The Revolutionary Age
A Chronicle and Interpretation of International Events
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The Paris Commune, 1871-1919

The agonizing but inspiring struggle of the '60s has come to pass. It was a struggle against an oppressive and bureaucratic, inhuman, despotism, a despotism that was as brazen and tragic, as human and magnificent, as life itself. It is a struggle in which and through which man's finest instincts have been expressed, have tried to break the shackles imposed upon life by oppression and inequality.

All through history there are the scars of this great struggle. They are proletarian scars, transfigured by an appeal to the struggle flared up, and was beaten down. Always beaten down—the cross and the prison, the rack, the fire and the gallows being the answer of the oppressor to those who have dared to aspire to inspire new struggles, again to arouse the masses to action, to teach the new rebels the more effective methods of struggle. The early Christian Communists, crushed to death under the hammer of the empire, were the first to recognize this. The German peasants, and the people of the Commune were the ideological inspiration of the Communist movements of the middle ages. The great Spartacus, inspiring the birthing of a slave who towered infinitely above his masters, lives again in our day in the revolutionary movement of Germany—the Spartacists. Despised but unconquerable, overwhelmed but irresistible, the rebel slaves and the cells, new struggles inspire the future and is born again.

The Paris Commune was crushed, completely. But it did not die. It is alive in our day, active and imperceptible. The Commune! The Communards! The Communists! Everywhere they are the beauty of the inspiration of the proletarian revolution; everywhere they are the rallying cry of the noblest elements of the Socialist proletariat.

The Paris Commune was crushed. It was the revolting of the proletarian masses against class machinery; it was the attempt to use the collapse of Bonapartism for action and the conquest of power by the proletariat. It challenged equally Thiers and Bismarck—bourgeois statesmen of Prussia. The Commune was life striving to realize life, its majesty and inviolability: to complete the struggle of the ages, to end class rule. And Thiers and Bismarck, bourgeois France and Junker Prussia, united against this menace. The former enemies became allies against the revolutionary proletariat and communism. Are not the bourgeois enemies of yesterday an indivisible unity today against the Commune in Russia, against the development of Commune in Germany?

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It was a tragic struggle. The Communards met the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois bureaucracy, in their cold, thunderbolts of iron were answered with the thunderbolts of proletarian courage and the revolutionary ideal. Isolated, starved, overwhelmed, the Communards went on against Thiers and Bismarck physically, against the world spiritually. There were no men, there were no women, there were no children just as the barricades were conquered, the Communards held the streets; conquered off the streets, they made each house a fortress and every person an army. Driven back, always back, they held their ground against the government, against the police, overwhelmed by sheer physical exhaustion and the numerical inferiority of the enemy. And they were all made prisoners. Prisoners? No, they were made victors. They were tortured. Men, women and children were shot in droves, mercilessly and systematically.

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MARK ON THE COMMUNE

The working class cannot simply by hold of the ready- made instruments of government or the state. Marx wrote in "The Communist Manifesto" that the working class must take possession of the means of production in order to liberate themselves. The working class must establish its own power and control the economy. Marx argues that the state is merely a tool of the bourgeoisie, and that only by seizing control of the means of production can the working class truly be free. The Communards! The Communists! Everywhere they are the beauty of the inspiration of the proletarian revolution; everywhere they are the rallying cry of the noblest elements of the Socialist proletariat.

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We need to have the clear party note sounded now and our position sharply defined as an uncompro mising revolutionary party if we are to take and hold our rightful place in the international movement. We have the clear party note upon the rock if it is not to be eaten away in the incoming tempest.—EUGENE V. DEBS, February 15, 1919.

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**Mass Action**

It is necessary what the Left Wing of the Socialist Party appreciate clearly its own policy and tactics. We are in the stage of disagreement, of discussion and of criticism. It is quite clear understanding necessary to become a power in the proletarian movement.

An important thing is that the old disputes still rumouring in the minds of many comrades. We must test our ideas in the light of constant events, recent developments, and have supplemented by the experience of the proletarian revolution in action. There is a tendency to regard the old left or the Left Wing of yesterday as being the policy of the Left Wing today, and even to regard the Left Wing of the mill since five years ago: theory has met its complement in practice; and it is necessary that we discontinue supposing that the new, advanced, philosophy is in accord with the requirements, theoretical and tactical, of contemporary conditions. The source of revolutionary practice is not the theory of yesterday, but the experience of the proletarian revolution in Russia and in Germany,—accepting but the old conceptions.

An essential phase of the Left Wing movement, of the Socialist Party, its tactical basis, is mass action. But old meanings are read into this term, and many refuse to recognize its fundamental character. The Left Wing of the Socialist Party, says in its March issue:

"What is mass action? Is it just our old friend Direct Action, a political weapon which we as a party do well to inquire into its meaning before accepting it. As a matter of fact, it has been used by a number of elements who have repudiated the old parliamentary philosophy."

In his recent book, *Revolutionary Socialism*, Louis Fr原先 states: "It is clear that mass action is as much as it is a process and synthesis of all existing forms of collective action which the proletariat, gradually developing more conscious and political character, is to be expected. Mass action is the proletarian itself in action." (page 277)

*Arthur Lewis in The New Review, June, 1919, says:*

"First, mass action is outside the sphere of parliamentary action; it has nothing to do with the election of members of Parliament, which is in the highest degree political."

"Effective and revolutionary direct-action work is work very completely thus: When we speak of mass action we mean an actual attempt to win control of the working class by which it acts directly and not through the parliamentary delegates. Organized workers fights develop into political mass action as soon as they acquire political consciousness. The question of mass action, therefore, involves merely broadening the field of proletarian organization."

The outstanding feature of the literature on mass action is a general banality, a lack of clarity and a wealth of conflicting definitions. And at this time when the theoreticians of the new proletarian state, nor does the definition indicate what other forms of struggle there are which are included in political action. But the definition does mean that they are making every effort to reduce; nor that the means employed in waging the class-struggle are to be judged by the results obtained."

A strike for higher wages or shorter hours clearly, is not included in "any action, its object is not to "obtain the right of self-government". But if the strike is for a political, to secure the franchise, or the release of political prisoners, or to overthrow the government, then it is a political action and a political action in the Marxian sense. Now a strike is not a mass action as we have defined, a mass action; it is an strike, a political general strike—and that is one phase of mass action.

Masse action develops out of the industrial action of the proletariat as a whole, as well as from the monopolistic industry; concentrated industry means that there is only one plant, exploited of their skill, and largely by the machine process. These workers, closely working in the same factory, within the same plant and divisions, act in terms of mass strike, as a matter—the initial development of mass action. When there is a strike in one city, and a political action, it develops into real mass action. It is direct action, in the actual sense; it is not "direct action" in the technical sense, since the Anarcho-Syndicalist expostions of "direct action" had to recognize the inevitable role of the state in the proletarian struggle and the function of the new state during the revolution."

"The question of the Left of the Socialist Party (excluded one as not characteristic) may be unified in this way: Mass action is extra-parliamentary; it is the political development of the proletariat's action in mass strikes, dispising with parliamentary leaders except as these may recognize and become merged in the mass action: the means employed in waging the proletarian struggle in the state. The function of mass action determined largely by the compulsion of industry; out of this industrial mass action develops political mass action, as the state, for the political purposes: it means the broadening of the use of proletarian politics, particularly with the assistance implied in the Michigan Socialist Party's conception of political action."

Mass action is a process and synthesis of action struggling to express the forms of the initial primitive form and includes large masses of the proletariat's mass action, cannot be attributed to these Marxist adherents of mass action."

The final and complete form of mass action was described by Trotsky in *The Proletariat and the Revolution*, published in 1917:

"We have to summon all revolutionary forces to simultaneous action. How can we do so? First of all, we must be constantly on our guard to remember that the main scene of revolutionary events is only to be the city. Nobody is likely to deny this. It is evident, further, that street demonstrations can transform the whole situation. This is not only a manifestation of masses, that is, when they confine it to some of the factories and the plants. To make the workers quit their machines and factories and railways, they only answer to the factory presses to the street; to lead them to the neighboring plants; to proclaim their existence of; to make new masses walk out into the street; to go from factory to factory."

The starting point ought to be the factories and the plants. That means that street manifestations are only a serious character, fraught with divisive events, ought to begin with the factories and plants."

"That was precisely the course of revolutionary events in the proletarian revolution in Russia. The political development of the industrial action, that is the will of the conscious representatives of the masses, breaks loose spontaneously under the pressure of crisis and instinctive action. It is then the task of the Socialist to organize and direct. Theorized forms, or purposes, of this final mass action is the revolutinary dictatorship of the proletariat functioning through the new proletarian state of the federated Soviets."

The Moscow *Izvestia* in October last year printed the following news which shows in what light Imperial Germany was viewed on Russia was viewed by many German soldiers:

"From the German troops who camp on the demarkation line, generally, in the occupied districts, there daily come deserters and groups, who refuse to go to the French. On the German side men armed with rifles go over to the Soviets and join the Red Army. A few days ago near Pavlov, a party of soldiers and deserters shot at a group of guss couriers, who tried to cross the border and joined the Red Army. Another party of eight men—headed by a German officer, on their way to Russia from Bavaria, fell in the Bavarian mountains and fell in a heroic struggle. All deserters and mutineers believe that the German officers do not want to fight any longer, that the statesman are ready to die for real freedom."

"Together with the German mutineers—men who never enter the barracks—German sailor escaped from Austria after the uprising in the Austro-Hungarian fleet."

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Bolshevniks

"CHI has been said and written about the proletarian struggle, and so far as we are aware no one has ventured to explain how the International Labor Defence Committee is going to be recruited without recognizing Ireland."

The Health Commissioner reports that there is no sleeping sickness in Boston, there is nothing remarkable in this fact when we consider that sleeping sickness is present in Leningrad. There is no sleeping sickness in the A. F. O. L.

When we see all these denunciations of the aliens we cannot help wondering what would happen if the 17,000,000 aliens got angry and went home.

Now that the Committee on Public Information is established we feel that in the near future some information will reach the public.

If a man celebrates the Declaration of Independence on July 4 by getting drunk will he be a patriot or a criminal?

"Bolshevist Rising Feared in Bohemia Unless Food Arrives" says a headline. From this it would appear that famine causes Bolshevism but from reading the editorials in the Bohemian press and the German Spartacists we of course know that it is the other way round—that Bolshevism causes famine."

The Mayor of Buffalo is reported as saying that there are only 15,000 people out of work in the city. The figure, however, would have been exceeded without causing any comment. We would like to answer "this honor" like this: "But 20,000 people are thinking more these days; besides the Kaiser didn't cause any comment among the German people until recently."

"Cleveland H. Dodge is in going so anxious about the starving Armenians that we are beginning to believe the Armenians must be excellent copper miners."

What with the proposed trip of Queen Marie of Russia to this country and King Alphonso's plans to visit the United States beginning to believe in the immigration restrictions."

"Just when the League of Nations is getting on so nicely and peace is about to be signed we think it is most unkind of these unemployed people to be walking about the army camps."

And talking about the signs of peace, when the signatures have all been fixed will it be correct to say that peace is finished?"

Judging from the newspaper headlines the worst thing left is the coming of peace. In fact it looks as if we are nearing a conclusion to draw up a set of the rules of civilized peace."

"Would it be correct to say that we are at present waking peace?"

"We oppose the submission of the clergy to prohibition arises from a desire to save their jobs and a feeling of resentment that Congress should take on what has hitherto been their exclusive privilege."

Although we can understand that in these days of crashing things we are apt to overlook the fact that we are trying to see why the Czech-Slovaks, the Jugos-"s, and all these other peoples whose rights we were so particular about a few months ago have suddenly dropped off the bandwagon."

"Is it that they got their rights and are now trying to find out what to do with them or is it—but no, of course, not. Didn't one of them name its capital Wilnoestohnt?"

"We know that George V in a democrat, and that Prince Louis Ferdinand is a democrat, and a word but we sometimes wonder whether or not the Mikado really understands politics well enough to feel at home in Tammany Hall."

And speaking of the Japanese we would like to know this: "How are the Chinese?—are the same Japanese as the kind we like so well in California?"

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The Proletarian Revolution in Russia

By Gregory Weinstein

In the first stage of the Russian revolution, the movement opened during the week of March 12, 1917. The second stage of the revolution, the proletarian revolution, opened on November 7, 1917. But as the storm contains in itself the mighty oak, so in March 12 are imprinted the seeds of November 7. The Soviet of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegations in each stage inherited the power of the preceding, and for better or worse, carried forward the potential of the revolutionary revolution and the new communist society.

On November 7, 1917 an event took place in Petrograd that set the road to a new life for mankind. On that day in the capital of Russia, the Soviet of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegations from the抢夺了来自列宁格勒的政府的统治权, who, following the fall of the Czarist regime in the winter of 1917, took over the functions of the Russian government. This served as a signal for a general uprising of the Russian proletariat and peasantry of the diapsed peasantry who cast their lot with the industrial proletariat. City after city, province after province, the process of removing the process of removing the bourgeois weeds from the field of revolutionism began. The representatives of the revolution were on the streets in defense of the revolutionary society, a society free from oppression and parasitism. The Paris Commune, the example of the proletariat organization, theexample of the proletariat organization, the spirit of the modern revolution, and the Soviet government, a socialist government, was supported by the masses of the working people. The Provisional Government that Russia would carry on after the Revolution of 1917 was a step towards the rise of a world-wide socialist society.

This was an expression of revolutionary will and heroism. By a mighty effort of their masses, similar to that of the Paris Communards, the Russian proletariat broke the chains with which the ruling class had shackled their power. The Soviet government created the structure of a new society, a society free from oppression and parasitism. The Paris Commune, the example of the proletariat organization, the spirit of the modern revolution, and the Soviet government, a socialist government, was supported by the masses of the working people. The Provisional Government that Russia would carry on after the Revolution of 1917 was a step towards the rise of a world-wide socialist society.

The revolution of November 7, 1917, which established the dictatorship of the proletariat, was an event of the utmost importance in the history of the world. It showed the world that the revolution of 1917 was not a passing phase, but a revolution of the masses that had swept away the Czarist regime and brought to power the Soviet government, a socialist government, that had established the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It was not necessary, in the interests of the international proletariat, not merely to end the war, but to transmute the war from a destructive one to a constructive one, from a war of plunder to a war of progress. The Russian Revolution of 1917 was the first step towards the creation of a world-wide socialist society.

The revolution of November 7, 1917 brought the Russian proletariat into power. The great prophecies of Marx, Engels, Lenin and the other Marxists had come true. The dictatorship of the proletariat has become a fact. The third, and greatest, act of the Russian revolution has taken place. The Provisional Government has been replaced by the Soviet government, a socialist government.

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The Peace Conference in Action

My tiny shapely feet

And my seven-league step I

to bear his voice and never since he first set his face

The other supers, though still on their feet, are a bit flashy.

JAPAN: (walking around the table at which sit the rest of the supers, and making an effort to make noise with her slippers, gutturalizing strangely, and vow and then seeing her role)

M'lady: (with very Theatrical, bawny)

Slap-grab: Manchuria shall be mine. 

Slap-grab: China shall be mine.

Slap-grab, grab, grab!

LLOYD-GEORGE: (puts something in his silk top-hat, and puts it to his himself): Frightful ravishment of culture! One can easily see she has come from the Flat Earth: slap-grab, and again grab. Wait, I will 

show you how to slap and grab! I will build ships and build ships, of such quantity and by the Federal Court of Clev­

Tender which thousands of men and ing around the table, at which sit the rest of the supers, though still on their feet, are a bit flashy.

Bourgeois Debs— and the Struggle Against Reaction

His greatest triumph if he can inspire such solidarity throughout the world will have marched forward many steps. It may be that behind this act of the Supreme Court there lies a still greater act of the workers. And Debs but Debs can take care of that. If the workers of America allow the prison gates to close for one day behind Debs then indeed the working man will be in legharry. Menshevik England gave Maclean five years only to release him in nine months at the demand of the workers. Anarchist Landecknicht five years and the workers burnt the prison gates before the term was over. Democratic America decrees ten years to Debs, what do the workers say? The constitutionality or the unconstitutionality of the law matters not; what does matter is that the applica-

tion of the law is a class act, an act of aggression by the bourgeoisie class against the working class in the person of its best loved workman. Bourgeois demo-

cracy is a fiction for working class consumption. The law, the imperial law, is the will of the people's repre-

sentatives, is invoked to cover a bourgeois offensive in the class struggle. It was so in the case of Mayssey, in the case of Haywood, in the case of a thousand nameless ones, but in this case it must be clear to even the dullest worker. Debs is promised for his love and bravery to his clubs, for his devotion to the highest ideals of his brothers.

Presidents and diplomats may speak of liberty in every land. But to the free Debs, that is a new and different liberty. Debs is imprisoned even the roost gallant must see that their rights are a sham and a mockery. Bourgeois democracy is crass and dead and it now has the scales from the eyes of the workers and this latest act is

The workers must rely on themselves for their own salvation, the first step to their realization of their power lies open through this act. Not only can they free Debs but they can start a new world. Not only can they free Debs but they can start a new world.
Imperialism — the Final Stage of Capitalism

By N. Lenin
Translated from the Russian by Andre Tridon

PREFACE

This book was written in Zurich in the spring of 1917, owing to the exigencies of war. I was working. I had only limited access to the French and English literature, and therefore I am compelled to use primarily material in the Russian language. I consulted, however, the most important English and French writers. I endeavored to present the subject in a clear and logical manner.

In 1910 there appeared in Vienna a book by the Austrian Marxist Rudolf Hilferding entitled "Imperialism," as its sub-title reads. It is, however, only a preparatory work, and whatever was said on the currency theory and made many efforts to enlarge upon it. The Historical development of Capitalism, "as its sub-title reads. In reality the various articles on Imperialism in contemporary journals, are the most important that have appeared in recent years. and whatever was said on the currency theory and made many efforts to enlarge upon it. This book is the final step in the development of Capitalism, and it is a very important one. We will endeavor to explain as simply as possible the world wide Imperialism, which is a characteristic of the age.

In Germany, for instance, out of every thousand business firms there were in 1882 three large firms employing over 1,000,000 workers, and only 72% of all the steam and electric power available. Thirty thousand large firms employ almost all the available supply of human and mechanical power, three million small firms employ only an insignificant amount of either.

There were in Germany in 1887 28,000 large firms employing over 1,000,000 workers. They employed a total of 13,000,000 workers, or almost one-tenth of all the workers in the country. It is a fact that these gigantic concerns employ the lion's share of the labor power. The various capitalist concerns employ close to 12% of the total number of working men. It is a fact that the number of large concerns is increasing, and the number of small concerns is decreasing. The centralization of industries reaches enormous proportions. In the United States in 1909 the 100 largest industrial concerns employed 1,300,000 workers, or 8.2% of all the workers.

The careful reader will readily substitute Russia and the United States for England, France and other territories.

I hope this book will be of assistance to readers in studying politics, the problem of the economic essence of Imperialism. The book was written in the spring of 1917.

Petropavlovsk, May 9, 1917.

N. Lenin.
Along the Descent to Disaster

By Alexander Stolitzky

notice the ability of our leaders to set out revolutionary slogans and demands. Even if we should suppose for a moment that these slogans will in the near future be able to formulate "something" resembling revolutionary ideas at the conference, we still have to depend upon our petty-bourgeois, pacific, and patriotic elements called to this conference, People's-Counsellors, Non-Partisan League and other similar organizations of the liberal bourgeoisie, which are counter-revolutionary in the full sense of the word. Is the American Federation of Labor invited by our leaders to this conference for the purpose of supporting "revolutionary" slogans? It is laughable, and painful!

But let us suppose that this conference, convoked upon the initiative of the executive committee of our party, will squeeze out from this opportunist mixture several clumsy "revolutionary" resolutions. Will these resolutions have any effect? Will these resolutions do? Will the imperialistic bourgeoisie of this country get scared of these high sounding slogans? Will they get scared of "workers" and "peasants"? After all, who lives during the present epoch, who ponders over the situation, who knows what Russian and German revolutions has learned something will say with confidence, that we have passed the epoch of words, and the epoch of empty slogans and the only thing to which the imperialistic bourgeoisie is listened to is the revolutionary mass efforts of the proletariat!

We know that our opportunists will grab these last words, these oppor­ tunistic "petty-bourgeois" slogans, and will call this conference "Criming petty-bourgeois" conference, nor the expressions of good wishes of the fleeting petty-bourgeois elements will save our party from the same disaster. They will be saved only by the revolutionary mass effort of the proletariat. We must throw away all the opportunist and the small bourgeoisie, who try to cling to the proletarian movement and bring it to ruin. We must learn to keep our ranks from that "mine," which pushes our party on the road of the German Schönemanns, the Russian Bolsheviki and the Revolutionary Marxists in every country and the petit bourgeois liberals and keep apart from the elements leading to dis­ ease.

In conclusion, the "Criming petty-bourgeois" conference, nor the expressions of good wishes of the fleeting petty-bourgeois elements will save our party from the same disaster. They will be saved only by the revolutionary mass efort of the proletariat. We must throw away all the opportunist and the small bourgeoisie, who try to cling to the proletarian movement and bring it to ruin. We must learn to keep our ranks from that "mine," which pushes our party on the road of the German Schönemanns, the Russian Bolsheviki and the Revolutionary Marxists in every country and the petit bourgeois liberals and keep apart from the elements leading to disaster.

Whether our leaders will begin to work in this direction or not, that is another thing, and we shall see. But be sure that the petty-bourgeois Stalinist is not capable of doing any thing to bring the working class to the realization of the class struggle, but he will only try to create a new bourgeoisie, filled with the petty bourgeois liberals and keep apart from the elements leading to disaster.


The importance of the Transvaal Congress in the history of the South African Labor movement, and of the discovery of the diamond fields, in the history of the South African economy, has been emphasized in previous articles. The Congress, held in 1887, was a turning point in the development of the labor movement in the Transvaal. It was attended by delegates from all parts of the country, representing a wide variety of interests. The Congress adopted resolutions calling for the establishment of a union of labor and the suppression of child labor. The resolutions were presented to the government, but were not acted upon. However, the Congress had a profound effect on the labor movement in the Transvaal. It helped to create a sense of solidarity among workers and spurred the growth of the labor movement in the region.

The Transvaal Congress was also significant for its role in the development of the diamond industry. The discovery of the diamond fields in the Transvaal in 1866 led to a rapid expansion of the industry. The Congress recognized the importance of the diamond industry and adopted resolutions calling for the protection of workers in the industry. These resolutions were instrumental in the development of labor legislation in the Transvaal. The Congress also adopted resolutions calling for the establishment of a system of education for workers, which helped to improve the skills of workers in the diamond industry.

The Transvaal Congress was a turning point in the development of the labor movement in the Transvaal and the diamond industry. It helped to create a sense of solidarity among workers and spurred the growth of the labor movement in the region. The Congress also had a profound effect on the development of labor legislation in the Transvaal and the diamond industry.
Worker's Control in America

By John Reed

leave the factory—although not for long. These are primarily scientists; they want to do their work—and fast. Workers, on the other hand, want to be safe. With the greater freedom which the Industrial Commonwealth will afford them, they will stick. Meanwhile, they are asking: What Control? Workers' Control means literally what it says—control by the workers. But in order to control a highly complicated mechanism like an industrial plant, the workers must know what they are doing. Despite all their years of experience, they have not yet immediately and formally a committee to carry on production, with a full understanding of the relation of their departments to each other.

For instance, they must know the answers to questions like these:

How many men are necessary in each department to carry on the present volume of production?

What are the essential functions of the factory?

How much and what kind of raw materials are used?

Where do they come from, and how are they transported?

What are the relations of the factory to the railroad, the mines, the smelters, railroads, the factories?

These are the first burning questions which the workers must answer. But there is another question, which is as important:

How is the factory to be operated? Which of the technically-trained men are necessary to production?

We are not concerned with the capitalistic control of an industrial plant. We are interested in the workers' control of the factory, the workers' control of the factory today. This is the key to the whole matter, the key to the present crisis. A few words about the factory first, then these technical questions.

The financial aspect of the problem, however, is secondary. What is immediately necessary is that the workers in the United States should take control of the factories. And this is the main point of the present article. I shall explain why.

In the highly-complicated organization of modern American industry, as I have pointed out, the worker is in the position of a private soldier in an autocratic army: he fills a place, does what he is told by his superiors, and does not reason why. He has no access to the office where the books are handled. He doesn't know when orders come in, or the price paid for them. When the factory is running full, he works overtime; when fires are dock, or when, for some rational reason, the business is in a lull, he is expected to work without pay. The boss tells him that without a single tariff the factory will close down—and so he votes the Republican ticket.

Take it a little nearer to him. Over him is a foreman, in many cases a man who is, whose interests are, to keep the workers needed up: over the foreman, a superintendent, for the same reasons, who understands the relations of the different departments to one another. Over the highest superintendent, the managing director of the plant, who understands the relation of the factor to the market and competing factories: and over him the Board of Directors, who understand the relation of the factory to the network of the industrial system.

Every technical function is in charge of a specially trained technical man—chemists, engineers, book-keepers, whose work cannot be understood by the workers, because it requires a special education.

When such enterprises were to come tomorrow, and the workers of America found themselves in control of industrial production, what would happen? The bosses and the selling would be over. The office—clerks, book-keepers, statenographers, etc.—would consider themselves members of the workers' staff, and not workers at all. This must be expected, and for the moment it is a fact. The bosses and the selling would lose their jobs, and we would introduce a new system of distribution of products in the Industrial Commonwealth.

This, however, is to keep industry going in each factory.