

AUG. 1917

The

PRICE TEN CENTS

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



LEADERS: Why They Appear Why People Follow Them Why They Become Autocrats

These questions are vital to the Socialist movement, since its central aim is not merely collective ownership but also *democratic control* of production and distribution. Is a democratically managed society possible? And if so, do political and labor leaders *help* or *hinder* the oncoming of democracy?

These are a few of the questions discussed in a great book by ROBERT MICHELS, Professor of Political Economy and Statistics in the University of Basle, entitled

POLITICAL PARTIES: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy

The author does not attempt to solve our problems for us. He merely shows what *has happened* in the Socialist parties and the labor unions of France, Germany, Italy, England and the United States. Here are a few of the chapters:

The Need for Organization.
The Need for Leadership Felt by the Mass.
The Political Gratitude of the Masses.
Financial Power of the Leaders.
Relation of the Leaders to the Masses.
The Struggle Between the Leaders and the Masses.

Centralization.
The Exercise of Power and Its Reaction Upon the Leaders.
The Metamorphosis of the Leaders.
Syndicalism as a Remedy.
Anarchism.
Party-Life in War-Time.

The last-named chapter was written in 1915 especially for the American edition, and shows how the action of the German Socialist officials has confirmed the author's theories.

POLITICAL PARTIES is a critical analysis of the workings of democracy, both on the political and economic fields. It introduces the reader to a new branch of science, the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated.

POLITICAL PARTIES is a large volume of 426 pages, handsomely printed and bound. It was published in New York at \$3.50 net. We have bought all remaining copies of the American edition, and while they last we offer them to any REVIEW reader at \$1.50 postpaid; with the REVIEW one year, \$2.00.

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The
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News and Views

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OUR TRENCHES

By Rex Lampman

OF COURSE—I don't know that this really happened.

But it seemed to me it did.

I was on the Russian front—somewhere in Galicia—I guess.

And I was with a dapper young officer—who spoke good English.

And we went along the lines.

—and saw the men in the trenches.

And they looked at us with dull eyes—(like ground glass)—in which there was no hope—no dream—no understanding.

And they acted as tho they had been in the trenches—buried in the ground—always.

—and never expected to get out.

And they did what they were told to do—like machines obeying a lever.

And they saluted the young officer—as tho he had stepped on a button—on the ground—which threw up their arms.

And once in a while—I caught a gleam—or thought I did—in some upturned face.

—but it always faded.

Or perhaps it was never there.

—and I just thought I saw it.

And I asked the young officer about it—and he laughed—and said:

“Think?—Oh—no—I do not think so.

“All over Europe—on both sides”—he said—“it is the same.

“No—my friend—they do not think,

—“for if they did—what would they be doing here—in the trenches?”

And I said I didn't know.

And perhaps a shell stunned me,

—or maybe I was never there.

—because the next thing I knew—I was back here in Portland.

And it seemed to me—that we were all in trenches—too.

—and couldn't get out.

—and didn't want to.

—because we didn't know it.

And we had greater liberty—than those poor Russian soldiers.

—and made little better use of it.

And I saw that after all—altho our trenches were wider—and more comfortable—

—they seemed to be deeper.

And I saw that we were doing about the same things—in our trenches—

—as the dull-eyed soldiers were in theirs.

We were living our lives—as best we could.

—or as best we thought we could—

—eating—and sleeping—and taking our turns at the necessary tasks.

And we were very busy—with the affairs of the trench.

—and seldom looked up—to see the sky.

And some of us were digging our trenches a little deeper.

—and a very few seemed dissatisfied.

—or were trying to get out.

And some talked—and said it was human nature—to be in a trench.

And in some of our faces dwelt dreams.

—or the traces where dreams had been.

And the fine brave things—that we wanted to do—we put off—from day to day.

—until the days became years.

—and finally—one by one—the years took us.

—and others took our places—in the trenches.

And all the while—there was plenty of room outside.

—and the whole world waited for us—to leap out of the trenches.

—and show it what we could do.

And the sky seemed to bend down—to plead with us.

—and the fields beckoned.

—and the woods whispered.

—and the sea called.

And I saw—or thought I did—that the people in other trenches—

—who—we thought—were our enemies—

—were really our friends.

—and that they were held by the same fears—that held us.

—and thought the same things that we did.

And all this—that I have written—may not have happened.

And I don't know how it seems to you.

—but it is very clear to me.

—and I know I may be wrong—but—

LISTEN—I think this trench warfare—that we read so much about—is not strictly confined to Poland—or France—or Galicia.

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XVII

AUGUST, 1917

No. 2



THE COMPANY WAS FORCED TO BRING OUT THE GUN MEN BEFORE FOOD
COULD PASS THRU THE PICKET LINES TO THE PUMP MEN.

FROM BUTTE TO BISBEE

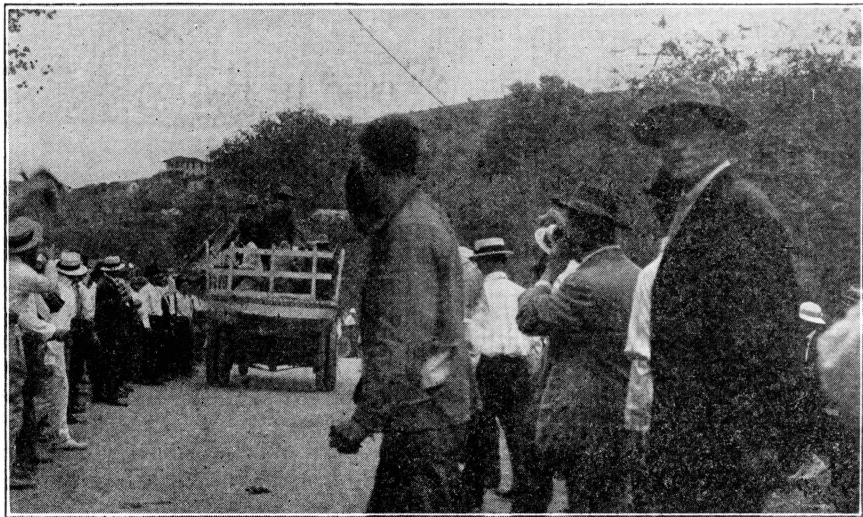
By JOHN MACDONALD

IF YOU have any red blood in your veins you will take off your hat and salute the fifty thousand copper miners who are fighting from Butte to Bisbee for the right to organize into one big union. They want a union big enough to take in the 500,000 unorganized men in the metal mining industry in this country.

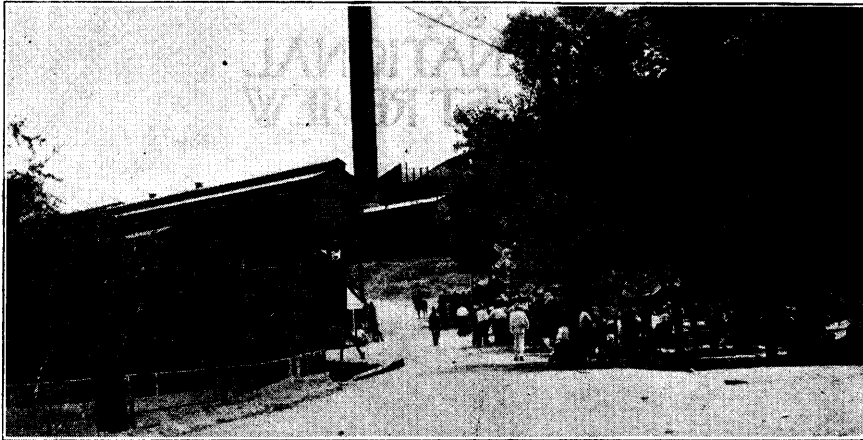
For years their separate unions have been spied upon and broken up by Pinkerton and Burns detectives who were in the employ of the copper companies. They have been betrayed and double-crossed by many of their own officials who posed as union men, but were on the companies' pay rolls. They have been buried and blown up by the hundreds in producing profits for the copper kings and they now demand and are going to get together in one big union, which will be under their control.

They are having to face government troops, company gun men, deportation from their homes and misrepresentation by a lying prostitute press—they are being accused of being "German sympathizers" and of having received huge wads of German money, by lying labor leaders. Hundreds have been torn from their homes, herded into cattle cars without food or drink and are now threatened by company-owned sheriffs with bull pens. Still they fight on! Every socialist who is a socialist and every union man who is a union man will support this strike of the copper men to the limit.

The big industrial walkout of metal mine workers in the copper industry is spreading rapidly over the entire west. The miners of Butte were the first to go out, 14,000 strong. The Arizona miners of Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union, No. 800, of the I. W.



THE COMPANY WAS FORCED TO BRING OUT THE GUN MEN BEFORE FOOD
COULD PASS THRU THE PICKET LINES TO THE PUMPEN.



SOLDIERS AND PICKETS AT THE O. D. MINE. NO SMOKE IS COMING FROM THE SMELTER STACK.

W., are refusing to scab on the miners of Butte. Bisbee, Globe, Miami, Clifton, Morenci, Jerome, and Golconda are already out, and the mines shut down.

Capitalist papers now admit that copper production has decreased a million and a half pounds daily, owing to the big industrial strike. The newspaper men are used to the old time craft and local strikes, where the miners in one camp strike while the miners in other camps work overtime producing ore (altho calling themselves union men) so it is hard for them to understand that this is the dawn of the era of a new winning union, the I. W. W.

The big dailies scream in thick black and red headlines "I. W. W. Strikes Break Out In All Mining Districts." They will soon learn that, instead of being many different strikes, it is a big industrial walkout. All for one and one for all. All of the different camps and districts are in close touch with each other and with the headquarters of No. 800 in Salt Lake City, Utah. The propoganda of the One Big Union is spreading like a forest fire. Education and organization are on the march.

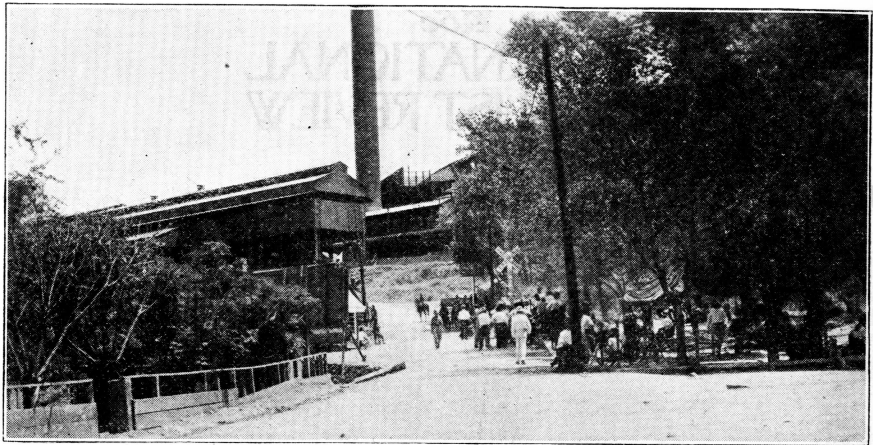
There is much of interest to the working class in our fight with the copper kings; our solidarity will stand as a message to slaves throout the world in other industries, to organize and fight. The boss is the only foreigner in the eyes of the workers here. All nationalities are together. Out of three hundred and fifty Mexicans, who were working on top at the mines, only eighteen are scabbing.

THE BISBEE DISTRICT

Ninety per cent of the five thousand who work in the mining industry in Bisbee are out, the ten per cent who love the boss more than themselves include bosses, imported gunmen, old pensioners, mule skinnners, watchmen, and others who imagine they are far above the common herd.

A great many have turned in their out of date craft union cards, lining up in 800. Of the five thousand miners in the Bisbee district over three thousand eight hundred have already joined the One Big Union. The others who are out with us are lining up fast every day. On June 26th our demands were presented and refused; next morning the strike was on, and pickets were at all the shafts. Wobblie Tactics! The mine owners were very much surprised that we didn't give them a month's notice to prepare to fight us and bring in gunmen.

We have meetings every evening in the city park. The last two evenings Fellow Worker James P. Thompson spoke to four thousand people at each meeting. He was greeted with rousing cheers which re-echoed thru the canyons of Bisbee. Thompson pointed out that for every drop of blood spilled on Everett's bloody Sunday hundreds of red cards have been issued. The miners are taking advantage of their little vacation to study diligently the methods, spirit and organization power of the rising One Big Union. After our present demands of \$6.00 for eight hours are granted we will begin to prepare for the next step onward, \$8.00 for six hours.



SOLDIERS AND PICKETS AT THE O. D. MINE. NO SMOKE IS COMING FROM THE SMELTER STACK.

In Santa Rita, New Mexico, the company has granted a "voluntary" raise in wages to the Mexicans working there. Instead of \$2.30 for ten hours, they now receive \$4.00 for eight hours. We expect that they will get another "voluntary" raise in the near future. One of our demands in Bisbee is \$5.50 for all top men at the mines, most of whom are Mexicans; they formerly were paid \$2.25.

Twice a week we have a big dance at the Union Hall, which has the best dance floor in town. Several hundred fellow workers, girls and boys, always have a good time at all our entertainments.

We have received telegrams assuring us support from many sections of the country. From the harvest fields, where the Agricultural Workers are gathering in the grain, and the Construction Workers, we receive messages and words of cheer and encouragement.

Solidarity and intelligence will win. Our victory is assured. The army of the Workers is advancing under the banner of the One Big Union.

On June 26th the following demands were presented to the mining companies of the Warren District:

1. Abolition of the physical examination.

This abominable outrage has been inflicted upon the self-respecting workers of this district long enough. All union and non-union men as well freely voice their dislike for this system. It is really a blacklist in disguise and answers the same purpose as the rustling card system in Butte.

Often able-bodied, husky men are turned down by the so-called "doctors," while the unfit are often accepted. Nothing but a blacklist in disguise. No real man likes to be stripped and handled like a mule at an auction sale when he applies for work.

2. Two men to work on machines.

The machines used today, operated by one man, are much heavier than the machines formerly run by two men. It is hard enough for the men to operate one of these machines at the pace set by the companies at present.

3. Two men to work together in all raises.

How can the companies follow their own advice, "Safety First," without considering this demand?

4. To discontinue all blasting during shift.

Blasting during the shift and at dinner time is part of the speed-up system and we intend to do away with it. Also we have enough powder smoke from the previous shift, without continually eating smoke and being subject to severe headaches and sickness from this cause.

5. The abolition of all bonus and contract work.

The men are working hard enough now at day's pay. Under the bonus and contract system, the men are setting a pace that the men on day's pay must eventually follow.

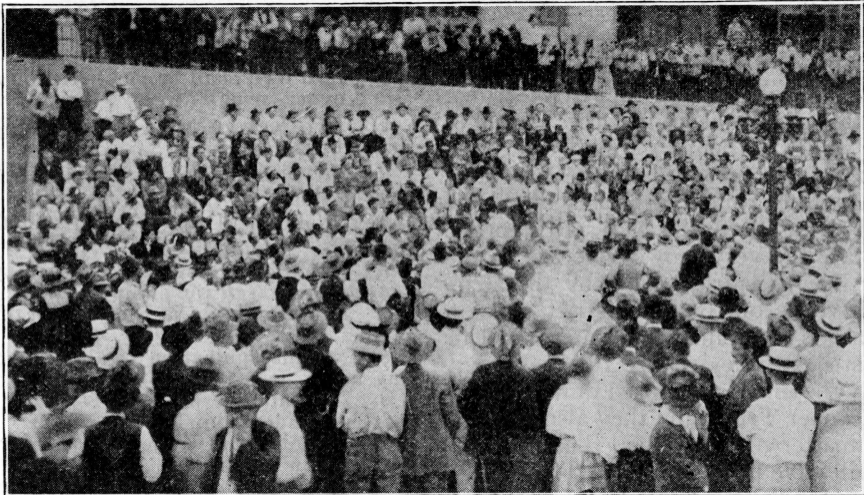
6. To abolish the sliding scale. All men under ground a flat rate of \$6 per shift. Top men \$5.50 per shift.

The cost of living is gradually going up; we don't know whether the sliding scale will or not. Probably not. Under the sliding scale the men have no protection whatever. When the scale slides down and the cost of living stays up, we don't intend to be the goats. So with the Butte miners, we demand the flat rate in order to insure us at least a decent living.

7. No discrimination to be shown against members of any organization.



MASS MEETING OF STRIKERS AT CITY PARK, BISBEE.



MASS MEETING OF STRIKERS AT CITY PARK, BISBEE.



PICKET LINE AT BISBEE, ARIZONA.

GLOBE-MIAMI DISTRICT

By J. Oates

The miners are standing solid as granite. Not a ton of rock is coming up from below and no smoke is rolling out of the smelter stacks. It is a 100 per cent tie-up.

We have been denied the right of free assemblage in Globe. Our meeting last Sunday was orderly until it was invaded and broken up by U. S. troops. We then formed in line four thousand strong and hiked out past the city limits to the hills, where we held a hot meeting. Speeches were made in seven languages and a giant cactus served for a platform. Stanley Clark hit the mark when he said, "a certain Galilean agitator had to wear a crown of thorns on His head but the Wobblies have to walk on them to win."

Company gunmen and the Loyalty League are hollering their heads off about law and order thru the lick-spittle press, yet they are the very crowd who are working overtime to start trouble by threatening to drive us out of the district.

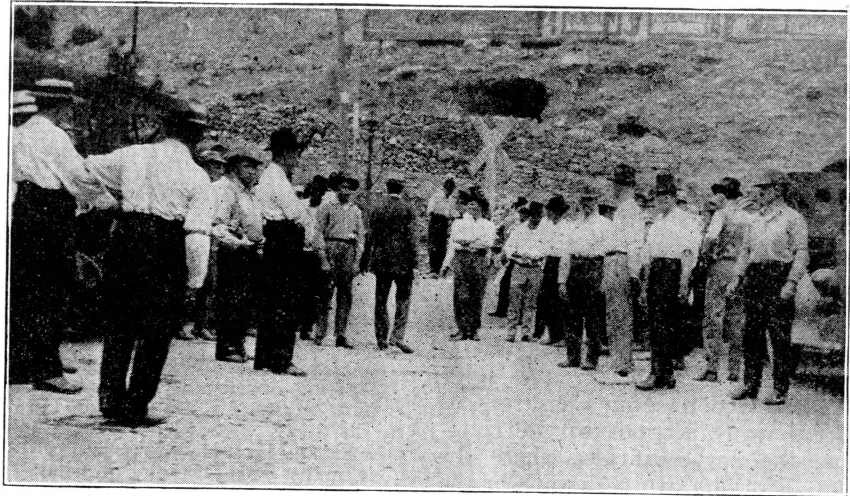
The fact is the miners are determined to win the strike. They realize full well what every day the mines are closed down is costing the Copper Trust, and they also know it is but a matter of time when their full demands will have to be granted. The miners are strong for the six-hour day proposition. The picket lines are growing stronger every

day and the general situation is well in hand.

At Globe, on July 4th, a bunch of gunmen cleared the streets with bayonets while Governor Campbell and Superior Court Judge Shitz drove a truck load of provisions thru the picket line into the company's property.

On Saturday, June 30, the Miami-Globe district branch of the Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union 800 presented to the managers of the mines, mills and smelters of the district the following demands:

1. Two men shall be employed on all piston and Leyner machines.
 2. Two men to work together in all raises and stopes.
 3. No blasting in raises, stopes or drifts during shifts.
 4. Abolition of the contract and the bonus systems.
 5. Abolition of the rustling card system.
 6. Abolition of the sliding scale.
 7. Representation in the control of the hospital.
 8. No discrimination against members of any union.
 9. A minimum wage of \$6.00 for all men working underground.
 10. A minimum wage of \$5.50 for all men working on the surface.
- These reasonable demands were ignored by the managers, and a strike, effective at 3 o'clock Sunday afternoon, July 1, was called.



PICKET LINE AT BISBEE, ARIZONA.

Every wage worker going to or from work on July 12th read the news of the deportation of hundreds of miners in Arizona and the following telegram was immediately sent from headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World in Chicago:

"July 13th, 1917.

"PRESIDENT WILSON,
"Washington, D. C.

"More than two thousand men who were dragged from their homes and forcibly deported from Bisbee, Arizona, are adrift on the desert at Nermanas, New Mexico. These men are miners, useful citizens, residents of Bisbee, Arizona. The United States can ill afford to permit these Prussianized methods to go unchecked. We demand that these men be cared for and restored to their homes and families.

"WM. D. HAYWOOD,

"General Secretary-Treasurer Industrial Workers of the World."

President Wilson immediately protested against the deporting of the I. W. W's. and sent the following message to Governor Campbell of Arizona:

"Secretary of War has instructed General Parker to send officers to Arizona at once to report to him conditions there, with a view to co-operating in the maintenance of order.

"Meantime, may I not respectfully urge the greater danger of citizens taking the law into their own hands, as your report indicates their having done. I look upon

such actions with grave apprehension. A very serious responsibility is assumed when such precedents are set.

"WOODROW WILSON."

As we go to press, news comes in that all the active union men are being arrested and jailed, including the two workers in Arizona who furnished the photographs and information which is contained in this article. The following telegram and resolution just reaches us from Butte:

"Butte, Mont., July 18, 1917.

"Do not believe press reports. Strike still on. Let every one know. Will notify you officially when strike is off. Stay away from Butte. Give this widest publicity.

"Press Committee Metal Mine Workers Union."

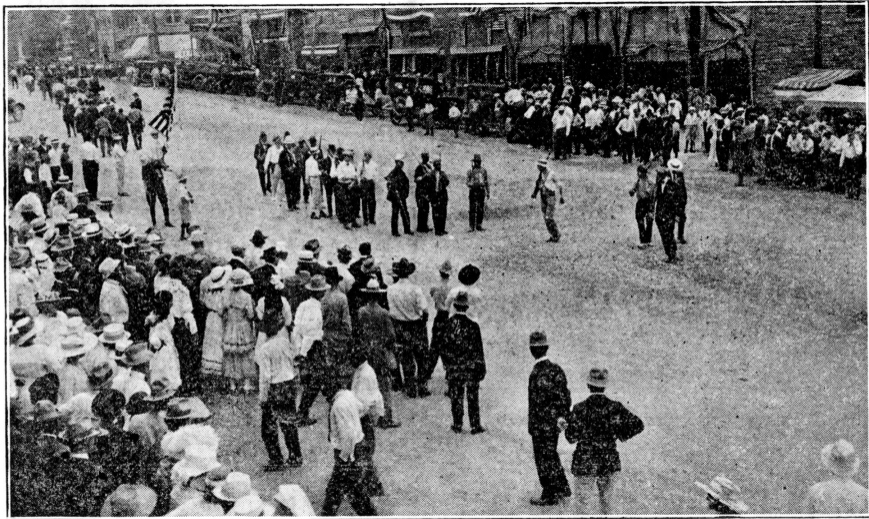
Resolutions adopted by the Metal Mine Workers Union of Butte, July 12, 1917:

Whereas, Owing to the corruption and disloyalty of Western Federation officials in 1914, we the miners of Butte lost our organization and since that time have waited without avail on the American Federation of Labor or a similar body to organize us once more; and,

Whereas, This, our new organization, numbering not less than 90 per cent of the men employed in this district, was led to believe by officers of the American Federation of Labor that if it would affiliate with the American Federation of Labor thru the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, it would be received as a body into and get the full and active support of the entire Federation in continuing its strike and securing the redress of every one of its grievances; and,



CITIZENS ALLIANCE OF GLOBE ON THE FOURTH DAY OF THE STRIKE.



CITIZENS ALLIANCE OF GLOBE ON THE FOURTH DAY OF THE STRIKE.

Whereas, Accordingly, in this belief, it was decided to put to the full and free vote of our members the question of affiliation, and preparations were at once made for this purpose; and,

Whereas, At the eleventh hour, when everything indicated an almost unanimous vote in favor of affiliation, the accredited representative of the Metal Mine Workers' department of the American Federation of Labor, W. H. Davidson, formally announced that the only conditions on which we could affiliate would be that we immediately break up our union that we affiliate as individuals and not as a body, that we at once end our strike and go back to work, and that in consequence we should lose all the fruits of our efforts and our sacrifice; and,

Whereas, This last-minute move on the part of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and its officers here at once brought forcibly home and clear to us its incompetence, its uselessness and its utter disloyalty to labor and the striking miners of this district; and,

Whereas, In the result we have shown by an overwhelming vote that we shall have nothing to do and no connection with such infamous traitors to the cause of labor; and,

Whereas, There are now engaged in the metal industries in this country not less than 500,000 men, and of this number less than 15,000 belong to the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; and,

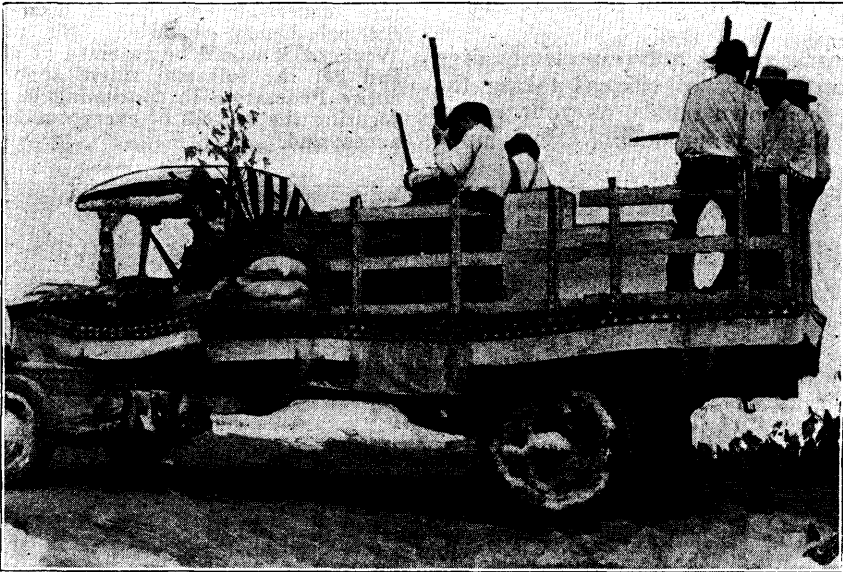
Whereas, The same harsh and intolerable conditions obtain all over; and,

Whereas, It is beyond question necessary and the time is now ripe for all of us and our co-workers to unite and organize for our welfare and protection,

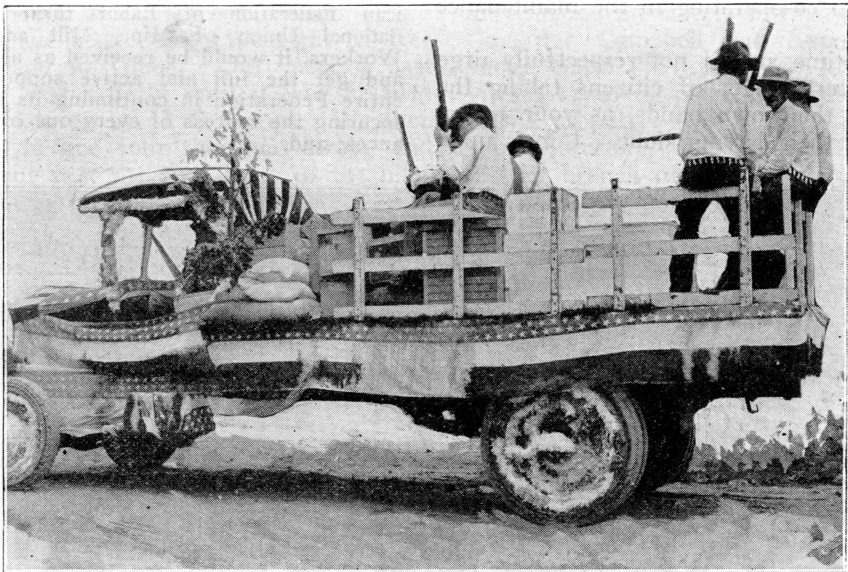
Now, Therefore, Be It Unanimously Resolved, by us, the metal miners of Butte, in mass meeting assembled, that we do hereby call upon all metal mine and allied workers of this continent to meet forthwith at their respective camps and then and there, for the purpose of uniting and organizing and consolidating all our forces, to select, in the proportion of one to every five hundred men, or less if the camp be less in number, delegates to attend a conference, not later than August 1, 1917, at Denver, Colorado, then and there to deliberate and form one clear and definite union of the metal mine and allied workers of this country, then and thereafter to be solely and entirely devoted to promoting the best interests of its members.

And Be It Further Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to every metal miners' organization on this continent, and that copies be furnished to the press.

H. W. REIHANON,
THOS. RIMMER,
JOHN DORAN.



COMPANY GUN MEN PREPARING TO RUN THE PICKET LINE AT THE OLD DOMINION MINE, GLOBE.



COMPANY GUN MEN PREPARING TO RUN THE PICKET LINE AT THE OLD DOMINION MINE, GLOBE.

RIOTS IN BOSTON



—Copyright by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

SCENE IN FRONT OF THE SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS IN BOSTON AFTER IT HAD BEEN WRECKED BY UNIFORMED THUGS.

(From *The Boston Journal*)

“**A** DEEP disgrace to Boston and a sorry stain to the American uniform—that is a mild judgment of the rioting yesterday in our streets and in that historic park dedicated to the cause of Liberty.

A parade of civilian men and women within their rights and within the law was attacked by American soldiers and sailors. Innocent citizens were injured, private property was destroyed. The free streets and the public park were taken in possession by the uniformed men, and the rights of the civilian were denied.

And this in Boston, U. S. A.—and in a year when the nation has been urged to

give its blood to “make the world safe for democracy!”

* * *

The Socialists, a political party existing by law, were having one of their customary parades. With the American flag they carried their usual banners, bearing their party inscriptions.

And then along comes a gang of ruffians, dressed in the proudest regalia of the United States, and attacks the persons and the liberties of the paraders, including both men and women.

In Park Square, under the shadow of Abraham Lincoln’s statue, a second gang breaks into and plunders the Socialist head-



—Copyright by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

SCENE IN FRONT OF THE SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS IN BOSTON AFTER IT HAD BEEN WRECKED BY UNIFORMED THUGS.

quarters, burning furniture and fittings in the street.

The United States uniform lent a hand to breaking, entering and larceny—in broad daylight, in a public square of one of the most populous cities in the country.

* * *

The scores of soldiers and sailors who took part in this brutal outburst have insulted their service, their uniforms and the flag they so cheaply pretended to "honor." By executive order of the President, they should be searched out and disciplined, and no citizen who is awake to the value of citizenship rights will rest until such an order has been issued.

Incidentally no single misfortune in all the country in these troublous times has done as much as this will do to harden the hearts of the already numerous skeptics against our war for democracy. If peaceful citizens cannot pursue their orderly way without interference by the military the old fear of "militarism" must rise again.

It will be well for the country if yesterday's outrage is promptly disavowed and as promptly punished. Free America will not stand much of German style military autocracy in its democratic army.

As for the uniformed men who outraged our citizenry; they are, we are glad to say, only a small part of the whole number of those who have chosen to fight for their country. But it may not be out of place to suggest to the government that, if this is the temper of so many men that further riots are threatened, it is best for the cause of peace at home to hustle these troops to France where they may fight for their lives against an armed foe without any spare time for bullying innocent women and tired laborers.

* * *

(From *The Nation*, N. Y.)

"AGENTS of the Federal Department of Justice, under the direction of Assistant District Attorney Goldberg, arrested a number of persons who were alleged to have made unpatriotic remarks. . . . None of the soldiers and sailors who figured in the disturbance was arrested." So goes an account of a riot which for two hours on Sunday disgraced the city of Boston. A Socialist parade, announced as a peace demonstration, presumably under proper permit

of the city authorities, was broken up by an organized band of uniformed men of the Naval Reserve, National Guard, marines, and Canadians in kilts; flags and banners were seized and trampled and persons were beaten, and disorder lasted for nearly two hours. Things like this are happening all over the country; soldiers and sailors in uniform, with or without open sanction of their superiors, are invading the domain and usurping the functions of the civil authorities, and not infrequently committing or causing breaches of the peace. It may be that many Americans, proud of the traditions of liberty, enthusiastic in support of the American participation in the enterprise of "making the world safe for democracy," will look with complacency upon such a scene as this; will see no peril in riots started by uniformed men who profess to be enlisted in the war against "Prussian militarism." Others and soberer men will see in it only tendencies of the most sinister character.

* * *

(From the *Milwaukee Leader*)

"INTOLERABLE" is the word which Secretary of War Newton D. Baker uses to characterize the recent actions of men in the naval or military uniform of the United States who have broken up peaceful and lawful meetings in this city, Boston and elsewhere.

James Oneal, state secretary for the Socialist party, says:

"We have also gathered sufficient evidence to indicate that a recruiting officer on the common had for several days urged his audiences to break up the parade and meeting. Witnesses are also ready to testify that this officer led the sailors and soldiers in the street assaults and in the raid on the state office. Pictures have also been secured showing the soldiers and sailors making the assaults, and these will be used as evidence in legal action that is to be taken.

"The loss to the state office from the raid is estimated at over \$1,000. The loss to the various organizations in expensive banners that were torn up will be as much. Legal action will be taken to recover the loss, and as the statute is very clear in the case of riot, we have great hopes of recovering the greater part of the loss from the city."



—From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

“HAIL, LIBERTY!” (A TYPICAL RUSSIAN CARTOON GLORIFYING THE REVOLUTION.)

Syndicalist-Socialist Russia

By MAX EASTMAN

WHAT makes us rub our eyes at Russia is the way all our own theories are proving true. Nothing else could give us this crazy feeling of surprise! One by one the facts fall out exactly as they were predicted by Marx and Engels and the philosophers of Syndicalism. To me the distance of Russia, combined with the almost comic patness of everything that happens, makes me feel that I am not watching history, but a kind of William Morris' dream or a Gilbert and Sullivan staging of the Social Revolution in Comic Opera. All the esoteric terminology of the Marxian theory that used to be locked up in the Rand School Library, or employed to enliven in Jewish accent the academic deliberations of East side debating societies, is now flashed in the

despatches of the Associated Press from one end of the world to the other. The theory of the Class Struggle, the Bourgeoisie versus the Proletariat, the Expropriation of the Capitalist, the International Solidarity of the Working Class—these abstruse matters are explained on the front page of the metropolitan dailies. The names of our theories have become the names of current facts. And the literati who conduct our newspapers cut some ludicrous capers in their attempt to be glib with these names and these facts.

One of the reporters for a New York paper heroically worked out the translation of a motto which was put up on the facade of the Imperial Palace in Petrograd. “Proletarians of every country, join yourselves together!” he wrote. And he was moved



—From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

“HAIL, LIBERTY!” (A TYPICAL RUSSIAN CARTOON GLORIFYING THE REVOLUTION.)

to admire the skill with which this significant watchword had been "evolved from the brains of ignorant Slavic peasants!"

Perhaps the most ludicrous touch, the most suggestive of Comic Opera, is the figure of Elihu Root, a hasty if aged emissary dispatched from the United States to quiet all this tumult of Marxian lingoos that he can not understand, with the old fashioned fluid of Republican oratory. I imagine he spent some considered moments with Charles Edward Russel on the way across the ocean, trying to find out just what Socialism is from an oratorical standpoint. He made such a mild little amateurish venture to hint at it in his address to the Council of Ministers:

"We believe in the competence of the power of democracy and in our heart of hearts abides faith in the coming of a better world in which the humble and oppressed of all lands may be lifted up by freedom to a heritage of justice and equal opportunity."

We wasn't smile. It was an intellectual effort, and a noble stretch of heart, for Elihu Root to acknowledge that there might be a better world than the one he has spent his life defending. Charles Edward must have taught him that. But Charles Edward himself never read the books; he was an emotional, a sort of journalistic, evangelical Socialist; whereas this Russian revolution seems to be conducted in the terms of the most erudite modern interpretations of the straight Marxian science. I do not see how even Charles Edward's overflowing heart can pilot the old man with his eighteenth century mind, thru those peculiar tumults of nineteenth century theory and twentieth century fact. I am sorry for him. I know he is going to become pessimistic over there.

One feature of the drama surpasses in its truth to Marxian theory, anything that might have been conceived by a poet. The books never painted it plainly enough. That is the arising, side by side with the bourgeois political government, of an unauthorized government representing the economic and military power of the working-class. A Parliament of proletarian deputies, entirely unofficial politically—a body like an American Federation of Labor convention with a majority of I. W. W.'s—is in essential control of Russian affairs. And this, altho the representatives of "The People" are sit-

ting officially at the same capital. This industrial parliament is edging gradually, it appears, into all the human functions of government, leaving only ritual and war and diplomacy to the political branch—and growing rather weary of those! It is this fact that our newspaper wise men, who never heard of the economic interpretation of history, or the class theory of government, can absolutely not understand. They fail altogether to comprehend the sovereign power of a non-political government.

To us it is merely an amazing visualization, or embodiment, of the truth we learned long ago and have been telling ever since—that either thru, or aside from, political forms, the economic forces always rule. The reason why the Russian State is compelled to obey the mandates of Russian labor, is that labor is in actual or potential control of the economic forces. Aside from the extraordinary influence of a vast army, recruited from the workers and expressing their class power with especial poignancy, the secret of the situation—it seems to me—must lie in the factories and on the land. The following excited despatch which I quote from the *New York Times*, and which predict "economic collapse" for Russia, describes the economic fact which must constitute and fortify the power of the workmen's delegates:

"The outstanding features of the labor situation are as follows:

"An investigation shows that virtually the same difficulties prevail in all the big factories in Petrograd, and apparently authenticated reports from the Moscow, Donets, and Ural districts indicate general disorganization. In many of the factories the demands by the workmen for increased wages are actually greater than the entire profits of the factories under the best conditions of production. The workmen, thru their committees, are in virtual command of the factories, and all business has to be submitted to them for approval. Wages in a majority of the factories have already been increased from 100 to 150 per cent. But there has yet been no offset by an advance in prices of the output.

"In one of the works in Petrograd the workmen recently demanded the immediate payment of 13,000,000 rubles—normally \$6,500,000—to cover an increase of 15 kopecs per hour for each workman since the beginning of the war. The directors of the organization immediately communicated with the government and asked to be placed under voluntary arrest as protection against the threats of the workmen, which, as usual, accompanied the demand.

"An eight-hour day has become effective in all factories.

"An ironical feature of the difficulties confronting the employers is the fact that, tho suffering serious loss, they do not dare to close the estab-

ishments owing to threats of bodily and material vengeance. The power of the workmen's committees so far has superseded the authority of the owners. No man in a factory can be dismissed without the consent of the committee.

"In eighteen metal establishments in the Dontes district with a capitalization of 195,000,000 rubles and annual profits of 75,000,000, the workmen had demanded an increase of 240,000,000 rubles. The owners had agreed to 64,000,000, but the workmen refused to accept this.

"In some of the works, according to the statement of a representative of the union, the owner decided to cede all the profits to the workmen, but even this did not meet their exorbitant demands."

To those who assume that private profit on capital is an essential condition of modern production, this situation must, indeed, mean economic collapse. But to those already familiar with the idea of a workmen's syndicate simply taking over, along with the conduct of an industry, the capital and the profits, it means Industrial Democracy, or the genuine prosperity of the people. And it is this transfer of economic control, prospective or already accomplished, which, with the democratization of the army, explains, and also certifies, the power of the workmen's and soldiers' parliament. In the long run they who control the forces of production control the state. And those expert emissaries of our "democracy" in which less than ten per cent of the people control the forces of production and control the state, will find it difficult indeed to comprehend the revolution which involves, perhaps, an actual transfer of capital stock to the people. They will think the world has run wild. They will not believe in the syndicalist-socialist Russia. They will predict failure.

And it may be, of course, that their prediction will come true. That Russia should issue with a single convulsion from Czarism to the industrial democracy is far more than I can learn, in so few days, even to hope. But never mind—the events have already verified our hypothesis, and confirmed us in the whole direction of our thoughts and deeds. And whether this revolution wins to the extreme goal, or falls short, may be accounted incidental to its success in clearing and verifying the way forward. It has established us and made us sure. A working-class will yet own the tools with which it works, and an industrial parliament will yet govern the co-operative affairs of men.

It Is True

After I sent those paragraphs on Synli-

calist Russia to the printer I lost heart a little about publishing them. They were good, perhaps, but weren't they a little too good to be true? Did I quite believe that story quoted from the *Times*? Could it be possible that only ten years after I began to learn the meaning of the dream of expropriation, the working class of a whole country should be in physical possession of the machines? I am not sure I would have published those paragraphs if Lincoln Steffens had not arrived from Petrograd before the proofs were corrected. Now I know that the whole dream is true. The control of the factories by the workmen's unions is "practically universal." In some cases these unions are "allowing" their employers a slight dividend as a matter of temporary courtesy, but in practically no cases are the employers in a position to demand it.

The Council of Workmen's and Soldier's Deputies is in absolute control—so far as there is a control—of Russian affairs. And even they are afraid to exercise extreme power, because they are so directly followed up and coerced by the groups of individual workmen and soldiers whose servants they are. For once in the world, as Steffens says, "The mob rules." And it rules well. Peace and pleasure and quiet usefulness prevail in Russia.

I call Lincoln Steffens the friend of Revolutions. It was inevitable he should be the first one at Petrograd and the first one home to tell us. He is always a little more interested in the spiritual condition of men than I am. So inspired by the fact that an entire population, including thieves and capitalists, can live in a state of ideal mutual tolerance and friendly goodwill under virtual anarchy, in the exaltation that follows a democratic revolution—so inspired with this, that I can hardly persuade him to tell me the facts I most want to know about the conduct of industry and the location of the economic power. But he always has these facts, and he really knows more about what happens when there is a revolution than anybody else. He knows what makes it happen. And when Lincoln Steffens, after five weeks in Petrograd, tells me that he will never be sad again.—I know that the essence of liberty is there. And the essence of liberty is possession by the people of the sources of income.—From the Masses.



—Kirby in the *New York World*.

"I REMEMBER THOSE BOYS WHEN THEY BOTH HAD GOOD JOBS."

The Spectre of Industrial Unionism

By ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD

A SPECTRE is haunting the world—the spectre of Industrial Unionism. Capital is frightened at its own shadow; the stupendous reflex of its own stupendous development. And well it might be.

Industrial unionism is the greatest inspiration that has ever come to the army of labor—for it is an inspiration, not a plan devised by this or that labor leader.

And it comes to the *army* of labor, to every unit of the rank and file, not to this or that labor Moses.

Its message, thrilled with the breaths of an age of martyrs, says to the worker: "No Moses will lead you out. Emancipation is yours, but you must take it for yourself."

This message is not for *some* workers but for *all* workers. It is breathed louder to the homeless, the propertyless, the voteless, the jobless and the godless. The more the worker is dispossessed of all that adds up "*life*," the louder it is breathed, and for a simple reason—the inspiring message comes, not as all past hopes (?) of labor, from up above in the twinkling stars, but from below, out of the solid earth.

First it is heard, first understood by the despised bum, hobo, tramp, stiff, for he is nearest the source from which it comes. But its message of hope for an enslaved working class is wafting upwards and is affecting the entire soul of the great labor army.

And because it comes from the bottom and not the top, its philosophy, its ethics and morals are what some will call upside down. There is no *up* nor *down* in the universe except relatively, and the upside downness of the Industrial Union philosophy is best expressed in the word "revolutionary." Industrial Unionism is "Revolutionary Unionism."

The Old Unionism

Hitherto wage-earners have been organized in trade or craft unions. The craft union does not admit capitalists into the union, for capitalists are its enemies, nor does it admit all workingmen, for all workingmen over and above the number of jobs available, are its enemy.

In other words, a craft union is an organization of workers engaged in a par-



—Kirby in the New York World.

"I REMEMBER THOSE BOYS WHEN THEY
BOTH HAD GOOD JOBS."

ticular craft or calling, and the object of organization is to stint the number of persons who might learn, or become employed in that particular trade. Why so?

Because it helps solve the unemployed problem *for the craft*, but correspondingly *increases the problem for the remainder of the working class*.

A commodity is a thing of value produced for exchange on the world market. Butter, eggs, boots, etc., exposed for sale in a shop are commodities. Electric power is a commodity. Labor power is a commodity.

The law of supply and demand says that when the supply of a commodity exceeds the demand, the price of that commodity goes down. Inversely, when the demand for a commodity exceeds the supply, the price of that commodity goes up.

Craft unions reduce the supply of craft labor-power and increase its price. Hence the big wages in unions with big entrance fees and exacting conditions of apprenticeship.

But craft unions, as we have shown, increase the supply of labor power turned in other directions and thus put the rest of the working class in a less favorable relation to the law of supply and demand. Hence the low wages among unskilled and unorganized workers.

Craft unions fight and enervate the working class. However useful they were an epoch ago, they are absolutely disastrous and a source of disintegration among the working class today.

"Recognition of the craft union by the boss," the "Union Label," "Trade Agreements," "Arbitration and Conciliation Boards and Courts," etc., are each and all wholly alliances between craft unions and more thoroly enslave the whole working class.

Craft unions are good things for craftsmen and if there was a larger force of craftsmen than "dead level" workers, craft unionism would still prevail.

But economic development has destroyed the crafts and reduced nearly all workers to a dead level. We workers are all sufficiently down and miserable to realize our identity of interest. Not one of us can rise unless we all rise. It has become a *class* matter, not an *individual* nor a *craft* matter. New times have new troubles and require new treatment.

The New Unionism

Right never did prevail and never will without the aid of might.

Existence is a perpetual struggle; the weak go to the wall. It isn't the *few* who go to the wall but the *weak*.

The capitalists are few and the workers many. The workers however, are weak and the capitalists strong. The workers are going to the wall. In fact they are there already—right "up against it."

Why are the few strong and the many weak?

Why can a child lead an elephant?

The "elephant" labor has power in both hands, but lacks the co-operation of that divine speck of grey matter we call brain.

BRAWN and brain!

In impossible proportions. Plenty brawn, too little brain.

The greatest power in the world is *power to produce*, but it "cuts no ice," *except when it is withheld!*

Labor has power in its two hands, greater than any controllable power that does or ever did exist.

What is the mountain?

Have not the two hands of labor tunneled it?

What is the ocean?

Have not the hands of labor shaped and jointed iron that it floats in the most tempestuous ocean. Labor laughs at the argy sea!

And Niagara?

Has not labor already diminished that mighty roar? A hundredth part of that mighty volume is led, like the elephant, by the ear, to serve the needs of society. It comes like a roaring lion to dash upon the rocks below the fall as it has done for countless ages, but labor gently leads the way to the whirring wheels of the mill and after extracting its mighty power, leads the peaceful volume like a gentle lamb to join the rapids far below and beyond. And what labor has done with a hundredth part, it can do with a hundred hundredth parts.

What can be done that labor cannot do?

Nothing.

What can be done without labor?

Nothing.

What is labor?

The power possessed by the working class.

What does this power mean?

That society couldn't exist without it.

What power exists apart from labor?

No power creative at will.

What would happen if labor withheld its power to produce?

Capitalists, priests, politicians, press hirelings, thugs, sluggers, hangmen, soldiers, policemen and all creeping and crawling things that suck the blood of the common working man would die of starvation. Like Sampson in the Temple, labor's arms may rend the pillars which support society and bring the social edifice down to destruction about its own ears.

The new unionism says to the worker, weary with agelong travail, "Bowed and humiliated as you are, be you despised ever so much, your mothers, wives and sisters forced to lives of shame, your children stunted and starved, you hold in these two hands of yours the power to save not only yourself, your mothers, wives and sisters, and your children, but the whole human race. The world lies in the hollow of your dirty, blacked and horny right hand—save it!

How We Didn't Used to Win

Formerly when a wage slave had a grievance he complained and if his grievance was not redressed, he would at times become wild and agitated and say things, whereat his boss would "can" him and employ another wage slave.

After a time, this being an experience of all wage slaves in a given trade or workshop, collective bargaining was resorted to. At first the boss was discomfited, but as the field of labor which he exploited became international, he used craft against craft and workshop against workshop as he had formerly used individual against individual and so got the upper hand.

Industrial unionism embraces the uttermost man within the uttermost limits of this earth and as the boss can get no farther, he is—so to speak—"up against it."

The old unionist based his philosophy and morality in the sacred rights of private property in things socially used. He believed in a fair day's wage for a *fair* day's work. A *fair* rate of interest, a fair margin of profit and *reasonable* rent. He wouldn't hit a boss below the belt and if the boss put the belt around the crown of his head he wouldn't hit him at all. He wouldn't go out on a strike before giving the boss sufficient notice to cancel contracts, refuse fresh

agreements, hire scabs, or in other ways get ready for the conflict.

Then the old unionists would walk out of the workshop, lift their hats respectfully to the boss, and apologize if their heads should happen to break a policeman's club.

They would stay out on strike for weeks and eat up the union funds, saved in the preceding thirty years; then they would perforce practice a starving stunt, and when tired of that would go back to work and sign the pledge not to strike again for anything or anybody.

The New Morality

The new morality says:

Damn interest!

Damn rent!

Damn profits!

Damn agreements!

We've damned well enough to do to look after our own damned selves and families.

The boss don't care a damn about us and quite right, too. He has his own self and family to look after.

We ought to be damned if we don't look after our own dear wives and dear little ones.

For wife and little ones are as "dear" to the worker, as any such ever were to his boss.

And ninety per cent of the wives and children of the world belong to the working class!

Our morality asks—what will help them?

What will stop them starving by the millions?

And whatever is calculated to help our class is moral, good and pure.

What injures our class is immoral and must be fought down and out.

We didn't make the struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, but it's there, and it's our business to uphold our own interest if we don't want to go under.

The power must be taken out of the policeman's club!

How?

Anyhow!

Why?

Because it hurts our class and is therefore immoral.

The guns mustn't point our way if they aren't spiked, because they are liable to go off and hurt us and that would be immoral.

So we must spike the guns or turn them round. Anyhow, and because it hurts our class and is immoral.

If we go on strike we must strike quickly, sudden and certainly. Don't give the boss time to think or prepare plans. He might get the better of us and that would be bad for us and immoral.

Strike when he has a big order which he must fulfil. It will hurt him more and us less and that is moral.

Tie up the industries in town, all the industries in all the towns, in the whole country, or in the whole world if necessary. The strike will end quicker and we will starve less and that's good for us, and therefore moral.

How to Win

Don't let the strike eat up your funds. That's bad for you and immoral.

But let it cost the boss a bit. His power consists of the things he owns and if he owns less his power will be less. His weakness is your strength and is good for you—therefore moral.

A bolt taken out of a machine may be a big help in a strike, even if the bolt is buried in a hole six inches deep.

Innocence is sometimes a crime! See capitalist courts sentence innocent workingmen and discharge guilty capitalists.

To step out on strike and starve is foolish if you can strike on the job and eat. Striking on the job means, doing such a thing—i. e., anything—that will compel the boss to do what you think is the fair thing. If you win it's good for you and therefore moral, however many little things belonging to the boss disappears, or however little work you might do.

Pat from Erin's isle got a job once to the surprise of his friend.

"So you're working Pat?" asked the friend.

"Hold yer whist, man," said Pat, "I'm just fooling the boss. Sure! I've bin carrying the same hod of bricks up and down the ladder all day, and the boss thinks I'm wurrking."

Pat may have been working but he knew how to get one on the boss.

Another immoral thing is to stop outside the factory door and watch the scabs trooping in. If you can't keep them away, get in yourself, and if the boss doesn't settle with you, come out later on after the scabs are gone.

Of course all these methods have to be mixed with brains as well as brawn.

If you intend to go by what the courts say, you might as well appoint your boss leader of your strike. Nowadays, it's illegal to strike in any part of the world. A good many other things are illegal and if you get caught you will surely get punished, so don't get punished, for, as punishment hurts, it isn't moral.

A Few Pointers

Be a patriot, in the sense that you are loyal to the class from which you spring.

Be moral and don't do a thing to hurt a single member of your own class.

Don't strike for more than you have a right to demand.

You have a right to demand all you have power to enforce.

If you try to raise a two-hundred pound weight with a 150 pound muscle you can only expect to get hurt and that's not moral.

If you decide to strike for shorter hours or better wages and find you don't develop the power you thought, get back to work on the best terms.

Don't think going back on less than you demanded is defeat. The workers have never been defeated. You can't tell the winner till the battle ends.

Don't hit the boss in the same place twice. He'll get wise and get on an armor-plate.

When the boss gets the better of you don't growl. Give him credit and try and beat him next time.

Don't weep over a scab.

An Albany (N. Y.) paper the other day said: "When complaining about your job, remember your boss doesn't compel you to work for him."

The Industrial Unionists say in reply: "When people complain of the ingratitude of labor, remember you need not be grateful. Further, if labor makes it hard for you to own the means of life, remember you need not own these things. If you let them go, your worries will vanish, and since you do not yourself use them and scarcely ever see them, you can't have much affection for them. Have no fear for your future. If work is a hardship we will remember that and give you a lighter task. If you can't work we will see you are provided for. Industrial democracy is inevitable anyhow, and if you do suffer, you have the satisfaction of knowing you suffered for a good cause."



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FLAME-THROWERS IN ACTION. THIS PHOTO SHOWS FRENCH TROOPS MAKING AN ATTACK. IT IS BEING USED BY BOTH SIDES WITH GREAT "SUCCESS." A SOLDIER WHO IS "GASED" NEVER RECOVERS.

The Firing Line ("Le Feu")

By ROMAIN ROLLAND

From the Chicago Daily News, July 12, 1917

[This article, entitled "The Journal of a Squad," is a review in Roman Rolland's usual impassioned style of the most remarkable book yet written on the war—"Le Feu"—by Henri Barbusse.—Paul Scott Mower.]

“**H**ERE is an implacable mirror of the war. Day by day, for sixteen months, the war has been reflected therein; the mirror of two fine, clear, accurate, intrepid French eyes. The author, Henri Barbusse, has dedicated his book, 'To the memory of the comrades who fell beside me at Crouy and on Hill 119, December, 1915,' and this book, 'Le Feu (Journal d'une Escouade),' has just received, at Paris, the consecration of the Goncourt prize.

“By what miracle have such words of truth been able to make themselves heard integrally at a time when so much free speech, speech infinitely less free, is repressed? I do not try to explain it, but I profit by it; for the voice of this witness casts into the shadows all the selfish lies which in the last three years have sought to idealize the charnel house of Europe.

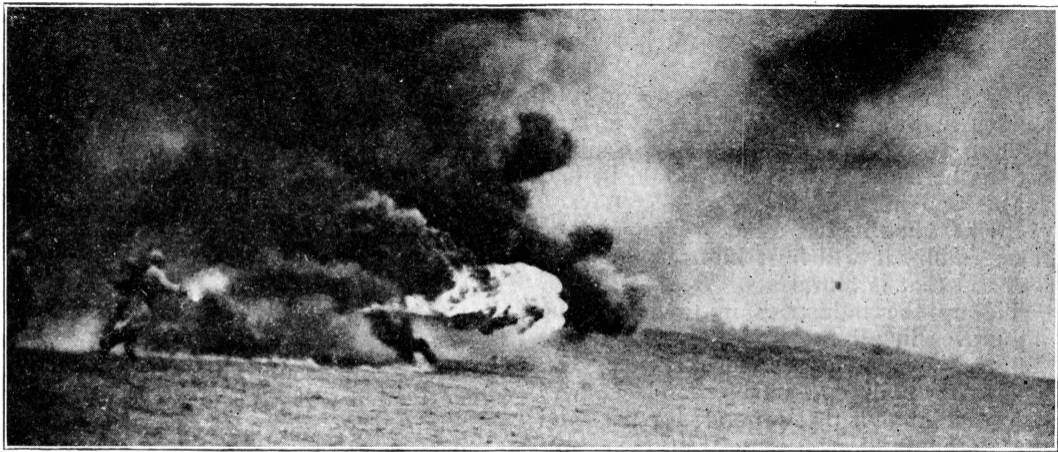
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The Soldiers as a Mass

“The armies stay buried there for years, 'in the depths of an eternal battle field,'

packed in, 'chained elbow to elbow,' wrapped and padded 'against the winds from above, against the water from below, against the cold, that species of infinity which is everywhere.' The men, muffled in skins, bundles of blankets, sweaters, oversweaters, squares of oilcloth, fur caps, tarred, gummed or rubber coated hoods, look like cavemen, gorillas, troglodytes. One of them, while digging in the earth, finds the hatchet of a quarternary man, a pointed stone with a bone for a handle, and uses it. Others make elementary jewelry, like savages. Three generations together, all races but not all classes—plowmen and workmen, for the most part, small farmers, farm hands, teamsters, delivery men, a factory foreman, a wineshop keeper, a newspaper seller, a hardware dealer, miners—not many liberal professions. This amalgamated mass has a common tongue 'made of workshop and barracks slang and of patois seasoned with a few neologisms.' Each has his own silhouette, exactly seized and outlined; they are not to be confused when once one has seen them.

“But the process by which they are depicted is very different from that of Tolstoy. Tolstoy cannot see a soul without



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going to the bottom of it. Here one looks and passes on. The personal soul scarcely exists, is merely a husk; underneath, aching, crushed by fatigue, stupefied by noise, poisoned by smoke, the collective soul dozes in boredom, waiting, waiting, endlessly ('waiting machine'), no longer seeks to think, 'has given up trying to understand, given up being itself.' They are not soldiers (they do not want to be); they are men, 'poor, ordinary fellows torn brusquely out of life; ignorant, unemotional, limited in view, full of great good sense which sometimes runs off the track, inclined to let themselves be led and to do what they are told, inured to hard labor, capable of long suffering, simple men still further simplified, in whom, by the force of things, nothing is accentuated save their primitive instincts—instincts of self-preservation, egotism, a tenacious hope of living through everything, the joy of eating, drinking and sleeping.

"Even in the danger of a bombardment they get bored after a few hours, they yawn, play cards, talk nonsense; 'they drop off asleep,' they are bored. 'The grandeur and extent of these outbreaks of artillery tires the mind.' They go through hells of suffering, and do not even remember them. 'We've seen too many. And everything we've seen was too much. We aren't meant to hold it all. It gets away on every side, we're too little. We're regular forgetting machines. Men are things that don't think much, and mostly forget.' In Napoleon's time each soldier had a marshal's baton in his cartridge box, and the image of the little Corsican officer in his mind. At present there are no longer any individuals, there is a human mass which itself is drowned in elementary forces. 'Ten thousand kilometers of French trenches, 10,000 kilometers of misery, similar or worse * * * and the French front is one-eighth of the total front * * *

* * * * *

What the Soldiers Think

"But I must be brief and reach the main part of the work—its thought.

"In Tolstoy's 'War and Peace' the deep meaning of the Destiny which guides humanity is ardently sought for, and is seized, at long intervals, by the light of a flash of suffering or of genius, or thru a few personalities unusually refined in race or in heart. Prince Andre, Pierre Besouknow

—a levelling roller has passed over the peoples of today. At the very most, there may arise above the immense herd for a moment the isolated bellowing of an animal about to die. Such is the pale visage of Corporal Bertrand 'with his thoughtful smile'—scarcely outlined—'speaking but little ordinarily, never speaking of himself,' and who only once reveals the secret of the thoughts which torment him—in the twilight of the slaughter, a few hours before he himself is killed. He thinks of those whom he has slain, of the madness of the hand-to-hand fight.

"'It had to be,' he said. 'It had to be for the sake of the future.'

"He crossed his arms and shook his head.

"'The future!' he cried, suddenly. 'With what eyes will those who live after us look upon these killings and these exploits, which we who achieve them scarcely know whether we ought to compare to those of the heroes of Plutarch and Corneille or to the exploits of apaches? And yet,' he continued, 'look! There is one face which stands out above the war and which will continue to shine in the beauty and import of its bravery.'

"I listened, braced upon a stick, leaning toward him, absorbing this voice, which, in the silence of the twilight, issued from lips almost always silent. He cried in a clear voice:

"'Liebknecht!'

They Who See Clearly

"But most often the human cry which arises from these humble comrades is anonymous. One does not know just which of them is speaking, for all, at times, have a common thought. Born of common trials, this thought brings them much nearer to those other unhappy men in the enemy trenches than to the rest of the world, which is back yonder in the rear. Against those of the rear, 'trench tourists,' journalists, 'exploiters of public calamity,' warlike intellectuals, their contempt, not violent but unfathomable, is general. To them has been given 'a revelation of the great reality; a difference which arises between beings, a difference much deeper, moats less easily to be crossed, than those of race; the sharp, clean cut and truly unpardonable division which exists, in the mass of men composing the nation, between those who profit and those who toil; those who are asked to sacrifice all, everything, who offer to the utter-

most their numbers, their strength, their martyrdom, and on whom the others walk, advance, smile and succeed.'

"'Ah,' says one of them, bitterly, in the face of this revelation, 'it doesn't make one want to die!'

"But he dies, nevertheless, bravely, humbly, like the others.

The Future of the Slaves

"The culminating point of the work is the last chapter: 'The Dawn.' It is like an epilogue, the thought of which completes that of the prologue, 'The Vision,' and widens it, as in a symphony, when the theme announced at the beginning takes its full form in the conclusion.

"'The Vision' depicts for us the arrival of the declaration of war in a sanitarium in Savoy, opposite Mont Blanc. And there these invalids of all nations, 'detached from things and almost from life, as distant from the rest of mankind as if they were already posterity, look out before them into space, toward the incomprehensible country of the living and the mad.' They see the deluge below, the shipwrecked people clinging; 'the 30,000,000 slaves, flung against one another by crime and error, in war and mud, lift up their human faces where germinates at last a will. The future is in the hands of the slaves and one sees clearly that the old world will be changed by the alliance which those whose numbers and whose miseries are infinite, will one day build between themselves.'

"The final 'Dawn' is a picture of the 'deluge below,' of the rain drenched plain, the caved in trenches. A spectacle out of Genesis! Germans and French flee the plague together, or sink pell mell into the common ditch. And then these shipwrecked men, cast away on the reefs of mud in the midst of the inundation, begin to awaken from their passivity, and a redoubtable dialogue takes place between the sufferers, like the responses in a tragic chorus. Their excess of suffering overwhelms them. And what overcomes them still more, 'like a greater disaster,' is the thought that perhaps some day the survivors will have forgotten such miseries.

"If People Remembered!"

"'Ah, if people remembered! If people remembered, there wouldn't be any more war.'

"And each in turn accuses, insults the war!

"'Two armies are fighting like one great army committing suicide.'

"'What's the war being made for?' 'What for nobody knows, but who for we can say—for the pleasure of a few people who could be counted.'

"For the Pleasure of a Few—"

"And they count them: 'The warriors, the inheritors of power; those who say races hate one another,' and those who say: 'I fatten on war, my belly gets big on it'; and those who say, 'Bow your heads and believe in God'—the brandishers of sabers, speculators, the monstrous interests; 'those who bury themselves in the past, traditionalists for whom an abuse has the strength of a law, because it has become eternal'—etc.

"'These are your enemies, just as much as are the German soldiers who lie here among you, and who are only poor dupes odiously deceived and stupefied—domesticated animals. These are your enemies wherever they were born and however they pronounce their names and whatever the language they lie in. Look at them, in heaven, and on earth! Look at them everywhere! Recognize them once for all and remember them forever!'

"Thus clamor the armies. And the book closes with the hope and mute vow of an understanding between nations, while the dark sky opens and a tranquil sunbeam falls across the flooded plain.

"A sunbeam does not make a clear sky, and the voice of a soldier is not that of an army. The armies of today are nations, in which many diverse currents clash and mingle. The Journal of Barbusse is that of a squad composed almost exclusively of workmen and peasants. But that in these humble people who, like the third estate in 1789, are nothing and will be everything—that in this proletariat of the armies such a consciousness of universal humanity is being formed—that so bold a voice has arisen in France—that these battling people should be making a heroic effort to free themselves from their present misery and the obsession of death, to dream of the brotherly union of hostile nations—in this I find a grandeur which exceeds all victories, and whose dolorous glory will survive that of battles—will, I hope, put an end to them."

Why Not Register Them All?

By MARY E. MARCY

ACCORDING to the June 22nd issue of the *Chicago Tribune*, under an editorial on "Why Not Register Them All?" the Chicago police say "that the registration for military service has been of great aid in the identification of men the police want to keep their eyes upon."

"If it is an advantage to have men from twenty-one to thirty-one registered it would be a greater advantage to have every one registered," continues the editor of the *Tribune*.

"Americans have a distaste for this method of identification, but without good reason. They associate it with an autocratic espionage system intended to keep citizens under strict police regulation to prevent them from establishing themselves in greater liberties.

"It may suggest to Americans a police government which would interfere with private rights and create an intolerable, even if petty, police tyranny.

"We do not think that any such thing is likely to happen in the United States. The police could not ride the people successfully. The registration of all citizens would be no imposition upon the people who conduct and expect to conduct themselves with respect for others' rights and in obedience to the law. It might be an intolerable nuisance to be compelled to carry an identification card and have life cluttered up with new minor details. A forgotten identification card would be or might be a mischief maker.

"The men now registered carry their registration cards because the police are making a search for men who did not register, and the card is the simplest proof that can be given and is the simplest means of avoiding annoyance. But there would be no requirement in general registration that people keep constantly with them means of establishing their identity. While there would be no requirement, it might be of such value as a means of identifying one's self that many people would want to carry them.

"Registration would help to give citizens an idea of closer association with the state. We run considerably on the loose now and

do not have as intimate an idea of relationship as ought to prevail in the citizen's conception of the state and himself.

"We believe that general registration would increase the sense of obligation and responsibility, and it might at any time be valuable for the nation to know who its citizens are and what they are doing."

Before the United States declared a state of war between this country and Germany, the REVIEW declared that the Morgans, Guggenheims, McCormicks, Rockefellers, the lumber, coal and transportations and all the other great profit-grabbers were envious of the German system for keeping its working class cowed and submissive. They are now seizing the opportunities presented by "a state of war" to fasten upon the American working class chains that only can be forged while a country is swept off its feet in the excitement of war.

Of late the *Chicago Tribune* has stood among the first of the advance guard for capitalism and we are not surprised to see it editorially advocating a universal registration that will actually be used (as the *Tribune* well knows) "to keep citizens under strict police regulation to prevent them from establishing themselves in greater liberties."

This universal registration, for which the *Tribune* is now making a plea, was one of the weapons which the German autocracy has used most effectively in its industrial as well as its military system.

In Germany every married workman was compelled every week to bank a certain portion of his wages which he might only withdraw to pay in the purchase of a home. If, because of his strike activities—unprofitable to his employer—he sought to change his residence he could only accomplish the change by sacrificing his savings. The German system of universal registration enabled his past and future employers to keep an eye on him. All his Socialist or union activities were on record and he was unable to lose his past and begin anew.

This enabled German capitalists to know and to watch union agitators and Socialists and to prevent them from making headway in their desires and aims for the improve-

ment of the condition of the working class.

As the mouthpiece of capitalism in its most brutal and most aggressive form, the *Chicago Tribune* advocates universal military service, beginning at the age of nineteen and its plea for universal registration is not even proposed as a war measure, but as a method for keeping a governmental eye upon the doings of the militant workers.

With every policeman in the United States carrying his index of the names and records of every workingman, what chance would the boys in the I. W. W. have, what chance would anybody have for going into a factory, a shop or mill to educate or organize the workers "on the job?"

He would be spotted the moment he applied for a job and he would be either arrested as a vagrant, a disturber of the peace, or would be placed in some position where he could work little good for his class.

Universal registration means police tyranny as well as industrial tyranny; it means that the active Socialist, the rebel, the unionist will be hounded to death or incarcerated on some trumped up charge.

Universal registration was one of the weapons that enabled the German capitalist class to perfect an organization that has almost crushed out and disciplined away whatever spirit of revolt the German workers originally possessed. For so long has the German autocracy regulated and spied upon the lives of the German workers that

there has remained to the workers little of leisure and less of energy with which to study and organize and fight for the emancipation of the working class.

Universal registration will make of all workers what is known as "honest" men. The steel worker who is injured on the job and forced to move his family into a tenement because he is unable to pay the rent at the old place, will have his first landlord trailing him from Maine to California. He will have to pay his back rent if he wants to get a job. And he will have to stall off the last landlord if he wants to pay the first. The United States will not be big enough to hold the worker who owes a butcher bill, or who could not pay the grocer when he was sick or his fifth new baby was born.

Universal registration will insure the capitalist class from casual laborers, from agitators, Socialists and industrial unionists. It will show up the intelligent worker, loyal to his class, just as plainly as tho his face were covered with smallpox.

The big capitalists, who take our products and make hundreds of millions of dollars out of them are going to tell their kept editorial writers to hooray for *universal registration*. It is going to be up to the working class to show them in unmistakable terms that they will have none of this new bondage.

Every labor paper in this country should take up this question at once.

"State Constabulary Best Insurance When Guard Leaves"

By GURD M. HAYES

Jackson City Press, June 22, 1917.

"WHEN the national guard is called out of the state it is feared that I. W. W. agitators and pro-German sympathizers may cause serious trouble in some sections of Michigan, and in order to be prepared for any emergencies that may arise where a well trained and thoroly disciplined military force is needed to handle situations with which local authorities are unable to cope, the war preparedness board has organized a constabulary similar to the famous Pennsylvania mounted police.

"Business men, prominent manufacturers in the various industrial cities where a big foreign population furnish a constant

source of anxiety to local police authorities, and military men in general, have strongly endorsed the idea, and Troop A of the Michigan state troops or mounted constabulary may be but the first unit of an organization that will furnish to the people of the state the same measure of protection that has heretofore been afforded by the Michigan national guard.

Best Kind of Insurance

"Gov. Sleeper believes that for the duration of the war the constabulary force will constitute the best kind of an insurance policy that the state of Michigan can buy, and Auditor General O. B. Fuller of the war preparedness board, who is extremely

conservative in regard to the expenditure of the state's money, has expressed the opinion that in order to furnish complete protection the constabulary should be increased to 500 men and possibly 1,000 when it is definitely determined that the militia is no longer available.

"For the present, however, the constabulary force will remain at its initial quota—fifty men; but if it becomes apparent that a larger number of men will be needed, it is generally believed that the war preparedness board will not hesitate to strengthen the organization to meet all requirements.

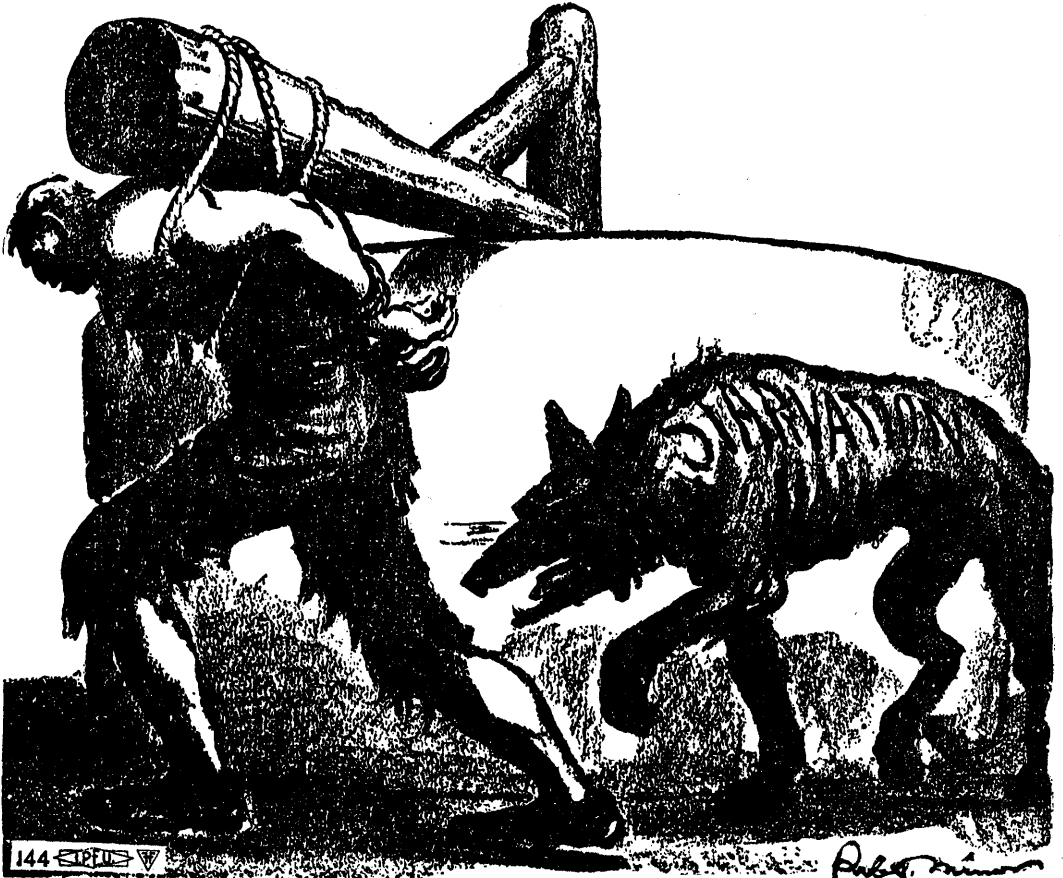
"While the various home guard organizations will be of use in some instances, it is apparent that a thoroly trained and well disciplined state police will be as essential during the absence of the national guard as local police and firemen are necessary for the safety of any municipality.

"During the serious riots in the upper peninsula a few years ago, the Citizens' Alli-

ance was considered a mighty effective force, but the combined efforts of the Citizens' Alliance, local police and a large number of deputy sheriffs were unable to preserve order among the foreigners who were bent on making trouble.

"Familiarity breeds contempt and the fact that many of the local rioters were more or less acquainted with members of the local organizations weakened their authority. For this reason the military board refused to put the Calumet company of national guardsmen into service to preserve order in that city. The Calumet guards was used to police its own armory, while the troops from other sections of the state did the real work.

"The same condition will prevail in Michigan, if serious trouble arises after the national guard leaves the state, and as an auxiliary force it is believed that the constabulary will prove a mighty handy organization."



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—Robert Minor in *New York Times*.

STARVING AT THE WHEEL.



Robert Minor

STARVING AT THE WHEEL.

"GENERAL STRIKE SOCIALIST PLAN TO FORCE PEACE"

"Will Call all Workers in Europe if Plea is Refused"

By JAMES O'DONNELL BENNETT

(Special Cable to Chicago tribune.)

"OF THE six delegates from the Russian workingmen's and soldiers' committee who either are in Stockholm or en route here for the Socialist preliminary peace conferences, five will proceed soon to London, Paris, and Rome to work for peace on the program of no annexations and no indemnities, and for the nationality principle among the Socialists of those countries.

"No annexations, no indemnities, and the nationality principle are the fundamentals of the Socialists. It develops from today's discussions between the Russians and the German majority and minority delegates that the big immediate aim of all of the

Socialists now conferring is to prevent another winter campaign.

"With this purpose foremost, the Socialists are agreed that, however much they may disagree in the preliminary conferences or in the general conference, they will unanimously support the decisions which the general conference finally reaches.

General Strike Weapon

"Furthermore, if the warring governments refuse peace, Socialism will attempt to draw the weapon which it believes will enforce peace—the weapon of a general European strike.

"In other words, the representative Socialists agree that they are not obliged to agree on everything, but they do agree to give unanimous support to the conference's final decision.

"In defining their authority to entertain such a proposition, the Russian delegates said: 'We represent the power of the Russian masses,' and they pointed significantly to an editorial printed in a newspaper representing M. Kerensky, the leader of the Russians, which said:

"'Vain are all of the efforts made in western Europe to distort the Russian democracy's aims. The Russian democracy will not even discuss it.'

Would Give Back Colonies

"After the Russian Socialists had been welcomed by Herr Branting, the leader of the Scandinavian committee, they went into a conference with Hermann Muller, secretary of the German Socialist party, representing the German majority, and with Dr. Adler, representing the German and Austrian Socialists. Later they conferred with the German minority.

"As a result of these conferences the Russians expressed the conviction that the German colonies must be returned to Germany. These Russian delegates were selected by the workingmen's and soldiers' committee and later confirmed by the whole body."



—From the Public Ledger, Philadelphia.

THE IMPERATIVE KNOCK OF RUSSIAN LABOR.



—From the Public Ledger, Philadelphia.

THE IMPERATIVE KNOCK OF RUSSIAN LABOR.

The Labor Movement in Japan

A Period of Success in the Labor and Socialist Movement

By S. KATAYAMA

PART II

EIGHTEEN months after we had begun the labor movement in Japan our experiences assured us that our prospects were very good. The Iron Workers' Union organized on Dec. 1st., 1897, and the R. R. Engineers' and Firemen's Union, organized in March, 1898, were in a flourishing condition, both with a growing membership. The year just closed was the most fruitful one for the labor movement in Japan.

Every one connected with the movement had a firm faith in the great future of the working class and each worked with courage and enthusiasm. Two of our leaders settled in Kobe and started a similar movement in that city. One of these was a shoemaker by trade who had been in America for some time. He was a good labor agitator and now worked at Kobe for the movement.

At Tokyo labor meetings were held regularly in various parts of the city and its vicinity. To all came increasing audiences. Subscribers to the *Labor World* were increasing steadily, this being the only organ of the working class that gave any information about the new labor movement abroad. It was, in fact, the sole organ of labor propaganda. It attempted to educate the working class in general. Our working class was then very eager for any new knowledge and they were not slow to act on an idea when they got hold of it.

Propaganda on the subject of co-operatives for half a year or more in public meetings and in the columns of the *Labor World*, resulted in many co-operative distributive stores, organized and conducted by members of different unions.

In July (1898) the *Labor World* published a report on eleven co-operative stores. The total paid up shares of these unions amounted to 7,620 yen, an aggregate monthly business of 7,497 yen and a total membership of 1,346. One of the eleven stores still exists today at Omiya, where a great railway workshop is located.

Five years ago this co-operative union built a large club house with an auditorium which has a seating capacity of over one thousand persons and which is used for theatrical performances. This store has been of great benefit to the people of Omiya as well as to the workers. Although the labor union was crushed a few years later, this co-operative store survived and has been flourishing ever since. On account of the co-operative store, retail prices of food-stuffs and other necessaries have always been cheaper here than in adjoining towns.

But to return to the labor unions. Thus far we had been comparatively free from any government interference in our work except that we could not parade in the streets or hold open air meetings. Occasionally the police attempted to stop a labor meeting, but this did not interfere with our agitation to any great extent. On the contrary, slight police interference at our meetings gave them an impetus and public sympathy was on our side.

But a strong and utterly unjust discrimination was made against us on January, 1899, when the Iron Workers' Union gave their first anniversary celebration at Uyeno Park. The government suddenly dissolved the meeting, altho we possessed a permit issued to us from the park authority, which means from the Imperial household, the park belonging to this administration.

This high-handed suppression was carried out by applying an old law copied from Prussia.

The authorities were attempting to obstruct the growth of the labor movement, but so far there was no actual law to apply to them, so that we carried on a lively work of education and propaganda for several years. Even police interference was utilized to our advantage by the agitators.

To the Japanese workers then a strike means an effective weapon with which to secure their due demands. In fact, in most instances they got what they wanted by striking for it.

Our history of feudalism shows in abundant cases that tenant farmers secured an adjustment of their grievances against their lords or their officers by means of riots. Riots in Japan during feudalism played a very important part for reform and for the progress of the working classes. In the same way our workers use strikes today as a direct weapon to better their conditions.

In March of 1899 the plasterers reorganized their old guild into a new union under the leadership of Mr. Sukenobu Ota, who had been an able labor leader in his trade guild for more than half a century. The Plasterers' Union had then 2,600 members.

Beside the Japanese unions already mentioned, such as the ship carpenters, stone masons, etc., there were others who followed the example of the former unions. The *Labor World*, in an issue of Aug. 1st, 1900 printed the following union items:

"The Cargo Boats' Union has 2,000 sailors as members who work on 500 boats. The owners of boats supply medical and some benefit funds.

"Sangiyo Kumiai is the name of the dockers' union in the Bay of Tokyo and has a membership of 400.

"There are two unions for men who work in the wharfs with a total membership of 1,800.

"There are two dockers' unions besides Sangiyo Kumiai, one consisting of workers on ship-board and the other on the wharfs. The former has 3,000 members and the latter 1,000."

This shows that the labor movement was then well advertised thruout the country and that the workers in every trade felt the need of having their own union.

The Printers' Union of Tokyo attempted to work out its own problems by different tactics than those employed by the iron and railway workers. From its very inception this union advocated the so-called identity of interests of capital and labor. To clearly illustrate its attitude:

The union elected Mr. Soburo Shimada, M. P., as its president, because they considered him a friend of both capital and labor. The Printers' Union adopted this policy in order to accomplish its ends and, in fact, they received the ardent support of the professors of the Imperial University of Tokyo. They were even given a splendid feast on the celebration of the founding of

the Printers' Union on November 3rd, 1899, at the Tokyo Y. M. C. A. Hall. This union claimed to have a membership of 2,000.

At this time the university professors and their followers, encouraged by the friendly attitude toward them of the Printers' Union, inaugurated a sort of social reform movement under the name of Social Reformism. These university men were influenced largely by German ideas. They advocated pure and simple reforms, based on the present capitalist society. With them we held heated discussions at public meetings and also in the pages of the magazines. The majority of the workers sided with the attitude taken by the Iron Workers' Union and the editors of the *Labor World*.

From the beginning of the year 1899, the *Labor World* had been giving a special column in every issue to the discussion of Socialism. Before that time it had, from time to time, reported events in the Socialist movement abroad, but now we thought it time to educate the workers on the aims and principles of Socialism.

In November of the same year there had appeared in Osaka a labor paper called *The Osaka Weekly*. It advocated Socialism outright as the only solution of the labor problems. It was owned and edited by Mr. Kentaro Oi, the veteran of a prominent liberal movement before 1890, when the liberals were demanding a national constitution and a parliament. But the *Osaka Weekly* failed soon on account of lack of means and support from the workers.

Eighteen hundred and ninety-nine was a very prosperous year for our movement. I made two trips to the northeast along the Nippon railway lines, first in the spring and again in the autumn, both in the capacity of secretary of the Iron Workers' Union, with gratifying success. Every branch of the Iron Workers' was in best condition and there was little or no trouble for the labor movement. In Tokyo a Cooks' Union and in Yokohama a Furniture Makers' Union were organized during that year under the direct auspices of the *Labor World* and its editor.

Socialism a Popular Policy of the Day

Nineteen hundred and nine dawned with even brighter prospects for the Socialist and labor movement of Japan. The public in general had become very much interested in Socialism and especially in social reform. Count Itagaki, the founder of the liberal

movement in Japan and one of the leaders in the revolution of 1866, founded a reform club called the Doki Club, based on Socialist principles. At the cities of Wakayama and Omiya, both industrial cities, a labor club was established for the education and amusement of the workers. Dr. Ukichi Taguchi, M. P., editor and proprietor of the *Tokyo Economist*, who is a recognized leader of the school of "laissez faire" economists, came out as an ardent advocate of the principles of the single tax and severely attacked the landlords.

The rising interest in and the eager discussion of social reforms came at this time as a reaction to capitalist injustices and the utter cruelty of the capitalist classes toward workingmen and women. To give a few examples:

In June, 1899, at the Hokoku Colliery, Kiushiu, 207 miners were buried alive and permitted to be burned to death in order to save the mining properties. A little later thirty-one young spinning girls were burned to death in a dormitory of the spinning company. After working sixteen hours a day these girls are locked up in the dormitories, to which doors and windows are fastened on the outside to prevent the girls from escaping from their jobs. When the fire broke out at one o'clock in the dormitory where the tragedy occurred, the poor worn-out girls were unable to escape. Those who jumped from the windows were maimed or killed and the others were all burned to death. Again forty workmen were killed on the Nippon R. R. line on account of the utter neglect in supervising the bridge Howoki.

These and many other disasters occurring in various industries thruout the country awakened the public into a conscious or unconscious indignation. These joined in protest against capitalist brutalities. Consequently the policy and tactics adopted by the *Labor World* were largely approved by the public.

Public Peace Police Law

In the spring session of the Imperial Diet, 1900, a bill was passed and enacted immediately. The law is entitled the Public Peace Police Law. It proved to be the death knell to all phases of the labor movement, because it prevented the working class from organizing themselves into unions. The law practically prohibits the industrial working classes as well as the tenant farm-

ers from agitating in their own interests and against the employers and landlords.

To attempt to enlist others in a movement to raise wages, shorten hours of labor or to lower land rents was declared a crime against the peace and order of society. And later the law was interpreted to mean that all labor movements were a crime!

In the same session a co-operative law was voted upon. But on account of the Public Peace Police Law the workers were never able to utilize the co-operative law.

The very oppressive features of the Police Law against the working classes caused these classes and their friends to feel an urgent need of obtaining universal suffrage in Japan. With this purpose we organized an Association for Universal Suffrage. Many prominent men came into the association. The Tokyo Barbers' Union and the Nippon R. R. Workers' Union joined. But all the suffrage movement ever achieved was the passage of a Universal Suffrage Bill in the lower house. The bill was killed in the House of Peers.

Meanwhile, we preached Socialism at the workmen's meetings, perhaps with more zeal and enthusiasm than we advocated trade unionism, and this was altogether a new subject, although at the same time the oppressive measures against the working class adopted by the government gave our cause a great and convincing impetus. These measures impelled us to agitate among the workers for Socialist politics.

There was then more freedom of speech for labor and Socialist politics at public meetings than there was freedom on the subject of trade unions, strikes and the boycott, since the latter were directly concerned with the existing industries of the country. This being the situation we gradually educated the Japanese workers in Socialism for several years. The following was perhaps the first direct result of our propaganda.

The Nippon R. R. Workers' Union, at its annual meeting, held in the city of Mito, in March, 1901, voted a resolution proclaiming that Socialism is the only ultimate solution of the labor problems, and instructed its executive committee to join the Universal Suffrage movement.

Social Democratic Party

The clear stand on Socialism taken by the Nippon R. R. Workers' Union in this resolution and many other signs of the

times convinced us that our workers were fairly well prepared for political action, so on May 20th, 1901, after deliberation and consultation at the headquarters of the Iron Workers' Union for a few weeks, we formed a Socialist party which we called the Social Democratic Party. At the same time we published a Socialist Manifesto and a Party Platform. The original members of the party were: D. Kotoku, I. Abe, N. Kinoshita, K. Kawakami, K. Nishikawa and myself.

Our Manifesto was printed in four daily papers and in the *Labor World* at Tokyo and in one country daily. The party was suppressed by the government. But for the first time Socialism was widely advertised, making a very strong impression on the people because of the widespread publicity given our Manifesto in the four big Tokyo dailies. The trials of the editors who published the Manifesto in their respective papers gave the subject still further publicity throuth the country.

With this splendid advertising of Socialism to encourage them, the six members of the suppressed Social Democratic Party turned their energies into a Socialist educational and propaganda campaign with increased vigor and enthusiasm.

We formed a non-political organization, called *Shakai Shugi Kyosai* (Socialist Association). Under this name we held Socialist meetings, of course, charging admission. Slowly but steadily our members increased and soon these began to take part in the meetings.

At the time that propaganda for a pure and simple trade union movement was more and more severely dealt with by the authorities, our labor politics and Socialist agitation had comparative freedom and was rather popular among the people. The *Niroku*, a penny daily, published a series of articles on Socialism which lasted for two weeks. The articles were written by Comrade Isowa Abe, one of the founders of the Social Democratic Party.

Even the big bourgeois dailies like the *Jiji*, gave us notices for our Socialist meetings while others mentioned these in their news columns. This apparently friendly attitude of the press in general, tho it may have been based on business motives and a desire for greater circulation, nevertheless helped us much in our propaganda. To give one instance:

With the co-operation of the Iron Workers' Union, whose secretary I was, the said *Niroku*, whose owner and manager was a personal friend of mine, announced in its columns a working men's social meeting, to be held at Mukoshima Park on the 3rd of April, 1901, one of the four Japanese national holidays. To this meeting some fifty thousand workingmen applied for admission, paying a fee of 20 sen. Six thousand members of the Iron Workers were enlisted. The gathering was announced prohibited by the government, but the *Niroku* insisted on holding the meeting and, after much discussion, the government consented to permit a meeting of not over five thousand persons. The government claimed that it could not muster over five thousand police and could not, for this reason, permit a larger attendance at the park.

Niroku devised a scheme to meet the situation by announcing that the number admitted would be limited to five thousand—first come first served. Every one of the fifty thousand wanted to be one of the first-comers.

This was an exciting day in the history of the labor movement. Many came to the park the previous evening and remained there all night. When morning came there were already more than the allotted number present and when the meeting opened there were from thirty to forty thousand people present.

The police force was powerless before the peaceful mass demonstration. The assemblage voted a resolution demanding a factory law, universal suffrage, and made other demands. The meeting was a great success in every way. It seemed that for that day at least the working classes of Japan realized their own power. This meeting was followed by other meetings throuthout Japan in the course of a month or so. But the government deemed these dangerous to the country, for never again to this very day has it permitted the holding of vast meetings. It must indeed have felt itself powerless before the mass action of the working class!

Immediately after the suppression of the Social Democratic Party, the *Yorozu*, a popular daily paper in Tokyo, started to organize a party. It was called the Ideal Association (*Risodan*), a sort of liberal reform club containing a great part of the Socialist program. In the *Yorozu* Com-

rades Kotoku and Sakai were the principal writers. The public was under the impression that the *Yorozu* would take up the work of the suppressed Social Democratic Party, but after a few years this expectation died out.

When the war with Russia became imminent in the autumn of 1903, the *Yorozu* assumed an extreme jingoistic stand, which caused Comrades Kotoku and Sakai to leave the daily.

The growing interest in the Socialist movement shown by the success of meetings and the increased circulation of the *Labor World*, made us feel the necessity of enlarging the paper and in the summer of 1901, we announced that it would be changed into a daily with the issue of the

coming December number, which would be the last of the first one hundred issues which had appeared. The paper had been a bi-monthly.

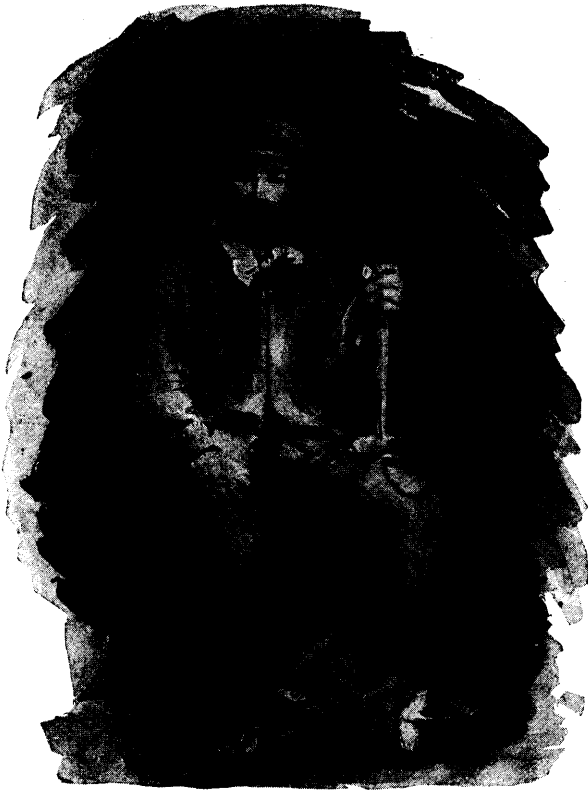
With this end in view we asked the workers to pay one year subscription in advance, Y 2.40. Our request met with ready response and we received a large number of subscriptions in advance. After about eight months of preparation, on January 1st, 1902, we sent out the first number of the first Socialist daily paper appearing in Japan.

The free use of the Iron Workers' Headquarters was given us, the second floor being given over to editorial and composing rooms. Our office occupied the first floor front and in the back rooms the paper was printed. The daily was chiefly supported by the working class. Comrades Abe, Kotoku, Kawakami, Kinoshita and many others helped by contributing articles. Financially I was wholly responsible for the paper. It cost just one thousand dollars to get types, machines and other necessary equipment.

The paper came out for just two months. At that time the city newsdealers (twenty-one) monopolized the entire business of selling and distributing papers and they wanted to charge outrageously high prices for our paper, so that it was utterly impossible for us to place the paper at the door of each subscriber every morning. Moreover, the lack of business experience more than anything else caused us many difficulties in spite of the hearty sympathy and support of the working class, particularly of the Iron Workers' Union.

Besides my own health was broken down on account of overwork and I had to seek a warmer climate than chilly Tokyo to regain it. These circumstances compelled us to give up the daily with great loss to me and to the cause of labor and of Socialism. We thought it best to cease publication at once and to continue the propaganda work in some form in order to renew publication in the near future.

(To be continued)



A JAPANESE MINER.

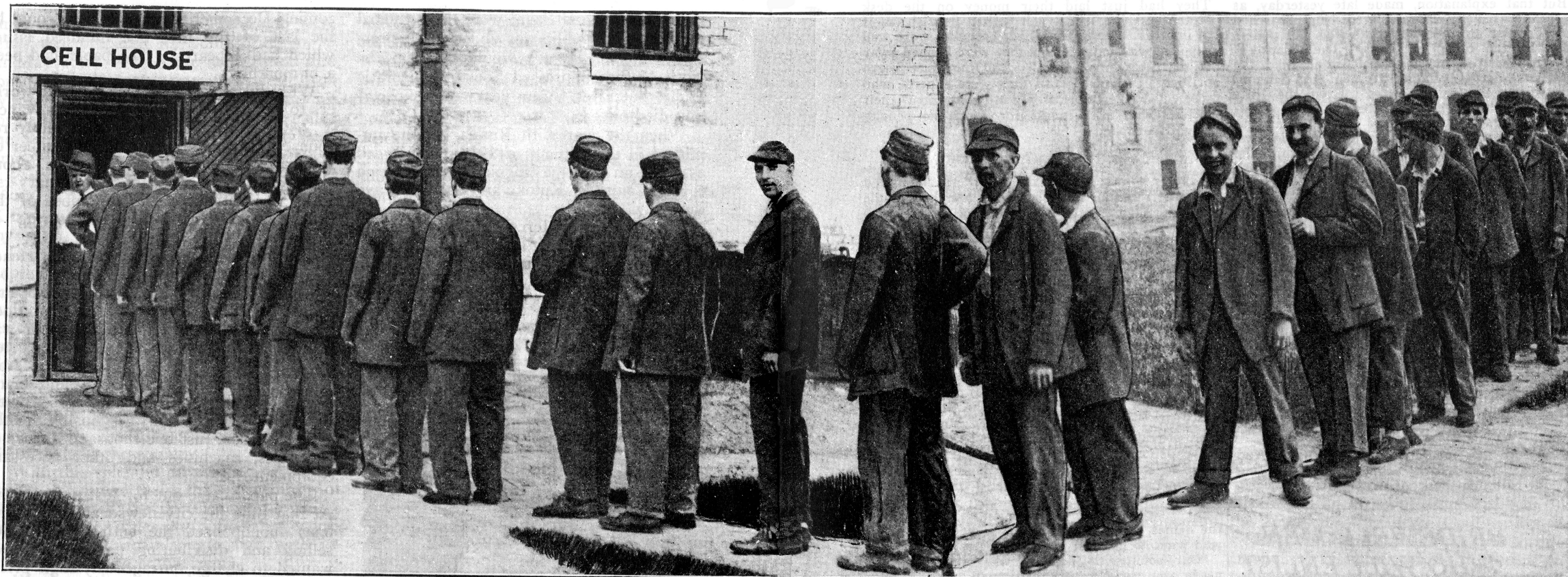


A JAPANESE MINER.

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—By Courtesy of the Post, Chicago.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-ONE MEN ENTERING BRIDEWELL WORK HOUSE, CHICAGO. THEY WERE SENTENCED TO ONE YEAR'S HARD LABOR BY JUDGE LANDIS FOR REFUSING TO REGISTER.

One Hundred and Twenty-One Men

THE following accounts of the trial and imprisonment of 121 Socialists and members of the I. W. W. who voluntarily gave themselves up to the sheriff rather than register is taken from the Chicago newspapers.

Judge Landis first won fame by fining the Standard Oil Co., \$29,000,000.00—which of course was never paid.

From the *Tribune*:

Freeport, Ill., July 5.—(Special.)—Characterizing them as “whining and belly-aching puppies,” Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis today sentenced 117 of the slackers who took part in the Rockford riot of June 6th to a year and a day each at hard labor in the house of correction in Chicago, the limit which the law allows. Four

others received short sentences in the house of correction. All will be forced to register and stand their chance in the draft.

The court became particularly incensed while questioning Nel Larson, who testified he had lived in the United States for over nine years, that he had not taken out any naturalization papers, and that he had left Sweden to avoid military service there.

“So you dodged military service in the country of your birth, and now when the country in which you have been earning a living for the last nine years calls upon you to help it out, you deliberately do the same thing here.

“One year in the house of correction, and take this man out of here at once,” the court shouted.

TYPE THAT DAMNS SOCIALISTS

The ire of the court was again aroused when Swan Lingren stated he had a positive objection to all wars.

“Do you belong to any party or organization?” he was asked.

“I am a member of the Socialist party.”

“This is the type that has damned the Socialist party,” said the court, addressing Attorney Seymour Stedman, who was in court representing some of the defendants.

“It’s probably a matter of conscience with him,” Mr. Stedman said.

From the *Post*:

“No Man’s Land” took on a new significance within the walls of the bridewell today. And every one of the 2,600 prisoners confined there—men charged with all kinds of crimes and misdemeanors, short of murder—avoided the small section of the quarry where a special detail of 116 prisoners were put to work early this morning. It is the section where the “slackers” are detailed. They had tried to escape from “No

Man’s Land” in France, only to find themselves in a worse “no man’s land” at the bridewell.

“That is no place for a man,” was the comment of the other prisoners, and they left the “slackers” to themselves. Indications are that the men who refused to register for service for their country at war are going to spend a mighty lonesome time at the bridewell for the next year. And the striking thing about it all is that the “slackers” can’t understand why they are held in such contempt by those whom society has branded as criminals.

“ONLY CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS”

“We are only conscientious objectors to the war,” was the comment of one of the younger prisoners sent to the bridewell by Federal Judge Landis at Freeport. “We are living in a free country, and are only exercising our rights and protection under the Constitution.”

But that explanation, made late yesterday, as the newly arrived "slackers" were being searched and "dressed up" for their cells, was not understood by the other prisoners. The "slackers" had just arrived on a special train, amid the hoots and derisive shouts of men both without and within the prison walls. Even the little children in the streets ran after the train shouting, "Slackers! Slackers!" and pointing their fingers at the row of heads at the car windows. And when the train had arrived within the bridewell the prisoners there paused in their work on the grounds and sneered at the new arrivals. Three elderly women, apparently employed in some office capacity at the prison, stood near by and watched the "slackers" march in double file toward the receiving cell.

"And just imagine how their mothers must feel," remarked one of the women, for all of the arrivals were under 30 years of age. Many seemed hardly more than 20. "God! I'm glad my boy isn't there."

And all the time the long double line was silent. Not a word was passed among them. They seemed dazed at their reception. They could not understand it all. They were "conscientious objectors," they kept assuring themselves.

EMPTY OUT POCKETS

"Throw up your hands!"

The order was imperative—contemptuous. And each "slacker," in turn, found himself looking into the glinting eyes of a big, black negro.

They had just laid their money on the desk at the receiving cell—each with a flourish, as if to impress those in charge, for they all were well supplied with money. But they were hustled away to the "searching squad." And the three negro prisoners assigned to this duty were experts, who seemed to take a sort of joy in "going thru" their victims with a thoroughness for which no penalty would be applied.

GET "UNIFORM" ALL RIGHT

Thirty minutes after the "slackers" had filed into the receiving cell, they were marched, single file, out again and into the long steel cages which are to be their sleeping quarters for the next twelve months and a day. And they were all in "uniform." But not the uniform of freedom and the greatest democracy on earth. They were not marching to the front amid the applause of men.

From the *Examiner*:

Stedman says virtually all the prisoners are Socialists. Roy Dempsey, one of them, says more than half of them are members of the Industrial Workers of the World. Both the Socialist and I. W. W. organizations contributed funds to them and provided legal counsel.

Walls near the Bridewell bore the words chalked conspicuously in many places:

"Don't join the navy; join the I. W. W."

BRIDEWELL MEN WHO WILL ENLIST TO GET FREEDOM

New Jail Head Makes Offer in July 4 Speech

Bridewell prisoners between the ages of 18 and 40 will be given their freedom if they wish to join the army or navy, it was announced yesterday in an Independence day address by Joseph Siman, the new superintendent.

Army and navy officials in charge of recruiting here have yet to express their opinion of the plan. Much resentment was caused some time ago when a plan to give law violators a chance between military service and jail was broached.

Mr. Siman was given a three minute ovation by the prisoners when he concluded his remarks. Many of them made vociferous offers of their services on the spot. A census of the inmates will be made today by Mr. Siman and the government will be furnished with

the names of those eligible for service who want to go.

"Our country is now at war and needs you men," said Supt. Siman in addressing 1,922 of the 2,200 prisoners and 1,000 visitors in the new cell house. "The country is calling you to come forward and fight for Old Glory.

"All of you men between the ages of 18 and 44 years who wish to join the fighting forces are to be given an opportunity to do so through the efforts of the Illinois League for Justice, which has taken upon itself this work in the name of duty and patriotism."

Mr. Siman said the Illinois League for Justice would obtain pardons or payment of the fines of those men desiring to join the nation's fighting forces. Among those present at the address were Will T. Davies, county jailer, and president of the League for Justice, and former Judge McKenzie Cleland, counsel for the organization. Earl H. Reynolds, president of the Peoples' Trust and Savings bank, and treasurer of the league, was unable to attend.

The cell house was decorated with the national colors and fourteen vaudeville acts by performers from various Chicago theaters were included in the holiday program. There was also speaking, music, and patriotic songs.

—From the Chicago Tribune.

Building a New Society

By PHILLIPS RUSSELL

THE longer the war lasts, the plainer it becomes that the present order is shaking itself to pieces. Old-style individualistic capitalism was placed on its death bed in the United States the day that the first manufacturer got an order from the government instructing him to deliver a certain quantity of goods by a certain date at a given place and notifying him that his remuneration would be determined later. State capitalism reigns in its stead and government ownership, operation and control is in for a run.

The whole world now recognizes that mankind is entering upon a period of reorganization and reconstruction. But here in America it is a question if we are not losing sight of our real mission by too great concentration upon opposition to the war. We instinctively and from principle oppose war whenever and wherever we find it, but it is well to reflect that we shall never get very far on a purely negative program. It is our business to combat and to overcome oppressive institutions wherever we discover them, but it is also our business to have something ready to replace them.

When some day we shall find the old order here in America dead of its own inefficiency, we shall not have solved our problems merely by electing a Socialist majority to Congress or by installing a Socialist president and Socialist legislatures in all the states.

It is vital that we recognize this fact: that the welfare of modern society rests no longer upon the efficiency of political governments, but upon the proper administration of industry.

At the present time our rulers are thinking faster than we are, or rather, they are showing more alertness in recognizing facts.

Witness the present situation of Congress. The prevailing attitude toward it is one of cynicism and disgust. Daily the newspapers pillory it for its confusion and delay in face of the national crisis, for its alleged narrowness and lack of grasp. It is not true, however, that Congress is composed of bone-

heads or crooks, even tho its personnel consists mostly of politicians with localized visions.

The fact is that Congress has simply been *outgrown*. Its members came to Washington to deal with matters of law and politics. Instead, they find themselves confronted with problems of industry. These problems have become the more urgent now that the country has discovered that waging a modern war requires not only the organization of armies, but the organization of industry. And Congress simply has not the knowledge, the training, the structure, adequately to deal with such matters.

The result is that Congress has become little more important than a rubber stamp. The real government of the United States is now vested in small groups of men like the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the National Council of Defense with its numerous subcommittees, etc., etc. Some of these bodies are invested with power well-nigh dictatorial and it is they who are administering and regulating the industrial affairs of the country today.

The lesson for us is that we must have our own committees ready to step in and carry on industry when the capitalist machine breaks down utterly, as it threatens to do at no far distant date.

The congress of the future will be not a congress of political representatives, but a congress of *industrial* representatives. Here the representatives of the coal miners will meet with the representatives of the agricultural workers; the clothing workers will meet with the weavers and spinners; the shoe workers will meet with the building trades—not in a conspiracy to gouge that myth known as the Public, but to discuss their common wants and to adjust their common needs, and not on a basis of profit but on a system founded on the necessary expenditure of labor power.

Let politicians debate the merits of political democracies. Our chief concern is with the merits of industrial democracies.

Animals Lost During Evolution

By E. S. Goodrich, M. A.



EVOLUTION is too often represented as a history of success and progress; it is also one of extinction and failure. Authors, seeming to forget that for one line of development that succeeds there are a hundred that fail, are fond of invoking some mysterious guiding principle, some internal perfecting agency—or what not—to account for evolution; but there would appear to be little scope for such mysterious forces in a world where the majority of individuals are crushed out, where most lines of development fail hopelessly to establish themselves. What guiding principle there may be behind the whole of creation is a subject outside the scope of Natural Science, and on which it can express no opinion.

It cannot even prophecy whether man or the bacillus will eventually triumph in the struggle for existence; indeed, both would seem to be doomed to destruction in the end by an unfavorable environment when this earth becomes too hot or too cold to support life. In the meantime, it is the great merit of the Darwinian principles of evolution that they account for the failures as well as for the successes. The elimination of the unfit, leaving the better adapted in possession, is a necessary part of the process.

The living organisms of today show us the types which have succeeded; for the failures we must appeal to the record of the past as revealed by a study of fossil remains. This record, in spite of its incompleteness, has much to teach. Every theory of evolution must be tested by the results of palæontology; no conclusion can be accepted which is inconsistent with them.

In the first place, the conviction derived from a study of living forms is confirmed, that evolution does not proceed along continuous straight lines, but, on the contrary, along a multitude of diverging branches. Just as individuals are found to vary in all directions compatible with their structure and composition, so groups become differentiated in various directions each adapted to a particular mode of life. Having reached a certain favorable combination of characters, they start on this new plane of structure to diverge, according to the principle of adaptive radiation, as it has been called by Osborn, many instances of which are found in the history of the land vertebrates.

Derived from some fish-like aquatic ancestor in Devonian or pre-Devonian times, the land vertebrates appear in carboniferous strata as clumsily-built Amphibia with four walking limbs. Like their modern representatives, they spent their early life in water, breathing by means of gills, and made use of lungs for respiration in adult life on land. These primitive amphibia soon diverged in various directions. Some acquired a large size and formidable dentition, like the Labyrinthodonts; others remained small, and were probably harmless herbivores; some became elongated, lost their limbs, and were adapted to an eel- or snake-like mode of progression; while others, losing the original scaly covering of the fish-like ancestor, gave rise to the modern groups (the frogs and toads, or Anura, and the salamanders and newts, or Urodela). These latter are all specialized forms, the existing Urodela being only the degenerate remnants of a once flourishing class which have become more or less com-



pletely readapted to an aquatic life. In fact, the Anura are the only order which has succeeded and expanded in recent times.

The Amphibian was the dominant type in Carboniferous times; it now occupies a very subordinate place. But from some unspecialized branch of it arose the more thoroughly terrestrial Reptilia towards the end of the Carboniferous or beginning of the Permian epoch. The class Reptilia reached a higher grade of structure, and soon almost completely superseded the Amphibia on dry land. So successful were the reptiles that already in Permian and Triassic times they had spread over the whole earth, becoming adapted in various directions to all sorts of life. The earliest reptiles known so closely resemble the primitive Amphibia that it is difficult to say where one class begins and the other ends; but these undifferentiated reptiles soon gave way to more specialized successors.

The Theromorpha gave rise to remarkable forms some with large, flat grinding teeth; others active, vigorous creatures with a formidable carnivorous dentition; while the highly-specialized Dicynodontia retained only two huge tusks. None of these specialized reptiles survived beyond the Trias. Other lines of differentiation lead toward a return to aquatic life. Plesiosaurs and Ichthyosaurs quite independently took to marine life, and their limbs became transformed into swimming-paddles. Neither group persisted beyond the Cretaceous epoch. Among the most interesting extinct reptiles are the Dinosauria. First appearing in the Triassic, they flourished in the Jurassic and Cretaceous, but became extinct before the beginning of the Eocene epoch. Often of gigantic size these remarkable animals were the lords of the earth in later Mesozoic times. Some were adapted to a herbivorous vegetable diet, like the huge Iguanodon; while others were aggressive carnivores.

But in spite of every effort, so to speak, to succeed in all possible directions, in spite of elaborate adaptations, terrible weapons, formidable defensive bony plates, horns, and spines, these splendid Dinosaurs all failed in the struggle for existence by the end of the Cretaceous epoch.

But although the reptilian type, once so successful and widespread, has failed so signally in the struggle for existence, it has given rise to other types which have re-

placed it. The birds are doubtless descended from some primitive reptile allied to the Crocodilia and Dinosauria. The avian branch has undergone comparatively little pruning. Quickly supplanting the Pterosauria after the Jurassic epoch, they radiated along all sorts of adaptive lines, most of which survive to the present day. The beautifully adapted organization of birds, with warm blood, efficient lungs, sharp senses, quick movements, and light feathers, has secured them a supremacy in the air which has hardly been challenged even by the mammals.

The Mammalia, that class of vertebrates to which we ourselves belong, arose earlier than the birds, probably from some primitive reptilian stock in Permian times. Indeed, the Theromorph reptiles of the Trias so nearly approach the mammalian type of structure in the character of the skull, palate, lower jaw, and other important points, that they are now generally held to have been, if not the ancestors themselves, at all events closely allied to them. Quite independently of birds, and on different lines of specialization, the Mammalia have acquired a four-chambered heart, completely separating the arterial blood from the venous, and a self-regulating mechanism, keeping the blood at a constant high temperature, independent of that of the surrounding environment. Of very adaptive build, the mammals soon diverged from the primitive ancestral egg-laying type now almost extinct, but still preserved in the archaic Monotremes living in Australia, the famous Ornithorhynchus, and Echidna. Adopting the advantageous method of nourishing their young during early life in the mother's womb, the placental mammals spread rapidly over the earth, ousting the lower reptilian type of organization, and diverging in various adaptive directions, they became the dominant group in Eocene times. The mammals have, however, suffered severely in the struggle. Large groups have vanished altogether, while others are on the verge of extinction. The Marsupials, once widely distributed, remain only in Australia, where they have escaped from competition with the more advanced Placentalia, and as scattered genera in America. The Dugong and Manatee are now the only representatives of the order Sirenia; while the Edentata, including the gigantic ground Sloths (*Megatherium*) and Glypto-

donts, once all-powerful in South America, are reduced nowadays to a few highly-specialized tree-sloths and armadillos.

Most instructive is the history of the large order Ungulata, which includes all the hoofed herbivorous mammals. Starting in Eocene times from primitive forms about the size of a fox, with complete unspecialized dentition and five-toed feet, known as the Condylarthra, and long ago extinct, the Ungulates branched out into a number of sub-orders. The Amblypoda developed into huge creatures, like Dinoceras, with large tusks and four horns on the skull, but did not survive beyond the Eocene age. A somewhat similar but quite distinct group of massively-built herbivores, the Titanotheria, lasted only into the Miocene, while the highly-specialized and aberrant sub-order Ancylopoda occurs up to the Pliocene epoch.

Those who believe in a guiding force directing the course of evolution must admit that it has been singularly blind and inefficient, leading more often to destruction than to success.

Still, it is sometimes argued, organisms seem to get into a groove of specialization, to pursue a road along which they can no longer stop, to become overspecialized by virtue of some sort of momentum driving them over the limits of usefulness to inevitable destruction. Thus over and over again we see, in the record left by fossils, animals acquiring a larger and larger size, and then suddenly dying out. Some animals develop certain organs to an excessive extent, as, for instance, the canine teeth in the extinct sabre-toothed tiger (*Machairodus*), or the monstrous antlers of the extinct Irish elk. Now it is quite probable that these animals died out owing to overspecialization, a narrow adaptation to a particular environment accompanied by a corresponding loss of power of accommodation; but it is a mistake to assume without clear proof that the course of their evolution can have been useless.

Variation may be useless or harmful; and doubtless these unsuccessful forms may have got into grooves of variation; but

variation is not evolution. And seeing that natural selection looks not to a distant future but to the immediate advantage, there is nothing in the history of these animals which cannot be explained as due to the ordinary action of selective elimination. We have every reason to suppose that every step in increase of size gave some advantage to the giant forms over their competitors.

Very important also is the evidence of palæontology, concerning the gradual character of the transition from one form to the other. We need not describe in detail the case of the horse, which is familiar to all, but shall only mention that it can be traced from an unspecialized comparatively small Eocene ancestral mammal, with five digits on each foot, a normal short skull, and the full complement of short rooted teeth. The complex pattern on the grinding surface of the teeth can be seen to evolve by almost insensible steps from the original six-cusped form, just as the lateral digits gradually become reduced on the feet. Exactly how gradual these transitions have been we cannot often yet say, but the more complete the evidence the smaller appear to have been the steps.

In this record of the past we read the work of natural selection, the drastic action of elimination, and see on a large scale what is happening today not only among the competing groups of organisms, but among the struggling individuals. From the record we also learn that evolution does not proceed along an even course such as we might expect to see pursued owing to the pressure of some internal or external directive force. On the contrary, it is the rule that groups quickly expand, radiating in various directions of adaptation. This specialization leads to a certain rigidity, a loss of adaptability in other directions, and sooner or later to a failure to meet new conditions, while some obscure side branch committed as yet to no special line of adaptation acquires some advantageous combination of characters, enabling it to compete successfully with the dominant race.

Adaptability is one of the most useful attributes an organism can possess.





—By Courtesy of the Tribune, Chicago.

THE STREET CAR WORKERS OF BLOOMINGTON, ILL., ON PARADE DURING THE RECENT STRIKE.

STREET CAR WORKERS WIN

IN SPITE of the fact that more than one thousand Illinois soldiers were rushed to Bloomington, Ill., in record time, the street car workers won their strike.

The solidarity of labor was 100 per cent strong. More than two thousand employees of the Alton shops downed tools at three o'clock on the afternoon of July 6th and marched to the office of the street car company, where they demanded that the car strike be brought to a satisfactory settlement at once. Every

union in Bloomington lined up behind the strikers.

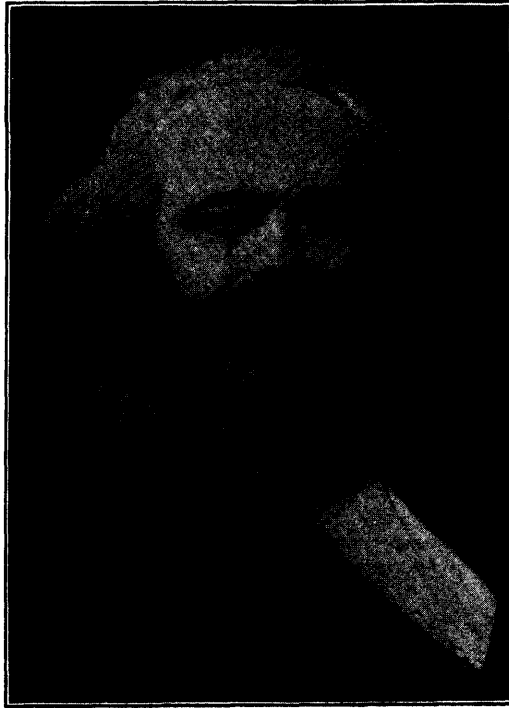
The big power house was closed. Newspapers were unable to misrepresent the strike as there was no power to run the presses, and many of the big industrial plants had to close down for the same reason.

This is a striking example of how solidarity means success. If the workers will stand together as they did in Bloomington they can always win.



—By Courtesy of the Tribune, Chicago.

THE STREET CAR WORKERS OF BLOOMINGTON, ILL., ON PARADE DURING THE RECENT STRIKE.



KARL MARX

Capitalists and Workers

By Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

THE history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

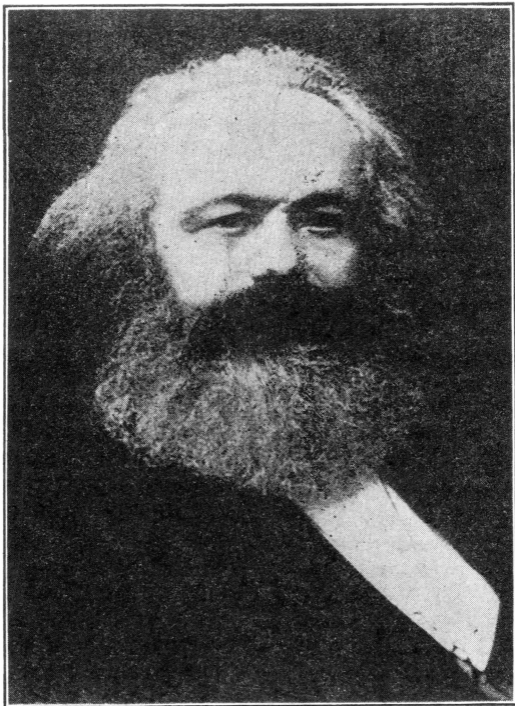
In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold graduation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the middle ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

The modern capitalist society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of capitalism, possesses, however, this distinctive feature; it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Capitalists and Workers.

From the serfs of the middle ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burgesses the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed.

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonization of



KARL MARX

America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.

The feudal system of industry, under which industrial production was monopolized by close guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild-masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle-class; division of labor between the different corporate guilds vanished in the face of division of labor in each single workshop.

Meantime the markets kept ever growing, the demand, ever rising. Even manufacture no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionized industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry, the place of the industrial middle-class, by industrial millionaires, the leaders of whole industrial armies, the modern capitalists.

Modern industry has established the world-market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the modern capitalist class developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.

We see, therefore, how modern capitalism is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

Each step in the development of the capitalist class was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class. An oppressed class under the sway of the feudal nobility, an armed and self-governing association in the mediaeval commune,* here independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany), there taxable "third estate" of the monarchy (as in France),

*"Commune" was the name taken, in France, by the nascent towns even before they had conquered from their feudal lords and masters, local self-government and political rights as "the Third Estate." Generally speaking, for the economical development of the bourgeoisie, England is here taken as the typical country, for its political development, France.

afterwards, in the period of manufacture proper, serving either the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against the nobility, and, in fact, corner stone of the great monarchies in general, the capitalist class has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world-market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole capitalist class.

This class, historically, has played a most revolutionary part.

Capitalism, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors," and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment." It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom—Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

Capitalism has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-laborers.

Capitalism has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

Capitalism has disclosed how it came to pass that the brutal display of vigor in the Middle Ages, which Reactionists so much admire, found its fitting complement in the most slothful indolence. It has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former Exoduses of nations and crusades.

Capitalism cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of pro-

duction, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the capitalist epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the capitalists over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.

Capitalism has thru its exploitation of the world-market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual product. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures there arises a world-literature.

Capitalism, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication,

draws all, even the most barbarian nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the capitalist mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i. e., to become bourgeois themselves. In a word, it creates a world after its own image.

The capitalism has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilized ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.

Capitalism keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralized means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralization. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, became lumped together in one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class-interest, one frontier and one customs-tariff.

Capitalism, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labor?

We see then: the means of production and of exchange on whose foundation capitalism built itself up, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under

which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organization of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to burst asunder; they were burst asunder.

Into their places stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economical and political sway of the capitalist class.

A similar movement is going on before our own eyes. Modern capitalist society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the capitalist class and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire capitalist society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why? Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of capitalist property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of capitalist society, endanger the existence of capitalist property. The conditions of capitalist society are too narrow to comprise the wealth

created by them. And how does the capitalism get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

The weapons with which capitalism felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against capitalism itself.

But not only has capitalism forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working-class—the proletarians.

In proportion as capital is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working-lass, developed, a class of laborers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital. These laborers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labor, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack that is required of him. Hence the cost of production of a workman is restricted almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance, and for the propagation of his race. But the price of a commodity, and also of labor, is equal to its cost of production. In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of the work increases, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of labor increases, in the same proportion the burden of toil also increases, whether by prolongation of the working hours, by increase of the work enacted in a given time, or by increased speed of the machinery, etc.

Modern industry has converted the little work-shop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of laborers, crowded into the factory, are organized like soldiers. As pri-

vates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they the slaves of the capitalist class, and of the capitalist State, they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the over-looker, and, above all, by the individual capitalist manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is.

The less the skill and exertion or strength implied in manual labor, in other words, the more modern industry becomes developed, the more is the labor of men superseded by that of women. Differences of age and sex have no longer any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labor, more or less expensive to use, according to their age and sex.

The lower strata of the Middle class—the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sink gradually into the working class, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which Modern Industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialized skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the working class is recruited from all classes of the population.

The working class goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the capitalist class. At first the contest is carried on by individual laborers, then by the workpeople of a factory, then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality, against the individual capitalist who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks not against the capitalist conditions of production, but against the instrument of production themselves; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labor, they smash to pieces machinery, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the Middle Ages.

At this stage the laborers still form an incoherent mass scattered over the whole country, and broken up by their mutual competition. If anywhere they unite to form more compact bodies, this is not yet the consequence of their own active union, but of the union of the capitalist class,

which class, in order to attain its own political ends, is compelled to set the whole working class in motion, and is moreover yet, for a time, able to do so. At this stage, therefore, the workers do not fight their enemies, but the enemies of their enemies, the remnants of absolute monarchy, the landowners, the non-industrial capitalist, the petty capitalists. Thus the whole historical movement is concentrated in the hands of the capitalists; every victory so obtained is a victory for the capitalist class.

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number, it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labor, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the capitalists, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual capitalists take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades' Unions) against the capitalists; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real proof of the battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern workers, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.

This organization of the workers into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers, by taking advantage of the divisions among the capitalist class itself. Thus the ten-hour bill in England was carried.

Altogether collisions between the classes of the old society further, in many ways, the course of development of the proletariat. The capitalist class finds itself involved in a constant battle. At first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the capitalist class itself, whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all times, with the capitalists of foreign countries. In all these battles it sees itself compelled to appeal to the working class, to ask for its help, and thus, to drag it into the political arena. The capitalist class itself, therefore, supplies the *proletariat* with its own elements of political and general education, in other words, it furnishes the workers with weapons for fighting the *capitalists*.

Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the *proletariat*, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply the *proletariat* with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.

Finally, in times when the class-struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact, within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the *proletariat*, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeoisie ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movements as a whole.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the *capitalists* today, the working class alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in

the face of modern industry; the *proletariat* is its special and essential product.

The lower middle-class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the capitalist class, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are, therefore, not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so, only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat, they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the *proletariat*.

The "dangerous class," the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a *proletarian* revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

In the conditions of the *proletariat*, those of old society at large are already virtually swamped. The *proletarian* is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the *bourgeois* family-relations; modern industrial labor, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many capitalist prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many *bourgeois* interests.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The *proletarians* cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The *proletarian* movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The working class, the lowest stratum of our present society,

cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the workers with the capitalists is at first a national struggle. The working class of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own capitalist class.

In depicting the most general phases of the development of the working class, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the capitalist class lays the foundation for the sway of the working class.

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty capitalist, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a capitalist. The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of raising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper,

and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the capitalist class is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule, because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under capitalism, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the capitalist class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labor. Wage-labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the capitalist class, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their involuntary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which capitalism produces and appropriates products. What the capitalist class, therefore, produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the working class are equally inevitable.—From the Communist Manifesto.

Justice for Ireland

By Wm. E. BOHN

ON July 25 there is to be another attempt to solve the Irish problem. Parliament passed a home-rule bill just before the war began. It had cost no end of trouble, and no one was satisfied with it. But such as it was, it was passed at last. Then came the war. A reasonable outsider might suppose that such an external trial for the government would be reason enough for hastening the application of the law. If Britain ever needed the whole-hearted support of the Irish she needed it in this war. But Premier Asquith and his cabinet suspended the law indefinitely. There was discontent everywhere on the green isle. It finally burst forth in the Easter uprising a year ago.

And all that England could do was to put down the Irish republicans with a brutality which would have done credit to Prussia. The government has not dared to enact a conscription law for Ireland. Troops sorely needed at the front have been kept in Ireland to prevent an uprising among people who have been under British rule since the Middle Ages. Never was there a better case of the sins of the fathers being visited on the children. In the day of her trial England's Irish sins rise up to smite her.

It was partly because of failure in Ireland that Mr. Asquith lost his post. He and his secretary for Ireland, Mr. Augustine Birrell, just muddled along. They

knew very well that an uprising was being prepared, but they dared not propose a bold measure either to placate the people or to frighten them. Lloyd George seemed to have some grasp on the situation. He has, no doubt, some social imagination. When he became premier we all expected to have something done about Ireland.

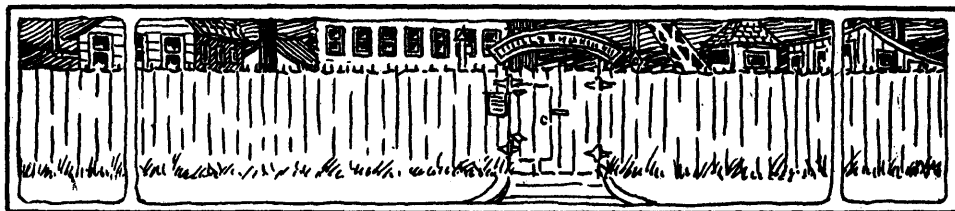
And now we have his plan. We are all disappointed. The big thing to do would have been to throw Ireland upon its own resources, make it settle its own fate. Many Englishmen would have backed up the new premier if he had done this. But he was not a big enough man even to propose it. What he did propose was a constitutional convention—but a convention with a string to it. In the first place, the scheme of representation is a manifestly unjust one. There is to be no direct representation of the people. The English government will be represented by fifteen members. The peers of Ireland will have a group present. Irish labor will have a representation about half the size of that accorded the peers. In addition the local government boards are to send delegates. These boards were elected before the rise of the Sinn Fein. They represent Ireland as it was more than ten years ago, not as it is today. At that time the Naturalists, the Redmondites, were in the ascendant. The great strikes of the transport workers and all that has happened since the outbreak of the war have changed the face of the Irish world. There have been three by-elections recently in Ireland. Every one of them has been against Redmond and in favor of the revolutionists. But the men and women of Ireland are not allowed to choose the members of the convention.

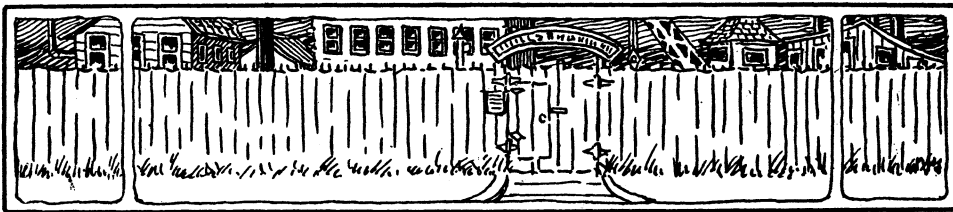
Arthur Griffeth, one of the organizers of the Sinn Fein, made three demands of

the government (1) that the convention be left free to declare the independence of Ireland; (2) that the government pledge itself to ratify the decisions of the convention; (3) that the convention consist of persons elected by the people of Ireland. Not one of these demands has been granted, and yet it is reported that the Sinn Fein is to participate. It is even said that the Ulster leaders have the power of veto over the proceedings.

The present writer speaks but guardedly of these matters. An outsider never understands Ireland and no two Irishmen ever understand it alike. But all signs point to another awkward bungling of the whole great matter. Back of the politics and back of the religion lies the labor problem. The aristocrats of Ulster are among the worst exploiters in the world. They must keep the religious bogey alive. If their Protestant followers once find out that the Roman Catholics to the south are the same sort of people as others—then the old game of divide-and-rule will be up. And Redmond will probably be the last Irishman who will play a great part in British politics at the expense of the Irish people. The strikes have done much to set matters straight. The bloody suppression of the Irish Republic did much. There must now be in Ireland a large number of people who want freedom from England, not merely for the sake of national glory, but because they want a chance to deal directly and effectively with Ireland's own problems.

Everything goes to show that this is what is furthest from Loyd George's mind. He wants to do something to soothe the Irish and leave us as we were. It is just a continuation of the old policy which has led from one generation to another.





Room 101

Room 102

Room 103

Room 104

THE DREAMERS

From the New York Times, June 16, 1917.

“THE Allies should call on Russia to define her intentions, if only for the internal good of Russia.

What that country needs is to be brought face to face with actualities, so that the inevitable conflict between the builders and the wreckers within her own borders should begin at the earliest possible moment. It is the postponement of that conflict that has brought about this perilous situation. There are multiplying signs that the builders are stiffening in their temper, but an abrupt ‘Quo Vadis?’ from the Allies would help mightily in the stiffening process.

“It should be understood clearly that it is a waste of time to argue with the workmen’s and soldiers’ council or to try to compromise. The reason is that the object which these men seek is not that which the Allies seek, and there can be no compromise on methods without a common object. What the council seeks is not the defeat of Germany, but a new war to be made in all the countries of the globe by the masses against their governments. The council are not pacifists, they are warriors, only they would declare a different war from that now going on. They aim to incite a civil war in each separate land; to have the Germans make war on the Kaiser, the English on the House of Commons, the French on the President and Chambers, the Americans on the President, with the aim of establishing universally proletariat republics.

“In such a world cataclysm, of course, the present war between Germany and the Allies would disappear. The utter impracticability of their idea does not make its way thru the fog of misinformation in which they sit. Doubtless the news from other countries that is brought to them, coming by way of men just like themselves, leads them to the belief that this universal revolution is at hand everywhere, that what was

done in Russia against the Czar is about to be repeated in England, the United States, Germany, Italy, France, everywhere. Therefore, the present insignificant little war does not interest them; it is about to be swallowed up in the real war which shall liberate every land from its oppressive presidents and kings and parliaments, from the rule of capitalists and the bourgeoisie.

“It is for this reason that President Wilson’s words, which struck so responsive a chord everywhere else, do not move them. They are merely the sophistries of another ‘capitalistic’ ruler, near the end of his tether like his fellow-despots, the Kaiser and King George and President Poincare and the Sultan. His argument is a ‘strange pretense,’ and really mystifies instead of enlightening the organ of the council, which kindly explains the real situation to him:

“‘The Russian revolutionary democracy knows very well that the road to the passionately awaited universal peace lies only thru a united struggle of the laboring classes with the imperialists of the world.’

“It is idle to wait for such men to see the need of fighting Germany, simply because their eyes are fixed on quite a different object, and any words the Allies may employ will be as in a foreign and incomprehensible language.

“From this state of things there is only one outlet. The Russians who can see clearly must palter no longer with the Russians who are in a fog. The struggle is inevitable and can only be postponed. The Peasant’s Congress has taken the right method; instead of arguing with insurgent Kronstadt, it sternly warns that center of anarchy that its supplies will be shut off unless it submits. Sterbatcheff’s soldiers have taken the right method; instead of coddling mutinous comrades, they arrest them, and he dissolves their rebel regiments.”

Peace Terms Urged by German Minority

From Chicago Daily News, July 9, 1917.

“IMMEDIATE conclusion of peace conditions, which shall include the establishment of an international convention to bring about general

disarmament is the demand of the international proletariat, according to German minority Socialists, who have just issued a lengthy memorandum. Economic isola-

tion of states is condemned, the memorandum continues, and obligatory international arbitration should be established. Equal rights of all inhabitants of any country, regardless of nationality, race or religion, is an imperative necessity. Other recommendations are:

"Secret treaties must be abolished.

"Modifications of frontiers must depend on the consent of the populations concerned and must not be effected by violence.

"Annexations and indemnities shall be fixed on the basis of the right of nations to decide their own destinies.

"Re-establishment of Serbia as an independent autonomous state is necessary.

Autonomy for All Poland

"The aspirations of the Polish people toward national unity are understood, but to concede right to autonomy to Russian Poland and refuse it to Prussian and Austrian Poland is irreconcilable with the right of nations to decide their own destinies.

"Continuation of the war to establish this right as well as to solve the question of Alsace-Lorraine is condemned. An opportunity ought to be given Alsace-Lorraine to decide by referendum to which country it wishes to belong.

Restitutions for Belgium

"It is impossible to refuse Belgium complete political independence and complete economy autonomy. The Belgian people should receive reparation for damages due to war, especially restitution for economic losses, this having nothing in common with war indemnities, which are condemned.

"The policy of colonial conquest is condemned.

"The essential preliminary of a lasting peace is the independence of the Socialist parties in their relation with imperialistic governments.

"A peace program would be idle talk unless supported by energetic international efforts of the masses."

General Strike of Lumber Workers

AS we go to press a telegram brings the news of a general strike of all lumber workers west of the Mississippi river. It reads as follows: "Seattle, Wash., July 17. General strike has been called by Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 500 of the I. W. W. Thousands responding to call. Solidarity fine. No scabs so far. John Martin."

The lumber trust and its henchmen, the state officials, county and city officials, with the aid of the militia, are resorting to the most ruthless methods to break the strike. Halls have been closed, strikers by the hundreds arrested and thrown in jails, or herded in stockades, but still the spirits of resistance grows.

The lumber jacks have made up their minds that they are tired of the rotten

conditions, and the long hours, and they will simply not tolerate them any longer. They are out to win this fight, and the \$500,000 defense fund raised by the Lumbermen's Association will not stop them. If the Lumbermen's Association can raise half a million dollars to defend their profits, then the "jacks" say that the Lumbermen's Association can raise half a million more dollars to increase the pay of the lumber jacks.

Late reports state that the authorities are backing down and the halls are being reopened. The September Labor Day edition of the REVIEW will have an illustrated article covering the strike which we hope to call—How the Lumber Jacks Won!



EDITORIAL

THE GREAT ISSUE

We as Socialists are opposed to wars, but the great issue is not whether the war shall end this year, or next year, or whether it shall drag on into later years. The great issue is whether, when the war does end, it will end with the working class of the world strong enough to stop future wars, and to demand and take control of the processes of production.

In Russia, the impossible has come to pass; the workers of Russia are in power and they are making over the industrial and political life of the nation in their own interest. One great menace to the peace and happiness of the world, the warlike ambition of the Czar and his military machine, has been removed.

In Germany, the Kaiser's throne is shaking. The too patient, too obedient workers show signs of beginning, for the first time since 1848, to think for themselves. The rulers are beginning to make concessions, and it is not impossible that before many months the whole imperial structure may collapse and the workers may undertake the task of rebuilding.

We can say with the approval of the censors, that a revolution in Germany will make for the permanent peace and happiness of the world. And so it would. But that is only part of the truth. It is not merely Germany and Austria-Hungary that need to follow the example of Russia; it is also England and France and the United States.

The daily press tells us that this war is to make the world safe for democracy. In the final outcome this may be true in a far broader sense than the well-paid editors dream. Political democracy without industrial democracy is a hollow sham, but Russia has just shown the world that industrial democracy is something possible and real. In England the financial

lords of yesterday are taking orders from Lloyd George, whom they regarded three years ago as a dangerous demagog. In France the sense of national peril is still so acute that the financiers have to take back seats. Today the United States may safely claim the title once accorded Belgium—"Paradise of Capitalism."

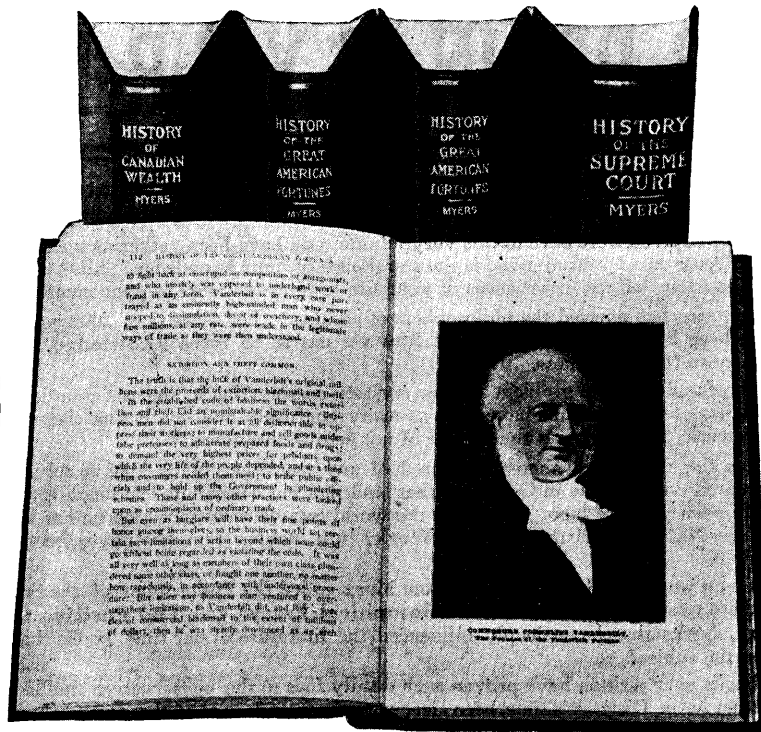
But this may soon be a "Paradise Lost." We are not yet fairly in the war. When the first million conscripts have been taken out of industry and have to be put into a high state of efficiency for war, the troubles of the American capitalist will just begin. Labor power and more of it will be vitally necessary to win the war. Labor power will become a scarce commodity and its price will go up. Labor need but stand together and it will dictate terms to capital.

It is no accident that the Industrial Workers of the World is growing by leaps and bounds. By long and slow experiments they have evolved methods of organization and of tactics in labor struggles that are highly efficient and will bring results. Soon the great American capitalists will have to put one enterprise after another under government control in order to keep up production on the vast scale necessary.

But when this tendency has made some progress, when the United States government has become the employer of some millions of men, economic conditions will rapidly evolve a strong Socialist party, and this party will voice the demands of twenty million workers for control of their hours, wages and working conditions.

Censorship and repression are annoying but not dangerous. Economic forces are working in America as in Russia, and neither magnate nor censor can halt them.

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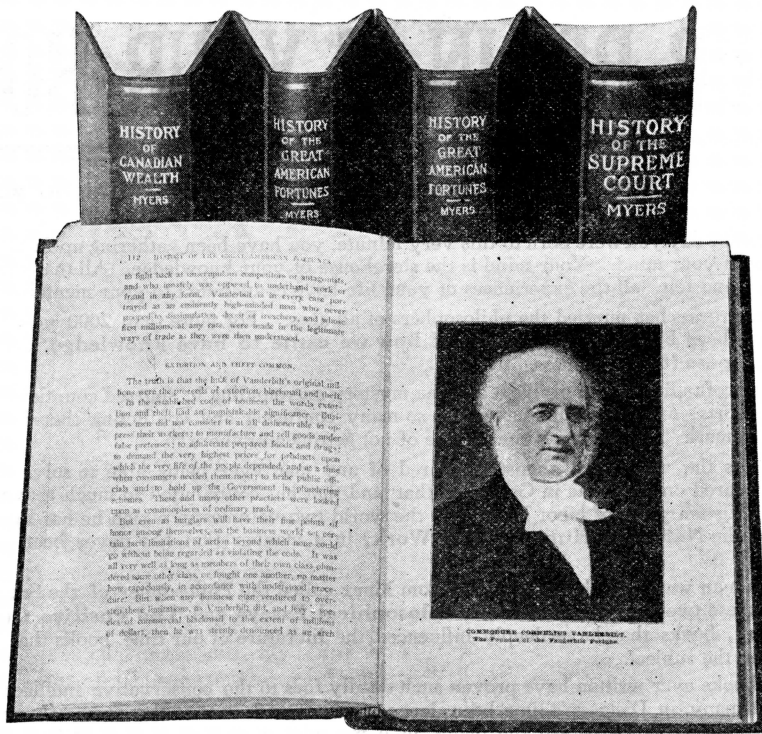
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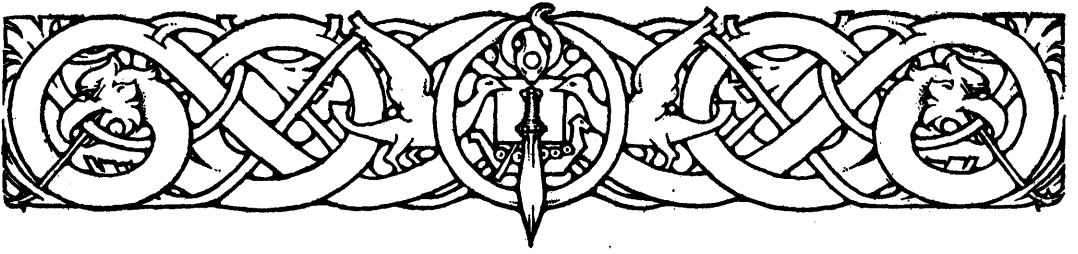
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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

For Lasting Peace

It is well for all lovers of peace to carry a note-book during these stirring days. Here is an item worth preserving. When General Pershing was received at Boulogne it was with a peace speech. General Dumas said to him: "A new era has begun in the history of the world. The United States of America is expanding by connecting itself with the United States of Europe. In time we shall form the United States of the world, all solidly combined. That will mean the end of war. It will mean a peace which is productive, harmonious and durable, a society of nations. You are welcome among us, General, because you represent the humanity of the future."

Sinn Feiners Elected to Parliament

Four members of the Sinn Fein have been elected in recent Irish by-elections. The last one is Professor Edward de Valera, of Dublin University. His platform was the constitution of the Irish Republic. He was known as a leader of the Easter uprising. He announced everywhere that if elected he would never go to London. His majority over the Redmondite was nearly 3,000.

This policy of electing men sworn not to take their seats in the British parliament is called the Reading policy, for it was devised by Irishmen imprisoned in Reading jail. It begins to look as if the Irish Republic has the majority of Irishmen behind it.

Independent German Social Democrats

The socialists of Norway and Holland have been asking for declarations from other socialist groups. Finally they have received a splendid one from the new German party. The real socialists of

Germany favor self-determination for all people, *even for Alsace-Lorraine*. No annexations, no indemnities, no oppression of any sort—this is their demand—and when the vote is taken in any territory the women should be consulted as well as the men. There must be disarmament and world-government. But, in the opinion of these Germans, the task of keeping order, of making war impossible, is the task of the international organization of workers. In order that socialists may work for peace, they must everywhere cut loose from their governments.

The Rising Tide in Germany

The great hope of revolution in Germany receives definite encouragement as time goes on. The Emperor has (July 12) issued a rescript directing his ministers to grant equal male suffrage to Prussia. He has put this off again and again. He would not do it now if he were not forced to do so.

A few days before this happened Matthias Erzberger made a great speech before the General Reichstag Committee. He demanded a definite declaration by the chancellor in favor of no annexations and no indemnities. Herr Erzberger is a member of the Centrist group. He is a leader of the Christian (Catholic) Labor Unions. His speaking shows that discontent has spread beyond the ranks of the socialists. After this speech the Emperor called a meeting of the Crown Council, and von Bethman-Hollweg lost his seat. As we go to press it is reported that the Reichstag has refused to vote a new war budget. The tide is rising.

The Call

At last a copy of the new English paper, *The Call*, has come to the REVIEW

Library of Science for the Workers

To understand modern Socialism, you must understand Evolution. Socialists predict the speedy end of the capitalist system as a result of irresistible NATURAL LAWS, the workings of which have been studied for two generations since their discovery. Most of the books in which these laws are explained are too difficult to read and too expensive to buy, except for the leisure class. That is why we have used the slender capital subscribed in small sums by wage-workers to publish the most essential of the facts in simple language at low prices. The ten books here described will give you a clear understanding of the great process in which Socialism is the next step.

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office. It is the number for May 31, and a fine, clear piece of journalism it is. We congratulate the British socialists on having such an organ.

A Real Revolution in Russia

The Russian revolution cannot be overturned. There is economic weakness over there. The railways amount to little, the factories were running down. When the Romanoffs were discharged Russia was bankrupt. But in three months wonders have been performed. It is evident to the most skeptical outsider that the Russian people are behind the new government. There may be attempts to overthrow it, but they will fail.

The Socialist Party of France sent Marcel Cachin and Moutet as a committee to hear greetings and bring back a report. Here is a part of what they said when they came back: "The Russian republic has tendencies which are frankly Socialist. Those who inspire and lead it are men who have long held our ideas. It is something which the non-socialist French deputies admit with reluctance, but it is nevertheless true, that Socialists rule in Russia. They constitute the whole of the committee of the soldiers' and workmen's deputies; there are six of them in the cabinet of Prince Svov. They are planning for democratic control of factory work; they will make the internal administration of the country as democratic as possible. But beyond this—and here lies the real scandal—they have given to the army a new regime, a new discipline, which has nothing in common with the old one. But what seems to our bourgeois politicians worst of all is that they have put an end to secret diplomacy. She must now reform from the ground up these mean structures of little, furtive international combinations. The Russian revolution has given its support to shirt sleeve diplomacy."

Jap Socialists Endorse Russians

On the first of May, 1917, we, the Socialist group in Tokyo, Japan, gather together here to express our highest respect for and deepest sympathy with the Russian revolution!

We recognize that the Russian revolution means in one respect a political revolution of a newly rising bourgeois class against mediaeval absolutism and at the same time a social revolution of the Meimin Karkin (proletarian class) against modern

capitalism. Therefore, to make the progress of the Russian revolution advance the goal of Socialist revolution is not only the responsibility of Russian Socialists alone, but also really that of international Socialists.

The capitalist system of every country has reached now its last stage of evolution, that is, fully matured capitalistic imperialism. At this time Socialists of all countries, without being misguided and disturbed by the ideals of capitalistic imperialism, standing firmly on the principle of the international, ought to concentrate the fighting forces of the proletariat of each nation that are abused and squandered by the very ruling classes of those nations and to direct them against the common enemy. To do so is to complete the historic mission of the international proletariat.

At the present opportunity, therefore, it should be endeavored to realize a declaration of the immediate cessation of the present war, and at the same time let the proletariat of the present belligerent countries turn the guns that are aimed at the working class in enemy countries at once on the ruling classes of their own respective nation. This is the responsibility of the Russian Socialist Party as well as that of the international Socialist party.

We trust in and depend on the persevering courage and heroic fighting of Russian Socialist party and of Socialist comrades of the world. We sincerely hope for the steady spread of the revolutionary spirit!

(By the Acting Committee of the Socialist Group, in Tokyo, Japan.)

**No Annexations—
No Indemnities**

Socialists of nearly all countries have accepted the Russian formula, "Peace without annexations or indemnities." Our French comrades believe the Germans should be compelled to give up Alsace and Lorraine and pay for the damage done in Belgium and elsewhere. When they made representations to the Russians they were told, "After all, the main thing is that the people be allowed to determine under what government they shall live. Let us agree on that."

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The Law of Biogenesis

“EVERY reptile is a fish before it is a reptile, every bird is a fish before it is a bird; every mammal is a fish before it is a mammal.

“There is a time in the embryonic development of all higher vertebrates when they have not only a fish shape but breathe by gills like fishes and have two chambered hearts and the peculiar circulation of the fish.”

This includes the human animal, from the lowest savage in the depths of the African forest, to the scientist or engineer of the most civilized communities, as Prof. J. Howard Moore amply proves in this new book.

He shows how the Law of Biogenesis prevails, not only in all organisms, in the human body, but in the *mind* as well; how the individual in his experiences repeats the history of the human race.

He shows the origin of many unexplained instincts and impulses existing in modern man, which are heritages from our prehistoric ancestors. All these surviving instincts or tendencies must be understood in order to be checked or utilized. They may be made the *servants* instead of the *enemies* of progress.

The advantage in the struggle for existence always lies with the man who understands evolution; he realizes the trend of social progress and utilizes the forces at hand to further the interests of his own class. He wastes no effort in trying to stem the evolutionary current. Instead he rides upon it to ultimate victory.

The Law of Biogenesis

is now ready, published in cloth in uniform size with our Social Science Series; price 50 cents each postpaid.

The articles contained in this book were first given as a series of Lectures by Prof. Moore to the students of biology in one of his classes. They are admirably adapted for *Study Clubs*. Where Locals desire to form clubs for scientific study this winter, we will make a rate of \$3.50 for one dozen copies of the Biogenetic Law. Regular price 50 cents postpaid.

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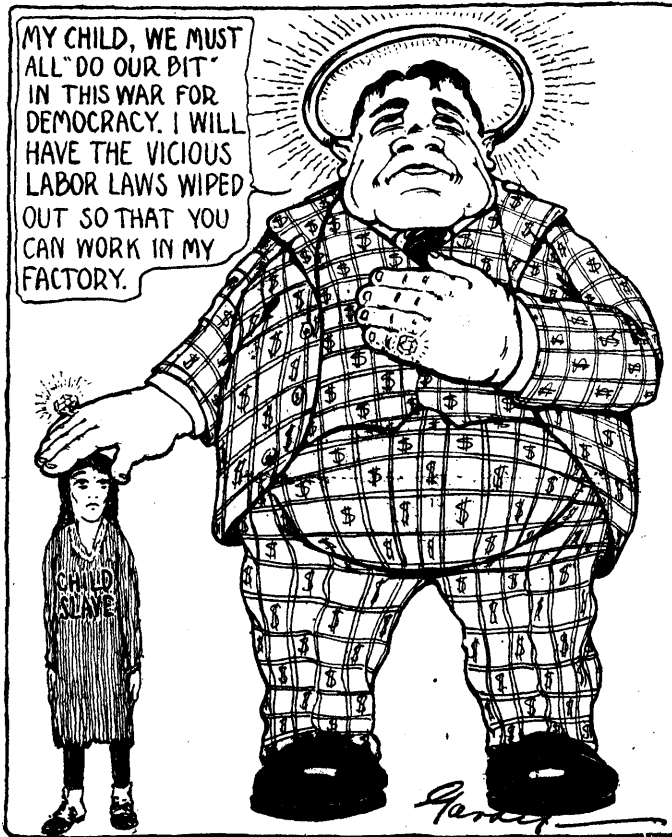
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NEWS AND VIEWS



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"It is not surprising to know that the REVIEW has been suppressed. To the contrary, it would indeed be surprising to see autocracy fail to suppress such a fighter for the working man as the REVIEW has proved itself to be.

"These are surely trying times for us. It is hard to think that speech is to be curbed and the press throttled here in 'free America,' but it seems that the powers that be are doing it.

"Go on with your fight. We have no compromise to make with the capitalist class nor any apology to offer. Yours for the revolution."

Champaign, Ill.—"The radical comrades in

MY CHILD, WE MUST ALL "DO OUR BIT" IN THIS WAR FOR DEMOCRACY. I WILL HAVE THE VICIOUS LABOR LAWS WIPED OUT SO THAT YOU CAN WORK IN MY FACTORY.



—From the New York Call.

HIS "BIT."

The Ancient Lowly

A History of the Ancient Working People from the Earliest Known Period to the Adoption of Christianity by Constantine

By C. OSBORNE WARD

Nearly all the ancient histories in the libraries are the histories of kings and their wars. The ancient historians despised the people who did useful work; their praise and their attention were reserved for the soldiers. The real story of the working people of Egypt and India, of Greece and of the Roman Empire was lost or buried out of sight.

It was the life work of C. Osborne Ward to dig up and reconstruct the true story of the working people of the ancient world. Not content with studying thousands of ancient volumes and manuscripts, he journeyed hundreds of miles on foot around the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, deciphering and translating inscriptions telling parts of the forgotten story of the ancient workers. The results of his research are summed up in two large volumes over 1400 pages.

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The "Taint of Labor," ancient slaves and wage-workers alike despised.
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Spartans used slaves as soldiers and murdered them at the end of the war.
A strike of 20,000 miners that destroyed the empire of Athens.
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Revolt of 200,000 slaves in Sicily.
Revolt of Roman slaves led by Spartacus and successful for years.
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How the Roman State deceived and destroyed the labor unions.
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A vast system of secret trade unions throughout the ancient world.
Brotherhoods of workers in India.
Jewish and non-Jewish labor unions just before Christian era.
Christianity first propagated almost entirely within the unions.
Massacre of Christian wage-workers by the Emperor Diocletian and capture of the church organization by the Roman state under Constantine.

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this community certainly appreciate the REVIEW and fully understand why it has been singled out for attack. We also realize that you could have gotten by very easily with the issue if you had been 'good,' but we congratulate you for not being 'good,' and sincerely hope that you will continue to take the revolutionary socialist position, even if it means denial of the use of the mail service for the REVIEW, altho, we would much prefer to have the REVIEW come the more convenient way—thru the mail.

"Be sure and send the bundle by express, if possible, and you may feel sure that we will stick with you and fight to the finish. Yours in the fight."

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From Petrograd, Russia—"Be so kind as to send your REVIEW for 1916 and 1917. It is the best Socialist magazine that I know."—P. L. Tsimbal.

Brooklyn, N. Y.—"The REVIEW is doing good work for real proletarian Socialism."—Justus Ebert.

Central City, Neb.—"We received the bunch of literature you sent us last week. On Sunday last we took an automobile and distributed it among the comrades, to be in turn distributed by them to their friends. We are particularly 'stuck' on that study course in scientific Socialism by Local Payallup. That's the best ever and should be the first thing read by an inquirer. A comrade jumped me today and asked me to get him some more of that book at once. He says he thought he was a Socialist for a long time, but admitted he didn't know anything about its real principles until after he read that book. It tells it all in a few words. I am joining the comrade in sending for 25 copies and enclose \$1.50 to pay for same. I wanted him to wait until we could get the comrades together and make up enough to make an order worth while, but he wants his NOW. He is full up to his ears and running over and can't wait, so send them on. We will order more soon. Send this order to address below."—Yours fraternally, S. E. Cosgwell, secretary.

To Distribute REVIEWS—Scores of letters are coming into this office from comrades who are offering to distribute copies of the REVIEW to our subscribers, who cannot receive them thru the mails. Among these are Frans Bostrom, who runs the Liberty Book Exchange in Tacoma; Comrade Huebner of Ohio, Let-

tini of Vermont and the Jack London Memorial Library of San Francisco. Letters are reaching us by every mail, assuring us of the support of our readers and we want to take this means to thank you all for your loyal support. The REVIEW has broken no law and it does not propose to give up the fight for the emancipation of the working class under any circumstances, but the days ahead are rather dark and we will need the cooperation of all REVIEW readers.

Throttled Press—Comrade Burt of Minnesota writes: "I enclose \$1.50 for which extend my REVIEW sub. a year and keep my copies and the 50 cents to send them to me. Things have come to a pretty pass, when the freedom of the press is throttled by our public servants. I am seventy years old and the blood in my veins does not pulse as fast as in youth, yet I feel very indignant in this matter. It looks as though we stood in need of revolution here more than in Russia. The REVIEW advocates the true sentiment of this little neighborhood on the war."

"Pension System for World War Being Framed"

From the Chicago Tribune, July 9, 1917.

(By a Staff Correspondent)

THE most revolutionary proposal in war legislation yet considered will be submitted to Congress by the administration, probably within the next fortnight.

"The administration proposed to abolish the system of pensions for wounded soldiers and for the surviving kin of soldiers killed in battle and to substitute therefor a casualty insurance plan.

"A committee of officers of some of the largest life insurance companies in the country will begin a series of conferences with Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo this week regarding the formulation of the proposed legislation.

Tentative Proposals

"Secretary McAdoo proposes that Congress shall specify before American soldiers are sent into battle the death and injury benefits that shall be paid by the nation. The tentative proposals are:

"A minimum compensation of \$1,500 for the death of an enlisted man.

"A maximum compensation of \$1,500 for total disability.

"A maximum compensation of \$5,000 for the death or total disability of an officer.

"It is proposed to pay this compensation not in a lump sum but in a series of installments extending over a period of years.

Two Plans Considered

"Two plans are under consideration. One provides that the government shall insure its soldiers against death and injury with the insurance companies which accept the business at the high rates which would be charged for war risks. The other provides that the government shall undertake the whole obligation, Congress appropriating sufficient funds to cover the death and injury benefits.

"The administration is opposed to continuing the present pension system during and after this war. Secretary McAdoo holds that the plan he proposes will be less wasteful, more equitable, and more satisfactory both to the government and to the pensioners.

Pension System Too Costly

"It is contended that, whatever the compensation provided, the total cost to the government would be much less than under the present pension system.

"Civil war pensions already aggregate \$5,000,000,000, and it is estimated that the total bill will be \$6,000,000,000 before the last civil war pension is paid."

HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS

MARY E. MARCY has just written, under this title, the best book of Socialist propaganda for farmers that has yet appeared in the United States. She talks to the farmer about the prices he pays for what he buys and the prices he gets for what he sells, instead of explaining primitive communism or trying to interest him in the troubles of the wage-worker. But she discusses prices from the Marxian point of view, and shows the farmer that the capitalists leave him, on the average, just about as good or as poor a living as they allow the wage-worker to have. She proves that the working farmer without much capital can improve his own standard of living only by joining the wage-workers in their fight against capitalism. All this is told in short words and short sentences, printed in large type. Just the book to win the farmer. Price 10c; in lots of a dozen or more, 6c, postpaid.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

July Review Unmailable

After nearly all copies of the June INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW had been mailed to our subscribers, the Chicago postmaster advised us that he had been instructed by Mr. W. H. Lamar, solicitor of the P. O. Department at Washington, to advise us that further copies would be unmailable. We were also advised that it would be necessary for us to mail copies of the July number to Mr. Lamar for his consideration before we would be allowed the privilege of using the United States mails.

We therefore, held up the July issue, and forwarded copies to Washington, with the earnest request that Mr. Lamar telegraph us which, if any, articles were considered unmailable, so that we could omit them from the REVIEW and mail the censored copies to our subscribers.

After much delay we were advised by the Chicago postmaster that he had been instructed to advise us that the July Review was "unmailable." Later we received from Mr. Lamar a copy of the late Espionage Act, some part of which has been invoked to bar the REVIEW from the mails.

In response to our request for information as to what article or articles were considered unmailable, Mr. Lamar wrote us under date of July 2nd:

"Furthermore, I may say that as a practical proposition it would be utterly impossible for this office to undertake to point out to publishers of magazines and newspapers which are offered for mailing, the specific passages which are nonmailable under the Act of June 15, 1917, known as the Espionage Bill. . . . the only feasible method of handling the work has been to cease reading any one issue of a publication when any unmailable matter is found therein, then taking up the next publication and handling it in the same way."

This explanation is intended to appear in the August number of the REVIEW, copies of which we are again required to forward to Mr. Lamar, for approval.

We are advised that the following publications have also been withheld from the mails: The American Socialist, Chicago; The Michigan Socialist, Detroit; The Socialist News, Cleveland; St. Louis Labor; The Social Revolution, St. Louis; Appeal to Reason, Girard; The Rebel, Hallettsville, Texas; The Peoples Press, Philadelphia, and The Masses, New York.

In commenting editorially on the action of the Post Office officials, the New York *Nation* of July 12th, says:

A strong protest should be lodged against the abuse by post office officials of their wide powers under the Espionage bill to forbid the free use of mails to various publications. Up to date, this indirect form of suppression has not been used against any large or powerful members of the press, but only against small and feeble periodicals. The ground for withholding the privilege of the mails was that the suppressed publications printed articles calculated to discourage recruiting. This is an indictment of very broad scope and endless elasticity. It is an indictment typical of the bureaucratic frame of mind, leaving plenty of room for bureaucratic discretion, a discretion which has been carefully exercised in favor of the big sinner. There are a number of the great dailies, backed by influence and power, which have freely and openly said things much more discouraging to recruiting than the worst that has appeared in the pages of the suppressed periodicals. Perhaps, in the course of time, this indirect censorship thru the post office will feel itself strong enough to attack bigger game.

Under the head, "A Dangerous Power," the *St. Louis Republic* sounds the following warning:

Representative London's call for an investigation, which shall reveal the methods and principles followed in the suppression of Socialist newspapers all over the country, should be approved and acted upon.

The power of the Postmaster General over the mails is singularly liable to abuse. His right to refuse the use of the mails to what are deemed objectionable publications is a species of absolutism which needs watching by the representatives of the people. It would be possible for the Postmaster General and Attorney-General to Kaiserize this country in

a manner which would make the imprisonment of Liebknecht look like an amateur job.

This is not said because the *Republic* believes the Postmaster General entertains any such purpose, but to call attention, without mincing words, to the danger that lurks in the Postmaster General's power at a time when the country is hourly on the verge of hysteria over one thing or another and even the grave and reverend Senate is running around in circles instead of getting somewhere with the food bill.

The post office authorities are no more immune from the unsettling effects of these abnormal times than other people. They may, in an excess of zeal, destroy the reputation of this country abroad as a land of free speech.

An investigation by Congress will have a sobering effect and will give the post office a chance to lay its cards on the table and show just what policy has been pursued and the reasons for it.

Again we quote from an editorial in the July 6th edition of *The Public*:

THE SEED OF ABSOLUTISM

The attention of Mr. William H. Lamar, attorney for the post office department, must be

called to the first amendment to the constitution of the United States. This says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. . . ."

Mr. Lamar should study this section because he is under the impression that authority to abridge freedom of the press has been conferred upon him by the Espionage Act. Acting on this impression he has entered on a policy of suppression which, if upheld and persisted in, must make the democratic sections of the constitution mere scraps of paper; and must make the United States a very insecure place for democracy. His latest exploit is the suppression of an issue of *The American Socialist* of Chicago. The issue has been suppressed merely because it happens to be Mr. Lamar's personal opinion that something in it is contrary to the Espionage Act. Leaving out of consideration congressional lack of authority to abridge freedom of the press, there still remains the fact that Mr. Lamar's individual opinion, the basis of which has not even been made public, should not decide what may or may not be admitted to the mails.

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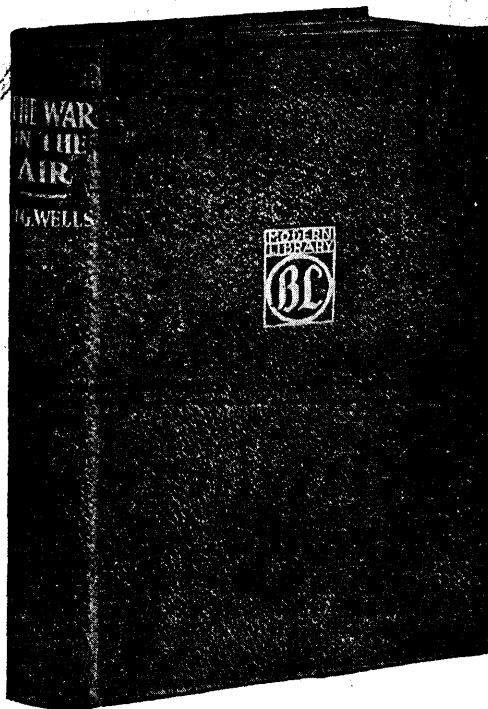
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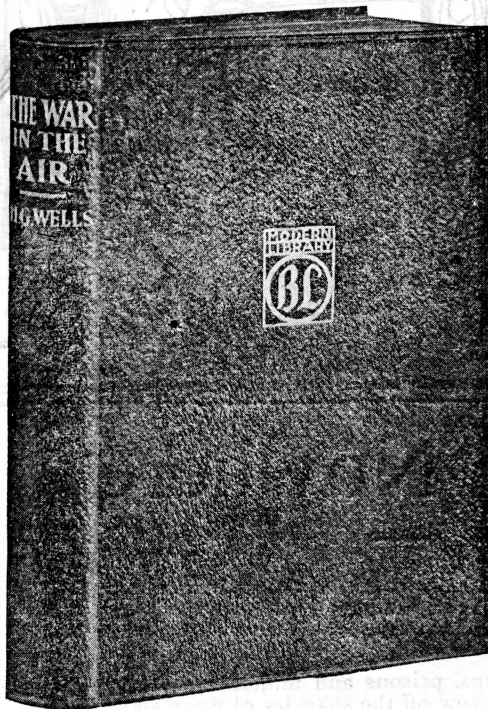
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