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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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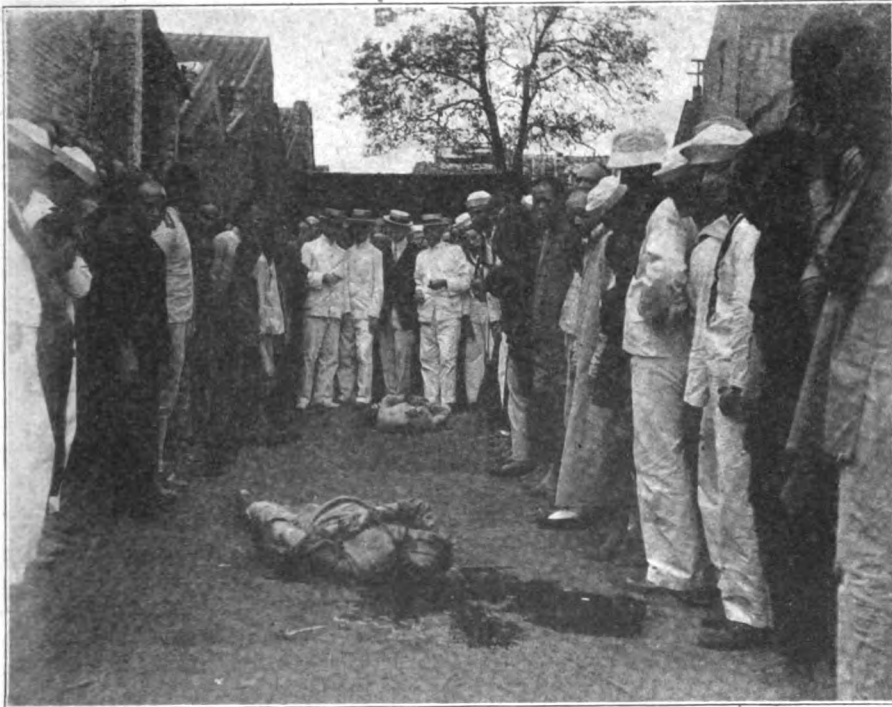
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XIV

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No. 4



YOUNG BOYS OF THE ARMY AND NAVY WITNESSING GHASTLY EXECUTIONS IN CHINA. THEY ARE ENCOURAGED TO VISIT THE BUTCHER PENS IN ORDER TO "HARDEN" THEM.

SCHOOL OF THE BUTCHER

By Marion Wright

LITTLE do fathers and mothers of the boys who yield to the blandishments of pretty picture-posters displayed by the recruiting officer dream of the schooling ahead for their sons. To the working class fathers and mothers the idea

of THEIR sons turning the bayonet against their own kind would be abhorrent. And so it would to the boy—at first. But his crafty masters are diligent to see that any such mawkish sentiment is educated out of him at the earliest possible moment.



AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN THE PHILIPPINES GIVING NATIVE THE "WATER CURE" TO FORCE HIM TO BETRAY HIS COUNTRYMEN. THE "WATER CURE" TORTURE IS INFLICTED BY FORCING ENORMOUS QUANTITIES OF WATER INTO THE VICTIM'S STOMACH AND STRIKING HIS ABDOMEN. MANY NATIVES DIE UNDER THE TORTURE AND ARE REPORTED "KILLED RESISTING ARREST."

It is their game to harden the boy behind the bayonet—to instill blood-lust and obedience alone, for he may be needed in the crowded streets of our own cities—in the streets of his own home; and he must be educated up to his duty.

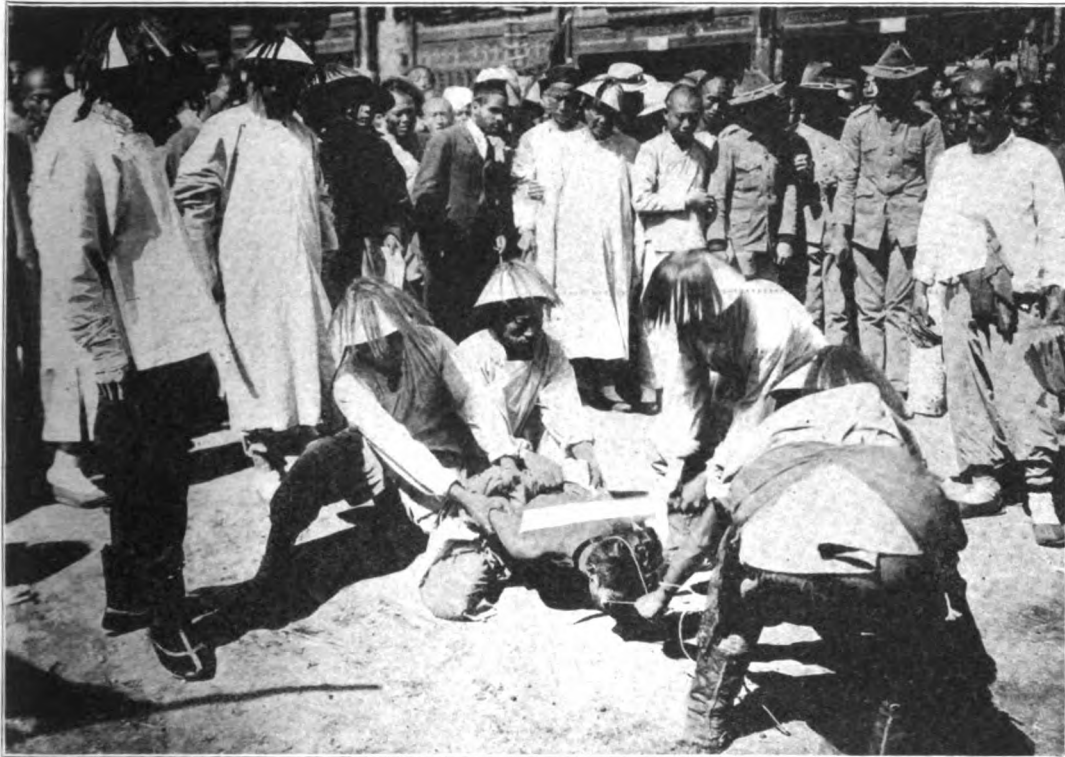
Practice games are played on the defenseless natives whom our benevolent capitalists gathered under the protecting folds of "Old Glory" following the Sugar Trust war in '98.

A sickening story of wholesale slaughter by American soldiers in the Philippines has been but recently told and while intended to reflect glory on General Pershing and the American troops, read between the lines it is a damning indictment of both, together with the "civilized" and "Christian" country that sent them on their mission of murder.

According to the published account, 1,600 Moro tribesmen, entrenched in a crater, where they had been entrapped by General

Pershing, were massacred by Pershing's forces. When the dead were counted it was found that *the lives of 196 of their women and 340 children* had been sacrificed together with the Moro warriors, who in some instances held the women and children up as shields, facing the American rifle fire. Chief Amil, the Moro leader, was beheaded and his head presented to General Pershing as evidence of death.

This wanton butchery of 1,600 helpless natives is said to have occurred on June 10, but the details were suppressed through a strict censorship. General Pershing arrested three war correspondents who attempted to inform the outside world of the massacre and they may be sentenced to prison for long terms for violating the military censorship. The American soldiers refused to take a single prisoner and all captives met death in the trenches. By Pershing's orders all of the bodies were burned.



EXECUTION IN CANTON, CHINA. TAKING LESSONS IN THE ART OF MURDER.

The scenes witnessed during and after the battle are too horrible to relate. As the Americans rushed firing up the crater sides the Moros seized women and children and even infants and held them over the edge of the crater where the sweeping fire of the

machine guns cut the helpless victims to shreds.

General Pershing led his men in person, and so eager was he for the business at hand that he was the first to leap into the last entrenchment of the natives.

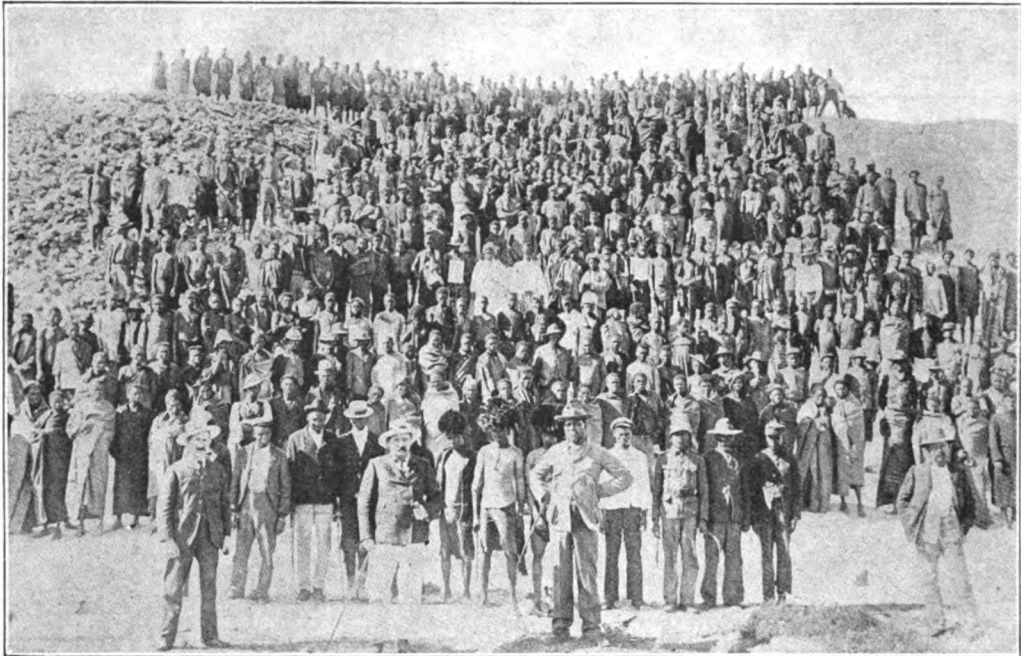
The "Good" Soldier By Jack London

Young men: The lowest aim in your life is to become a soldier. The good soldier never tries to distinguish right from wrong. He never thinks; never reasons; he only obeys. If he is ordered to fire on his fellow citizens, on his friends, on his neighbors, on his relatives, he obeys without hesitation. If he is ordered to fire down a crowded street when the poor are clamoring for bread, he obeys and sees the gray hairs of age stained with red and the life tide gushing from the breasts of women, feeling neither remorse nor sympathy. If he is ordered off as a firing squad to execute a hero or benefactor, he fires without hesitation, though he knows the bullet will pierce the noblest heart that ever beat in human breast.

A good soldier is a blind, heartless, soulless, murderous machine. He is not a man. He is not a brute, for brutes only kill in self defense. All that is human in him, all that is divine in him, all that constitutes the man has been sworn away when he took the enlistment roll. His mind, his conscience, aye, his very soul, are in the keeping of his officer.

No man can fall lower than a soldier—it is a depth beneath which we cannot go. Keep the boys out of the army. It is hell.

Down with the army and the navy. We don't need killing institutions. We need life-giving institutions.



MINE BOYS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL REVOLT IN AFRICA

By F. Murray

• **I**N order to understand the South African situation properly it will be necessary to hark back some considerable distance in the history of capitalist development. Such a review will show in the case of South Africa the prophetic clearness of Karl Marx's masterly generalization that the means by which people make a living decides how they must think and act in all the relations of life. It will show how the recent bitter strike was the inevitable outcome of the evolution of an economic system which permits a few people to own the

whole earth and forces the vast majority who are propertyless to work not for their own advancement but for the aggrandizement of their alleged superiors.

The discovery and colonization of South Africa, as most people are aware, arose out of the struggle for economic supremacy among Portuguese, Dutch, French and English from the 15th to the 19th centuries. The cause which led to the expeditions of Christopher Columbus led also to the voyages of Diaz, Vasco La Gama and Van Riebeck. This cause was the capture of

Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 and the consequent blockage of the overland route for traffic between Europe and India. An alternate route had to be discovered and the attempts to discover such a route led to the establishment of the American Republic and the Union of South Africa.

In 1652 the Dutch East India Company made a settlement at Capetown, but merely for the purpose of a port of call whither ships passing on the way to India might call for supplies of vegetables and fresh meat. The Hottentots, who were then and are still the predominant native tribe of the Cape of Good Hope Province, showed a natural disinclination to be robbed of their land and their cattle, and many wars arose between them and the Dutch people on that account. As a result the Dutch East India Company encouraged settlers to come to the Cape so that they might breed cattle independently of the natives. These settlers received military protection against the Hottentots on condition that they supplied the ships with provisions at rates laid down by the company. The settlers continued to increase in numbers and soon began to chafe under the artificial restriction of prices imposed upon them. Resentment toward East India Company oppression grew with the growth of Dutch colonization, and a contributing factor to this increasing discontent was the large influx of Huguenot immigrants following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Trouble with the natives also grew in proportion as the colonists spread themselves over the country; which fact, together with dissension among the colonists themselves, brought about the easy conquest of the colony by the British during the revolutionary wars.

Owing to the disinclination of the roving Hottentots to submit to settled work and in view of the labor necessary in order to force them to do that work, the Dutch had at first to import slave laborers from the Malay Archipelago. The descendants of these slaves, now "free" workmen under the glorious Union Jack, still retain their Mohammedan faith along with their picturesque fez, and are fairly numerous in and around Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. Before the British occupation, however, practically all the Hottentots in Cape Colony had been reduced to slavery, and the Dutch farmer led an easy patriarchal life on this basis of servile labor. Efforts to throw off the yoke

were quickly put down by the expert shooting of the Boers, and Christian missionaries ably assisted the work of subjugation through their teaching of the holy doctrine of obedience to those in authority.

Just about this time Christians in other parts of the world discovered that slave labor requires too much personal supervision on the part of masters and is therefore not so profitable as "free" labor. Appeals were made to the Bible and many texts were brought to light showing that God had changed his mind in favor of emancipation. These were British Christians, and as their God speaks English it was only right that His opinion should prevail in South Africa when it was wrested from the Dutch. Consequently it was decided to abolish chattel slavery, which was a terrible blow to the Dutch patriarchal system. Hatred of Dutch against British waxed all the more fiercely on account of the manner in which the British government permitted its Christian financiers to swindle the Dutch out of their compensation for loss of slaves. Unable to oppose Britain by force of arms the Boers trekked out of Cape Colony in 1836 and set up the Republic of the Orange Free State and Transvaal where, of course, the "niggers" would be kept in their appointed place in accordance with the will of God as interpreted from the Dutch Bible.

Unfortunately the voortrekkers were not destined to enjoy possession of their promised land. Once more God's will appears to have decided in favor of the strongest battalions. The existence of rich deposits of diamonds, gold, iron, and coal was soon nosed out by unscrupulous adventurers of the type of Rhodes, Barnato, Joel, Farrar, et al. An Uitlander population consisting of the scum of international criminality began to settle down on the Rand. Headed by the aforementioned gentry these criminals began operations by foisting worthless script upon the gullible public. Thousands of deluded parsons, shopkeepers, city clerks, pensioner's widows, etc., who make up what is known as the small middle class—the backbone of the capitalist system—were swindled out of their little hoards. Gold there was in plenty, but it is safe to say that legitimate gold mining never made the colossal fortunes of South African millionaires. Those fortunes arose from the ruin of the investing public. The promotion of gold booms created an enormous over-capitaliza-

tion of mining properties; and in order to pay a dividend on all this watered capital it was necessary for the Gold Directors to obtain a plentiful supply of cheap labor.

The gold-mine owners giving evidence before a commission appointed by the Boer government in 1897 demanded cheaper colored labor to work their mines. They argued that certain low grade ores could be profitably mined if the government would increase the native hut tax, establish locations, and take such other measures as would compel the Kaffir to work at reduced wages. They further argued that an increased supply of native labor would give employment to more white labor. On the commission reporting adversely on these suggestions the mine owners talked of the importation of Asiatic laborers and of closing down their mines if their demands were refused. President Kruger replied by passing a law which provided that if the mines were not worked by the mine owners, the government would confiscate them and work them itself.

Needless to say Kruger was not actuated by any humanitarian sentiment in thus refusing to allow the mine owners to exploit the Kaffir. What he was anxious to prevent was any interference with the right of his Boer friends to have full control of the supply of cheap Kaffir labor for their farms. More Kaffir labor for mine owners meant less and dearer Kaffir labor for the Boers. There was a possibility of the Uitlander population increasing to such an extent as to outnumber the Boers; and in order to prevent this political danger, Kruger saw to it that Uitlanders had a restricted franchise.

The mine owners were unable to bribe or terrify Kruger into their way of thinking, so they got up a huge corruption fund with which to bribe the British government. Large quantities of preferential script were "bought" by prominent British politicians who suddenly discovered that the Boers were tyrannizing over "free born" Britons and "perpetrating fiendish cruelty on our down trodden black brothers." The entire press of South Africa, with the exception of three or four futile organs devoted to the Boer land owning cause, was subsidized by the mine owners. These prostitute newspapers began a campaign of calumny against the Boers and made direct appeal to the worst passions of Jingoism. Meetings were engineered in every town and village with

the object of inflaming British national prejudice against Kruger's government. Petitions from "white helots" on the Rand, appealing for help to the British government, were signed at the rate of a shilling per signature. One "helot" could sign as many times and with as many signatures as he pleased.

War was inevitable in these circumstances. Kruger and his farmers made a gallant fight, but treachery and overwhelming numbers prevailed. Be it here noted that Botha, the man who signed the Vereeniging treaty, is the very man chosen by the mine magnates as first premier of United South Africa! Generals De Wet and Herzog are now bitterly opposed to him and have more than once hinted at his alleged treachery in betraying the Boers into the hands of the mine owners.

Chamberlain and Milner waxed emotional over the wickedness of the Boers toward our poor black brethren, but strange to say one of the very first enactments of the Milner régime was to double the native hut tax. As for the mine owners, they reduced native wages from nine dollars to five dollars a month, with the result that only 42,000 natives remained of the 90,000 who were working in the mines at the beginning of the war. On wages being thereupon raised to their former level, the natives flocked back until their numbers were the same as before the war. In July, 1903, Milner appointed a commission to inquire into the adequacy or otherwise of the sources of supply of labor for the mines. This commission reported (two members dissenting) that an additional 129,000 laborers were necessary and that Central and South Africa could not supply this demand. On the 8th of February, 1904, an ordinance was carried in the Transvaal Legislative Council for the introduction of indentured labor "from outside Africa south of 12 degrees north of the equator." It met with bitter opposition from the majority of people both in South Africa and Great Britain; but the mine owners came forward with a petition in favor of Chinese labor, bearing signatures (at a shilling a time, of course) of over half of the adult white population. That a great number of the signatures were forged goes without saying. The first shipment of Chinese coolies from Hong Kong reached Durban on the 20th of June, 1904, and ultimately 60,000 Chinamen were employed on

the Rand. The Chinese experiment was successful in so far as it cheapened Kaffir labor, but other assertions were completely falsified. White labor found less instead of more employment. The proportion of white men to colored of all races were 10 to 59 in May, 1904, whereas it was only 10 to 84 in November, 1906. This is accounted for by the fact that the Chinese proved apt pupils at skilled work and were therefore encouraged to encroach upon the special preserves of the so-called skilled white worker, or "aristocrat of labor," as Merriman puts it.

Unnamable vice was rampant in the Chinese compounds, in addition to gambling, opium eating, murder and robbery. This was common knowledge to every thinking person, but the humanitarians and parsons somehow were totally ignorant of it until the mine owners discovered that the employment of coolies was not so profitable as had been anticipated. Then the humanitarians and parsons began to howl out against the moral cesspool of the Rand: Thus the Archbishop of Canterbury, Right Reverend Father in God, spoke of Chinese labor on the Rand as a "regrettable necessity." The word "regrettable" might be thought to have some reference to the "moral" aspect of the subject, but in reality the archbishop was merely giving a spiritualistic interpretation of the economic fact that Chinese in the mines having higher tastes than the Kaffirs were twice as costly to feed, while at the end of their contract there was the expense of repatriation. Therefore the time had come for the removal of such a moral cesspool, entailing such expense to mine magnates and causing such offense to the nice feelings of our beloved brethren in God. It must not be thought that the whole 60,000 Chinese were repatriated. At least 10,000 were left on the Rand—a few feet underground! Neither their graves nor their names will ever be known.

Quite remarkably it happened with the disappearance of Chinese that the 130,000 additional natives said to be required in 1903 were soon procured by the very people who asserted that South Africa could not supply them. The reason is not far to seek. In 1903 niggers would not work for less than nine dollars a month. In 1909 they were willing to accept five dollars. It came about thus. The Bantu tribes, including the



NATIVES RUNNING MACHINE DRILL.

Matabele, Mashonas, the Zulus, the Bechnanas, the Basutos, the Damaras, and Swahili, hitherto enjoyed almost unrestricted freedom in their communal reserves. There they lived a healthy, happy life, tending their cattle and growing mealies (Indian corn). The cessation of tribal wars gave the Christian missionary an opportunity of visiting these reserves for the purpose of evangelizing the heathen. Inculcating obedience to authority and expounding the doctrine of the blessedness of labor not for self but for others are very necessary teachings of capitalism and the best exponents are Christian missionaries. Right worthily do they fulfill their task for the great God of Mammon.

Along with the missionary came the trader, Bible and brandy bottle being the indispensable adjuncts of capitalist civilization. Soon these worthy servants of the Most High taught the raw native to be discontented. Rather illogical, you may think, seeing that Christianity and Capitalism both preach contentment. But not so illogical as it seems, however. The raw native was made discontented with his happy, healthy life, so that he might "elevate his tastes" and yearn for higher things, i. e., for the products of British factories. Shoddy goods were imported and sold to the unsophisticated Kaffir at a princely profit. But the raw native does not possess much ready

money. His wealth consists in land and herds and crops. Therefore as an additional stimulus our kind Christian friends get their paternal government to cap a heavy hut tax upon the Kaffir, knowing full well that in order to be able to pay it he will have to leave his communal reserve to get hard cash. In this way the Natal government goaded the Zulus into revolt in 1906; but what chance had the Zulu with his heathen assegai against the Christian Maxim gun? What with terrorism and seduction the Kaffirs were taken from their reserves; and shortly there sprang into existence a system of labor recruiting for the mines which for sheer infamy beats anything I can think of. Acting in collusion with the native chiefs who were bribed or intimidated or both, the governments of Natal, Cape of Good Hope and Portuguese East Africa, permitted labor recruiting agents to seduce and terrify the natives into signing away their freedom for five dollars a month. Natives were arrested on all kinds of trumped up charges and forced to work as convicts on the roads. In fact a most elaborate system was introduced for the purpose of manufacturing convicts and then handing them over to employers of labor for the bare cost of their "food." In this way the good and worthy Christian, John X. Merriman, formerly premier of Cape Colony, is always sure of a steady supply of cheap labor for his farm. Of course he is not the only one. They all preach contentment. 'Twould be monstrous if they did not.

Well, by these and various other devices, too numerous to mention here, it was not long before the Rand magnates had 250,000 natives in their clutches. I say "clutches" advisedly, because a native engaged for the mines is under sentence of death. Strikes of natives are not numerous in South Africa but when they do occur they are quickly settled. According to the law of this most Christian land any native servant who disobeys his master's orders is ipso facto a criminal, and his master can either pass sentence and inflict punishment himself or may call in the police if he is not strong enough. When large bodies of natives are foolish enough to strike, a company of soldiers with a Maxim gun soon brings them to their senses. And they have every justification for striking. They are brought to the mines or farms under false pretenses combined with a system of sheer terrorism. In the

mines they are literally killed by inches. The average life of an able bodied Kaffir in the mines is three years, and of a white man, five years. The Boer war accounted for 20,000 deaths. Industrial slavery in the mines since that war has killed nearly 300,000 strong men in the very bloom of manhood.

One might have thought that the greedy maw of capitalism would have found satiety in such a holocaust. But no. There are degrees in exploitation. Why not bring down the white worker to the economic level of his black brother? In Kruger's time the white worker had some measure of protection. The legal maximum working day was eight hours; Sunday labor was absolutely prohibited; and a white miner could average eight dollars a day in wages. In maintaining such extraordinary conditions Kruger was guilty of a crime which capitalism could never forgive. The "white helots" allowed themselves to be made the tools of their own destruction. They helped to engineer the war, they fought for their masters against Kruger, and their reward for shedding their blood in an unholy cause was justly retributive. They got what they never cared for—a vote—and found themselves subject to reduced wages and increased exploitation. Reduction of wages and encroachment on their sphere of work caused the white miners to strike in 1907. This strike was defeated because the surface white workers scabbed on the underground white workers, and the mine owners found that so long as scab engineers continued to raise and lower the ships, Chinese coolies and Dutch "bijwoners" (poor whites) could easily replace the strikers.

I must here digress in order to deal as briefly as possible with another factor of the problem. The Boers (farmers) are the great land owning class of South Africa. Before the great war of 1899-1902 their position economically was impregnable. But the war brought impoverishment, and many Boers were forced to mortgage their holdings to land speculating syndicates which sprang up after 1902. The financial depression of 1903-1909 reduced them to such poverty that they could not in many cases meet the interest charges, and foreclosure was ruthlessly applied. These hitherto prosperous Boers fell into the ranks of bijwoners or drifted into the towns where they helped to bring into prominence the so-called poor

white problem. "Bijwoners" is a Dutch term applied to a class of poor whites who are permitted to inhabit tin shanties on the property of well-to-do Boers and who in return for this privilege make payment in kind on a semi-feudal basis. Their serfdom carries certain other "rights" for the landlord which are curiously akin to those enjoyed by the feudal lord. The notorious "jus primae noctae" has its South African analogy in the unwritten law that the prosperous Boer shall have reasonable access to the female relatives of his bijwoners. Cases are not infrequently heard in court when assaulted females testify that they had to yield to the embraces of the landlord on pain of their fathers, husbands or brothers being driven off his property. Those who exercise such "rights" are earnest Christians; subscribe liberally to the Dutch Reformed Church, and sincerely abhor Socialism which would destroy private property, break up the home and family, encourage sexual promiscuity and abolish religion.

Those of the bijwoner class who have drifted into the industrial centers of South Africa have sunk to the level of the Kaffir. Dutch girls of good family have been found living in concubinage with Chinamen and even raw natives. Illicit liquor selling is largely carried on by the bijwoner class in towns along the Witwatersrand. So glaring became their degradation in poverty, vice and crime that a special commission was appointed by the Union government to inquire into and devise means of removing the cause of the poor white problem. The Dutch Reformed Church, generously subsidized by government grants, has established labor colonies for poor whites in various parts of the country. One such colony in Kakamas has a population of nearly 5,000 souls engaged in irrigation and agriculture. They are a source of revenue to the church, and much jealousy has arisen among other Christian sects because of this monopoly in favor of one sect. Only members of the Dutch Reformed Church are allowed to work in a labor colony and the children are diligently instructed in the fear of God and the blessings of "private" enterprise.

When the Rand strike of 1904 broke out, hundreds of bijwoners were only too glad to scab for a dollar a day. They helped to break the strike and mine magnates were quick to see the value of such a source of labor in time of trouble. Industrial schools

were quickly established by government for the purpose of training young Dutchmen of the bijwoner class as miners at from one to two dollars a day. Hundreds of bijwoners found employment in that manner but the supply far-outran the demand. The government therefore supplemented its philanthropic scheme by finding employment for 5,000 more bijwoners on the state railways at 85 cents a day. The princely nature of such remuneration will be best understood by American readers when it is explained that living in South Africa is 25 per cent dearer than in the United States. For instance a house of four rooms not fit for a stable for the rich man's horse is rented for twenty dollars a month in Cape Town. A similar house in Johannesburg or Pretoria costs from thirty to forty dollars a month.

The foregoing is a crude statement of affairs in South Africa at the time of Union. Put into the fewest possible words, the policy of capitalism acting through the four governments of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Orange Free State and Transvaal, was to reduce wages and increase hours of labor for white workers. The means by which that policy was to be carried into effect was to force natives out of their reserves, train them into habits of "thrift" and "industry," and bring them into fierce competition with white workers in every phase of labor. That policy had been pursued by the four different governments in different ways with much clashing of interests, and it was with a view to introducing one uniform system of exploitation of black and white labor that the Union of South Africa Act of 1909 was brought about.

British South Africa has now an approximate area of 1,204,358 square miles, and its population, according to the 1911 census, is 8,192,642, of which about 1,305,437 are Europeans. Six natives to one European is about the average for the sub-continent. British South Africa comprises the Union (Cape, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal), the Native Protectorates of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland, and the territories of North Western and Southern Rhodesia. The factors making up the problem of capitalism versus Socialism in South Africa are as follows: First, the Boer land owners whose existence is a bulwark of capitalism but whose numbers are being rapidly reduced owing to the operation of a law of capitalism which forces it to expropriate its

own friends and to destroy private ownership, the very basis on which alone it can exist. Secondly, the mining magnates of Kimberley and the Rand whose policy of labor exploitation has dominated pulpit, press and parliament for the last 25 years. Thirdly, the South African Shipping Trust which exists in fact though not in name. Fourthly, the merchant importers of the towns. Fifthly, the white wage earners who until recently monopolized the so-called skilled trades. Sixthly, the colored and native laborers who outnumber the whites six to one and who perform the hard, disagreeable, unhealthy, badly paid tasks of capitalism.

It will be seen from this enumeration, which is an exceedingly rough estimate of the forces at work, that the task of the revolutionary movement is perhaps more difficult in South Africa than in any other part of the world. The colored question looms large in America where whites greatly preponderate, but what of South Africa where blacks outnumber whites overwhelmingly?

However, thanks be to the "mysterious dispensations of Providence" (or of economic determinism) religious, racial, and national prejudices are thrown into the melting pot. Catholicism versus Protestantism, Dutch versus English, black versus white, have each had their little day and ceased to be. The great controversy of the twentieth century is, exploited versus exploiters. How startlingly clear the dividing line is cut was seen by the whole world a few weeks ago in Johannesburg.

The magnates of international capitalism had some difficulty in reconciling the various interests to the idea of Union. Bribes had to be provided for the Shipping Trust in the shape of a monopoly of the carrying trade and an increased subsidy for conveyance of mails. The Boers got reduced railway and post office rates for carriage of farm produce. Their national vanity was flattered with the idea of Pretoria becoming capital of United South Africa and of the Dutch language being placed on equality with English for all public purposes. Merchants were bribed with the abolition of customs, tariffs between the four provinces and with reduced railage for their goods. Politicians were bribed with payment of members in the local Provincial Council as well as in the Legislative Assembly of the Union. The corruption fund must have been huge. It

is significant that the convention which decided for Union kept no minutes and its members were sworn to secrecy. They were wise in withholding information, because their proceedings would have caused some uproar if published. And they are all honorable men, not to say Christians.

It must be admitted that they did their work well. They even bethought themselves of possible opposition from that negligible quantity, the wage-slave class. So they got rushed through the Union Parliament a few laws to provide for contingencies. One law, "the Industrial Disputes Act," does for white wage slaves what the "Masters and Servants Act" does for the negroes. It makes a strike a criminal offense, punishable with hard labor. Another act provided for the repression of revolutionary symptoms among government employes, of whom there are some 70,000 in the Union. A third act provided for the establishment of a defense force, under which lads between 14 and 21 are trained to murder fathers and brothers in the event of civil disorder (i.e., a strike against inhuman conditions). So the international robber gang thought themselves well fortified against assault.

But "best laid schemes of mice and men gang aft a-gley." They failed with all their murderous cunning to take into account a possible growth of working class consciousness and working class solidarity. They thought they could fool the wage slave all the time. The machine of oppression being well oiled and everything ready, they gave another turn to the screw by attempting to increase the hours of five underground mechanics in the New Kleinfontein Mine. They calculated—and rightly—that if this increase passed unchallenged the hours of labor would gradually be increased all over the mines and then all over South Africa. It was simply an attempt to insert the thin edge of another wedge which would only widen the gap between exploiters and exploited. But this time their bluff was called. Four hundred odd men walked out of the New Kleinfontein in protest, leaving a few scabs to do the work. The notice of the mine management was illegal inasmuch as it did not provide for three months' grace in terms of the Industrial Disputes Act, but of course who could punish the bosses for breaking their own law? Laws are not meant for bosses but for slaves.

The suddenness and unanimity of the



DAN DINGWALL,
Pres. S. A. Council Boiler Makers'
Society.

R. B. WATERSTON,
Engineers' and Firemen's Assn.

T. A. TOLE,
Vice-Pres. Federation of Trade Unions.

GEORGE MASON,
Carpenters' Union.

GEORGE KENDALL,
Organizer A. S. of Engineers.

J. T. BAIN,
Organizer Federation of Trade
Unions and Strike Secretary.

strike forced the mine management to withdraw their illegal notice, but they stated their intention of bringing it into operation in three months' time. Such being the case the strikers declined to return to work. A deadlock ensued. The New Kleinfontein management pretended that they were only concerned with their own dispute, but everyone knows that they were really instigated by the Chamber of Mines, represent-

ing the whole mining industry of South Africa. The "leaders" of the Transvaal Federation of Trades Unions apparently wished the struggle to be conducted in the old fashioned sectional way, and the strikers, seeing themselves left to fight a hopeless battle against the united capitalists of South Africa offered to return to work on the original conditions. But the Chamber of Mines wanted its revenge. Thirty of the

New Kleinfontein strikers who had made themselves prominent were to be victimized. "All or none go back," was the reply of the strikers. Subsequent events prove that the workers not only on the Rand but also on the railways, in the postal and telegraph service, and in every trade in every town of South Africa would have risen like one man, had the so-called "leaders" of the trade union and labor movement played the game.

A chapter, aye, even a book, could be devoted to an analysis of the various elements comprising what is vaguely known as the South African labor movement. I can best describe it as a movement enervated with the poison of a sterilized "Socialism." The "leaders" with a very few exceptions deal out pious platitudes from Ruskin, Carlyle and the New Testament. They refer to Jesus as the "First Socialist" and speak of "Christianizing" modern industry. They don't believe in strikes, and are persuaded that only constitutional methods will prove successful in emancipating the workers. They are all aspirants of the post of parliamentary emancipator of the wage slave at a salary of \$2,000 per annum, plus perquisites! How could one expect any robust revolutionary movement from such material? Blind leaders of the blind are they.

Meanwhile the rank and file of the strikers were determined to undermine the baneful influence of such constitutionalists. Vivisection had to be stopped sooner or later, and the sooner the better. They marched up and down the Reef, pulling out mine after mine until they had bottled up the whole mining industry. The "leaders" then thought it was time for them to cease being led. They proclaimed a general strike after it was an accomplished fact.

The terror with which such militant methods struck the hearts of the bosses was something ludicrous. The orgy of lies indulged in by the prostitute press of South Africa in connection with the Boer War paled into insignificance as compared with the outburst of frenzied calumny which now broke loose. Above all the howling, wailing, and gnashing of teeth could be heard the insistent cry for military aid to suppress the strike. And now was made clear the mystery of the retention of British troops by the Botha government. Few people outside the bosses and the class conscious workers understood why a Dutch premier should insist upon keeping his former "enemies"

in the country. The excuse was that until South Africa licked her own citizen soldiers into shape, the presence of imperial troops was imperative for the safety of the Union against attack. Who the attacking party might be was never explained. If, however, for the word, "Union," we substitute "bosses," the position becomes perfectly easy to grasp.

Every town or village in the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State and Transvaal was denuded of police. They were rushed to "the Rand from every point of the compass. Two thousand soldiers with Maxim guns took up positions in and around the mines. In order to overawe the strikers the bosses resuscitated a Kruger Act of 1894 aimed against themselves when they were trying to get votes for "white helots." This Act provided that an assemblage of more than six persons in public was illegal and could be violently dispersed. The effect of dragging out this obsolete act was opposite to that intended. Instead of subduing the strikers it inflamed them against the presumptuous tyranny of the bosses. They made it plain to the powers that be that they would insist upon the right of free speech and public assembly. Consequently the bosses got more frightened still and at the last moment withdrew the proclamation at Benoni. The meeting there passed off peacefully, and it was resolved to hold a further meeting in Market Square, Johannesburg, on Friday, July 4th, when a general strike of all trades would be decided upon. The authorities now resolved to try a "whiff of grape shot." Accordingly they rushed troops and police to Market Square, and published a prohibition of the meeting. This prohibition was posted in a few obscure places within a couple of hours of the time fixed for the meeting, and nine persons out of ten in Johannesburg knew nothing of its existence.

How Botha's government acted as tool of the mine bosses in using their former enemies to murder their own countrymen is now ancient history, and need not here be enlarged upon. The whole matter was hushed up as much as possible by the government, so that the exact number of casualties will never be known. The killing of 22 men and wounding of 250 men, women and children are admitted. Cold blooded murder is the mildest term to use in referring to this incident. It was a foretaste of Jack London's "Iron Heel." The govern-

ment has appointed a commission composed wholly of government officials and nominees, and the majority of witnesses so far have been soldiers, policemen, detectives or other government officials. Obviously the object of the commission is to whitewash the government. The bulk of the evidence goes to show that almost no shooting was done by the military, and that the men, women, and children were really killed and wounded by the strikers!

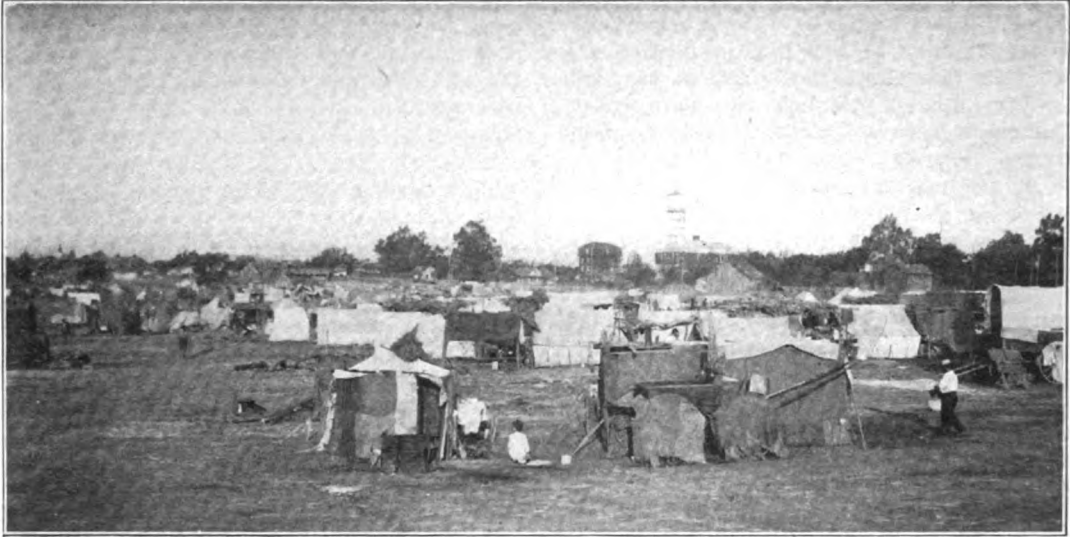
At any rate the bosses and their government got so frightened on Saturday evening, the 5th of July, 1913, that they sent out one of the labor "leaders" with a white flag of truce, and by this means got the crowd to disperse. Had the fighting continued much longer the strikers would have fetched their rifles and wiped out the police and military. There would only be one government left, namely, the strike committee. But when victory was absolutely within their grasp the "leaders" were either too timid or too treacherous to pluck it. Even the railwaymen of the Transvaal struck of their own accord, and the railwaymen throughout the rest of South Africa would have followed suit had they been able to get any decent advice and encouragement. They were kept in the dark both by their "leaders" and the capitalist press.

The railwaymen held the key of the situation, and a separate article would have to be devoted to their part in the struggle. Railways, harbors, posts, telegraphs, telephones, etc., etc., are "nationalized" in South Africa. A large part of so-called "Socialist" program is carried out here. Conditions are none the better. The government service is seething with discontent. But the employes are kept "loyal" by bribery and intimidation. They are told that if they strike, their pension rights will be forfeited and they will be liable to prosecution as criminals. When they agitate constitutionally, their complaints are shelved and their

representatives either "bought" or victimized. When the apparent treachery which brought about the truce gave the government a breathing space in which to consolidate its forces of intimidation, the railwaymen were warned and exhorted to have nothing to do with the miners. The manœuvre of splitting the workers into two camps was repeated with all its old success. Railwaymen became discouraged at the failure of the Federation of Trades to take prompt and decisive action. Enthusiasm waned and now the position is that the strikers have gained the shadow and lost the substance.

Nevertheless the upheaval was one of the most remarkable in the history of South Africa if not in that of the whole world, and augurs well for the time when a more scientific labor movement evolves from present chaotic conditions. The lessons of the upheaval were badly needed by wage slaves here and elsewhere. The most important lesson is that workers of every color and of all trades must sink their racial and sectional differences in order to combine in one all embracing union ready to take revolutionary action whenever the time comes. Secondly, workers must be prepared to expect organized violence from the masters, and must devise means of drawing their claws. Thirdly, workers must educate themselves so as to sift truth from lies on the part of parsons, politicians and editors (a somewhat difficult task, I admit). They must also be on their guard against the treachery of "leaders." In a word, the working class must work out its own salvation not in fear and trembling but with courage and perseverance. The Rand strike as a strike was a success. It could not have been otherwise. The masters did not end the strike. The workers ended it themselves. The masters are after all a feeble folk. Their strength lies in telling lies, and using one section of the workers against another. "Divide and govern," is their motto.





CAMP ON DURST HOP FIELD.

For these hovels Durst Brothers charged a rental of more than \$480 per week.

THE CASE OF THE HOP PICKERS

By Mortimer Downing

ACTING on an invitation by Durst Brothers twenty-three hundred men, women and children assembled to pick the Durst Brothers' hops on their 600-acre ranch near the town of Wheatland, California. The posters and newspaper advertisements described the conditions on the Durst ranch as something ideal. All the workers had to do was to pick a few hops, enjoy a picnic and make plenty of money.

Just prior to August 3 these people assembled at the Durst ranch and found the first thing they had to do was to rent a shack or a tent from agents of the owners at the rate of from 75 cents per week up. The first money they earned was deducted to pay this rent. The rentals charged the

pickers were in excess of \$480 per week for four acres of ground which the state health inspector has described as a "sun-baked flat." This in itself was a rather tidy profit for the boss.

It was soon found that Durst Brothers had provided only six single toilets for the twenty-three hundred workers. These apologies for modesty were turned over to the women, who used to stand twenty and thirty deep waiting a turn to use these places, while the whole camp looked on. Later it was found, when the men and women swarmed into the fields to pick the hops, that a cousin of the Durst Brothers had the "lemonade privilege." In order that this thrifty scion of canny stock should have every opportunity to make an

honest penny, Durst Brothers would not permit any water to be hauled into the field, nor would they allow the workers to fill bottles from the water wagons which were used in cultivating the crop. Lemonade was sold to the workers at five cents per glass.

Pay at this hop yard was at the rate of 90 cents per hundred pounds of hops picked with a sliding bonus up to 15 cents, according to the length of time the worker staid on the job. Durst Brothers were particularly urgent that the hops should be absolutely clean of leaves or stems and that only the blooms should be taken. This rigid inspection made the work far slower than in other hop yards.

Conditions were so bad that after one or two days' work the pickers assembled in meeting and voiced their discontent. They drew up demands for better sanitary conditions, more toilets, that lemons and not acetic acid should be put in the lemonade; that they should have water in the field twice a day, that high pole men be provided to pull down the hops from the poles,

and that owing to the strict inspection of the pick that the pay be a flat rate of \$1.25 per hundred pounds. This would enable an average worker to earn about \$2 per day, out of which he had to pay for his shack and board himself.

These demands were presented to Durst Brothers by a committee. Ralph Durst, testifying before the coroner's jury, stated that when Dick Ford, the chairman, approached him he "had both his gloves on and that he jocosely slapped Ford across the face." He then took the demands under consideration. After a time he returned and made evasive promises of remedy of the sanitary conditions, talked a lot about having water in the field and flatly refused to advance the wages. This was on Sunday afternoon, August 3. The workers remained in meeting and were considering the reply of Durst. While they were so assembled Durst telephoned to the nearby town of Marysville for the sheriff and a posse.

While the workers were still in meeting and while they were singing "Conditions



PAYING OFF AT THE DURST RANCH.

They Are Bad," eleven armed men, headed by Sheriff Voss, whirled into the hop yard in two automobiles. They leaped to the ground. Among them was Edward Tecumseh Manwell, the district attorney. All these armed men charged the crowd. Voss, the sheriff, rushed to the stand, seized Dick Ford, and said he was under arrest. Ford asked for a warrant. Voss struck him. At the same time he lifted his gun, fired and ordered the crowd to disperse. Just then a woman seized Voss. He clubbed her with his gun. She tripped him and he fell. By this time all the eleven men were shooting and the shots sounded like a battle. Voss went down. The crowd closed in around him. The woman was on top. A Porto Rican, name unknown, rushed from his tent through the crowd and got the sheriff's gun. He saw the district attorney, Edward Tecumseh Manwell, ready to shoot into the crowd of workers. The Porto Rican killed Manwell. Already one of the workers, an unidentified English boy, had been killed. The Porto Rican then

shot Eugene Reardon, one of the deputy sheriffs, and at almost the same time he dropped dead himself with a load of buck-shot in his breast, which tore away the ribs and exposed his lungs. Harry Daken fired the shot. All these incidents took place while William Beck, one of the prisoners held in Marysville jail, was running less than two hundred yards.

So dumfounded were the deputies when this Porto Rican boy returned their fire that they ran like scared jack-rabbits. In less than a minute after they charged into the yard they were tearing away again in their automobiles. They made the trip back to Marysville from Wheatland, more than ten miles, in eleven minutes.

Left in the hands of the strikers was the sheriff, whose leg had been broken in the scuffle. Four dead bodies and about a dozen wounded testified to the savagery of the fight. The strikers nursed the wounds of the sheriff and the others injured, regardless of whether they were friend or enemy. After the battle, working-class humanity



STRIKERS UNDER ARREST.

From left to right: City Marshal McCoy, Charles Bohn, William Beck, Charles Santori and two "bulls."



MILITIA MARCHING TO THE BATTLE GROUND.

asserted itself. The sheriff told the men and women that they were better to him than his own men, who had fled. He was taken in a wagon to the town of Wheatland and turned over to his friends.

Meantime the frightened deputies were frantically calling upon the governor for troops, which were promptly ordered to the scene. They arrived about daylight next morning. Then came back the brave deputies and began a man hunt for victims. They arrested eight men at that time, some of whom had never been in the town of Wheatland or in the Durst hop yards. Among these are Otto Enderwitz and Charles Bohn, two Germans who were traveling through the country in their own wagon. Somebody identified Enderwitz as the man who translated the speeches into Spanish. Enderwitz can not speak Spanish but he has been held now for more than forty days in a vermin-ridden tank exposed to contagion of syphilis from an unfortunate prisoner who is suffering from that disease. This syphilitic had no part in the hop-yard affair, but he is herded with the other prisoners, to their great danger.

Since then Dick Ford has been arrested and up to date it is known that the authorities have gathered in twelve men because the workers refused to disperse from their own ground, held by them under outrageously high rentals. To give an idea of

the testimony and evidence on which these men are held without legal right, it may be stated that Harry Bagan, one of the first arrested, is suspected of being the secretary of the strikers' meetings. Bagan can not read or write. At the coroner's inquest the deputies and others were asked whether they heard Ford or any of the men addressing the crowd and if anything was said about violence. Universally the answer was: "Ford and all of them advised against violence and told the strikers if they committed the slightest illegal act their cause was lost."

None of the men arrested is an I. W. W. card man; but just before the shooting some of the strikers had telegraphed to various I. W. W. locals for organizers and assistance. As they thus evinced a desire for organization, the I. W. W. has determined to give them legal defense. To that end Austin Lewis and R. M. Rouce of Oakland have been retained. Both these lawyers understand the revolutionary movement and will give the men a defense of which they can later be proud. Local 71, I. W. W., has taken charge. These men and women were fighting for the common rights of workers and as such an appeal is made to all revolutionists and radicals for help. Send all funds to Andy Barber, Secretary Local 71, I. W. W., at 1119 Third St., Sacramento, Cal.

ONLY ONE GOAL

By

Gustavus Myers

PRECISELY as in Canada the appropriation by capitalists of the public domain, coal deposits, timber and mineral lands and other resources has been much more scientifically accomplished than in the United States, so Canada is developing its super-agents of capitalism who, foreseeing the coming of Socialism, are scientifically instructing their capitalist class how to take measures to ward off the genuine Socialist movement.

One of these sagacious instructors is Professor O. D. Skelton. Recently Professor Skelton had an extended article in the Canadian *Monetary Times*, a periodical circulating largely among the financial and other capitalists of Canada. His article was entitled, "Are We Drifting Into Socialism?" and contained this edifying sub-title which we shall not attempt to analyze, "Within the Existing Framework of Society We Must Combine Private Initiative and Private Energy with Social Control and Social Justice."

Those who hold that it is the necessary immediate aim of the Socialist movement to agitate for reforms will do well to give attention to what Professor Skelton says. As to the purposes of the revolutionary Socialist movement, Professor Skelton is no ignoramus. He knows its substance and goal. Socialism, he sets forth in the beginning of his article, "is at once an indictment of capitalism, an analysis of it, a substitute for it, a campaign against it. More positively, the aim of Socialism may be said to be the organization of industry in the interests of the masses of the people, and its method, collective ownership of all instruments of production and collective distribution of the product."

At the end of his extended article, Professor Skelton gives capitalism the clearest advice as to the measures by which it can



GUSTAVUS MYERS.

perpetuate itself and its system. In effect, he advises the capitalist class not to resist certain reforms but to grant them voluntarily and as a matter of wise self-preservation. These reforms, he tells the capitalists, will not assail the fundamentals of the capitalist system, but may, and probably will, put that system on a more effective basis. Let us, however, present Professor Skelton's recommendations in full. He says:

"Government regulation of industry, again, is undoubtedly increasing. But it does not follow that its net result is to lessen competition. The state referees the game, but the game is none the less strenuous because played under rules. Government intervention is not necessarily wise, governments, as a rule, being merely human, but neither is it necessarily hampering. A child labor law, prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen, does not do away with competition, but simply raises it to a higher plane; employers may

compete in organization, in opportune buying and selling, in quickness to seize new methods and new openings, but they must not compete in callous disregard of childhood weakness and childhood needs. A Railway Commission, forbidding one competitor to crush another by secret rebates, gives competition new lease of life. It was the lack of regulation of railway rates that permitted the Standard Oil Company to crush its competitors; under regulation, the rivals of the Steel Trust and the Sugar Trust are wresting yearly a larger share of trade.

"So with state provision of common needs, in free schools, free parks, free playgrounds. Such state activities can fairly be said to make for socialism only where it would be reasonably possible for the individual to provide the service himself, and where the net result is to weaken self-reliance: Free public parks supply a need which the average dweller in our congested cities can no longer meet himself; free books for school children supply a need he could meet, or if not, the trouble is too deep-rooted to be cured by any such tinkering.

"Does the help given lessen the initiative, the self-reliance, the independence of the recipients, or does it enable them to help themselves, make them more fit and more inclined to take their part in the struggle? Free education should, I think, be rated as on the whole an individualist measure; the non-contributory old age pensions scheme recently adopted in England, with its failure to grapple with the causes of the poverty it sought to meet, its inevitable sequel in demands for higher pensions, and lower age limits, is distinctly a socialist step. It is significant that in the later Lloyd-George insurance measure the non-contributory basis has been abandoned.

"Conceivably, the taxing power of the state could be brought to bear so heavily on the rich as to amount to confiscation. But as a matter of fact, while the tendency in Europe is to make the broader back take a larger share of the burden, it can hardly be said on any reasonable interpretation of ability to pay that the rich are as yet taxed unduly. And as for Canada, the case is quite the contrary. Here, with our reliance mainly on indirect taxation, our rich men are undertaxed. A federal income tax is not at present in practical politics, but it

will be before many years. And the taxes our land barons and others pay can be increased before we will be within hailing distance of socialism.

"Not only are these policies not necessarily socialistic; they are the best bulwarks against socialism. They are homeopathic cures, vaccination against its growth. For private property today is on the defensive. It has no heaven-born sanction. It will endure only so long as it proves socially beneficial. The hour of social as well as political democracy has come. The ideal which will prevail, the ideal shared by socialists and individualist reformers alike, is the organization of industry in the interest of the masses of the people. Our existing order will endure if it can be made, and can be shown, to be true, that private property is a better means of attaining this end than collectivist property. It must be shown that within the existing framework of society we can combine private initiative and private energy with social control and social justice. Every tax-dodging millionaire, every city slum, every instance of shady high finance or of overworked and underpaid employes, is a potent argument for socialism. Remove the grievances—and they are many, even though exaggerated by the socialist out of all perspective—and the socialist has lost his best ammunition."

In brief, Professor Skelton's plan is to make capitalism more palatable to those whom it exploits and to give it an attractive appearance of respectability. It is a shrewd policy of seeking to save the fundamentals of capitalism by distributing alluring sops to the mass whose interest it is to overthrow it, and by veneering the system, to blind its victims to its artfully concealed enormities. Professor Skelton solemnly advises capitalists to turn themselves into a reform party and outdo all other reformers. This can be easily done, for whereas other reformers can merely agitate from the outside, the capitalist class has the power to enact whatever reforms suit its purposes. Professor Skelton is but one of a rising group of perspicacious men who are giving the capitalist class gratuitous and pointed instruction on the best methods of conserving its system.

It is unnecessary to point out the lessons that these facts convey to the Socialist movement. They are self-evident.

WHY CATHOLIC WORKERS SHOULD BE SOCIALISTS

By Timothy O'Neil

OUR Catholic fellow workers ought to become Socialists for the same reason that all workers belong in the Socialist movement. It does not matter whether you are a Catholic, or a Methodist, a Baptist or a Presbyterian, an Italian, Irishman or an American, a Japanese or a negro—if you are a working man or a working woman your place is in the Socialist movement.

The place of every working man and woman is in the Socialist movement because Socialism is the one movement in the world devoted to *protecting* the interests of the working class, to aiding the workers in securing shorter hours, higher wages and first, last and *all* the time to helping them in their efforts to improve their material living conditions.

Helping the workers is the every day aim of Socialism but the great goal towards which Socialists are working is a new society in which *every worker shall receive the value of his product.*

Think this over. Today we see the miners digging \$10 or even \$20 worth of coal or gold or copper a day. But the boss *keeps* the miner's product for *himself.* The miner is compelled to *divide up with his employer* and accept *low wages* while his boss appropriates his output.

If you are a baker, a butcher or a builder of houses, if you make clothes, or produce food, we propose to see to it that *you receive* the full value of these things without having your products kept by any employer.

In other words, we are working for a society where the man who plants a crop shall reap his own harvest; where the man who builds houses shall receive those houses, or the value of those houses; where every worker shall receive the value of the things he makes.

Today the workers sow all the wheat, make the bread, build the homes for the world, dig the coal, run the railroads to

make profits for the boss. We intend to stop making profits and working for them and begin to make things for ourselves. We shall work for ourselves, our wives and our families instead for working for a boss. We will give the boss a chance to work for himself.

Government statistics show that the average man, woman and child makes from \$2,000 to \$3,000 worth of things a year; that is, they produce between \$2,000 and \$3,000 worth of wealth every year. Their wages average about \$500 a year.

The workers must organize to *keep* the value of the wealth—the cloth they weave, shoes they make or coal they mine. They must stand together to *keep* this wealth *without dividing up with the employing class.*

When the workers rule the earth, the man or woman who works the longest will possess the most. If a man wants to work two hours a day, he will probably be paid something like \$1,000 a year. If he wants to work eight hours, he will receive something like \$4,000 a year. Probably all workers will earn much more than these figures would indicate because they will have *steady work.* And whenever a new machine is invented that lessens the number of hours it takes to make things, all the workers will receive more for their labor for they will be able to *produce more.*

We do not intend to permit anybody to make any *profit out of you or me.* We shall organize with the other workers of the world, Atheist, Presbyterian, Italian, German, Catholic, Chinaman, Negro,—all together into one great working class union. We shall ask every working man and woman in the world to join us. We shall guarantee easy work, short hours, a comfortable living and old age incomes to every useful member of society.

Socialism means that *you* shall receive the value of your work and *not* an idle boss

who performs no useful toil. It means that you will receive twice as much for your labor as I will receive if *you work twice as long*.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIALISM.

You will often hear priests and clergymen speaking on Socialism. Sometimes they do not understand it and sometimes they misrepresent it.

We are organized to *abolish poverty from the face of the earth*. What have they to say about that? Are they with us? We need soldiers in the great army of the revolution. Will the churches join us in the great crusade?

Nobody can help you and me and our bosses at the same time. Because every time we secure shorter hours or higher wages it means lower dividends for the boss and whenever the boss can cut our wages or force us to work longer hours, it means more profits for him.

The church must help those who *work* against those *who sponge off* the workers. The church must lend its aid to those *who toil*, in their struggles with the idlers who *do no useful work*.

BREAKING UP THE HOME.

Every day we see homes being broken up all around us. The *homes of thousands of workers are broken up every day*. Fathers

are forced to leave their families and go to distant states *to get a job*; mothers are compelled to leave their babies and earn money in factories or mills to support them. Little children, who ought to be in school, have to go to work to keep the *wolf from the door*.

Low wages, uncertain jobs and the *profit system* are breaking up the homes of working people faster and faster every day.

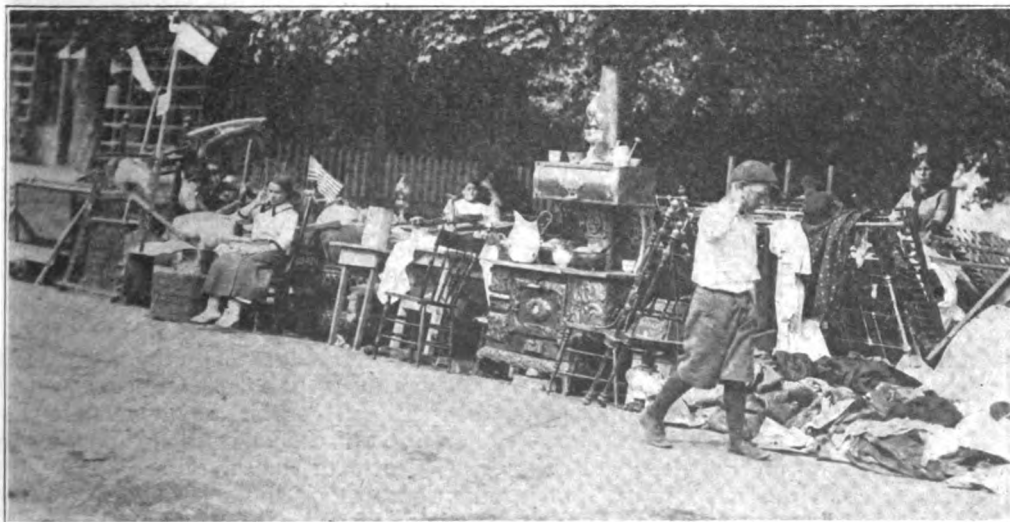
Poverty breaks up a million homes every year.

The security of your home depends upon your job and that is uncertain, because your *boss controls your job*. You are his working slave and he throws you out of work to *starve whenever he so desires*.

Socialists are organizing the working class to *own their own mills, factories, mines, farms and shops* so that every worker will be *certain of a job as long as he wants it*.

Read this over. Talk it over with your friends. Study Socialism. For 10 cents we will send you a booklet called *Shop Talks* which explains how the *boss robs you*. For \$1.00 we will send you *ten* booklets on Socialism and industrial unionism *and this magazine six months*.

We have told you a few of the reasons why *every* working man and woman should be a Socialist. Are you with us?



EVICTING WORKERS' FAMILIES DURING THE RECENT STRIKE AT IPSWICH, MASS.

RESUMING FERRER'S WORK!

By Aristides Pratelle

*Truth is going forward, and nothing can
stop it!*

—EMILE ZOLA.

*I hail with delight the work you are do-
ing!*

—JACK LONDON.

(From a letter to Aristides Pratelle.)

FOUR whole years have elapsed since the tragic day when Francisco Ferrer was shot in Montjuich, and our love for the murdered teacher is still so lively in our hearts that it seems to us as if the terrible event had taken place but yesterday!

But Ferrer is not dead at all! Indeed, we may say and prove that Ferrer's thought is always living amongst us, that Ferrer's example is always inspiring us and stimulating us in the days of gloom and depression, that Ferrer himself is always working among us and that during these four last years, Ferrer's work of uplift has been resumed successfully in quite new directions, and upon a most extended scale, with really original conceptions of how to teach and what to teach, and we may add, with a considerable stock of wonders quite unknown and undreamed of by the former Ferrer staff, during Ferrer's apostolate!

Shortly before the death of the Spanish educator, I outlined a scheme of a small series of elementary text-books, or "primers" to be used in the radical schools, which I was about to present to him in October, 1909, on the very month in which he was murdered. A few months before, Ferrer had written to me enthusiastically that he accepted me for a course in natural philosophy in the school for teachers which he expected to open in Paris in the year 1909. But the school for teachers was never established, alas! and instead of it, all his care was brought to his Spanish editorial house in Barcelona. What Ferrer alone had been powerless to create here in France sprang up naturally in the last months of 1910. It assumed the shape of a small weekly educational review, *L'Ecole Emancipée*. The Marseilles syndicate teachers had taken the

bold initiative to publish it, under the patronage of *The Federation of the Syndicates of Teachers of France and the Colonies*. At the end of its first year of existence, 1,800 copies of this periodical were printed weekly and it is said that now 5,000 weekly copies of *L'Ecole Emancipée* are issued and read all over the country. An unparalleled success, indeed, this bold little sheet, composed by the teachers and for the teachers. You will easily realize that our republican satraps look black upon this little sheet!

In *L'Ecole Emancipée*, the Mary Brothers and myself could develop fully our own standpoint regarding the problem of popular education in both its aspects, practical and theoretical. Our program of uplift is vast. Indeed, it is a most ambitious one; it is a revolution in human knowledge, in methods of teaching, as well as in methods of investigating and in our ways of understanding everything around us. Nevertheless, our program can be condensed into a single formula: the return to what has been best in the thought and life of the ancient world!

Perhaps some will exclaim that going forwards, we should never look backwards, that the past is dead and that tradition should not be brought to life again. Yet we will answer to them that there is tradition and tradition, and that if many things in the past were bad, some others were good and worthy to be taken as models. Thus, after careful consideration, we have been driven to this conclusion that the philosophical schools of ancient Greece had found the right way of thinking and the right way of living, in order to be just and happy. The Ionian and Adberitan philosophers were right, they were more sharp-sighted, and more deep-sighted than many scientists of



TRINIDAD FERRER KISSING HER DEAD FATHER. BY EMIL DERRE.

the present day when they outlined their bold dynamic synthesis of the Kosmos. The school of Athens was right when it taught its followers to practice wisdom in order to reach the true aims and end of mankind which is justice, fraternal love and harmony. Unfortunately the school of Athens misunderstood its elder sister, the Ionian School. The writings of the Ionian School have been lost. We today have understood

the aims and ideals of the two schools, realizing that one of these was the necessary complement of the other. If the living representatives of the two schools go on understanding each other as at present, our humanity may rid itself once for all with the curse of the ancient world, the Roman Church, which triumphed only too easily over philosophies lacking in adepts!

Reserving for another article the practical

side of this program of uplift, which we call "Duncanism," from the name of its world-famous founder, Raymond Duncan, we will only in a few words deal with this grand, magnificent, rational theory of the Kosmos which is called by us "neo-dynamism" or synthetic philosophy. This last term, it may be seen, had been used already by Spencer as being the general matter dealt with in his tremendous philosophical work. We stick to it at any rate, for the dynamist philosophy of the Kosmos, elucidated by Clemence Royer in the second half of the last century will be recognized by all in a very near future as a considerable improvement upon Spencer's own conceptions.

The living generations, indeed, owe a considerable debt of gratitude to Clemence Royer, the "French Newton," for having courageously brought to light the beautiful conceptions of Demogritos and the Ionian dynamists, for having with marvelous sharp-sightedness extended their principles to their ultimate consequences, turning up the old ideas regarding matter and life, these fanciful, irrational ideas through which we only saw the "wrong side" of things!

The benefits of such philosophical revolution are visible now in every branch of knowledge. Here, everywhere, from a formerly virgin soil, the vigorous sprouts of a young, rejuvenated science are springing up. Transformism and evolution of species are triumphant all along the line. Plasmogeny or synthetic biology is soaring. All over the world, a natural rebirth of Clemence Royer's ideas is taking place; and nothing is more curious, indeed, and more encouraging than this spontaneous genesis of these ideas in the brains of scientists from all countries, men who do not know themselves and who, up to this day, had never heard of Clemence Royer's theories!

Indeed, we may say that a wonderful and

most hopeful philosophical movement has started, a movement with numerous surprise and unlimited possibilities. It is to be thought that in a few years, the dynamist and substantialist philosophy of the Kosmos will be admitted everywhere on both continents, that in America as well as in Europe, the substance of the universe will be duly recognized as eternally living and active, as composed of elastic, expansible units which owing to their mutual repulsions, produce all the various phenomena to be seen around us. In the living, fluid, elastic, already conscious atom of Demokritos, we possess now the logical basis of a rational synthetic philosophy and the clue for thorough researches in all directions. Last year, we suggested our theories to the pupils in the Ferrer School at Lausanne (Switzerland) and may say that not only the children did understand it perfectly well, but that one of them has even "discovered" our theory of ether-pressure as producing the phenomenon of gravity!

Thus, it is a proven fact that a twelve-year-old child can understand the main principles of synthetic philosophy and even build them partially, by the mere force of his reason. In fact, such rational knowledge should not be acquired in books to begin with. It should be the direct result of the impressions received by our senses from the outward world. It should be created by the mere action of the sound reason of the child when studying these impressions, just as the ancient Greek philosophers had done. In the schools of tomorrow, the theoretical side of education, as well as the practical side, will no longer be a preparation to life. They will be life itself, and the investigations undertaken by the pupils in possession of such rational methods and principles will successfully extend themselves in all directions during the whole length of their lives.



WHY YOU NEED INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

(From "The Case for Amalgamation," by Jack Wills, published by Guy Bowman, 4 Maude Terrace, Walthamstow, London, England; price 2 cents.)

WHEN a strike occurred twenty years ago, owing to the puny means of transportation and the scarcity of skilled labor, it was with the utmost difficulty that men could be obtained to replace the strikers, and consequently the master, to save his business, caved in.

But Capitalism in its onward march breaks down the barriers that impede its progress.

The industrial revolution, bringing with it the invention of the steam engine, and later on the building of railways, revolutionized the methods of production and the means of transport; manufacture gave way to machinofacture.

With the introduction of machinery, tools that were formerly operated by hand, by the skilled mechanic have been transferred to an iron body called "a machine." Thus we see the tools of an engineer embodied in the automatic lathe; those of the blacksmith in the steam hammer; those of the carpenter in the steam saw and the plane; those of the compositor in the linotype; those of the spinner and weaver in the modern spinning and weaving machines; those of the stevedore and skilled laborer in the modern cranes, lifts and so on.

The work formerly done by hand labor is now performed more rapidly and accurately by the machine.

The machine reduces complex labor to simple labor, and being driven by motive power, a little human exertion is required to attend it; consequently, the machine minder can be either a man, woman or child, and the skilled mechanic finds himself not only being displaced by the unskilled and semi-skilled manual worker, but also by female and child labor.

Under the system of hand labor, the workman controlled the tools which were subjected to his wishes and desires; they were his servants. With machinofacture

the machine is the dictator. The actions of the minder and feeder must be in simultaneous co-operation with the machine. In fact, the human being becomes part of the machine. When ready to start, these iron monsters demand attention from their human subordinates, and that attention must not be relaxed until the order is given to close down.

Thus, not only the skill, but the independence of the worker is sapped. He is reduced to a mere automaton. The relations of the workers to the tools of production are reversed.

The Passing of Apprenticeship.

The apprenticeship system is gradually disappearing. As an example, a young man who formerly had to serve seven years' apprenticeship in order to become a compositor, can now become a full fledged linotype operator in six months' time, by following a six months' course of training at the linotype school on payment of three guineas.

The introduction of machinery, and the use of new materials have rapidly increased the division of labor. New trades spring up which call into being special sections of workers to perform a particular piece of work which previously formed part of a recognized craft.

The boot, which under handicraft conditions was made by the individual bootmaker, now passes through no less than 120 different hands in the course of its production in a modern factory. The boot operative no longer requires the knowledge to make a boot throughout, but specializes in making a part of the boot and then passes it on to another operative to perform his particular portion of the work, and so it is handed from section to section until it becomes a finished commodity.

In the building trade, new material such as terra-cotta, glazed tiles, wood blocks for flooring, steel frame work, etc., has called into being classes of workmen who special-

ize in handling these particular kinds of material.

This development, causing as it does a superabundance of skilled artisans, breaks down the monopoly the craftsmen formerly possessed. The displacement has been so extensive in every calling that the supply of labor is greater than the demand. This has resulted in keen competition amongst those who have been termed the aristocracy of labor.

The ownership of capital has been transferred from the individual capitalist to the gigantic limited company, and it is beyond the wildest dreams of the ordinary workman to rise through diligence, perseverance, and thrift to occupy the position of a modern capitalist.

The conflict over the division of wealth created by labor has become keener and more brutal.

Craft Divisions Disappearing.

It will be seen clearly that the conditions under which our craft unions secured success have disappeared.

It is true that attempts have been made to combat this weakness by amalgamating local and national unions catering for a given craft into one national union. But even a national craft union is insufficient to cope with modern industrial conditions.

The machine compels the working together of a large number of workers of diverse and connected trades. Although working together for one employer in the workshop, the workers have not yet learned to get their trade unions to work together.

The division of labor previously referred to has brought into existence numerous new

unions, each having an entirely separate policy and maintaining a position of glorified isolation.

Instead of trying to rectify these wrongs, we have wasted our time and energy in quarreling over who should do a particular piece of work. The bitterness which these demarcation disputes have brought about has often ended in open conflict by one union striking against the other.

The Folly of Sectionalism.

Even when the dispute is waged against the employer directly, the workers are often defeated through one section of an industry going on strike, and leaving at work other crafts in the same industry. The fact of those crafts remaining at work constitutes blacklegging quite as effective as that of the professional blacklegs.

From what cause does this deplorable state of affairs arise? It is not because those who stop in at work are not imbued with the same spirit of unionism as those on strike, or because they wish to see the strikers defeated, for they are generally the first to resent the position in which they are placed of having to remain at work through being in another union. The cause is to be found in the antiquated form of organization which does not unite the workers within an industry so as to permit of quick and concerted action.

Their efforts are turned to disaster because their organizations do not correspond with the methods of production in modern society. They were successful in their time, but that was the age of *manufacture*, not *machinofacture*.





MISS KAKU MURATO.



MISS NOBU HARA.



MISS NAMI HATSUSE.

WOMEN IN JAPAN

By S. Katayama

UNDER the feudal regime the Japanese woman was the slave of man; at best she was but his amusing tool. Buddhism as well as Confucianism regarded women as entirely inferior creatures who should be always subjected to men. Buddhism counted women as sinful beings and the education of Japanese girls was considered an evil to be rejected altogether.

According to Confucius women were to be subordinate all their lives. When young, the girl should obey her parents and when married she was expected to obey her husband, his father and his mother. Upon the death of her husband she rendered obedience to her son.

But these old concepts of women have almost passed away in Japan today. Girls are educated throughout the country at grammar schools and in the higher branches of knowledge.

On the other hand capitalist economy requires girls and women to exploit and the

high cost of living is forcing them into various factories. No regard is given for the health of this class of workers. In many spinning factories girl workers are employed where the mills run continually—day and night. The old ideas of women in every phase of Japanese life are changing very rapidly.

Among the classes more comfortably situated, the girls are making great headway in various kinds of work. Many are employed in post offices and as telephone operators. Girls are employed in the booking offices of the national railways and as clerks in the transportation department of the government. There are women editing our magazines and our newspapers. We have now many girls' magazines—all edited and managed by women. Japan has many women authoresses who command a large number of readers.

This is a great gain in the position of our women compared with the status of the women of old Japan.

Another field has recently been thrown open to our women. Many are entering upon stage careers as actresses or opera singers. Japan has long possessed actresses and public women singers but in the old days their professions were never considered respectable ones. It is only for two or three years that we have had women and girls acting upon the stage in company with men.

Several years ago, Prof. S. Tsubouchi, of the Count of Okuma's University, started a dramatic association and produced several plays from the German and English, among them, Hamlet, Caesar, Shaw's You Never Can Tell, Ibsen's Doll House and others. From the beginning many dramatic clubs and societies were organized in which the girls took part.

This is a great gain for the girls because in the old style theatres respectable girls were not allowed to appear in the scenes. Female parts were taken in our plays by men especially trained in their parts. These men were called "Onnagata." Even today we have quite a number of noted "Onnagata."

With the appearance of REAL women in the scenes the "Onnagata" appeared more and more unnatural. Girls are now generally taking female roles and we have developed several excellent actresses in Tokyo. Miss Kaku Murata and Miss Nomi Hatsuse are well known and promising actresses of the day.

They come from the common people and, artistically as well as intellectually, are commanding the attention of the public. Both belong to the Imperial Theatre of Tokyo, the best theatre modelled after the western style, in this city.

They are now producing girls in operas in Japan. This is really a new thing among us, but all have progressed very auspiciously. The Imperial Theatre has produced

several operas with women in the roles and the public has greeted them enthusiastically. This theatre has schools for teaching acting and singing and they are receiving thirty times as many applicants as they can accommodate. Girls are flocking to the new profession.

The last opera produced in the Imperial Theatre was Die Zauberflote, by Mozart. The caste was composed of young people. The production of the opera was the beginning of a new art to them and under the circumstances they accomplished great things, particularly Miss Nobu Hara, aged twenty-five, a pupil from the Tokyo Academy of Music. Unable to complete her studies because of poverty, she has succeeded largely through her own efforts. Her soprano voice is exquisitely sweet and clear. Last autumn she sang in Shanghai during the whole season and thus established a reputation in Japan. She is now teaching in the Opera School and singing in the Imperial Theatre. Her voice ranges over three octaves and she is best on Puccini and De Bussey pieces. She is the first woman to be able to sing Puccini in Japan.

Miss Hara is young, studious and very popular, having deep sympathy with the common people from whom she came. Already she is the prima donna of Japan and the leader of the new movement for girls.

The new movement is very inspiring to our women and girls. New fields are opening up to them and in the theatre and in the opera they are now recognized as artists who can do fine things. Japan has gained a new respect for women through the new movement. Women in public life are no longer regarded as the Geisha girls.

The Japanese woman is awake; she is making rapid strides forward. It will not be long before she will claim her true position in society.



WHAT CONSTITUTES POLITICAL ACTION

By R. C. Woodbury

IN these stirring times we hear much of political and of direct action, of their relative advantages as a means whereby the emancipation of the workers may be effected. When on the one hand we find political action repudiated and on the other, direct actionists decried as being anarchistic, we, who are gifted with a sense of humor, only smile and say to ourselves that sooner or later the great educator, the machine, will show to all concerned that each of these extremes is as untenable as the other.

A misunderstanding in regard to a premise of the definition of a term employed, is often a cause of much useless and idle discussion. What then is political action? Does it mean parliamentary action only or is it really wider in scope? Needless to say, Socialism, which implies industrial freedom, is, if anything, a question of ownership and it is by means of the state that the capitalist class maintains its ownership of the tools and machines of production. The state in its legislative, executive or judicial forms, implies coercion and for practical purposes the terms state and government are synonymous. Therefore in order to obtain that ownership now in the hands of the master class, the workers must first obtain control of the power of the state, which maintains that ownership and politics being the science of government, it is political power which must be obtained and so it is the only sort of power with which we are here concerned. Those who doubt this may afford themselves a practical demonstration of the fact that it is political power or the power of the state, which the capitalist class uses to maintain its ownership of the machinery of production and consequently of the product.

If you take home some of the things you have produced—even a loaf of bread, the police will hand you over to the court which in its turn will hand you over to the prison.

In the words of Engels, "The Modern State is only the organization that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments of the workers as well as of individual capitalists. The modern state no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital." Recently Colonel Mulhall and his 20,000 letters have conclusively proven that Engel's definition, at least so far as the United States is concerned, is absolutely correct.

The platform of the Socialist party of Canada says: "The irrepressible conflict of interests between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for possession of the reins of government—the capitalist to hold—the worker to secure—it by political action. This is the class struggle." The platform of the Socialist Party of Great Britain says: "As the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic."

Evidently the term political action as used in the platforms of these two Socialist parties, applies only in the narrow and restricted sense and means but the use of the ballot by the workers but such can readily be proved to be erroneous and if Engel's definition be correct, obviously any action whatever, peaceful or otherwise, which has as its aim and object the securing of the power of the state, is political action. Par-

liamentary action is but the indirect form of political action. It is not impossible for it to also exist in a direct form.

There are then two kinds or forms of political action, direct and indirect, which are complimentary and bear the same relationship to each other and the working class movement, as do organic and inorganic matter to each other and to matter as a whole. As to the respective merits of direct and indirect action, we are not at present concerned, but we wish to reiterate and emphasize the fact that "*the State is the sword of the master class.*" It lives by this sword and "by this sword it shall perish"; and that any action, direct or indirect, is political action to the extent that it lessens the political power in the hands of the master class.

The power of the State is not a fixed and absolute quantity but is a relative term by which is meant that the capitalists possess more political power than the workers; not that the former possess all and the latter none, for even in 1848, as stated in the opening page of the "Communist Manifesto," "Communism is already acknowledged by all European powers to be itself a power." So, we see, it is but a case of the capitalists possessing *more* power than the workers, just as in the heavyweight championship battle between Johnson and Burns, it was a case of "too much Johnson." If the political barometer remains steady and high, we may safely predict fair weather for the capitalist class, whereas a sudden fall of the column portends stormy weather and trouble for that same class.

Then any action, direct or indirect, on the part of the workers which decreases the power of the capitalist class is political action rightly understood and less power for one class means more for the other.

Why not, then, if we wish to deserve the name, class-conscious revolutionists, cease to hide the light of political action under a bushel and misrepresent, contort, and attempt to narrow down its meaning to the marking of a ballot? In the opinion of the writer it is high time that the foremost and most intelligent portion of the working class should practice some of the things they profess to believe and not only avowedly but tacitly adopt and apply not that narrow metaphysical method of reasoning which "sooner or later," as Engels says, "becomes one-sided, restricted, lost in insoluble contradictions," but rather when at-

tempting to interpret social phenomena, make use of the highest form of reasoning, dialectics, which "comprehends things and their representations, ideas, in their essential connection, concatenation, motion, origin and ending."

The ballot has played but a light part in the revolutions which have occurred up to the present time but new conditions may demand new methods. We desire peaceful political action but we are not sentimentalists and shall establish a saner system of society, "peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must." The methods we use depend in a great measure on the attitude taken towards us by the capitalists, and it is quite within the bounds of possibility that in some countries the form of political action used will not be peaceful. The capitalist class has less to fear from an educated than from an ignorant working class so far as violence is concerned, but the more restrictions there are placed on the apparently peaceful methods, the ballot, and the general strike, and the longer the social revolution is thus deferred, the greater the oppression, and poverty, misery and degradation will exist at the time forcible action may be required, the more final, full and complete will the results of that revolution be.

Macaulay, one of the leading writers on history, which England has produced, says: "We deplore the outrages which accompany revolutions. But the more violent the outrages, the more assured we feel that a revolution was necessary. The violence of these outrages will always be proportioned to the ferocity and ignorance of the people; and the ferocity and ignorance of the people will always be proportioned to the oppression and degradation under which they have been accustomed to live."

In spite of the facts, there are some who claim that it is not political but rather economic power which keeps us in slavery.

Now what is this economic power? Briefly speaking it is control of the job and political power is the reflex of economic power. It is political power which is used to prevent infringements on the direct ownership of machinery and control of the job. Since political power is a reflex of economic interests certain Philistines arrive at the erroneous conclusion that political power is not worth bothering about, which is equal to saying that natural laws are necessary but human laws for the improvement of society

are not; that is, that apart from nature, man should not attempt to map out his own destiny. Although a reflex ordinarily has no material existence yet in this instance, it has a very material and actual one, which may be proved to your entire satisfaction by a policeman's baton coming in contact with your skull. Then, whatever else you may see, you will clearly perceive that if money talks, so does also the power of the state which is, in the final analysis, another name for physical force.

The definition of economic power and its relation to political power, is generally accepted as being correct and therefore a decrease or increase in economic power is followed by a corresponding change in political power and vice versa.

The "Communist Manifesto" states that "each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class" that "generally speaking, for the economic development of the bourgeoisie, England is taken as the typical country; for its political development, France." Furthermore, although Marx and Engels are unlike the Pope, as regards infallibility, I am charitable enough to believe that if all concerned were to make themselves thoroughly familiar with the "Communist Manifesto," "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," and "Value, Price and Profit" there would be more harmony and less acrimonious discussion in the Socialist Party. If utility is any standard of comparison, these three pamphlets are of much

more value to the working class than a whole Carnegie library.

In conclusion, we repeat that since Socialism is a question of ownership and that which enables the capitalist class to maintain its ownership of the means of life and consequently of ourselves, is political power. It is true that political power is the reflex of economic power, or ownership—the control of the job, and since political and economic power are dependent on each other for existence, when we lessen one of these and we lessen both. Therefore any action, direct or indirect, which lessens either the economic or political power in the hands of the capitalist class is, in the long run, not misnamed when we call it political action, which term we respectfully insist on using. For there is something in a name, when the name is right and in the words of Plecanoff, "Every class struggle is a political struggle." And there were class struggles before anybody ever heard of the ballot.

Finally, rather than waste our efforts in any acrimonious discussion on whether it is ninety per cent political or ninety per cent economic power which keeps us in slavery, let us recall a remark made by Theophile Gautier, one of the foremost of French romantic novelists during the first half of the last century. He says: "It is always a stick which governs you and I am surprised that men of progress should dispute about the choice of a cudgel to tickle their shoulders, when it would be much more progressive and less expensive to break it and throw the pieces to the devils."

LET US SUPPORT OUR OWN PRESS

By Carl Ulonska

THERE is one thing that every Socialist must learn to do and that is to support the press of his class, support the paper, the magazine that represents your ideas, the one that fights the battles of your class, the working class.

One of the greatest needs of the Socialist movement today is a powerful press, it is essential to the workers in the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

With the growth of the Socialist movement capitalist editors have found it most

profitable to publish semi-Socialist and reform news and articles; magazines that are not Socialist but merely muck-raking reform publications have had the support of Socialists.

It is a fact that a magazine which pretends to represent Socialism advocates the amalgamation of the Socialist Party with the Progressive Party and endorses the Boy Scout movement.

There is a magazine from the time it pretended to endorse Socialism has had the

hearty support and co-operation of many so-called "prominent Socialists" and the result has been that many well meaning but misinformed Socialists rallied to the support of this reform publication while the revolutionary Socialist press has suffered in loss of and in many cases were forced to suspend publication.

The press is a most powerful educational factor.

Under capitalist control it has held the workers in mental servitude for years, it has blinded us to our own interests.

The working class must come to the realization that no leader or prophet can emancipate it. Our emancipation lies only within ourselves; our struggle is not only a political struggle but also an industrial struggle.

We cannot fuse with the ruling class, the class that exploit us, we cannot compromise with the small business man who seeks to retard the coming revolution, reform amounts to nothing, it is as some one has aptly said, but a bone thrown to the working class to keep them from taking that which belongs to them.

In our struggle for freedom we must move as a unit, as a class, as rebels against the existing order of society.

If we are to teach the working class Socialism, that stands for something more than electing politicians to office we must

put revolutionary Socialist papers, magazines, and books into their hands.

NO MEMBER OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY HAS ANY VALID REASON TO SUPPORT ANY PAPER OR MAGAZINE THAT UPHOLDS THE PRESIDENT SYSTEM, NOR SHOULD HE GIVE HIS SUPPORT TO ANY MAGAZINE OR PAPER THAT PRETENDS TO REPRESENT SOCIALISM BUT ADVOCATES THE AMALGAMATION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO ANY POLITICAL PARTY REPRESENTING CAPITALISM.

Such magazines and papers have come into our movement, they seek the support of the working class by alluring cover designs and pictures; they pretend to advocate Socialism but constantly teach the workers to be content with reform and reform measures.

Rather an Otis or a Blethen fighting our party from the outside than so-called Socialist magazines and papers fighting from the inside by seeking to degenerate the Socialist Party into a mere reform party.

The time has come when the Socialists must realize this danger, we must educate ourselves before we attempt to educate others. Let us begin our own education by **SUPPORTING OUR OWN PRESS.**

NEO-MALTHUSIANISM

The Control of Child-Bearing

By *Caroline Nelson*

LARGE families and poverty go together. The rich and well-to-do have few children. It is the workers, and the poorest at that who have children they cannot care for. They simply bring their little ones into the world to become cheap slaves in the labor market. Ignorant people, of course, believe that it is an incident in the scheme of things that the poor have more children. The plain fact about it is that the leisure class practices artificial sterilization. They determine how many children to have; or to have none at all.

But the moment one begins to suggest that the workers should do the same thing, society holds up its hands in horror, and

screams "race suicide," as though it were not worse to produce children doomed to poverty and suffering than to refuse to bear any. When parents bring children into the world that they cannot support, nature eventually punishes the whole race.

An international society has been formed in Europe under the name of Neo-Malthusianism, for the purpose of teaching the workers to control child-bearing. It is also called the modern Malthusianism, and first appeared among the French peasants. As we know, Malthus the English theologian, rested his theory on the ground that man increased faster than the earth's productiveness to support him. He pointed out that

the working class increased in proportion to its lack of sustenance. To avoid a final calamity he advocated late marriages and wars and pestilence to kill off some of the poor. His idea was raw and barbaric, but it satisfied the capitalist class. The central idea was that man should consciously control the birth rate. To say that this is immoral, is equal to saying that man should not use his reason and will power. Those, of the Roosevelt type, who preach the immorality of birth regulation praise the mass murder of wars with a clear conscience.

As long as the French ruling class practiced Neo-Malthusianism within their own border lines, so long did press and pulpit keep silent about it; but as soon as the working class took it up, then there arose a terrible howl. The howl was so loud that the authorities of learned men and official dignitaries investigated the matter. After a careful consideration they decided that there was no real danger in the modern Malthusianism; that at its best it could only help the individual worker economically, while it contained no real social danger. This silenced public opinion.

The French workers held no public meetings to discuss the subject, but privately the idea penetrated the whole mass by word of mouth, pamphlets and leaflets. "Think for yourself, do not place children in the world that you cannot support," was the cry. All went well until the capitalists found that women and children became scarce for their factories.

Women and children play the chief role in the industrial life of France. And it was the factory owner that first woke up to the fact that his cheap labor source had been cut short. It hit him squarely in the pocketbook. Ruin stared him in the face. In his frightened imagination he saw his factories empty, and he immediately called on the state to set its machinery in motion, but alas! no state has yet the power to compel parents to reproduce their kind. Starvation and jail has no effect on the worker in that case. Here is where he can get the ruling class to crawl on its knees. Here is a strike that can't fail. No eloquent fool can say to the workers, "This is a mystic *dream* of despair!" To regulate the production of labor-power, is to regulate profit, and render the profit monger helpless. This is not a matter of hope built

on theory, but a matter of education of the simplest kind.

The French statesmen grew nervous about it. The ever handy statistician told in plain figures that the French nation would disappear in 50 years. Had the dear French workers ceased to love their country? All the literature about Neo-Malthusianism was confiscated by law. The advocates were arrested. The liberal press, whose editors had no children, preached about the honor due to parents with a large family. The priest, whose religion forbade him to be a parent, thundered against the wickedness of bearing only one or two children. The whole brood of ruling class mouth-pieces was set in motion to save the workers from this dreadful sin. The result was that the control of child-bearing took deeper root. The farmer and the worker went to church with their wives, and heard the priests thundering. "They may be right," they would say, "but we can't afford to have any more children."

Where everything else fails, baits must now be thrown out to married folks. In Germany, where they need much food for cannon, there has long been a reward for families with many boys. France adopted the reward idea not only for boys but for girls as well. The only thing, however, that the French ruling class accomplished through all its agitation against Neo-Malthusianism was to spread it among all other nations. Everybody heard about this movement in France, and the net result is an international society.

In Sweden the society publishes a journal called *The New Moral*. There the ground was prepared by Knut Wicksell and Anton Nystrom. Wicksell is a revolutionist and a proletarian.

In Denmark, the editor of the syndicalist paper, "Solidaritets," has written a book on the subject, which pictures to the dullest mind the tragedy of irresponsibly crowding children into the world. Christian Christensen was born in the slums of Copenhagen of a large family. He speaks from sad experience. When he was only ten years old he was sent to work in a match factory, where he in common with the other children he was thrashed by the grown workers whom they attended. He organized the boys together with those in the surrounding



CHRISTIAN CHRISTENSEN.

factories, and one day they posted a notice in the factory that there was a strike of the children and that they would not go back to work until they got a raise in wages without thrashings. The manager was away and came rushing back. The men could not work without the children so the factory had to close down. The manager granted the children's demands and posted a notice to the effect that no one would be allowed to punish the child workers. The men then refused to go back. They were strongly organized with cash in their treasury. They shamelessly offered the boss the difference in the wages of grown-up workers, until he could supplant the striking boys with other, unorganized children who would take their beatings and say nothing.

But the kiddies were such good pickets that the grown scabs couldn't get near the factory. A big building was under construction next door and the workers on it stood by the children and furnished them with bricks. The parents of the striking children were also against them. A brave boy got a licking at home one morning and then was taken by his mother to the boss to receive another licking. Then he was ordered

to work. His comrades on the picket line heard his shrieks as the blows rained down on him, but in a short time his head was seen sticking out over a board fence, and he cried out, "Here I am again; no scabbin' for me, Hurrah!"

Now, Mr. Lyngsie, president of the unskilled trade workers' union, to which the match-workers belonged, solved the problem by appealing to the authorities to break up the boys' union. They promptly dug up a law which forbade the organization of any minors, without having six adult men at the head. The poor boys were all under age. Christensen who was the head of them and who had the books and the cash in his possession, was called into court. While he was gone the police went to his home and carried off the books and cash. The cash was for strike benefit, and there was about two hundred crowns. This ended the children's strike and organization, broken up by the demand of the adult workers. That is the kind of class-consciousness that the craft unions have produced in Denmark.

No wonder the youthful Christian early learned to have no faith in the craft unions. When he became a man he eagerly threw himself heart and soul into Neo-Malthusianism.

It does not take a philosopher to see that having many children renders working class parents almost helpless in the hands of their masters. When they go on strike the children's cry for bread drives them back. Machinery becomes so perfected that children drive fathers out of their jobs. The children, in turn, have no chance to become thinking men and women. They are not equipped for any kind of a battle for life. They are a thousand times worse off than the jungle child. They are not born because their parents want them, but of an irresponsibility that is inexcusable in the 20th century.

The Swedish ruling class has passed a law forbidding the Neo-Malthusianists to help the workers practically along this line. But they carry on the educational work just the same. And in a few years this thing is going to loom large upon the horizon in every country. It is the duty of every worker to spread this teaching among his class. We may find that it will give us additional strength in our ceaseless war on the Profit System.



COMRADES KIRK AND McKEE.

PROPAGANDA IN JAILS AND PRISONS

By E. E. Kirk and Harry M. McKee,

San Diego County Jail, Calif.

EVERY Socialist Platform should contain a plank relating to prisons and jails. It should embody the fact that the bulk of the persons confined belong to the working class; that their offenses are generally against property laws, and are of a nature that would disappear with a sane economic system. After recognizing the prisoners and their offenses, there should follow a statement that special efforts should be made to reach the prisoners and the officials of the prisons and jails with the Socialist program. The Immediate Demands should also, we believe, contain a demand for the prisoners, to the effect that so long as persons are punished by confinement, their surroundings should be both sanitary and hygienic, and the places of confinement should be open to public inspection. Also, when prisoners are compelled to work, the value of their labor should be paid to the order of the prisoner.

What Is Crime?

A crime is any act or omission which is expressly commanded or prohibited, and which the state prosecutes and punishes in its own name.

Crimes are either felonies or misdemeanors.

A felony is a crime which is punishable with death or by imprisonment in the state prison. Every other crime is a misdemeanor.

The minimum punishment in a state prison is one year; the general maximum punishment in a county or city jail being six months. There are a few exceptions in each case.

The total number of those who are jailed is appalling. The city jails, the county jails, the reformatories and the state prisons harbor hundreds of thousands each year. Naturally the prisoners come from the working class. Very few capitalists see jail or prison from the "inside looking out." The crimes for which punishment is inflicted are mostly infractions of the property laws, the inevitable outcome of the present social system.

Jail life makes rebels. Every prisoner is a protestant, some boldly, some whining and others sullen. They each feel that the law and the authorities have discriminated against them. But theirs is a blind protest.

They cannot put their finger on the exact cause. In many instances the prisoner places the blame on some individual or set of individuals. He either "has it in for" the district attorney, the police, the judge, his "pals," his own bad luck or weakness. Without knowing it, this protest is against society and present conditions.

Here is the field for the Socialist. Through our literature the prisoner may learn why he has been punished; why other offenses of greater hurt to society are unpunished. He will learn history in its rightful sense, and as a victim of the system, he will apply it correctly. He will thus be able, not only to adjust himself to jail life making it less intolerable, but when he comes out will see the world through different eyes.

Briefly, the Socialist Party has the opportunity to change the prisoner from a blind rebel into an intelligent revolutionist. The possibilities of this are thrilling.

The rule as to reading matter in jails and prisons is generally that he may have anything that is published outside of the state in which the prison is situated. There is almost unlimited time for reading, and outside of the books supplied from the prison library (there are no libraries in county or city jails) the only printed matter is of a religious nature. Socialist papers, books, and magazines will furnish material for discussion and will prove of real value.

A Few Suggestions.

How are any of these things to be done? Well, that all depends on your opportunities and willingness. See the jail in your town. Have you ever been inside? Citizens have the right to inspect public property. It may be that your local jail is a disgrace from every viewpoint. Look it over, talk to prisoners, and learn if you can better their conditions. If so, go to it. Tell the facts, first to the officials of the jail, and if there is nothing doing, then to the newspapers. Pass resolutions of censure.

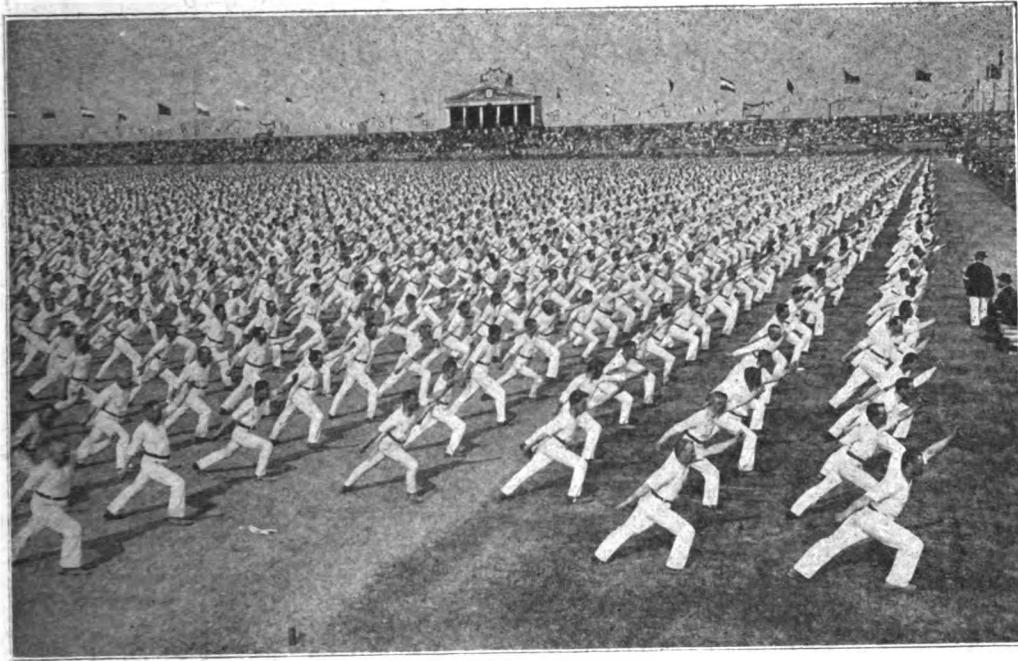
If sanitary conditions are all right—and

that's rare and unusual—then find out if a visiting committee cannot get in to see the prisoners at stated times. Religious bodies have a chance to tell the prisoner about his soul; you should have the same chance to explain the present day industrial, political and economic conditions. The average prisoner is in your local jail for some petty offense. But every man charged with crime passes through the county jails. The inmates of these little jails don't get into the limelight of the reforms that some of the larger prisoners are enjoying. They will be glad to see you. "When a feller needs a friend" is the time he will listen closely. Besides he gets a chance to discuss matters with Socialists.

Of course, it is apparent that the local doing the work will not benefit by an increase of members from the jails. The men generally scatter on being released. But there is also this advantage. A prisoner has no interest in professing to be interested in Socialism as he has in an emotional doctrine. They learn to understand. The fruits of teaching are to give the men confined, a new hope, a new language, and the consciousness of their own class.

If there are women prisoners in your local jail, find out if there is a matron. If so, what are her duties, and do the Socialist women interest themselves in her? In the San Diego county jail, there has been a matron for fifteen years, yet never until a year ago did any women's organization attempt to assist her with her charges. And from inquiries made from turnkeys and jailors with many years' experience, we find that no union, no radical organization has ever approached them in an endeavor to interest them in humanizing their work.

So let's investigate the local jails and prisons for the benefit of both prisoners and guards. Propaganda work can be done there. And also let us see that our national and state platforms declare the Socialist position toward the prison victims of this system.



SEVENTEEN THOUSAND TURNERS GOING THROUGH THEIR EXERCISES AT THE INTERNATIONAL TURNVEREINS' CONGRESS HELD RECENTLY AT LEIPSIC.



Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

PRAGMATISM

The Larger Aspects of Socialism. By William English Walling. The Macmillan Co., New York, \$1.50 net.

By Marcus Hitch

THIS book is a welcome recognition of the fact that the Socialist political party does not embrace all the factors of the proletarian revolution. The political party eschews philosophy and religion; but these are as much alive today as ever, though they generally go under other names. The author finds in the pragmatism of John Dewey the elements of the coming Socialist philosophy. A large portion of his book is taken up with comments on and quotations from Spencer, Stirner, Nietzsche, John Dewey on education and Ellen Key on sex matters. It almost seems as if the book were an attempt to claim for Socialism the brilliant writers of the individualist-anarchist school, to whom proletarian literature is an abomination. We doubt if the attempt would be approved either by those writers themselves or by the Socialists in whose interest the claim purports to be made.

"How does it happen," asks Walling, "that the modern Socialist philosophy did not come from the Socialist movement? What I mean is, that since Marx and Engels made a decided beginning in the direction of pragmatism more than half a century ago, we might have expected that the socialist movement would also produce the socially radical philosophy of the present day." The answer is, it has produced such a philosophy, though it is not known by the name of pragmatism, but by the name of Dietzgenism, and it differs from the former in substance as well as in name.

For pragmatism the logical unity of the world is a negligible abstraction. In his 11th letter on logic Dietzgen says: "All distinctions must logically be based on the consciousness of the absolute and universal unity, of the interconnection of all things. For this reason some pious people, with their God, in whom all things live and have their being, have more logic than some free-thinkers who have no coherence in their method of thought. How can a man who is out of touch with the mass of the 'shifting' population feel that he is one with the universe?"

It is doubtful whether an admirer of Spencer, Stirner and Nietzsche would take kindly to the Dietzgen philosophy, but the obligations of pretentious authorship require at least a fair discussion of it.

Walling disposes of Dietzgen in a single sentence, as follows: "If, then, we find a Socialist philosopher like Dietzgen offering a system of scientific reasoning as a key to the riddles of the universe, we will certainly attach no particular significance to the fact that he was a Socialist, but merely remember that he was caught, as even Socialists must frequently be (according to their own philosophy) in the current of his times."

Having erroneously put Dietzgen in the same class of materialists as Haeckel, he apologizes for poor Joseph, who, though a good Socialist, was, so far as his science goes, swept away in the current of his times. Yes, he was; but in which current—the current of one-sided materialism or the current of all-around materialism, which wipes out materialism as the all-classism of labor wipes out classes?

For Dietzgen there is no riddle of the universe; the riddle is in the mind; it is the riddle of cognition. He completely solved this riddle by showing what knowledge is and what it is not, and that no difficulty arises except by trying to make out of knowledge more than there is to it and straining after some other and different kind of knowledge than simple human knowledge, and thus gratuitously manufacturing a riddle where none actually exists.

The Socialist movement, especially in America, needs greatly the broadening and deepening that can only come from a philosophy and religion that harmonize with the needs and aims of the working class. Feuerbach achieved on the religious field what Marx did on the economic, any disparagement of Engels to the contrary notwithstanding. Engels was temperamentally incapable of fully appreciating Feuerbach's work.

Walling's knowledge of Feuerbach seems to be confined to Engels' well-known pamphlet, with the appendix containing eleven fragmentary notes or paragraphs hurriedly scribbled down by Marx in 1845; it was after this date that Feuerbach wrote his most important works, all of which are now accessible in a new edition of his complete works. Lassalle frankly recognized the importance of Feuerbach's labors; in a letter to him dated October 21, 1863, Lassalle says: "The progressives are rationalists of the shallowest sort, and the same battle which you wage on the theological field I am now waging on the political and economic field. I should be exceedingly sorry to have this deep, inner identity unrecognized,—an identity which, even though unrecognized, would remain a historical and philosophical fact."

The seed sown by Feuerbach found its proper soil in the sweet, well-balanced soul of Joseph Dietzgen, whose open mind was free from the blind fury of the old materialists against everything called religious. Prepared by Feuerbach and by his own independent studies he was able to assimilate the teachings of Marx's *Kapital* with marvelous rapidity. See his letter to Marx of Nov. 5, 1867. His keen intellect read between the lines of Marx's economic writings, not pragmatism (a new name for some old ways of thinking), but a

new philosophy, a new materialism, broad enough to include both the world of matter and the world of mind; call it monism, pan-materialism, systematic world-view or anything you please. Seeing that Marx would probably never get time enough to develop this philosophy Dietzgen was spurred on in his work. A year and a half later he "went back to Kant" and brought out in 1869 his little book entitled "A Renewed Critique of Pure and Practical Reason." We respectfully recommend his writings to all pragmatists and others who are interested in the larger aspects of Socialism.

Though Walling devotes one whole sentence to Joseph Dietzgen, he does not deign to waste a single word on Ernest Untermann, Eugene Dietzgen, Adolf Hepner, Henriette Roland-Holst and other Dietzgenists. Shall we attribute this to the author's shortcomings, or was he, even though a pragmatist, swept away in the current of his environment?

It is difficult at best to interest the masses in improving their methods of thought. If it is true that pragmatism is the best expression of the Socialist philosophy, every effort should be made to spread a knowledge of it among the masses. Its doctrines should be published in cheap form and their bearing pointed out as affecting the actual struggles of the workers on both the industrial and political field, as has been done for Dietzgenism by Roland-Holst and others. We were not aware that the pragmatists had distinguished themselves in the Socialist movement in any way, not even by showing the usefulness of their philosophy to the working class. In fact, Walling assures us that the struggle is not between the

working class and the capitalist class; that it is improper to speak of a working class in this connection; that there is a privileged ruling class on one side, and over against it all the rest of the population, called the mass or the people.

The Dietzgenists say that the only practical nucleus for a fighting force to overthrow privilege is that class which is the peculiar product of capitalism, namely, the wage-earning class, assisted by such others as are willing to help. The unpragmaticalness of the pragmatists consists in their self-imposed distrust, in that ultra-keenness of intellect which condemns them to inaction, because they perceive it is possible that every way may be wrong. I once asked a university professor (one of the high spots) why he did not come out openly for Socialism; he replied that by doing so he feared he would lose his scientific attitude of mind! He was a typical pragmatist. The bourgeois' scientific attitude of mind requires him to keep his philosophy and religion separate from politics; the proletarian's scientific attitude of mind requires him to mix up thoroughly his philosophy and religion with his politics.

No doubt some of the sayings of the pragmatists could be interpreted favorably to Socialism; no doubt such was not the intention of the pragmatists themselves. Pragmatism is a philosophy of method only without a goal. Dietzgenism is a philosophy both of method and of goal which are inseparable. The class struggle method itself is a part of the essence of Socialism, which distinguishes it from that reformed society which philanthropists claim to be the same goal.

Looks Good to the Miners. Local 145, W. F. of M., South Porcupine, Ont., Canada.—I am herewith enclosing \$24.48 for 36 copies of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for one year, commencing with the October number. You will notice we are doubling our order, which shows that the REVIEW is well appreciated here.
Secretary-Treasurer.

Twenty-Five Bucks in a Bunch. U. M. W. of A., Local 2616, Superior, Wyo.—Enclosed find check for \$25.00, for which renew bundle of SOCIALIST REVIEWS for one more year.

ED. TINKLER, Secretary.

Local Union 2328.—U. M. W. of A., Superior, Wyoming. Enclosed you will find draft for \$25.00 for 42 copies of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for one year.

Louis Dierden, Sec'y.

EDITORIAL

THE STATE OF THE PARTY

THE Socialist party is absolutely indestructible—which fact furnishes a perfectly safe but far from satisfying mental refuge in times like these.

In every country of a sufficient degree of capitalist development, the Socialist party appears as naturally as the steam engine and the automobile. For syndicalists, anarchists and old party politicians to talk of its decay or permanent setback is like the horse, the ox and the ass resolving that the world should go back to the days when they constituted the fundamental powers of transportation. Especially in the life of Great Britain, America and Australasia, is political action of the workers a necessary accompanying form of the class struggle. The working class in these countries have always voted—thinking that they were voting to better their conditions of life. That they have failed in their object has been due to their lack of knowledge and of political and of industrial organization. Even so, who can doubt that the working class vote has protected their fundamental civil rights—their right to assemble, to organize, to publish and to speak their minds with a degree of freedom which makes the abnegation thereof at this time a strange and startling matter. In every country the Socialist party has grown steadily. Strange, indeed, must be the cause which can produce a break in the upswEEPing curve of Socialist progress anywhere.

The fact that during the past twelve months we have lost one-fourth of our membership and seen our activity decrease at least 75 per cent would be amazing were the cause thereof not patent to all. We would be lacking in both intelligence and loyalty to the party did we not analyze the forces and factors at work and suggest needed remedies.

The cause of this loss is not ephemeral or

temporary. It is due to deep-seated forces of disruption within the party—forces which must cease to act before the tide can turn toward better things. In the August issue of *The New Review*, the editor of that valuable periodical, after pointing to the colossal loss in membership suffered by the party, goes on to analyze, in language none too extreme, the main cause of the difficulty. Without hesitancy he puts his finger on Section 6, Article 2. Every member of the party should read this editorial entire. We can quote but briefly from it here. After emphasizing the weak and contradictory character of this clause, Comrade Simpson continues:

“But the worst effect of the whole business was that now, for the first time in the history of the Socialist Party, a basis was laid for inquisitorial procedure against members who happen to be unpopular with the powers that be in the party. Hitherto Socialists had differed among themselves as to the relative value of political action (in the narrow, parliamentary sense) and industrial action, but believing in both forms of action they stayed in the party and worked together for the common cause. They even ventured to differ among themselves as to the profound world-shaking problem of sabotage. But now all was to be changed. Henceforth every party member of somewhat vivid imagination and loose tongue could be haled before the inquisitorial tribunal. Did he or did he not say this or that thing? If he did, he stands expelled for heresy. And this in a party that rightly boasts of being not a society of the elect, but of being, or aiming to become, the party of the working masses of the nation, the political expression of the class movement of the proletariat! * * *

“Expulsion of individual members, and even of entire branches and locals, has become the order of the day. In the State of Washington the state organization was split wide open, the reformist element there going out of the party, forming an independent organization, and adopting a platform in which the words ‘working class’ and ‘class struggle’ are carefully shunned.

"The fact is that in our factional embitterment we appear to have forgotten, not only our common Socialist principles and aims, but even the rules of ordinary intercourse and the commonest democracy. In our platform we demand proportional representation, but in our internal party practice we find an unholy joy in being able to suppress the minority utterly and completely. Wherever one faction happens to be in power, it systematically excludes the members of the other faction from the party councils, the management of the press, the selection of speakers, etc."

Quoting the astounding conception of the editor of that "sheep in wolves' clothing," the Metropolitan Magazine, to the effect that Haywood's expulsion from the N. E. C. "clears the way for a better understanding between the progressives and the Socialists," the editorial concludes with the following suggestion:

"Surely, a halt must be called to such tactics, as destructive and disruptive as they are disreputable. The Socialist party cannot thrive upon, and should not tolerate, the methods of boss and machine rule which prevail in the old parties. The S. L. P. has shown us where boss methods lead to in the Socialist movement. Even the Republican party, inured to machine rule and reeking with corruption, has recently afforded the spectacle of revolt against the excessive employment of the 'steam roller.' The appalling loss in membership reported by the national office should serve to call us back to our senses. To persist in our present ways is to court destruction for the party and to hamper and retard the progress of Socialism on this continent."

SECTION 6, ARTICLE II.

Section 6, Article II is a living, standing insult to the whole American movement. At Indianapolis, in May, 1912, I sat in the balcony of Tomlinson Hall and saw the majority of the convention systematically worked into a fever of excitement, bitterness and fear of something which did not exist, until the time was ripe to write the clause into the party law. During the thirteen years in which it has been my privilege to work in the Socialist movement, I have never heard a capitalist politician or even the most bitter Roman Catholic clerical opponent of Socialism say that we were criminals. It remained for the Indianapolis convention of the party itself to declare to the world that our ranks were so infested. When the vote was passed the hilarious leaders of the majority started to sing the "Marseillaise"—thus degrading our sacred anthem into a means of jollification to signalize their victory in a party brawl. And this deed was accomplished through the

help of scores whose services to the movement I had admired and whose confidence and respect I thought I had, until then, enjoyed. Ninety delegates and hundreds of comrades sitting in the balconies left Tomlinson Hall that afternoon feeling the party had reached its very lowest possible state of moral degradation. The forces of disruption had at last created for the time being an unbridgable chasm between two groups within the party. Only a firm faith in the fundamental principles of the party and in the moral soundness of the thousands of members of the rank and file who were thus led into the belief that some of us were criminals, have, during the past year, served to keep us in the party and at work.

SOME DEFINITIONS.

A criminal is one who has committed a heinous offense against the well-being of the state, for which the state provides juridical means of accusation and a heavy penalty in case of conviction. It is for the state, not for individuals, to define this word. To the British government every advocate of American independence during the Revolutionary war was a criminal. To the slaveocracy in control of the government in 1850 every citizen who refused to help the Federal government to catch slaves was a criminal. Section 6, Article II binds the Socialist party to accept the definitions of crime prescribed by the legislatures and courts of capitalism. When that clause was passed the Socialist party thereby temporarily resigned its revolutionary position and humbly cringed before the powers that be. THE POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE OF SABOTAGE.

When Section 6 was under discussion, Delegate Tom Hickey of Texas declared that he knew of few delegates who were capable of correctly pronouncing the word "sabotage," and to think of delegates being able to act intelligently upon something they did not understand was ridiculous. Comrade Hickey was quite right. Sabotage as a means of accomplishing the revolution! In all my traveling for the party I have never heard any member anywhere remotely suggest that sabotage could be used in any possible way for the purpose of accomplishing the revolution. For any one to suggest such a possibility would simply be to expose a degree of ignorance so great as to make him absolutely harmless. Sabotage is used everywhere, in season and out, by intelligent workers, organized and

unorganized, to secure definite immediate ends. That is all.

Now as regards the negative of the sabotage argument. Tell a revolutionist who has lost a dozen jobs, broken with half his friends and quarreled with his wife in order to engage in the Socialist movement, that he must not use a certain word and then watch and see what he does. He will cry it from the housetops. He will din it into the ears of those who tried to muzzle him until they wish they had left him in peace. That is just what has happened during the past year. After the Indianapolis convention there were revolutionary Socialist papers which advocated sabotage in screaming headlines to the workers in general. I. W. W. soap-boxers began to talk of nothing but sabotage. I have heard a street speaker spend an hour telling clerks how to spoil paint by putting chemicals in it while painting. Thousands in the party who would never have heard the word had it been left out of the party constitution, began to grow excited and to argue and quarrel about sabotage. This was but the beginning of the terrible price our party was to pay for that acme of official stupidities, Section 6, Article II.

EXPULSIONS AND DESERTIONS.

In order to found this argument entirely upon facts I shall here refer to such only as have fallen beneath my personal observation. During the year I have traveled and mixed with the membership from New York to San Francisco. Since we are talking about crimes, the worst crime I know of is a cowardly refusal to face facts which are troublesome and disappointing.

Elyria, Ohio, is an industrial town of fifteen thousand people. Two years ago its local of over a hundred members was the most active organization of its size with which I have ever come in contact. It now numbers just five dues-paying members. In Chicago, Ill., following the death of the Daily Socialist, the English-speaking membership has fallen to 1,500. Years ago Chicago often received more than 1,500 applications for membership within a period of six months. In Chicago the foreign speaking organizations, which have escaped this disruption, now outnumber the English-speaking branches by about 600. I am told by veterans here in Chicago that the local is today conducting less work of propaganda and education than was accom-

plished by the old S. L. P. before the split in 1899.

Detroit, Mich., now has 50,000 workers in the automobile industry alone. It is one of the ripest fields for sound Socialist progress in the whole world. On the occasion of my visit to that local last June I found seven members present at the meeting of its main branch. The next night at a meeting of an I. W. W. local I found at least a hundred active young men who had left the Socialist Party and joined the I. W. W. When I labored with some of them in order to point out the error in leaving the Socialist Party, they replied to me with jests about Section 6, Article II.

Local San Francisco, Cal., so greatly feared my presence among its membership that it refused to conduct the Lyceum Course because I was one of the lecturers. Its membership had reduced to a shadow of what it was several years ago and seemed to be wholly inactive.

The great state of Illinois has not now a single Socialist organizer or lecturer in the field.

The whole situation is by no means statistically summed up by citation of the numbers of members lost. For the first eight months of 1912 the average number of dues-paying members was 118,519. For the first eight months of 1913 the membership averaged 93,327, showing a loss of more than 21 per cent. But the activity of the party has decreased more than fifty per cent. The life spring of our activity is enthusiasm for our cause. Nothing so poisons and dries that spring as factional bitterness and conflict. During the year just past hardly a local and state organization has escaped disruption. During this year we should at least have held our membership even, as we did during the post-election years of 1905 and 1909. Furthermore, let it not be overlooked that the members lost have not been new and untried recruits. They have been largely the most active and valuable workers in the cause.

PARTY UNITY.

A member's degree of loyalty to the party and to the cause is indicated always by his willingness to forget differences, great and small, with his comrades, in united service of the movement as a whole. As soon as a member spends more time in fighting his comrades than in fighting the common enemy he becomes a negative force

and is worse than worthless to the organization. When factional troubles are of long standing their worst effect is to embitter the members against one another and thus destroy their usefulness. During the past year many thousands of members have so far forgotten the primary purpose of our movement that it is questionable whether they will ever again be valuable factors in the struggle. A man who works ten hours a day at a machine or a woman who toils from dawn until dark in the kitchen and the nursery find that bitter words soon "get on their nerves." Either they remain away from meetings or they come to find a certain joy in "putting it over the other fellow." Thus a local falls from a membership of a hundred good-natured, active workers, to a score of cantankerous, mean-spirited factionalists. Such has in many cases been the course of our locals during the past year.

When the convention of 1912 met at Indianapolis the party had not been greatly injured by any of the factional controversies which had taken place. By far the greater majority of the membership or the delegates took side permanently in none of these conflicts. The opening days of the convention were marked by a fineness of spirit which greatly encouraged every one present. I recall an incident which I shall always remember as indicative of the proper spirit on such occasions. A young delegate came up to Haywood in a state of considerable excitement and urged that the fight be pressed against those who disagreed with the policies which Haywood and others advocated. "Let us compromise with our friends and fight our real enemies," answered Haywood.

This was the spirit which the revolutionary minority exhibited throughout the convention. Specifically was it manifested in the discussion of the labor union resolution, both by the committee and on the convention floor. I have suggested that the depths were reached during and after the passage of Section 6, Article 2. The heights of party fraternity and unity were attained during the discussion of our attitude toward labor unions. *The unanimous report of the committee was unanimously endorsed by the convention. That was the time to sing the "Marseillaise."* But—

"We will get them tomorrow," said certain delegates as they left the hall—delegates who had not dared by voice or vote

to break the unanimity with which the resolution on labor unions was received and adopted. "Tomorrow" brought with it the poisonous exhalations which still weaken the body and trouble the spirit of the party.

The fact that such action could result in such a travesty which in turn could prove so ruinous to our party is in a sense merely proof of our untrained and unwashed greenness. The lack of Socialist education which makes it still possible for a few Socialist leaders to lead us into the mire and leave us there is a condition which it will take much time and labor to improve. And this work of education must be accompanied by a finer spirit and a higher idealism than has hitherto marked the relations of any of us within the party. The rack and the thumb-screw of inquisitorial procedure have been dragged out of the fourteenth century to be used by factions in the Socialist Party of the United States, not because the membership relished that sort of thing, but because the majority of the membership do not know just what they wish to have done nor how properly to go about doing anything of a constructive nature.

Every delegate who voted for Section 6, Clause II, to whom I have spoken declares most positively that he privately believes in sabotage and that upon reflection he realizes fully that there are no "criminals" in the party. They were led to do what they did on that evil day by their entire lack of preparation to hurriedly face a condition which they did not understand. But for those who were made to suffer for this muddleheadedness to desert the party can only work harm and not good. Running away from a fight because our comrades do not wish to keep step with us in as much desertion as fleeing from the face of the enemy. A member who lacks either the intelligence or the loyalty to be a good loser in the counsels of the party surely lacks the will power to be anything positive at all, not to speak of living consistently the life of a revolutionist.

LET ME SUGGEST.

To the thousands of comrades whom I have met in all parts of the country and whom I have found to be in agreement with myself as regards party policies, let me make the following suggestion: Many of you have left the party. Many more of you have become inactive. A very great many have already come to doubt or are already seriously doubting the efficacy of working

class political action in its entirety. Do not permit the circumstances we have described to drive you into this fallacious and inutile position. The destruction of the Socialist political movement in this country was prophesied in 1899, in 1904, in 1905 and in 1910. It did not happen at any of those times. It won't happen now. Parties in the United States are not made like fresh bread, every morning. The Socialist Party is just ourselves—the twenty thousand who do the work, the 87,000 who paid dues in August—the nine hundred thousand who voted in 1912—the three millions in this country who say to all the world that they are Socialists. We are what we are. If you wish to see growth toward better things within and without, stay with the fight and help build this movement into something better than it is. If sixty years ago the handful of Socialists could live and die keeping the fires burning, you are a pretty poor kind of a successor to them if you lose hope today.

For the time being forget Section 6, Article II, and the day will come when those who passed it, realizing their shame and disgrace, will vote to repeal it. Let me confess here that I have pitied those responsible for it and have wasted not a single moment in hating them. However wrong they were, their error is not one-tenth as great as that of the member who deserts the standards under fire. Let us purge ourselves of every sentiment except that of burning zeal for a cause whose heart's center can never be touched by individual error. Remember that those who do the most work in the party will eventually control its counsels.

Factionalism lays hold of the ignorant member and keeps him ignorant. It seizes upon the weak man and turns his weakness into downright meanness. No man or woman can long continue engaged in internecine quarrels and come out with mind unscathed. Let us have an end of it.

FRANK BOHN.



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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The Death of Bebel.—It was at Passugg, Switzerland, on August 13, that August Bebel passed away. For years he had suffered from some sort of heart trouble. At recent party congresses he has been able to appear only by nerving himself up to bear the suffering entailed and running the risk of bringing on a crisis which might at any moment mean the end of life. But both in parliament and in the party organization he fought on to the end. In fact during the last days he was at work upon an edition of the Marx-Engels correspondence.

The funeral took place on August 18, at Zurich. While one great mass of people was attending the ceremonies at the crematory, where the body was incinerated, another, and much larger one, was listening to speeches in the open air. In the formal services there were addresses by representatives of all the chief civilized nations of the globe. Morris Hillquit, for the United States, told how we have drawn inspiration from the German movement and especially from the words and the example of Bebel.

Just at the present moment, when the German movement seems to be entering upon a new phase, it seems especially worth while to consider the meaning of Bebel's life and character. The distinguished thing about him was that he was able to put principles into practice without first debauching them.

A story told in Vorwaerts by Eduard Bernstein suggests Bebel's quality of stuff better than an epic of great parliamentary struggles. In 1881 he was up for election in two districts. In both of them he received just enough votes to place him in the second election. This was during the time of the Bismarckian anti-Socialist law. The movement was dependent on the privileges of its parliamentary group for its propaganda. Only members of the Reichstag were beyond the reach of the police. At the first elec-

tion not a single Socialist had been successful. Almost any sacrifice might have seemed justifiable if it promised to gain a seat. The so-called Christian Socialists of that day, lead by court-preacher Stoecker, were contesting both of the seats for which Bebel was running. They offered to throw their vote to him if he would promise to support only a few of their reform measures. With regard to one of the seats in question Bebel and Liebknecht issued a joint statement. "Rather 3,000 honestly gained votes than 30,000 that are bought," they said. And with regard to the other seat Bebel wrote to Bernstein: "I will not mix myself up with any of this business. Better lose my seat than support measures which I hold to be wrong. I will tell these people straight out that they are on a fool's errand." He did as he said and actually lost his seat.

But Bebel was no "impossibilist." He kept his principles clean and clear, but such was his devotion, such his talent, such his enthusiasm, that he made multitudes understand them and support them. This is what we need now, what Germany needs now, what all the world needs. Germany is entering upon a time when the workers must consider the necessity of trying new tactics. We are for the first time in a position to get the attention of great masses of working men and women. There is more than ever need of clean and clear principles and of the understanding and devotion whereby Bebel made principles a living thing in the political activity of millions of people.

The Workers in Republican Portugal.—It is three years now since the Portuguese drove out King Manuel. They had reason enough. The government was inefficient and extravagant. It delivered the nation into the power of Rome. Certainly no one except the immediate beneficiaries of the royal establishment had any reason to

regret the hasty departure of young Manuel.

The working-class bore an important part in the revolution. The industrial workers were republicans and willing to fight for a democratic government. And they did fight. Of course, they expected a return for the sacrifices. The republican leaders made promises of reform and freedom.

Now three years have passed and we have an opportunity to size up the difference between a republican and a monarchy. So far as can be seen at the present moment the republic is different but hardly better. In a recent number of *Neue Zeit* Edmondo Peluso writes illuminatingly of present conditions in Portugal. Within three years the republic has had five ministers, one as useless as the others. National funds have been wasted on festivities designed to replace old church holidays or on a policy "of intrigue and persecution of monarchists, conspirators and innocent working-men."

Since the inauguration of the present Radical ministry the labor union movement has been systematically suppressed. Unions have been dissolved by the police, and labor papers have either been suppressed or fined so heavily that publication is almost impossible. At the time of the writing of Comrade Peluso's article 110 workers lay in jail for no other crime than having taken part in strikes. The police have been given full power, as if the land were under military law. And in parliament the lone Socialist deputy is the only one who has raised his voice against this state of affairs.

Economic conditions were never so bad under the monarchy. A new tax law lays heavy burdens on land values. As a result land-owners have ceased to build and rents have gone up. The workers in the building trades are unemployed and lack of work is becoming general. Like the French government in 1848, the present Portuguese ministry has started national shops for the unemployed. But the treasury is so depleted that work can be furnished only three days in the week. When, under these conditions, the government instituted expensive celebrations, the workers rose in revolt and were put down with violence.

During the entire three years there has been no municipal election. The municipalities have been under the dictatorship of the government. An electoral law is under discussion, but the various republican factions are unable to agree upon it. In its present form it is most unsatisfactory to the workers. Under the monarchy all male heads of families or tax-payers had the ballot; under the proposed law only males over 21 who can read and write will have it. And in Portugal 75 per cent of the workers are illiterate.

"In this terrible situation," says Comrade Peluso, "the Socialist party has kept itself clear of the capitalist parties and preserved its freedom and its principles. The proletarians are daily learning that all capitalist governments are alike and are rapidly filling the ranks of the Socialist party. At the time of the foundation of the republic this party had 20 groups with 1,000 members; now, after three years, there are 78 groups with between 3,800 and 4,000 members. The party has a daily paper in Lisbon and eleven weekly papers. And it is growing steadily. Soon it may be the strongest political party in Portugal. Out of present chaos rises the Socialist movement as the only hope of the people."

Good News From England. A London correspondent of a German paper recently gave a striking picture of English Socialist agitation. In a public park representatives of the I. L. P. and B. S. P. occupied stands within earshot of each other and entertained the populace with verbal charge and countercharge. Nearby another orator, representing a group which had split off from the B. S. P., was holding forth against the latter organization. And not far away a representative of a subdivision of this subdivision was berating all the other speakers. The crowd strolled from one stand to another and was much amused by what it heard.

The results of this sort of thing are just what one would expect. All the groups involved are coming to see that, despite the rebellious condition of the working-class, Socialism is practically at a standstill. In fact, it is stated by those in a position to know that there are fewer groups of organized Socialists now than

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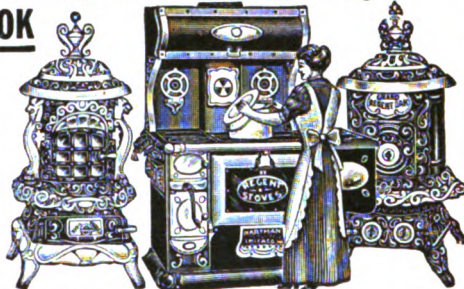
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there were some years ago. The I. L. P. Socialists may be seeing a new light. In the by-election at Leicester a good many Laborites supported the Liberal rather than an out-and-out Socialist. More recently, at Chesterfield, a member of the Miners' Federation has been running for Parliament as both Laborite and Liberal. To be sure he was finally disowned by the Executive of the Labor Party, but he got active support from Labor Party leaders and, it is to be supposed, practically the solid Labor vote. On the other hand, the members of the B. S. P. are forced to acknowledge that under the present conditions they are unable to get hold of the workers. Quelch, Hyndman and the others are not one whit less revolutionary than of yore. If they are willing to discuss union, or even the possibility of entrance into the Labor Party, it does not mean that they are ready to compromise. But they do wish to do whatever is necessary to make real Socialism a real power in the land. The Fabian Society is ready to do most anything that is sufficiently indefinite.

For some time past the International Socialist Bureau has been carrying on negotiations looking toward a unity conference of English Socialism. On July 18 an informal preliminary conference was finally convened. Vandervelde and Huysmans were present as representatives of the bureau. The I. L. P. men made it clear that they object to working with a certain "impossibilist" element of the B. S. P. The B. S. P. men made it equally clear that they do not look forward with pleasure to cooperating with a certain "mugwumpish Liberal" element in the I. L. P.

The conference finally agreed to put before the membership of the three organizations represented two suggestions: (1) the establishment of a United Socialist Council; (2) the affiliation of all the organizations represented in the council with the Labor Party. When a B. S. P. delegate asked what would be involved in membership in the Labor Party he was told that this question might be left open till a later date.

A further conference is to be called for some date in November. At that time the delegates will have instructions from

the rank and file of the membership. The purpose of the leaders in the unity movement is to bring about Socialist unity and, through that, finally bring the Labor party round to Socialism. It is difficult for an outsider to see why the second purpose should be considered inextricably bound up with the first.

The Krupp Trial. It wasn't called the Krupp trial, but that is what it was. In form it was the trial of seven little fellows, some of them petty officers in the German army, some of them unimportant employes of the Krupp firm. It began on July 31 and lasted six days. The men were all found guilty and given sentences varying from six months' to three weeks' imprisonment. Both prosecution and defense were carried on with the express purpose of minimizing the crimes committed. Comrade Liebknecht, in the course of his original revelations in the Reichstag, had called the affair a "Panama scandal." The public prosecutor began his formal address by saying it was "no Panama." So, though this was a prosecution in form, in reality it was an attempt to exculpate the Krupps and the ministry of war before the public conscience.

What was proved was that the Krupp firm, the pride of the German chauvinists, had for years supported in Berlin a representative, one Brand, paid a high salary to secure useful military secrets. Besides his regular salary he was paid thousands of marks yearly for incidental expenses. His information was sent to Essen on special blanks and there checked up by a special official and turned over to the department to which it might be of most use. At the end of each year all of these blanks were destroyed. Large numbers of them were, however, in the possession of Comrade Liebknecht, and the police took many more.

Herr Brand's confessions involved only petty officers, and his superiors in the Krupp firm professed absolute ignorance of his operations. So the government and its papers have loudly proclaimed that, after all, Comrade Liebknecht was making a great fuss about nothing at all. To all these Liebknecht has answered powerfully in an article published in *Vorwaerts*. He shows conclusively that the

directors of the Krupp firm must have been involved in the bribery which was proved and that the probability is that information has been bought from much higher army officials than those directly involved in the trial. He draws attention, also, to the fact that the capitalist spokesmen have tried to forget the proven fact that the Krupps bribed a French paper to foment trouble between France and Germany.

It must be confessed that the whole affair looks worse now than it did at the start. Not only has there been systematic graft; the more important fact is that the whole machinery of the imperial government has been set in motion to cover up the graft and the grafters. Big business and militarism have put an end to any sense of honesty or truthfulness. Capitalist morality was hardly ever better revealed.

"Peace" in the Balkans. The end of the internecine war in the Balkans has been brought about in most surprising fashion. Roumania, which took no part in the fight against the Turk, waited until Greece and Servia had got Bulgaria fairly down and then stepped in to claim a good share of the booty. During the first days of August the peace conference was held at Bucharest, the Roumanian capital. Roumania took a large slice of northeastern Bulgaria, while Greece and Servia divided Macedonia. The Bulgars had to be content with what little was left. As the division has thus been made it bears no possible relation to the distribution of the various races or to natural boundary lines. The conditions are excellent for the beginning of new conflicts whenever any party to the peace treaty thinks he can take more than has been accorded him. A billion dollars have been spent, countless lives have been lost, the industrial life of the whole region has been destroyed—and the settlement is no settlement at all. The people are helplessly ignorant and the rulers are bent on aggrandizement at any cost. Of course the war was undertaken at the behest of various groups of capitalists. It is for their benefit that the nations have been led to the shambles. But even from their point of view, it would seem, the struggle has been a wasteful and almost futile one.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Sointula, B. C., Canada. Comrade Kaario fires in a list of 22 wage-slaves to whom the Fighting Magazine looks good. This shows what a live comrade can do when he gets his hustling clothes on.

Comrade Bowman of Hubbell, Neb., rounds up ten new subscribers, besides ordering a bunch of books. If 100 more comrades would follow suit there would soon be a big Red streak in Nebraska.

From Wisconsin. Comrade Carter comes across with ten subs from Eagle River and Comrade Cocke of Lamasco, Texas, follows suit.

Live Ones. The following comrades have sent in ten or more subscriptions to the Fighting Magazine during the past month: Charles Devison, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; J. F. Ditchen, Newport, Ky.; J. P. Eastman, Fredericktown, Pa.; Peter Fanoni, Cumberland, Canada; A. R. Finke, Argenta, Ark.; J. H. Frow, Hubbard, Ohio; C. A. Faxon, Wellington, Ohio; Robert Helms, Oakland, Cal.; J. D. Mallette, Palestine, Tex.; A. Orden, Rochester, N. Y.; D. Robertson, Bloomington, Ind.; A. O. Rosen, Silvis, Ill.; William G. Schultz, Napoleon, Ohio; Theo. J. Steblin, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Emil Seidel, Fort Wayne, Ind.; Simeon Syfert, Fredell, Pa., and G. W. Moore, Tarpon Springs, Fla.

From Far-Off Hawaii. Comrade Estelle Baker sends in 11 subs from Honolulu, which shows what a live revolutionist can do on the job.

Disfranchisement in the Party.—The wool has been drawn over the eyes of the members of the Socialist party by that wonderful change in the Constitution. Now the National committee elects the Executive committee and the National Executive secretary. When we think of the opposition for the direct election of United States senators by such men as Taft, Lodge and other questionable celebrities who claim that it is a dangerous thing for the common horde to select men for the highest legislative branches and to permit the unlettered mob to have something to say about who is supposed to represent them, we are not surprised. But we are glad the mob will have a chance to vote for their choice for the United States Senate. But things have

changed in the Socialist party. It is claimed by some officials that things that happened in the National office forced the change. We have boasted of our democracy. We stand for the Referendum and Recall, or at least we say we do when we talk to capitalists, but we have disfranchised ourselves in our Own Party. It is always easier to control a FEW in a convention than it is to control the mass by referendum. The claim was made that abolishing the referendum would save the members a lot of trouble. Then we went on record against sabotage, violence, etc., etc. Probably it will be pragmatism next—anything to divert the workers' minds from the class struggle. A discussion of pragmatism would give the "intellectuals" another chance to get in the spotlight. If they discuss "who's right" long enough instead of getting into the class struggle we will have another drop of 40,000 in party membership.

We now have a new executive committee. Did you have anything to say about whom should be elected? Did you have a chance to vote for the new National Secretary or for some other choice? Did you have a chance to say who you wanted for party officials? Nothing doing. We MUST not trust the rabble. You can vote for the National committee but you can't be trusted to vote for the "higher officers." No, the National committee will choose for you. Don't you want a chance to do your own choosing? We hope that soon the members of the Party will stop disfranchising themselves in the Party and rescind such foolishness as we have permitted to go through: The management of the Party must be from the bottom up and not from the TOP DOWN. The voice of the rank and file must be SUPREME. It can always be trusted for its honesty as above the few.

TOM J. LEWIS.

Gisslen Starts Them Up.—Comrade Gisslen, of Minneapolis, started the REVIEW subscription list going up on the 27th, with eight big yearlies for Minneapolis. Wish some of our friends would take a lesson from him.

From Canada.—Comrade Geo. Townsend writes from Canada: "The Kerr Co. is the greatest fighting machine we Socialists have on the continent." Good for Comrade Townsend! This is the kindest praise we have ever received and we want to tell our readers that we mean to live up to it.

How To Help.—Comrade Steere, of Chesopchet, writes that he will be one of 100 to send in \$5.00 for books to help out the fall and summer slump. I hope all

our friends will respond the same way and force us to hire another entry clerk. We would rather have orders than money any time, for every book makes us new friends and new workers in the movement.

Ohio Picnic.—The Socialists of Cuyahoga and Lorain Counties, Ohio, held a picnic at Crystal Beach, Vermilion, Ohio, Sunday, August 17. About 200 attended from towns in northern Ohio. Addresses were made by J. E. Robb, F. C. Ruppel, C. E. Ruthenberg, of Cleveland, Peter Kinnear, of Columbus, and Ben Williams, of Cleveland, editor of *Solidarity*. One group of comrades sailed over from Sandusky in the yacht of F. E. Fick. At her mast-head she flew the Red Flag and her name is "Comrade."

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English Transport Workers.—Comrade Robert Williams, secretary of the National Transport Workers' Federation, of England, writes sending us the report of the International Transport Workers' Federation Convention, held in London, in August, and his plea to the Transport Workers. It is an inspiring document, and if the English friends will only take up and carry on the work as outlined by Secretary Williams his prediction will probably be verified and 1914 find One Big Union of all English Transport Workers an accomplished fact. Comrade Williams writes: "I get the REVIEW every month. What about a special edition for England?" We hope to have further news from Robert Williams before long.

A Protest from Tonopah, Nev.:—Against Paragraph (e) of Section 1, of Article 5, and Sections 2 and 3 of Article 5, and Sections 1, 2, and 3 of Article 15 of the National Constitution of the Socialist party.

Whereas, The sections of Article 5 and 15 herein mentioned will, and does, place unsafe and arbitrary power in the hands of the National committee and robs the membership at large of voicing their will and wishes, and;

Whereas, The members of Tonopah Local, after due investigation of the National Constitution, protest against such centralization of power in the hands of the few over the vast many which comprise the Socialist party of the United States, and believe it a vital and dangerous mistake, unwise, unjust, and un-socialistic and a menace to the progress and final victory of the Socialist movement, as the baneful effect of centralized power, which tends to deprive any Local (no matter how small that Local may be) to at any time initiate any referendum which to them may seem just and necessary; would in effect, strike at the very heart and fundamental principles of the Socialist movement, which declares for the government of the Socialist party by a referendum vote OF ALL THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Therefore, We, the members of Tonopah Local, of Tonopah, Nev., do hereby

most earnestly protest against the sections of Articles 5 and 15 hereinbefore mentioned as being more capitalistic and plutocratic than Socialistic, and we believe it to be an indisputable fact that the best interests of the Socialist party can be more wisely and safely managed and controlled by the vote of the membership at large on all vital and important matters than by the votes of the few members of the National committee.

Wherefore, We earnestly request that the National committee do immediately initiate a referendum to so amend the before mentioned sections of Articles 5 and 15 that the referendum will be restored to each and every Socialist Local in the United States, instead of by the few members of the National committee; and, Be it resolved, That the State Executive committee do take immediately the necessary action to initiate a referendum in accordance with this protest.

LOCAL.—Please take action to endorse this protest and forward same promptly to State secretary so that the results may be speedily known.

TONAPAH LOCAL, S. P.

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The Review Vindicated.—We desire to submit some statements of fact in support of the article which appeared in the July issue of the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, entitled "Conspiracy and Street Speaking."

We have both read the article in question and wish to say that we endorse every statement therein expressed.

At the outset let it be remembered that we, E. E. Kirk and Harry M. McKee, are now and have been since June 30, serving sentence in jail as a result of our activities in the San Diego free speech fight of last year. Our status in that fight is evidenced by the fact that we were among the first to be arrested, and are the only Socialists who were adjudged guilty of conspiracy and sentenced to jail. This should be sufficiently convincing as to our first hand knowledge of the origin and outcome of the fight.

We have learned that since coming to jail our local, Branch San Diego, endorsed a letter to *THE REVIEW* in which the above mentioned article was characterized as "a cowardly slander on Comrade Kaspar Bauer." Please understand that we do not criticize our local for this action. We are too well acquainted with its upwards of four hundred members to hold any such feelings; and besides, on the occasion when the letter to *THE REVIEW* was endorsed, there were not more than twenty-five persons present. When we are free again we think we can promise a different expression from the local.

The facts substantiating *THE REVIEW* article are as follows: There was a free speech fight in San Diego in 1912. It was a clear cut class issue. The Socialist local unanimously endorsed the fight. The Federated Trades Council did likewise. The Free Speech League was formed with several hundred members. An executive committee was elected (composed of delegates from some fifteen organizations) with thirty members, including three each from the Socialists and the I. W. W. The purpose was to test the ordinance and create public sentiment and if possible secure its repeal. Thirty-nine, including Bauer, Kirk and McKee, were arrested the first night on which arrests were made, and charged with "conspiracy." Numerous arrests followed, but no other conspiracy charges were made. The police and vigilantes committed many outrages and brutalities. Only fourteen of those charged with conspiracy were finally tried and of these but six were convicted. Bauer was acquitted. Two of those convicted, Kirk and McKee, appealed the case, and the Appellate and Supreme courts affirmed the verdict. These two comrades are now serving their sentences in the county jail.

During the week following our arrest, while we were all denying the conspiracy and asserting that we individually broke the ordinance; Bauer, who was also out on bail, was called to the office of the chief of police, and there made the statements quoted in *THE REVIEW* article. He was not even under arrest at the time. He made similar statements to Francis J. Bierman, notorious as "captain" of the "Vigilantes," as they walked up the street together a few days later. Hundreds were ar-

rested or detained during the trouble, nearly all of whom were sweated or threatened, but not one of these, aside from Bauer, implicated any other individual. And while these statements were made to our enemies in February, 1912, it was not until our trial five months later that we knew of it, and then only when it came as a complete and disconcerting surprise from the lips of Police Commissioner Sehon and "Captain" Bierman on the witness stand. In our presence, Bauer did not deny the testimony of Sehon and Bierman, but he did swear that there was no conspiracy. His testimony taken verbatim from the transcript is:

Q. Was there any agreement made by yourself in conjunction with any of these defendants or anyone else, a meeting of the minds at all, an agreement or understanding, that you would violate the ordinance, or not?

A. No sir. I could not tell you what the other minds were; I was speaking for myself. I stated that I would be willing to try the ordinance; if I was arrested I would be willing to be tried and subject myself to the penalty of the law if there was a penalty and if I was convicted.

Q. Mr. Bauer, did you have in mind anything further than the violation of the ordinances by yourself as an individual alone?

A. I was just speaking for myself. I had no intention that I would use any coercion as to what anybody else would do.

Q. Did you know, as a matter of fact, what anybody else was going to do?

A. No sir, I did not. (Page 1594 et seq. Rep. Tr.)

Since his acquittal, and in contradiction of his sworn testimony, he declares that there was a conspiracy and that he is proud of his part therein. While he is free to say what he pleases, yet he is refuting the testimony not only of himself, but of all his co-defendants, and giving the very turn to the affair that the vigilante coerced authorities most desire.

In addition to the foregoing, Bauer is in complete harmony with the vigilantes and authorities in a far more serious matter. He has made public attacks through the press on the I. W. W., who, whatever may be said of their tactics, are a portion of the working class. His statements to Ralph Korngold, which appeared in the *New York Call* of May 13, 1913, and other Socialist papers, is in point. He is there quoted as saying "that if it had not been for the language and tactics employed by the I. W. W. speakers, there never would have been a free speech fight in San Diego, nor would any restrictive ordinance have been hatched." Now, neither of us are members, nor are we eligible to membership, in the I. W. W., but we want to emphatically resent these statements. Even if Bauer's charges were true it would be bad enough to see a Socialist working with the vigilantes to discredit a part of the workers. But the statements are not true. His own testimony from the witness stand contradicts his present attitude as does every investigation ever had here. Not only this but not one of the chief witnesses for the prosecution attributed the cause of the fight

to the acts of the I. W. W. Bauer himself, under oath, declared they were not true. He testified:

Q. Do you know any facts existing about January 8, 1912, in connection with the street speaking in this city which might have resulted in breaches of the public peace?

A. There has never been anything occurred there that so far as I know could have been construed into a disturbance of the public peace. (Page 409 et seq. Rep. Tr.)

And to prove that he knew whereof he spoke, he swore that he had spoken on the street corner 150 times within two years.

The Los Angeles Building Trades Council sent down a special committee with authority to investigate and report on conditions in San Diego. Their report was adopted by the Building Trades Council of Los Angeles, on May 16, 1912, and is printed in full in the *Labor Leader* of San Diego, dated May 24. Relating to the causes of the free speech fight, occurs the following paragraphs:

"In all our capitalist and corporation controlled newspapers, the Industrial Workers have been played upon as the cause of all the trouble. We are willing to admit that they have taken a prominent part in the struggle, but this by no means makes it an I. W. W. fight.

"The other side is more than willing to make us believe this for many reasons. First, they know that the policies of the I. W. W., the A. F. of L. and the Socialist party differ in the fight for emancipation; second, that these differences, when agitated and played upon, cause personal prejudices and feeling; third, personal prejudice many times causes a split upon an issue, and fourth, it is easier to crush the working class when it is divided.

"After a very careful study, we are now willing to state that we believe this is a class

struggle, and that there is nothing involved but class issues."

Nor is this all. Governor Johnson sent a special commissioner, Harris Weinstock, to San Diego, to investigate conditions. His report, which can be had from the state printer, does not contain one word concerning any "foul-mouthed and vile" language of the I. W. W. as a reason for the enactment of the ordinance.

Regarding the information that Kaspar Bauer gave to the police against us all, the fact that he was acquitted, while asserting his equal guilt, may be dismissed with any charitable construction. The terms, "police informer," and "selling out," employed in this connection, have come only from the lips of his defenders. We have not used these terms. If our interpretation were asked, we would say he went into the fight over-confident; that he weakened under fire, and in his excitement, omitted to warn his co-defendants of what he had told the police.

Since his acquittal, Bauer has several times attacked that portion of the workers who united under the name of I. W. W. His charges as quoted in the Korngold article are in harmony with the policy of the capitalistic authorities. Weakness or thoughtlessness can and should be overlooked and forgotten, but joining hands with the enemy against the workers, however deplorable their tactics, this is conduct not lightly to be dismissed. When a Socialist does this, he should not only expect criticism, but should receive it and make the best of it. Socialists should be willing to excuse the mistakes of others of the working class, but they should never play into the hands of the enemy by attacking their own class. Such methods only serve to keep the ranks of labor divided, and our motto is "Workers of the World, United."

HARRY M. MCKEE.

E. E. KIRK.

County Jail, San Diego, Calif.

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COPY OF RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE SOCIALIST PARTY, FEDERATED TRADES AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS, SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

Whereas, On January 8, 1912, an ordinance was enacted by the city council of San Diego forbidding street speaking in an uncongested portion of the city which had been used as a place of public assembly for the past twenty years, and.

Whereas, Local San Diego of the Socialist party consistently opposed the passage of said ordinance as an abridgement of our constitutional rights and unanimously adopted resolutions condemning same, and

Whereas, Several of our comrades individually attempted to test the constitutionality of said ordinance by violating its provisions for the purpose of bringing the question before the highest courts of the state, and

Whereas, The authorities by connivance and conspiracy among themselves and with the vigilantes, ignored the *petty offense* of violating the ordinance and charged our comrades with the *major offense of criminal conspiracy to violate a law*, the trials resulting in the conviction and sentence of the so-called leaders, and

Whereas, The bitterness with which the cases against our comrades have been prosecuted, the large sums of money expended, and the severity of the sentences imposed, proves conclusively that this trial was solely an effort on the part of the courts and other interested persons to establish a precedent by which the labor movement may be the more effectively crushed in its struggle for better conditions; this prosecution for the alleged crime of conspiracy being merely an attempt to revive an *outworn theory of law first invoked against the workers when they attempted to organize in England five hundred years ago, and subsequently in this country early in the last century when organized labor was struggling for recognition*, and

Whereas, The affirmation of this decision by the higher courts will make serious crime out of any attempt on the part of the workers to protest against, or to test any law, however absurd or obnoxious, and subject those who even discuss such a law, or who desire to test its legality, to a fine of \$1,000 and to one year's imprisonment, thus wiping out all minor penalties and fixing the foregoing punishment to any infraction of the local ordinance *however petty or unjust*, therefore be it

Resolved, That we reaffirm our endorsement of the actions taken by our comrades in their efforts to test the legality of the anti-free speech ordinance, and heartily commend their

individual attitudes during this prosecution, and further, that we enter our most earnest protest against *such an undemocratic definition of conspiracy and call attention to the fact that the industrial evolution of the past century has rendered the legal customs of the barbarous ages incompatible with present day conditions. and that the injustices of today cannot be remedied by inflicting rigorous personal punishments for psychological and social offenses.*

Despotism in the A. F. of L.

We the officers and members of Barbers Local Union No. 295, affiliated with American Federation of Labor of Los Angeles, Cal., do hereby prefer charges against J. F. O'Brien and M. L. Crow.

The charges are preferred owing to the fact that the evidence is conclusive beyond a doubt that they are members of the organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World.

The above named organization is a dual organization to the A. F. of L., therefore members of that organization cannot belong to the J. B. I. U. of A.

This official ruling having been given to Local No. 295 by the general president of the J. B. I. U. of A. and in accordance with his ruling we the undersigned officers and members of Local No. 295 do recommend that the above named members (J. F. O'Brien and M. L. Crow) be fined one hundred dollars (\$100.00) and suspended and expelled from membership in Barbers' Local Union until such time that said fine is paid, and they furnish to this organization conclusive evidence that they have withdrawn in good intent all allegiance with the above named organization.

Signed, J. L. Nicodemus,
Secy. of Local 295.

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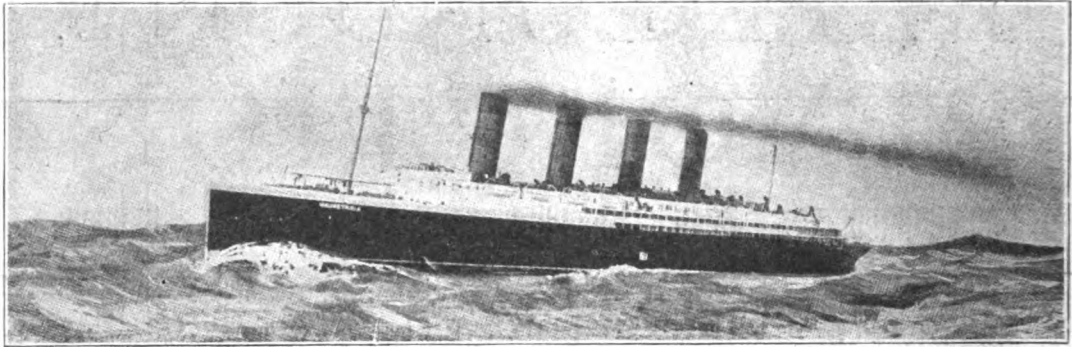
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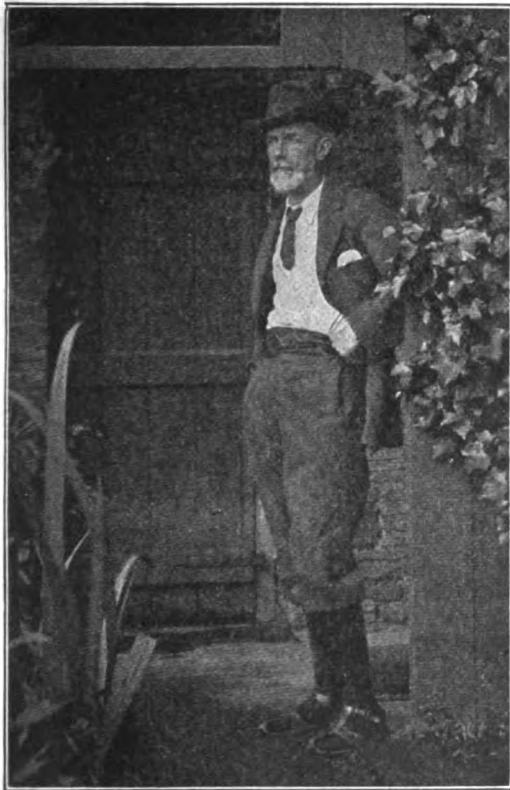
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