

FEBRUARY 1918

*The*

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# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



BOLSHEVIKI DEMONSTRATION---PETROGRAD

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## THE BOLSHEVIKI AND WORLD PEACE

By LEON TROTSKY

## THE I. W. W. BOGEY

By EUGENE DEBS

**IF** Napoleon, when he had just returned from Elba, had written a book telling the world what aims and aspirations were guiding his epoch-making manoeuvres;

**IF** before signing the Emancipation Proclamation, Abraham Lincoln had caused to be published a startling exposition of his policies, which perplexed even those closest to him,

*How many millions of people would have eagerly perused the pages of those books?*

## THE BOLSHEVIKI and WORLD PEACE

by

# LEON TROTZKY

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY LINCOLN STEFFENS

*the man who knows and understands him*

**Is the Most Important and Sensational Book of the War!**

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**MASS MEETING OF WORKERS IN PETROGRAD**

The banners are inscribed with Bolshevik slogans—No Indemnities, No Annexations, No Secret Treaties.

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—Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.  
FIRST PHOTO OF BOLSHEVIKI GENERAL STAFF  
At Headquarters in Petrograd.

## The Bolsheviks and World Peace

By LEON TROTZKY

Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs

Comrade Trotzky was preparing an article for *The Review* when the revolution came in Russia, compelling him to drop everything and return. Review readers will appreciate our disappointment and later on our joy in reading the inspiring record our comrade has made during the past few months. Every revolutionary socialist in America will want to read and reread his new book entitled "The Bolsheviks and World Peace." We herewith reproduce the preface by special permission of the publishers, Messrs. Boni & Liveright, New York City.

**T**HE forces of production which capitalism has evolved have outgrown the limits of nation and state. The national state, the present political form, is too narrow for

the exploitation of these productive forces.

The natural tendency of our economic system, therefore, is to seek to break through the state boundaries. The whole

globe, the land and the sea, the surface as well as the interior, has become one economic workshop, the different parts of which are inseparably connected with each other.

This work was accomplished by capitalism. But in accomplishing it the capitalist states were led to struggle for the subjection of the world-embracing economic system to the profit interests of the bourgeoisie of each country.

What the politics of imperialism has demonstrated more than anything else is that the old national state that was created in the revolutions and the wars of 1789-1815, 1848-1859, 1864-1866 and 1870 has outlived itself, and is now an intolerable hindrance to economic development.

#### **Forces of Production in Revolt**

The present war is at bottom a revolt of the forces of production against the political form of nation and state. It means the collapse of the national state as an independent economic unit.

The nation must continue to exist as a cultural, ideologic and psychological fact, but its economic foundation has been pulled from under its feet.

All talk of the present bloody clash being a work of national defense is either hypocrisy or blindness. On the contrary, the real, objective significance of the war is the breakdown of the present national economic centers and the substitution of a world economy in its stead.

But the way the governments propose to solve this problem of imperialism is not through the intelligent, organized cooperation of all of humanity's producers, but through the exploitation of the world's economic system by the capitalist class of the victorious country; which country is by this war to be transformed from a great power into the world power.

#### **Breakdown of an Economic System**

The war proclaims the downfall of the national state. Yet at the same time it proclaims the downfall of the capitalist system of economy.

By means of the national state capitalism has revolutionized the whole economic system of the world. It has divided the whole earth among the oligarchies of the great powers, around which were grouped the satellites, the small nations,

which lived off the rivalry between the great ones.

The future development of world economy on the capitalistic basis means a ceaseless struggle for new and ever new fields of capitalist exploitation, which must be obtained from one and the same source, the earth. The economic rivalry under the banner of militarism in accompanied by robbery and destruction which violate the elementary principles of human economy.

World production revolts not only against the confusion produced by national and state divisions, but also against the capitalist economic organization, which has now turned into barbarous disorganization and chaos.

The war of 1914 is the most colossal breakdown in history of an economic system destroyed by its own inherent contradictions.

All the historical forces whose task it has been to guide the bourgeois society, to speak in its name and to exploit it, have declared their historical bankruptcy by the war. They defended capitalism as a system of human civilization, and the catastrophe born out of that system is primarily their catastrophe.

#### **Coming Reaction of the Masses**

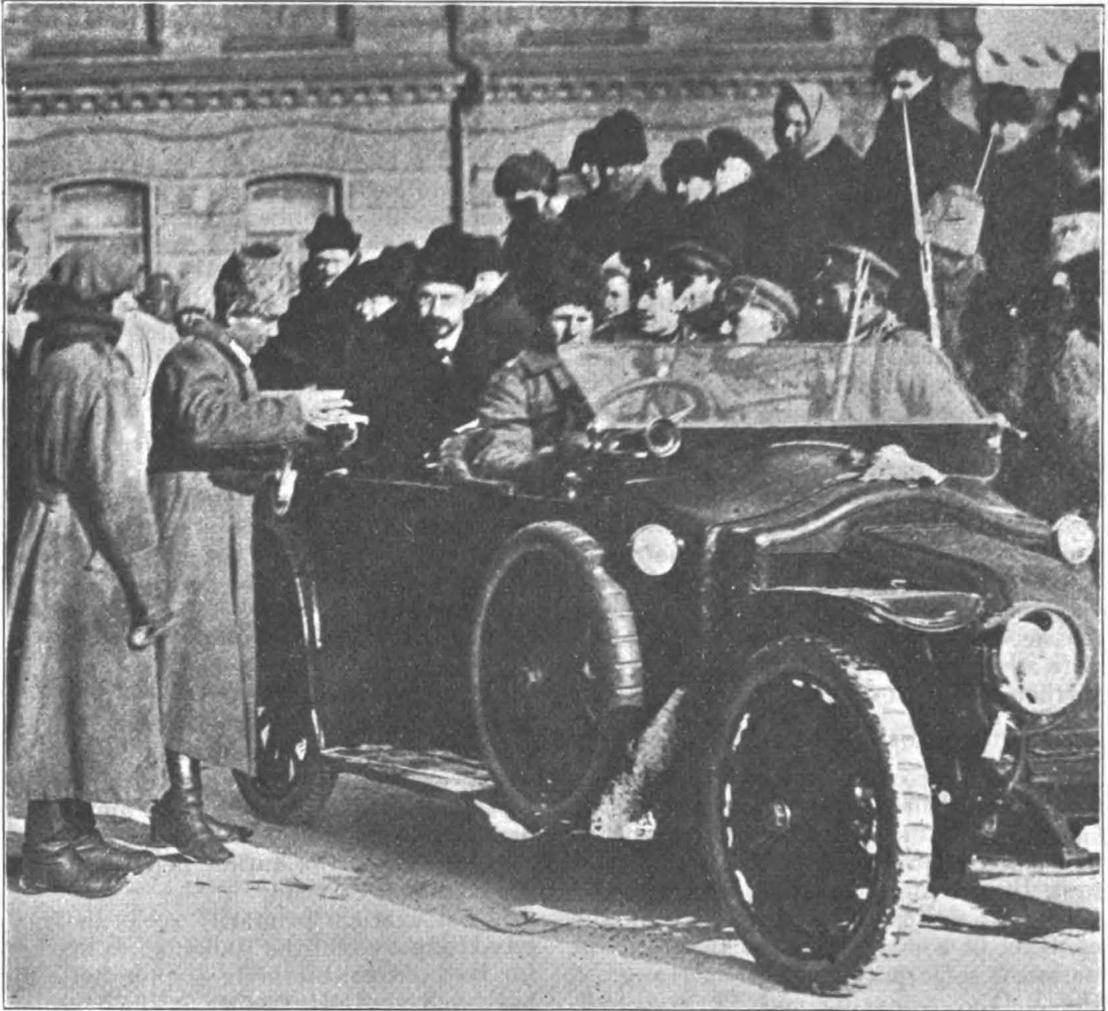
The first wave of events raised the national governments and armies to unprecedented heights never attained before. For the moment the nations rallied around them. But the more terrible will be the crash of the governments when the people, defended by the thunder of the cannon, realize the meaning of the events now taking place in all their truth and frightfulness.

The revolutionary reaction of the masses will be all the more powerful the more prodigious the cataclysm which history is now bringing upon them.

Capitalism has created the material conditions of a new socialist economic system. Imperialism has led the capitalist nations into historic chaos. The war of 1914 shows the way out of this chaos by violently urging the proletariat on to the path of revolution.

#### **Imperialism Lighted the Blaze**

For the revolutionary backward countries of Europe the war brings to the



TROTZKY IN AUTO

—Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

This photo, which just reached this country, was taken as Trotsky was leaving a Council meeting and shows him receiving reports of officers.

fore problems of a far more recent historic origin—problems of democracy and national unity. This is in a large measure the case with the peoples of Russia, Austria-Hungary and the Balkan peninsula. But these historically belated questions, which were bequeathed to the present epoch as a heritage from the past, do not alter the fundamental character of the events.

It is not the national aspirations of the Serbs, Poles, Roumanians or Finns that have mobilized 25,000,000 soldiers and placed them in the battle fields, but the imperialistic interests of the bourgeoisie of the great powers. It is imperialism that has upset completely the European status quo, maintained for forty-five years, and raised again the old questions

which the bourgeois revolution proved itself powerless to solve.

Yet in the present epoch it is quite impossible to treat these questions in and by themselves. They are utterly devoid of an independent character. The creation of normal relations of national life and economic development on the Balkan peninsula is unthinkable if czarism and Austria-Hungary are preserved.

#### Struggle of Germany and England

Czarism is now the indispensable military reservoir for the financial imperialism of France and the conservative colonial power of England. Austria-Hungary is the mainstay of Germany's imperialism. Issuing from the private family clashes between the national

Serbian terrorists and the Hapsburg political police, the war very quickly revealed its true fundamental character—a struggle of life and death between Germany and England.

While the simpletons and hypocrites prate of the defense of national freedom and independence, the German-English war is really being waged for the freedom of the imperialistic exploitation of the peoples of India and Egypt on the one hand and for the imperialistic division of the peoples of the earth on the other.

Germany began its capitalistic development on a national basis with the destruction of the continental hegemony of France in the year 1870-1871. Now that the development of German industry on a national foundation has transformed Germany into the first capitalistic power of the world, she finds herself colliding with the hegemony of England in her further course of development.

### **Germany Seeks to Rule Europe**

The complete and unlimited domination of the European continent seems to Germany the indispensable prerequisite of the overthrow of her world enemy. The first thing, therefore, that imperialistic Germany writes in her program is the creation of a middle European league of nations. Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Balkan peninsula and Turkey, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Italy, and if possible, enfeebled France and Spain and Portugal, are to make one economic and military whole, a Great Germany under the hegemony of the present German state.

This program, which has been thoroughly elaborated by the economists, political students, jurists and diplomats of German imperialism and translated into reality by its strategists, is the most striking proof and most eloquent expression of the fact that capitalism has expanded beyond the limits of the national state and feels intolerably cramped within its boundaries. The national great power must go and in its place must step the imperialistic world power.

### **For a United States of the World**

In these historical circumstances the working class, the proletariat, can have no interest in defending the outlived and

antiquated national "fatherland," which has become the main obstacle to economic development. The task of the proletariat is to create a far more powerful fatherland, with far greater power of resistance—the republican United States of Europe as the foundation of the United States of the World.

The only way in which the proletariat can meet the imperialistic perplexity of capitalism is by opposing to it as a practical program of the day the socialist organization of world economy.

War is the method by which capitalism, at the climax of its development, seeks to solve its insoluble contradictions. To this method the proletariat must oppose its own method, the method of the social revolution.

### **Problems Solved by Revolution**

The Balkan question and the question of the overthrow of czarism, propounded to us by the Europe of yesterday, can be solved only in a revolutionary way, in connection with the problem of the united Europe of tomorrow. The immediate, urgent task of the Russian social democracy, to which the author belongs, is the fight against czarism.

What czarism primarily seeks in Austria-Hungary and the Balkans is a market for its political methods of plunder, robbery and acts of violence. The Russian bourgeoisie all the way up to its radical intellectuals has become completely demoralized by the tremendous growth of industry in the last five years, and it has entered into a bloody league with the dynasty, which had to secure to the impatient Russian capitalists their part of the world's booty by new land robberies.

While czarism stormed and devastated Galacia and deprived it even of the rags and tatters of liberty granted to it by the Hapsburgs, while it dismembered unhappy Persia and from the corner of the Bosphorus strove to throw the noose around the neck of the Balkan peoples, it left to the liberalism which it despised the task of concealing its robbery by sickening declamations over the defense of Belgium and France.

### **Must Stand by Belgium and France**

The year 1914 spells the complete bankruptcy of Russian liberalism and makes

the Russian proletariat the sole champion of the war of liberation. It makes the Russian revolution definitely an integral part of the social revolution of the European proletariat.

In our war against czarism, in which we have never known a "national" truce, we have never looked for help from Hapsburg or Hohenzollern militarism, and we are not looking for it now.

We have preserved a sufficiently clear revolutionary vision to know that the idea of destroying czarism was utterly repugnant to German imperialism. Czarism has been its best ally on the eastern border. It is united to it by close ties of social structure and historical aims. Yet even if it were otherwise, even if it could be assumed that, in obedience to the logic of military operations, it would deal a destructive blow to czarism, in defiance of the logic of its own political interests—even in such a highly improbable case we should refuse to regard the Hohenzollerns not only as an objective but as a subjective ally.

The fate of the Russian revolution is so inseparably bound up with the fate of European socialism, and we Russian socialists stand so firmly on the ground of internationalism that we cannot, we must not for a moment entertain the idea of purchasing the doubtful liberation of Russia by the certain destruction of the liberty of Belgium and France, and—what is more important still—thereby inoculating the German and Austrian proletariat with the virus of imperialism.

#### **Imperialism Cannot Liberate.**

We are united by many ties to the German social democracy. We have all gone through the German socialist school and learned lessons from its successes as well as from its failures. The German social democracy was to us not alone a party of the international. It was the party par excellence.

We have always preserved and fortified the fraternal bond that united us with the Austrian social democracy. On the other hand, we have always taken pride in the fact that we have made our modest contribution toward winning suffrage in Austria and arousing revolutionary tendencies in the German working class. It costs more than one drop

of blood to do it. We have unhesitatingly accepted moral and material support from our older brother who fought for the same ends as we on the other side of our western border.

Yet it is just because of this respect for the past, and still more out of respect for the future, which ought to unite the working class of Russia with the working classes of Germany and Austria, that we indignantly reject the "liberating" aid which German imperialism offers us in a Krupp munition box, with the blessing, alas! of German socialism. And we hope that the indignant protest of Russian socialism will be loud enough to be heard in Berlin and in Vienna.

#### **Retains Faith in Socialism**

The collapse of the second international is a tragic fact, and it were blindness or cowardice to close one's eyes to it.

The position taken by the French and by the larger part of English socialism is as much a part of this breakdown as the position of the German and Austrian social democracy. If the present work addresses itself chiefly to the German social democracy it is only because the German party was the strongest, most influential, and in principle the most basic member of the socialist world. Its historic capitulation reveals most clearly the causes of the downfall of the second international.

At first glance it may appear that the social revolutionary prospects of the future are wholly deceptive. The insolvency of the old socialist parties has become catastrophically apparent. Why should we have faith in the future of the socialist movement? Such skepticism, though natural, nevertheless leads to quite an erroneous conclusion. It leaves out of account the good will of history, just as we have often been too prone to ignore its ill will, which has now so cruelly shown itself in the fate that has overcome the international.

#### **Pulling Down Nationalism**

The present war signals the collapse of the national states. The socialist parties of the epoch now concluded were national parties. They had become ingrained in the national states with all the different branches of their organizations,

with all their activities and with their psychology.

In the face of the solemn declarations at their congresses they rose to the defense of the conservative state, when imperialism, grown big on the national soil, began to demolish the antiquated national barriers. And in their historic crash the national states have pulled down with them the national socialist parties also.

It is not socialism that has gone down, but its temporary historical external form. The revolutionary idea begins its life anew as it casts off its old rigid shell. This shell is made up of living human beings, of an entire generation of socialists that has become fossilized in self-abnegating work of agitation and organization through a period of several decades of political reaction, and has fallen into

the habits and views of national opportunism or possibilism.

All efforts to save the second international on the old basis, by personal diplomatic methods and mutual concessions, are quite hopeless. The old mole of history is now digging its passageways all too well and none has the power to stop him.

#### Preparing for the Revolution

As the national states have become a hindrance to the development of the forces of production, so the old socialist parties have become the main hindrance to the revolutionary movement of the working class.

It was necessary that they should demonstrate to the full their extreme backwardness, that they should discredit their utterly inadequate and narrow methods, and bring the shame and horror of national discord upon the proletariat, in order that the working class might emancipate itself, through these fearful disillusionments, from the prejudices and slavish habits of the period of preparation, and become at last that which the voice of history is now calling it to be—the revolutionary class fighting for power.

The second international has not lived in vain. It has accomplished a huge cultural work. There has been nothing like it in history before. It has educated and assembled the oppressed classes. The proletariat does not now need to begin at the beginning. It enters on the new road not with empty hands. The past epoch has bequeathed to it a rich arsenal of ideas. It has bequeathed to it the weapons of criticism. The new epoch will teach the proletariat to combine the old weapons of criticism with the new criticism of weapons.

#### On the Road to Final Victory

This book was written in extreme haste, under conditions far from favorable to systematic work. A large part of it is devoted to the old international which has fallen. But the entire book, from the first to the last page, was written with the idea of the new international constantly in mind, the new international which must rise up out of the present world cataclysm, the international of the last conflict and the final victory.



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#### TIED TO POSTS

Scene at Riga where Russian soldiers shouting for peace were tied to telegraph poles by the Germans.

# THE I. W. W. BOGEY

By EUGENE V. DEBS

THE morning paper I have just read contains an extended press dispatch from Washington, under screaming headlines, making the startling disclosure that a world-wide conspiracy to overthrow the existing social order has been unearthed by the secret service agents of the government. The basis of the conspiracy is reported to have been the discovery of some guns and ammunition in the hold of a Russian freighter just arrived at a Pacific port in charge of a Bolsheviki crew, from which it has been deduced that the guns must have been sent by the Russian revolutionists to the I. W. W. of the United States in pursuance of a conspiracy of the Russian reds, the Sinn Fein leaders of Ireland, and the American I. W. W.'s to overthrow all the governments of the civilized world.

This is really too much!

We are not told how the Sinn Feiners happen to get in on this universal conspiracy, but as their name, like that of the Bolsheviki and the I. W. W., has great potency as a bogey to frighten the feeble-minded, the inventors of this wonderful cock-and-bull story may well be allowed this additional license to their perfervid imagination.

Everything that happens nowadays that the ruling classes do not like and everything that does not happen that they do like is laid at the door of the I. W. W. Its name is anathema wherever capitalism wields the lash and drains the veins of its exploited victims.

It is a wonderful compliment! Is the working class wise to its significance? Unfortunately not or the leaders and moving spirits of this persecuted industrial organization would not now be in jail waiting month after month to be tried for criminal offenses charged against them which they never dreamed of committing.

I think I may claim to be fairly well informed as to the methods and tactics of the I. W. W.—with some of which I am not at all in agreement—and I have no hesitancy in branding the sweeping criminal

charges made against them since the war was declared as utterly false and malicious and without so much as a shadow of foundation in fact.

Repeatedly the sensational charge has been spread broadcast through the capitalist press that the I. W. W. were in conspiracy to blow up the mills and factories in the East, to burn the crops and destroy the orchards in the West, poison the springs and wells in the North, paralyze the cotton and rice industries in the South, and spread ruin and desolation everywhere for the profit and glory of the crazy Teuton Kaiser and his atrocious Junker plunderbund and the overthrow of democracy and freedom in the United States.

Was a more stupendous lie or a more stupid one ever hatched in a human brain?

Look at the I. W. W. and then at the government and the more than one hundred million people of the United States! Is the lie not apparent on the very face of this absurd and malicious charge? Would any but an idiot or madman ever dream of the slaughter and destruction of an entire nation by a comparative handful of its population? Would any but a fool be deceived by such glaringly self-evident lies and calumnies?

Oh, the ghastly joke of it all! And the stark tragedy, too, when one thinks of the many simple-minded people whose attitude of fierce hostility toward the I. W. W. and its leaders is determined by these inspired fabrications!

Why should the I. W. W., organized for the very purpose of destroying despotism and establishing democracy, go across seas to lend its aid to the most brutal autocracy on the face of the earth?

Ah, but the autocracy within our own borders know how to play upon the prejudice and credulity of the unthinking and turn them against the men who at the peril of their freedom and their very lives are battling for the liberation of the people!

It is from Wall Street, the money center of the American plutocracy, that the campaign of falsehood and slander against the

I. W. W. is directed; from there that the orders are issued to raid its national and state offices, jail its leaders, break up its meetings, and tar and feather and lacerate with whips and finally lynch and assassinate its speakers and organizers.

Wall Street mortally fears the I. W. W. and its growing menace to capitalist autocracy and misrule. The very name of the I. W. W. strikes terror to Wall Street's craven soul.

But Wall Street does not fear Sammy Gompers and the A. F. of L.

Every plutocrat, every profiteering pirate, every food vulture, every exploiter of labor, every robber and oppressor of the poor, every hog under a silk tile, every vampire in human form, will tell you that the A. F. of L. under Gompers is a great and patriotic organization and that the I. W. W. under Haywood is a gang of traitors in the pay of the bloody Kaiser.

Which of these, think you, Mr. Wage-Slave, is your friend and the friend of your class?

It is interesting to note that at the very time the plutocracy and its hirelings are charging the I. W. W. with treason and cramming the jails with its members they are also driving union labor out into the desert to perish under armed vigilantes as at Bisbee and Bingham, while in the same hour their supreme court outlaws picketing and legalizes and protects strike-breaking as in the cases of the union miners in West Virginia and the southwestern states.

There is one thing in this situation that is clear to every union man, to every sympathizer with the working class, and every believer in justice and fair play, and that is that the hundreds of I. W. W.'s and socialists now in jail are entitled to be fairly tried. Upon that question there can be no difference among decent men, whatever may be their attitude toward the union and its principles. The Socialist party, through its national executive committee—to its supreme credit—has taken this position and in a ringing declaration and appeal has expressed its determination that the accused I. W. W. leaders and members shall receive a fair trial and a square deal.

To this end money will be needed, all that can be raised, and as the Captain Kidd Kaiser and his pirate crew of Junkers have

not yet come across with that cargo of gold covering the purchase price of the I. W. W., it becomes the duty of every one who is with us to forthwith send his contribution to the defense of our shamelessly persecuted comrades.

*This is our fight! We of the working class are all vitally interested in the outcome.*

The war within the war and beyond the war in which the I. W. W. is fighting—the war of the workers of all countries against the exploiters of all countries—is our war, the war of humanity against its oppressors and despoilers, the holiest war ever waged since the race began.

Let there be no mistake. The guerilla warfare of Wall Street is not against the I. W. W. alone but against the labor movement in general except in so far as union labor suffers itself to be emasculated and crawls on its belly at the feet of its despotic masters.

A spineless and apologetic union bearing the official seal of the Civic Federation is the noblest specimen of working class patriotism in the eyes of our Wall Street rulers.

Now is the time to meet the attack; to resist the assault; to turn the guns on the real conspirators. The inevitable reaction will swiftly follow and instead of smashing the revolutionary labor movement this dastardly conspiracy will prove the making of it.

Now is the time for the fighting union men of America to stand together. The situation is the grimmest that ever confronted the working class but every such crisis bears with it the golden opportunity to the workers to strike the decisive blow and to forge ahead to a higher level of life. To take advantage of this supreme opportunity and profit by it to the limit, the workers must be united and act together like a well-disciplined army.

*Solidarity must be the watchword!*

As we stand upon the threshold of the year 1918 let us resolve to make it the most luminous one in the annals of proletarian achievement.

Industrial unity and political unity, the revolutionary solidarity of the working class, will give us the power to conquer capitalism and emancipate the workers of the world.

# LABOR IN PRISON; AMERICA, 1917

By CHARLES ASHLEIGH

(Written in my cell, Cook County Jail, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A., December 25th, 1917, and dedicated to the workers in all lands who are undergoing captivity that, one day, the world may be set free.)

A great new light had come upon the land;  
 A trumpet blare that woke men's hearts to fire;  
 A call of stout rebellion to the horde  
 Of bondsmen stewing in their dismal hire.

In all the places where great wealth is won:  
 Down in the shadowed mine, upon the seas,  
 Before the whirling belt and screaming wheel,  
 Where millions toil that some may take their ease.

A word swept by, lighting on lips a torch,  
 Lifting tired hearts out of their apathy,  
 Swinging dead hopes to heights of budding life,—  
 The word of power: Solidarity!

And in the mass there moved a growing might,  
 A stirring of new life in giant limbs;  
 And sullen lips, that knew naught but a curse,  
 Broke into warrior songs, embattled hymns!

Legion by legion, rose this union,  
 Lifting from mob to order and to form.  
 The workers trod the path that leads to power  
 And hungered for the peace beyond the storm.

On their black thrones, the purple lords grew faint  
 With fearing, at the nearing of new day.  
 They yelped their vile commands; they cut the thong  
 And set their dripping hounds upon the prey:

*"Go sink your fangs in the throats of men!  
 Lash and jail and rope!—  
 Kill and imprison! Bind with steel  
 These darkling fools that grope!  
 And fill with dust these daring mouths  
 That voice the rebel hope!"*

Then was let loose a plague upon the land;  
 And liberty and truth were made a shame.  
 With solemn forms to cloak their coward rage  
 They raped their own loud creeds in Freedom's name.

Wide were the jail doors opened; and within  
 Their fastnesses, with pomp and law's display,  
 They thrust some workingmen who dared to stand  
 That men might look beyond a meager pay.

With mummery of courts and empty sound  
 They sought to stop the rushing of a sea!  
 With jails they thought to hold relentless time!  
 With chains to bind the world's new destiny!

Workers! The jails are dark, the stones are hard,  
 Our eager limbs are laden with iron bands.  
 But what can iron and stone and darkness do  
 To us—who hold the future in our hands?

Lo, there's a flame within each prison cell!  
 A passion melts the iron bars away!  
 A voice is with us in our steely night:  
 Salute, O captives, Labor's rising day!

*The Word is said; the Time is nigh.—  
 Stand fast, O rebel clan!—  
 For, what are gallows or jails to us  
 Upbuilders of the Plan?  
 You cannot stay the Debtor's Day,—  
 The Heritage of Man!*

# From the Bolsheviks

## TO THE REVIEW

The following letter received from Comrade Niebut, Bolshevik representative to the Constitutional Assembly from the Vladivostock District, is the first and only authentic report of the recent events and the working class revolution in Russia—the most glorious event in all human history. The letter was sent to The Review under date of November 27th.

I DO not know whether you received any of my former letters, therefore I will describe to you, in brief, the state of affairs at the present time, and the development of the Revolution since I have taken a lively part in it.

In March it was a purely bourgeois revolution. The workers went out in general strikes at Petrograd, flooded the streets in great demonstrations. The soldiers took the side of the workingmen and the Czar lost his throne. Clever representatives of our rich and well-to-do classes, seeing the Czar could not be saved, became at once revolutionaries and grasped the reins of government in their hands.

From March to October was a period when Russian Imperialism ruled the country in close contact with Imperialists of the allied countries. You may wonder how it was possible that workingmen and peasants who had destroyed Czarism, would allow themselves to be ruled by their enemies—imperialists like Milukoff, Gutshkoff and Konowaloff.

How was it that such powerful organizations (mass organizations best suited for mass action) like the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegate Councils submitted to the rule of the Imperialists? Because in Russia we had opportunists and degenerates and Scheidemans of our own. All those—Tscheidze, Tzeretelli, Plechanoff—did all in their power to help the class of exploiters.

These compromisers and parliamentary idiots are but copies of Bergers, Spargos and Hillquits, only the copies are more gifted, are scholars so that their American originals may with more truth be called bad copies of our Russian Opportunists (yellows).

Our yellows, after April 21st, when the workers and soldiers in Petrograd went out on the streets in great masses and demanded the resignation of the imperialist

cabinet, helped out the embarrassed bourgeoisie by a coalition cabinet composed of capitalists and some "socialists." This cabinet tried to carry out the program of the imperialists, declaring war to a finish and pacifying the people by capital punishment (which was abolished in March and restored by the "socialist" ministers in June) they levied the taxes on the poor, etc., etc. Nothing was done to help the poor or to establish *peace without annexations or contributions*.

But the Reds (the Internationalists of the Left Wing) led by Lenine, Trotzky, Kollantay and others, put up a fight against the Opportunists—the traitors to the working people. They demanded that the property rights to the land be abolished and the land given over to the peasants *free*. They demanded control of the workers over industry (over production and distribution) as the I. W. W. and real socialists demand these things in America.

They demanded the confiscation of all war-profits. In short, they demanded that the country be run by the workers and peasants for the workers and peasants. They demanded an immediate peace and an armistice on *all* fronts and that the secret diplomatic papers regarding the war be published at once.

They organized the people for mass action and the masses responded in July. But at that time the capitalists and the yellows succeeded in suppressing the movement. Thousands of Bolsheviks (Left Wing Socialists) were thrown in jail; hundreds were slain by the mobs of well-to-do ruffians and by the court martial law. But this was the last inning of the imperialists, and their lackeys, the yellow Socialists. The peasants still demanded the land and the workers—the control of industry. Still the class struggle was going on.

Then there came the Korniloff affair.

This general conspired with Kerensky to crush the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils. The Korniloff conspiracy was exposed. From then the influence of the Bolshevik increased rapidly.

As for myself, in Vladivostock, where before the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council was under the influence of the Opportunists and the pro-war Socialists, I was recently made chairman of the Vladivostock Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' delegates, which post I still hold.

All this brought to an abrupt end the short period of bourgeois rule and the second revolution occurred on October 26th. By armed force the regular soldiers and the "Red Guard" of workingmen, for at the present time all workers in Russia are armed and compose the so-called "Red Guard"—the government of that creature, Kerensky, and the capitalist class was overthrown without the spilling of a drop of blood and the government of workers, peasants and soldiers was established.

This government is composed of and responsible to the Central Committee of all the Councils of Workmen's Soldiers' and Peasants' delegates. It is called the "Council of People's Commissars" (The Soviet.) The Chairman of this Council is our old, beloved Lenine, a man of iron will and clear head, who will never give quarter to the classes in power. Here is what he says about the new revolution:

"This is the beginning of the social revolution. The end of capitalism has come. Workers of the World, unite! The Russian Revolution will set fire to all the world. No slackers! Fight to the end—'till Socialism is established!"

The first decrees of the new government are:

On the land:

1. Private ownership of land abolished forever.

On the Press:

2. All printing establishments made a monopoly of the nation.

On Peace:

3. Immediate peace on ALL FRONTS. Rights of Nations:

4. Every nation to be free to establish the form of government it desires and to amalgamate with whom it wishes.

5. Control of workers over industry.

6. Eight hour law; Old Age and Sick Law pensions from the State.

7. Confiscation from the rich of warm clothing for soldiers in the trenches.

These are only a few of our aims. Perhaps the last one shows you how the new government intends to deal with poor—and rich—people.

Of course the Yellows are making a howl. They would still see the worker hauling coal in the cold dressed in rags and the land barons hoarding rich furs and sitting in palaces without labor. The yellows act like scoundrels; but they are in the position of the general without an army. The entire army, all the workers and peasants are on the side of the new government.

The Opportunist socialists united with the capitalists and tried to cause an armed uprising in Petrograd and in Moscow. But they were suppressed easily and quickly. Kerensky is in hiding somewhere. In every city the boss of the situation and the supreme power is the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

At present a parley is being held between Russia and Germany with the object of establishing an *armistice on all fronts*. Russia does not want peace on one front alone.

Russia needs the help of the workers of all countries in her noble struggle. All the imperialists of all nations are against her. We await the help of our fellow-workers in other countries. Arise, workers! The dawn of a new era has begun!

Now for the Constitutional Assembly that will soon assemble. Elections brought victory for the Bolsheviks. I was elected from the Vladivostock Province. We cast more than half the votes in this district. Soon I will write you from Petrograd and tell you what the Constitutional Assembly is doing.—From A. Niebut.

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(Last month the Review printed a report of the murder of Comrade Niebut. All his friends and thousands of socialists will rejoice to learn that he is still in the good work and enjoying Russia in her new days of freedom. The former letters Comrade Niebut mentions sending the Review have never been received. We do not know where they were suppressed or by whom.)



# ECONOMIC POWER

By MARY E. MARCY



WHEN we speak of Economic Power we refer to that power exercised by men or by a group of men through the *control* of the processes of production and distribution of a country. The Economic Power possessed by the men who control these processes is brought out most forcibly during a period of war when there is a great call for increased productivity in so many fields of industry. To illustrate:

The British Government discovered during the early days of the war that it was not expedient to "fix" the price of wheat in the British isles at so low a point that the land owners would use their land in raising more profitable grains; that unless the farmers were assured of as much profit on wheat as they stood to make on other grains, they would sow their land in oats, corn or rye to the detriment of the very badly needed wheat crop. In other words, the farmers or land owners possessed an enormous economic power thru the control of the sources of the wheat supply. The British Government secured the co-operation of the land-owners by yielding before the economic power exercised through control of the land.

In this country, the United States Government wisely profited by the experiences of Great Britain and guaranteed to the American farmers \$2.20 wheat for 1917 and, we believe, \$2.00 wheat for 1918, in order to win over the economic power exercised by the land-owners here.

Even the Imperial German Government, which has reduced Regulation to the fine point of regulating the regulators, has had constantly to reckon with the economic power possessed by her citizens who control the industries of Germany.

When the Food Administrator declared the price of bacon too high and "fixed" a new price 50 per cent lower than the old rate, it was speedily discovered that bacon had utterly disappeared from the markets; that the farmers were secretly engaged in the extremely profitable business of selling bacon privately to well-to-do families. In order to induce the farmers to put this necessary commodity once more upon the market, his very powerful Highness was reduced to the extremity of lifting the ban and allowing the price of bacon to jump to its former high altitude.

The newspapers reported about two years ago that when Great Britain sought to draw the blockade more tightly against Germany, the Standard Oil Company advised the British Government that unless it permitted 26 Broadway to ship oil to Germany, the Standard Oil Company would refuse to supply the British with oil. This is a very clear-cut example of the economic power of a man, or a group of men, who control the processes of production. It is sometimes in their power to defy, or to command or to control the policies of the most powerful governments that exist today.

During war time, when many things must be accomplished speedily if they are to be

done at all, the economic power of those who control production or industry, or transportation, stands forth revealed as it never does in periods of lesser national stress.

Take the coal mines for example. Of course everybody knows that the factories and the railroads, the shops and mills, as well as the people to whom coal is an actual household necessity, everybody knows that all these people and enterprises have to have coal in peace as well as in times of war. Coal is one of the everyday necessities of modern civilized life.

Now, the people who control the coal supply, very often the private owners of the coal mines, are in a position at all times to exercise an incalculable economic power over the lives of all the rest of the people. They may control the entire supply of a particular kind of coal; they may secretly, or through some legal hocus pocus, combine to raise the price we have to pay for coal. They may declare, as they have been more than once upon the very point of declaring during the past few months, that if any Government does not "fix" the price of coal high enough to insure the stockholders satisfactory dividends, they will close the mines and refuse to sell any coal at all until they can get their own price.

A single individual, traveling in Japan, whose father may have secured the coal lands as a gift from the Government a few years ago, may be able to cable instructions for the closing down of a score of coal mines if the conditions under which coal is mined and the price at which it sells, do not satisfy him. This is what we mean by Economic Power—in a nut-shell. That the coal operators have not resorted to their old time methods of more excessive hold-up is due entirely to the present war crisis and the extraordinary powers conferred upon President Wilson which might enable the Government to take over and operate the coal mines for the period of the war at least.

During peace times the men who possess economic power thru the control of the coal mines are checked in their greed for profits only by the miners who actually perform the job and produce the coal, the economic power of other capitalists and the danger that should their piracies become too onerous to the capitalist class of the country, the

Government may step in and investigate, with the nauseous threat of Government Regulation and Government Ownership hovering in the distance.

In this connection it is interesting to note that nearly all the coal, timber and other mining lands in the United States were primarily given outright to the original holders by the Government, or sold at a purely nominal figure, or were obtained by fraud, or bribery, or by both. But that is beside the point. No matter how the mine owner secured his power, or "his mine," he is able to exercise an enormous economic pressure through his control of it.

Consider the railroads. They connect the cities with the food, the fuel, the clothing, the raw materials necessary to life and to manufacture from Maine to Oregon. Without them delivering the commodities necessary to life and to production from day to day, the cities and villages would face famine. Business would be utterly at a standstill.

The handful of men, who have cheated, bribed for, or who have stolen or inherited the control of the railroads, exercise an almost unlimited economic power—checked only at all times by the economic power of the capitalist class as a whole, or the Government, which may step in to protect the interests of this class, and the economic power possessed by the railway workers either to misuse or to withhold or supply their labor power on the job.

During the past month the newspapers have been telling us something of the findings of the Government investigators in the packing industries. We learn that three or four men, controlling railway terminals, grain elevators, vast storage and packing plants, cars, locomotives, stockyard facilities, with a near-monopoly of the markets for buying and selling of stock and packing and farm products, are able to exercise at all times a stupendous economic power, whereby they have steadily raised the prices of food products at the expense of the less economically powerful capitalists, who are forced to raise the wages of their employes to meet the increased tax on living, levied (thru the control of economic power) by men like Messrs. Swift, Armour and Morris.

The lumber interests occupy a particularly strong economic position in war time, when

the Government requires lumber for ship building, for cantonments and barracks and for the manufacture of airplanes. As our hearts swell with pity over the straightened circumstances (?) of the lumber barons it is interesting to read in a *Saturday Evening Post* editorial in the issue of January 5th, 1918:

"Since 1860 the United States has deeded to private owners 54,000,000 acres of commercial timberland in the Pacific States—in effect, giving it away . . . . A fortune for the asking!"

And yet, we see some of these same extremely lucky (?) lumbermen allowing the output from the camps and mills which they control to fall below the requirements of the Government needs for war purposes by refusing to yield to the demands of the lumberjacks who went out on strike for the Eight-Hour Day, for sheets on their beds and beds to sleep in.

It is true that these lumber barons would have been glad and even anxious to have the lumberjacks get out the lumber needed by the Government, if the yielding of the Eight-Hour Day and sanitary camp conditions had not meant a little lower war profits on the capital they had probably never invested. Barring Government interference, and the strong hands or the labor power of the lumberjacks, the lumber capitalists possess a great economic power thru their control of the lumber industry.

We might continue to illustrate indefinitely, but these few examples will suffice. We have tried to show you what economic power is and how it has usually been imposed upon the people of a country.

But do not imagine that the economic power of the mine owners, for instance, of the railroad magnates or the packing interests and other capitalists who evercise economic power thru the control of industry, ends here. The power they possess, or that they have *been permitted to USE*, over the productive and transportation forces, are merely the beginning of the pressure they wield over and in and thru every phase of our social life. Their power and influence extend into every field of human activity and spread into a thousand ramifications.

In Montana, for example, people will tell you that "Butte is a copper town." They actually mean that the men who control the mines and the products of the mines control

the newspapers, have, secretly, most of the professional men in the city in their employ, in many instances have elected their own judges, their own municipal and state, and even, national representatives. They mean that every social institution in Butte, and to a great degree in Montana, with its national reflection, of course, is controlled, biased, influenced or *owned* by the copper interests.

A city in Wisconsin, which we shall not now name, is dominated in a similar way by the powerful lumbermen of the Badger state. Discreet municipal and state officers are elected by the lumbermen's controlled press and by lumber campaign contributions. In a particular town we know, where the lumberjacks are brought after meeting with accidents in the woods, every hospital and every physician is privately in the pay of the lumber companies. And every municipal office holder has been elected by lumber backing and by lumber coin.

We are trying to give here a faint suggestion of the ramifications of the power possessed by the men who control the industries of a nation. And now we want to take up the other side of the question. We want to consider the men who work on the jobs. We want to see whether it is true that, after all, all economic power really lies in the hands of the workers who produce things; who get out the logs, who operate the packing plants, and run the railroads, who mine the coal and the copper, and who produce and transport all necessary and useful things.

The trade unions are organized for the expressed purpose of exercising the economic power possessed by the workers thru the use of their hands or brains in operating the industries, and in running the railroads.

Everybody knows that without the labor power of the working class not one wheel would revolve, not a single train would move, nor a railroad be built, cloth would not be woven or made up into clothing; the mills would cease to hum and the factories to operate, coal and copper would cease to be mined—without the ready hands and the brains of the workers on the jobs.

And so, after all, it would seem that the commands of the industrial overlords regarding production, when they say goods shall be produced, or shall not be produced, oil delivered, coal mined, clothing made—that all these commands depend wholly

upon the will of the working class. The workers mine the coal and produce the necessary and beautiful things of life. When they fold their arms everything stops; lights go out, telephones become useless, trains stop running; the factories, mines, shops and mills lie idle when the workers withhold their labor power. The life of the world depends utterly and absolutely upon the steady labor of the working class.

In the early days of manufacture, the laborers discovered that it was impossible to improve their condition by individual appeals to their employers. They discovered that appeals to elected representatives went unheard and that all old methods of trying to improve the conditions of the workers proved utterly futile. And so the men in the industries organized into trade unions to exercise their economic power in forcing the employers of labor to concede better working conditions, shorter hours or higher wages.

And gradually, thru long and bitter fights, the workers have shortened the working hours of labor from fourteen, to twelve, and from twelve to ten, and nine, and now in many instances, to eight hours a day.

The daily newspapers claim that just before our last presidential election the railroad men, through the threat of withholding their labor power on the railroads, forced President Wilson and Congress to hurriedly pass a law giving the brotherhoods an eight-hour workday.

Sometimes laws are passed for the benefit of labor which are not obeyed by the employers. In the mines, for example, it is only on rare occasions that all the laws for safe-guarding the miners in the mines are obeyed or enforced. The mining operators hire men to mine coal or copper and those who complain of the lack of safety devices or the lack of safety systems, or who insist that the miners purchase commodities where they please or receive their pay in cash oftener than the bosses design, are merely discharged and others, who will take the jobs are put in their places.

A law was passed in 1903 or '04 providing for the eight-hour day in Colorado mines. The employers refused to obey that law and the law was not enforced by the constituted authorities. A strike of the W. F. of M. was called to enforce the law through the economic power possessed by the miners on the job.

When legal methods have failed to bring relief the workers in mine, shops and factories have again and again enforced the labor laws or have passed new labor laws, not in the statutes, by exercising their economic power on strike or on the job.

In the Northwest the lumberjacks have just passed the eight-hour day in the lumber camps by using their economic power and striking on the job. The men would work eight hours and then quit and go home. The bosses hired and fired crew after crew. And the crews went to work on many jobs and were fired from them. But group after group of the men quit after working eight hours. At last the employers decided that in order to secure men to work steadily they would have to grant the eight-hour day. The lumberjacks were only working eight hours anyway.

In spite of the steady struggle and the innumerable battles between the employers and the men who perform the work, and in spite of the steady gains made by labor, the workers have lost as many bouts as they have gained, in so far as winning their immediate ends are concerned. But the workers have seen many things; have learned many things.

They have witnessed, during the past fifty years, an unprecedented improvement in the machinery of production; they have seen automatic machinery introduced in factories and in mills that enable one man to perform the labor that formerly required ten or twenty men. In spite of increased wages for the workers and in spite of improved shop conditions, they see that the workers are exploited more intensely, because of the use of labor-saving machines, than they were in the past. They know that the share of the workers' products appropriated by the employing class is steadily increasing because of the wonderfully increased productivity of labor, thru the use of improved machinery of production.

They are beginning to find out that the old methods of trade warfare are growing more and more ineffective in the face of the growing organization of the capitalist class.

A machine is installed in a plant that eliminates the need of trade skill in the production of a certain commodity. For example, unskilled men may operate the machines and produce the same goods. And so that particular trade ceases to function in the labor world. Improved machines are

constantly displacing skilled men and putting all labor on the same unskilled and unorganized basis.

It is obviously impossible to maintain a trade union based upon a specialized skilled trade when there is no such trade to work at.

The industrial unionists are pointing out that the agreements between employers and employed, whereby the men agree to work certain hours for stipulated wages for a certain length of time, nullify or abrogate the purposes of real working class unionism, since these agreements, if they are carried out, will permit one group of workers to continue at work on the job while another group is out on strike. They claim that when one group of miners goes on strike at the expiration of an agreement and another group in the next mine goes on working, the workers are dividing their economic power (the power of carrying on, or stopping production) and breaking the strikes of their own brothers.

The Industrial Workers of the World propose that, in order to exercise their utmost economic power, it is to the interest of the workers to organize every worker in an industry into One Big Union, so that every worker shall be in a position, unhindered by any agreements, to go on strike, and stop production, when the needs of the workers shall so demand.

This organization is teaching the workers to realize and exercise their actual power. And the German Left Wing socialists are calling on the men in the mines of Germany to stop the production of coal in order to

force the militarists to accept a peace without conquest. They are begging the men on the railroads to go on strike, to fold their arms and to prevent the armies at the front from securing supplies and thus making not only possible, but necessary, a retreat of the German soldiers to the German border.

It was in Russia only a few weeks ago that we saw the workers in the industries and on the railroads refusing to work for wages and declaring that they would only continue producing commodities upon the condition that private profit cease and the mills and mines and factories be operated for the benefit of the people who ran them, and that exchange should ultimately be managed upon the basis of Labor for Labor and Service for Service.

There is no power in the world strong enough to oppose successfully the will of the organized, useful, productive working class, when it is conscious of its class interests and determined to serve them. For it is only the people who work who carry folks around, and feed them, and shelter and warm and clothe them, and take things to them. Without the hands and the brains of the workers no order, however imperial, will ever be executed.

And so the industrial unionists, the socialists and the militant trade unionists are gradually coming closer together, gradually realizing that they must organize, on the job, as industries and as a class, and thru the use of the economic power of the workers, make possible the glad day when Labor shall come at last into its own.



# Speaking of the Department of Justice

By Jack Phillips

**F**RANK NEBEKER, special assistant to the attorney-general of the United States, was appointed last August by Attorney-General Gregory to prosecute the trial of the 106 members of the Industrial Workers of the World who are charged with seditious conspiracy.

Nebeker comes from Salt Lake City. In that city he is a member of a firm of lawyers which is reputed to have the largest mining practice in the copper country.

Nebeker has often accepted retainers from copper corporations. That is where a large part of his personal fortune and personal reputation has been made, viz., as a legal servitor of the copper companies. It is the splendid service which Nebeker has rendered to copper corporations that gives him pre-eminence, position and prestige—in the copper country. In short, then, Nebeker is strictly what may be called a “copper man” rather than a steel man or a labor lawyer or a patent attorney.

In looking over the record of the activities of the I. W. W. it will be seen that certain copper corporations of the western country were the special objects of attention from the I. W. W. in 1917. In Arizona the Phelps-Dodge corporation notably was an object of attention. This particular copper concern is known as one of the leading beneficiaries of the war. It is considered a classic instance of what is meant by a “profiteer.” During the three years preceding 1914 the Phelps-Dodge corporation earned an average of \$7,000,000 a year in dividends. In the year 1916, however, this corporation earned the fat and swaggering total of \$21,000,000 in dividends.

So far as the United States government is concerned this particular corporation was a Shylock, a leech, and a bloodsucker. From the standpoint of theoretical patriotism, the kind of “patriotism” to which the Phelps-Dodge corporation directors pay lip-service, it might have been expected that they would say to the United States government, “Because men are dying for the republic and giving their life blood freely, we pledge that during the war our profits shall not

exceed the profits of the years before the war.” Instead of piling up profits three times larger than in pre-war times, it might have been expected that the Phelps-Dodge patriots would at least keep their profits even with pre-war times. Yet the cold fact of their own annual reports is that where the annual profit formerly averaged \$7,000,000, this figure was tripled in 1916.

The I. W. W. knew this. It knew that the Phelps-Dodge corporation could easily double the wages of its employes and shorten the workday and abolish the rustling cards system. The I. W. W. stood out for these demands. And because the granting of these demands would have cost the Phelps-Dodge corporation a slice of its fat and swaggering annual dividend—and because the Phelps-Dodge corporation does not want the workers in its mines to have that measure of democracy which accompanies the recognition of a labor union—they took another course than that of negotiating with their employes or granting the demands. Precisely what they did is told authoritatively in the report of President Wilson’s mediation commission which held public hearings in Bisbee, Arizona, Columbus, New Mexico and other cities and towns where first-hand reliable reports, not garbled by Associated Press dispatches, were available.

The answer of the Phelps-Dodge copper corporation to the I. W. W. challenge of its profiteering was the Bisbee deportation. Through the facts as recited by the President’s commission, it is now clear that the industrial kaisers, the copper Hohenzollerns of Arizona, brought about thru armed force, by illegal practices, the seizure and the deportation of 1,186 workmen of the State of Arizona. The most startling fact of all those revealed by the President’s commission is this:

Of the 1,186 men deported 472 were registered under the selective draft law.

The industrial kaisers, the copper Hohenzollerns of Arizona, thru physical force tactics exactly like those employed by Germany in the deportation of Belgian work-

men, committed an act of treason more flagrant, more insolent to the United States as a nation, than any other offense in the whole category of disloyal offenses in this country since the war started.

Why wouldn't Attorney-General Gregory be rendering a service to the people of this country if he appointed lawyers, special assistants and investigators, and prosecuted the industrial kaisers, the copper Hohenzollerns of Arizona, with the same persistence and zeal as the department of justice has shown in the case of the I. W. W.?

It would be a service to the nation if Attorney-General Gregory would place on trial the directors, officers and servants of the Phelps-Dodge corporation and find out whether the average American citizen sitting on a jury believes that these "patriotic" residents of Bisbee and operators in Wall street are guilty of the act named by the President's commission as "interference with the enforcement of the selective draft law."

If the seizure by armed force of 472 young men registered under the draft law and their subsequent deportation from their home city to a desert town, with threats of death if they ever came back to their home town, if this is not "interference with the enforcement of the selective draft law," then what is?

If this is not an offense against the nation as vicious as treason or seditious conspiracy, then how does Attorney-General Gregory define treason and seditious conspiracy?

How interesting it would be if there were two trials running parallel, in one court the mutineers, the I. W. W., and in another court the profiteers, the Phelps-Dodge corporation hirelings!

What a certainty then that people would say, "Attorney General Gregory gave both sides a chance in court to prove their innocence."

How much more interesting it would be if both profiteers and mutineers were on trial at the same time instead of the mutineers alone on trial!

As we look things over we wonder whether Frank Nebeker, the copper corporation lawyer from Salt Lake City, believes he is serving the people of the United States first of all and there is no direct money profit to accrue to the copper corporations of the copper country as a result of making war on the I. W. W.

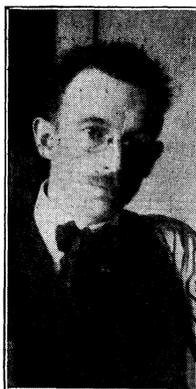
Does Nebeker think he can get by with this and persuade the people of the United States and the liberals of the Wilson administration that his prosecution of the I. W. W. is not of direct monetary advantage to the copper corporations of the western states, where Nebeker's law firm has "the largest mining practice"?

Is Nebeker aware that Justice Brandeis of the United States supreme court has written and expounded a theory that the "industrial autocracy" of this nation overrides and controls the political government of the nation to an extent that threatens the very existence of the republic?

Does Nebeker know that President Wilson's book, "The New Freedom" is filled with protest against backroom agreements, surreptitious understandings that defeat justice and workingmen while the beneficiaries of special privilege go free, does Nebeker know that the question will rise and rise big and portentous?

Why does the department of justice throw the whole force of its weight against the I. W. W. and the copper miners of the west, while there is not a whisper of complaint or criticism against the multi-millionaires whose profit sheets in a single instance show a tripling of profits during war?

Does Nebeker know that this is a period of history making in which issues rise to portentous size in a day or an hour—and that the working class of the United States is strong enough at this time to insist that the trial of the I. W. W. shall be a fair and a just trial, shall be in accord with the letter and spirit of the traditions of fair play associated with Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Jefferson and the best soul of this nation?



E. F. DOREE



L. S. CHUMLEY



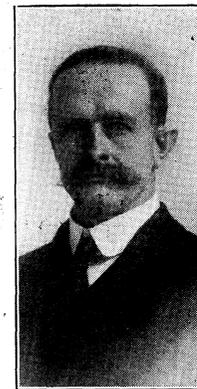
J. W. WILSON



J. J. FARLEY



J. A. LAW



C. E. PAYNE



FRED HARDY

## The General Defense Committee of the I. W. W.

THE conspiracy of the Owners of American Industry to put the One Big Union out of business by legal procedure will come to a showdown during the coming I. W. W. trials in Chicago, about the 25th of February.

It may be the greatest labor trial in the history of these United States, resulting in the conviction of the 106 workers, or the trial itself may turn into an indictment of the profit system, which will shake the thrones of the fat copper and lumber profiteers. For as Prof. Roger W. Babson points out in the Magazine of Wall Street: "There are two wars in progress today. One is between nations and the other is between classes."

At the present time, over one thousand members of the I. W. W. are in jails across country, but there are away over one hundred thousand members on the outside. The faster they jail them the faster they grow. Tomorrow there will be more of them than today. There will never be enough jails to go around!

The seven members of the General Defense Committee tackled a tough job when they took charge two months ago. All organizers and secretaries had been thrown into jail along with writers and editors; papers were suppressed and books, records and mailing lists seized; offices were closed after the confiscation of everything but the wall paper. Halls were raided; members mobbed. All in the name of the Law. They said the O. B. U. was crushed.

Confusion worse confounded! Could

the I. W. W. come back? Within two weeks the organization was back on the job stronger than ever. Doree, as secretary-treasurer; Chumley, in charge of Publicity; Wilson, as Secretary of Defense Committee; Farley, on local conditions; Law, rounding up formation of defense, Payne took on the work of the Bulletin, while Hardy handled the Recruiting Unions.

Workers in hundreds of lumber and mining camps spontaneously came together and organized local defense committees. In all the large cities working men and women were likewise organizing themselves. From these grew branch General Defense Committees covering whole states, which were connected up with the General Defense Committee in Chicago. The problem was to standardize the work of the Defense.

The General Defense Committee had a right to assume that the prosecution would not interfere with legitimate defense work as all fair minded men and women agree that the 106 men should be given a fair trial.

However, on December 17th, the Department of Justice again raided the general office and tied up all Defense work for eleven days. On the day following practically all literature was seized, including subscription lists.

On December 20th, Federal officers looted the Defense Committee Headquarters in Seattle. Several active Defense workers were arrested.

On December 22nd, the I. W. W. hall was closed in Sacramento and twenty-four

members arrested, and on January 7th, word came from Fresno that \$1400 in the Defense treasury was being "held" by Federals.

These facts are clear proof that any means will be used to handicap the work of the Defense. The majesty of the Law has been used to intimidate printers and paper dealers who had formerly been glad to get I. W. W. business. In fact, the Defense Committee has been handicapped in a hundred spiteful, petty, vindictive ways.

The editor of the Public hit the bull's eye when he wrote:

"Professional detectives and the well-meaning assistant prosecutors of the Department of Justice should not be given a free hand in handling the I. W. W. situation. There is evidence that they are as ignorant of American sociology as were the advisers of Louis XVI of French sociology. And they are aided and abetted in their ignorance by an equally ignorant press, so that nothing but approving comment follows the most stupid and dangerous tactics. The situation in this country with respect to unskilled and unorganized labor is full of dynamite. Every trade union leader knows it. The president knows it. It is the dynamite engendered by the existence of a large class conscious of injustice, burning with resentment, and wholly without organization thru which to express itself. The I. W. W. does not represent it in any authorized way. But it comes nearer being its spokesman than any other organization."

**Socialists Demand Fair Trial for Indicted I. W. W.**—In a declaration adopted by its National Executive Committee the Socialist Party calls for a fair and unprejudiced trial for the indicted

members of the Industrial Workers of the World. The demand says:

"The Socialist Party repeats its declaration of support of all economic organizations of the working class and declares the lynching, deportation, prosecution and persecution of the Industrial Workers of the World is an attack upon every toiler in America, and we now call attention to the fact that the charges of incendiarism, the burning of crops and forests and of vicious destruction of property, made by the public press against the I. W. W., have been proven pure fabrications when put to legal test.

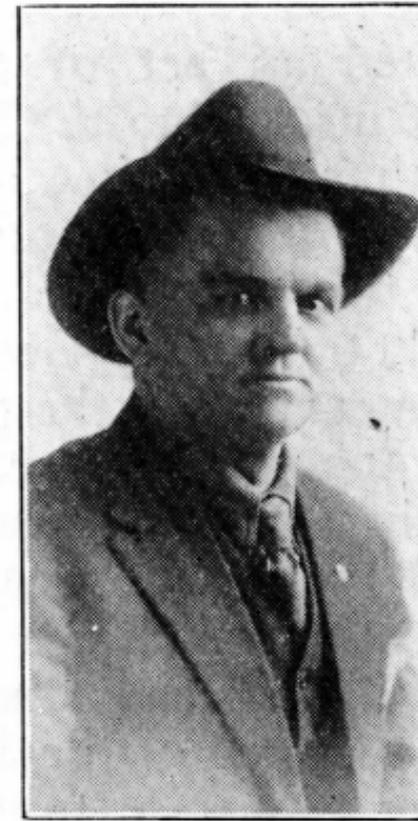
"The Socialist Party has always extended its aid, material and moral, to organized labor wherever and whenever it has been attacked by the capitalist class, and this without reference to form of organization or special policies; therefore we pledge our support to the Industrial Workers of the World now facing trial in Chicago and elsewhere, and demand for them a fair and unprejudiced trial and urge our members to use every effort to assist the Industrial Workers of the World by familiarizing the public with the real facts, to overcome the falsehoods and misinformation with which the capitalist press has poisoned and prejudiced the public mind and judgment against these workers, who are now singled out for destruction, just as other labor organizations and leaders have been singled out for destruction by the same capitalist forces in the past."



E. F. DOREE



L. S. CHUMLEY



J. W. WILSON



J. J. FARLEY



J. A. LAW



C. E. PAYNE



FRED HARDY



# What Do the Workers Work For?

By AUSTIN LEWIS



SAYS the London "Times," according to a quotation in one of the pamphlets of the National Guilds League, "the miners regard the mining industry as one not to make profits but to make a living for themselves." The matter was never more plainly put and yet the "Times" is indignant. For that is precisely how the miners are beginning to regard the matter, and, for the matter of that, how the working people are everywhere showing a tendency to regard it. It looks very simple and, as it is put, very reasonable, in spite of the indignation of the leading capitalist paper, and yet simple as it is, it challenges the whole of the modern system and the theoretical basis on which it rests.

If one had said that the Southern slaves were starting to look upon the plantations on which they worked as primarily supplying the means of livelihood for themselves and not as essentially the property of the planter, the horror which would have thereupon taken hold of the editors of Richmond and Charleston can be easily imagined. They would have seen in their mind's eye one of those servile uprisings which horrified and shook the very foundations of old Rome.

And to-day in the present industrial system the effect must be much the same. For the notion that the worker is not simply a moving piece of hired mechanism, which runs down every night to be renewed every morning, and exists simply as a means for making profits, is one that upsets the modern theory of industry. And this rests in the first place upon the theory that labor power is a commodity.

A commodity is something which is sold and transferred. When the transfer is made a commodity no longer belongs to the party who sells; it belongs to the purchaser. So with the ability to work with which the worker parts by his sale thereof. He no longer controls his labor power. It has passed out of his possession and is at the service of the employer who has purchased the commodity, the labor-power. Henceforth that labor power must be directed as the boss sees fit. It may be employed in any sort of enterprise, even an enterprise which is not only socially valueless but which may be even socially harmful. It matters not; the employee has sold his right to criticize the product when he sold his labor power. Cheating and adulteration, chicanery of all the diverse kinds with which the essentially rotten system of today have made us universally familiar, are carried out by the labor power of working people who profit not thereby but who are compelled to participate therein because they have parted with the commodity labor power which is the only commodity they have and by which they, having sold it, must get their living.

The laborer is then part of the machinery of production. That is the essential view of the most modern of the employers. Even that view is an improvement of the older view of a few years ago when the laborer was regarded not even as an asset but as an expense, as a debit and not as a credit. But the newer school of the reforming capitalists have gone no farther than to regard the worker as a part of the machinery and all their welfare schemes are based on that

view of him. Rowntree, the English philanthropic capitalist, who is the author of social studies of unquestioned value, complains of the stupidity of his fellow capitalists in not considering the worker as part of the machinery. He says in effect:

"You consider each separate machine and give it the care and attention which it requires. You do not think of over-straining machinery; you regard it in the mass and have a man to go round and inspect it continually and see that it is kept running harmoniously and that there is no waste. You regard it individually and your oiler keeps it in condition all day. It will pay you better to regard the workers also as part of the machinery and to consider their individual and collective needs from that point of view. You will make more profits."

And so they do. Workers treated from the Rowntree conception certainly turn out more work and of better quality than do those workers who have not the attention and regard which is bestowed on machinery. If there is one thing which the war has shown most plainly, it is that the industry in which the workers receive the higher recompense and work under more comfortable conditions is more profitable than industry which is carried on under the old system of driving and scrapping.

But even this fact was only forced upon the attention of the employers owing to the growing scarcity of material due to the war. The so-called reserve of labor, that is, the hungry mass of unemployed, which always waited eager to break into the works and sell themselves, rendered any care or attention to the needs of the worker entirely unnecessary. Talk about machines; the ordinary worker, even the skilled trades unionist, the aristocrat, was not worthy to be mentioned in the same breath with a machine. He was there to be used up regardless, for outside there was an army of him hungrily and greedily waiting for the chance to be eaten up. And when we come to masses of unskilled labor, the treatment of them is written in bloody letters on every railroad track and in every foundry and construction camp not only in this country but thruout the civilized world.

Never once during all this period did the capitalist group seek a more humane way of getting its profits. It killed with unctuous gravity and with satisfied complacency. It

regarded the masses of labor as something to be dipped into without consideration and to be destroyed without compunction, for were there not many more to take the places of those who fell in the unceasing treadmill grind of profit-making?

To-day the fight which is directed against the Industrial Workers of the World is mainly based upon the fact that that organization is endeavoring to stay the slaughter of the unskilled masses which have heretofore been regarded as industrial fodder. "Skilled labor must be conserved," said the wise employers, "for skilled labor is becoming scarce, owing to the limitations placed by the unions and to the action of the system itself which tends to eliminate skill. But unskilled labor is still under our thumb. It cannot organize and the very numbers of it must continue to render it ineffective to resist."

Then comes the war and the reserve of unskilled labor fails. The markets are not overcrowded with slaves looking for a master. On the other hand, the master in the field and the forest spends heart-breaking days in looking for men. The harvest is ripe and the slaves refuse to gather it except upon terms which have never before been asked. But how can there be a criticism? The capitalist argument as put forward by his most advanced and best paid professors runs as follows:

"Commodities are sold in the market. Their price is determined by the law of supply and demand. Plentiful commodities bring small prices, scarcer commodities higher prices. Labor is a commodity; it must abide by that fact; it can demand no more than its market price."

The capitalists have dealt with the government in this war as in all other wars precisely on those terms. They have charged prices commensurate with the needs of the government and have artificially monopolized commodities in order to get a monopoly price. And in all this they have received the unhesitating support not only of the professors and press, but of the statesmen who are handling the affairs of the government and are supposed to be placing the interests of the community first. (As if there could be such a thing as a community under a cut-throat capitalistic system.) Under these conditions the situation was all with the workers. If the commodity,

labor, was scarce, it could demand its price. That was the rule of the game. And on that ground the capitalist could not meet the unskilled workers who were demanding that the game be played as it hitherto had been and that they had the right to hold or withhold their commodity (labor) from the market. This right had always been conceded, for the defenders of the system had always said, "Well, if you don't like the job there is no need for you to take it. We compel no one to work for us."

So that with their confounded doctrine of supply and demand at their back, they were hoist with their own petard and had no possible answer to the refusal of the harvesters and lumbermen to work except on their own terms.

Then the employers suddenly discovered that the workers were something more than mere commodities. They were found to be men and not mere humans, but men who were supposed to be supplied with a sort of moral sense and their action, while it could not be called uneconomical, in view of the capitalistic theories, was discovered to be anti-patriotic. And, all of a sudden, this mass of unskilled labor which had been for lo these many years murdered and starved, fed on garbage, bedded worse than swine, and deprived of every semblance of humanity, which lay beneath the ties of hundreds of miles of continental roads, having literally paved the track with their bones, which had been hounded by constables and thieving justices, shot by deputy sheriffs, thrown off moving trains by railroad servants and generally bedevilled and tormented, was discovered to possess a soul! This unskilled worker was found to be capable of actually sinning against an abstraction, to wit, that patriotism which the employers professed, while they defrauded the nation which they claimed to serve.

As we have pointed out, the war created a scarcity in the commodity, labor power, and as a result the price of that commodity would naturally tend to rise. The same thing occurred with hogs in Austria. The government attempted to fix the price of hogs. But the scarcity was too much for the government. The premier complained that he could do nothing about it. He had tried. When he lowered the price of swine-flesh, the Hungarian hog-raisers would not sell; when he raised it, the Viennese could not buy. I have seen the account also of the

attempts to fix prices of butter in Munster. The price-fixer attempted to lower the price and actually did so by legal enactment with the result that there was no butter on the market and bit by bit the price crept back to the two shillings a pound rate which the price-fixer had in the first place regarded as too high. Given the theory—it must work both ways and if labor is a commodity, labor must get a market price which is higher than that preceding the period of scarcity, always providing that labor does not compete against itself.

It is this fact that is driving the capitalist group frantic and which is the reason of their attacks upon the organization of unskilled labor. For the scarcity brings with it another factor of the greatest importance and that is the tendency of labor to organize itself. When there is a chance of immediate gain even unskilled labor will organize. It is admittedly very difficult to get masses of men to organize for a remote and abstract aim. That predicates the possession of the scarcest and most valuable human quality, imagination. But the simplest and the most unlearned of men will organize to gain something immediate and concrete, and the scarcity of unskilled labor renders such immediate gains now possible, indeed inevitable, with a minimum of organization. It thereupon becomes the aim of the dominant capitalist group to render such organization dangerous if not impossible. Hence the new tendency towards repression and persecution.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that the recent efforts of the capitalists in control are very stupid, even fatal, from their own viewpoint. All the recent efforts on the part of unskilled labor have been directed to the creation of tolerable labor conditions, such conditions as have been declared by the capitalistic commissions as necessary for the output of sufficient quantities of products of the right quality: an eight-hour day, decent sleeping accommodation, good meals, are the irreducible minimum without which even capitalistic work cannot be successfully carried on, unless, of course, there is an unlimited supply of fresh labor which can be drawn on when the old supply is wasted.

War renders such a fresh supply impossible and the only way in which labor can be conserved as a commodity, is by following the rules which have been laid down by the reports of the British Commissions on

the manufacture of munitions. But this the American greater capitalists in various essential industries refuse to do. They have not risen even to the point of regarding labor as a part of the machinery; they still have the waste and ruin view of the matter.

They, therefore, call upon the state to drive the owners of the commodity, labor power, the workers, into their markets and to artificially tamper with the price of the labor commodity. This utter blindness of the American capitalist to even his own self-interest is one of the most appallingly dangerous signs of the times and one of the most threatening phenomena. For any trouble which may occur in the future we shall have to thank more than anything else, the appalling stupidity of the capitalists and the still more grossly shocking ignorance of politicians and intellectuals. Instead of which, as Lassalle said:

"The back of the worker is the table which the capitalist's fist strikes when he is angry"; and the wrath will fall upon the unskilled labor masses who are only following the unavoidable trend developed by the scarcity of labor power as a commodity, and their own needs.

Too much stress cannot be laid on the fact that whereas the commodity status of labor is regarded as axiomatic by the dominant economists and politicians, the same rule is not applied to the labor commodity as to other commodities, but the hitherto denied citizenship of the seller of labor power is insisted upon with almost violent iteration. Thus, in defending the actions of the British shipowners and their depredations upon the government, the "Times" declares that they are ruled by the laws of supply and demand and are "justified in exploiting the necessity of the nation and profiting by the great scarcity of ships."

The application of the same principle to the sale of labor power would absolutely vindicate those workers who are combining to raise their wages in view of the present scarcity of labor. When it comes to this application the capitalistic group, however, refuses to abide by the game and resorts to the prison and the employment of unformed ruffianism.

The "Guild Idea" (a pamphlet of the National Guilds League of England) says very strongly and truthfully, "A method of production based on the Law of Supply and

Demand—based, that is to say, upon a constant struggle for position between the two great forces of Capital and Labor—is utterly unstable, utterly destructive of good production and utterly unreliable as a national servant."

Of course the commodity idea of labor is accepted not only by the capitalists but also by the ordinary trade unionists. If wages are good and hours comparatively reasonable, they are satisfied. A business agent exists for the selling of labor power as a commodity on the best terms obtainable and no further inquiry is made. As long as the returns are such as meet with the approval of the majority of the trade, no questions are asked as to the deeper significance of the recognition of labor power as a commodity. The hideousness of the sale of men, or their labor power, is overlooked and there is a general acquiescence in a system which is, to say the very least, utterly demoralizing from any human standpoint. But when, as at present, some cataclysm comes which rips the covers from things as they are and exposes the real underlying rottenness, the fallacy of the commodity basis, the hypocrisy of the doctrine of Supply and Demand, is at once laid bare and we are face to face with a struggle in which the laborer is forced to declare his humanity in antagonism to the commodity estimate which society makes of him. And on the other hand, we find the capitalistic group and their supporters driven from the commodity idea which they find untenable in face of the facts, to declare a citizenship on the part of labor which they have not hitherto conceded and to demand a patriotism for which their treatment of labor in the past has offered no incentive.

Against this commodity basis of labor we must protest and agitate. The working class must learn not to classify itself as a commodity, but must learn that an industry is not for the making of profits but for the *living of those who are engaged in the industry*. The worker must learn to regard himself not as a part of the machinery of production, but as the director and the master of production. He must cease to regard himself as a tool but must learn to own and use the tools, and this, not thru the interposition of some kindly politician, who will place the hook in his nose and the bridle between his lips, but thru his own efforts and by his own powers.

# Your Dream Come True

By D. BOBSPA

**A** LAND of practical Socialism in active operation.

Nearly 4,000,000 people without one cent of money in circulation; and where no man owns a foot of land or the tools of production—trades unionism, industrialism, single tax and socialism all rolled into one.

Ninety thousand square miles without a policeman; where gold rings are placed in the public markets in large baskets, to be had for the asking.

A work day of two hours for the strong; of play for the young, middle aged and old. A land where there is plenty of candy for the kiddies, playgrounds for all; and from which the spectre of want has departed

Land of peon-slaves awakened from centuries of capitalist misrule to the glories of co-operation, without master or landlord.

This is no dream, but an actualized verity right here in America—in southern Mexico. Shades of Thomas Moore, Edward Bellamy and William Morris arise and rejoice, for your wildest visions have become facts.

Across the miles I stretch my hand in fellowship with Mexico's great democrat—ZAPATA. Don't forget that name. The capitalist press has not told much about him—for obvious reasons. He is putting into practice the basic principles of co-operation. The golden rule is being translated into action.

The almost unbelievable facts I am to present to you of Zapata's territory in the southern part of Mexico is based on information furnished to me directly by General Nick Senn Zogg, three weeks after his last sessions with Zapata himself. General Zogg, former governor of Lower California, has long been one of Zapata's chief advisors and supporters. Just a word as to my informant.

General Zogg was born in Switzerland, where his father was engaged in the diplomatic service, but was taken to Mexico when seven months old. Later, a part of his education was received in Switzerland. This liberator has a broad education, has been a world traveler, possesses a splendid business training, and speaks English fluently with no trace of foreign accent.

A thoro democrat, he has thrown his entire life into the Mexican revolutionary movement and has done much in the liberation of the peons. He was removed from the governorship of Lower California to give place to a capitalist tool. General Zogg has a pleasing personality and it is inspirational to listen to his tale of the miracle of what co-operation and access to the land has done for the slaves of his country. All of the facts I am to mention I have received directly from him.

General Zapata now absolutely controls 90,000 square miles, comprising parts of Morelo, Jalisco, Chapas, Quintana Roo, and Tabasco. This land is well under cultivation. The population (on a rough estimate, without the advantages of a scientific census) is from three to four millions. The inhabitants are nearly all peons who for centuries had existed in a degrading state of slavery. More than ninety-five per cent can neither read nor write.

Zapata's control began in 1910, but only in the three years past has the co-operative system been placed on its present basis. The greatest development has been made during the past two years.

Methods of propaganda have been simple and effective. Direct action is the keynote. The people awoke to a knowledge of their slavery and a realization of their heritage—and took what belonged to them. The only message sent to the people was somewhat similar to the I. W. W. preamble, but much shorter than that classic document.

Having aroused the slaves to realize their status by saying in substance: the rich unjustly possess the land; we want all that is ours and are not willing that any man should possess that which is not his—Zapata would lead his army into some rich valley and simply dispossess the wealthy "owners." Then the peons on the land would be given *the use* of the land. Not one man in the 90,000 square miles holds a title to one foot of land. After getting the new territory, the land was cultivated and the district organized.

When strong enough the army—the propaganda branch of the revolution—held another convention in some other fertile

valley and benevolently assimilated some other opulent set of slave-driving usurpers of the land.

For the first time in centuries, those on Mexican soil ate the food they produced and wore the clothes they made. That is *some* propaganda organization. The peons realized that "they who would be free, themselves must strike the blow," and that what they have gained they must themselves hold thru solidarity on the industrial field—which is the only field recognized. Gradually, step by step, Zapata is spreading his practical propaganda of co-operation and a free earth.

Every citizen of each community is given a little brass citizenship tag. It is necessary to show this only in strange towns. It is his passport for whatever he needs for food, clothing and shelter. Each person goes into the stores and gets what he needs for the simple asking.

We have heard endless discussions as to the nature of the future medium of exchange. Many volumes have been written on the subject. Zapata isn't worrying over these problems. He is leaving them where they belong—to the philosophers. There isn't any medium of exchange in Zapata's land. Why should there be on a free earth? If a man wanted ten pairs of sandals or shoes he could have them, but why would he want them? He can always go—in Zapata's country—to any store and get a pair when he needs one. So with all other provisions. In practice, in the few years the plan has been in operation, the peons have not abused the privilege. They are the producers and realize it. Why rob themselves? *There is not one idea of profit in all that 90,000 square miles, and human nature is just as it was when Adam delved and Eve spun.*

Just one example of how supplies are furnished. The citizens took a fancy to the gold rings, beautifully decorated and carved. Zapata had thousands upon thousands of them made before putting any on the market. Then they were placed in large baskets in every plaza store—free for everyone. If a person wanted a dozen rings that was all right—they were his. General Zogg said that when he passed thru the markets a few weeks ago there were rings in every store and few people seemed to care for more.

Woe unto any man, however, who came from the outside and got a citizenship check

falsely. Death is the only penalty for this offense.

Travelers are not being admitted freely just now, in these unsettled times, because of the lying reports carried away by spying emissaries of capitalism. But when one is given permission to visit the country, his route is marked out and listed on the passport given him. He pays the government and then is provided freely on all the travels over the designated route.

No women or children are to be found in any line of manual labor in mill, field or factory.

The young and middle aged men alone work. They work from one and one-half to three hours a day. Some will work more steadily for a week and then go away to some town for two or three weeks to enjoy their country. For the first time in history the workers have a country that is really theirs. Workers? Yes, for all are workers. There are no landlords or "bosses" and overseers to prod them into exhausting toil. And these people are simple enough to believe that man should enjoy life—that all people should find pleasure in living.

Of course there are foremen and superintendents in the administration of industry. But they receive no wages, just what they need to live on, and every man, woman and child gets that. The men will work two hours and then go out to play handball and other games in the plaza or courts.

When the fields need attention, men go from ranch to ranch wherever help is needed. In like manner all industry is carried on.

One example will show something of how matters are managed. One big sugar refinery formerly employed 2,500 men, working them fourteen hours a day. Employees now work two hours a day. The refinery still is in operation fourteen hours daily. There are seven shifts of workers. All told, there are now 25,000 employees of that refinery. All are happy and have all of the food, clothing and shelter the land affords. The children have big sticks of candy as large as they can carry—and there is no talk of conservation of supplies anywhere.

Access to the land and co-operation did it. There isn't any regular freight and passenger service. The trains operate as required. Production for profit has ceased on 90,000 square miles of this planet, and the

mills and mines are run to manufacture products for use only. When goods are needed anywhere, the trains haul them. Occasionally, a few hundred men, women and children will be taken into the mountains by the trainload for a few days' outing. It is all a part of living—no fares to pay.

*For all are members of the Union Industrial of North and South America.* That union might be spelled more simply—*solidarity.*

Practically all administrative functions formerly usurped by "government" are attended to locally. There is no officious state and elaborate system of courts to declare that Podunkville, Posey County, Indiana, shall not add twenty-three bricks to its rear walk to the hitching rack, because a New England justice of the peace 326 years ago rendered an adverse decision in a somewhat similar case. When any local matter is to be decided the people assemble at the plaza and are addressed by advocates of the different factions. Those voting for opposite sides of the question simply walk to different parts of the plaza. The count is taken and the majority wins.

How this plan works in practice is shown by an actual case that recently happened. A new road was desired. There was much argument as to which of two courses should be selected. Route No. 1 was chosen. Advocates of route number 2 were not satisfied. A "compromise" was effected, whereby both roads were built and everyone satisfied.

Clerical and similar "soft jobs" carry heavy penalties, for those falling heir to these easy lines of labor are usually asked to put in three hours of daily toil—at least a part of the time. The harder the job the

shorter the hours. Very difficult or disagreeable work would not require more than one hour a day. There is no task master to keep strict tab on hours and issue "labor script" or other artificial devices that some dreamers would carry from a monopolized earth into their theories of a free earth. The people realize that the whole country is the Union's, and if there are any who fail to do the simple day's labor required to support an unexploited society, they are a negligible quantity.

Most of the machinery for the development of the country has been brought in from South America. But the industries have not been greatly developed as yet.

The churches are being used as schools, for lecture centers, as play houses and for similar useful purposes. There is no liquor sold. This is not the result of any decree or election. The people had so little desire for booze that they quit its manufacture.

The population is largely Indian, and these people are accustomed to the idea of living without money, which makes the problem easier.

It is not to be inferred that Zapata has solved all of the problems of society. Everything can't be done at once, even by the magic wand of his propaganda. Still, his achievements make the genii of Alladin's lamp look pretty small and cheap. In three years every worker has been united into one industrial union; all titles to land and ownership of the tools of production swept away; labor's hours shortened to the minimum; the entire population fed, clothed and sheltered—all thru co-operation on a free earth.



# CURRENT EVENTS

IN GLANCING over the calendar of current events for the past month one is forcibly reminded of the old saying of Marx that the existing institutions of a country represent, or function, in the interests of the ruling classes of that country; in other words, that these institutions serve the interests today of those classes able to exercise *economic power*.

In Russia, for example, where the working classes have taken control of the railroads, have appropriated the lands and food supplies, the factories and the mines, we find the press, the army and navy, the church, the police, and the government, have already begun to reflect the interests of the workmen and peasants.

We see the representatives of the Russian working class striving for an understanding with the German workers and using every means at their command to induce them to follow their example, to revolt against the Prussian junkers and make Germany a real industrial democracy.

That they are beginning to succeed in their aims is shown in the recent German elections in which the Left Wing anti-war socialists captured the seats of the pro-war socialists in scores of districts and the following Manifesto which has been secretly circulated throughout Germany:

"Down with war!" and "Down with the government!" is the cry sounded by the advocates of a workman's revolution. A strike of the masses is urged and workmen are appealed to to quit workshops and factories.

A peace, according to terms of German rulers, is opposed as one "in the interest of militarism and imperialism" and contrary to the interests of the German people.

## *Tyrants Wish No Honest Peace*

"The foes of the people are growing ever bolder, ever more shameless. War wastrels, war instigators, war profiteers—those to whom misery of the people bring power and gain—such wish no peace.

"Disfranchisement of the masses, misery of the masses, state of siege, slaughter of the people—this is what this government has brought upon us.

"Must we stand idle and see our wives and children pine away, our strength to labor—our only means of subsistence—grow less and less?

"They promise extra rations to save themselves from the wrath of the people—from a revolution like that in Russia.

"But no extra rations can be given without consuming the seed potatoes and the breeding cattle. Should the government decide upon this course millions of the German proletariat, German women and children, must face hunger and starvation in the coming winter.

The instigators of war are hiding the truth from the people.

"It is their harvest of blood which is crushing Germany, and their aims are for themselves alone.

"But the immediate negotiation of peace is the only rescue from the abyss into which the government is hurling the country.

"But the government proceeds to plunder the land. It wants no peace which would be acceptable to the so-called 'enemy' countries. And if it should fashion peace on terms according to its own liking, and if it could bring about a peace according to those terms, they always would be—as we know only too well—in the interest of militarism and imperialism, of the junker and capitalist castes, and contrary to the vital interests of the German proletariat.

"Such an ending of the war touches each one of us.

"Thus the most urgent task of German labor is to force peace—just as our Russian brothers are now doing—and to fashion its terms according to the interests of the international proletariat, that we have our own peace and not that of the imperialists.

"There is only one means to this end—the strike of the masses. This strike of the masses must swell in the cry of a million voices for peace, and that cry will serve for a kindling spark in the barracks and in the trenches; it will make men fight on sturdily to the end, it will bring about an organization of the masses which shall force peace and freedom.

"Victory will be won by fighting and by the strike of the masses."

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It cannot be too often repeated that the Russian Bolsheviki do not seek and have not sought a separate peace with the Central Powers. They have tried to make their own demands for:

"No indemnities; no annexation; self-determination for all small nations," the peace cry around which all the warring countries might rally, and they are still seeking to penetrate the military walls of Germany with this message to the German people.

As the REVIEW goes to press it becomes more and more apparent that the new Russian government of the working class will not be able to come to any terms with the Imperial German government.

"Leon Trotsky, the Bolsheviki foreign minister, and his associates, take the stand that the Baltic provinces are in reality under military restraint while they continue to be occupied by German troops and that their votes with respect to peace must be ignored, as now these provinces are virtually German dependencies, the loyal Russians having been forced to flee."—(From the Chicago Tribune.)

The editors of the REVIEW earnestly hope that the Russian people will profit from this experience with German diplomacy and will exercise a supreme effort to drive out the Germans if they cannot win them to revolt, so that the people of greater Russia may come, at last, into their own and enjoy the fruits of the revolution. We are still hoping the German workers will refuse further to serve the aims of the imperialist, who would enslave free Russia.

That some of the German and Austrian prisoners held in Russia are beginning to see the aim of the German government for conquest, and that they will use all their strength, and their lives if need be, to prevent the accomplishment of this aim, is evidenced by a cable which appeared in the Chicago Tribune for December 27, which says that a committee of German and Austrian war prisoners passed a resolution at a Petrograd meeting demanding that the Central Powers accept the democratic peace terms of the Bolsheviki, threatening that if the junkers of the Central Powers refuse a democratic peace, to join the Russians and take up arms against their own countries.

It launches an appeal to soldiers of the German and Austrian armies to commit sabotage in the trenches, to slow up, and to surrender to the Russians or desert to the Russians whenever an opportunity arrives.

This movement flamed up among the war prisoners in Russia, who have seen the new freedom of the Russian workers and peasants. These prisoners have been working on the Russian railroads and in the fields. They are waking up very fast and it is estimated that these revolutionary prisoners could easily form an army of 700,000 or 800,000 men.

An associated press dispatch of December 27, shows the growing alarm of

the German militarist-capitalists and reports that:

More than 300 members of the German minority socialist party were arrested on Christmas eve by the German military authorities, according to a Zurich dispatch given out today by the Wireless Press. The dispatch reads:

"Following the arrest of minority Socialists at Cologne and Karlsruhe recently, the German military authorities made a large number of arrests on Christmas eve in Munich, Frankfort, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Duesseldorf, Darmstadt, Nuremburg, Dortmund, Cassel, Mannheim, Mayence, Coburg, Duisburg and Gotha.

"More than 300 minority Socialists and local leaders in the towns mentioned were arrested."



### Government Control of Railroads

The United States Government has taken over entire control of the railroads and railway terminal facilities as a simple matter of wartime expediency, guaranteeing to the railroad stockholders dividends equal to those declared by the roads the past three years. No injustice has been done the stockholders. If you are a holder of railway stocks, be sure you may rest at home, or travel wherever you will, and your little old dividends will bob up serenely just as though there were no war. Now comes the question of wages for the railway workers, and we are confronted with the amazing spectacle of a President of these United States insisting that the big \$100,000 salaries be lopped off at the top of the railroad's expense list, and that the railway workers be granted a substantial increase in wages. Will they get it?

\* \* \*

The packing interests are under Government investigation. It is reported in the daily papers that the investigation has shown that these interests possess an almost unlimited food and leather, soap and fertilizer monopoly in this country;

that they have persistently, for years, forced out the small stockholders by stock juggling; that they have destroyed independent competitors, have secretly taken millions of dollars profits through terminal companies owned by them and managed by dummy directors; that the food supply and the prices of food and shoe leather are largely in the hands of three or four men and that these men are coining millions upon millions of dollars of profits out of the necessities of the American people during the war emergency.

Now anybody can see with half an eye that this is a very sad state of affairs for the other employers of labor the whole country over. If Mr. Armour and Mr. Swift and Mr. Morris are able to hold up the wage workers of other capitalists for from 25 to 50 and 100 per cent on some of the necessities of life, you may be very sure that there are going to be "labor troubles" for the mine operators, the railroad companies or the steel mill not in on the packing monopoly pie counter. Labor is scarce today and it will be difficult for any employer of labor to hold men at the old schedule of wages in the face of Mr. Armour's new and highly profitable prices on foodstuffs.

And so, since existing institutions come to the rescue of the economic rulers of a country, we see the capitalist press rushing into print to accuse the *government* investigators of trying to make "political capital" out of the exposures of conditions in the packing industry. They insist that war time is no time for the Government to cast suspicion on the owners of the industries that supply the most important necessity of life to the people. It is apt to breed discontent in the breasts of some workingmen.

And—on the next page—of these same capitalist dailies we find the editors demanding the Conscription of Labor and Postmaster General Burleson denouncing the post office employes because they have been asking for more pay.

Unless the packing monopoly gang is to be checked in its merry little holdup strikes for higher wages are going to increase. The capitalist press, true to the interests of its big advertisers, want Conscription of Labor. Then the Ar-

mour's and Swift's could continue their careers of legal piracy and the working-class would have to get busy and shut up.

Mr. Swift's Count son-in-law, by the way, was, during the past month, under very grave suspicion of treason to the United States government. The case kept coming up day after day in a most awkward manner. Just when some folks hoped the thing was all smoothed down, somebody would bob up with new evidence against His Excellency. But the rabble working-class, and even impudent reporters and the public in general, were not let in on the "trial." Everything was absolutely secret and all the newspapers said about this man, whom we would be willing to bet a dollar to a doughnut, was guilty of aiding the enemy in time of war, was that "it was such an interesting story," "a Count" wedded to the daughter of "one of our richest American millionaires," "so much secrecy," but "nobody was permitted to learn a thing," etc., etc. The charge of treason on the part of the Count, son-in-law of Mr. Swift, was treated as a romantic little episode.

But the workingman whose name happens to be Schmidt, although his father was born in Syracuse, who strikes for a dollar a day more (to pay Mr. Swift those extra prices is charged with "treason," pro-Germanism, anarchy, by the newspapers and the public is subtly urged to give all "malcontents" and "trouble-makers" a dose of tar and feathers or of hemp rope.



### High Court Bars Pickets

The right of employers to prevent labor unions from soliciting non-union employes to join the labor organizations was upheld today by the Supreme Court by a divided vote of six to three, the majority being the reactionaries left over from the Republican administration and the three dissenting being those appointed by the more progressive Wilson administration. The test cases were against the United Mine Workers of America and the Flint Glass Workers' Union.

"Methods of the labor organization in attempting to unionize the 'open shop' workmen and bring about strikes were declared 'unlawful and malicious.' Injunctions previously given by Judge Bayton in the federal court in West Virginia to prevent the union activities were sustained.

"The court admitted the right of workmen to organize into unions for lawful purposes, but held that the employers \* \* \* were entitled to operate their plants 'open shop' and to protection and injunction against the labor union was ordered for that purpose."—Chicago Evening News.

In commenting on the difference in the attitude of the majority members of the Supreme Court and the position of "recognition of the union" of President Wilson, the New Republic of December 22, says:

The Supreme Court of the United States delivered last week what can only be construed as a frontal attack on organized labor, an attack which can only have been designed to undermine its strength and threaten its very existence. A federal judge, in 1913, issued an injunction against officials of the United Mine Workers, forbidding them to unionize the "Panhandle" coal district of West Virginia. It was conceded that the union officials used no violent means, that there was no picketing, even peaceful, and no attempt at coercive boycotts—all that the union did was to send organizers into the district to hold public meetings, enroll men in the union, and set forth the advantages of labor organization, all with the object of extending the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers to the district. This injunction the Supreme Court (Justices Holmes, Brandeis and Clark dissenting) has sustained, the court holding in effect that efforts of organized labor to compel an employer to recognize the union, and to accept the principle of collective bargaining, are illegal, a violation of the policy of the common law, and subject to restraint by injunction.

\* \* \*

Yet the court, in denying the right to unionize by threat of strike, denied the weapon through which alone organized labor has been able to attain its present influence.

\* \* \*

Finally, the decision will encourage the complaint that there is one law for capital and another law for labor; for it so happened that the employer in whose favor the court issued the injunction was himself compelling his men to boycott the union. As Mr. Justice Brandeis points out in his dissenting opinion, "If it is coercion to threaten to strike unless plaintiff consents to a closed union shop; it is coercion also to threaten not to give one employment unless the applicant will consent to a closed non-union shop."



### The Frame-Up Collapse

On the Pacific Coast this month has seen the inglorious collapse of the frame-up of the San Francisco manufacturers and big business men against Tom Mooney, Weinberg, Billings, Mrs. Mooney, et al, in their conspiracy to crush all forms of unionism on the Coast.

"The FRAME-UP is proven beyond all doubt! Mrs. Alice Kidwell and Mrs. Estelle Smith, upon whose statements and evidence the five labor defendants were indicted and one of them convicted, have come forward and exposed every detail of the infamous plot, the success of which meant the destruction of the San Francisco labor movement and swollen profits for the vultures of the chamber of commerce and perjury.

The story of how these women were hounded, intimidated and forced into the service of the Fickert perjury crew is an amazing one. It is a scathing indictment of the FRAME-UP tactics used to fill our state prisons with the most active workers in the labor movement. Corporate control of the courts has been a burning issue in America for a long time. Of late the agitation for legal reform in this direction has subsided. This FRAME-UP is bound to make it a burning issue again. The Dunne-Fickert crew of court jobbers and plotters went too far this time. They've been caught red-handed in a diabolical plot to murder five innocent working people in pursuance of a plot to wreck San Francisco unionism. They must answer at the bar of public opinion. If simple justice were done they should stand in the prisoners' dock and answer for their crimes.

Organized labor stands vindicated in the eyes of the world now that the whole truth has been established. The forces of organized greed stand condemned. And now that the FRAME-UP is defeated an inexorable duty is thrust upon us. That is the punishment of the corporate thugs who planned and almost executed this wholesale murder. Not alone must Fickert be punished and kicked out of the office he has disgraced, but every cur and police corruptionist-perjurer must be brought to task and mercilessly exposed."—(From The Eye-Opener.)

Note how the press, the courts and many of the officials in the state of California have steadfastly rendered service in the interests of the capitalist class against totally innocent representatives of union labor on the Coast.



### Copper and Arizona

The copper mine owners of Arizona have shown during the past two months that they not only have not repented the anarchy with which they terrorized Bisbee and other Arizona mine districts, but that they hold the United States Government in such contempt that they mean to continue in their mad careers of lawlessness. We quote from *The Public* of December 21:

"Since the President's Commission visited Arizona and effected a settlement of the copper strikes, developments have shown that the great copper companies have not the slightest intention of living up to the spirit of their agreement with the Government and the miners. The President of the Trades Assembly, of Bisbee, a body composed of local A. F. of L. unions, has been discharged from his job and denied employment on orders from the Workmen's Loyalty League—a copper company adjunct which holds kangaroo court in Bisbee.

"In the Globe-Miami district, every applicant for a job must first obtain a clearance from the local Loyalty League, which puts him through an inquisition regarding his political beliefs and his relations with labor organizations. By merely "recommending" the successful applicants, the companies evade the State's anti-black list law. Mexicans are discriminated against, and thousands of them are without work. They were encouraged to come into the district by the companies themselves. There is danger of a general exodus of these bitter and disillusioned Mexican miners back into Mexico, with a resulting intensification of the bad feeling already existing there against this country.

"Apparently the great copper companies, the largest of which has huge properties in Mexico, are not concerned with this phase of the situation. They would probably welcome anything that might eventually lead to war with Mexico

and the seizing of northern Mexico by a Government which they have found so tolerant of their lawless and predatory purposes. There is scant evidence that the great Arizona companies are sincerely interested in a maximum output of copper, as distinguished from a maximum price for a diminished output. The latter is certainly more likely to be the outcome of their policy. Has not the time come for the Government to take possession of the mines, speed up production to 100 per cent, and substitute law and justice for the arbitrary will of these conscienceless tyrants and profiteers?"

In the same issue the *Public* further illuminates the copper situation in Arizona. Declaring that President Wilson and Secretaries Baker and Daniels are carrying out "a policy more enlightened and democratic than any previously concerned by federal executives" \* \* \* they show how they have thereby "incurred the determined opposition of some of the largest employing interests in the country." \* \* \* "We are given a report on the Bisbee deportations by the President's special Labor Commission, in which this bi-partisan body describes at length the *anarchism* of the Arizona copper companies and asserts that it has been the direct cause of widespread unrest through the West.

"By inference its report is a *condemnation* of *Attorney General Gregory* for his *failure to use the Federal prosecuting power in protecting* the rights of the Arizona miners and punishing the corporation officials who trampled upon those rights. For weeks and months after the deportations a vigilance committee, controlled by Phelps, Dodge & Co., and other big copper producers ruled the Bisbee district as arbitrarily and ruthlessly as any German commander in Belgium, violating the constitutional rights of law-abiding miners, refusing admittance to any person suspected of independence, interfering with the interstate transmission of telephone and telegraph messages, and forcibly preventing miners who had registered under the draft law from presenting themselves for examination.

"Mr. Gregory's attention has been specifically called by the *President's Commission* to these violations of the Federal statutes. He can no longer refrain from

drastic action if he wishes to preserve a shred of reputation for fairness. But it should not have been necessary to dragoon him into action. He has been on the warpath against the mildest infringements of the law by men acting in the name of labor. Acts that could be even remotely suspected as inimical to the nation's interests in this war have been made the occasion for *wholesale raids and arrests*.

"Mr. Robert W. Bruere, an economist and investigator of established conservatism and fairness, has been making an exhaustive inquiry into the I. W. W. situation for the New York Evening Post. Writing of the Bisbee deportations, he says:

"This persistent defiance of law and constitutional guarantees, with the open connivance and approval of the responsible officers of the great copper companies, is spreading suspicion and unrest throughout the country like a pestilence. As President Wilson said in his telegram to Governor Campbell, it is establishing a sinister precedent in the conduct of American government and industry. And the circumstance which especially aggravates the sinister quality is that it has apparently been condoned. \* \* \* Many instances of deliberate interference with the Federal Draft act are now on record with the President's Mediation Commission. They occurred months ago. No prosecutions have been brought.

"Instead of prosecutions, men who openly participated in Bisbee's reign of lawlessness, against which the Governor, the State's Attorney General, and President Wilson himself protested in vain, have been honored by the Federal Government. The Manager of the Calumet and Arizona, next to the Copper Queen, the most important property in Bisbee, who not only promoted the deportations, but reassured his wavering fellow "patriots" on the night before the big drive, has since been given a major's commission in the United States Army. An officer of the Phelps-Dodge Corporation in Bisbee, who shared in the deeds of July 12 and thereafter, has been placed in charge of an important branch of the Red Cross in France.'

"And now, on top of Mr. Gregory's failure to act impartially in enforcing the

law, we have, first, Secretary McAdoo's recommendation against conscription of wealth as a means of paying for the war, and then Postmaster General Burleson's assault on the principle of collective bargaining in the Post Office Department and his attack on those postal employes who dare to ask for an increase in their meager rates of pay. Labor has taken up the gage for the 250,000 postal employes, realizing that the army of Government employes will grow vastly larger in the years ahead and believing that the success of the Burleson policy menaces all they have gained of democracy and well-being.

"It should not be necessary for President Wilson to go to these cabinet officers and point out to them in detail how they are nullifying the good effects of his own policy and that of the major departments responsible for the prosecution of the war. It should not be necessary for any man to point out to American cabinet officers at this time their duty to apply the principles of justice and democracy in the administration of their departments. But apparently it is necessary."



### The Butte Situation

Evidently the Anaconda Copper Company, of Butte, decided that unless it jumped in and made peace with the striking Butte miners and got its mines on a working basis very speedily, the stockholders would be unable to get in on the war profits at all this year, so the company has yielded to some of the demands of the miners, has increased the pay one dollar a day and the miners have gone back to work.

But do not allow the idea to germinate in your cranium that the Butte miners won a nickel a day more because the Government fixed the price of copper. It would not have mattered if President Wilson had trebled the price, the copper barons would not have parted willingly with any of their additional dividends to

the miners who merely get out the necessary copper.

When 26 Broadway voluntarily divides excess profits (produced by the workers) with the workers, it will be when old John D. has decided to go to work for a living, and that will not be for a long, long time. On that day you may expect to see the Kaiser abdicating and the Prussian junkers organizing a peace society!

Think a moment. Did you ever know the workers to get anything they did not *fight for*? We are glad the workers have to fight and struggle to get every advantage or raise or improvement they may gain. May the gods continue to deliver the American laboring class from the charitable boss. The American labor movement is developing good fighting workers for the very reason that they always have to go to bat for all they get.

The militant worker does not want Charity; he wants the value of the things he produces. In other words he wants *labor for labor*; service for service. This is Socialism or Industrial Unionism in a nutshell.

Labor for labor; service for service! This is what the I. W. W. stands for. This is what Socialism stands for.

Of course, a movement dedicated to this purpose will never be popular with the dividend drawers, the profit-takers, who would not know the business end of a shovel any better than Mr. Nicholas Romanoff did a year ago and who would not know a cant hook from a pile driver.

This is why you read so many fantastic lies cooked up in the "daily news" factories about Socialists and members of the I. W. W., the Tom Mooney's and other square-deal-seeking workingmen.

The rich loafer, with the fat bank account, does not want to give up his soft snap. The more he sees how hard the worker sweats and what a little bit he gets for producing the wealth of the world, the more he hangs onto his seat in the band wagon and tells his newspaper servants to dish up fake stories against

Socialism and the I. W. W.

The newspapers do not dare allow the working class to know the truth about what these movements stand for and so they frame up scare stories about them.

But here is the truth about Socialism, the I. W. W., and the truth about militant, intelligent members of the trade unions:

We want a new deal in the game, and a square deal next time. We want to divide up the work we have been doing by toiling for long hours for wages. We want to share our labors with some of these pretty little Broadway rowdies who have never earned a nickel and who squander more money on one midnight supper than the workers earn in a whole year.

We mean to make two good jobs out of one rotten job. For example, you quit work at noon and allow Little Willie Vanderbleet to keep the pumps going or the logs moving, or the engine fired during the afternoon.

We want labor for labor; service for service.

As Captain John Smith (you remember reading about him in the old school histories)—well, as Capt. Smith said, when the soft-fingered gentlemen crossed the Atlantic to the pioneer American settlements some few years ago, and expected our hard-handed grand-dads to wait on them, clothe and feed and shelter them, old Capt. John put his foot down and said:

"Unless you fellows get busy and produce some useful thing or perform some useful task you needn't come round here at mealtime," or words to that effect. "He that will not work shall not eat."

You remember your school teacher said that was a fine sentiment. It was. Only now that the Socialists and industrial unionists are trying to make such a condition a fact in actual life today, very few respectable people agree to it.

But that's what Socialism and the I. W. W. stand for.



# Study Course in Scientific Socialism

## LESSON II.

### THE MATERIALISTIC CONCEPTION OF HISTORY OR THE LAW OF ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

1. By what certain method can we most readily mark the successive steps of advancement in the evolution of the human race from savagery to modern civilization?

Ans.: Thru the means employed in securing food, clothing and shelter. In other words, by the nature of the tools and appliances used at any given period with which the mode of economic production is conducted and thru which the different social institutions are established.

2. Into what three great divisions can we classify the evolution of the human race?

Ans.: Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization.

3. Into what three subdivisions does Morgan classify the status of savagery?

Ans.: (a) *The Lower Period of Savagery*. Where subsistence consisted of fruit, nuts, roots, etc. The environment was determined by this subsistence as the savages must dwell in the forests and in localities favored by climatic conditions in order to get a livelihood. The first articulate speech was produced in this early period.

(b) *The Middle Period of Savagery*. Began with the knowledge of the use of fire and consequent ability to subsist on a fish diet. This affected the environment as the savages were thus enabled to spread more generally over the country, and take up their habitations along the shores and streams and in the forests with less regard for climatic conditions. Cannibalism was also practiced.

(c) *The Upper Period of Savagery*. Began with the invention of the bow and arrow and the consequent ability to subsist on a more plentiful supply of game. This weapon also afforded a measure of protection against the ravages of wild animals.

4. Into what three subdivisions does Morgan classify the status of barbarism?

Ans.: (a) *The Lower Period of Barbarism*. Merged from the status of savagery and began with the invention or practice of the art of pottery and attended with the probable limited cultivation of cereals and the use of a farinaceous diet.

(b) *The Middle Period of Barbarism*. Began in the eastern hemisphere with the domestication of animals for meat, milk and

hides, and in the western hemisphere with cultivation of grain and the use of stone and adobe houses.

(c) *Upper Period of Barbarism*. Began with the smelting and manufacture of iron, out of which primitive tools and weapons were fashioned.

5. Into what three subdivisions may we classify the status of civilization, measured by the tools and modes of production?

Ans.: (a) *Hand Tool Period*. Merged from the status of Barbarism and began with the invention of a phonetic alphabet. This period is marked by the use of hand tools and appliances which could be conveniently owned and used by individuals. Primitive industry but little separated from the farm lands which formed the original unit of all industry, except fisheries, etc.

(b) *Machine Period*. Began with the invention and use of the steam engine which stimulated the invention of machinery to be driven by its power. Such machinery being expensive, became more and more difficult for the individual worker to own and impossible for the individual worker to use. It was necessary for this machinery to be used by groups of workers hired by the machine owners. Thus division of labor, socialized production and the wages system began to become well established institutions. Here we find the old sub-industries of the primitive farm taken by the machine and grouped in industrial centers or cities and divorced from the original unit of farm industry.

(c) *Period of Modern Industry*. Began with the trustification and centralization of industry by eliminating competition between machine owning manufacturers. This period is also marked by the greater use of electricity and the invention of machinery and utilities with which to utilize its power. Here also is the beginning of more highly socialized industry in agriculture.

6. What relation does the family life assume in the different stages of development? Name the forms of marriage.

Ans.: (a) The early stages of savagery appear to be without a definite form of marriage.

(b) The first step towards the formation of the family appears with the Consanguine Family which is the ally territorial. Modern industry disregards territorial limitations owing to the development of machinery and modern centralization of appliances. This points unerringly to a development of administration based upon MACHINE INDUSTRY instead of upon mere territory.

(c) Later on we find the state responding to the same economic forces which brought it into being. That is—the formation of economic classes—one class dominating another class thru economic power reflected in the political power of the state with its coercive machinery. The class which possessed the economic power continued to use the state to hold the serfs in economic servitude. As the church achieved economic power we find it also ruling with the state in the interest of the land owning class.

(d) In modern times we still find the state used by the ruling class to furnish its militia, its injunctions and its laws to strangle any symptoms of virile life on the part of the wage working class looking to its emancipation.

8. What economic condition produced the outgrowth and formation of classes in society with opposing interests?

Ans.: With the more general cultivation of the soil in the upper stage of barbarism,

land became an object of conquest and ownership. The conquered people were made slaves to work on the land as a subject class, and the conquerors became their masters thru the private ownership and control of the land. Note that here is the first formation of what later developed into the state.

9. What subsequent conditions developed other classes with opposing interests?

Ans.: (a) The lands were later allotted to feudal lords by the kings in return for military support. The lords let out their lands, under feudal tenure to their serfs who worked the land as a subject class, producing wealth for a class that did not work.

(b) With the advent of machinery another class was formed out of the machine owners and commercial traders who thus became economically powerful as a class; enabling them to overthrow the feudal system and take their place as a dominant class which again ruled thru the state. Within this condition there formed another subject class consisting of the workers who worked with the machines in the employ of the machine owning capitalists, FOR WAGES.

(To be continued)

Reference books to study: Morgan's "Ancient Society," Engels' "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," Parce's "Economic Determinism."

### TO CONDUCT STUDY CLUB

When your local or club holds a meeting, choose your chairman or conductor who can first read to the members, if desired, all of the questions and answers thru the phase of the subject to be covered. Then he can return to the first question and read that for the members to discuss. After that question has been discussed by the different members the chairman can read the printed answer which can also be discussed if desired. Proceed in this manner by taking up and disposing of each question and answer in their order. Other questions may suggest themselves and also be discussed. Those members who care to read the books before taking up the different parts of the course should do so and thus be better prepared for the discussion. Then, after the discussion, the most interesting part of the book reading will present itself.

This study course was developed by the members of Local Puyallup, Socialist Party of Washington. It is the result of some years of local study and discussion and is a social product gained from organized experience.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

By WILLIAM E. BOHN

THE longer the war goes on the clearer it becomes that European democracy is going forward with great strides. Almost everywhere there are unmistakable signs of popular awakening. These, in turn, have had a vital effect on the movements of cabinets and on the conditions set for the making of peace.

**The Bolsheviks** John Reed, who is now in Russia, sends a report in a detailed letter written just before the November uprising in Russia. He shows great insight into the situation. In fact he prophesied at that time exactly what has taken place. And he holds that if the Bolsheviks had not taken hold in November the Provisional Government would have fallen before a counter revolution and much would have been lost.

**Not Duped by Kaiser** One thing is now clear. The Bolsheviks are not cowards, peace-at-any-price men, and they have not been deceived by the German government. It is easy to understand that the 180,000,000 people of Russia want peace. They didn't start the war; they were not prepared for it; they have been murdered for no good that they can see. A government, if they are to support it, must make every possible effort to secure an immediate peace. But can the Kaiser and Leon Trotzky agree upon terms of peace? Nothing was ever less likely. Revolutionists have always been good fighters when there was anything worth fighting for. So when the German government demanded possession of practically all the Russian provinces it now holds, this looks like the end. When the German commission returned to their army headquarters, when the negotiations had been carried on, they found only a telegram saying the Russians would meet them at Copenhagen, where they hoped to get more publicity for their aims. Every one who knows the quality of the Russian revolutionists knows that the Bolsheviks are not only trying to drive the Germans out of Russia, but that they are also trying to drive imperialism out of Germany.

**England—  
A New  
Labor Party** One of the most significant things in modern history is Lloyd George's statement of war aims on January 5. Its significance lies not in its content. The important thing about it is that it was addressed to British labor. President Wilson made his really important statement to Congress. Lloyd George addressed his to the English labor unions in time so that it might influence the January convention of the Labor Party.

He acted wisely. The war has greatly increased the power of the Labor Party. The English co-operative societies have joined the party. It is estimated that in the next general election the Laborites will have five million votes, and they have been strengthened in spirit as well as in numbers. English unions have supported the war, but they have stood up manfully for their rights. The fact that the government has depended on them at every step has given them an entirely new sense of their importance. They are not in the least overcome by the fact that Lloyd George makes a vital statement of war aims to them rather than to the House of Commons or a Chamber of Commerce. •

**Coming Together  
On War Aims** The nature of this statement shows what a change is coming over the world. In his Christmas statement the German chancellor made army concessions. He is willing now to forego all annexations, to go back to the state of affairs before the war. This implies, of course, withdrawing from France and Belgium. The English demand, besides this, the cession of Alsace and Lorraine to France and the creation of an independent Poland out of provinces now belonging to Prussia, Austria and Russia. Lloyd George, moreover, declared in favor of independence for Palestine, Arabia and Armenia. In general he stands for self-determination by the people of each territory in dispute. These last items, of course, are contrary to the German statement. The demand for Alsace and Lorraine is also opposed to the Russian formula, "No annexations." There is, then,

an irreducible minimum of difference. And this is what we are fighting about. But at least we know now just what it is.

In France the great recent change has less to do with the war. There is, of course, a subterranean peace movement, a criminal scandal-mongering affair. And the Kienthal socialists are gaining influence. But the great body of people, socialists and all, are bound to see the war thru until France has been cleared and Alsace and Lorraine returned.

**The French Socialists** In November the French Socialists held a convention at Bordeaux. There was a long and heated debate about war aims and Socialist participation in the government. Albert Thomas and the other Socialist cabinet members have withdrawn. They did this partly because Socialists were refused passports to Copenhagen and partly because they do not trust M. Clemenceau as a representative of French democracy. The sentiment of the convention was that in the future they should support only governments that will support and trust them. The main debate was about a resolution introduced by Pressemane. This resolution declared in favor of an international conference, against participation of Socialists in the government and for peace on terms much like those suggested by the Russians. With regard to Alsace and Lorraine it demanded a referendum of the citizenship. The vote stood: 1,216 for this resolution and 1,552 against it. The statement adopted was more patriotic, less critical of the government. But it was very clearly in favor of the international conference and very definitely against much of the government's policy.

This convention and many other signs give the impression that the French people are gradually getting a grip on themselves and preparing their minds for the struggle with their own capitalists after the war.

**New Move For International Conference** The international interests of the workers were brought before the convention by a letter from Arthur Henderson, the English Laborite and former cabinet member. He was acting in accordance with a decision reached by the English unions at Blackpool. The English are bound to have an international congress of workingmen. They suggest that the work-

ers in each country first make up their minds what they want, that then the various national organizations in the allied countries come together and later the neutrals and finally the Germans be called in. This is a much bigger, much more serious project than any of those formed in connection with Copenhagen. It contemplates, not a reunion of such radical people as can happen to meet, but a big, official convention of the workers of the world. Mr. Henderson takes especial care to say that it is necessary to have the American Federation of Labor represented. What is wanted is the most powerful possible expression of universal working class thought to bring to bear on the various governments when peace is concluded. It will not suffice to wait and gather the hosts of labor when the diplomats meet to sign the treaty. The workers must be prepared. They must do their thinking now.

**Revolutionary Progress in Germany** Things are moving in Germany many. *Vorwaerts*, now the organ of the "war Socialists," says the people are starving and that if food is not found for them there will be a revolution like that in Russia. German prisoners are said to report heart-rending conditions. Milk, eggs and meat are not to be had. The death rate among young children is said to be frightful. The boys taken into the army show the effect of lack of food. When captured they are thin and yellow and ravenously hungry. There is no rubber, no coffee, no aluminum. So German munitions and means of transportation are deteriorating.

The people were promised peace with the new year. When peace did not come there were strikes. It is said that the reason why the long advertised German drive did not take place was that troops had to be withdrawn from the front to put down riots.

This state of affairs is reflected in political conditions. About the middle of December there was an election in Leipzig. Seventy-eight per cent of the votes was polled by Socialists and exactly fifty per cent by the anti-war Independent Socialists! Moreover, the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* reports that at the present time the Independent party has about 150,000 members, almost exactly as many as the old "majority" party.

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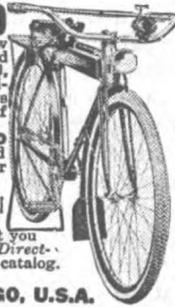
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### A Revolution in Spain?

For six months there have been stories of disturbances coming thru from Spain. They have been censored so strictly that it is difficult to know just what has happened. There have been several great strikes, military law has been proclaimed for various periods, and a good many people have been shot and imprisoned.

In December there was a general election. The Socialists and Republicans made great gains. Two labor leaders who had been imprisoned for inciting a strike were elected to Parliament by great majorities. As we go to press, the reports are full of suggestions of more important developments. Two months ago Commissions of army officers were formed to take over the work of "defense," that is, to guard against revolution. The latest cablegrams report the formation of similar groups by non-commissioned officers. From the action of the government it seems clear that these are in reality revolutionary committees. When their existence was discovered the cabinet was called into special session, all divisions of the army were ordered into barracks, telegraphic and telephonic communications were forbidden. Finally, 1,500 non-commissioned officers were discharged from the service.

The King of Spain has frequently said that the world is developing toward republicanism and Socialism. He, at least, is not surprised at what is taking place.

Australia has distinguished herself from Canada and the United States by defeating

conscription a second time. Final figures on the referendum were reported on December 24. Among the civilian population the vote stood 889,000 for conscription and 1,072,000 against it. Among the soldiers it stood 23,000 for and 32,000 against. In proportion the negative vote given by the soldiers was, it thus appears, much greater than that returned by other voters.



## NEWS AND VIEWS



C. E. RUTHENBERG,  
Secretary Local, Cleveland, Ohio, Socialist Party.

**From Ohio**—As the prison doors at Canton, Ohio, open to receive our comrades, Ruthenberg and Wagenknecht, for one year, they send greetings and these words to the REVIEW and its readers:

**T**HE Supreme Court has decided we must spend a year in jail.

The "crime" of which we are convicted is truth-telling.

We believe in certain principles. We fought for those principles. We go to jail.

Ostensibly we are convicted of inducing a certain Alphonse Schue not to register. The charge is merely the excuse.

Neither of us knew Schue. Neither of us heard of him until his name appeared in the indictment against us.

The ruling class is always able to find a Judas. Schue was induced to say he heard our speeches and had been influenced thereby not to register, by the promise of his freedom.

It is not the Judas that is important, nor the fact that we were convicted by a hand-picked jury and a judge bitterly prejudiced against organized labor.

The important thing is that the ruling class feared our message to the workers and is trying to silence that message.

That knowledge should make a hundred willing workers take up the work we lay down. Confident that this will be the result of our conviction, we go to jail smilingly and at the end of our year will return to work for the cause we believe in, the cause we fought for and will fight for.

C. E. RUTHENBERG.



A. WAGENKNECHT,  
State Secretary of the Socialist  
Party of Ohio.

**WE** unflinchingly face prisonward. Far beyond the prison we see the Socialist Republic, peopled with care-free, happy men, women and children. We unhesitatingly step prisonward because we know our incarceration but constitutes part of the rope with which capitalism is going to hang itself.

There's no fear of prison written on the face of sentenced Socialists. Don't I know? Haven't I seen them sentenced and walk from the judge with smiles upon their faces—smiles from set jaws that portend no good for the ruling class!

In a day, the "under dogs" of Russia became the rulers of the land. In a day the over-burdened, over-worked, bent Russian straightened up, cast the parasites from his back, took a deep breath and said: "This is my Russia."

Only a year in jail! We gladly make the sacrifice. It is about the least we can do as our part in the work of freeing the workers from their masters.

A. WAGENKNECHT.



STANLEY J. CLARK,  
One of the 166 Indicted I. W. W. Men.

**To our Comrades and Friends:**—Stanley J. Clark, of Texas, one of the bravest of our comrades, is a federal prisoner in a Chicago jail. He is innocent of crime except the crime of loyalty to the working class. He is not safe to be at large for the truth he speaks to the people and the justice he defends against the crushing despotism of the ruling class.

Clark, like every other honest agitator, is poor. Money is needed for his defense. If ever the persecuted leader of a righteous cause deserved the support of right-minded people, it is Stanley J. Clark. He is in jail for YOU! His case is up to YOU!

We do not beg for funds but tell you plainly that it is your duty to contribute as your means allow to set your comrade free. If you are loyal you will understand, and you will act, and act PROMPTLY! Send your dime or your dollar by the very first mail, care of Charles H. Kerr & Company.

Yours for our imprisoned comrades,  
EUGENE V. DEBS.



# PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

The annual stockholders' meeting of Charles H. Kerr & Company was held at 341 East Ohio street, Chicago, January 15, 1918, at 4 p. m. There were present Charles H. Kerr, holding 1,110 shares and proxies for 30 shares; Alfred D. Schoch, holding 35 shares; Mary E. Marcy, holding one share and proxies for two shares, and the following stockholders having one share each: Leo Baer, Sam W. Hoke, Robert H. Howe, Leslie H. Marcy and F. W. Miller. Charles H. Kerr presided and Mary E. Marcy acted as secretary. The president made a verbal report on the work of the publishing house for the year 1917, and submitted the following figures on the year's business:

## January 1, 1918

### Assets

Cash on hand .....	\$ 457.67
Books, bound and unbound.....	12,300.36
Electrotype plates .....	12,043.20
Copyrights .....	11,024.00
International Socialist Review.....	4,000.00
Office Furniture .....	345.00
Real Estate .....	400.00
Bills Receivable .....	5,648.58
Accounts Receivable .....	853.56

\$47,072.37

Deficit .....

404.44

\$47,476.81

### Liabilities

Paid-up Capital Stock.....	\$43,330.00
Co-operative Publishing Bonds.....	320.00
Accounts Payable .....	1,176.53
Loans from Stockholders.....	3,650.28

\$47,476.81

## 1917

### Receipts

Book sales .....	\$22,009.40
Review subscriptions and sales.....	9,774.10
Review advertising .....	811.50
Donations .....	26.04
Interest .....	66.69

\$32,687.73

Increase in Inventory .....

499.33

\$33,187.06

Deficit .....

404.44

\$33,591.50

### Expenditures

Manufacture of books.....	\$6,798.96
Manufacture of Review.....	6,410.07
Wages .....	8,030.45
Postage and expressage.....	4,279.42
Advertising .....	399.15

Review circulation expense.....	121.90
Review articles and photographs....	374.60
Authors of books.....	281.40
Books purchased .....	2,249.66
Rent .....	1,099.92
Taxes .....	29.15
Miscellaneous expense .....	953.81

\$31,028.49

Depreciation on plates.....

1,338.13

Depreciation on copyrights.....

1,224.88

\$33,591.50

Book sales have shown a good increase over 1916, but the circulation of the Review has been seriously interfered with by the action of federal officials. Late in June we were notified that our June issue was unmailable and that our July issue must be submitted to Washington for approval before mailing. It was subsequently ruled unmailable. Our August issue was passed by the Washington censors after three paragraphs to which they objected were omitted, but our September issue was ruled out. We submitted the October issue for approval and we are still waiting for a ruling, likewise later issues. Thus we have not been able to mail any copies since August. Up to this time, however, we have been allowed to circulate copies by express. We have carefully observed the provisions of the law, and hope to be able to continue the Review in this way, but if prevented shall at least continue the circulation of books.

After the reading of the financial report and an informal discussion, the stockholders by a unanimous vote re-elected for the ensuing year the seven directors, Leo Baer, Jacob Bruning, Robert H. Howe, Charles H. Kerr, Leslie H. Marcy, Mary E. Marcy and Daniel F. Sager. The meeting then adjourned.

### Directors' Meeting

The January meeting of the board of directors of Charles H. Kerr & Company was held following the meeting of stockholders, at 341 East Ohio street, at 4:30 p. m.

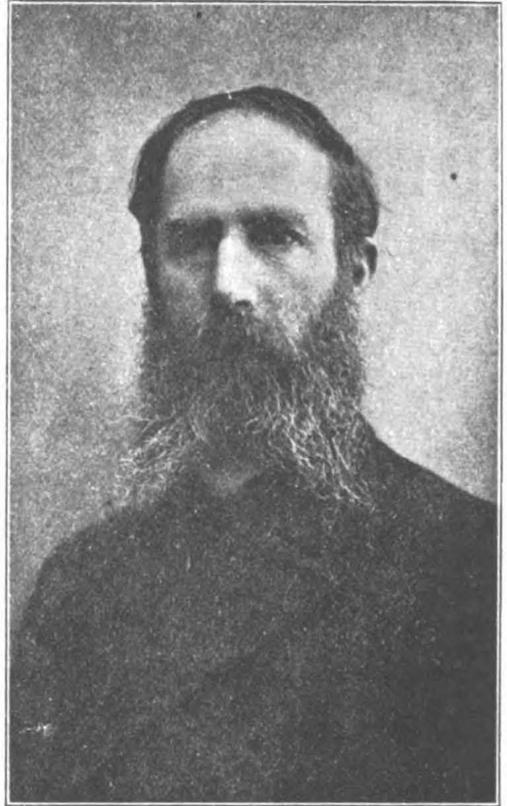
Present: Comrades Leo Baer, Robert H. Howe, Leslie H. Marcy, Charles H. Kerr and Mary E. Marcy. Secretary Marcy read the minutes of the preceding meeting, which were unanimously approved. It was moved by Comrade Howe and seconded by Comrade Baer that the present officers of the company be re-elected for 1918 at the same salaries, and carried. Charles H. Kerr is therefore president; Leslie H. Marcy, vice-president, and Mary E. Marcy, secretary for the company for the coming year.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

# The Economic Causes of War

By  
**PROF. ACHILLE LORIA**  
of the University of Turin

**Price \$1.00**



This is the one really notable Socialist book published since the beginning of the Great War, and thru the translator, John Leslie Garner, we have obtained the privilege of offering it to American readers.

The author begins by showing that international relations, ever since written history began, have resulted from international trade. This trade has been a necessity because the people of each nation needed commodities which either could not be produced at home at all, or only at the cost of much more labor than was required to provide other commodities to send the foreigner in exchange for his. He goes on to show how this international trade, at first beneficial to every one, finally became a menace to the profits of some of the capitalists in the various nations. A code of international law had been evolving to protect the foreign merchants in their travels, but later this law was often suspended or destroyed by wars.

Professor Loria shows in detail how economic causes thru historical times alternately made for peace and for war between nations, and how the forces making for peace have increased so as to make wars less frequent than formerly. A supplementary chapter, written since the beginning of the Great War, analyzes its economic causes in detail, and the author closes by showing that the only permanent remedy for war is the transfer of power from the war lords and magnates to the workers.

Charles H. Kerr & Company,  
341-349 East Ohio Street, Chicago:

I enclose \$1.00, for which please mail a copy of "The Economic Causes of War."

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