while the sun shines. The "big drive" is already under way in Kansas and new members coming in at the rate of over fifty per day. Most of the farmers are trying to pay the "going wages," but the \$4 a day mark will be reached within a week.

The outlook for the harvest is very bright in the Dakotas, where crop reports indicate the biggest harvest in the last ten years.

The boys are going to bat this year for job control with everything in their favor. Opposition will not come from the farmers, but trouble, of course, can be expected with little two-by-four county attorneys or county sheriffs, who are always looking for a chance to display their authority and collect the fines.

Twenty thousand harvest workers will blow in from the harvest fields this fall.

Action on the Plutes—"I enclose subscription for another year, as I like the way you get action on the plutes."—G. H.

Pass It On—"A friend of mine has passed

the REVIEW on for me to read for some time. I like it fine and want to do likewise."—Carl Bransell.

How It Helps—Comrade Henke of Indiana renews her subscription to the REVIEW and writes: "I cannot get along without the REVIEW. It keeps me stirred up and helps me to stir up other people—especially about this war situation. People are getting hysterical over the war and sending some one else's boys down 'to clean up the greasers.' I am depending on the REVIEW to help me show them the light." Isn't that good enough to make us roll up our sleeves and try to do more than ever?

Japan Awake—Comrade Sakai writes us from Tokyo, Japan, that we Socialists must try by all means to stop this fearful and foolish militarism. He also sends us a copy of a new Socialist paper published in Japan, called "The New Society." It is inspiring to get this word from the comrades across the water. When the workers join to prevent war they can make all wars impossible. We believe Comrade Sakai and his comrades are going to prove a great educational force in Japan.

NEWS AND VIEWS
Waking Folks Up—Miss Dorothy De Kyne of Philadelphia sells a bundle of REVIEWS every month to her friends, who are anxious to hear the truth about the world of labor, and war. This is the sort of work that counts. When a man sees and understands events his actions are going to be on the right side. We wish all our young friends would follow the example of Miss Dorothy.

German Workers on Strike—Just as we go to press with this issue word arrives that over 50,000 munition workers in Berlin factories have gone on strike on account of the thirty month prison sentence imposed upon Karl Liebknecht.

Spain Under Martial Law—Martial law now reigns supreme in Spain, owing to the fact that a general strike of all the railroad workers has been called.

A strike on the Northern railroads began in the early part of June and has now spread to all the railroads and is being joined by the Industrial Workers in the big cities of Barcelona, Madrid and other industrial centers.

The cost of living has rapidly increased dur-

ing the past two years and the capitalists of Spain have coined money, at the same time refusing to increase wages.

Invasion of Mexico—The following splendid resolutions were adopted at a mass meeting of Socialists in Cleveland, Ohio:

We, the workmen and women of Cleveland, in mass meeting assembled, declare our unalterable opposition to the invasion of Mexico by soldiers of the United States.

The capitalist system precipitated the war in Europe, which turning that continent into a shambles, and the capitalist system and capitalist class is responsible for the present Mexican situation.

Capitalism robs and exploits the workers and condemns them to poverty and misery. In order to realize its profits the capitalist class must sell the products of which the workers are robbed, and to do this the capitalists of each nation must acquire foreign markets. Similarly the capitalists of all capitalistically developed nations are seeking foreign fields in which to invest their profits. The clash between different groups of capitalists seeking the same markets and the same fields of exploitation causes war. These two causes brought about the European war and are responsible for the Mexican situation.

Mexico has been kept in a constant tumult because of the contests between warring factions of the capitalist class, all bent upon exploiting the raw materials and natural resources of that country. The present cry for intervention is the demand of the capitalists of the United States for protection for the hundreds of millions of dollars they have invested in Mexico.

The workers of this country have no interest in sacrificing their lives to protect the investments of the capitalists, and we, therefore, declare that not only will we not enlist, but we will do our utmost to prevent others from enlisting, and will use all the power at our command to prevent further invasion of Mexico.

Furthermore, we send to our fellow-workers in Mexico fraternal greetings and extend to them the hand of comradeship. We face a common enemy in the capitalist class of the United States and Mexico and have a common goal in fighting to end exploitation and oppression by the capitalist of both nations. We pledge ourselves not to fight against our Mexican comrades but to fight with them to reach our common goal.

Send for a Copy Now—"Reflections on the Political Situation in India," by Lajpat Rai. Present social and political conditions in India are described in this pamphlet by one who is master of his subject. Paper, 75 pages, 25 cents. Radical Book Shop, 817½ N. Clark street, Chicago, Ill.

From New Hampshire—"I am sorry to trouble you, but a trouble has arisen in my life, that is, THE REVIEW for July has not arrived, and I miss it. It is one of the bright spots on the dull horizon of Capitalist Society. Send another copy quick."—G. L.

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I want every sufferer from any form of rheumatic trouble to try this marvelous healing power. Don't send a cent; simply mail your name and address and I will send it free to try. After you have used it and it has proven itself to be that long-looked-for means of curing your Rheumatism, you may send the price of it, one dollar, but, understand, I do not want your money unless you are perfectly satisfied to send it. Isn't that fair? Why suffer any longer when positive relief is thus offered you free? Don't delay. Write today.

Mark H. Jackson, No. 1141 B. Gurney Bldg.,
Syracuse, N. Y.

DER IMPERIALISMUS, DER WELTKRIEG UND DIE SOZIAL-DEMOKRATIE

Von Hermann Gorter

This is a German edition of a most important book which we had hoped to publish in English during the summer of 1915. After the book was in type, the author felt obliged to insist on suppressing the edition, for reasons of his own. He has now sent us several hundred copies of this edition in the German language, published in Amsterdam. Every German-speaking reader of the REVIEW should read and circulate it. Price 25 cents; to our stockholders, 20 cents, postpaid.

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BOOK REVIEWS



Carl Sandburg's "Chicago Poems" (the Macmillan Company, New York, \$1.25) are innocent of *libido*. They are free verse, utterly undecorative free verse. They are catalogic, with little selection. Mr. Sandburg sees life with terrific vividness, in all its muddled, chaotic clutter and he tells it to you blurtily, bluntly. He hears life the same way and repeats it. No composer he—he gives you Chicago as a futurist painter paints his mingled memories of a night all jumbled together, without perspective, without background. But Sandburg feels through eyes and ears. His senses are all sympathy. So his somewhat staccato notations upon Chicago have veritable life in them. He is a revolutionist, but he doesn't argue in his verse. He simply states the status quo out of court. His power is in his apparent detachment, but his real ferocity of interest is in the case against the social system. He sings Chicago by showing us Chicago crude, cruel, vast. He damns Chicago from its own point of view, not from that of culture. He damns it with a mighty passion of seeing and saying what he sees. Imagine "The Jungle" put into an ascetic form of imagism—that is "Chicago Poems." But for his hate of hate, his love of love, Sandburg would be intolerable. He sees beauty too, but does he tell you it is beauty? Not he. He

simply sets it down alongside of horror or sordidness. The analysis and synthesis are left to you.—William Marion Reedy.

The Socialism of Today. Edited by William English Walling, Jessie Wallace Hughan, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Harry W. Laidler and other members of a committee of the Inter-collegiate Socialist Society. Henry Holt & Co., New York. \$1.50.

In a sense this is a companion volume to William English Walling's **The Socialists and The War**, yet it covers a wider field and will be serviceable for a longer period. There is a short history of the Second International, but except for that the book-pictures in documents and figures the growth of Socialism from 1912 to 1916. Part I covers all the continents and countries. For each nation we have given accounts of elections, congresses, and all the twists and turns of party life. We have platforms, resolutions and statements by representative men and women. Part II covers Socialist parties and social problems. Here we range from sabotage to suffrage. Positions taken by international congresses are often outlined. Occasionally some problem is presented as it has come up in some country where it is of especial importance. Thus immigration is given to us in the form of Australian and American documents and the land question as it has arisen in England.

Here and there is a necessary bit of original narrative, but almost all of the 631 pages are filled with actual materials. The sources are most varied. Nearly all the Socialist publications of the world have been levied upon. The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW has contributed many pages. During this war period, when so many foreign papers fail to reach us, the editors have been amazingly successful in covering their field.

There are, naturally, some omissions. There is a fine account of the Australian Labor Party, but none at all of the Australian Socialist Party. The British Socialist Party gets a half-page, which tells nothing. The little Social Democratic Party of Holland receives its only mention in a paragraph written by one of its opponents. Japanese Socialism is entirely neglected. The American Socialist Labor Party is referred to only in connection with the unity movement.

The Socialism of Today is an encyclopedia. It should be in every Socialist library. Our writers, speakers and young Socialists ought to use it constantly. I recommend it heartily to all editors of daily papers. Let us begin to know.—William E. Bohn.

Socialism and War

By LOUIS B. BOUDIN

Author of "The Theoretical System of Karl Marx."

A brilliant and adequate Socialist interpretation of the Great War by the foremost Marxian scholar in America.

This book develops a theory of the economic basis of Imperialism that is at once original and satisfactory.

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The Analysis is Strictly Scientific, the Style and Presentation Simple and Direct.

This important book has lately been published in New York at \$1.10 postpaid. We have bought part of the edition, and while our copies last, we will mail the book to any REVIEW reader on receipt of \$1.00. Address

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Shop Talks on Economics, by Mary Marcy. "Surplus Value," explained in short words and short sentences, so clearly and forcibly that it shows the wage-worker just how it is that somebody else gets most of what he produces.

The Communist Manifesto, by Marx and Engels. The classic statement of the Socialist position; you can read it over a hundred times and learn something each time.

Other Ten-Cent Books that we can't spare room to describe—ask for a catalog:

Class Struggles in America, A. M. Simons.
Crime and Criminals, Clarence S. Darrow.
How Capitalism Has Hypnotized Society, William Thurston Brown.
Industrial Socialism, Haywood and Bohn.
Marxism and Darwinism, Anton Pannekoek.
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Value, Price and Profit, Karl Marx.
Victims of the System, Dorothy Johns.
The War in Europe, Clarence S. Darrow.
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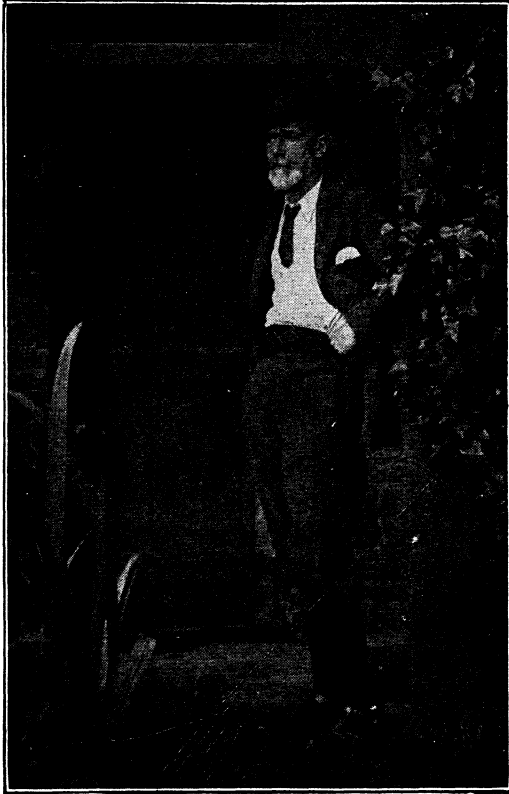
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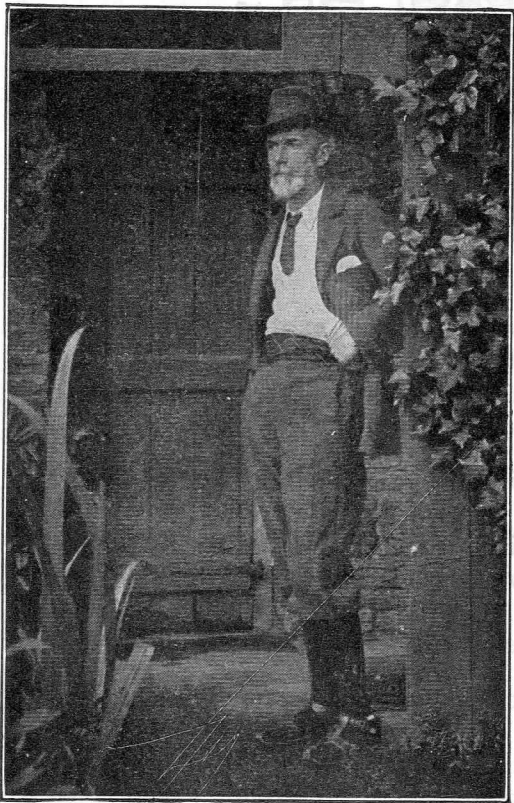
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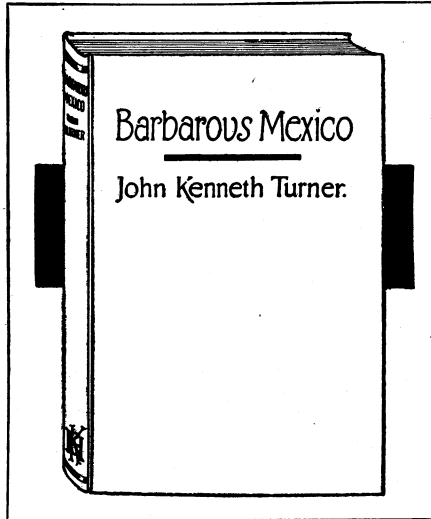
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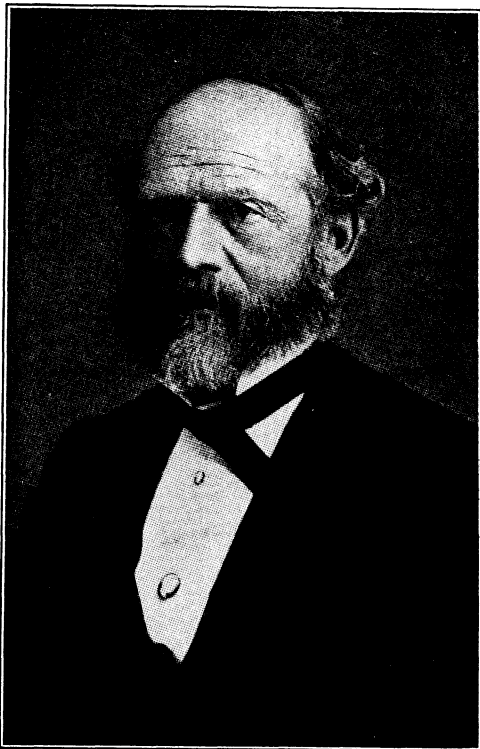
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