

NOVEMBER
DECEMBER 1917

The

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



STREET BARRICADE IN PETROGRAD

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THE AWAKENING OF RUSSIA

I. W. W. INDICTMENTS

LABOR UNREST IN ENGLAND

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LABOR UNREST IN ENGLAND

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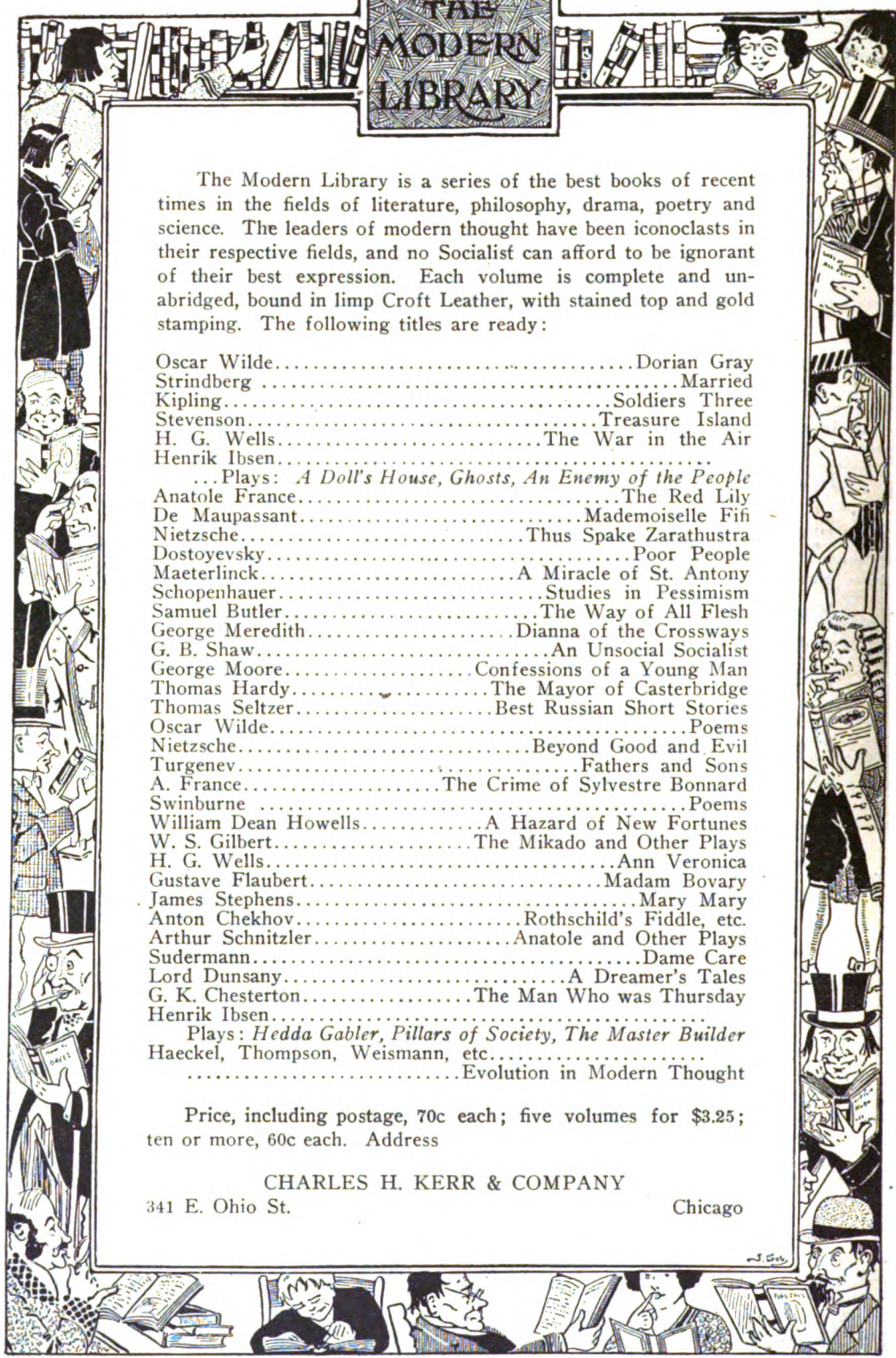
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LISTENING TO ORATORS IN FRONT OF THE DUMA

New Russia in the Making By CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

(Note.—Most American socialists do all they can to prevent war. Some of you may not agree with Mr. Russell in his attitude in the present war. Never mind. Mr. Russell has, in this article, given us the most wonderful story we have read on the greatest event in human history. Read it. Hitherto we socialists have been called theorists. People have said our dreams could never come true. But Mr. Russell shows how some of them have come true in Russia. Here our goods are in the show case, our samples are on the table. Never again need we talk of theories only. We may point to the facts and conditions in Russia where "the Man With the Hoe has come into his own at last.")

RUSSIA: A vast, dimly lighted stage whereon we know some tremendous new drama is being enacted, but where all the actors seem to be running about inconsequentially as in a maze without plan or meaning.

Something like this, I suppose, if we were to speak up with delectable candor, is about the impression most of us have had about this wonderful country ever since it tumbled the last of the Romanoffs from his ancient seat.

Yet the keys to the play are, after all, simple, and to be found in simple events, and when we have found them, behold the most fascinating and moving drama ever played in human affairs!

There is a place on the Trans-Siberian Railroad called Passing Point Number 37, a brown little speck on the illimitable emptiness of the Siberian plains. On the 23d of May there came marching up to it a procession of farmers—about forty of them, I think—carrying red flags. They tramped solemnly along what in Siberia, by a violence of speech, is called a road, and is in fact not otherwise than a trail of ruts in black-gumbo mud.

A passenger-train was coming from the east, from Vladivostok. At Passing Point Number 37 it took the sidetrack to wait for the train it was to meet. According to Russian railroad practice (which you might think a precept of religion punctiliously observed) the operation of getting these two trains past each other was to consume one half-hour, liberally inundated with swift and cheerful conversation.

Some of the passengers got out and swelled the verbal freshets. They talked with the peasants of the procession; the peasants responded with undiluted pleasure on their brows. It was after the Revolution; more than two men could talk together without being prodded by a super-active gendarmerie; and the springs of speech, frozen for three hundred years in Russian breasts, burst forth into grateful and tireless fountains.

Of a sudden the processionists were seen to line up in front of the baggage car, to fall upon their knees there, to lift their hands in attitudes of prayer, the while they uttered strange, wailing cries and many wept.

What were they crying about? They had learned that in that baggage car were the ashes of a Russian revolutionist, an old-time hero of the long, long struggle. He had been condemned by the Czar to one of the worst prisons of coldest Siberia; he had managed to escape and in the end to get to America. There he died, and his body was cremated. Now his ashes in a draped memorial urn were being carried in state back to that free Russia he had dreamed of and suffered for. But note:

Of the peasants that fell on their knees before that handful of dust that day, about one-half could not read. All of them, you might think, lived in a region farther from the world and its affairs than is Cape Nome from the Bowery. Yet all of them knew well enough the name of this dead hero and all his deeds, and instinctively all knelt before his ashes that they might testify at once to their reverence for him and the fervor of their own revolutionary faith.

After which there were speeches. If you know Russia, the New Russia, Russia of the unchained tongue, the information is superfluous. To know that there was any kind of a meeting anywhere at any time is to know that there were speeches.

But what did that procession mean, wandering red-flagged along the black ruts of lonely Siberia? It meant that the peasants were making a "demonstration." Demonstration about what? Why, if you will believe me, against the Austrian Government's sentence of death against Frederick Adler, slayer of the Austrian prime minister!

And there you are; that is Russia. I offer you herewith the keys to the play.

Because you find in this one little incident these things, perfectly typical, truly fundamental:

The Russian temperament and character, emotional, sympathetic, altruistic, generous, and quite indifferent to conventionalities;

The passion for "demonstrating," the tremendous impulse to let go with the feelings brutally suppressed so long by the monarchy now dead and gone, thank God for his infinite mercies;

The passion for oratory;

The warm, naive and somewhat dreamy feeling for the universal brotherhood and the sense of a world-wide cause.

That there was anything incongruous about a demonstration in Russia by Russians against Austria's execution of the death penalty upon an Austrian in Austria at a time when Russia and Austria are at war would never occur to them. Are not the workers of Russia, Austria, and all other countries brothers? Is not a wrong done to a member of the proletariat in Austria the affair of members of the proletariat everywhere? Assuredly, comrades. Then let us demonstrate—even in

remote Siberia, where nobody will ever know anything about it.

Also, you may see in this incident how deep in the heart of every peasant and toiler are at least the rudiments of the Revolution's creed, how widespread a fair understanding of the Revolution's history and meaning—spread even to the uttermost parts of this prodigious country, spread when there were no modern means of communication, when there were no public schools, no right of assembly, no free press and very little reading, and yet spread competently. Is not that a marvel?

Therefore, be of good cheer, O Timid Heart! The old order will never come back to Russia. Let be what will, the black shadow of that blight will never return. The Czar will never be again anything more than Citizen Romanoff. Whatever other peoples may do, these will never have kings nor kinglets, but only democracy, absolute, invincible, wherever democracy may lead. The people may rule well or rule ill, but by the ever-living soul of Liberty, in Russia they will rule! And of that you may be sure.

But, perhaps it is no wonder that the world, sitting at such an unprecedented play, blinks and is doubtful. There was one day the imposing great structure of the most powerful autocracy on earth, centuries old, rock-rooted, imperial and irresistible, cloud-compelling and remorseless. At a touch it crumbled together like the unsubstantial figment of a dream; vanishing without a trace, as if it had never been. Intricate, great systems of government, of police, of spies, of punishments, erected with long care and skill to keep the people down, all, all dried up and blown away like a mist, and behold these same kept-down people instantly and easily taking seats in a new machine, untried, just from the shops, and throwing the controlling levers—with aplomb, and with success.

No wonder, I say, some spectators gasp and are puzzled. To the rigid, rectangular English mind, to the American mind that tries hard to be like the English, all this is not in nature. It is so different from Chelmsford Abbey and St. Johnsbury, Vermont, that it must surely be bad. After all, and truth to tell, we have



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RUSSIAN WOMEN DO PRACTICALLY ALL RAILROAD WORK IN RUSSIA NOW, PARTICULARLY AT THE FRONT

At the time this picture was taken these work women had stopped to take a look at the American mission.

not much faith in the popular intelligence; no Anglo-Saxon has. What there is of it, we feel, must be the product of long education, or training and of reading—much reading. But here is a country where only a few years ago 80 per cent of the population could not read at all; where the few newspapers were frankly corrupted and fiercely censored by the monarchy. Yet out of all this, lo, a people, by our narrow creed called unenlightened, that alone are steering the government, and on the whole steering it well.

Plain, everyday working people, farmers right from the plow, laborers from the factories, producers and toilers, the "base mechanicals" of Elizabeth's famous sneer, the "common workingmen" of our own beautiful snobbery. The nobles, the wealthy, the propertied, the Intelligentsia, the propertied, the financial geniuses, the merchant princes, the employers and all of that element so influential elsewhere, here cowed, silent or displaced. The Man with the Hoe has come into his own at last. He rules Russia.

This is the fact that most observers of all other nations, and particularly of our own, find so indigestible; it is for this reason that the great Russian drama seems to them a tarantelle or a delirious dream.

Yet, whatever you may read, or whatever you may hear about Russia, you may with entire confidence tie up to this—that what is done will be done by the Russian toilers and by them alone. Here democracy has been taken literally and without compromise. Here the conditions that exist in other countries with political freedom and the ballot-box have been turned the other way about. Here Labor doesn't take orders but gives them. And here Labor, being in an absolute majority, has taken charge and so far nobody else has had a look in. All there is of government in Russia today is strictly working-class government, animated by about such impulses and convictions as caused the Siberian peasants to demonstrate against the killing of Frederick Adler and to fall on their knees before the ashes of a revolutionist.

Under the red flag!

I don't know but that the flag is the hardest fact for the conservative American and Englishman to swallow. With us it has always signified detestable anarchy, violence,

blood, riot and ruin. Here in Russia it is flying everywhere over the most peace-loving and orderly people on earth. From Vladivostok to the Baltic and from Turkestan to the Arctic Circle, the simple red flag, without device or ornament, on land, the only flag you see. It has become the national flag of Russia.

It is flying this moment over the famous Winter Palace of the Czars, where I am writing, over the most sumptuous royal quarters in Europe, over these windows that looked down on Bloody Monday. In the great square in front of me five thousand men and women who asked for bread and freedom were shot to death with machine guns from these roofs, and now the red flag flies over it and a band that used to play "God Save the Czar" now plays the new national anthem. And what is that? The once-proscribed "Marseillaise!"

On Sunday, July 1, 300,000 people marched in this square with band after band that played nothing else; all day the strains of that revolutionary anthem echoed through the suites where Czars used to sit and condemn to the living death of Siberia men that had said a few words in favor of human liberty. Three hundred thousand free men and women tramped to that tune over the stones that in 1905 had been soaked in the people's blood. If that you like texts for your quiet meditations, here be a plenty, or call me naught!

It is revolution in full swing and come to stay, the dream of the prophets come true, democracy absolute and unlimited, naked and unashamed.

When we begin to absorb that fact the drama ceases to look like inebriated chaos and begins to appear as it really is, a totally new experiment in government—momentous, perilous, if you like, but wholly reasonable and wholly logical.

What they mean by democracy here is direct government by the people, the great majority of whom are the toilers on the farms and in the factories; no "checks and balances," no artificial barriers to defeat the popular will and ensure government by property; exact political equality for all, universal suffrage, women at last free from the surviving disabilities of the jungle, men freed from the political relics of feudalism. At one leap democracy goes far beyond all its previous achievements. A new country

is launched with new ideals and new purposes and the world must rub its eyes and awake to the new birth.

It is so; I do not exaggerate. Snobbery is in the bones of us; that is why we do not appreciate the wonderful things done in Russia. But if the New Day lives and is suppressed not of Old Night, another generation will think us strangely blind and dull that we did not hail with joy so great a victory for the faith we profess.

We have not only failed to see it, but by some trick of legerdemain some of us have been able to fool ourselves into believing we have a call to be the patient instructors in democracy to these well-meaning but deluded creatures.

Nobody who has ever been to Cadetsky Corpus has any such phantasms, believe me. Sitting in that famous place nothing else in the world seems so comical as the notion of instructing these people.

Take a trip down there with me and see what you think of it. The Cadetsky Corpus—that means the West Point of Russia: the vast, wandering pile that used to be the officers' training school for the Russian army. In the great hall of this institution now meets the National Council of Workmen's, Soldiers and Peasants' Delegates, the only source of government and authority, and so far the only organized expression of the popular will in Russia.

It is, in effect and for the time being, the National Congress. On the basis of population the country was divided into districts, and each district elected a delegate.

The low, plain white building has a street frontage of a quarter of a mile; all public buildings in Russia have spacious ground-plans. They take you through an entrance crowded with working people and with soldiers of the ranks, and then down one long corridor after another by the side of the old parade ground of the cadets. The first thing you notice is that you are passing an enormous room filled with plain iron cot beds. What are they? The beds of the delegates to the Council. To save time and money they sleep in the building—on the old beds of the cadets.

Next, they take you into the basement and show you crude pine tables, rough benches and men being served thereon with the simplest of food. What is this? It is the delegates' dining-room. To save time

again—as well as to save money—they eat in the building.

They mean business; they are not here for amusement. They have need of all the time they can save. Sometimes the sessions begin at 11 o'clock of one morning and last (with brief recess) until 3 o'clock of the next.

In the language of Baedeker, we now return to the first floor, where we find at twenty stands busy and comely young women selling great piles of books, pamphlets, leaflets, propaganda literature. What is all this? The works of Marx, Engels, Kautsky, Unknown This and Unknown That, an astounding variety of names the most of which you never heard of, but all preaching revolution and radicalism, political, social, industrial.

At the top of the stairs is the long, long hall, one of the longest a man ever spoke in, where the delegates meet. Once these walls were adorned with the portraits of dead Czars and the flags of Imperial Russia. All are vanished now; ripped down with joyous acclaim on the day of the Revolution. In their place appears everywhere the red flag as the only decoration; except on the wall at the entrance end, where you read this motto, done in white upon red banners:

"Workingmen of the World Unite! You Have Nothing to Lose but Your Chains!"

It seems to me I have heard something like that before, but few American readers of the literature of sociology ever expected to find that quotation emblazoned on the walls of any national legislature of our times.

The rear one-third of the hall is for the public. Delegates occupy the rest, 830 of them, seated at the transported old desks of the recent cadets. On the high, red-flagged platform at the extreme end sit the guests of the Council and its officers, including that redoubtable Tschaidse, the chairman, of whom the world is to hear further. At his left is the rostrum, a plain reading-desk for the speakers. Sit up there and look judiciously over this historic gathering. These men represent all the organized power of Russia; they have its fate in their hands. At their will ministers resign, governments rise or fall, armies move, policies are shapen, the fate of the race is decided. Observe them well.

It is the most extraordinary legislative

body in the world, or that ever was in the world. The National Assembly of Revolutionary France? Nay, that was, after all, a middle-class affair; advocates like Robespierre, journalists like Desmoulins. American congresses and legislatures are all lawyers; British are chiefly landowners and the sacred white fatted calves of the ancient families. But this national legislature of Russia is composed exclusively of persons that work with their hands or so closely in touch and sympathy with labor that they are a part of it. No lawyers need apply. Also, no business men, employers, captains of industry or members of the better classes.

It is not easy to realize all this, but try—try hard. Strong is the medicine, but in the end it will do you good. It will enable you to understand New Russia, for instance, and to get the hang of this, its colossal drama, which you may be sure is worth your while, if anything is.

"But how about the Duma?" say you. Oh, yes; of course—the Duma. The Duma for some reason, sticks in every American mind as the grand old Russian parliament, admirable, safe, and that sort of thing. Well, there isn't any more Duma.

The grand old Duma of the American newspaper is in the discard forever—for a reason truly beautiful and truly Russian. Soon after the Revolution struck town the Duma ceased to do any good anyway. It never was anything but a body chosen by a few of the more fortunate landowners; better than nothing in an autocracy, but never filling the bill for a government by and of the people. So the other day the question came up in the Council whether the Duma ought not formally to be abolished, since it no longer had any function in Russian affairs. But the proposal to abolish was stoutly opposed.

"This is a free country," delegates argued. "Any assembly ought to be allowed to meet as much as it pleases and discuss anything that suits its fancy. But since the Duma is no longer the national legislature, we are in favor of cutting off all its salaries and all its expense list." Which is exactly what was done—with the utmost gravity. If the Russians are shy of a sense of humor anywhere it is in regard to their public affairs.

But about our observations from the platform. Three in four of the delegates, you notice, wear the uniform of the Russian

soldier, the seemly, well-fitting tunic that makes our army coat look like something cut out with an axe; the belt, the high black boots; even in the breathless hot days of July, the high black boots. Seeing the overplus of these uniforms before us you jump to the conclusion that this is a military body; all first-timers here get that notion. It isn't military. But military service in Russia is universal and compulsory. These uniformed men are not only soldiers; they are farmers, factory workers, day-laborers, carpenters, stonemasons, who had been called to the colors and were wearing the uniform of the service when they were elected to the Council as workers and by workers.

There is another common delusion to the effect that the Council represents only Petrograd and the district thereabout. In truth, it represents every part of Russia, even far-away Asiatic Russia. Only thirty of the 830 delegates come from the Petrograd district. Amongst the rest are fishermen from the Lena River, swarthy cattlemen from the Crimea, and everything between.

Five of the delegates are women. Suffrage is universal in Russia. I mention this fact once more in the hope (probably vain) that I may gain some attention for it. I don't know why the world has elected to dwell forever on Russian anarchy that never existed and calmly ignore the Russian congress that has been so great and so veritable. The moment the wormy old structure of imperialism fell over there was but one thought in the mind of everybody, and that was universal adult suffrage. Nobody opposed it; everybody was for it—instinctively. The worst old troglodyte in all Russia had not a single growl in him about home as the place for women, about the degrading influence of the ballot, or the terrors of the ignorant vote.

Compare, then, our own exalted achievements on these lines. After fifty years of ceaseless campaigning we have won in America full suffrage for women in nine States and part suffrage for women in three or four others. After sixty years of argument and five years of what was really civil war, the English suffragists have won too a sight of a part of the justice they demanded. In Russia suffrage for women was achieved in a moment and without discussion. It was taken as a matter of course. To the Russian mind democracy meant de-

mocracy; it didn't mean a fake arrangement under which one-half of the population was denied any share in the government that governed them. Contemplate that little fact for a time, O self-righteous American or Briton, and then see if your divine call to be a tutor in democracy to these lowly ones doesn't need considerable repairing.

Democracy in Russia is neither a dream nor a joke; it is the real thing. Behold, then, Russia as it is. Under the old savage despotism the democratic faith grew in the hearts of the people as a creed of living faith. They mean to have it in all of their affairs—seriously and completely. Here in Petrograd the other day the Petrograd Yacht Club received applications for membership from two women. I hardly need to say that in the old days such a thing, if conceivable at all, would have caused strong hearts to faint and police spies to discover new candidates for Siberia's chilly wilds. But now the point was raised at once that since the Revolution men and women in Russia are upon a level of exact equality, and that automatically women had become eligible for any organization that admitted men. The point was held to be well and truly taken and the women were voted in.

They know what democracy is and they know how to operate it. A few days ago they had an election in Petrograd—an election for the new City Council. There was universal suffrage; about seven hundred thousand people for the first time in their lives used a ballot-box. I went out to see it and had a great show. The whole thing moved like clock-work; you would have thought the people had been voting all their lives.

There was a registration list, a committee composed of soldiers, workingmen and householders to manage the polling-places and scrutinize the voter's right; there was no disorder and no confusion and no discoverable chance for fraud. They did some things better than we ever did them. The polling place was invariably some public building; no basement poolroom or pickle-shop. Frequently it was on the ground floor of some old Grand Duke's palace, put at last to a reasonable use. There was no electioneering and no crowd of Red Leary's Toughs. Women went in and voted with ease, dignity, and, methought, a quiet but ineffable satisfaction. There were seven different tickets in the field. Each voter

was provided at his house with a copy of each ticket, duly certified. The end of the ticket was perforated. At the ballot box the voter was checked upon the registry list, the perforated end of his folded ticket was torn off, officially stamped and spiked, and he put the rest into the box.

There were cast in the city 722,000 votes; total population a little more than 2,000,000. Of the 722,000 all but about 140,000 were cast for the candidates of parties that propose the most sweeping changes in the whole social structure and the downfall of the last remaining castle of the old order. The *bourgeoisie* had practically disappeared.

But to come back once more, to the National Council. It is, as you plainly see, of workingmen and workingwomen. All the spectators are workingmen and working women. You are one of perhaps seven persons in the huge hall that wear starched collars. The other six are among the correspondents and reporters that sit right and left of the platform. Look over these thousands of serious, intent faces gazing hard at the dais, drinking in every word that falls from any speaker. They sit silent; they will not miss anything. Those at a distance make ear-trumpets of rolled-up newspapers; they are intolerant of the least movement or noise that causes them to lose any precious crumb of the proceedings. Well, I told you—here is the proletariat of Russia, hands upon the levers. No man can despise them now; with a breath they blow ministers in or out. In the hall where long lines of gorgeous dead Czars used to look down from the walls, and gorgeous living Czars used to watch military training of gracious youth of the governing classes, and all things seemed comfortably settled forever, plowmen and teamsters sit and debate whether Nicholas Romanoff, late of the Gorgeous Ones, now a prisoner of state, shall be allowed to vote like other plain, common citizens. Some change, some change, O my brethren! It may be that we are commissioned to teach something to these people, but what do you think it ought to be?

On the floor the delegates are ranged from left to right, according to their politics; which means, according to the intensity of their revolutionary fervor. It makes you think of Bitter Creek. All the men on the Left are Up-Rooters and Come-Outers and

(Continued on page 310)

INSIDE

AFTER twenty-three days of arduous work on the part of the Grand Jury, indictments were returned containing five counts. Upon these indictments, one hundred and sixty-six members of the I. W. W. have been or will be arrested. At headquarters, every man in the general office, hall, editorial rooms and publishing bureau were arrested without warrant, be it understood, hustled into waiting autos and rushed to the federal bldg., where, after some delay and a perfunctory introduction to U. S. Marshall Bradley, the warrants were then read.

We were handcuffed together two by two and marched down to a waiting patrol wagon; nine of us started for Cook county jail.

Clang, clang, a bell rang out, big iron doors slid back, the auto patrol wheeled up to the rear entrance of the Cook county jail, nine of us, federal prisoners, piled out thru a barred gate past the fumigator where clothes and mattresses are cleaned of vermin and disease.

Thru another iron door which was noisily locked behind, we stood in the receiving room of the prison, where thousands of culprits that enter this institution of capitalism are examined and decorated.

The guard removed the handcuffs from our wrists; we were placed in small detention cells. From a runner we ordered and paid for our first meal in this jail; sandwiches, pie and coffee were the menu which were later, with the evening papers, slipped thru the bars of the cells which were assigned to us.

Before we had the opportunity of eating our delayed supper we filed out one at a time, seated before the clerk who took our names, were recorded atheists, agnostics; these replies have been a protection from the Sunday invasion of preachers and Salvation army scouts.

After being carefully searched, receipts were made out for personal property taken, to be held until our release,

then, to the shower baths with skimpy towels and brown soap furnished. We put on our clothes without the process of fumigation.

This is the old jail; a room about 60 by 60 with a double row of cells four tiers high; our cells face the alley to the west. Cells are 6 by 8, about 8 feet high with ceilings slightly sloping to the rear.

This cell is parlor, bedroom, dining room and lavatory all in one. Decorations black and white. That is—the interior is painted solid black on two walls, black half way on the other two walls, the rest is white. Wash bowl, toilet, water pipe, small bench, a narrow double decked iron bunk, flat springs, straw mattresses, sheet and pillow case of rough material, blanket, two spoons and two tin cups constitute the furniture of our temporary homes, where we spend twenty hours out of every twenty-four in involuntary idleness—parasites—doing no more service for ourselves or society than the swell guys who loll around clubs or attend the functions at fashionable resorts. Our needs, limited to be sure, are attended by the “runner,” a prisoner ordered to do this task, and his only recompense is small tips.

* * *

**“See our numbers still increasing;
Hear the bugle blow.
By our union we shall triumph
Over every foe.”**

And triumph we will, while victims at present of the most infamous outrage ever perpetrated in American history. Charged with having printed the Preamble of the I. W. W., our prosecutors have made that document as historic as the declaration of Independence. The Preamble is still nailed to our masthead.

**Yours for Industrial Freedom,
WM. D. HAYWOOD.**



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*Yours for Industrial Freedom.
Wm. D. Haywood.*

Names of Those Arrested To-date

| | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| George Andreychine, Chicago. | Albert B. Prashner, Scranton. |
| Richard Brazier, Chicago. | Salvatore Zumpano, Scranton. |
| Ralph H. Chaplin, Chicago. | Harrison George, Pittsburg. |
| Edward Hamilton, Chicago. | Jack Law, Pittsburg. |
| Clyde Hough, Chicago. | Meyer Friedkin, Denver. |
| William D. Haywood, Chicago. | Ray S. Fanning, Boston. |
| Vladimir Lossieff, Chicago. | H. A. Giltner, Salt Lake City. |
| Bert Lorton, Chicago. | Chas. H. MacKinnon, Salt Lake City. |
| Herbert Mahler, Chicago. | Fred C. Ritter, Salt Lake City. |
| Paul Pika, Chicago. | Grover H. Perry, Salt Lake City. |
| Charles Plahn, Chicago. | H. Huhphrey, Spokane. |
| Charles Rothfisher, Chicago. | William Moran, Spokane. |
| John Pancner, Waukegan. | James Rowan, Spokane. |
| Harrison Haight, Rockford. | Don Sheridan, Spokane. |
| Fred Nelson, Rockford. | Harry Lloyd, Seattle. |
| Joe Usapiet, Springfield. | J. A. MacDonald, Seattle. |
| Aurelio Vincente Azuara, Los Angeles. | Walter Smith, Bellingham. |
| James Elliott, Los Angeles. | J. T. Doran, Tacoma. |
| Charles McWhirt, Los Angeles. | James P. Thompson, Raymond. |
| Glen Roberts, Los Angeles. | Geo. Hardy, Cleveland. |
| Charles Jacobson, Duluth. | Dave Ingar, Youngstown. |
| Fred Jaakkola, Duluth. | James C. Slovick, Cleveland. |
| Carl Ahlteen, Minneapolis. | Samuel Scarlett, Akron. |
| Daniel Buckley, Minneapolis. | Peter Kerkenon, Butte. |
| Forrest Edwards, Minneapolis. | Francis Miller, Providence. |
| Ted Frazier, Minneapolis. | John Avila, Paterson. |
| Ragner Johannsen, Minneapolis. | Arthur Boose, Tulsa. |
| Charles L. Lambert, Minneapolis. | H. H. Munson, Muskogee. |
| Geo. Speed, San Francisco. | Walter Reeder, Enid. |
| Luigi Parenti, San Francisco. | Stanley J. Clark, Jacksonville. |
| Peter McEvoy, San Jose. | Charles Ashleigh |
| Wm. Weyh, Stockton. | R. J. Bobba |
| Sigfried Stenberg, Minneapolis. | G. J. Bourg |
| Archie Sinclair, Bemidji. | J. H. Beyer |
| Peter Dailey, St. Paul. | Pedro Cori |
| Charles Bennett, Portland. | Ray Cordes |
| Peter R. Green, Portland. | Stanley Dembricki |
| Alton E. Soper, Astoria. | Jos. J. Ettor, Philadelphia. |
| John Baldazzi, New York City. | John M. Foss |
| Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, New York City. | Charles R. Jacobs |
| Arturo Giovannitti, New York City. | Leo Laukki |
| Carlo Tresca, New York City. | W. H. Lewis |
| Manuel Rey, Buffalo. | N. G. Marlatt |
| Alexander Cournos, Huron. | Pietro Nigra |
| Arthur C. Christ, Detroit. | Jos. A. Oates |
| Otto Just, Detroit. | James Phillips |
| Edward F. Doree, Philadelphia. | Glen Roberts |
| Walter T. Nef, Philadelphia. | Walter Smith |
| Joe Graber, Scranton. | Ben Schraeger |
| | Wm. Tanner |

From the I. W. W. Indictments

THE grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that before said period of time there existed, and throughout said period there has existed, a certain organization of persons under the name of Industrial Workers of the World, commonly called "I. W. W.'s," the "One Big Union," and "O. B. U.," that said organization, during said period, has been composed of a large number of persons, to wit, two hundred thousand persons, distributed in all parts of the United States, being almost exclusively laborers in the many branches of industry necessary to the existence and welfare of the people of the United States and of their government, among others the transportation, mining, meat-packing, canning, lumbering and farming industries, and the live-stock, fruit, vegetable and cotton raising industries; that said defendants, during said period have been members of said organization and among those known in said organization as "militant members of the working class" and "rebels," holding various offices, employments and agencies therein; and that, in their said membership, offices, employments and agencies, said defendants, during said period of time, with the special purpose of preventing, hindering and delaying the execution of said laws, severally have been actively engaged in managing and conducting the affairs of said association, propagating its principles by written, printed, and verbal exhortations, and accomplishing its objects, which are now here explained, and thereby and in so doing, during said period, throughout the United States and in said division and district, have engaged in, and have attempted to accomplish, and in part have accomplished, the objects of the unlawful and felonious conspiracy aforesaid.

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that said organization, before and during said period of time, has been one for supposedly advancing the interests of laborers as a class (by members of said organization called "the workers" and "the proletariat"), and giving them complete

control and ownership of all property, and of the means of producing and distributing property through the abolition of all other classes of society (by the members of said organization designated as "capitalists", "the capitalistic class", "the master class", "the ruling class", "exploiters of the workers", "bourgeois", and "parasites"); such abolition to be accomplished not by political action or with any regard for right or wrong but by the continual and persistent use and employment of unlawful, tortious and forcible means and methods, involving threats, assaults, injuries, intimidations and murders upon the persons, and the injury and destruction (known in said organization as "sabotage", "direct action", "working on the job", "wearing the wooden shoes", "working the sab-cat", and "slowing-down tactics"), of the property of such other classes, the forcible resistance to the execution of all laws and finally the forcible revolutionary overthrow of all existing governmental authority, in the United States; use of which said first-mentioned means and methods was principally to accompany local strikes, industrial strikes, and general strikes of such laborers, and use of all of which said means and methods was to be made in reckless and utter disregard of the rights of all persons not members of said organization, and especially of the right of the United States to execute its above-enumerated laws, and with especial and particular design on the part of said defendants of seizing the opportunity presented by the desire and necessity of the United States expeditiously and successfully to carry on its said war, and by the consequent necessity for all laborers throughout the United States in said branches of industry to continue at and faithfully to perform their work, for putting said unlawful, tortious and forcible methods for accomplishing said object of said organization into practice, said defendants well knowing, as they have, during said period, well known and intended, that the necessary effect of their so doing would be, as it in fact has been, to hinder and delay and in

part to prevent the execution of said laws above enumerated, through interference with the production and manufacture of divers articles, to wit, munitions, ships, fuel, subsistence supplies, clothing, shelter and equipment, required and necessary for the military and naval forces of the United States in carrying on said war, and of the materials necessary for such manufacture, and through interference with the procurement of such articles and materials, by the United States, through purchases, and through orders and contracts for immediate and future delivery thereof, between the United States and persons, firms and corporations too numerous to be here named (if their names were known to said grand jurors), and through interference with and the prevention of the transportation of such articles and of said military and naval forces; and that said organization, as said defendants during said period of time have well known and intended, has also been one for discouraging, obstructing and preventing the prosecution by the United States of said war between the United States and the Imperial German Government, and preventing, hindering and delaying the execution of said laws above enumerated, by requiring the members of said organization available for duty in said military and naval forces to fail to register, and to refuse to submit to registration and draft, for service in said military and naval forces, and to fail and refuse to enlist for service therein, and by inciting others so to do, notwithstanding the requirements of said laws in that behalf and notwithstanding the patriotic duty of such members and others so to register and submit to registration and draft, and so to enlist, for service in said military and naval forces, and notwithstanding the cowardice involved in such failure and refusal; which last-mentioned object of said organization was also to be accomplished by the use of all the means and methods aforesaid as a protest against, and as a forcible means of preventing, hindering and delaying, the execution of said laws of the United States, as well as by the forcible rescue and concealment of such of said members as should be proceeded against under those laws for such failure and refusal on their part, or sought for service

or for enlistment and service in said military and naval forces.

Overt Acts

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that in and for executing said unlawful and felonious conspiracy, combination, confederation and agreement, certain of said defendants, at the several times and places in that behalf hereinafter mentioned in connection with their names, have done certain acts; that is to say:

1. Said William D. Haywood, Ralph H. Chaplin, Francis Miller, Charles L. Lambert, Richard Brazier and William Wiertola, on April 7, 1917, at Chicago aforesaid, in said division and district, caused to be printed, in the issue of the newspaper *Solidarity* of that date the following:

Preamble

Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among the millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the workers have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair's day's wage for a fair day's work,"

we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every day struggle with capitalists, but to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

4. Said William D. Haywood, Ralph H. Chaplin, Francis Miller, Charles L. Lambert, Richard Brazier and William Wiertola, on August 11, 1917, at Chicago aforesaid, in said division and, district, caused to be printed, in the issue of the newspaper *Solidarity*, of that date, among other things, the following matters, to wit:

Page 5, column 1. "But the I. W. W. is more than a labor organization. It is a revolutionary union and the very word revolutionary presupposes something radically different from former concepts of what constitutes labor unions.

We Are Dissatisfied

A revolutionary body testifies to complete dissatisfaction with the existing order of things. And this is the first reason and main reason for the existence of the I. W. W. We are absolutely and irrevocably dissatisfied with the present system of society. We consider it a useless system and we mean to destroy it."

Conclusion

And so the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do say, that time, at the place, and in manner and form, aforesaid, unlawfully and feloniously have conspired by force to prevent, hinder and delay the execution of laws of the United States; against the peace and dignity of the United States, and contrary to the form of the statute of the same in such case made and provided.

Second Count

(Section 19 of the Criminal Code.)

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that said defendants named in the first count of this indictment, thruout the period of time from April 6, 1917, to the day of the finding and presentation of

this indictment, at said City of Chicago, in said Eastern Division of said Northern District of Illinois, unlawfully and feloniously have conspired together, and with one Frank H. Little, now deceased, and with divers other persons to said grand jurors unknown, to injure, oppress, threaten, and intimidate a great number of citizens of the United States in the free exercise and enjoyment by them respectively of a certain right and privilege secured to them by the Constitution and laws of the United States, the names and the number of which said citizens are to said grand jurors unknown, but which said citizens can only be and are by said grand jurors generally described as being the class of persons, mentioned in the first count of this indictment, who during said period of time have been furnishing and endeavoring to furnish, to the United States, in pursuance of sales, orders and contracts between them and the United States, munitions, ships, fuel, subsistence supplies, clothing, shelter and equipment, necessary for the military and naval forces of the United States in carrying on its war with the Imperial German Government in said first count referred to, materials necessary for the manufacture of those articles, and transportation of said articles and materials and of said military and naval forces, all required and authorized to be procured by the United States from such persons and citizens under the several laws of the United States specifically mentioned in said first count as being the laws of which said defendants are charged in said count with conspiring to prevent, hinder and delay the execution; that is to say, the right and privilege of furnishing, to said United States, without interference, hinderance or obstruction by others, said articles, materials and transportation; which said conspiracy in this count mentioned has been one for injuring, oppressing, threatening and intimidating said citizens by interfering with, hindering and obstructing them in the free exercise and enjoyment of said right and privilege by and thru the continued and persistent use and employment, by said defendants, under the circumstances and conditions in said first count described, of the unlawful and tortious means and methods in that count

set forth as the means and methods of accomplishing the objects of the unlawful and felonious conspiracy in that count charged against said defendants; the allegations of which said count in that behalf and concerning the existence, character and objects of the organization, called "Industrial Workers of the World" and "I. W. W.'s," in said count mentioned, concerning the membership, offices, employment and agencies of said defendants in that organization, and concerning said unlawful and tortious means and methods, are incorporated in this count of this indictment by reference to said first count as fully as if they were here repeated.

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that in and for executing said unlawful and felonious conspiracy in this count charged, certain of said defendants have done the several acts described in said first count under the heading of "Overt Acts," at the several times and places there stated.

Against the peace and dignity of the United States, and contrary to the form of the statute of the same in such case made and provided.

Third Count

(Section 37 of the Criminal Code in connection with Section 332 of the Criminal Code, Section 5 of the Act of May 18, 1917, and Article 58 of the Articles of War in the Act of August 29, 1916.)

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that thruout the period of time from May 18, 1917, to the day of the finding and presentation of this indictment, the United States has been at war with the Imperial German Government; and that continuously thruout said period of time said defendants named in the first count of this indictment, at said City of Chicago, in said Eastern Division of said Northern District of Illinois, then being members of the organization described in said first count, and called "Industrial Workers of the World," "I. W. W.'s," the "One Big Union" and "O. B. U.'s," unlawfully and feloniously have conspired, combined, confederated and agreed together, and with one Frank H. Little, now deceased, and with divers

other persons to said grand jurors unknown, to commit divers, to wit, ten thousand, offenses against the United States; that is to say, ten thousand offenses each to consist in unlawfully aiding, abetting, counseling, commanding, inducing and procuring one of the ten thousand male persons, other members of said organization, who on June 5, 1917, respectively attained their twenty-first birthday and who did not on that day attain their thirty-first birthday, and who have been required by the Proclamation of the President of the United States dated May 18, 1917, to present themselves for and submit to registration, under the Act of Congress approved May 18, 1917, and entitled "An Act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," at the divers registration places in the divers precincts in said Eastern Division of the Northern District of Illinois, and in the divers other precincts in other states of the United States, wherein said persons have by law respectively been required to present themselves for and submit to such registration, whose names, and the designation, of which said precincts, are to said grand jurors unknown, unlawfully and willfully to fail and refuse so to present himself for registration and so to submit thereto; none of such persons being an officer or an enlisted man of the Regular Army, of the Navy, of the Marine Corps or of the National Guard or Naval Militia in the Service of the United States, or an officer in the Reserve Corps or an enlisted man in the Enlisted Reserve Corps in active service; and divers, to wit, five thousand, other offenses against the United States, that is to say, five thousand offenses each to consist in unlawfully and feloniously aiding, abetting, counseling, commanding, inducing and procuring one of the five thousand persons, still other members of said organization, who should become subject to the military law of the United States under and thru the enforcement of the provisions of the Act of Congress in this count of this indictment above mentioned, and The Proclamations, Rules and Regulations of the President of the United States made in pursuance of said Act of Congress, and

whose names are also unknown to said grand jurors, unlawfully and feloniously to desert the service of the United States in time of war; said defendants not then being themselves subject to military law of the United States.

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that in and for executing said unlawful and felonious conspiracy, combination, confederation and agreement in this count of this indictment charged, certain of said defendants, at the several times and places in that behalf mentioned in connection with their names under the heading "Overt Acts" in the first count of this indictment, have done certain acts; that is to say, the several acts mentioned in said first count under said heading: Against the peace and dignity of the United States, and contrary to the form of the statute of the same in such case made and provided.

Fourth Count

(Section 4 of the "Espionage Act" of June 15, 1917, in connection with Section 3 of that Act.)

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that thruout the period of time from June 15, 1917, to the day of the finding and presentation of this indictment, the United States has been at war with the Imperial German Government; and that continuously thruout said period of time said defendants named in the first count of this indictment, at said City of Chicago, in said Eastern Division of said Northern District of Illinois, then being members of the organization described in said first count and called "Industrial Workers of the World," "I. W. W.'s," the "One Big Union," and "O. B. U.'s," unlawfully and feloniously have conspired, combined, confederated and agreed together, and with one Frank H. Little, now deceased, and with divers other persons to said grand jurors unknown, to commit a certain offense against the United States, to wit, the offense of unlawfully, feloniously and wilfully causing and attempting to cause insubordination, disloyalty, and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States, when the United States was at war; and

this thru and by means of personal solicitation, of public speeches, of articles printed in certain newspapers called *Solidarity*, *Industrial Worker*, *A Bermunkas*, *Darbininku Balsas*, *Il Proletario*, *Industrial Unionist*, *Rabochy*, *El Rebelde*, *A. Luz*, *Alarm*, *Solidarnosc* and *Australian Administration*, circulating thruout the United States, and of the public distribution of certain pamphlets entitled "War and the Workers," "Patriotism and the Workers," and "Preamble and Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World," the same being solicitations, speeches, articles and pamphlets persistently urging insubordination, disloyalty and refusal of duty in said military and naval forces and failure and refusal on the part of available persons to enlist therein; and another offense against the United States, to wit, the offense of unlawfully, feloniously and wilfully, by and thru the means last aforesaid, obstructing the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States, when the United States was at war, to the injury of that service and of the United States.

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that in and for executing said unlawful and felonious conspiracy, combination, confederation and agreement in this count of this indictment charged, certain of said defendants, at the several times and places in that behalf mentioned in connection with their names under the heading "Overt Acts" in the first count of this indictment, have done certain acts; that is to say, the several acts mentioned in said first count under said heading: Against the peace and dignity of the United States, and contrary to the form of the statute of the same in such case made and provided.

Fifth Count

(Section 37 of the Criminal Code in connection with Section 215 of the Criminal Code.)

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oaths aforesaid, do further present, that the defendants in the first count of this indictment named, thruout the period of time from April 6, 1917, to the day of the finding and presentation of this indictment, at said City of Chicago, in said Eastern Division of said Northern District of Illinois, unlawfully and felon-

iously have conspired, combined, confederated and agreed together, and with one Frank H. Little, now deceased, and with divers other persons to said grand jurors unknown, to commit divers, to wit, twenty, offenses against the United States, that is to say twenty offenses each to consist in placing, and causing to be placed on Saturday of each week, in the postoffice of the United States at Chicago aforesaid, to be sent and delivered by the postoffice establishment of the United States, a large number, to wit, fifteen thousand, copies of a certain newspaper called *Solidarity*, and one thousand other offenses each to consist in placing, and causing to be placed, in said postoffice to be sent and delivered by said postoffice establishment, a large number, to wit, one hundred and fifty, "stickerettes" and one thousand other offenses each to consist in placing, and causing to be placed, in said postoffice, to be sent and delivered by said postoffice establishment, a copy of some one of the following books, to wit, "Sabotage" by Emile Pouget, and "Sabotage" by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, all of which publications contained information and advice advocating the commission of the fraudulent practices hereinafter set forth and all of which were for the purpose of executing a certain scheme and artifice to defraud the employers of labor hereinafter mentioned but whose names are to the grand jurors unknown; which was theretofore devised by said defendants:

That said defendants would cheat and defraud out of money, employers of labor thruout the United States, and particularly those employers of labor engaged in the manufacture of munitions and supplies for the United States Army and Navy, and those engaged in furnishing the raw materials out of which said munitions and supplies are made, and those engaged in the transportation of said munitions and supplies and raw materials, by entering or staying in the employ of said employers and receiving and accepting money from said employers for working for them and by procuring other members of the Industrial Workers of the World so to do, when, in fact, said defendants while accepting and receiving said money would secretly and covertly work against said employers and to their

injury and detriment and would induce and persuade said other members so to do; that said defendants would demand stated wages under agreements binding them respectively to give their services to their employers in good faith, and would pretend to said employers that they would render efficient services, assist said employers in producing good products and render their services free from intentional injury to their employers, and would induce and persuade said other members so to do; that they would hold said employments and accept said employments with the secret purpose and intention not to render efficient service to said employers and not to produce good products but secretly and covertly to render inefficient service, and to purposely assist in producing bad and unmarketable products and intentionally to retard, slacken and reduce production wherever employed, and intentionally to restrict and decrease the profits of said employers and interfere with and injure their trade and business, and secretly and covertly to injure, break up and destroy the property of said employers; and that they would teach, incite, induce, aid and abet said other members so to do. That as a part of said scheme and artifice, said defendants were to send and deliver by the postoffice establishment of the United States the newspapers, stickerettes and books aforesaid.

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oaths aforesaid, do further present, that in and for executing said unlawful and felonious conspiracy, combination, confederation and agreement, said defendants at the several times and places hereinafter mentioned in their behalf, have done certain acts, that is to say:

(1) Said defendants, on Saturday of each week during said period of time, caused to be printed, at Chicago aforesaid, in said division and district, fifteen thousand copies of said newspaper called *Solidarity*.

(2) Said William D. Haywood, on May 25, 1917, at Chicago aforesaid, in said division and district, gave an order to Cahill-Carberry & Company, of Chicago, to print and deliver to said William D. Haywood one million of said stickerettes.

(3) Said defendants, on July 25, 1917,

caused to be printed, at Chicago aforesaid, in said division and district, one thousand copies of said book, called "Sabotage," by said Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

Against the peace and dignity of the United States, and contrary to the form of the statute of the same in such case made and provided.

Charles F. Clyne,
United States Attorney.

William C. Fitts,
Assistant Attorney General.

Frank K. Nebeker,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Frank C. Dailey,

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Oliver E. Pagan,

Attorney, Department of Justice.

(Endorsed): No. 6125 United States District Court, Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division. The United States of America vs. William D. Haywood et al. Indictment on Sections 6, 19 and 37 of the Criminal Code of the United States, and Section 4 of the "Espionage Act" of June 15, 1917. A true bill. William H. Rose, Foreman. Filed in open court this 28th day of Sept., A. D. 1917.

T. C. MacMillan;
Clerk.

HAYWOOD LONGS FOR "OTHER BOYS" IN JAIL

Wants All I. W. W. Prisoners Brought Here—"It Will Be so Homelike"

By Carl Sandburg

Thru a steel cage door of the Cook county jail, Big Bill Haywood today spoke the defiance of the Industrial Workers of the World to its enemies and captors.

Bill didn't pound on the door, shake the iron clamps nor ask for pity nor make any kind of a play as a hero. He peered thru the square holes of the steel slats and talked in the even voice of a poker player who may or may not hold a winning hand. It was the voice of a man who sleeps well, digests what he eats, and requires neither sedatives to soothe him nor stimulants to stir him up.

The man accused of participation in 10,000 separate and distinct crimes lifted a face checkered by the steel lattice work and said with a slow smile:

"Hello, I'm glad to see you. Do you know when they're going to bring the rest of the boys here? We'd like to have them from all over the country together here. It would be homelike for us all to be together."

Smile at Charge of 10,000 Crimes

He was asked about the 10,000 crim-

inal offenses of which the I. W. W. is accused.

"I don't see where they can scrape up 10,000 offenses unless they claim that we circulated 10,000 copies of Pouget's book on sabotage." This with a half smile, and then more intensely:

"Ten thousand crimes! If they can make the American public or any fair minded jury believe that, I don't see how they'll do it. Why, they can't put their fingers on one single place where we have hampered the government in carrying on the war.

"The I. W. W. has done nothing on the war one way or another. It is true we have called strikes, but they were not aimed at stopping the war. Look! In one industry where a strike was called they could have paid workmen \$10 a day and then made fat profits. The I. W. W. has been fighting and will keep on fighting for higher wages to pay for a higher cost of living.

"Eggs awhile ago were two for a nickel. Now they're a nickel apiece. A pork-chop costs double what it used to. It takes a week's pay of a lumberjack to buy a wool shirt.

Conditions, Not Philosophy

"Thousands of married men with families belong to the I. W. W. Milk has gone up for them. At 13 cents a quart they can't buy milk for their babies unless they get more money as wages. Read the testimony federal investigators took up in the Mesaba range. It's conditions

and not philosophy that makes the I. W. W."

The checkered face in the steel slats and electric light kept a perfect calm. Where LaFollette is explosive and Mayor Thompson overplausible and grievous, Haywood takes it easy. He discusses the alleged 10,000 crimes with the massive leisure of Hippo Vaughn pitching a shut-out.

"You are charged with burning wheat fields," he was reminded.

"I deny it absolutely. Why should workmen burn up their own employment? They would be fools."

"You are accused of driving spikes into spruce trees needed for war airplanes."

"Deny it absolutely. And get this, boy: Not a dirty German dollar has ever come into our hands that we know of. Go back thru our speeches and literature and you will find that a year ago, two years ago and before the war ever started we were in favor of slashing the kaiser's throat. Every dollar we've got now and every dollar the organization will get comes from workingmen." — *Chicago Daily News*.

THE I. W. W. BOYS

NEARLY 160 of the best known members of the I. W. W. have been indicted on a charge of seditious conspiracy and many have already been arrested. Among these are Secretary-Treasurer William D. Haywood and Ralph Chaplin, editor of *Solidarity*. Organizers, editors, officials, the active ones among these are nearly all at present incarcerated. Few are out on bonds. When Haywood was asked about securing bail he said that he did not want the hard-earned dollar of the working class to be spent for anything except for Organization, Education and *Defense*.

With all the evidence secured in the Government raids, the Prosecuting Attorneys must know that not one cent has been contributed to the I. W. W. by the Kaiser. They must know that the purposes of that organization are perfectly open for all to see. The I. W. W. boys on strike in the copper and lumber districts have not been whipped because a few organizers and officials have been thrown into jail. The only persons who can call off these strikes are the workers on the jobs, themselves.

The great crime of the I. W. W. seems to be that its members dared to go on strike to secure safety in the mines, better sanitary conditions in the lumber camps and the eight-hour day.

At this writing over 100,000 coal miners are on strike and the newspapers are crying that unless these miners go back to work, the people will be without water, gas, fuel. Does anybody arrest the coal miners on a charge of seditious conspiracy? Has any-

body arrested the men in the ship-yards for striking? The newspapers are full of strike stories every day in the week and nobody thinks of saying "German money;" nobody thinks of arresting the officials of the unions or their organizers.

It may be that some people thought all strikes against inhuman conditions, all strikes for sufficient wages to keep up with the aeroplaning cost of living would cease with the members of the I. W. W. in jail. But it is the desperate condition of the workers and the colossal greed of the profiteers that drive men out of the mines and mills, not any leaders or group of men.

Evidently the I. W. W. has been signaled out for punishment because it seeks to organize all the workers as a class; because it will not "sell out" and could not if it would; and because its ultimate goal is the aim of all socialists—the abolition of working class exploitation.

At a Defense Meeting held in Chicago, October 13th, the speaker quoted an old saying from Haywood:

"The Treasury of the I. W. W. is in the *pockets* of the *working* class. Dig up all you can to defend our fellow workers who are in jail."

Some of the boys are donating one day's wages every week. What will you do? Our comrades shall not spend the rest of their lives in prison because they have fought for the interests of their class—the working class.

Make money orders payable to General Defense Committee, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill., I. W. W., and they will be readily cashed by headquarters.



HOLD the FORT of GRAND ENTERTAINMENT

Given By
CLASS WAR PRISONERS
Cook Co. Jail
SUNDAY, OCT. 28th 1.30, P.M.
1917



PROGRAM

W
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- ✓ 1. I.W.W. Chorus - "Hold the Fort!"
- ✓ 2. Recitation, Cowmors
- ✓ 3. Song, Harrison George
- ✓ 4. Recitation, Archie Sinclair
- ✓ 5. Song, Sam Scarlet
- ✓ 6. Stunt, Bill Haywood
- ✓ 7. Song, A. E. Soper
- ✓ 8. Swedish Chorus
- ✓ 9. Recitation, Chapelin
- ✓ 10. Song, Dave Inoyan
- ✓ 11. Recitation, Dick Brazier
- ✓ 12. Recitation, Ragnar Johnson
- ✓ 13. Song, Pietro Nigra
- ✓ 14. I.W.W. Chorus, The Red Flag

EVERYBODY WELCOME

Industrial Unrest in Great Britain

By LAURENCE WELSH

Passed by the British Censor.

THE spring of this year was a period of industrial and political unrest over most of the world, and in England this uneasiness found its main expression in the great engineers' strike. After a slight attempt at coercion the Government was forced to yield, and, on consideration of the men's returning to work, promised a full enquiry into their grievances. That enquiry has taken place and the new Munitions Bill, which will be based on the fruits of the enquiry, will probably go far to justify the men in defying the Munitions and Defence of the Realm Acts and striking in war time.

Simultaneously with the special enquiries into the trouble in the engineering industry, there were appointed by Mr. Lloyd George eight Commissions into Industrial Unrest in general, the terms of whose reference were simply "To enquire into and report upon Industrial Unrest, and to make recommendations to the Government at the earliest practicable date."

The reports of the Commissions are now before us, and in our view the labor and money spent might well have been saved. Thruout the eight reports there is no new fact brought to light, and the Government will learn nothing that was not common knowledge amongst all who are acquainted with industrial conditions here. The only consolation the nation can derive for this foolish waste of its money is the fact that the Government can no longer have any excuse for failing to remedy the evils so plainly set forth by its own Commissioners.

The causes of unrest and the recommendations for their removal are closely similar in all the reports.

Prominently to the front in each case is the high cost of living, the failure of wages to keep pace with the rise in prices, and the universal impression that excessive profits are still being made from dealings in the vital necessities of the nation. The report for the North Western area quotes the following figures

from the Board of Trade Labour Gazette of June, 1917:—

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| Increased cost of | |
| food as compared with July, 1914, | 102% |
| living | —do.— 70/75% |
| food on | —do.— 70% |
| economical basis. | |

The view is widely expressed that an effective treatment of this question would settle by far the greater part of the current unrest, and on general grounds we suppose this is a true view. The Labor Movement generally is, we fear, largely preoccupied with questions of wages, and leaves to a few pioneers the problems of proletarian emancipation and the ending of the wage system. It must be admitted, however, that the resentment is not merely against the actual high prices, but against the very fact that profits are being made at all. This fact may perhaps indicate an abstract hatred of economic injustice as well as a concrete dislike of parting with money!

The common experience of the Commission is that the laboring classes even now support the conduct of the war and any resentment is directed against methods rather than aims in the national policy. In the South Wales report mention is made of a fairly general dislike of the police and military methods in connection with pacifist and other unpopular meetings. The love of freedom, even for the minority and the oppressed, has fled from England, but it may still be found in Wales. There is no doubt that the feeling is spreading that any high-handed Governmental interference with, for instance, the arrangements for the Stockholm Conference, would have a most disquieting effect. The foolish allegations that industrial unrest is in part due to enemy propaganda are dismissed as frivolous and baseless by the one Commission which considers the matter worth mentioning.

The Military Service Acts have constituted a grave source of dissatisfaction, especially in regard to the question of exemptions from military service on grounds

of technical indispensability. Various schemes were established and all failed to supply the army with the exorbitant numbers it demanded. The task of selecting men in the Engineering industry for military service as and when they could be spared from their civil occupations was then handed over by agreement to various Trade Unions, who were empowered to issue a certificate of exemption called a "Trade Card." The Unions to whom this power was granted were all "skilled" Unions, and the general labor unions soon found cause to object to the procedure. Charges of unjustifiable exemption were also brought against the Unions, and the Government broke their agreement and suddenly withdrew the scheme without any preliminary consultation with the Unions. This arbitrary withdrawal was one of the main causes of the Engineers' strike and of the general unrest. It is only one illustration of the high-handed and capricious conduct of the Government departments when dealing with labor questions, and all confidence in Government schemes and promises has been destroyed by this arrogant officialism.

The new arrangements for the enlistment of men engaged on munition work have not yet been sufficiently tried for judgment to be passed on their efficiency. Numerous complaints have been received of the usual blunders and lack of tact on the part of the official administrators.

Thruout the history of the Military Service Acts cases have arisen of victimisation of prominent Trade Unionists: especial resentment is felt that the Munitions Act prevents men from leaving their employment, while the Military Service Acts give employers the practical power to force men into the army.

The conduct of the "dilution" plans—the substitution of unskilled and semi-skilled men or women for fully skilled mechanics—has been tainted with the same abuses. Mechanics so "released" are sometimes sent into the army and sometimes to other civil work. In any case, the power of the employer to remove an active employee whose views are too "independent" is considerable, and has been widely used.

The Commissioners report unanimously in favor of abolishing the Leaving

Certificate required by the Munitions Act, whereby an employee is not allowed to change his work without the sanction of the employer. The Government has announced its intention of conceding this point in the new Munitions Bill shortly to be introduced. The penal clauses of the Act, under which fines may be imposed for bad-timekeeping and kindred offences, are strongly disliked, and undoubtedly hinder production far more than they aid it.

Considerable uneasiness is manifested on the subject of the restoration of Trade Union Rules after the war in accordance with the Government pledges. The Munitions Act decrees that a record of all departures from pre-war customs shall be made and preserved. Several witnesses before the Commissions declared that this was not being done. In many cases, no doubt, this is the fault largely of the Trade Unionists themselves who have taken no pains to enforce the registration; in other cases attempts have been made to force employers to fulfil the conditions of the Act, and the latter have wilfully neglected their duty in the matter.

Various other important grounds of dissatisfaction exist, including the following: The long delay which frequently occurs in securing official attention to industrial grievances. The men are forbidden by law to strike, and without this power they are unable to secure speedy redress of their grievances. The lack of decent housing accommodation is, of course, a chronic complaint, but it has been seriously increased by the migration of munition workers into industrial areas. The conditions described by the Commissioners in the neighborhood of Vickers' Factory at Barrow-in-Furness are unutterably ghastly. The Report significantly says "But for the fact that Barrow lies in a very isolated position and that it is considered inadvisable to inform the public thru the medium of the press of many of the evils of industrial life, we cannot believe that the facts we propose to set down could so have remained actual conditions of domestic life in England in the Twentieth century." What a criticism of the Government's secretive and deceptive methods!

Another chronic complaint is ex-

pressed in the phrase "inequality of sacrifice." All classes alike have contributed their sons to the national cause and most have contributed their best energies. But, as usual, the economic sacrifices of labor have been the heaviest. Never far removed from the border-line of starvation, the workers are now feeling most acutely the pinch of the increased cost of living, the heavy and annoying restrictions on personal liberty and freedom of thought, and the divorce from any control over national policy and destiny. Till Labor perfects its economic weapons and assumes control of industry, these sacrifices will be increasingly its lot.

Is it possible to bring together under one head, the causes of all these various sources of unrest? The one general cause is the lack of control by the workers themselves over the conditions of their industrial lives. A complaint which appears in each of the Reports is the extreme centralization of the national industrial life; the whole direction of policy is too much in the hands of officials in London often far away geographically and always far away in their outlook on life, from labor's activities. All government is "from above" and in deciding policy and methods the men have no say.

The famous Shop Stewards' movement is a significant commentary on this condition of affairs. This is an "unofficial" movement from the Trade Union point of view, that is, altho the personnel of the Shops Committees consists entirely of Unionists, there is no connection between the official Union Executives on the one hand and the Stewards and members on the other. The aim of the movement is to secure a closer grip on local conditions and a stronger measure of local control than the orthodox Trade Union structure has afforded. The effect of the Stewards' activities has been to "ginger up" the Executives and even to

initiate and conduct important Trade movements without the sanction of Executives. It must be said in fairness to the Executives that a regulation under the Defence of the Realm Act made it an offence in any way to hinder the production of munitions; any support given to a strike movement would have rendered the Union funds liable to confiscation. In general, the work of Shop Stewards is well summarized in the Report for Yorkshire:

"The aims and methods of the Shop Stewards acting unconstitutionally are condemned, but the feeling is widespread that the machinery they have created, if based on constitutional lines, would assist Trade Unions to live up to the demands of those who are employed in modern specialized workshops."

The remedy for these evils lies largely with the Unions themselves. The Government has set up bureaucratic machinery in industry because Labor made no effective protest, and because, if it had, there was no effective alternative to hand. If the Unions had spent their energies less on sectional quarrels and purely monetary aims, and more on crushing out the blackleg, and perfecting their economic weapons on the lines of Industrial Unionism, there would have been another tale to tell.

Even now it is not too late. The dangers of war are trivial compared with those awaiting Labor on the outbreak of peace. Let Labor's Reconstruction begin at home; if the Unions see to it that they are strongly organized on industrial lines, then all things shall be added unto them. When they have the economic power which such a reconstruction will give them, they can effectively demand as a right the control of industry and the establishment of self-governing National Guilds.

London, August, 1917.



SOCIALISTS ACQUITTED

THE trial of thirteen socialists which took place in Grand Rapids, Michigan, resulted in an acquittal for all.

Those on trial were Adolph Germer, National Secretary of the Socialist Party; Rev. Daniel Roy Freeman, pastor of the All Souls Church of Grand Rapids; Rev. Klaas Oosterhuis, pastor of the Holland Unitarian Church; Charles G. Taylor, former Socialist member of the Grand Rapids school board; Miss Viva Flaherty, Socialist, social worker and writer, and members of the local Socialist party including Dr. Martin H. Elzinga, James W. Clement, Sr., Charles J. Callaghan, Benjamin Blumenberg, Glen H. Pangborn, Glen G. Fleser, Vernon Kilpatrick and Benjamin A. Faulkner.

The charge against them is that they circulated about 2,000 copies of the St. Louis Socialist Convention War Proclamation; 15,000 copies of the leaflet, "The Price We Pay," and 15,000 copies of a leaflet prepared by Miss Flaherty, containing extracts from speeches made in congress, and closing with the statement, "Repeal the Conscription Law."

In his opening statement to the jury, Prosecuting Attorney Walker merely stated that the government would show that the alleged objectionable literature had been issued by the National Socialist Party, published and advertised in *The American Socialist*, ordered and distributed by the Grand Rapids, Michigan, Socialist Local. No effort was made to show that anyone had committed any illegal act as the result of reading this literature. The war proclamation was read to the jury in full by Prosecuting Attorney Walker.

Prosecuting Attorney Walker laid great stress on the fact that the St. Louis party convention met and organized the day after war was declared. He insisted on emphasizing that the main purpose of the convention was to declare the party's anti-war position after war had been declared. He read in full the lengthy report submitted to the convention by John Spargo, which was overwhelmingly rejected. He also read the minority report that was submitted to referendum. Considerable emphasis was also placed by the government attorney on the

fact that the majority, after its adoption by the convention, was sent out in leaflet form, as was ordered by the convention. Judge Sessions sustained an objection to introducing the opinions of Winfield Gaylord and others that the sending out of the majority report in leaflet form was treasonable. Attorney Seymour Stedman, for the defense, declared this was merely opinion and that it would only force the introduction of opinions on the other side.

On cross examination by the government, Germer declared that the War Proclamation leaflet was sent out to spread the propaganda of Socialism, to give the Socialist position on the war, and not in the hope of materially changing the attitude or effecting any action on the part of the people as a whole.

Judge Sessions declared that the fact that the nation is at war should make no difference in interpreting the evidence and reaching a verdict.

"It is necessary for the government," he said, "before it can ask for a verdict of conviction, to have established by evidence, beyond a reasonable doubt, the charges contained in the indictment—in this case, an unlawful conspiracy; that is an agreement either implied or expressed to do an unlawful act, a concert of action with a common purpose known to each of the defendants who is guilty.

"The question is, what was the purpose or intent? May it have been fair from the evidence that the purpose was to discourage or prevent registration, to induce persons not to register. We must consider the time of the distribution, the contents of the literature, the composition of it and the quantity of it. We must consider the time with relation to Registration Day. What was the purpose of distributing 15,000 copies of "The Price We Pay" just before registration day? It is the duty of the court to submit these questions to the jury."

On October 18th a jury in the United States district court acquitted Adolph Germer, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, and thirteen other socialists of the charge of conspiracy against the government.

A Talk With Mr. Burleson

By GEORGE P. WEST

[From The Public.]

THE views of Albert S. Burleson of Texas on political and economic subjects have suddenly become of the greatest importance. For Mr. Burleson as Postmaster General has been clothed with the power to suppress any newspaper or periodical that, in his judgment, is indulging in illegitimate criticism of the Government and the war, or saying things "that will interfere with enlistments or that will hamper and obstruct the Government in the prosecution of the war." Nor may any newspaper say that the Government is the tool of Wall Street and the munitions makers. This is Mr. Burleson's own interpretation of the clause in the espionage act under which his new authority is being exercised. It is the language of an authorized statement issued by him after Congress had adopted a rider to the Trading-with-the-Enemy act which makes it unlawful to transport or sell publications that have lost their mailing privileges.

When I met Mr. Burleson by appointment at his office I had some difficulty in making it clear to him that *The Public* was in no fear of suppression, and that I had come, not as an apologist or suppliant, but merely as a reporter.

"You needn't have the slightest fear provided you stay within the limits," he assured me again and again. "But the instant you print anything calculated to dishearten the boys in the army or to make them think this is not a just and righteous war—that instant you will be suppressed, and no amount of influence will save you."

Mr. Burleson brought his fist down on his desk by way of emphasis, and I almost looked to see the mangled form of some pacifist editor lying there as he removed it. When this happened for about the third time, I lost my patience and told him sharply I didn't need him nor anyone else to tell me to be a good American.

I finally explained to him that I wanted to raise questions that had nothing to do with *The Public's* status. The first was as to the wisdom of suppressing pacifist papers as a practical political problem. Would it

not be better, in the Government's own interests, to let them have their say and trust to the rightness of the Government's course to counteract and nullify any influence they might have? Mr. Burleson said Congress had answered in the negative, and that as an executive officer he had nothing to do with it. I suggested that the administrative departments had great influence with Congress, and that it was said William Lamar, solicitor for his department, had written the clause in the Trading-with-the-Enemy act which closes every other avenue of circulation to publications under the department's ban. I mentioned *The Masses* as an example of a pacifist publication that is open-minded and sincere. In his last issue Max Eastman had in effect given an enthusiastic endorsement to the President's policy, and it would have great influence with just the elements that the Government most needed.

"I regard Max Eastman as no better than a traitor, and the stuff he has been printing as rank treason," thundered Mr. Burleson. "I myself showed the President where he said it was the People's Council, another vile, traitorous organization, that had forced him to write his note to the Pope."

"Eastman is absolutely sincere and has the best interests of the people of this country at heart," I said.

"Traitors all look alike to me," said the Postmaster General; "I don't care whether they are sincere or not."

"What some of us fear," I said, "is that officials of this department will let a class prejudice against radical publications influence them, and that the movement for economic democracy will suffer because of it. What I should like to see is for you to suppress Colonel's Roosevelt's articles charging broomstick preparedness. They certainly give aid and comfort to the enemy."

"What he says is not true," said Mr. Burleson, "but I don't think it would affect the morale or fighting spirit of our soldiers. As for the others, we shall not permit them to say that this war was brought on by Wall Street and that the President is a tool of the interests. This administration has done

more for labor than any other. We have given them all they ought to have. Mind you, I don't think they have got anything they weren't entitled to, except that we should have enacted a compulsory arbitration law. I believe in compulsory arbitration.

"No man has any more sympathy than I have for the poor fellow bent over working with a pick for \$1.50 a day. I'll do all I can to lighten that man's burdens. But when he takes up the torch or the bomb—"

Again Mr. Burleson's fist came down on the table.

"Give him a show for his white alley and he'll have no inclination to," I suggested.

"Mr. West," said the Postmaster General, kindly, "do you know why that man can't make more money? It's up here," and he pointed to his forehead. "It's the shape of his brain. It's fatality. God Almighty did that, and you can't change it. You're challenging Providence. Distribute all the wealth in the country with absolute equality, and what would happen within a year? It would all be back in the same hands."

"Let's waive the question of grown up men," I said, "and take children. They at least ought to have equal opportunity."

"Do you mean to tell me," said Mr. Burleson, "that the child of the poorest farmer or the poorest factory hand in New England hasn't just as good a chance to go to school and get an education and become a bank director or a railroad president as J. P. Morgan?"

"I certainly do," I said. "Very few finish grammar school. Take your Bureau of Labor statistics. Take the report of your Public Health Service, which shows that less than half of the adult male wage earners in this country were earning enough to support their families in decency and comfort."

"It's their own fault," said Mr. Burleson. "It's their own fault. This is the freest and finest country God ever made. Your quarrel is with God. You have a perverted view of these things. If that's the stuff you're preaching, I think you're probably doing more harm than good."

"God never intended that man should be allowed to grow rich just from the ownership of land that others worked," I suggested.

Mr. Burleson chuckled.

"As a land owner, you can't expect me to believe that," he said.

"Take your own State of Texas," I said. "The hearings and reports of the Walsh Commission on tenant farming—"

"That was the most vicious and untrue document ever published," said Mr. Burleson, very much aroused. "If the rest of that report was like that part of it, the whole thing was vicious. The people don't get on the land because they like to stay in town where the lights are bright and they can go to the movies. Take two twin brothers. One succeeds and the other doesn't. One saves his money and works hard—the other must go to the movies every night and the opera every week, and at 50 has nothing. It's a difference in people that you can't change. It's fatality."

"But don't think I'm going to interfere with any publication because it may preach these ideas. Take Socialism. I don't care about Socialism. As a political party it's insignificant; its views are not making any headway. During the war it has a little importance, but that will end with the war. I'll not interfere with any publication that stays within the limits laid down by the law."

I asked Mr. Burleson about methods, and whether a publication would have its day in court.

"Every editor is his own censor," he said. "The lines are clearly laid down, and no editor will have any difficulty in keeping out of trouble if he wishes to do so. And the courts are open to them. Judge Hough supported my contention."

"But he said that to take away *The Masses'* mailing privilege because it had been denied continuity of publication by your department was like a policeman knocking a man down and then arresting him for obstructing the sidewalk."

"You've been reading only one side of that," said Mr. Burleson. "That was not the reason. It was because *The Masses* had been printing unmailable matter. What these editors want is a chance to spew out all their poison and do all the mischief they are capable of before we can reach them. They won't succeed."

Mr. Burleson at the end referred me to Mr. Lamar, solicitor for the department,

for a copy of his authorized statement. Mr. Lamar is the official who initiates proceedings against periodicals and who press the case against them. He is devoting all his time to the work. I talked with him for a few minutes and found him in much the

same frame of mind as his chief. He asked me if I had read *The Masses* for a few months back, and when I told him I'd read it for several years with enjoyment, if not always with full agreement, he lost interest in me.

SOCIALISTS WIN IN SWEDEN

The Chicago Socialist

FOOD!
That was the issue!
"We demand bread!"
That was the cry!

With this issue in mind and with this cry on their lips, the voters of Sweden have just elected 98 Socialists to the lower chamber of their parliament.

That is more than were elected by any other political party. The once proud Conservatives lost 28 members, electing only 58. The Liberals managed to hold their own, getting 62, while the remaining 12 seats were taken by the Agrarians (farmers).

"A Socialist premier of Sweden!" is the present demand of the Swedish workers, as they call for the overthrow of the conservative government, repudiated by the voters.

The rising tide of Socialism, that has put the Socialists in control of Russia and established a Socialist government in Finland, has now crossed the Baltic Sea and swept all before it in Sweden.

The Russian revolution started a hunger riot.

The Swedish Socialist victory is due to conscienceless profiteering in food.

Ever since the war started the "neutral" food profiteers of Sweden have been selling the food of Sweden, food that ought to have been kept at home, to the warring nations.

The pro-German Swedish capitalists sold the nation's substance to Germany at prices higher than the workers at home were able to pay. They were upheld by the Swedish Conservative government, the political wing of Swedish capitalism.

When one hundred thousand workers demonstrated for "FOOD" before the parliament houses in Stockholm recently, they were addressed by the Socialist spokesman,

Hjalmar Branting, while the Conservative statesmen ordered them dispersed before the hoofs of charging cavalry and the bayonets of heavily armed infantry.

But the daily reckoning has come. All during the month of September, under a complicated system of proportional representation, the workers of Sweden have been marching in solid phalanx to the polls and casting their ballots for Socialism—for peace and plenty.

Look at the figures again: Out of the 230 members of the lower house of the Swedish parliament the Socialists have 98; Liberals, 62; Conservatives, 58; Agrarians, 12.

Stockholm, the nation's capital, was the last hope of the Conservatives. Many persons here have become rich during the war. But here, too, the Socialists gained heavily. In Upsala, Engberg, a member of the executive committee of the international Socialist Peace Conference, that was to have been held last month in Stockholm, was elected.

The last plea of the Conservatives in Stockholm was an hysterical summoning of the people to "gather round the King." The King's aide-de-camp promised to be present at a mass meeting called for this purpose but failed to appear. So a resolution was adopted requesting the King to reject all doctrines directed at limiting his right and duty to represent national unity. The workers came back at the King business by sweeping the Socialist candidates to victory.

Thruout all of Sweden the Socialists are jubilant, while the enthusiasm and joy permeates all of Scandinavia, the Swedish Socialists being profusely congratulated by their comrades in Norway and Denmark. The Socialists of America join with the So-

cialists in every other land the world over in extending their comradely greetings to the victors in Sweden in the world-wide struggle for universal brotherhood.

The Conservative cabinet, the present political power in the nation, is expected to resign almost any day. Then a new cabinet will immediately come into existence.

The Socialists expect to have a complete majority in parliament by forcing the Liberals to act with them.

Hjalmar Branting, the Socialist spokesman, is today the most popular man in Sweden. It is said that he can certainly have the premiership if he wants it. He is already being extensively cartooned as the new premier.

Just as soon as it became evident that the Socialists had scored their greatest triumph, the forces of reaction set to work to save themselves if possible.

At first it was urged that the Conservative cabinet be allowed to remain in power—that it was not desirable to make a change at this time. It was soon admitted that this position was not tenable under the heavy attack of working class objections.

Then the Conservatives set about campaigning for a coalition cabinet. Many overtures have been made to the Liberals to enter a cabinet with the Conservatives, it being shown that a Conservative-Liberal coalition would have control of parliament.

But the Conservatives are so discredited in the eyes of all the people that even the Liberals refuse to co-operate with them and they will certainly get no support from the Socialists. The Agrarians, formerly represented by the Conservatives, broke away from them because they never carried out their promises to the farming population. Even the support of King Gustaf has not aided the Conservatives in their efforts of coalition. The new government, therefore, according to every prophecy, will be either

completely Socialist or a Socialist-Liberal coalition.

The first duty of the new cabinet will be the drafting of a budget for the opening of the new parliament Jan. 15.

It looks as if an early task of the new parliament will be consideration of the modification or abolition of the present scheme by which large incomes carry numerous votes and small incomes only one.

Approximately half a million of the kingdom's popular vote was cast for and a quarter of a million against the proposal for a democratic revision of the Swedish constitution, abolishing plural voting in municipalities, and giving women the franchise.

The regime of Hammarskjöld, former premier, was largely responsible for the swing of the political pendulum. In 1915 and 1916 120,000,000 kronen (\$30,000,000) was spent for the military budget before parliament was asked about it. The Socialists and Liberals saw no necessity for this burden of expenditures and began to be very restive. Last winter Hammarskjöld asked for an additional 100,000,000 kronen (\$25,000,000), but parliament gave only 8,000,000 kronen (\$2,000,000). Hammarskjöld then realized that he could not work with parliament any longer.

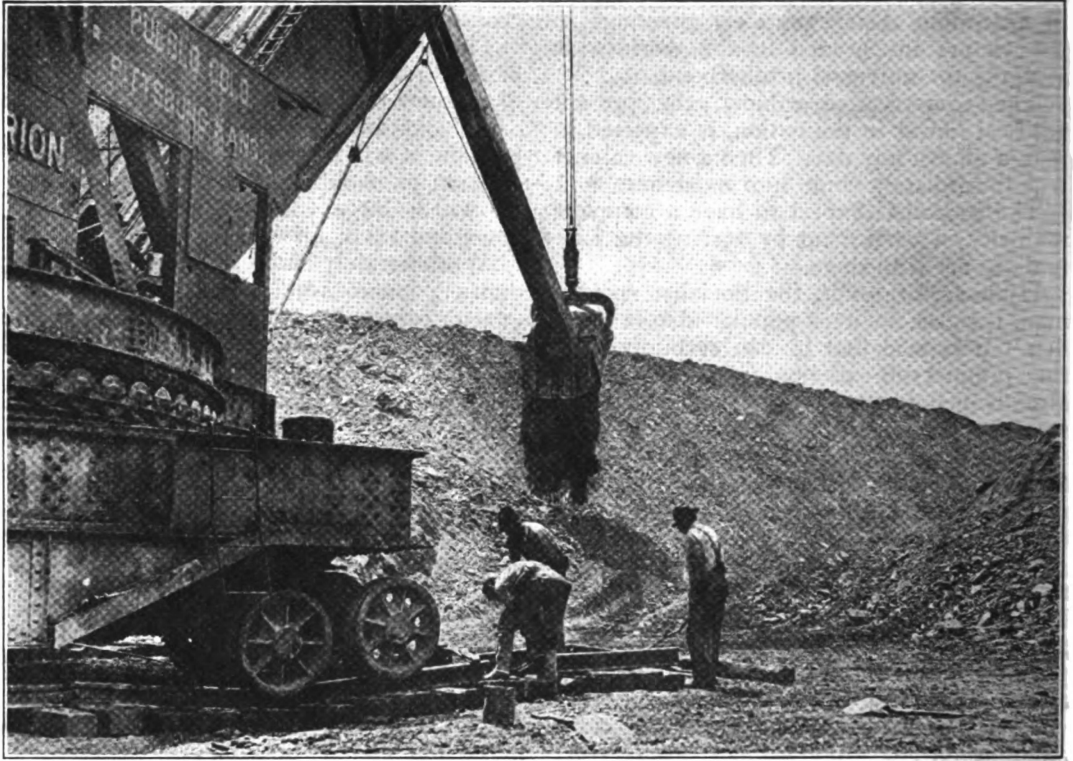
The Socialists were asked to form a cabinet, but they refused, saying that the Conservatives had made a mess of things and now must clear it up themselves.

It is well to note that one of the cries against the Socialists was that of anti-patriotism. The people were not deceived by this false issue coming from the profiteering capitalists and the newly made millionaires. The Socialists were endorsed as the only real patriots.

Socialism, the hope of the world, is coming into its own.

It is coming fast, but it cannot come too soon.





THIS MAMMOTH STEEL MONSTER PICKS UP FIVE TONS OF EARTH AND STONE AS EASILY AS A MAN PICKS UP FIVE POUNDS

Coal Mining by Machine and the Changes It Has Brought

By GLENN WARREN

IN the southeast part of Kansas and the southwest part of Missouri are thousands of acres of coal lands where the coal is from ten to forty feet below the surface. Up until five or six years ago this coal was mined from the earth by two methods. The coal near the surface—that is, from ten to twelve feet deep—was reached by “stripping” or “daylight mining,” as it is called. All this digging had to be done by teams or hand and it was necessarily a costly process. The coal at a greater depth was obtained by underground mining. Both of these methods required skilled labor more or less, either experienced teamsters and teams or skilled miners. As one old

timer expressed it, “Them days a man could make a real day’s wage,” it being easy for a good miner to make from five to seven dollars per day, and flourishing mining towns and camps dotted the country everywhere.

Today, however, all is changed. The streets of the one-time populous, prosperous mining towns of this region are almost deserted, the stores have mostly been closed up and camps have disappeared. The men and laborers are of a different class and the majority of them are now paid from two and a half to two dollars and eighty cents per day. Yet with all this more coal is being shipped out of this section than ever

before. Where formerly one man in an underground mine could load about nine cars, eight men in one of the daylight mines a few days ago loaded two hundred cars in eight hours.

This enormous change has been entirely due to the introduction of monster steam shovels. Machines, larger than any of their kind in the world, that takes several tons of earth and rock out of the ground and move it to a spot two hundred feet away with as much speed and ease as a man can take a shovelful and move it ten feet, are now used.

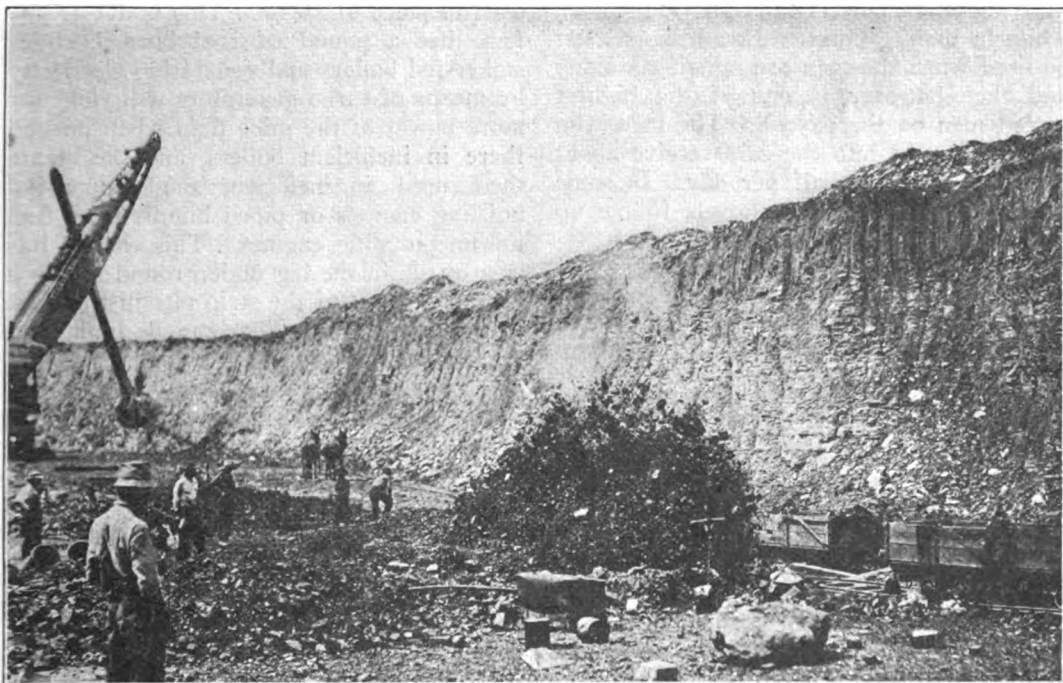
When a vein of coal is to be worked a railroad spur is first built to one edge of the deposit, as near as can be determined. Here a tippie or loading station is built, having shakers to sort the coal into different sizes and drop it into the proper railroad car. A hoisting engine is also provided to draw the small cars from the pit up an incline where they can be dumped onto the shakers.

The steam shovel then starts work, making a trench as wide as the shovel will permit, generally about seventy-five feet wide at the bottom and about a hundred and twenty-five feet at the top and deep enough to uncover the vein of coal. The

shovel is moved forward six feet at a time under its own power on a track that is laid in front and taken up in the rear as the shovel progresses. Nearly thirty feet are covered in eight hours. This, of course, depends upon the condition of the earth and the depth.

About a hundred feet back of the shovel small blasts are put in, in order to loosen the coal, which is shoveled into small cars, holding about a ton each. These cars run on narrow gauge tracks which are laid as the work progresses and they are hauled back to the incline by a small donkey engine. After the width of the vein has been traversed, or after the shovel is too far from the loading station to make it profitable to go farther in this direction, a lateral is started nearly at right angles to the main trench. When, because of the two limiting conditions stated above, or others, it is necessary to discontinue in this direction, the shovel is brought back to the main trench and started again in the same direction parallel to the first lateral. The earth dug out this time is dropped back into the old lateral, thus filling it up as the work advances.

By this method the labor necessary to



BLASTING IN THE STRIP PITS

At the cry of fire the miners run to safety, but are back on the job as soon as the shot is fired.



LOOKING DOWN ONE OF THE LATERALS FROM THE TOP OF ONE OF THE EARTH PILES.
The part beyond the shovel has been worked out from the other end.

shovel the coal into the cars is considerably less than in the underground mines, as well as less dangerous, and shot-firing here is little more dangerous than shoveling coal, while in underground work all shots must be fired when the men are out of the mine and the shot-firer is one of the highest priced men on the payroll. The men who shovel the coal into the cars receive about two dollars and a half per day. In some strip pits smaller steam shovels follow up the large ones and load the cars.

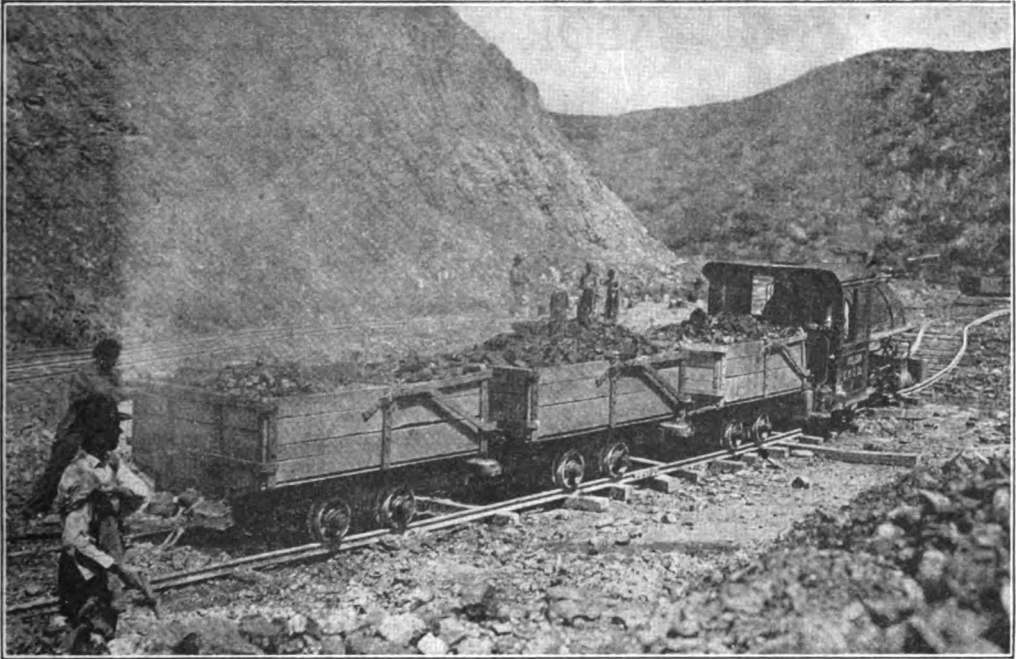
Altho it is difficult to get accurate figures on the exact ration between the cost of mining coal in open mines and the cost in the underground mines, it is pretty certain that the cost in the open mines is little more than half. This is not only due to the fact that the labor required in the open mines is less, and lower priced, but also to the fact that the insurance which the mine owners must carry on their men is much lower, and this is no small item.

In addition to this the coal is much better for many purposes, especially for smelting, than coal from deeper veins, and in the month of August was selling at from two fifty to three dollars a ton.

With the rapid extension of electric transmission lines from central plants in

Pittsburg and other places, it is probable that the cost of production will be considerably lessened, because electricity will be used in place of steam. This is due to the fact that a pound of coal burned under stoker-fed boilers and generating electricity by means of turbo generators will yield far more power at the mine than when burned there in inefficient boilers, and the steam then used in inefficient single-expansion hoisting engines or piped hundreds of feet to run pumping engines. This change has been made in the big underground shafts a few miles west of the strip pits just as fast as the transmission lines can be built, and there is no reason to believe that it will not be made here soon.

One tremendous disadvantage of this system of mining is that, unless some radical change is made in the process, these lands, formerly fertile and productive, will, for generations, be absolutely useless as far as agriculture is concerned. An abandoned strip pit looks much like a miniature mountain system with the main trench and the last lateral resembling a canyon. These, however, have an outlet so they become lakes in the spring during the wet weather, and the pools of stagnant water in the late

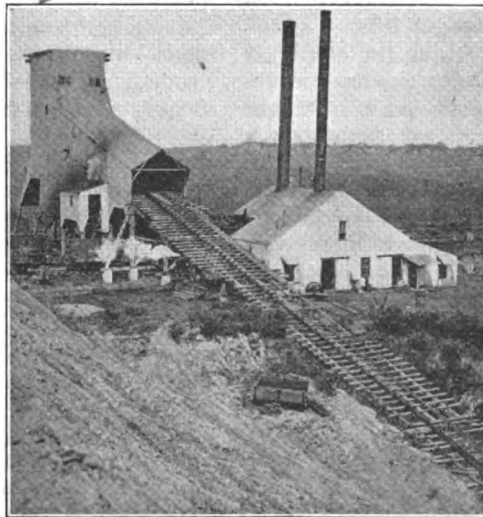


THE LOADED CARS ARE HAULED BACK TO THE TIPPLE BY SMALL DONKEY ENGINES, AND ON THE RETURN THE EMPTIES OF THE PREVIOUS TRIP ARE BROUGHT BACK

summer breed mosquitoes and ruin the health of the inhabitants for miles around.

Thus it can be seen that a machine which under a correct organization of society would raise the standard of living and shorten the hours of labor of the people as a whole, at the present merely displaces thousands of skilled men and fills their

places with a few unskilled laborers working at much lower wages. In addition to this, the people do not get the advantage of the increased efficiency, for the price of coal has only been lowered sufficiently to drive the underground mines out of business. The gains go to swell the dividends of the coal operators.



THE "TIPPLE" OR LOADING STATION

WAGE-LABOR AND CAPITAL

What are Wages, and How are They Determined?

By KARL MARX

IF WE were to ask the laborers "How much wages do you get?" one would reply, "I get a couple of shillings a day from my employer"; another, "I get half-a-crown," and so on. According to the different trades to which they belong they would name different sums of money which they receive from their particular employers, either for working for a certain length of time or for performing a certain piece of work; for example, either for weaving a yard of cloth, or for setting up a certain amount of type. But in spite of this difference in their statements there is one point in which they would all agree; their wages are the amount of money which their employer pays them, either for working a certain length of time or for a certain amount of work done.

Thus their employer, it would seem, buys their labor for money. For money they sell their labor to him. But this is mere appearance. What they really sell to the employer for money, is their labor-power. This labor-power the employer buys for a day, week, month, etc. And having bought it, he uses it by making the laborer work during a stipulated period of time. . . .

With the same sum for which the employer has bought their labor-power, as for instance, with a couple of shillings, he might have bought four pounds of sugar, or a proportionate amount of any other wares. The two shillings with which he buys the four pounds of sugar, are the *price* of four pounds of sugar. The two shillings with which he buys the use of labor-power for twelve hours, are the price of twelve hours' labor. Labor-power is therefore as much a commodity as sugar, neither more nor less, only they measure the former by the clock, the latter by the scale.

The laborers exchange their own commodity for their employers' commodity, labor-power for money; and this exchange takes place according to a fixed proportion. So much money for so long a use of labor-

power. For twelve hours' weaving, two shillings. And do not these two shillings represent all other commodities which I may buy for two shillings? Thus the laborer has, in fact, exchanged his own commodity, labor-power, for all kinds of other commodities, and that in a fixed proportion. His employer in giving him two shillings has given him so much meat, so much clothing, so much fuel, light, and so on, in exchange for his day's work. The two shillings, therefore, express the proportion in which his labor-power is exchanged for other commodities—the *exchange-value* of his labor-power; and the exchange value of any commodity expressed in *money* is called its *price*. *Wage* is therefore only another name for the price of labor-power, for the price of this peculiar commodity which can have no local habitation at all except in human flesh and blood.

Take the case of any workman, a weaver for instance. The employer supplies him with thread and loom. The weaver sets to work, and the thread is turned into cloth. The employer takes possession of the cloth and sells it, say for twenty shillings. Does the weaver receive as wages a *share* in the cloth—in the twenty shillings—in the product of his labor? By no means. The weaver receives his wages long before the product is sold. The employer does not, therefore, pay his wages with the money he will get for the cloth, but with money previously provided.

Loom and thread are not the weaver's product, since they are supplied by the employer, and no more are the commodities which he receives in exchange for his own commodity, or, in other words, for his work. It is possible that the employer finds no purchaser for his cloth. It may be that by its sale he does not recover the wages he has paid. It may be that in comparison with the weaver's wages he made a great bargain by its sale. But all this has nothing whatever to do with the weaver. The

employer purchases the weaver's labor with a part of his available property—of his capital—in exactly the same way as he has with another part of his property bought the raw material—the thread—and the instrument of labor—the loom. As soon as he has made these purchases—and he reckons among them the purchase of the labor necessary to the production of the cloth—he proceeds to produce it by means of the raw material and the instruments which belong to him. Among these last is, of course, reckoned our worthy weaver, who has a little share in the product, or in the price of the product, as the loom itself.

Wages, therefore, are not the worker's share of the commodities which he has produced. Wages are the share of commodities previously produced, with which the employer purchases a certain amount of productive labor-power.

Labor-power is, therefore, a commodity which its owner, the wage worker, sells to capital. Why does he sell it? In order to live.

But the expenditure of the labor-power, labor, is the peculiar expression of the energy of the laborer's life. And this energy he sells to another party in order to secure for himself the means of living. For him, therefore, his energy is nothing but the means of ensuring his own existence. He works to live. He does not count the work itself as a part of his life, rather is it a sacrifice of his life. It is a commodity which he has made over to another party. Neither is its product the aim of his activity. What he produces for himself is not the silk he weaves, nor the palace that he builds, nor the gold that he digs from out the mine. What he produces for himself is his *wage*; and silk, gold, and palace are transformed for him into a certain quantity of means of existence—a cotton shirt, some copper coins, and a lodging in a cellar. And what of the laborer, who for twelve hours weaves, spins, bores, turns, builds, shovels, breaks stones, carries loads and so on? Does his twelve hours' weaving, spinning, boring, turning, building, shoveling, and stone-breaking represent the active expression of his life? On the contrary. Life begins for him exactly where this activity of his ceases—at his meals, on the public house bench, in his bed. His twelve hours' work has no meaning for him

as weaving, spinning, boring, etc., but only as *earnings* whereby he may obtain his meals, his seat in the public house, his bed. If the silkworm's object in spinning were to prolong its existence as a caterpillar, it would be a perfect example of a wage worker.

Labor-power was not always a commodity. Labor was not always wage labor that is free labor. The slave does not sell his labor to the slave owner. The slave, along with his labor, is sold once for all to his owner. He is a commodity which can pass from the hand of one owner to that of another. He *himself* is a commodity, but his labor is not *his* commodity. The *serf* sells only a portion of his labor. He does not receive his wages from the owner of the soil; rather the owner of the soil receives a tribute from him. The serf belongs to the soil, and to the lord of the soil he brings its fruits. The *free laborer*, on the other hand, sells himself, and that by fractions. From day to day he sells by auction, eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his life to the highest bidder—to the owner of the raw material, the instruments of work and the means of life; that is, to the employer. The laborer himself belongs neither to an owner nor to the soil; but eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his daily life belong to the man who buys them. The laborer leaves the employer to whom he has hired himself whenever he pleases; and the employer discharges him whenever he thinks fit; either as soon as he ceases to make a profit out of him or fails to get as high a profit as he requires. But the laborer, whose only source of earning is the sale of his labor-power cannot leave *the whole class of its purchasers*, that is, the *capitalist class*, without renouncing his own existence. He does not belong to this or that particular employer, but he does belong to the *capitalist class*; and more than that; it is his business to find an employer; that is, among this capitalist class it is his business to discover his own particular purchaser.

Before going more closely into the relations between capital and wage-labor, it will be well to give a brief survey of those general relations which are taken into consideration in determining the amount of wages.

As we have seen, *wages* are the price of a certain commodity, labor-power. Wages

are thus determined by the same law which regulates the price of any other commodity.

Thereupon the question arises, how is the price of a commodity determined?

By what means is the price of a commodity determined?

By means of competition between buyers and sellers and the relations between supply and demand—offer and desire. And this competition by which the price of an article is fixed is threefold.

The same commodity is offered in the market by various sellers. Whoever offers the greatest advantage to purchasers is certain to drive the other sellers off the field, and secure for himself the greatest sale. The sellers, therefore, fight for the sale and the market among themselves. Every one of them wants to sell, and does his best to sell much, and if possible to become the only seller. Therefore, each outbids the other in cheapness, and a *competition* takes place *among the sellers* which *lowers the price of the goods* they offer.

But a *competition* also goes on *among the purchasers*, which on their side *raises the price* of the goods offered.

Finally competition is going on between buyers and sellers; the one set want to buy as cheap as possible, the other to sell as dear as possible. The result of this competition between buyers and sellers will depend upon the relations of the two previous aspects of the competition; that is, upon whether the competition in the ranks of the buyers or that in those of the sellers is the keener. Business thus leads two opposing armies into the field, and each of them again presents the aspect of a battle in its own ranks among its own soldiers. That army whose troops are least mauled by one another carries off the victory over the opposing host.

Let us suppose that there are a hundred bales of cotton in the market, and at the same time buyers in want of a thousand bales. In this case the demand is greater than the supply. The competition between the buyers will therefore be intense; each of them will do his best to get hold of all the hundred bales of cotton. This example is no arbitrary supposition. In the history of the trade we have experienced periods of failure of the cotton plant, when particular companies of capitalists have endeavored to purchase, not only a hundred

bales of cotton, but the whole stock of cotton in the world.

Therefore, in the case supposed each buyer will try to beat the others out of the field by offering a proportionately higher price for the cotton. The cotton sellers, perceiving the troops of the hostile host in violent combat with one another, and being perfectly secure as to the sale of all their hundred bales, will take very good care not to begin squabbling among themselves in order to depress the price at the very moment when their adversaries are emulating each other in the process of screwing it higher up. Peace is, therefore, suddenly proclaimed in the army of the sellers. They present a *united* front to the purchaser, and fold their arms in philosophic content; and their claims would be absolutely boundless if it were not that the offers of even the most pressing and eager of the buyers must always have some definite limit.

Thus if the supply of a commodity is not so great as the demand for it, the competition between the buyers is keen, but there is none, or hardly any, among the sellers. Result: A more or less important rise in the price of goods.

As a rule the converse case is of much more frequent occurrence, producing an opposite result. Large excess of supply over demand; desperate competition among the sellers; dearth of purchasers; forced sale of goods dirt cheap.

But what is the meaning of the rise and fall in prices? What is the meaning of higher price or lower price? A grain of sand is high when compared with a mountain. And if price is determined by the relation between supply and demand, how is the relation between supply and demand itself determined?

Let us turn to the first worthy citizen we meet. He will not take an instant to consider, but like a second Alexander the Great will cut the metaphysical knot by the help of his multiplication table. "If the production of the goods which I sell," he will tell us, "has cost me £100, and I get £110 by their sale—within the year, you understand—that's what I call a sound, honest, reasonable profit. But if I make £120 or £130 by the sale, that is a higher profit; and if I were to get a good £200, that would be an exceptional, an enormous

profit." What is it then that serves our citizen as the *measure* of his profit? The *cost of production* of his goods. If he receives in exchange for them an amount of other goods whose production has cost less, he has lost by his bargain. If he receives an amount whose production has cost more, he has gained. And he reckons the rise and fall of his profit by the number of degrees at which it stands with reference to his zero—the *cost of production*.

We have now seen how the changing proportion between supply and demand produces the rise and fall of prices, making them at one time high, at another low. If thru failure in the supply, or exceptional increase in the demand, an important rise in the price of a commodity takes place, then the price of another commodity must have fallen; for, of course, the price of a commodity only expresses in money the proportion in which other commodities can be exchanged with it. For instance, if the price of a yard of silk rises from five to six shillings, the price of silver has fallen in comparison with silk; and in the same way the price of all other commodities which remain at their old prices has fallen if compared with silk. We have to give a larger quantity of them in exchange in order to obtain the same quantity of silk. And what is the result of a rise in the price of a commodity? A mass of capital is thrown into that flourishing branch of business, and this immigration of capital into the province of the privileged business will last until the ordinary level of profits is attained; or rather, until the price of the products sinks, below the cost of production, thru overproduction.

Conversely, if the price of a commodity falls below the cost of its production, capital will be withdrawn from the production of this commodity. Except in the case of a branch of industry which has become obsolete, and is therefore doomed to disappear, the result of this flight of capital will be that the production of this commodity, and therefore its supply, will continually dwindle until it corresponds to the demand; and thus its price rises again to the level of the cost of its production; or rather, until the supply has fallen below the demand; that is, until its price has again risen above its cost of production; for *the price of any commodity is always either above or below its cost of production*.

We see, then, how it is that capital is always immigrating and emigrating, from the province of one industry into that of another. High prices bring about an excessive immigration, and low prices, an excessive emigration.

We might show from another point of view how not only the supply, but also the demand, is determined by the cost of production; but this would lead us too far from our present subject.

We have just seen how the fluctuations of supply and demand always reduce the price of a commodity to its cost of production. It is true that *the precise price of a commodity is always either above or below its cost of production; but the rise and fall reciprocally balance each other*, so within a certain period, if the ebb and flow of the business are reckoned up together, commodities are exchanged with one another in accordance with their cost of production; and thus their cost of production determines their price.

The determination of price by cost of production is not to be understood in the sense of the economists. The economists declare that the *average price* of commodities is equal to the cost of production; this, according to them, is a *law*. The anarchical movements in which the rise is compensated by the fall, and the fall by the rise, they ascribe to chance. With just as good a right, we might consider, like some other economists, the fluctuations as the law, and ascribe the fixing of price by cost of production to chance. But if we look closely, we see that it is precisely these fluctuations, altho they bring the most terrible desolation in their train, and shake the fabric of bourgeois society like earthquakes, it is precisely these fluctuations which in their course determine price by cost of production. In the totality of this disorderly movement is to be found its order. Thruout these alternating movements in the course of this industrial anarchy, competition, as it were, cancels one excess by means of another.

We gather, therefore, that the price of production, in such manner that the periods in which the price of this commodity rises above its cost of production are compensated by the periods in which it sinks below this cost, and conversely. Of course this does not hold good for one particular single particular product of an industry, but only

for that entire branch of industry. So also it does not hold good for a particular manufacturer, but only for the entire industrial class.

The determination of price by cost of production is the same thing as its determination by the duration of the labor which is required for the manufacture of a commodity; for cost of production may be divided into (1) raw material and implements; that is, products of industry whose manufacture has cost a certain number of days' work, and which therefore represent a certain amount of work-time, and (2) actual labor, which is measured by its duration.

Now, the same general laws, which universally regulate the price of commodities, regulate, of course, *wages, the price of labor.*

Wages will rise and fall in accordance with the proportion between demand and supply; that is, in accordance with the conditions of the competition between capitalists as buyers and laborers as sellers of labor. The fluctuations of wages correspond in general with the fluctuations in the price of commodities. *Within these fluctuations the price of labor is regulated by its cost of production, that is, by the duration of labor which is required in order to produce this commodity, labor-power.*

Now what is the cost of production of labor-power?

It is the cost required for the production of a laborer and for his maintenance as a laborer.

The shorter the time requisite for instruction in any labor, the less is the laborer's cost of production, and the lower are his wages, the price of his work. In those branches of industry which scarcely require any period of apprenticeship, and where the mere bodily existence of the laborer is sufficient, the requisite cost of his production and maintenance are almost limited to the cost of the commodities which are requisite to keep him alive and fit for work. *The price of his labor is therefore determined by the price of the bare necessities of his existence.*

Here, however, another consideration comes in. The manufacturer, who reckons up his expenses of production and determines accordingly the price of the product, takes into account the wear and tear of the machinery. If a machine costs him £200

and wears itself out in ten years, he adds £10 a year to the price of his goods, in order to replace the worn out machine by a new one when the ten years are up. In the same way we must reckon in the cost of production of simple labor the cost of its propagation; so that the race of laborers may be put in a position to multiply and to replace the worn out workers by new ones. Thus the wear and tear of the laborer must be taken into account just as much as the wear and tear of the machine.

The cost of production of simple labor amounts then to *the cost of the laborer's subsistence and propagation*, and the price of this cost determines his wages. When we speak of wages we mean *the minimum of wages*. This minimum of wages holds good, just as does the determination by the cost of production of the price of commodities in general, not for *the particular individual*, but for the *species*. Individual laborers, indeed millions of them, do not receive enough to enable them to subsist and propagate; but the *wages of the working class* with all their fluctuations are nicely adjusted to this minimum.

Now, that we are grounded on these general laws which govern wages just as much as the price of any other commodity, we can examine our subject more exactly.

"Capital consists of raw material, implements of labor, and all kinds of means of subsistence, which are used for the production of new implements and new means of subsistence. All these factors of capital are created by labor, are products of labor, are stored-up labor. Stored-up labor which serves as the means of new production is capital.

'So say the economists.

What is a negro slave? A human creature of the black race. The one definition is just as valuable as the other.

A negro is a negro. In certain conditions he is transformed into a slave. A spinning jenny is a machine for spinning cotton. Only under certain circumstances does it become capital. Outside these circumstances it is no more capital than gold is intrinsically money, or sugar is the price of sugar. In the work of production men do not stand in relation to nature alone, but also to each other. They only produce when they work together in a certain way and mutually enter upon certain relations and

conditions, and it is only within these relations and conditions that their relation to nature is defined, and production becomes possible.

These social relations upon which the producers mutually enter, the terms upon which they exchange their energies and take their share in the collective act of production, will of course differ according to the character of the means of production. With the invention of firearms as implements of warfare the whole organization of the army was of necessity altered; and with the alterations in the relations thru which individuals form an army, and are enabled to work together as an army, there was a simultaneous alteration in the relations of armies to one another.

Thus with an alteration and development of the material means of production, i. e., the powers of production, there will also take place a transformation of the social relations within which individuals produce, that is of the social relations of production. The relations of production collectively form these social relations which we call a society, and a society with definite degrees of historical development, a society with an appropriate and distinctive character. Ancient society, feudal society, bourgeois society, are instances of these sums total of the relations of production, each of which also marks out an important step in the historical development of mankind.

Now *capital* also is a social relation of production. It is a bourgeois relation of production, a condition of the production of a bourgeois society. Are not the means of subsistence, the implements of labor, and the raw material, of which capital consists, the results of definite social relations; were they not produced and stored up under certain social conditions? Will they not be used for further production under certain social conditions within definite social relations? And is it not just this definite social character that transforms into *capital* that product which serves for further production?

Capital does not consist of means of subsistence, implements of labor, and raw material alone, nor only of material products; it consists just as much of *exchange-values*. All the products of which it consists are commodities. Thus capital is not merely the sum of material products; it is a sum productive capital. The rapid increase of

commodities, of exchange values, of *social quantities*.

Capital remains unchanged if we substitute cotton for wool, rice for corn, and steamers for railways; provided only that the cotton, the rice, the steamers—the bodily form of capital—have the same exchange value, the same price, as the wool, the corn, the railways, in which it formerly embodied itself. The bodily form of capital may change continually, while the capital itself undergoes not the slightest alteration.

Every sum of exchange-values is an exchange value and inversely, each exchange value is a sum of exchange-value. For instance, a house worth a thousand pounds is an exchange-value of a thousand pounds. A penny-worth of paper is the sum of the exchange-values of a hundred-hundredths of a penny. Products which may be mutually exchanged are *commodities*. The definite proportion in which they are exchangeable form their *exchange value*, or expressed in money, their *price*. The amount of these products can do nothing to alter their definition as being *commodities*, or as representing an *exchange value*, or as having a certain *price*. Whether a tree be large or small, it remains a tree. Whether we exchange iron for other wares in ounces or in hundredweights that makes no difference in its character as a commodity possessing exchange-value. According to its amount it is a commodity of more or less value, with a higher or lower price.

How, then, can a sum of commodities, of exchange-values, become capital?

By maintaining and multiplying itself as an independent social power, that is, as the power of a portion of society, by means of its exchange for direct, living labor-power. Capital necessarily presupposes the existence of a class which possesses nothing but labor force.

It is the lordship of past, stored-up, realized labor over actual, living labor that transforms the stored-up labor into capital.

Capital does not consist in the fact that stored-up labor is used by living labor as a means to further production. It consists in the fact that living labor serves as the means whereby stored-up labor may maintain and multiply its own exchange-value.

What is it that takes place in the exchange between capital and wage-labor?

The laborer receives in exchange for his labor-power the means of subsistence; but

the capitalist receives in exchange for the means of subsistence—labor, the productive energy of the laborer, the creative force whereby the laborer not only replaces what he consumes, but also *gives to the stored-up labor a greater value than it had before*. The laborer receives from the capitalist a share of the previously provided means of subsistence. To what use does he put these means of subsistence? He uses them for immediate consumption. But as soon as I consume my means of subsistence, they disappear and are irrecoverably lost to me; it therefore becomes necessary that I should employ the time during which these means keep me alive in order to produce new means of subsistence, so that during their consumption I may provide for my labor new value in the place of that which thus disappears. But it is just this noble reproductive power which the laborer has to bargain away to capital in exchange for the means of subsistence which he receives. To him, therefore, it is entirely lost.

Let us take an example. A farmer gives his day laborer two shillings a day. For this two shillings the latter works throughout the day on the farmer's field, and so secures him a return of four shillings. The farmer does not merely receive back the value which he had advanced to the day laborer; he doubles it. He has spent or consumed the two shillings which he gave to the day laborer in a fruitful and productive fashion. He has bought for two shillings just that labor and force of the day laborer which produces fruits of the earth of twice the value, and turns two shillings into four. The day laborer, on the other hand, receives in place of his productive force, whose effects he has just bargained away to the farmer, two shillings; and these he exchanges for means of subsistence; which means of subsistence he proceeds with more or less speed to consume. The two shillings have thus been consumed in double fashion; productively for capital, since they have been exchanged for the labor force which produced the four shillings; unproductively for the laborer, since they have been exchanged for means of subsistence which have disappeared for ever, and whose value he can only recover by repeating the same bargain with the farmer. *Thus capital presupposes wage-labor and wage-labor presupposes*

capital; one is a necessary condition to the existence of the other; they mutually call each other into existence.

Does an operator in a cotton factory produce merely cotton goods? No. He produces capital. He produces values which give fresh command over his labor, and which, by means of such command, create fresh values.

Capital can only increase when it is exchanged for labor—when it calls wage-labor into existence. Wage-labor can only be exchanged for capital by augmenting capital and strengthening the power whose slave it is. *An increase of capital is therefore an increase of the proletariat, that is, of the laboring class.*

The interests of the capitalist and the laborer are therefore identical, assert the bourgeoisie and their economists. And, in fact, so they are! The laborer perishes if capital does not employ him. Capital perishes if it does not exploit labor, and in order to exploit it, it must buy it. The faster the capital devoted to production—the productive capital—increases, and the more successfully the industry is carried on, the richer do the bourgeoisie become, the better does business go, the more laborers does the capitalist require, and the dearer does the laborer sell himself.

Thus the indispensable condition of the laborer's securing a tolerable position is the *speediest possible growth of productive capital.*

But what is the meaning of the increase of productive capital? The increase of the power of stored-up labor over living labor. The increase of the dominion of the bourgeoisie over the laboring class. As fast as wage-labor creates its own antagonist and its own master in the dominating power of capital, the means of employment, that is, of subsistence, flow back to it from its antagonist; but only on condition that it convert itself anew into a portion of capital, and thus become the lever whereby the increase of capital may be again hugely accelerated.

Thus the statement that the interests of capital and labor are identical comes to mean merely this: Capital and wage-labor are the two sides of one and the same relation. The one conditions the other, just in the same way that the usurer and the borrower condition each other mutually.

So long as the wage laborer remains a wage laborer, his lot in life is dependent upon capital. That is the exact meaning of the famous community of interests between capital and labor.

The increase of capital is attended by an increase in the amount of wage-labor and in the number of wage laborers; or, in other words, the dominion of capital is spread over a larger number of individuals. And, to assume even the most favorable case, with the increase of productive capital there is an increase in the demand for labor. And thus wages, the price of labor, will rise.

A house may be large or small, but as long as the surrounding houses are equally small, it satisfies all social requirements of a dwelling place. But let a palace arise by the side of this small house, and it shrinks from a house into a hut. The smallness of the house now indicates that its occupant is permitted to have either very few claims or none at all; and however high it may shoot up with the progress of civilization, if the neighboring palace shoots up also in the same or in greater proportion, the occupant of the comparatively small house will always find himself more uncomfortable, more discontented, confined within his four walls.

A notable advance in the amount paid as wages presupposes a rapid increase of productive capital calls forth just as rapid an increase in wealth, luxury, social wants, and social comforts. Therefore, although the comforts of the laborer have risen, the social satisfaction which they give has fallen in comparison with these augmented comforts of the capitalists, which are unattainable for the laborer, and in comparison with the scale of general development society has reached. Our wants and their satisfaction have their origin in society; we therefore measure them in their relation to society, and not in relation to the objects which satisfy them. Since their nature is social, it is therefore relative.

As a matter of fact, wages are determined not merely by the amount of commodities for which they may be exchanged. They depend upon various relations.

What the laborer receives in the first place for his labor is a certain sum of money. Are wages determined merely by this money price?

In the sixteenth century the gold and silver in circulation in Europe was augmented in consequence of the discovery in America of mines which were relatively rich and could easily be worked. The value of gold and silver fell, therefore, in proportion to other commodities. The laborers received for their labor the same amount of silver coin as before. The money price of their labor remained the same, and yet their wages had fallen, for in exchange for the same sum of silver they obtained a smaller quantity of other commodities. This was one of the circumstances which furthered the increase of capital and the rise of the bourgeoisie in the sixteenth century.

Let us take another case. In the winter of 1847, in consequence of a failure of the crops, there was a notable increase in the price of the indispensable means of subsistence, as corn, meat, butter, cheese, and so on. We will suppose that the laborers still received the same sum of money for their labor-power as before. Had not their wages fallen then? Of course they had. For the same amount of money they received in exchange less bread, meat, etc.; and their wages had fallen, not because the value of silver had diminished, but because the value of the means of subsistence had increased.

Let us finally suppose that the money price of labor remains the same, while in consequence of the employment of new machinery, or on account of a good season, or for some similar reason, there is a fall in the price of all agricultural and manufactured goods. For the same amount of money the laborers can now buy more commodities of all kinds. Their wages have therefore risen, just because their money-value has not changed.

The money price of labor, the nominal amount of wages, does not therefore coincide with the real wages—that is, with the amount of commodities that may practically be obtained in exchange for the wages. Thus, if we speak of the rise and fall of wages, the money price of labor, or the nominal wage, is not the only thing which we must keep in view.

But neither the nominal wages—that is, the amount of money for which the laborer sells himself to the employer, nor yet the real wage; that is, the amount of commodities which he can buy for this money, ex-

haust the relations which are comprehended in the term of wages.

But wages are above all determined by their relation to the gain or profit of the capitalist. It is in this connection that we speak of *relative* wages.

The real wage expresses the price of labor in relation to the price of other commodities; the relative wage, on the contrary, expresses the proportionate share which living labor gets of the new values created by it, as compared to that which is appropriated by stored-up labor capital.

We said above, on another page: "Wages are not the worker's share of the commodities which he has produced. Wages are the share of commodities previously produced with which the employer purchases a certain amount of productive labor-power." But the amount of these wages the capitalist has to take out from the price which he realizes for the product created by the workman, and, as a rule, there remains yet for him a profit that is an excess over and above the cost of production, advanced by him. For the capitalist, then, the selling price of the commodity produced by the workman becomes divided into three parts: *the 1st*, to make up for the price of the advanced raw material and also for the wear and tear of the tools, machinery and other instruments of labor also advanced by him; *the 2d*, to make up for the wages advanced by him; *the 3rd*, the excess over and above these two parts, constitutes the profit of the capitalist. Whereas, the first part merely replaces values which had a *previous existence*, that part which goes to replace wages as well as the excess, which constitutes profits, are, as a rule, clearly taken out of *the new value created by the labor of the workman* and added to the raw material. And in *this sense* we may regard both wages and profits for the sake of comparison as shares of the product of the workman.

Real wages may remain the same, or they may even rise, and yet the relative wages may none the less have fallen. Let us assume, for example, that the price of all the means of subsistence has fallen by two-thirds, while a day's wages have only fallen one-third, as, for instance, from three shillings to two. Although the laborer has a larger amount of commodities at his disposal for two shillings than he had before for three, yet his wages are nevertheless

diminished in proportion to the capitalist's gain. The capitalist's profit—the manufacturer's, for instance—has been augmented by a shilling, since for the smaller sum of exchange-values which he pays to the laborer, the laborer has to produce a larger sum of exchange-values than he did before. The share of capital is raised in proportion to the share of labor. The division of social wealth between capital and labor has become more disproportionate. The capitalist commands a larger amount of labor with the same amount of capital. The power of the capitalist class over the laboring class is increased; the social position of the laborer has deteriorated and is depressed another degree below that of the capitalist.

What, then, is the general law which determines the rise and fall of wages and profit in their reciprocal relation?

They stand in inverse proportion to one another. The share of capital, profit, rises in the same proportion in which the share of labor, wages, sinks; and inversely. The rise in profit is exactly measured by the fall in wages and the fall in profit by the rise in wages.

The objection may perhaps be made that the capitalist may have gained a profit by advantageous exchange of his products with other capitalists, or by a rise in the demand for his goods, whether in consequence of the opening of new markets, or of a greater demand in the old markets; that the profit of the capitalist may thus increase by means of over-reaching another capitalist, independently of the rise and fall of wages and the exchange-value of labor-power, or that the profit of the capitalist may also rise through an improvement in the implements of labor, a new application of natural forces, and so on.

But it must nevertheless be admitted that the result remains the same, although it is brought about in a different way. To be sure, profits have not risen for the reason that wages have fallen, but wages have fallen all the same for the reason that profits have risen. The capitalist has acquired a larger amount of exchange-value with the same amount of labor, without having had to pay a higher price for the labor on that account; that is to say, a lower price has been paid for the labor in proportion to the net profit which it yields to the capitalist.

Besides, we must remember that, in spite

of the fluctuations in the price of commodities, the average price of each commodity—the proportion in which it exchanges for other commodities—is determined by its *cost of production*. The over-reaching and tricks that go on within the capitalist class therefore necessarily cancel one another. Improvements in machinery and new applications of natural forces to the service of production enable them to turn out in a given time with the same amount of labor and capital a larger quantity of exchange-values. If, by the application of the spinning-jenny, I can turn out twice as much thread in an hour as I could before its invention, for instance, a hundred pounds instead of fifty, then the consequence in the long run will be that I will receive in exchange for them no more commodities than before for fifty, because the cost of production has been halved, or because at the same cost I can turn out double the amount of products.

Finally, in whatsoever proportion the capitalist class—the bourgeoisie—whether of one country or of the world's market—share among themselves the net profits of production, the total amount of these net profits always consists merely of the amount by which, taking all in all, stored-up labor has been increased by means of living labor. This sum total increases, therefore in the proportion in which labor augments capital; that is, in the proportion in which profit rises as compared with wages.

Thus, we see that, even *if we confine ourselves to the relation between capital and wage-labor, the interests of capital are in direct antagonism to the interests of wage-labor*.

A rapid increase of capital is equal to a rapid increase of profits. Profits can only make a rapid increase if the exchange-value of labor—the relative wage—makes an equally rapid decline.

Relative wages may decline, altho the real wages rise together with nominal wages, or the money price of labor; if only it does not rise in the same proportion as profit. For instance, if when trade is good, wages rise five per cent., and profits on the other hand thirty per cent., then the proportional or relative wage has not *increased* but *declined*.

Thus, if the receipt of the laborer increases with the rapid growth of capital, yet at the same time there is a widening of the

social gulf which separates the laborer from the capitalist, and also an increase in the power of capital over labor and in the dependence of labor upon capital.

The meaning of the statement that the laborer has an interest in the rapid increase of capital is merely this: the faster the laborer increases his master's dominion, the richer will be the crumbs that he will get from his table; and the greater the number of laborers that can be employed and called into existence, the greater will be the number of slaves dependent upon capital.

We have thus seen that even *the most fortunate situation* for the working class, *the speediest possible increase of capital*, however much it may improve the material condition of the laborer, cannot abolish the opposition between his interests and those of the bourgeoisie or capitalist class. *Profit and wages* remain just as much as ever *in inverse proportion*.

When capital is increasing fast, wages may rise, but the profit of capital will rise much faster. The material position of the laborer has improved, but it is at the expense of his social position. The social gulf which separates him from the capitalist has widened.

Finally, the meaning of the most favorable condition of wage-labor, that is the quickest possible increase of productive capital, is merely this: The faster the working classes enlarge and extend the hostile power that dominates over them the better will be the conditions under which they will be allowed to labor for the further increase of bourgeois wealth and for the wider extension of the power of capital, and thus contentedly to forge for themselves the golden chains by which the bourgeoisie drags them into its train.

But are the increase of productive capital and the rise of wages so indissolubly connected as the bourgeois economists assert? We can hardly believe that the fatter capital becomes the more will its slave be pampered. The bourgeoisie is too enlightened and keeps its accounts much too carefully to care for that privilege of the feudal nobility, the ostentation of splendor among its retinue. The very conditions of bourgeois existence compel it to keep careful accounts.

We must therefore inquire more closely into the effect which the increase of productive capital has upon wages.

With the general increase of the productive capital of a bourgeois society a more manifold accumulation of labor takes place. The capitalists increase in number and size. The increase in the amount of capital increases the competition among capitalists. The increased size of individual capital gives the means of leading into the industrial battle-field mightier armies of laborers furnished with more gigantic implements of war.

The one capitalist can only succeed in driving the other off the field and taking possession of his capital by selling his wares at a cheaper rate. In order to sell more cheaply without ruining himself he must produce more cheaply—that is, he must increase as much as possible the productiveness of labor. But the most effective way of making labor more productive is by means of a more complete division of labor, by the more extended use and continual improvement of machinery. The larger the army of workmen, among whom the labor is divided, and the more gigantic the scale on which machinery is introduced, the more does the relative cost of production decline, and the more fruitful is the labor. Thus arises a universal rivalry among capitalists with the object of increasing the division of labor and machinery, and keeping up the utmost possible progressive rate of exploitation.

Now, if by means of a greater subdivision of labor, by the employment and improvement of new machines, or by the more skillful and profitable use of the forces of nature, a capitalist has discovered the means of producing a larger amount of commodities than his competitors with the same amount of labor, whether it be stored-up labor or direct—if he can, for instance, spin a complete yard of cotton in the time which it takes his competitor to spin half a yard—how will this capitalist proceed to act?

He might go on selling half a yard at its former market price; but that would not have the effect of driving his opponents out of the field and increasing his own sale. But the need of increasing his sale has increased in the same proportion as his production. The more effective and more expensive means of production which he has called into existence *enable* him, to be sure, to sell his wares cheaper, but they also *compel* him to *sell more wares* and to secure a *much larger market* for them. Our capitalist will

therefore proceed to sell his half a yard of cotton cheaper than his competitors.

The capitalist will not, however, sell his complete yard as cheaply as his competitors sell the half, altho its entire production does not cost him more than the production of half costs the others. For in this case he would gain nothing, but would only get back the cost of its production. The contingent increase in his receipts would result from his having set in motion a larger capital, but not from having made his capital more profitable than that of the others. Besides, he gains the ends he is aiming at if he prices his goods only a slight percentage lower than his competitors. He drives them off the field, and wrests from them, at any rate, a portion of their sale, if only he *undersells* them.

And, finally, we must remember that the price current always stands *either above or below the cost of production*, according as the sale of a commodity is transacted at a favorable or unfavorable period of business. According as the market price of a yard of cloth is above or below its former cost of production, the percentage will vary by which the capitalist, who has employed the new and more productive means of production, sells above his actual cost of production.

But our capitalist does not find his *privilege* very lasting. Other rival capitalists introduce, with more or less rapidity, the same machines and the same division of labor on the same or even more extended scale; and this introduction becomes general, until the price of the yard of cloth is reduced, not only below *its old*, but below *its new*, cost of production.

Thus the capitalists find themselves relatively in the same position in which they stood *before* the introduction of the new means of production; and if they are by these means enabled to offer twice the amount of products for the same price, they now find themselves compelled to offer double the amount for less than the old price. Starting from the new scale of production the old game begins anew. There is greater subdivision of labor, more machinery, and more rapid progress in the exploitation of both. Whereupon competition brings about the same reaction against this result.

Thus we see how the mode and means of production are continually transformed

and revolutionized, *and how the division of labor necessarily brings in its train a greater division of labor; the introduction of machinery a still larger introduction; and production on a large scale—production on a still larger scale.*

This is the law which continually drives bourgeois production out of its old track and compels capital to intensify the productive powers of labor for the very reason that it has already intensified them—the law that allows it no rest, but for ever whispers in its ear the word “Quick march !”

This is no other law than that which, canceling the periodical fluctuations of business, necessarily identifies the price of a commodity with its cost of production.

However powerful the means of production which a particular capitalist may bring into the field, competition will make their adoption general; and the moment it becomes general the sole result of the greater fruitfulness of his capital is that he must now, *for the same price*, offer ten, twenty, a hundred times as much as before. But as he must dispose of perhaps a thousand times as much in order to outweigh the decrease in the selling price by the larger amount of the products sold, since a larger sale has now become necessary, not only to gain a larger profit, but also to replace the cost of production—and the implements of production, as we have seen, always get more expensive—and since this larger sale has become a vital question, not only for him, but also for his rivals, the old strife continues, with *all the greater violence, the more fruitful the previously discovered means of production are. Thus the subdivision of labor and the employment of new machinery take a fresh start and proceed with still greater rapidity.*

And thus, whatever the power of the means of production employed, competition does its best to rob capital of the golden fruit which it produces by reducing the price of commodities to their cost of production—and as fast as their production is cheapened, compelling, as if by a despotic law, a continually larger supply of cheaper products to be offered at lower prices. Thus the capitalist will have nothing for his exertions beyond the obligation to produce during the same time an amount larger than before, and an enhancement of the difficulty of employing his capital to advantage.

While competition continually persecutes him with its law of the cost of production, and turns against himself every weapon which he forges against his rivals, the capitalist continually tries to cheat competition by incessantly introducing further subdivision of labor and replacing the old machines by new ones, which, tho more expensive, produce more cheaply, instead of waiting till competition has rendered them obsolete.

Let us now look at this feverish agitation as it affects the markets of the whole world, and we shall understand how the increase, accumulation and concentration of capital bring in their train an uninterrupted and extreme subdivision of labor, always advancing with gigantic strides of progress, and a continual employment of new machinery, together with improvement of the old.

But how do these circumstances, inseparable as they are from the increase of productive capital, affect the determination of the amount of wages?

The greater division of labor enables one laborer to do the work of five, ten, twenty; it therefore multiplies the competition among laborers, five, ten, or twenty times. The laborers do not only compete when one sells himself cheaper than another, they also compete when *one* does the work of five, ten, or twenty; and the *division of labor* which capital introduces and *continually increases*, compels the laborers to enter into this kind of competition with one another.

Further, in the same proportion in which the *division of labor* is increased, the labor itself is *simplified*. The special skill of the laborer becomes worthless. It is changed into a monotonous and uniform power of production, which gives play neither to bodily nor to intellectual elasticity. His labor becomes accessible to everybody. Competitors, therefore, crowd around him from all sides; and besides, we must remember that the more simple and easily learnt the labor is, and the less it costs a man to make himself master of it, so much the lower must its wages sink, since they are determined, like the price of every other commodity, by its cost of production.

Therefore, *exactly as the labor becomes more unsatisfactory and unpleasant, in that very proportion competition increases and wages decline.* The laborer does his best to maintain the rate of wages by performing more labor, whether by working for a

greater number of hours, or by working harder in the same time. Thus, driven by necessity, he himself increases the evil consequences of the subdivision of labor. So the result is this: *the more he labors the less reward he receives for it*; and that for the simple reason—that he competes against his fellow-workmen, and thus compels them to compete against him, and to offer their labor on as wretched conditions as he does; and that he thus, in the last result, competes against himself as a member of the working class.

Machinery has the same effect, but on a much larger scale. It supplants skilled laborers by unskilled, men by women, adults by children; where it is newly introduced it throws the hand-laborers upon the streets in crowds; and where it is perfected, improved or replaced by more powerful machines, discards them in slightly smaller numbers. We have sketched above, in hasty outlines, the industrial war of capitalists with one another; and the war has this peculiarity, that its battles are won less by means of enlisting than of discharging its industrial recruits. *The generals, or capitalists, vie with one another as to who can dispense with the greatest number of soldiers.*

The economists repeatedly assure us that the laborers who are rendered superfluous by the machine find *new* branches of employment.

They have not the hardihood directly to assert that the laborers who are discharged enter upon the new branches of labor. The facts cry out too loud against such a lie as this. They only declare that, for other divisions of the laboring class, as, for instance, for the rising generation of laborers who were just ready to enter upon the defunct branch of industry, new means of employment will open up. Of course that is a great satisfaction for the dismissed laborers. The worshipful capitalists will not find their fresh supply of exploitable flesh and blood running short and will let the dead bury their dead. This is indeed a consolation with which the bourgeois comfort *themselves* rather than the laborers. If the whole class of wage-laborers were annihilated by the machines, how shocking that would be for capital, which, without wage-labor, ceases to act as capital at all.

But let us suppose that those who are

directly driven out of their employment by machinery, and also all those of the rising generation who were expecting employment in the same line, find some *new employment*. Does anyone imagine that this will be as highly paid as that which they have lost? Such an idea would be *in direct contradiction to all the laws of economy*. We have already seen that the modern form of industry always tends to the displacement of the more complex and the higher kinds of employment by those which are more simple and subordinate.

How, then, could a crowd of laborers who are thrown out of one branch of industry by machinery find refuge in another without having to content themselves with a *lower position and worse pay*?

The laborers who are employed in the manufacture of machinery itself have been instanced as an exception. As soon as more machinery is demanded and used in industry it is said that there must necessarily be an increase in the number of machines, therefore in the manufacture of machines, and therefore also in the employment of laborers in this manufacture, and the laborers who are employed in this branch of industry will be skilled, and, indeed, even educated laborers.

Ever since the year 1840 this contention, which even before this time was only half true, has lost all its specious color. For the machines which are employed in the manufacture of machinery have been quite as numerous as those used in the manufacture of cotton; and the laborers who are employed in producing machines in the face of the extremely artful machinery used in this industry, have at best been able to play the part of highly artless machines.

But in the place of the man who has been discharged by the machine perhaps *three* children and *one* woman are employed to work it. And was it not necessary before that the man's wages should suffice for the support of his wife and children? Was not the minimum of wages necessarily sufficient for the maintenance and propagation of the race of laborers? What else does then the pet bourgeois argument prove, but that now the lives of four times as many laborers as before are used up in order to secure the support of one laborer's family.

To sum up: *the faster productive capital*

increases the more does the division of labor and the employment of machinery extend. The more the division of labor and the employment of machinery extend, so much the more does competition increase among the laborers, and so much the more do their average wages dwindle.

And, besides, the laboring class is recruited *from the higher strata of society*, as there falls headlong into it a crowd of small manufacturers and small proprietors, who thenceforth have nothing better to do than to stretch out their arms by the side of those of the laborers. And thus the forest of arms outstretched by those who are entreating for work becomes ever denser and the arms themselves grow ever leaner.

That the small manufacturer cannot survive in a contest whose first condition is production on a continually increasing scale—that is, for which the first prerequisite is to be a large and not a small manufacturer—is self-evident.

That the interest on capital declines in the same proportion as the amount of capital increases and extends, and that, therefore, the small capitalist can no longer live on his interest, but must join the ranks of the workers and increase the number of the proletariat—all this requires no further exemplification.

Finally, in the proportion in which the capitalists are compelled by the causes here

sketched to exploit on an ever-increasing scale yet more gigantic means of production, and with that object to set in motion all the mainsprings of credit, in the same proportion is there an increase of those earthquakes during which the business world can only secure its own existence by the sacrifice of a portion of its wealth, its products, and even its power of production to the gods of Hades—in a word, in the same proportion do crises increase. They become at once more frequent and more violent; because in the same proportion in which the amount of production, and therefore the demand for the extension of the market, increases, the market of the world continually contracts, and ever fewer markets remain to be exploited; since every previous crisis has added to the commerce of the world a market which was not known before, or had before been only superficially exploited by commerce. But capital not only *lives* upon labor. Like a lord, at once distinguished and barbarous, it drags with it to the grave the corpses of its slaves and whole hecatombs of laborers who perish during crises. Thus we see, that, *if capital increases fast, competition among the laborers increases still faster; that is, the means of employment and subsistence decline in proportion at a still more rapid rate; and yet, none the less, the most favorable condition for wage labor lies in the speedy increase of capital.*

ANNOUNCEMENT

This issue of the Review is ten days late on account of our not having received word from Washington regarding mailing privileges. We have therefore decided to combine the November and December numbers. This will give us plenty of time to bring out a bang-up big January number not later than December 5th.

NEWS FROM GERMANY

By William E. Bohn

NOW and again stories of hunger riots leak out of Germany. Before America entered the war authentic witnesses would now and then bring to us tales of privation. On the other hand, there have been official proclamations of plenty—and occasionally a traveler has told us that food is cheaper in Berlin than in New York.

Because of the fragmentary and unreliable character of our news from Germany any story that possesses a satisfying touch of reality is thrice welcome. In this class belongs an interview published in *l'Humanité* on September 1. M. De Winné, son of the editor, had been interned in Germany since the beginning of the war. He had been taken over a good part of northern Germany and had been put to work in many different establishments. His observations were wide and various.

The first question put to him was about food. "The Germans of Hanover and Rhenish Prussia," he said, "are badly fed and clothed. Their condition is so bad that that of the prisoners seems happy by comparison. Several times starved Germans manifested their discontent when they saw supplies destined for us being taken thru the street. One day at Soltan a wagonload of bread being brought to us was attacked by the famished population and German soldiers had to protect our food. Women and children hung about our camps begging for food or collecting bits of food from our garbage. They would steal meat tins in order to scrape off the bits of grease which adhered to them. Certain commodities have become so rare that they cannot be procured at any price. German officers proposed to buy our soap at the rate of 25 marks a bar! At Aix-la-Chapelle an invalid in a hospital offered one of my comrades 20 marks for a pound of chocolate. In that hospital there was not even a bit of cotton with which to bandage a wound. Newspapers were urging their readers to bury their dead in paper shirts!

In the country there is less suffering. I worked on a farm at Hamelin. I was well

fed on eggs and milk. The farmers have provisions. But they hold them at famine prices and the city dwellers complain bitterly.

A terrible depression broods over the cities. The streets are deserted. You hardly meet an able-bodied man unless it is a soldier home on leave. Nothing but aged and cripples, women and children. Many of the children are barefooted and exhibit signs of suffering. The bakeries and meat markets are closed. If a store is open you will find on sale hardly anything but some dried herring and a few lemons. Even in great cities like Cologne autos and carriages have almost disappeared; their places are taken by ox carts."

Asked about the spirit of the German people, M. De Winne said: "The Germans believe firmly that they were attacked and that they are fighting for their lives. This is true, not merely among the people, but also among intellectual men like physicians and officers. I have talked with many of them. Impossible tho it may seem, I believe absolutely in their sincerity.

"Let no one suppose that the patriotism of the Germans is less ardent than that of the French or the English. For the triumph of Germany they will make every sacrifice. I was with a mother when she received the news that her third son had been killed. She cried: 'It is for the fatherland.'"

And are the Germans still as certain of victory as they were at the start? "I did not meet a single person who entertained a doubt. But they have become alarmed at the results of the blockade and are rendered more conciliatory. During the first days of the war even the working men had enormous appetites for the fruits of victory. They demanded annexations to east and west. Even at present they still consider the central powers invincible, but as they see one power after another rising against them they begin to see that there is no end to the task which they have set themselves. They are wearied out and feel a great need of peace. They pretend that the Americans will not be of the least military assistance

to the allies. 'What have we done to raise the hatred of the entire world against us?' a physician asked me.

"German working people denounce the

military caste and the crown prince. The minority Socialists are very popular among the working people. Liebknecht is to them an idol and a martyr."

LABOR NOTES

Agricultural Workers

THE convention of the A. W. I. U. No. 400 convened at 9:30 a. m. October 15 with about 150 members present, and adjourned October 17, 1917. Mat K. Fox was chairman of the proceedings and M. G. Bresnan recording secretary. C. W. Anderson was elected secretary-treasurer. Mat K. Fox, O. E. Gordon, M. Sapper, W. Francik, James Rohn, Louis Melis and M. G. Bresnan is the new organization committee. The convention sent greetings to all members of the I. W. W. and all class war prisoners. The A. W. I. U. No. 400 has pledged all support possible to those indicted on federal charges.

It has been suggested that all members of No. 400 donate one day's wages toward the defense of the men in jail. Members in Chicago have already voted to do this.

From the Sacramento Valley comes the report that bumper crops are the expectation for the bean and rice growers. Shortage of labor is becoming acute. Wages are low according to the high cost of living. Workers are dissatisfied, discontent is becoming greater, and spontaneous strikes are accruing in numerous localities of these two industries. Delegates are needed by the hundreds to get into this field and organize the workers. Remember, one good man on the job is worth a dozen off the job. Everybody place your shoulder to the wheel and make this year the banner year for the agricultural workers in California. This harvest will last up to the rainy season of winter. Larger wages can be gotten by a little determination. — C. W. Anderson, Sec'y-Treas., Minneapolis, Minn., Box 1776.

Butte and Anaconda Strike

FOUR months we have been on the firing line. It has been one of the greatest battles ever waged on the industrial field, and when we have won (which we will, and that shortly) the mine owners will know that they have been thru some battle. They will think twice the next time before trying to place their heel on the miner's neck. They have run over this community for so long they thought it was theirs to do with as they pleased, without question.

Here's to him of the hot-box, with the courage and strength to have rudely jarred and punctured their arrogant dream. To him is due a debt of gratitude for having questioned the right of the plutocrats to run over this community and state rough-shod; out of it is going to issue not only betterment for ourselves underground, but social and political betterment for the community and state.

Hold the fort, boys; victory is in sight. Bell, Diamond, East Colusa, Rarus and Alice mines went down tight Tuesday night. Reason? No miners. The rest will have to close in a few days. There is no more room in the hospitals for the greenhorns with which the big push has been trying to carry on the big farce of pretending to produce copper. Just hold on a few days more, boys, and the big push will, in this stunt, as they have in everything they have tried to pull since this strike began—hang themselves.

Not a wheel moving in Great Falls. Some joke, this thing of trying to kid themselves into the idea that their pen-pushers in the editorial offices can dig copper with a lead pencil. Nothing doing; nobody home, with the people who indulge in such childish foolishness.

Meanwhile, what about the burning pat-

rot-ism of our dear plutes that we have had fired at us from their untiring editorial batteries? Of course, we know they are mighty anxious to produce copper for our Uncle Sammy, providing the 400 per cent excess profits are forthcoming. This is some pat-rot-ism all right, all right—about 400 per cent worth. If the plutes love their Uncle Sammy as much as they pretend—editorially—our just demands will be granted without further delay, and the miners will all return to work and dig the much needed copper. But not till then.

We don't blame the plutes for having a fit of pat-rot-ism when there is 400 per cent excess profits behind it.

Now, Uncle Sam, we miners of Butte have a proposition to put before you.

If you will conscript these mines, and the smelters, and the refineries, as you have conscripted the bodies of our brother workers, for the period of the war, we, the miners, will abolish all the conditions of which we complain that exist underground; we will fully safeguard our lives; we will ventilate these mines, thereby increasing our efficiency; we will lay all the dust, the cause of miners' consumption; we will abolish the blacklist system, and we will grant the \$6 a day demanded. We will go that one better—we will make it \$7 a day, and we will pay to the stockholders good, fat returns on the money invested. Not only that, we will do better by them than they have been done by the past year—we will get the mines back to normal production in short order. Not only that, we will clean this community of all its human scum and make it a fit place in which to live. Further, we will wager that we can reduce the cost of copper production very materially.

Now, Uncle Sam, we are willing, and anxious, to show you what we can do. If you will do your little part, we will do the rest.

We are putting up to you a concrete proposition; we mean every word of it. We want to show you that dense ignorance, inefficiency, incapacity, and downright foolishness has marked the handling of these mines during their development, and the fact that they have been developed at all is due to their richness, and in spite of pure bullheadedness and unscientific handling.—Metal Mine Workers' Unions of Butte and Anaconda.

The Lumber Strike

THERE appears to be no question but that the strike-on-the-job tactics of the lumber workers of the Northwest are proving more effective as the lumber workers become more acquainted with this form of striking.

The crew of the Milwaukee Lumber Company at Alder Creek has gained the eight-hour day; wages \$3.50 low. This crew is over one hundred strong and donated \$253.75 for the defense of the Idaho cases. The crew is 90 per cent organized and will be 100 per cent in the immediate future. This camp is fitted up with wash rooms with hot and cold water. The next camp built for this company is going to be built to suit the workers. This is an example of what can be accomplished with solidarity on the job, and can be repeated in every camp of the Northwest.

Howard's camp at Alder Creek is also working eight hours. Twelve men from this camp donated \$47 for the Idaho cases. The camp is 100 per cent organized.

At the Inland Empire Paper Company's camp at Addie, Idaho, conditions are reported to be fairly good, but delegates are badly needed to line up the unorganized there. The crew is working about eight hours on this job. At this camp there are electric lights, shower and tub baths, blankets and pillows, and the sheets are changed once a week. Some improvement over the old lousy conditions, eh? you blanket-carrying jacks of the Northwest. But of course the I. W. W. had nothing to do with the improved conditions, not a bit—the companies are changing the conditions entirely from philanthropic motives—yes, they are!

At Haugan, Mont., one camp of the Mann Lumber Company has granted the eight-hour day, and a number of jipo camps on the Marble Creek have also given in to the workers' demand that eight hours is enough time to slave on any job. Among the camps on the Marble Creek granting the eight-hour day is Nelson and Kelso, and another named Dary, the latter being a cedar job.

McGill's camp at Usk, Wash., is working eight hours, there being thirty-two men employed. There is room for a few more. The grub is reported to be fair and spring mattresses have been installed in the bunk

houses. The work in this camp is not very heavy, the timber being scattered. The station for this camp is on the Newport branch.

Big Lake: About fifteen men in this camp. Crew blew the whistle at 4 p. m. The boss got peeved, but we should worry.

Bloedell-Donovan camp: Thirty men came out of this camp for the eight hours. Camp badly crippled. No doubt the next crew will get their demands granted.

Snohomish: At Maltby, eighty men came out for the eight-hour day and now the bull of the woods is looking for another crew. A few stunts like this are sure to prove productive of results.

Wagner & Wilson Company is looking for a ten-hour crew. Eight-hour wobblies, take notice.

From Hoquiam comes reports that the Carlisle Company's mill had to shut down for lack of logs. In normal times this mill gets out thirty cars a day, but they are lucky to get five now. The strike-on-the-job, the delegate states, is hitting the bosses an awful jolt and is sure to "get the bacon" in time.

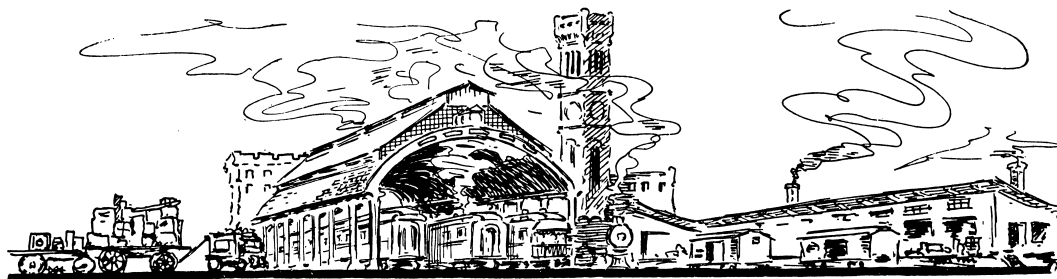
At the Milwaukee Lumber Company's camp at St. Maries sixteen men worked on the flume for three and a half days on the eight-hour basis. After this nine men walked off the job for refusing to work overtime.

McMurray & Company is looking for a ten-hour crew, and it is understood that

the Sound Timber Company started operations, or at least tried to do so, last Monday.

The bonus system is in vogue at Cobb & Healy's outfit. The men are reported to be working eight hours. There are a few wobblies on this job.

Comes news from Tacoma that a certain pile driver crew working on bridge work discovered that ten-hour lumber was being used, and all members of the crew decided to quit rather than use scab lumber, which they did. At a meeting held in their hall a few hours later, their "business" agent, a member of the labor council and the commissioner of public works decided that the pile driver crew should return to work, ten or twenty-hour lumber, which the crew subsequently did. We feel sorry for the rank and file of this so-called labor organization, and look forward to the time when continued stunts of this kind will be instrumental in causing them to awaken to the fact that their organization is a joke, as did the Metal Mine Workers of Anaconda and Butte several months ago, and line up with a real democratic organization, the officers of which are no more empowered to order the members back to any job than is the newest initiated member of its rank and file; one big, virile organization which teaches the full significance of solidarity of labor, and having taught it, puts the teaching into practice.—Fred Hegge, Box 2217, Spokane, Wash., Press Committee.



(Continued from page 267)

the further to the Left you go the worse they get. That is to say, the more furiously they believe in the Up-Rooting and Come-Outing! The man that sits next to the window on that side is from the head waters of Up-Rooting and Come-Outing and is so hot that he threatens perennially to break into flames.

But as you move to the Right the temperature falls. On the extreme Right sit what are called the Conservatives. These are men who in the United States would be looked upon as extremely dangerous and incendiary and to be blacklisted by a respectable press. They believe in the Revolution, but think it has already attained to most of the objects it desired.

Between the extreme Left and the extreme Right is the real driving force of the Council, the men who want the Revolution to sweep on and do many more things that ought to be done, but are unwilling to see it miscue and lose what it has already gained. That is, they want all that can be had out of this thing, but they are not plumb dead to reason about it.

Left and Right mean looking from the platform; it is the chairman's left or right.

Those Come-Outing gentlemen on the extreme Left are the famous Bolshevics, once with Lenine for their leader. The Menshevics occupy the Center; next to them come the Trudevics and then come the men on the Right who think the Up-Rooting and Come-Outing already done is a fine job and doesn't need any more than some general tinkering.

I think there is a man in Russia that can name all the Russian political parties and give a succinct account of what each stands for. I know there is a man in Russia that can play ten games of chess blindfolded, and therefore I am prepared to believe in the existence of even a greater intellectual prodigy. But I never saw him nor heard of him nor heard of anybody that had heard of him. If I can find him I am going to bring him home as a successor to Griffith, the mathematical marvel. In a general way the average visitor is able to garner the precious fact that there are a great many parties, and the differences between their principles is often very slight, but beyond that the water begins to shoal rapidly. I know in a general way that among the important parties there is first the Social Democratic Party, then the Social Revolutionist

Party, then the People's Socialist Party, then the People's Liberty Party, then the Cadet or Constitutional Democratic party, and then others that are like the sands of the sea for multitude. The two great parties of the country are the Social Democratic and the Social Revolutionist. So far as the finite mind can learn they are practically identical creeds. I don't know what they can find to fight about, but it doesn't matter anyway. The real fight is not between them, but within them. Like this:

The Socialist Democratic Party is split between its Bolshevics and its Menshevics. The Socialist Revolutionist Party is split between its Maximalists and Minimalists. Bolshevics and Maximalists are the same; Menshevics and Minimalists are the same. The quarrel is between the Bolshevics-Maximalists on one side and Menshevics-Minimalists on the other, and has more than once threatened to rend the National Council asunder.

What do they quarrel about?

Now here is the biggest fact in all Russia and the thing that makes the play understandable:

The Bolshevics-Maximalists are Syndicalists and want the Government to take over all the factories, banks, land and utilities at once.

The Menshevics-Minimalists want the Government to take over all the factories, banks, land and utilities, but not at once, because they do not believe the present time is propitious. Practically, that is all.

Bolshevics-Maximalists and Menshevics-Minimalists make up the greater part of the National Council.

A Constitutional Assembly will before long be at work to devise and adopt a national constitution for Russia. If it shall be made up like the National Council this world will certainly see some astonishing things in the way of a constitution.

That being the case, the idea of Americans or English coming here to take by the hand these simple children of nature and lead them up to the primary principles of democracy as enunciated by Thomas Jefferson and Lloyd George is the gigantic joke of the ages.

For Bolshevics and Menshevics, Maximalists and Minimalists, are agreed and fully determined upon one thing likely to give all the rest of us a jolt.

Democracy means to them industrial

democracy just as much as it means political democracy.

But the rest of the world has progressed only to the point where it glimpses political democracy. How about that?

Doubtless these must be unpalatable facts, since so much effort has been made to conceal them. I do not know how that will help. We have a situation in Russia (our Ally, remember) that may mean a million American lives and fifteen or twenty billion American dollars, and it seems to be common sense to try to understand it. Well, then, here is the final key to it:

The Revolution in Russia was not primarily political; it was economic. It wasn't so much that the people were sick of a preposterous and moldy despotism. They wanted something to eat.

They wanted bread and they knew why they didn't have it and they knew how to get it.

Exactly. That was the heart of the matter then. It is the heart of the matter now.

About the supplying of daily bread and about other essential features in the life of the toilers and producers of the country, these people in the mass have absorbed radical doctrines in favor of a system very different from any system now in use elsewhere in the world. And, as I have before pointed out, it is persons of this conviction that make up practically the whole of the National Council, the ruling power of Russia.

Therefore—a word in your ear. Keep an eye on Russia. There is likely to be something doing.

How comes this dominating force to be saturated with a new social philosophy, not simple, not rudimentary, and not much grasped as yet by the rest of mankind? Here, you may well say, is wonder. That in the old poisonous day of darkness and autocracy, when the gag was on every man's lip, the police agent listening at every man's door, the government watching every press, the chill fear of Siberia in every heart, illiteracy a paralyzing cloud over the whole land, and still there should spread widely among the people, by stealth and mostly by word of mouth, such an economic and social creed—can you equal that in your reading?

I say, then, that you can hardly put a limit on the possibilities of such a people. When they get started they will amaze us all.

But—you are to remember two things: This social philosophy unfortunately lays the country wide open to German spies, agents, influence and deviltry, and we ourselves have had some cause to know what that means.

Second, having these vast dreams of social betterment filling and absorbing all the active and leading minds, they don't care much for this war. It blocks their way. They can't see their dreams realized so long as this thing is hanging around. So then, shall they brace up and go in to make a swift end by energetic fighting? No, because they construe their altruistic creed to contain an injunction against all war; and again No, because under it the Germans are their brothers; and again No, because Germans assume to be the high-priests and apostles of it—titular.

It suits the German propaganda, most extraordinary achievement of German cunning—this soft and sentimental pliability of the Russian mind. It has not occurred to the typical Russian reformer that if Germany is not defeated all of his dreams will come smashing down in irretrievable defeat. All he can see is Russia, the first country in the world with a chance to establish industrial democracy, and the stupid, senseless war standing in the way.

And it does not the slightest good to appeal to him on the ground that his country has sacred obligations to its Allies. Here is where, with the best intentions, the British have gone hopelessly to wreck in Russia. They don't understand; perhaps they can't understand. They have invariably assumed that the present Russia ought to feel obliged to carry out the undertakings of Imperial Russia, dead and gone forever. At first this makes a Russian laugh; then, as he thinks of the gulf that separates old Russia from new Russia, it makes him mad.

I don't see how you can blame him.

But while we are discoursing thus the Council is at work. It is very different from the House of Representatives or the House of Commons; therein, likely, is some of its sin in the eyes of the unbending Briton. Taking together the voting and fraternal delegates there are more than a thousand of them. None of them sleeps, talks, reads newspapers or moves wearily about while the proceedings are on. All of them sit and attend upon every word. The speeches are always short; if an alien may assume to

judge they are likewise always full of pith and matter. Tschaidse, that extraordinary, hawk-eyed, cold-blooded person, of whom I must tell you more hereafter, watches inscrutably from the chairman's desk. He has no gavel; instead, as the emblem of authority, he uses a rather formidable bell. He can discern in advance when disorder is threatening. At the first sign of it he rings his bell. Then the disorder ceases.

A delegate is at the rostrum making a speech now. He has a round, close-cropped head, a sunburned visage, and the big brown veinous hands of labor. He wears the soldier's tunic and high boots and looks as if he might but now have emerged from the trenches. After listening a little my interpreter tells me the man is a peasant, unlettered and probably illiterate. Among the delegates are twenty that cannot read or write. Maybe he is one of these.

Yet he is speaking with an astonishing fluency, never hesitating for a word. He has all the resources most orators obtain by laborious study and effort. He knows how to produce effects. He modulates his voice to suit his thought, he deals in sarcasm, makes his hearers laugh or be serious, builds in his climaxes. Now he starts upon his peroration. Steadily he carries it along, up and up until he bursts over his listeners a magnificent torrent of emotion and they are upon their feet, cheering.

I will add one other fact for your deliberate heeding, if you will be so good.

The police system of Russia, in the old *régime*, was the most elaborate, extensive, complete and perfect police system ever devised. Of a sudden it was abolished—utterly, and without a remaining fragment, abolished. Nothing took its place, you might say. A few men in citizen's clothes volunteered as militia, a white band on the left arm as the only insignia of office, often without even a club as a weapon.

But without any police force, Petrograd, having more than 2,000,000 inhabitants, remained and remains one of the most orderly and peaceful cities, more orderly and peaceful than any great city in America.

With such a capacity for self-discipline, self-restraint and a decent respect for the rights of others, where would you limit the future of these people?

Provided always the German steam-crusher does not hammer them down nor that German intrigue does not produce among them the civil war at which it now aims.

But as to these contingencies, much debated in some quarters, this old world has seen many strange things, but nothing so strange as that democracy should be the means of the death of democracy. Nothing, I mean, so strange as that the downfall of the horrible autocracy of old Russia should be the means of securing the supremacy of the equally abominable autocracy of Germany.

Otherwise, Shrinking Souls everywhere may lay aside their fears about this country and look up with reasonable confidence. Russia will remain free and democratic: there will be no more chance of a backward lapse into the old abysm than there is of a monarchy in America.

Finally, all the great peoples of the world have soared to their highest achievements from some period of national stress, danger or upheaval. From these dark, straining days free and democratic Russia will rise to dazzling heights to do things beyond the records of any other people whatsoever.

Even now, look at its literature! Think of its music!

(Reprinted by special permission of "Hearst's" Magazine. Further articles on Russia by Mr. Russell will appear in November "Hearst's" and future numbers.)





EDITORIAL

The New Censorship Law. An amendment slipped into the "Trading With the Enemy" act by the conference committee of the Senate and House of Representatives, and hastily rushed thru without discussion on the floor of either house, gives the Postmaster General power to stop the circulation of any periodical that displeases him. Under the former law he could bar a periodical from the mails, but could not interfere with its circulation thru other channels. Now he can prohibit express companies from transporting and newsdealers and others from selling or distributing any periodical to which he objects, and can enforce his orders by heavy fines and even imprisonment. He has given out an interview, stating that he has no intention of discriminating against Socialist periodicals as a class. But up to this time he has stopped the *American Socialist*, *The Masses* and the *Milwaukee Leader*, and has notified the *New York Call* and *Solidarity* to show cause why their mailing privileges should not be taken away.

The Review and the Censorship. Our June, July and September issues have been officially declared unmailable, no reason being given. Our August issue was allowed to pass, after taking out three paragraphs from an article entitled "The Firing Line," reprinted from the *Chicago Daily News*. No ruling could be obtained from Washington on our October issue, but the Chicago postmaster has refused permission to mail it. Neither that issue nor this November issue contains anything contrary to the laws of the United States, but apparently certain officials of the administration think the war efficiency of the nation can be promoted by suppressing free discussion, and have decided to act accordingly.

Watch the Election Returns. Only minor elections will be held on Novem-

ber 6, but they will be enough to show which way the wind blows. In New York City the big dailies are for Mitchell, who by the way is a good mayor by capitalist standards. Morris Hillquit is the Socialist candidate. The usual Socialist vote for mayor is about 25,000. If Mitchell wins and the Socialist vote does not increase, the censorship policy will be vindicated. Watch the returns. In Chicago only judges are to be elected. The two old parties have each nominated only half a ticket instead of contesting the election as usual. The Socialists have a full ticket, and the *Chicago Daily News* comes out with a frantic editorial urging good citizens to rally to the polls lest the Socialists be elected. The usual Socialist vote in Chicago is about 30,000. If it is less the censorship wins out. Watch the returns. All over the country the old parties are giving tacit or open approval to the policy of censorship. The Socialists alone oppose it at the polls. If the Socialist vote decreases, it will be manifest that Americans like censorship. Watch the returns, but first drop your own ballot.

A Lesson from England. When the war began, the British government tried to speed up work on war munitions by crushing the unions and forcing the workers to labor long hours under conditions fixed by the profit-making employers. This proved a failure and the government backed down. It was found that shorter hours and higher wages increased the output of ammunition. The I. W. W. here stands in the position of the British unions in 1915. It is the rallying point of the underpaid and overworked laborers. Its immediate aim is to obtain for all laborers just such wages and hours as experts know will make them most efficient. Thus their "immediate demands" are really in line with the war

policy of the government, and if President Wilson's subordinates were as intelligent as the President himself, the I. W. W. would just now be encouraged, not persecuted. True, the ultimate aim of the I. W. W., like that of the Socialists, is to take away the power of the capitalist class and let the workers control the machinery and the product of their labor. But great masses of workers do not go on strike for theories or for dreams of the future. If the government officials really want to win the war, they can do so by releasing the I. W. W. prisoners, by raising wages and shortening hours in industries where strikes are threatened, and in general by treating the workers so well while the war lasts that they will not want to strike. But what will happen after the war? That is another story. We will answer when the censorship is removed.

Universal Military Service. This is an issue raised by the Chicago Tribune and other patriotic newspapers. They urge that all American boys as they reach the

age of nineteen or twenty should be conscripted for a year or more of military training, not simply during the war, but as a permanent policy in times of peace. The New Republic, which supports the war, nevertheless sees and argues that such a policy would make the Germans fight to the last ditch and would immensely decrease the chance of a general disarmament when the great war is over. President Wilson has by his public utterances won the support of many who hate war, but believe that this is a "war to end war." This it can readily be if the United States will take its stand squarely with the Russian commonwealth for an international policy that will take away the motive for future wars. But such a stand would be manifestly insincere if it were accompanied by preparations for universal military service in time of peace, with a view to building up a great war machine for future use. Here is one issue that we as Socialists should not fail to meet in future campaigns, until the project is abandoned.

GREATEST OF ALL SOCIALIST BOOKS **Marx's CAPITAL**

You can be a Socialist without reading CAPITAL, but you cannot talk or write about Socialism, nor hold your own in debates with old-party politicians, without a clear understanding of the principles and theories which are explained in this book.

Until a few years ago, only one volume could be had in the English language, and that in an inferior edition. Then this publishing house took hold and published the entire work in three magnificent volumes, strongly bound in library cloth, with gold stamping.

VOLUME I, entitled "**The Process of Capitalist Production**," is practically complete in itself. It explains the thing which, up to the time that Marx came on the scene, had confused all the economists, namely, **Surplus Value**. It explains exactly how the capitalist extracts his profits. This volume might be called the keystone of the Socialist arch. 869 pages, **\$2.00**.

VOLUME II, "**The Process of Circulation of Capital**," explains the part that the merchant and the banker play in the present system, and the laws that govern social capital. Unravels knots in which previous writers had become entangled. 618 pages, **\$2.00**.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Certificates for Freedom. The General Defense Committee of the Industrial Workers of the World is having engraved 166 Certificates for Freedom. These Certificates are for \$100.00 each, and there will be but 166 of them, one for each of the men and women who have been indicted. They will not be numbered, but each Certificate will bear the autograph of some one of the 166 men or women who have been indicted for their devotion to the working class.

There will perhaps be many who will contribute \$100.00 each for the defense of those who must stand trial for being true. Why not invest the \$100.00 at once for one of these autographed Certificates, and have a beautiful record of your contribution?

The design is being made by a Chicago artist as a part of his contribution to the Defense and the Certificates will be ready to mail in a few days. Remember, there are to be but 166 of these Certificates, each is for \$100.00 and the first 166 persons to order them will be the ones to receive them.

This money is to be used for Defense purposes only, and if you expect to contribute to the defense of these men and women, make an effort to purchase one of these Certificates for Freedom.

Order from the General Defense Committee, 1004 West Madison St., Chicago, Illinois. Make checks and money orders payable to William D. Haywood.

J. O. Bentall Sentenced: The conviction of J. O. Bentall and his sentence to one year's imprisonment on a charge of influencing his hired man not to register is only more evidence that the powers of reaction in the state are using the war as a pretext to crush the Socialist movement in Minnesota.

The trial was a farce. The testimony against Bentall was most flimsy, but because he was the Socialist candidate for governor at the last election and a lecturer for the Socialist party, the edict went out to railroad him. Put the Socialist organizers, lecturers and officials in jail, break up their meetings, outlaw their publications. This is the policy being carried out.

The evidence against Bentall was so unsubstantial that no jury could be justified in bringing in a verdict of guilty. A reporter for one of the daily papers who attended the trial said he did not see how a verdict of guilty could be brought on the evidence presented. Yet United States Judge Booth practically ordered the jury to bring in a verdict of guilty in his charge to the jury.

The star witness against Bentall was Kassuba, the young man, formerly employed by Bentall, whom it is claimed Bentall influenced not to register.

Kassuba admitted on the stand that he had told his friend Erickson that he was not going to register long before he had ever

talked to Bentall. He admitted that it was not patriotism or his desire to assist the government in cleaning up the "sore spots" in the state of Minnesota that brought him into the court room, but that he wanted to "get even with Jake for grievances" and to save his own hide.

He could not remember ever hearing Bentall advise him not to register. He merely assumed that "he did not want me to register."

Another witness for the government, Erickson, a friend of Kassuba, testified that on a certain evening five men were sitting around Bentall's table for several hours. But according to this witness the only conversation carried on by this group during these hours was a statement by Bentall, "If I were a young man I would not register." Erickson could not remember a single word that had been spoken except that sentence. According to him absolute silence had reigned for two hours up to the time he alleged Bentall to have made that statement and immediately thereafter the five again fell into silence which they maintained until bed time.

When the United States attorney jumped to his feet and tried to assist him, Erickson changed his story a little and declared that other things were said. But under cross examination he admitted that he changed his story because he noticed the district attorney did not like it.

The other witnesses for the government all related to something that happened after registration. The state's witnesses absolutely failed to prove any relation between Kassuba's failure to register and Bentall.

Bentall's conviction is only another incident in the campaign of terrorism raging today.— (From the New Times, Minneapolis.)

Buffalo Forges Ahead: Comrade Brown, literature agent of Local Buffalo, writes us that in the 11th ward, the ward in which Branch 6 operates, the candidates in the recent election received more votes than all other nominees together—a gain of 700 per cent, which, he says, "I believe is due in no small part to the REVIEW and other literature we have sold which we got from you."

SOCIALIST LEADER IS JAILED.

Stanley J. Clark, formerly a state official of the Socialist party of Oklahoma, was placed in the county jail today by federal officers. He was grouped with the I. W. W. prisoners and it is said he will be tried under the blanket indictment which charges seditious conspiracy. Arrest of Clark caused surprise in Socialist circles, because it had not been known that Clark was identified with I. W. W. activities. His previous visits to Chicago were as a delegate to Socialist National Conventions, where he was noted as an orator.

There are now fifty-two I. W. W. prisoners in county jail, according to their attorneys.

Library of Science for the Workers

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When captured they were not arraigned locally but are brought on here for a general arraignment. Classes in the English language, history and economics have been established in the county jail group, with Leo Laukki, former dean of the Workers' college, Smithville, Minn., at the head of the faculty. Four Italians from Scranton, Pa., were brought in this noon.

G. F. Vandevor of Seattle, chief counsel, has gone to New York for interviews with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Arturo Giovannitti, who are in custody there.

Claude R. Porter of Centerville, United States attorney for the southern districts of Iowa, has been given a special assignment by Attorney-General Gregory to assist in the prosecution of I. W. W. cases.—Chicago Daily News.

A Socialist School: Comrade Reinhold Werner writes us that they have two real Socialist schools in Pittsburgh. The East Liberty School was organized three years ago and one on the north side a year later. The comrades train the children to be genuine rebels so that when they grow up they will be well informed agitators. Comrade Werner says, "We teach them that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common and that there will be no peace between these two classes until the capitalist system is abolished, and that it will be up to them, when they grow up to be men and women, to do their duty in helping to educate and organize the workers for the purpose of establishing a system whereby the people who produce all wealth shall receive all that they produce. We give them a good understanding of things around and about them. The wonders of nature, evolution, philosophy and science. We encourage them to read good books of which we have quite a few in our own library. The boys and girls manage this library themselves. We have very good teachers. One of them, Rudolph Blum, is now serving eighteen months in Allegheny County jail for having been active in the Westinghouse strike. He is well liked by the children and they are anxiously waiting until he is thru with his 'bit'. Every month the children receive a copy of "The Little Comrade," which is published by Maude Ball, 6802 Yale Ave., Chicago, Ill. The children all like this little paper and we hope that the REVIEW will give it a little boost."

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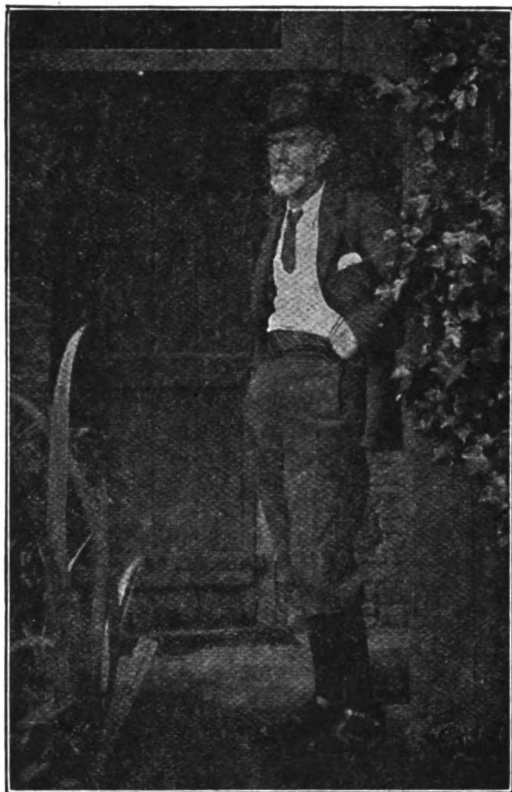
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CHRISTMAS SUGGESTIONS

CHRISTMAS is coming, and we may not be able to reach you with another issue of the Review before it is here. Remember that if the friend for whom you want a Christmas present is an enthusiastic Socialist, nothing will please him so well as a new Socialist book. Remember, also, that if you have a friend who has been prejudiced against our movement, a well-chosen book at Christmas time may start him thinking for himself. Moreover, this year we have just the book you want for the children.

Stories of the Cave People, by Mary Marcy, will fascinate the young folks with thrilling adventures, and at the same time will help them see the absurdity of the "Fall of Man" and other theological nonsense taught at certain Sunday Schools. This is a beautiful book of nearly 200 pages, with many pictures. Ready November 15. Price \$1.00.

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