

JANUARY 1918

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SOCIALIST REVIEW**



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CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY
341 E. Ohio St. Chicago

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January

1918

The
**INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

Vol. XVIII

Edited by Charles H. Kerr

No. 7

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

Mary E. Marcy, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy, Frank Bohn,
William D. Haywood, Phillips Russell

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Published Monthly

Bundle Rate, 10 for 60 cts.; 20 for \$1.25; 100 for \$6.00; Expressage Prepaid

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers (Co-operative)
341-349 East Ohio Street, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

Entered at the Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., as Second Class Matter July 27, 1900, under Act of March 3, 1879.

"WHERE LIBERTY IS THERE IS MY COUNTRY"



C. R. Johanson

Six of the one hundred and sixty-six socialists and members of the I. W. W. who are indicted on a charge of seditious conspiracy.

Most of the boys are in Cook County or near-by jails as it would take a cash bail of over a million and one-half dollars to secure their liberty.

They belong to the working class and are in jail because they organized and educated the workers to fight for Industrial Democracy.

It will be a class trial. Capitalist interests will demand that these men be convicted and their union legally destroyed. They want the U. S. government to do what their gunmen and governors have failed to do by brute force.

The 166 will be arraigned in Chicago before Judge Kenesaw M. Landis on December 15th and expect to face all the fury of the capitalist class during the trials in January.

If you are a red-blooded worker you will see that this fight is your fight. Start a defense fund going among your fellow workers and do it quick.

General Defense Committee, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Make checks and money orders payable to William D. Haywood.



Carl Ahlteen



Ralph Chaplin



Harrison George



V. Lossieff



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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XVIII

JANUARY, 1918

No. 7



Courtesy of Elora

The Russian Bolsheviki Victory

(Note: The struggle between the Maximalists, who demand all for the people, and the Minimalists, who represent also the landlords and commercial magnates.)

ON November 8 news came from Petrograd that the Council of Workmen and Soldiers had overthrown the Kerensky Provisional Government and assumed control, without having met with serious opposition. The Bolsheviki, the revolutionary Socialists, led the uprising and were supported by the Petrograd garrison. Kerensky fled from the city in an ambulance. The members of the Provisional ministry were arrested and put in jail; they will be placed on trial for complicity in the reactionary rebellion of General Korniloff.

Nicholas Lenine, the outstanding leader of the Bolsheviki, or Maximalists, is being assisted by Leon Trotzky and Madam Alexandra Kollontay, both of whom were recently in this country.

The overthrow of the temporizing Kerensky regime had apparently two chief aims — peace and the distribution of landed estates among the peasant proletarians. The new revolutionary government has issued a call for a general peace and suggests an armistice of three months.

"We must take practical measures im-

mediately to effect the promises given by the Bolsheviki Party," Lenine said in a speech to the Workingmen's and Soldiers' Congress on November 9. "The question of peace is a burning one today; therefore, the first act of the new government which is to be formed is to offer to all nations a democratic peace, based on no annexations and no indemnity. Such a peace is to be concluded not by diplomacy, but by the representatives of the people."

Lenine explained that by annexation he meant the forcible seizure of any territory in the past or the present without consent of the people. He asserted that all secret treaties meant to benefit the bourgeoisie must be published and voided to benefit all.

Toward 5:00 o'clock in the afternoon of November 8, the Military Revolutionary Committee issued its proclamation stating that Petrograd was in its hands. It read:

"To the Army Committee of the Active Army and to All Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and to the Garrison and Proletariat of Petrograd:

"We have deposed the Government of Kerensky, which rose against the revolution and the people. The change which resulted in the deposition of the Provisional Government was accomplished without bloodshed.

"The Petrograd Council for Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates solemnly welcomes the accomplished change and proclaims the authority of the Military Revolutionary Committee until the creation of a Government by the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

"Announcing this to the army at the front, the Revolutionary Committee calls upon the revolutionary soldiers to watch closely the conduct of the men in command. Officers who do not join the accomplished revolution immediately and openly must be arrested at once as enemies.

"The Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates considers this to be the program of the new authority:

"First—The offer of an immediate democratic peace.

"Second—The immediate handing over of large proprietorial lands to the peasants.

"Third—The transmission of all au-

thority to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

"Fourth—The honest convocation of a Constitutional Assembly.

"The national revolutionary army must not permit uncertain military detachments to leave the front for Petrograd. They should use persuasion, but where this fails they must oppose any such action on the part of these detachments by force without mercy.

"The actual order must be read immediately to all military detachments in all arms. The suppression of this order from the rank and file by army organizations is equivalent to a great crime against the revolution and will be punished by all the strength of the revolutionary law."

"Soldiers! For peace, for bread, for land, and for the power of the people!

"The Military Revolutionary Committee."

Lenine Statement

(From the *Chicago Tribune*)

The following article by Nikola Lenine, the head of the Maximalists now in control of Petrograd, was written several weeks ago. It is supposed to show what may be expected from the Maximalists, and indicates that there is no danger of a separate peace.

By Nikolai Lenine

I cannot protest too energetically against the slanderous statements spread by capitalists against the Bolsheviki party to the effect that we are in favor of a separate peace with Germany. To us the capitalists of Germany are plain pirates, like the capitalists of Russia, England, and France. Emperor William is a crowned robber like the rulers of England, Italy, Roumania, and other nations.

If we are opposed to the prolongation of the present war it is because it is being waged by two groups of powers for purely imperialistic purposes. It is waged by capitalists anxious to increase their profits by extending their domination over the world, conquering new markets and subjugating small nations. Every day of the war adds to the profits of the financier and merchant, but spells ruin and exhaustion for the industrial and

agricultural workers of all the nations, belligerent or neutral.

As far as Russia is concerned a prolongation of the war may jeopardize the success of the revolution and prevent it from attaining its ultimate goal.

The assumption of governmental powers by the present administration—an administration dominated by land owners and capitalists—could not and does not modify the character and the significance of the war waged by Russia.

We might adduce as evidence of it that the present administration not only refuses to reveal the secret compacts signed by Nicholas II with the governments of England, France, and other nations, but formally confirmed those secret covenants which guaranteed Russian capitalists their share in the dismemberment of China, Persia, Turkey, Austria, etc. By failing to reveal the nature of those arrangements the present government is keeping the nation in ignorance of the actual aims of the present war.

This is why the workers' party cannot agree to continue the present war nor support the present administration nor help it in floating war loans without departing from the spirit of internationalism, which demands brotherly solidarity among the workers of all countries in their struggle against capitalism.

We cannot accept with any measure of faith the statements of the present administration that there will be no annexations—that is, that no part of any foreign country will be seized.

The war must be fought on by a different military organization. Not by an army organized as the present army is, but by a militia whose members shall receive for their services wages equal to those of a first class workingman.

This will be the only democratic way to put an end to this war.

* * *

Rebuffs Separate Peace

Petrograd, Nov. 28.—Leon Trotzky, who is in charge of foreign affairs in the Bolsheviki cabinet, emphatically declared today that the soldiers' and workingmen's government was against a separate peace with Germany. He voiced his conviction that Russia's initiative in offering peace will be supported by the proletariat of all

countries, allied or belligerent, which will make impossible a continuation of the war even if the governments do not accept the offer.

"What are the plans and intentions of your government?" the correspondent inquired.

The Bolsheviki Plans

"The plans and intentions of the government are outlined in the program of the Bolsheviki party, to which the all-Russian congress of soldiers' and workmen's delegates intrusted the formation of a soldiers' and workmen's government," the foreign minister answered.

"FIRST—There will be the immediate publication of all secret treaties and the abolition of secret diplomacy.

"SECOND—An offer of an immediate armistice on all fronts for the conclusion of a democratic peace.

"THIRD—The transfer of all lands to the peasants.

Nationalize Industries

"FOURTH — The establishment of state control of industries through the medium of organized workmen and employes; the nationalization of the most important branches of industry.

"FIFTH—The delivery of all authority to local soldiers' and workmen's deputies.

"SIXTH—The convocation of a constituent assembly which will introduce its reforms through the medium of the soldiers' and workmen's deputies and not through the old bureaucracy on an appointed date.

"The offer of an immediate peace already has been made. The decree transferring the land to the peasants has been issued.

"Power has been assumed by the soldiers' and workmen's deputies in most of the important places.

People Will Force Peace

"What will the government do if Russia's allies refuse to enter into negotiations for peace?" the correspondent asked.

"If the allied governments do not support the policy of a democratic peace," Trotzky replied, "the allied peoples will support us against their governments. Our international policy is calculated not for capitalistic diplomacy, but for the support of the working masses."

"Does the government think a separate peace with Germany is possible in the existing circumstances?"

"We are against a separate peace with Germany—we are for a universal peace with the European nations."

"What will the government do if Germany refuses to negotiate for peace—will it continue the war?" was the next question.

Rely on German Workers

"We rely on the German army and the working classes to make a continuation of the war impossible," Trotsky replied.

"If, however, our frank and honest offers of peace meet no response, we would declare a revolutionary war against German imperialism, we would mobilize all our forces, confiscate large food supplies, and prosecute the war as energetically as we did the revolution. But we have every ground to think that our offer of peace will make impossible a continuation of the war on all fronts."

"What is the country's attitude toward the governmental change?"

"All the Bourgeoisie is against us. The greatest part of the intellectuals is against us or hesitating, awaiting a final outcome.

"The working class is wholly with us. The army is with us. The peasants, with the exception of exploiters, are with us.

"The soldiers and workmen's government is a government of workingmen, soldiers, and peasants against the capitalists and land owners."

"Is it true that the government will publish the secret treaties?" was the final question.

"Yes," the foreign minister answered.

Russians were urged by a Bolsheviki proclamation today to take vengeance on the strikers, who are blamed for the food shortage. The proclamation gave the names and addresses of the strikers.

Reduce Russian Army

A reduction of the Russian armies, beginning with the class conscripted in 1899, has been proclaimed by the Bolsheviki leader, M. Lenine, today.

The official announcement follows:

"The workmen's and peasants' government of the peoples' commissaries has decided to undertake without delay reduction of the armies and orders, to begin with, release from their military duties of

all citizen soldiers of the class conscripted in 1899. Instructions concerning the liberation of other classes from military service will be issued at a later day. Upon demobilization all arms must be handed over to regimental committees, which will be responsible for their safety. The highest commander-in-chief is obliged to bring this decree directly to the knowledge of the rank and file."

The Chicago Tribune of December 6th, states:

On account of the closing of the city дума the food committees are threatening to strike, throwing Petrograd into temporary food troubles. They are likely to be of short duration, however, as thousands of Kronstadt sailors have gone to the grain belt of Siberia and are sending escorted trains to Petrograd and the front. They have been ordered to cut red tape and to requisition engines to transport the grain and to speed.

The sailors' mission also is political, as they have been ordered to make converts to Bolshevism in every town en route. They are expected to bring back with them Nicholas Romanoff, the deposed czar.

Other sailors are with the expedition that has been sent against Gen. Kaledine, leader of the Cossacks. The Bolsheviki are taking every precaution to nip any monarchistic movement.

The дума has issued a proclamation to all nations, pleading for support as the only elective body in Russia.

James O'Donnell Bennett in a special cable to the Tribune, says in part:

This dispatch contains the views of certain representatives of the best informed and safest American opinion in Russia on the Russian situation in its relation to America.

That their opinion is the safest and best informed is no individual verdict, but the verdict of American diplomats in northern Europe who after thoroly assimilating the utterances now repeated in this dispatch, said:

"These men have their feet on the ground and see far."

* * *

In quoting them I should add that they are not Socialists, either practical or theoretical; that they are not Bolsheviki sympathizers, that they are not even remotely of Russian or German extraction, but Ameri-



Petrowsky

Mouranoff

Badaeff

Samoiloff

Schagoff

THE SOCIALIST MEMBERS (all bolsheviks) OF THE DUMA SENT TO SIBERIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR FOR THEIR INTERNATIONALISTIC PROPAGANDA AGAINST WAR

cans from our capitalistic class. One of them is en route to an entente country on an official mission.

They said:

“Make no mistake, the Bolsheviks have got Russia, and they have gotten order—good order, too. The treatment the Bolshevik fighters accorded the captured cadets during the last Petrograd battles was often more considerate than such prisoners would have received in any other country, especially as some cadets captured a second time had obviously broken what amounted to a parole.

“The successful rebels in any other European capital would have shot them. This was in Petrograd, but the Moscow fighting was much bitterer.

“If by allied pressure Trotzky and Lenine should be turned out now they will fight whatever government replaces them and do over again what they have just done.

* * *

“There were enough Cossacks in Petrograd to have controlled the situation for Kerensky when the Bolsheviks launched their revolt, but a few stump speakers turned these Cossacks into pacifists and now they have become tea drinkers.

“With the Russian people in their present state of mind we have nothing to gain by breaking with them and considerable

chances of gaining something by staying, even if they make separate peace and neutralize their country.

“The situation is so fluid that we ought to tread water. Therefore, this is no time for stiff-necked routine diplomacy, for Trotzky only laughs at it.

Publication by the Bolshevik acting government in Petrograd of letters and proposed treaties, found in the archives of the Foreign Office, has been denounced as the blackest of treasonable crimes. It is hardly that. Whatever the motive, the act scarcely goes, in impropriety, beyond the giving out by the Provisional Government last summer of the correspondence between the Czar and the Kaiser. The intent, in either case, was to discredit a previous régime. On the diplomatic side of the affair, fair-minded opinion will still be cautious. That the Czar was weak and vacillating made the situation extremely difficult for both his Foreign Secretary and his general staff. Left to himself, or swayed by the hidden influences which we now know to have been long playing upon him, there was no telling what Nicholas would do. And there are many indications that the German government in those days of July was deliberately playing a game with Petrograd, as Bismarck played with Paris in 1870. That is to say, in both instances the effort was

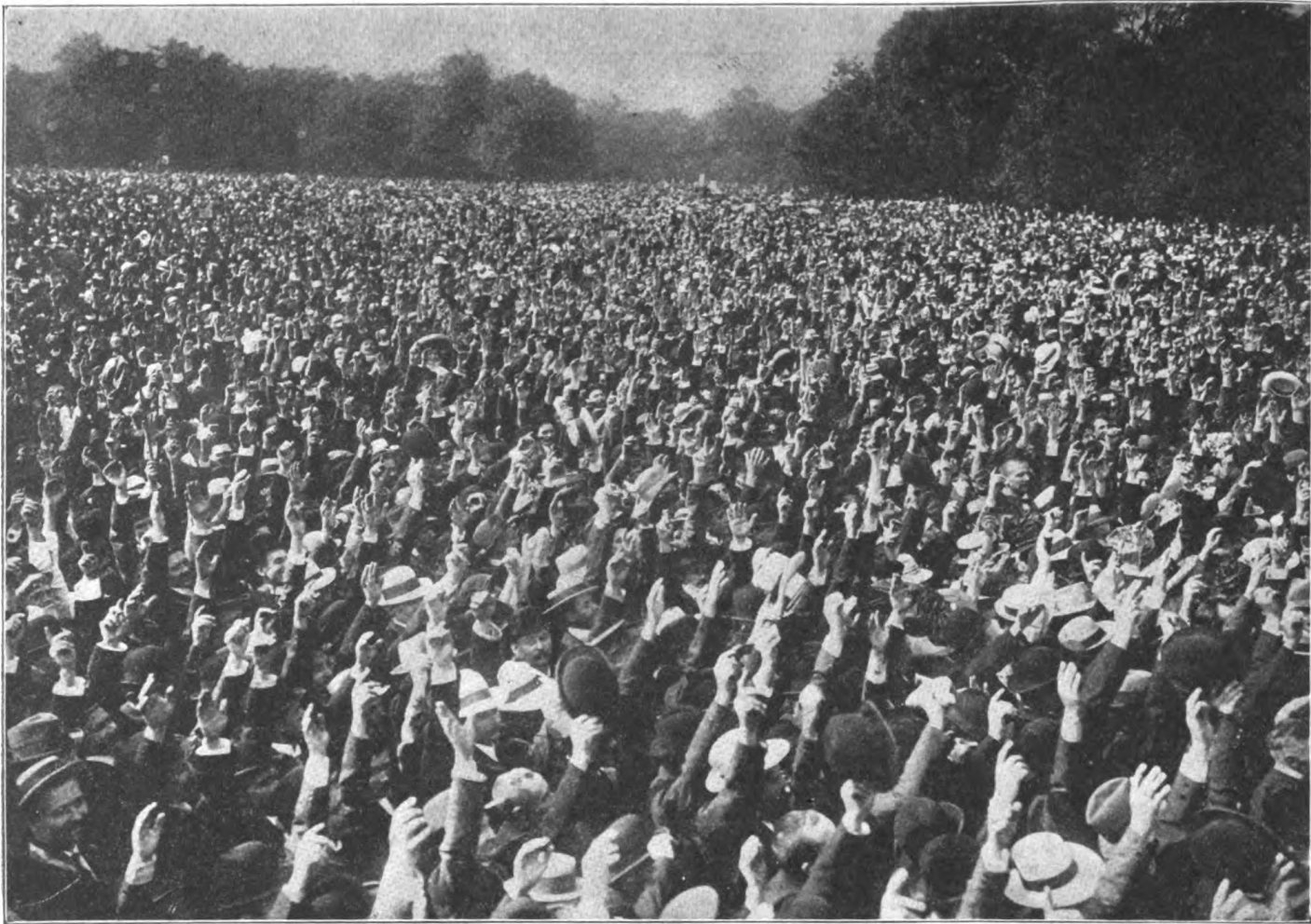
to betray the other side into a false step which would at once precipitate war and at the same time appear to make Germany not the aggressor. For example, the Berlin *Anzeiger* came out on the critical day with a flaming announcement that the German army had been mobilized complete. This was at once telegraphed to Petrograd by the Russian Ambassador. But presently the German government issued an official *démenti*, and suppressed the edition of the *Anzeiger*. But the mischief had been done, Russian mobilization was decreed; and war became inevitable. Now, it has been argued that all this was a device deliberately adopted to make sure of war, with Russia apparently taking the offensive. The German military party got its longed-for war, and got it in a way to enable it to assure the German people that the war was defensive.

At that time, no one outside of Germany knew of the Potsdam conference, a month before the war broke out. At this it was resolved to make use of the Austrian ultimatum to Servia in order to force "the great reckoning," as the Austrian Foreign Secretary called it, with Russia and, necessarily, with France. The facts about this fatal conference, as brought out by the Reichstag Deputy, Herr Haase, and by Ambassador Morgenthau and others, have

thrown a lurid light forward upon the subsequent negotiations. It is now as well established as anything can be that the German government had at least determined to press on in a position and with measures that almost surely meant an European war, and was doing it in a spirit of "damn the consequences." Some people forget, conveniently, how great was the distrust of the war clique in Germany shown by the German people. In Berlin alone, on July 29, 1914, more than a score of mass meetings were held to protest against the proposed war. At one of these meetings, there were said to be present 70,000 men. And on that same day the *Vorwärts* declared that "the camarilla of war-lords is working with absolutely unscrupulous means to carry out their fearful designs to precipitate an international war." Even after the decision had been virtually made, the *Vorwärts* asserted that the policy of the German government throughout had been "utterly without conscience." These things must not be allowed to drop from memory when it is sought by the uncovering of Russian secrets to raise doubts concerning the German government's decision to go into a war which it could have prevented by the turning over of a hand.—From the *Nation*

SPEAKING OF HYMNS OF HATE

How long it will be before the usurping gang of Socialists, pacifists, pro-German agents, and I. W. W.'s which calls itself a Government is overthrown I shall not venture to predict; but its ultimate downfall is as certain as anything in Russia can be. The moderate liberals, the business men, the co-operative societies, the Cossacks, and, I believe, an overwhelming majority of the peasants, are hostile to it, and as soon as they have time to get together and organize under competent leaders they will destroy it.—From *The Outlook*.



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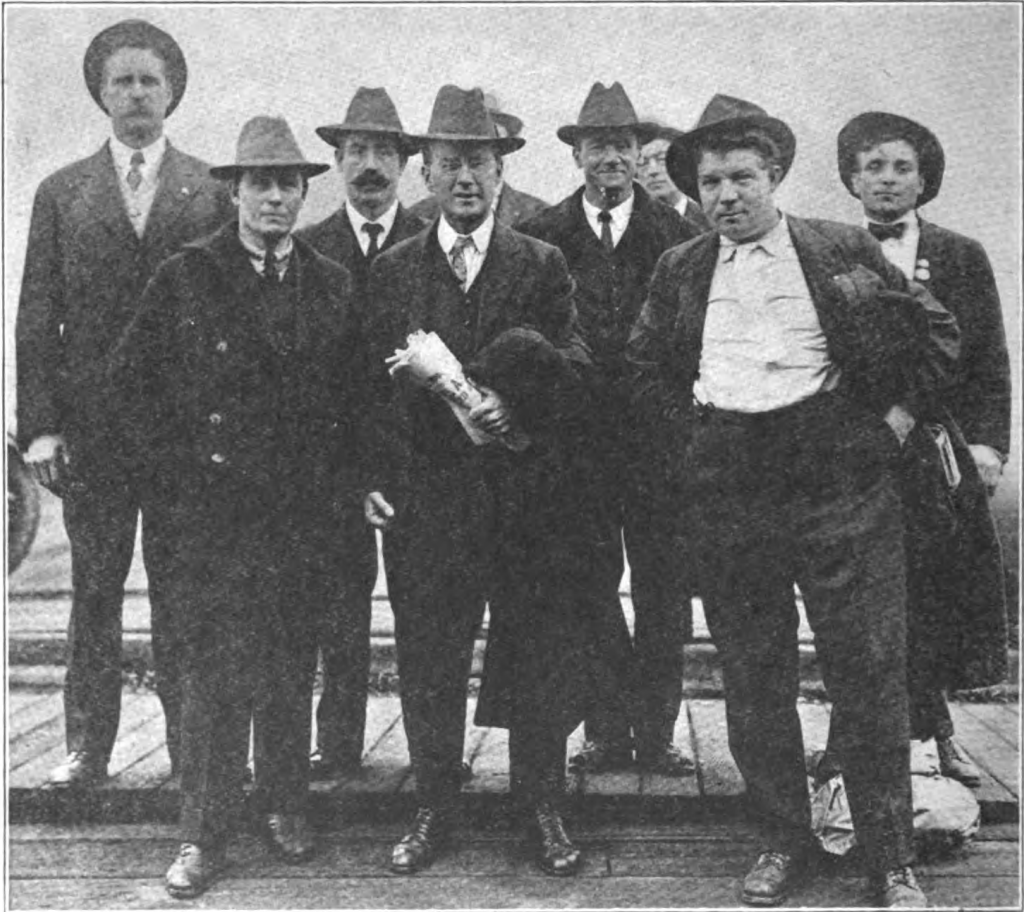
PEACE DEMONSTRATION OF 100,000 SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AT THE TREPTOWER PARK, BERLIN, 1910

Let us hope they will follow their Russian comrades and put the Kaiser and his fellow capitalists in overalls.

The Truth About the I. W. W.

By HAROLD CALLENDER

EDITOR'S NOTE: Harold Callender investigated the Bisbee deportations for the National Labor Defense Council. He did it in so judicial and poised and truth-telling a manner that we engaged him to go and find out for us the truth about the I. W. W., and all the other things that are called "I. W. W." by those who wish to destroy them in the northwest.—The Masses.



Dix Photo Co., Tacoma

THIS GROUP OF WELL-KNOWN WESTERN I. W. W. MEN WERE BROUGHT TO CHICAGO
HAND-CUFFED AND LEG-IRONED

Back Row—J. P. Thompson, George Hardy, John Foss, Walter Smith.
Front Row—J. A. McDonald, Harry Lloyd, T. J. Doran.

ACCORDING to the newspapers, the I. W. W. is engaged in treason and terrorism. The organization is supposed to have caused every forest fire in the West—where, by the way, there have been fewer forest fires this season than ever before. Driving spikes in lumber before it is sent to the sawmill, pinch-

ing the fruit in orchards so that it will spoil, crippling the copper, lumber and shipbuilding industries out of spite against the government, are commonly repeated charges against them. It is supposed to be for this reason that the states are being urged to pass stringent laws making their activities and propaganda impossible; or, in the ab-

sence of such laws, to encourage the police, soldiers and citizens to raid, lynch and drive them out of the community.

But what are the facts? What are the Industrial Workers of the World really doing? *In the lumber camps of the northwest they are trying to force the companies to give them an eight-hour day and such decencies of life as spring cots to sleep on instead of bare boards. In the copper region of Montana they are demanding facilities to enable the men to get out of a mine when the shaft takes fire.* It is almost a pity to spoil the melodramatic fiction of the press, but this is the real nature of the activities of the I. W. W.

It is no fiction, however, that they are being raided, lynched, and driven out, without due process of law, and with as little coloring of truth to the accusation of treason as at Bisbee, Ariz., where the alleged "traitors" who were deported were found to be many of them subscribers to the Liberty Bond issue. The truth is simply that the employers have taken advantage of the public susceptibility to alarm and have endeavored to brand as treasonable the legitimate and inevitable demand for better wages, hours and working conditions that has arisen among hitherto unorganized workers. That their efforts are ordinary and legitimate in the trade-union sense, is indicated by the fact that, as I shall show, *unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor thruout the West generally sympathize with and support the struggle of the I. W. W.* The old hostility between the two movements has begun largely to be broken down, and the I. W. W., far from being regarded by the working class as criminal or treasonable, has been accepted simply as one of the means of securing their rights.

The case of the lumber camps of the northwestern states is difficult to describe. The two outstanding centers of present conflict, so far as the I. W. W. is concerned, are the forests of Washington, Oregon and Idaho, and the copper mines of Montana. In both places it is a revolt of hitherto unorganized and ruthlessly exploited workers. In both places their demands are for the ordinary wages, hours and conditions which are everywhere recognized by reasonable men as just and inevitable. In both places this revolt has been met with lawless brutality and reckless terrorism on the part

of the employers. And in both places the employers have endeavored to cover up their crimes by imputing "treason" to their insurgent employees.

The case of the lumber camps of the northwestern states is one which shows most clearly the origin of the trouble, the nature of the workers' demands, the methods of the employers, and the fraternization of the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L.



The Lumber Strike

The burden of the struggle in the forests of the northwest is being borne by the Industrial Workers of the World. The new Timber Workers' Union, an American Federation of Labor body, has enrolled a comparatively small number of the men who work in the woods. But though it is within less than a year that the Industrial Workers have been able to gain wide influence there, they are powerful now, and it is probable that a majority of the lumberjacks and sawmill employes in this region have joined, either as members or as strikers, the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union. The Timber Workers are all west of the Cascade mountains in Washington. East of the mountains the Industrial Workers have free rein, and west of the mountains there is no rivalry between the two unions at present, both striking for the eight-hour day.

The demands of the Industrial Workers in the forests appear at first glance unbelievable. It is as tho men were striking for a breath of air or a bed to sleep on after a hard day's work. And indeed they are; asking more windows than the customary two in a "bunk house" that forms sleeping quarters for more than one hundred men, cots with springs and blankets in place of the plain wooden "bunks." They want, too, places to hang clothing when they go to bed, "drying rooms" so the washed apparel need not hang in the "bunk" house, shower baths (there are no bathing facilities in most of the camps), wholesome food and "no overcrowding at tables." Fastidious persons, these woodsmen!

The eight-hour day in place of ten hours of work, is the chief issue, but there is insistence on a minimum wage of \$60 a month and one day of rest in seven. Which shows what a share in the gains of civilization there is for these men who cut the world's lumber and float it down the rivers to cities where live the "lumber millionaires."

It was in the spring that these men be-

gan to strike, and by summer most of them had joined the revolt. They congregated in camps of their own in the woods, but were dispersed by sheriffs and soldiers. Some went to the cities, often to be arrested by waiting police. Others sought work on the farms, and found farmers took fright on discovering who they were. Apparently the Industrial Worker was to be denied



SURE WE BELONG TO THE ONE BIG UNION !

work on the farms and not allowed to camp in the woods, to induce him to return to lumber cutting.

The Campaign of Lies

What happened at Spokane is illustrative of the systematic attack on the Industrial Workers, who have gained their control of the lumber industry because of the betterment of working conditions brought about by their constant struggles. The West Coast Lumber Men's Association, aided by its appendages of other employers' organizations in the northwest, has carried on most of the admirably thoro and successful schemes to develop a popular fear of the Industrial Worker. It is said to have assembled a fund of \$500,000 for this express purpose, and it apparently has assembled a part of the military forces of the nation. The newspapers have shown carefully and assiduously that every forest fire was set by Industrial Workers, tho there have been far less forest fires this season than ever before. They have shown that the Industrial Worker's chief aim in life was to drive spikes in lumber preparatory to sending it to the sawmill, to insert nails in fruit trees and to pinch peaches in the orchards so they would spoil. These things are believed by the people who believe that German spies devote their time to peddling poisoned court-plaster and starting strikes for the eight-hour day. It should be noted in this connection that *Secretary Baker asked the lumber companies to grant the eight-hour day because the government needed lumber; and the companies refused.* The strike has since spread to the ship-building yards on the Pacific Coast, where the workers have refused to handle lumber cut by men who work ten hours a day. The shingle weavers, both A. F. of L. and I. W. W., are also demanding an eight-hour day.

The lumber strike was directed from Spokane by James Rowan, secretary of the union, and an effort was promptly made to break up the headquarters. Merchants went soberly before the city commissioners and said the Industrial Workers were a menace to the safety of the community. Just why they were dangerous they usually neglected to show, like the Bisbee, Ariz., "Protective League," which admits there was no violence by the strikers, but is certain there would have been had it not been forestalled

by violence by the defenders of copper. They pointed to what had been done in Idaho, where a particularly effective union had closed the lumber industry. They told the city officials that Idaho was boycotting Spokane merchants because they allowed Spokane to harbor the headquarters for the lumber strike. Industrial Workers were expounding syndicalist theories on street corners and the merchants wanted that stopped too. They admitted there was no law under which they could reach this "unlawful" organization, and they were very sorry there wasn't.

"What you want us to do then," said one of the commissioners, "is not to arrest them for anything illegal, but just to drive them out of town or suppress them regardless of law."

The merchants, vague about such details, said that was about it. The city commissioners expressed unwillingness to do any such thing, as there was no disorder. To which the employers responded (not at the public hearing) that that little difficulty might be solved by "starting something."

But they decided to try to first create a law that would meet the problem. They prepared an ordinance making it unlawful for "any one to publish or circulate or say any word * * * expressing disrespect or contempt for or disloyalty to the government, the President, the army or the navy of the United States." This was so ridiculous that the commissioners would not pass it. Later E. E. Blaine, of the state public service commission, was sent by the governor to Portland to get an order from the commanding officer of the army there directing Major Clement Wilkins at Spokane to arrest the Industrial Workers. Blaine went to Spokane with the order in his pocket.

The absence of some excuse for the action nettled the employers, and they tried to obtain statements by the city and county officials that would warrant military arrests. A meeting was called of the officials and employers, presided over by a lumber dealer. The employers insisted that the local officials sign a statement saying a state of insurrection existed in Spokane. The mayor refused, but the next morning when the merchants went to the city hall with a prepared statement, mild, but good enough as a pretext, and the officials signed it.

This statement says that, while "technic-

ally the offenses (of the Industrial Workers) are not against any state or city laws," still, in order that the Industrial Workers may be curbed in their "unlawful activities" before the community interfered, "regardless of existing laws," the governor ought to do something that is, the Industrial Workers are law-abiding, but perhaps the citizens who suffer because of their activities won't be; therefore, the state or the army or somebody ought to stop the whole proceeding by breaking the law and having done with it.

Before this statement had time to reach the governor, the order from the commanding officer was given to Major Wilkins and the headquarters of the Industrial Workers was raided with the arrest of Rowan and twenty-six others by soldiers.

It was lumber dealers who wrote the statement which the city officials signed asking military interference: it was a newspaper man who, at the summons of the soldiers, identified Rowan so they could arrest him!

The Central Labor Council of Spokane in a resolution denounced the resort to military force and called for a general strike as a protest. Soldiers, carrying out the will of the employers' association, had an ominous appearance to labor. Spokane is typical of the employers' methods. At Ellensburg, Wash., there is a stockade containing Industrial Workers, guarded by soldiers. But the chief result of such tactics so far has been the spreading of trouble to the Pacific Coast.



Butte—"A Hate Town"

The situation at Butte, Mont., where the copper mines have been made idle during a protracted strike, is more complicated. Mention Butte out in the northwest and they'll tell you, "Oh, well, Butte is a hate town." It is. It is one of those industrial centers which have undergone the bitter series of hate-generating doses: monopoly control—low wages; forced immigration—lower wages; unionization—bloodshed; higher wages—higher rents. "They get you going and coming," is the way they put

it at Butte (and it was a business man speaking). "The working man doesn't get even a run for his money in this town." When one considers Butte and the dark history that portends a dark future, he understands the reason for the extreme degree of bitterness that permeates almost every industrial transaction. The miner knows he has not only in those catacombs 3,000 feet underground, to adhere constantly to the slogan of the boss (typical of the spirit within the industry) "Get the rock in the box"; but that, having got it in for eight hours every day, he must go to his union hall at night and keep the eternal vigil of collective bargaining to be sure that his day's work brings an income enough to provide for his family. The eight hours' work is only part of his task. And we wonder at *sabotage!*

I think that a current witticism, eloquent to the miner, illustrates the spirit bred by "free competition" in the copper mines. One of the chief demands of the strikers is abolition of the so-called "rustling card," a scheme whereby the blacklisting of workmen is maintained: an applicant for a job fills out a lengthy blank stating his history and political views, then waits ten days or longer while the company verifies it, after which he may get a card certifying his eligibility for employment. When Miss Jeanette Rankin, the representative in Congress, went to Butte to find out about the strike, she was escorted from the railroad station to her hotel by police, in order that the demonstration of welcome planned by the miners might be forestalled. "Miss Rankin should have had a rustling card," said one of the men.

Immediately after a fire in one of the mines in June, there was planned a public and official memorial in honor of Manus Duggan, whose death at rescue work brought copious eulogies in the newspapers. Arrangements for the memorial were published and everybody that it quite a proper community action. Then suddenly the whole affair was hushed up, and no memorial has been held. It was discovered at the last moment that Duggan was a Socialist!

It is this intensity of feeling, this clear consciousness of class and class, that rankles in the mind and strips the industrial war of even those thin pretenses that sometimes avail to diminish—apparently—the

natural, frank brutality of the battle for sustenance. There is, at least, little actual hypocrisy about it at Butte, save the formal hypocrisy of public statements and newspaper editorials which even the authors admit are bluster. People on both sides speak with a startling candor. Such remarks as this are quite casual and occasion no surprise: "Tom Campbell ought to be hanged, too, along with Little." Butte has become inured to it.

But the industrial feud is still a tender subject in this mountain town. The outsider, broaching it, feels guilty of an intrusion, as he might if he were to stop a man on the street with, "Say, tell me how you happened to commit that murder." The town dislikes strikes, just as it dislikes thunderstorms or any other natural calamities; for the strike "hurts business." That droll humor of the accustomed labor warrior made one of them remark: "This is a city of whispers." Free speech is not always a matter of constitutional guarantees. What's the use of a constitution and courts and such embellishments in a region like this? The government, the social relationships, the "civilization" are almost solely economic. If the state were to be deeded, with its people, to the Anaconda Copper Company, things would not be different.

Violence

The wonder is that there is so little violence; the present strike has been entirely free from it, excepting, as they say in Butte, "that lynching." There have been armed mine guards, those to whom violence is a business that would be destroyed by peaceful strikes. There have been soldiers, but some of them were recalled because they were too unsympathetic with the men working during the strike. There has been instance after instance where absence of bloody clashes seemed to violate the law of sequence. There is the complete background for open war: why it has not come is more than I can tell.

One of the strike leaders tried to explain it. "The men know by experience that it's no use. They know that what would most please the mining companies would be violence, and they know that they [meaning the enemy] have all the best of it when it comes to that. Why, we haven't even put out a picket line. I stand up there every morning as the scabs go to work, and count

them. Not many can look me in the eye squarely day after day; they turn their heads."

At the little hall of the Finnish Working Men's Club on North Wyoming street, headquarters of the Metal Mine Workers' Union, one finds groups of these men whom even the serfdom of the copper country could not drive to bloodshed. There they assemble, reading typewritten sheets on the bulletin board of official communiqués of the war, or chatting about this and that, occasionally about the strike. They have not escaped an air of bitterness, but their extremest imprecations end with vows never to give in, to keep up the strike until their terms are met. And there are 12,000 miners on strike, pinched for resources while they maintain a shutdown of mines that earn for the investors more than a million dollars a day. I wonder if you and I, or the officials of the copper companies, would remain so mild were we members of the Metal Mine Workers' Union with families to support, reading statements by our employers that they would flood the mines before recognizing the union. I wonder what would be your mood, you who believe in war, if you were a miner when Ambassador Gerard came to Butte and said, "The laborer must line up with the capitalist"; when owners of these mines scorned your proffer to return to work willingly under government supervision; when they issued a joint statement that "No grievance has been brought to the attention of the mine operators and we believe none exists," while you knew of the conditions in the mines that allowed 160 men to die in tunnels while flames in a shaft sucked away what air there was: I wonder what, in these circumstances, would come into your mind when, every time you walked down the street, you saw a soiled but distinguishable American flag floating above every shaft on the mountain that is called locally the "richest hill in the world."

"Fire!"

This strike, now three months old, was one of those unorganized revolts that grow out of copper mountains as pine trees grow out of the neighboring mounds. If there was one tangible cause, it was the disaster at the Speculator Mine, June 8. You may have noticed a small dispatch chronicling the loss of eight score of lives, but you don't

remember it, for such events are common-places. "Those poor devils always get caught that way," remarked a telegraph editor as he tossed the dispatch to a headline writer: "Oh, those damn labor unions," commented the same keen individual a few days later when the telegraph told of the walkout of the men who dig the copper from the "richest hill in the world."

After three days of searching, some of the miners were taken from the drifts partly alive and some wholly alive, but there were 160 who were beyond resuscitation. Bodies were piled against concrete bulkheads in the narrow tunnels, fingers worn off by frenzied tearing at the impassible wall. Workmen will tell you at Butte that the foremen didn't know which passages led to safety, which to death. You see, the concrete bulkheads were erected to protect the mines.

Three of the seven demands, framed at a mass meeting June 12, deal with questions of safety—manholes in bulkheads to allow passage, committees of miners to inspect the workings mouth, every miner to be advised as to ways of escape. The other chief one is for abolition of the rustling card, that autocratic device that has enabled the employers to choke organization of the workmen.

First the strike, then the union: that is the sequence that by its frequency shows the utility of the most elaborate arrangements to maintain individual bargaining. And the strike-breaker of today is the striker of tomorrow; that is the great fact that your short-sighted employer refuses to see. Many of the strikers at Butte are Finns and Italians, imported in past years to replace union men. So with the organized miners in Arizona, who at Bisbee formed a union after they had walked out of the mines. In Colorado, it was the unorganized immigrant of 1903 who became the embattled striker of 1914, *after* Ludlow.

It has been wise direction as much as spontaneity that has characterized the Butte strike, maintained in face of all manner of attacks and newspaper abuse. It was said that the strike and the new union were products of foreign diplomacy, uprisings against the draft and pacifist maneuvers. The newspapers that grew sentimental over the heroism of the rescue squads that risked lives to reach trapped workmen, now

showered calumny on the same men who were seeking to make mines safe. One paper mentioned the "inalienable right of a man to work," referring not, of course, to the rustling card, but to the few non-union men that stayed in the mines. Women were arrested for distributing pamphlets issued by the union. An effort was made to force grocers to deny credit to strikers and to induce landlords to evict them, as was done at Bisbee, Ariz. The most notable of these intimidations was the hanging of Frank Little by masked men at night. Little, an executive committeeman of the Industrial Workers, had come to ask the new union to join that organization, which it refused to do.

"We Shall Never Forget"



Perhaps the funeral tribute to Little by the working people of Butte may be considered the reply to the warning which the lynching constituted. About 7,000 marched to the cemetery, representing most of the labor unions of the city. As the casket was lowered into the ground the last thing seen was a pennant of the Industrial Workers, bearing the words, "One big union," lying across the coffin. At the headquarters of the mine union there hangs a photograph of Little, and under it, "Frank Little, victim of the copper trust, whom we shall never forget." When I saw James Rowan, secretary of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, in the county jail at Spokane, Wash., he wore on a lapel of his coat a button bearing a picture of Little and the motto: "Solidarity." Behind him sat a youth in khaki, fingering a rifle and watching him as he talked.

"Yes, I know they want to hang me, I've heard it said on the streets," said Tom Campbell, president of the miners' union, smiling grimly as he walked to the hall to preside over a meeting of the strikers. And Campbell, dark-haired, round-faced, veteran of bloodier strikes, goes to the hall every day, directing the strike and the care of families of miners. "Winning a strike," says Campbell, "is only part of the fight. After the companies accept our terms, we

shall have to keep a close watch on them to see that they maintain them. This never ends. There's no such thing as industrial peace while industry has to be carried on in this manner."

The most perplexing feature of the Butte struggle is the relationship between the Metal Mine Workers' Union and the older bodies. There is the spectacle of the membership of trade unions giving large sums of money to the miners' strike fund, while the leaders in the local labor council, with an ecclesiastical sectarianism, condemn the new union because it doesn't belong to the American Federation of Labor. There are officials of the state federation refusing to treat with the highly organized Metal Mine Workers as a body, but offering to accept them as individuals. There is the apparent inability of the local labor council to recognize officially that there is a strike, because the new union is not affiliated with it, and it can recognize no mine union but the inconsequential one of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, which is properly affiliated with everything but the men who work in the mines. Nineteen twentieths of the mining industry of the town is completely shut down, yet one labor official said, "I don't consider that there is any strike." The state Metal Trades Council and the local Metal Trades Council are engaged in a debate as to whether the affair is a strike or a lockout in regard to the metal trades, the state body standing firmly on precedent and rule and technicality, the local body anxious to help the 12,000 miners win, but desirous of avoiding expulsion from the federation of labor. "There's more politics in the American Federation of Labor than in the Republican party," said an observant unionist. And there seems to be, occasionally, at least, as much legal barbed wire entanglement as in a properly bound judiciary.

* * *

Some of the trade unionists at Butte fear that the Industrial Workers will capture the new union, others are convinced they have already captured it. There are many Industrial Workers in the miners' union, for several of its officers have been members of the Industrial Workers. The Metal Mine Workers' Union is an industrial union, admitting specifically "all persons employed within and around the mines, or in any way connected with the mining in-

dustry," and its preamble to the constitution says "only an industrial organization can be of any use; other forms have proved useless." That its present spirit is distinctly aggressive and tinctured with revolutionary zeal is undeniable. As to the main organization at Butte and the new unions at Anaconda and Phillipsburg, Mont., they have affiliated with it. A speaker at one union meeting said, "This isn't a strike merely for wages or hours: we want an arrangement that will secure justice and put an end to this bickering: we want Uncle Sam to take over these mines and run them." There was an outburst of applause. And the "company newspaper" pleads for a "reasonable, conservative union."



Brothers-in-Arms

The significant thing is the drawing together of the forces of labor in spite of old animosities. A man prominent in the American Federation of Labor on the Pacific Coast, being asked what was the relationship between the trade union group there and the Industrial Workers, said: "Pretty close." A trainman in Montana, discussing the industrial skirmishes that already had produced stockades and military jails, drew from his pockets a red card along with a certificate of membership in a railroad brotherhood, and said, "It's a two-card business from now on." He said that fifty per cent of the men on his line had adopted the "two-card system."

These men were not syndicalists, for they admitted they didn't thoroly understand, much less advocate, just what the syndicalists were driving at (any more than do most of the followers of the Industrial Workers; but they know, for instance, what it is to work 3,000 feet down in a copper mine for \$5.25 a day, when a three-room hut in Butte costs \$35 a month and groceries are dearer than in New York. They know, most of them, what industrial unionism means, and they have an acute sense of the common interests of working men. You can't tell them that Frank Little, the Industrial Worker leader, was lynched at Butte because of what he said about the

United States army. They know that the reason twelve hundred working men were driven into cattle cars at Bisbee, Ariz., and deposited in the desert was not that their leaders had cast aspersions on the government.

One finds this attitude pronouncedly among trade unionists in the northwest, from Butte to Seattle. When missionaries of the revolutionary union were corraled by soldiers on no charge but that of causing strikes, the reiterated explanations of chambers of commerce that "the Industrial Workers of the World is not a bona fide labor organization" failed to beguile the trade unionist. When two states enacted laws making it a crime to hold membership in a union that advocated sabotage, or to rent a hall to such union, and several other states were considering similar statutes, they saw what was up. They didn't believe in sabotage (certainly not in shouting about it, at any rate), but they realized that if the practice of choking organizations of working men who admittedly were violating no law were to go on, there was no telling where it might end. There had been hardly more denunciation of the Industrial Worker as an "agitator" than there had been of the "walking delegate." So it was that the Spokane, Wash., Central Labor Council went so far as to request a general strike as protest against the arrests of Industrial Workers by soldiers.

But there is more than tacit recognition of a common enemy: there is, here and there, a largely unexpressed belief that the two organizations are in a definite way complementary, the Industrial Worker giving expression to discontent, the trade unionist often following with the machinery for maintaining collective bargaining after the outburst of revolt has subsided and the Industrial Worker has flitted to more spectacular service.

While the Industrial Worker looks to a radical change in industry that appears utopian to the average trade unionist, he is seeking to bring it about by a principle that tacticians generally in the northwest, at least, are accepting—industrial unionism. "We're all industrial unionists now, tho we can't turn all the craft unions into industrial unions at once," is a comment frequently heard. And the trade unionist who looks ahead fancies a time when the jurisdiction squabble will not divide the forces of

labor. He usually denies that the Industrial Worker has had much to do with the growth of industrial bargaining, but he evinces a willingness to let him share in the process where he can. He prefers an Industrial Worker union to no union, and sometimes gives it his support. In Montana and Arizona the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the American Federation body, has failed to prevent encroachments by the Industrial Workers, and the miners in those states adhere either to independent unions that have grown up locally or to the Industrial Workers. Trade unionists are disposed to support these unions in time of stress.

Within the Federation of Labor, too, there is a distinct tendency toward wider organization than the craft union. At Seattle fourteen craft unions employed by the Seattle Construction and Dry Dock Company have made a blanket contract providing that the breach of the agreements made as to wages and conditions of workmen in one union would annul the contracts with the others. If the company should infringe on the rights of a single craft, it would find all the other crafts joining in the fight instead of staying at work. This unique agreement includes building employees—janitors and elevator operators; and it specifically gives the workmen the right to refuse to handle any material in the shipyards that comes from industries that do not recognize organized labor. There you have a distinct step toward industrial unionism.

This tendency is not, of course, uniform, for it was recently that the Shingle Weavers' Union found it advisable to abandon an effort to enroll the timber men and let them have a union of their own. But it is undeniable that in the woods and mines and shipyards of the Northwest the industrial union is developing form, and in the warfare of the future there probably will be little trouble over what it calls itself. The very structure of the labor movement is shifting perceptibly, for it has to meet varying conditions, such as a shipbuilding industry twice as large as it was three years ago.

Understanding the I. W. W.

And there are signs, moreover, that a public understanding of the real aims of the Industrial Workers, is coming about, in spite of the campaign of misrepresentation.

In North Dakota, the governor, Lynn J. Frazier, a farmer, took the remarkable stand early in the summer that if the Industrial Worker violated no law, neither would the employers be allowed that privilege. In a proclamation the governor mentioned the assertions that a "lawless element" was burning crops and destroying farm machinery. He suggests that anyone found committing such depredations be tried in the accustomed fashion.

"It is charged" he says, "that the constitutional rights of individuals have been trampled under foot by mobs in the guise of so-called safety committees, defense leagues and vigilance committees. To some of these misguided mobs and officers it seems to be a crime to be seeking work and not to possess money. Men have been illegally searched, beaten, deported." The governor makes it clear that he doesn't believe in such actions.

But that was in a state where the farmers were considering making a contract as a body with the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union, one of the Industrial Workers' organizations. Most of the transient farm workers in North Dakota are Industrial Workers, and they have maintained uncommonly cordial relations with the farmers. When the Nonpartisan League submitted the proposal for a contract with the Industrial Workers, it found many farmers favorable to the plan. At the meetings when the proposal was submitted farmers told of their experiences. Some said they had long been hiring Industrial Workers exclusively, others said they wouldn't let one in their employ. A few left the Nonpartisan League because of its championship of the Industrial Workers. But the farmers in the North are learning to deal with the Industrial Worker in a spirit of understanding. For these men, who have organized a political force to bring about state ownership of elevators, warehouses, storage house and packing plants have got an economic insight that takes them beyond the point of looking on the Industrial Worker as an agitator whom society should suppress. Victims themselves of business piracy, they are coming to see the social cause for the Industrial Worker.

Many who ought to know better look upon the Industrial Worker as a sort of

modern guerilla warrior on the industrial system. They are convinced he isn't very important, merely spectacular. "The Industrial Workers are just a big noise," said a lawyer who had seen them operate in Arizona. "If the newspapers didn't give them such an unmerited amount of free advertising, they'd die out." He was distinctly mistaken.

The Industrial Workers have an organization that is national and embraces a dozen great industries. It is not very compact; it cannot be, dealing with men to whom a home is an impossible luxury, men who are made migratory by their work. The membership fluctuates widely, but has been increasing steadily. It is something like a bank account, deposits and withdrawals offsetting each other, but not varying that greatly. Its members come and go, joining during a strike but dropping out afterward. It is difficult for the officers themselves to tell what the membership is at a particular time. At Bisbee, Ariz., there were a few Industrial Workers in the copper mines before the strike of last July. When these walked out, at least two thousand others walked out. They were actuated not by a revolutionary spirit, but by inability to stand the treatment of their employers, especially when a strike by their workmen offered an opportunity to effect a change. These men attended the missionary meetings of the Industrial Workers in the city park and many were converted. Then came the deportation, and the necessity for union made more Industrial Workers. I talked to scores at Columbus, N. M., at the refugee camp, who said they were members of no union before the strike but had since joined the Industrial Workers. These men are now scattered, and when another strike comes wherever they are working they will join it and again be Industrial Workers.

Every member is an organizer, every member dispenses cards to his converts and collects their dues, which he scrupulously sends to the union. There are only a few unions, about a dozen, each union embracing an industry: the ideal of the Industrial Worker is "one big union." Each union is divided into district branches on geographical lines, and each district has an executive committee and secretary-treasurer. There are no other officers, except the national executive committee and

secretary, and the same officers in each industrial union.

Only the membership by vote may call a strike, "except in case of emergency;" but such is the informality and cohesion of the organization that a strike call by a secretary is almost tantamount to a strike. A sort of "straw vote" is usually taken in advance, and often there is no other vote. It would be difficult for the members of a union to ballot on a strike proposal and would require a long time.

There are eleven industrial unions, with others in process of formation: Marine Transport Workers Union No. 100 (Atlantic Coast), Metal and Machinery Workers, Agricultural Workers, Lumber Workers, Construction Workers (composed mostly of laborers on railroads and the comparatively unskilled in similar industries), Railway Workers (embracing men employed in any way in transportation), Marine Transport Workers Union No. 700 (Pacific Coast), Metal Mine Workers, Coal Miners, Textile Workers. A union of domestic servants has been started on the Pacific Coast.

The Industrial Workers operate chiefly

among the unskilled and immigrant workers whom the trade union does not reach. They organize the men who dig tunnels and lay railroad ties and cut trees in the forests—the most poorly paid and ill treated. They speak for those whom a shortsighted society ignores; theirs is a voice from the bottom. And it is answered with military stockades!

Leaders and teachers among the Industrial Workers are capable men—and women—preaching a doctrine of revolution. They are adept at capitalizing a situation, at selecting and directing forces of revolt. But the bulk of the membership are hardly syndicalists, usually followers of a militant union that offers service in their behalf.

At the Industrial Worker headquarters at Seattle, are death masks of the five "fellow workers" killed at Everett, Wash., when armed deputy sheriffs fired on the Industrial Workers' boat as it touched the wharf. There'll be more "bloody Sundays," and more deportations, and some day we may learn that they won't solve the problem of human misery.—From *The Masses*.

WE NEVER FORGET!

1916—November—1917

Felix Baran, Hugo Gerlot, Gus Johnson, John Looney and Abraham Rabinowitz, foully murdered at Everett, Washington, on November 5th of last year, are gone in body but are with us in spirit.

The unknown dead, who were slain by the bullets of the vigilante mob and were swept out to sea, are silent, shapeless marchers by our side.

Harry Golden walks through life on an artificial limb; Joe Ghilazano wears a silver knee-cap and carries a cane; Albert Scribner will never fully recover from a gun-shot hip wound; scores of others are carrying the marks of the bestial brutality of the degenerates who administered "law and order" in Everett.

We never forget!

Six months of liberty was stolen from more than seventy men and the confinement, the brutality, the starvation in the jails has laid a heavy hand on all these men and marked them for life.

The men who did these murderous things are at large and in control of the machinery of the law and even so much as a warrant against the known murderers is denied to the working class.

We never forget!

Against the wage system have we vowed our vengeance; against capitalism are we making our fight; production for profit must cease and production for use take its place is our ultimatum; down with industrial and social tyranny is our rallying cry; and though we are denied free speech, free press, free assembly and the right to organize, still will we carry on the fight until the last slave is freed. Again to you who died on November 5, 1916, we say:

We never forget!

—The Industrial Worker.

HAYWOOD OF THE I. W. W.

By JACK PHILLIPS

OLD John Brown of Ossawatimie was arrested by officers of the United States government, legally indicted, legally tried, and legally shot, as a traitor to the nation.

A few short years afterward millions of marching men, soldiers of the United States Army, with Abraham Lincoln for commander-in-chief, marched singing a song with every verse and every chorus glorifying John Brown. And "John Brown's Body Lies A Mouldering in the Grave" is today the most popular folk song of the American nation. Let the fact be recorded at this time that John Brown was tried on the charge of treason and shot to death because of presumed guilt of treason.

What was it John Brown did that caused him to be remembered and glorified in a national marching song? He was a man with a dream. His mind conceived the vision that if the southern black slaves could be armed with rifles they would fight their way to freedom from their white masters. Therefore, reasoned John Brown, the thing to do is to raid a government arsenal and seize the guns wanted by the black slaves. So he and his sons and followers raided the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, were hunted, captured, and as hereinbefore noted, legally indicted, tried, shot.

So Big Bill Haywood, nearly sixty years later, appears in history, another man dominated by a dream. Haywood has a vision of industrial democracy established, a hope of security and justice for all the workers of the world, the shackles of capitalist wage slavery struck off. How is this vision to be attained? Thru a world wide general strike of the working class, thru mass action

of the working people of the world, without violence necessarily, without death penalties, revenges and punitive indemnities. Merely thru a folding of arms, a refusal to make or transport the goods of the world, till all autocracies yielded to a newer order. Such was to be the working of the plan when its details could be arranged.

As wild a dream, perhaps, as the dream of John Brown that arming the southern blacks would lead to the abolition of chattel slavery. As vague and chimerical a vision as that of the "traitor" after whom the nation's most famous marching song was written.

What it leads to is the question: Will there be marching songs written to Bill Haywood some day as the same kind of a "traitor" as the John Brown who was legally indicted, legally tried, legally shot?

Let Claude Porter, special assistant attorney general in charge of the prosecution of the I. W. W. think about these things.

We wonder today when we look back and read the savage and ruthless charges brought against John Brown by the prosecutors. They called for his blood with tongues that today are dust.

One day Claude Porter's accusing tongue will be dust. And Big Bill Haywood will be dust. Which of the two will be remembered?

Nobody remembers today who it was that tongue-lashed John Brown in the prosecution of him for treason. But everybody knows the story of John Brown.

So be it. Such is history and the drama of destiny.

Winning Out in Idaho

By G. F. VANDERVEER

Chief Counsel for the I. W. W.

ON July 13, 1917, the I. W. W. hall at St. Maries, Idaho, was raided by E. B. Nolan, sheriff of Benwah County, all the supplies, literature and correspondence taken without a search warrant and a number of men arrested on a charge of "criminal syndicalism."

These arrests continued thruout the summer and fall until forty men were in custody, and it became necessary to erect a stockade in the county fairgrounds to provide for their confinement.

The first of these cases came to trial on November 12th, and the State selected as the defendant against whom it had the clearest case, Neil Guiney, secretary of the St. Maries branch. The case against Guiney had been prepared and the arrest made under the personal supervision of Governor Alexander. It was prosecuted by two special "lumber company" prosecutors from Coeur d'Alene, Potts and Wernette. Every attempt was made by the State to secure a prejudiced jury, resort being had to the time-worn expedient of a special venire summoned by a friendly coroner from the streets and countryside. Every fact charged against Guiney was admitted by the defense except that the "organization advocated crime, violence, sabotage and unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing political or industrial reform." And upon this issue alone the case was presented to the jury.

The State had massed its forces for a "test case," and in order that the case might be a test in the broadest possible sense the defense waived all other questions. After

a nine-day trial, with every circumstance against him, the defendant won a comparatively speedy verdict of "Not Guilty." Why?

Because it was virtually admitted that the lumber trust passed the criminal syndicalism law to strike at the I. W. W., because it was prosecuted by their special attorneys; and finally because it was conclusively proven that the strikes which had been in progress all summer were the most orderly imaginable; that the I. W. W. suppressed all disorder, intoxication and violence and not only did not destroy property but, on the contrary, saved a half million dollars' worth of timber in Idaho and Montana from destruction by fire. All these facts were generously attested by fire wardens and local peace officers in a manner which left no room for dispute.

Finally the I. W. W. proved conclusively not only that it did not advocate violence, etc., but that it opposed and deplored it not only because it was wrong morally and "no principle could be settled that way," but also because it always resulted in the introduction of troops and the loss of the strike. In other words, the strike ceased to be a struggle with the employer whom they could hope to defeat and became a clash with the authorities, with whom they had no quarrel and sought none.

In this case the I. W. W. ably defended the principle of its preamble that the employer and the employee have nothing in common and that the wage system is utterly wrong and must be abolished before true democracy and real freedom can exist in the United States.



MILITARISM

By KARL LIEBKNECHT

(Note—The following pages are quoted from the famous book on Militarism written in 1907, which so offended and outraged the German Junkers that Liebknecht was sentenced to serve eighteen months in a military prison and the book was suppressed. Published in this country by B. W. Huebsch, New York.)



KARL LIEBKNECHT

As a Member of the Reichstag



Serving His Sentence

IT is an extremely bold and cunning system, this system of moulding a soldier's intellect and feeling, which attempts to supplant the class-division according to social status by a class-division according to ages, to create a special class of proletarians of the ages from 20 to 22, whose thinking and feeling are directly opposed to the thinking and feeling of the proletarians of a different age.

In the first place the proletarian in uniform must be separated locally, sharply and without any consideration, from members of his class and his own family. That purpose is attained by removing

him from his home district, which has been accomplished systematically especially in Germany, and above all by shutting him up in barracks. One might almost describe the system as a copy of the jesuitical method of education, a counter-part of the monastic institutions.

In the next place that segregation must be kept up as long a time as possible, a tendency which, as the military necessity of the long period of training has long since disappeared, is thwarted by untoward financial consequences. It was substantially that circumstance to which we owe the introduction of the two-years' military service in 1892.

Finally, the time thus gained must be utilized as skilfully as possible to capture the souls of the young men. Various means are employed for that purpose.

All human weaknesses and senses must be appealed to to serve the system of military education, exactly as is done in the church. Ambition and vanity are stimulated, the soldier's coat is represented as the most distinguished of all coats, the soldier's honor is lauded as being of special excellence, and the soldier's status is trumpeted forth as the most important and distinguished and is indeed endowed with many privileges. The love of finery is appealed to by turning the uniform, contrary to its purely military purpose, into a gay masquerade dress, to comply with the coarse tastes of those lower classes who are to be fascinated. All kinds of little glittering marks of distinction, marks of honor, cords for proficiency in shooting, etc., serve to satisfy the same low instinct, the love for finery and swagger. Many a soldier has had his woes soothed by the regimental band to which, next to the glittering gew-gaw of the uniforms and the pompous military ostentation, is due the greatest part of that unreserved popularity which our "magnificent war army" can amply boast of among children, fools, seryant-girls and the riff-raff. Whoever has but once seen the notorious public attending the parades and the crowds following the mounting of the Berlin palace guard must be clear on that point. It is sufficiently known that the popularity of the military uniform thus actually created among certain portions of the civilian population, is a factor of considerable importance to allure the uneducated elements of the army.

The lower the mentality of the soldiers, the lower their social condition, the better is the effect of all these means; for such elements are not only more easily deceived by tinsel and finery on account of their weak faculty of discernment, but to them the difference between the level of their former civilian existence and their military position also appears to be particularly great and striking. There is thus a tragical conflict going on, in as much as those means have less effect with the intelligent industrial proletarian for whom they are intended in the first line,

than with those elements that need hardly be influenced in that direction, for the present at least, since they furnish without them a sufficiently docile military raw material. However those means may in their case, too, contribute to the *preservation* of the "spirit" approved of by militarism. The same purpose is served by regimental festivals, the celebration of the Emperor's birthday, and other contrivances.

When everything has been done to get the soldier into the mood of drunkenness, as it were, to narcotize his soul, to inflame his feelings and imagination, his *reason* must be worked upon systematically. The daily military school lesson begins in which it is sought to drum into the soldier a childish, distorted view of the world, properly trimmed up for the purposes of militarism. This instruction, too, which is mostly given by entirely incapable and uneducated people, has no effect whatever on the more intelligent industrial proletarians, who are quite often much more intelligent than their instructors. It is an experiment on an unsuitable material, an arrow rebounding on him that shot it. That has only lately been proved, in a controversy with General Liebert about the anti-socialist instruction of soldiers, by *The Post* and Max Lorenz, with the acumen generated by the capitalist competition for profits.

To produce the necessary pliability and tractableness of *will* pipe-clay service, the discipline of the barracks, the canonization of the officer's and non-commissioned officer's coat, which in many respects appears to be truly sacrosanct and *legibus solutus*, have to do service, in short, discipline and control which bind the soldier as in fetters of steel in regard to all he does and thinks, on duty and off duty. Each and every one is ruthlessly bent, pulled and stretched in all directions in such a manner that the strongest back runs danger of being broken in bits and either bends or breaks.

The most attractive bait that is employed to make up and fill the important standing formations of the army is the system of reengagement of men whose time has expired, who are given a chance to earn premiums as non-commissioned officers and are promised employment in

the civil service after they leave the army. It is a most cunningly devised and dangerous institution which also infects our whole public life with the militaristic virus, as will be shown further on.

The whip of militarism, the method by which it forces men to obey, reveals itself above all in the disciplinary system, in the military penal law with its ferocious threats for the slightest resistance against the so-called military spirit, in the military judiciary with its semi-mediæval procedure, with its habit of meting out the most inhuman and barbaric punishments for the slightest insubordination and its mild treatment of the transgressions committed by superiors against their subordinates, with its habit of juggling away, almost on principle, the soldier's right of self-defence against his superiors. Nothing can arouse more bitter feeling against militarism and nothing can at the same time be more instructive than a simple perusal of the articles of war and the records of the military penal cases.

Thus they attempt to tame men as they tame animals. Thus the recruits are drugged, confused, flattered, bribed, oppressed, imprisoned, polished and beaten; thus one grain is added to the other and mixed and kneaded to furnish the mortar for the immense edifice of the army; thus one stone is laid upon the other in a well calculated fashion to form a bulwark against the forces of subversion.

That all those methods of alluring, disciplining and coercing the soldier partake of the nature of a weapon in the class-struggle is made evident by the institution of the one-year volunteer. [Young men with high-school education, which in Germany can hardly be attained by youths belonging to the working class, have the privilege of serving but one year instead of two, paying for their food, lodgings, uniform, etc.] The bourgeois offspring, destined to become an officer of the reserves, is generally above the suspicion of harboring anti-capitalist, anti-militarist or subversive ideas of any description. Consequently he is not sent out of his home district, he need not live in the barracks, nor is he obliged to attend the military school or the church, and he is even spared a large part of the pipe-clay drill. Of course, if he falls into

the clutches of discipline and the military penal law, it is exceptional and usually with harmless results, and the habitual oppressors of the soldiers, tho they frequently nourish a hatred against all "educated people," only rarely venture to lay hands on him. The education of officers furnishes a second striking proof for this thesis.

Of exceptional importance for the discipline of an army is *the coöperation of masses of men* which does away with the initiative of the individual to a large extent. In the army each individual is chained to all the rest like a galley slave, and is almost incapable of acting with freedom. The combined force of the hundreds of thousands forming the army prevents him with an overwhelming power from making the slightest movement of his own volition. All the parts of this tremendous organism, or rather of this tremendous machinery are not only subject to the suggestive influence of the word of command, but also to a separate hypnotism, a mass suggestion whose influence, however, would be *impotent* on an army composed of enlightened and resolute opponents of militarism.

The two tasks of militarism, as will be seen, do not at all harmonize always in the department of military education, but are often at cross-purposes. That is not only true of training, but also in regard to equipment. War training demands ever more imperatively a continuously growing measure of initiative on the part of the soldier. As a "watch-dog of capital" the soldier does not require any initiative, he is not even allowed to possess it, if his qualification as a suicide is not to be destroyed. In short, war against the foreign foe requires men; war against the foe at home, slaves, machines. And as regards equipment and clothes the gaudy uniforms, the glittering buttons and helmets, the flags, the parades, the cavalry charges and all the rest of the nonsense can not be dispensed with for producing the spirit necessary for the battle against the interior enemy, tho in a war against the exterior enemy all these things would positively bring about a calamity; they are simply impossible. That tragical conflict, the numerous aspects of which can not be dealt with exhaustively in this book, has not been

comprehended by the well-intentioned critics of our militarism, who in their simplicity only use the standard applicable to a system of training for war.

That antagonism of interests within militarism itself, that self-contradiction from which it suffers, has the tendency of becoming more and more acute. Which of the two opposing sets of interest gets the upper hand depends at a given time on the relation existing between the tension in home and foreign politics. Here we see clearly a potential self-destruction of militarism.

When the war against the interior enemy, in case of an armed revolution, puts such great demands on military art that dressed-up slaves and machines no longer suffice to fight him down the last hour of the violent domination of the minority, of capitalistic oligarchy will also have struck.

It is of sufficient importance for us to note that the described military spirit as such confuses and leads astray the proletarian class-consciousness and that militarism, by infecting our whole public life, serves capitalism with that spirit in all other directions, apart from the purely military, for instance, by creating and promoting proletarian docility in face of economic, social and political exploitation and by thwarting as much as possible the struggle for the liberation of the working class.

SOLDIERS AS THE COMPETITORS OF FREE WORKERS

As a functionary of capitalism militarism fully understands that its greatest and most sacred task is that of increasing the profits of the employing class. Thus it thinks itself authorized and even obliged to place the soldiers, officially or semi-officially, as beasts of burden at the disposal of employers, particularly the junkers, who use the soldiers to supply that want of farm hands which has been caused by the inhuman exploitation and brutal treatment of the farm laborers.

To send *soldiers to help with the harvest* is a practice as constantly met with as it is detrimental and inimical to the interests of labor. It reveals, like the system of soldier-servants, the whole mischievous and stupid humbug behind the arguments which are used by those

monomaniacs of the goose-step and the parade drill to show the purely military necessity of a long period of military service, and awakens not very flattering reminiscences of the company system of the time before the crash of Jena. More complicated are the numerous cases in which the post office and the railroad management temporarily employ soldiers at times of heavy traffic, but they should also be mentioned in this connection.

By sending soldiers under military command *to act as strike-breakers* militarism interferes directly with the struggle of labor to emancipate itself. We need only point to the case of the present commander of the Imperial Anti-socialist Union, Lieutenant-General v. Liebert, who even as a simple colonel had comprehended in 1896 that strikes are a calamity, like a conflagration or inundation, of course, a calamity for the employers whose protecting spirit and executive officer he felt himself to be.

As regards Germany, a special notoriety attaches to the method of gently pushing the men released from military service into the ranks of the strike-breakers, a method practised as late as the summer of 1906 during the Nuremberg strike.

Of much greater importance are three events that occurred outside of Germany. In the first place we must mention the military strike-breaking on a large scale that took place during the Dutch general railroad strike in January, 1903, and which had its crowning achievement in the law withdrawing from the railroad workers the right to organize. In the second place we refer to the military strike-breaking on a large scale during the general strike of the Hungarian railroad workers in 1904, on which occasion the military administration went farther still and not only commanded the men in active military service to break the strike, illegally keeping them with the colors beyond their period of service, but had the impudence to mobilize the railroad workers of the first and second reserves and such other men of the military reserves as had the necessary technical equipment, and force them into strike-breaking service on the railroad under military discipline. Finally, military strike-breaking on a large scale was re-

sorted to during the Bulgarian railroad strike which was proclaimed on January 3, 1917. Of no less importance is the campaign inaugurated at the beginning of the month of December, 1906, in Hungary by the minister for agriculture in conjunction with the minister of war against the right of combination and the strikes of agricultural laborers, in which campaign stress was laid upon the desirability of thoughtfully training soldiers to serve as bands of strike-breakers in harvest-time.

The fact that military education systematically fosters strike-breaking propensities and that the workmen released from the active army become dangerous to the struggling proletariat, on account of their readiness to attack the members of their own class in the rear, must also be counted among the international militaristic achievements.

Military authorities everywhere have always been convinced of the capitalist truth of the saying that the Hydra of revolution is lurking behind every strike. The army is therefore always ready to put to flight with sabre and gun the disobedient slaves of the capitalist whenever the fists, sabres and pistols of the police are not immediately effective in so-called strike riots. That is true in regard to all the capitalist countries and also, of course, in the highest degree of Russia, which, as a whole, is not yet a capitalist country, and which can not be considered as typical in this respect on account of special political and cultural conditions. Tho Italy and Austria are among the greatest sinners, they are surpassed by the states enjoying a republican or semi-republican form of government. In judging historically the value of the republican form of government under the capitalist economic system it is of the greatest importance to point out persistently that, apart from England, there were no countries where the soldiery was so willing to suppress strikes for

the benefit of the employers and behaved so bloodthirstily and recklessly as the republican or semi-republican countries, like Belgium and France, with which the freest countries of the world, Switzerland and America, can easily bear comparison. Russia is, of course, in this respect, as in all spheres of cruelty, beyond comparison. Barbarism and worse than barbarism—the savageness of the beast characterizes the general civilization of her ruling classes and is the natural inclination of her militarism, which has literally bathed itself, ever since the first timid stirrings of the proletariat, in the blood of peaceful workmen who in monstrous misery were crying for deliverance. One must not cite any particular event, as that would mean tearing in a petty and arbitrary spirit a link out of an endless chain. For every drop of proletarian blood that has been shed in the economic struggle in all the other countries taken together, Czarism has crushed a proletarian body, in order to suppress the most modest beginnings of a labor movement.

An employment of military power similar in its nature we observe in the activities of the colonial armies and constabularies against those natives of the colonies who will not willingly allow themselves to be brought under the yoke of the meanest exploitation and greed. However, we can not deal more fully with this particular subject.

It must still be mentioned that often no sharp distinction can be made in this connection between the army proper and the constabulary and the police; they work together intimately, they replace and supplement one another and belong closely together, if for no other reason than that the quality which counts here—a violent combative temper, a willingness and readiness to sabre the people resolutely and ruthlessly, is also, in the case of the police and constabulary, mainly a genuine product of the barracks, a fruit of military education and training.

33 MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

**The Net Income (Amount Applicable to Dividends on Stock) of a Few of the Companies of
Which These Gentlemen Are Officers or Directors**

NOTE.—These figures are official, being those published in the companies' own annual reports.

	Pre-war Average for 1911, '12, '13	1916
JULIUS ROSENWALD, Advisory Commission		
Sears, Roebuck & Co.....	\$ 8,111,739	\$ 16,488,622
E. J. BEEWIND, Committee on Coal Production		
Republic Iron & Steel.....	2,426,106	14,789,163
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe.....	21,061,681	32,579,735
J. J. STORROW, Committee on Coal Production		
General Motors Corporation.....	4,890,672	28,789,560
U. S. Smelting, Refining & Mining.....	3,552,989	8,898,464
E. M. VAUCLAIN, Munitions Standards Board		
Baldwin Locomotive Works.....	4,405,167	5,982,517
Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co.....	3,222,311	18,079,889
F. C. PRATT, Munitions Standards Board		
General Electric Co.....	12,066,474	18,589,528
THEO. H. VAIL, Committee on Telegraphs and Telephones		
American Telephone & Telegraph Co.....	30,905,433	38,013,278
United States Rubber.....	5,731,677	11,226,208
W. D. SIMMONS, Commercial Economy Board		
Assoc. Simmons Hardware.....	440,907	2,171,550
H. C. KINGSBURY, Committee on Telegraphs and Telephones		
American Sugar Refining.....	6,181,641	11,455,107
J. F. McELWAIN, Committee on Shoe and Leather Industries		
W. H. McElwain Co.....	704,815	2,068,475
A. B. THELENS, Subcommittee on Army Vehicles		
Studebaker Corporation.....	1,913,100	8,611,245
ANDREW FLETCHER, Committee on Railroad Transportation		
American Locomotive Co.....	3,376,329	7,201,680
Wm. Cramp & Sons Ship & Engine Building Co.....	454,087	1,280,800
W. G. GARRITT, Committee on Shoe and Leather Industries		
Central Leather Co.....	3,472,804	15,489,201
CHAS. F. HALL, Committee on Shoe and Leather Industries		
American Hide & Leather Co.....	334,198	1,643,266
JULIUS KESSLER, Committee on Alcohol		
Distillers Securities Corporation.....	614,791	3,327,095
U. S. Ind. Alcohol Co.....	858,951	4,884,587
WM. H. NICHOLS, Committee on Chemicals		
General Chemical Co.....	2,593,301	12,286,826
Miami Copper Co.....	1,296,602	7,759,784
Pittsburgh Steel Co.....	1,191,855	4,564,068
Granby Consolidated Mining, Smelting & Power Co.....	466,337	3,819,295
MORACE BOWKER, Committee on Fertilizers		
American Agricultural Chemical Co.....	2,608,943	5,445,527
WILLIAM HAMILIN CHILDS, Subcommittee on Coal Tar By-Products		
Barrett Co.....	1,366,233	4,247,858
JOHN D. RYAN, Cooperative Committee on Copper		
Anaconda Copper Mining.....	11,741,185	57,941,834
Greene Cananea Copper.....	2,104,603	7,673,184
JAMES McLEAN, Cooperative Committee on Copper		
Phelps, Dodge & Co.....	7,442,399	21,974,263
American Can Co.....	4,476,101	7,962,982
Old Dominion Co.....	1,051,792	3,532,126
CHAS. M. MacNEILL, Cooperative Committee on Copper		
Utah Copper Co.....	7,733,435	39,738,675
Ray Consolidated Copper Co.....	1,634,365	12,084,166
Chino Copper Co.....	1,772,421	12,527,948
Nevada Consolidated Copper.....	3,647,351	15,002,051
ELBERT H. GARY, Committee on Steel and Steel Products		
U. S. Steel Corp.....	63,585,777	271,531,730
E. A. S. CLARKE, Committee on Steel and Steel Products		
Lackawanna Steel Co.....	1,282,499	12,218,234
AMBROSE MONELL, Cooperative Committee on Nickel		
International Nickel.....	4,354,668	13,557,970
MURRY GUGGENHEIM, Cooperative Committee on Copper		
American Smelting & Refining.....	10,994,166	23,252,248
THOS. F. MANVILLE, Committee on Asbestos, Magnesia and Roofing		
H. W. Johns-Manville Co.....	916,239	2,629,221
CHAS. M. SCHWAB, Committee on Steel and Steel Products		
Bethlehem Steel Corp.....	3,075,108	43,593,968
CHAS. W. BAKER, Cooperative Committee on Zinc		
American Zinc, Lead & Smelting.....	87,591	7,301,968
H. BRUCE MacKELVIE, Cooperative Committee on Zinc		
Nova Scotia Steel & Coal.....	542,590	2,104,478
CHAS. F. BROOKER, Cooperative Committee on Brass		
American Brass Co.....	2,096,172	10,991,670
E. L. AGASSIE, Cooperative Committee on Copper		
Ahmeek Mining Co.....	847,697	3,449,710
E. C. LUFKIN, Cooperative Committee on Oil		
Texas Company.....	3,856,667	13,898,861
P. A. S. FRANKLIN, Committee on Shipping		
International Mercantile Marine Co.....	971,165	21,777,162
MOSES L. SHUTTLEWORTH, Committee on Woolen Manufactures		
American Woolen Co.....	1,754,793	5,863,819
	\$280,777,927	\$900,301,596

Patriots and Profits

By Amos Pinchot

Chairman of the American Committee on War Finance

Amos Pinchot has published a powerful arraignment of the great industrial corporations that are making huge excess profits out of the war. He has gathered valuable statistics showing the enormous toll that is being taken by the basic industries that are furnishing the government and the people with its necessities. The resulting document is one that deserves careful consideration at the hands of the Congressmen and editors to whom it was sent, and of all others who wish to follow the major domestic issues of the war. Mr. Pinchot selects as his target the industrial leaders who constitute the advisory boards of the Council of National Defense. *He shows that in many instances they are directors or officers in the corporations that are profiting enormously from war business.* After a scathing attack on these men, whom he likens to a school of sharks tearing at the flesh of a defenseless whale, he turns to the war revenue bill with its 30 per cent tax on excess profits, contrasts it with the British tax of 80 per cent, demolishes the arguments of the Congressmen, financiers and publicists who opposed a higher rate for this country, and appeals to public opinion to force a change in policy at the next session of Congress.

* * *

War profits aside, our vast accumulations of wealth in the hands of a few men controlling our natural resources and the basic industries dependent on them are a national scandal. These accumulations are being added to at the rate of hundreds of millions a month while price fixing waits on the gathering of the requisite data.—The Public.

THE following is quoted from a letter to the Conference Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives by Amos Pinchot:

The Council of National Defense

The condition to which I want to call your attention, is that some of our principal financiers and captains of industry, who have been called by the government to serve upon the Council of National Defense, are the main offenders in the unpatriotic business of discrediting the war by commercializing it. In close co-operation with the government, in daily conference with our highest executive officers, these men are combining two irreconcilable functions. They are sitting in the morning as foremost patriots, actively directing the mobilization of America's resources, and they are spending their afternoons in taking advantage of the necessity of the people and the government by making legalized, but nonetheless destructive, financial raids upon them—raids so profitable as to make us look back, almost with gratitude, at the comparative moderation of American profiteers during the Civil War.

I append a list of some members of the Council of National Defense, who also sit as officers or directors of corporations which are making money out of the war.

The corporations mentioned are only a very small minority of the great number of war-profiting concerns, over which these and other gentlemen on the Council of National Defense preside and of which they are, in many instances, the largest owners. Yet the figures which accompany the list show that, in the year 1916, these forty-eight companies, a mere drop in the bucket compared with the total list, netted over \$900,000,000 out of the American public, the government and the Allies. This is roughly \$640,000,000 more than their average annual net earnings during the pre-war period of 1911 to 1913. In other words, the net earnings of these companies, applicable to dividends, in 1916 is more than three times the average net earnings, similarly applicable, in the pre-war period. Moreover, although it does not appear from the table of figures which I have made up for you, these companies have, for the most part, not only made out of the war the gigantic profits appearing in their annual reports (100, 200, 300, 400, and even as high as 1,200 per cent above their normal profits) but they have also paid as they went along for the extensions in their plans that have been constructed since the European war began; thus bringing up their actual earnings to still higher levels.

While the figures for 1917 are not generally available, yet such official reports as we have for the first half of the year indicate that the war profits will be very much greater this year than last. For instance, in 1916, the Central Leather Company netted \$15,489,201. It is estimated that in 1917 it will net over \$24,000,000. In 1916, the Republic Iron & Steel Company netted \$14,789,163. This year it will, net over \$22,000,000. In 1916, the United States Steel Corporation netted \$271,531,730. It will probably net over \$550,000,000 this year. In 1916, the Granby Consolidated Mining, Smelting & Power Company netted \$3,819,295. In 1917, it will net about \$5,000,000. In 1916, the Ray Consolidated Copper Company netted \$12,084,166. In 1917, it will probably net \$14,500,000. In 1916, the Chino Copper Company netted \$12,527,948. In 1917, it will net about \$13,600,000. In 1916, the Lackawanna Steel Company netted \$12,218,234. In 1917, it will probably net \$24,000,000. In 1916, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway netted \$32,579,735. In 1917, it is estimated it will net \$40,751,417. There is every indication, therefore, that 1917 will be a bumper year, in which America's profiteers, whether on the Council of National Defense or not, will accumulate from the war sums of money that will be unparalleled in financial history.

The excess war profits in 1916 of the forty-eight corporations mentioned (that is their net profits above the average for the pre-war period) were, as I have said, according to their own figures, about \$640,000,000. In 1917, the excess profits of these same companies will be as high as \$1,200,000,000. For, considering only the eight companies whose 1917 figures are mentioned above, they show an estimated excess in 1917 over 1916 of more than \$318,000,000. If these eight companies were the only ones in the whole list which 1917 war profits proved greater than those of 1916, it would bring the 1917 total of excess profits to over \$958,000,000; so that an estimate of \$1,200,000,000 excess war profits for 1917 for the whole list does not seem excessive.

A series of interesting inquiries are suggested by the above citations of war profits:

1. I have mentioned only thirty-three members of the Council of National Defense, and only a few of the war profiting corporations of which they are officers, directors and stockholders. Many of them are officers, directors and owners of a dozen or more war profiting concerns. Now, if the forty-eight corporations I have mentioned will make \$1,200,000 in excess profits in 1917, how much will be made by the total number over which these gentlemen preside?

2. The Council of National Defense consists of over 280 men; 170 or more are connected with corporations doing war profiting business. If the thirty-three gentlemen I have mentioned represent companies which are making \$1,200,000,000 in war profits this year, what will be the war profits of all the companies in which all the members of the Council of National Defense are represented as officers or directors?

3. Again, if forty-eight companies are making \$1,200,000,000 in war profits this year, how much will all of the large war profiting companies in the country make? They certainly will make double what the forty-eight are making, perhaps three or four times as much. Supposing they only make double as much. This would be \$2,400,000,000. Supposing they make three times as much (and this is a conservative estimate), it will come to \$3,600,000,000, or a sum a little larger than the total money cost of the Civil War.

Can American Business Pay War Taxes?

It will not satisfy the public for Congressmen to point out that England advanced her taxation of profits and incomes gradually, and to argue from this that America must be careful not to kill business by levying heavy taxes in the first year of our war. This argument is so obviously false that one is surprised at its constant repetition. Men of intelligence will not swallow it, for in it there is not even a thin shaving of truth between the thick layers of unsound special pleading. In reality, our corporations are far better able to pay an 80 per cent war profits tax today than the English corporations are, from the very fact that the former have had immunity from war taxation in two enormously profitable years, 1915 and 1916, during which they have

paid large dividends, increased their plants, paid off most of the cost of such increase and rolled up immense surplus.

When we remember, in connection with this, that the 1917 war profits will be so great that, after the 31 per cent tax proposed by the Senate is deducted, the corporations will still be able to distribute to their stockholders over twice as much as during the pre-war period, we see why newspapers, like the Journal of Commerce and the Evening Sun and a host of others, have come out in favor of the Senate Finance bill. They feel that such a tax upon business is highly satisfactory; and editorially, they admonish the rich not to complain about the proposed levy, lest a further analysis of it should disclose the dimensions of the war profits which it assures to the exploiters.

England levies a flat 80 per cent tax on war profits. Let us see what such a tax would mean to our more prosperous corporations, remembering, meanwhile, that it is, quite rightly, agreed by all factions in Congress that corporations which have made small excess profits shall be taxed very little or entirely exempted. Again using the Steel Corporation as an example, its average profits for 1911, 1912 and 1913 were \$63,500,000. Its net profits for 1917 will, as estimated, be over \$550,000,000; deducting \$63,500,000 from \$550,000,000—to get the amount taxable as war profits under the English plan—we get \$486,500,000. Now suppose, as is proposed by the liberals in Congress, our government follows England and takes 80 per cent of this by a war profits tax and allows the corporation to retain the remaining 20 per cent. This would give the government \$389,200,000 and allow the Steel Corporation to retain \$97,300,000—a sum larger than it ever made in any year from its organization up to 1915 inclusive, plus the \$63,500,000 of “pre-war profits” not subject to the war profits tax under the English plan. Thus we have \$160,800,000 to be retained and distributed by the corporation among its stockholders. This is much more than double the average earnings of the corporation during the most prosperous three years’ period in its history. It would seem to an outsider that it should be enough to keep the officers, directors and stockholders

from feeling they are being victimized by a hostile Congress, quitting their jobs and leaving the government in the lurch. But apparently that is not the way they look at it. Not at all. Anyone who suggests even half as big a tax is looked upon as an assassin of business; he is denounced as a plotter against American enterprise and a traitor to the war. And yet this tidy little sum of \$160,800,000, which seems inadequate to keep the patriotism of big business in working order, would enable the corporation to pay its bond interest, 7 per cent on \$360,000,000 preferred stock and 26.6 per cent on its \$508,000,000 common stock. In Heaven’s name, what do these gentlemen want?

Our expenses for this fiscal year will be at least \$9,000,000,000 above receipts, on the basis of present laws. That means that we must raise \$9,000,000,000 by taxes and bonds. Besides this, Congress has already organized loans of about \$3,000,000,000 to other governments. If we go on at this rate, we will lend an additional \$4,000,000,000 to the Allies before the fiscal year’s end. Since the latter part of April, and up to less than a month ago, we have advanced money to them at the rate of about \$20,000,000 a day. But considering only the \$9,000,000,000 deficit, this ought to be a big enough financial burden for the people to bear. They are not unjustified in feeling it is enough for them to fight against the greatest military power the world has ever seen, for the men to be shipped abroad and die on foreign soil, for the women and children to stay at home in sorrow and experience the pinch of poverty, and for the farmers and wage earners to produce the extraordinary wealth that the war demands, without the additional load of enriching, beyond all dreams, a small privileged class that has not humanity enough to delay its internal attacks upon a war-burdened country until after the crisis is over.

The Cause of Disorganization

Another phase of the situation which should, but apparently does not, commend itself to Congress, is that as well as generally undermining the war’s moral and physical strength, an unwise revenue bill, such as is being framed by Congress, invites national disorganization. For, by

leaving untaxed the bulk of the immense wealth accumulated in war profits, it obviously invites every farmer to hold his product back for higher prices, and every workman to strike for higher wages. If the rich, who do not particularly need the money, are going to make a killing out of the war, why should not ordinary people make a good living during it? The farmer has not made money out of the war, in spite of the high prices we pay for his products. He, too, has been the victim of the high cost of living, of the trust, the manipulator, the food pirate. He has sold his crops at fair prices and then watched the gamblers hold them back. The farmer is willing to do his share in the war; he is willing to work from dawn to dark, but he is not encouraged in patriotic sacrifice by the knowledge that he is being robbed while he works by some of the very people who are sitting in places of authority, fixing the price of his products and advising him to get up a little earlier, go to bed later—and eat less for the war's sake.

As for the workingman, take the case of Phelps, Dodge & Co. in Arizona. Their mines were the scene of the activities of the I. W. W., who in Bisbee urged the employes to strike. The net earnings of Phelps, Dodge & Co. in the pre-war period averaged \$7,442,539 a year. In 1916, the net earnings were \$21,974,263. God knows what they will be this year. Does any intelligent man suppose that, if Phelps, Dodge & Co., instead of taking the \$14,000,000 above average earnings out of the people and the government, had sold copper at a reasonable price or paid their employes a fair share of their abnormal profits, there would have been any labor troubles in their district? If they had done this, instead of acting the unpatriotic part of greedy war profiteers, neither the I. W. W. nor any other labor organization in the world could have persuaded the men to make trouble for their employers. The deportation of I. W. W. leaders from Bisbee was ill advised. If somebody had to be deported on account of the strike, it should have been those who were truly responsible for it—and they were not at Bisbee.

Again, suppose the wage earner is an employe of the U. S. Steel Corporation. His employer is netting about \$550,000,-

000 this year as against the pre-war average of \$63,500,000. This, too, is an invitation to strike for more pay. If the employes do so, however, they are denounced by the press as undesirable citizens under the influence of the Kaiser's money. The government and Mr. Gompers descend on the plant at the lunch hour and say, "Boys, be patriotic, don't strike. We are at war; this is no time for discord. Capital and labor must fight hand in hand. You and your employers must have only one thought till the war is over, and that thought is to make the world safe for democracy, irrespective of sordid personal gain."

To an outsider, neither in the labor nor the capitalist camp, it would seem more helpful to the country if those in authority descended on the directors' meeting instead of on the employes, and said to our Mr. Garys, Mr. Ryans, Mr. DuPonts, and Mr. Armours, "Boys, be patriotic; don't rob the public. Remember we are at war. This is no time to exploit either your country or your employes. Lower your prices; raise your wages; declare no record dividends. You are dividing class against class by your price and wage policy. You are hurting the war; you are giving it a bad name. Wait till after it's over, if you want to make big money. Don't assume that your stockholders are hogs. America has her load to carry now. The people are poor; don't make them poorer; they need food to fight on, to work on. Be patriotic, if you want your country to be successful. Play the game like good sports. You were Americans before you were directors. Be Americans now."

Our Capitalistic Patriots

But we must not be impatient with our friends who are fighting high war taxes. Let us rather see if we can understand their point of view. They argue that war taxes on incomes and excess profits must be kept low for the benefit of business. And I think they are sincere about it, too. Consequently in the *New York Times* we have read communications from the dignified pen of Mr. Otto H. Kahn, warning us against high income taxes. He says business will skip to Canada if heavily levied upon in the United States. Here are his words of warning:

"Capital would go into hiding. It might even take wing to other countries, for instance, to the country at our very door, Canada, where there is no Federal income tax at all, and hardly any State income tax."

And again he says:

"There can be little question that, if our income taxation is fixed at unduly and unnecessarily high rates, while Canada has none or only a very moderate income tax, men of enterprise will seek that country and there will be a large outflow to it of capital—a development which cannot be without effect upon our own prosperity, resources, and economic power."

Now, although I do not share Mr. Kahn's exceedingly low opinion of the patriotism of American business men, I do not doubt his own patriotism. Notwithstanding the fact that it is only a few years ago since he proposed to renounce his American citizenship and become a British subject, and even went so far as to get nominated and actually start running for Parliament, I do not doubt Mr. Kahn's loyalty. But that is neither here nor there (as, indeed, one might have remarked of Mr. Kahn's citizenship at that time). Mr. Kahn is earnest, and so, no doubt, is Senator Simmons; but their minds work along business rather than human lines; and they cannot pull themselves out of their old rut of thought long enough to realize that a war, in which a million or two Americans may perish and the vast majority of the population suffer economic distress, is a big human problem—big enough to even warrant us in asking business to work for something short of usurious interest; big enough also, to make decent business men entirely willing to do so.

More effectively than any other prominent member of the business fraternity, Mr. Kahn has written against large war taxes, but there is in his reasoning (as in that of many rich men, some of them Senators and Congressmen) always an isolation from the human values of the situation. Let us illustrate. Since the war began, Mr. Kahn has built himself an enormous Fifth Avenue palace, costing several millions, and, on Long Island, he has constructed for his use perhaps the most magnificent country place in Amer-

ica, a subject of very just pride to the architect.

Certainly there is nothing wrong or illegal about building Eighteenth Century palaces with 150 rooms and 30 bathrooms. Although the ladies' auxiliary defense committees might possibly be justified in sending notices to the rich asking them not to build palaces at the same time that they send bulletins to the poor telling them not to overeat. But I do not believe any man could do this who felt what the war meant to the people. No doubt, it gives work to thousands, though work unproductive of the things we need in war. Yet the fact that thousands of school children a few miles away in New York are unable to maintain their grades on account of malnutrition, the fact that the cost of living has gone up 80 per cent since the war began, while wages have risen less than 20 per cent, and the further fact that a people, already attacked by the advance guard of war-misery, must feed themselves while they fight Germany; these things, I say, make it evident that one must have a certain degree of detachment from the realities of the case, in order to choose this as the appropriate moment to fight war taxes on wealth, and at the same time introduce into the United States a scale of luxurious living unequalled since pre-revolutionary days in France.

In the Jackets

As another instance of this curious point of view common to wealth in war time (a point of view which assumes that great wealth for the few and grinding poverty for the many is the right and inevitable order of things, against which it is folly to protest) we have the war advertising of the American Bankers' Association, which consists of sixteen hundred representatives of important banking houses. Not long ago these gentlemen bought space in daily papers, and told the poor how to get on during the war. Their advertisement was headed in great black type, "God Bless the Household That Boils Potatoes With the Skins On." This, impossible as it may seem, was not a joke; our friends, the bankers, were in their way, far too patriotic to indulge in levity. If you doubt it, look up the files of the New York American for June 14th. With quite an astounding complacency,

these gentlemen, to most of whom the war has brought only additional competence, sit back in their easy chairs and advise the poor to eat potato skins and crusts, both for their own good and that democracy may not perish.

The following are some of their suggestions to their less fortunate countrymen:

"There is no more careless, thoughtless, happy-go-lucky, wasteful, prodigal and responsibility-evading nature than yours.

* * * If your dear ones starve, if there are black want and bitter suffering throughout the nation, your big heart will break with grief.

"Isn't it better to put your big muscles at work now—to keep suffering and grief away? There is no more keen, efficient and productive mind than yours, once it is AWAKE and knows it MUST WORK.

"WAKE UP! THINK! ACT! GET BUSY! PROTECT YOUR OWN—PROTECT US ALL—IF YOU WANT US ALL TO PROTECT YOU AND YOURS. (Capitalized as printed in advertisement.) * * * *

"We must send them (the Allies) millions of tons of food, and we will. There will be less for you. Wake up to it. You will have less to eat.

"But you need less. You waste enough to supply the difference. Stop it. Every time you have potatoes for dinner, you waste enough in the peelings to keep a starving Ally alive for a day. Stop it! Don't peel new potatoes. Buy a five-cent brush and BRUSH the thin skin off, saving ALL the potato. Boil old potatoes with the skins on. When done the skins can be peeled off without waste.

"Make bread pudding from your bread crusts. It's good. We loved it twenty years ago," etc., etc.

There is column after column of this slush to be read by anybody whose stomach will stand it. And, after all, there is something to be gained by reading it; for, whether the reader goes forth to purchase a five-cent brush or not, he will at all events have got a little glimpse at our "best people's" psychology in war time. I notice, by the way, that at one of the luncheon clubs frequented by members of the American Bankers' Association, they have not yet reached the five-cent brush stage. However, we must

give them credit for doing their banker's bit. On the bill of fare we find a marginal note to the effect that, in order to conserve the nation's livestock supply during the war, baby lamb and suckling pig will no longer be served!

I need not remind you that not only the government, but numerous private associations, are trying to stamp out public criticism of the war. The Department of Justice is organizing raids upon speakers, political organizations and labor groups. Judges and police magistrates are imposing heavy sentences for alleged disloyalty. A few days ago, a New York police magistrate stated, as a reason for sentencing a street speaker to a term in the workhouse, the fact that he was guilty of speaking disrespectfully of the part our great corporations are playing in the war. Conventions even are being held by nervous patriots to emphasize loyalty, unity, belief in the war; and prominent individuals like Mr. Elihu Root are going about the country, advising the government to incarcerate its critics, or string them to lamp posts that democracy may live; while in editorial rooms the dictionaries are being thumbed for fresh adjectives with which to denounce our objectors and iconoclasts.

Money means power. Vast accumulations of wealth in the hands of a privileged class, means vast accumulations of power in that class. This power is manifested in control of the press, of education, of schools, colleges and universities, of the stage, the pulpit. Take the press alone. To some extent at least, the statement that this is a government by newspapers is warranted. And, that this newspaper government does not represent the public's will is quite inevitable, since most of our important journals are owned by wealthy men whose aims are not, generally speaking, parallel with the people's. And yet it is this class press which forms, to a large degree, the opinion of the rank and file of American law makers. This, too, is inevitable. For, at a time not far subsequent to election, our average legislator begins imperceptibly to lose touch with home. His modest local paper commences to pall upon him, and the great metropolitan sheets, with their enormous circulation, brilliant editorials, strong cartoons and news columns, oftentimes

as purposeful as the editorials themselves, capture his interest; and the process has begun whereby the political machinery of the country becomes irresponsible to the majority.

Intelligent people all over the world understand this. They know that a nation may have all of the up-to-date political machinery of democracy, and not, in fact, be a democracy, but an oligarchy, if the economic power is narrowly concentrated in a minority of the people. What

is most to be feared, in the domestic changes now being brought about by the war is, that the drift of wealth from the people to the exploiters will, if unchecked, leave the former in an extremely unfortunate position. If they are not careful, they may well emerge from this war for democracy themselves economically impotent; their future mortgaged to the wealthy classes, and with the two undesirable alternatives of bondage and revolution staring them in the face.



HOW A MUZHNIK FED TWO OFFICIALS

By M. Y. SALTYKOV

[*N. Shchedrin*]

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ONCE upon a time there were two Officials. They were both empty-headed, and so they found themselves one day suddenly transported to an uninhabited isle, as if on a magic carpet.

They had passed their whole life in a Government Department, where records were kept; had been born there, bred there, grown old there, and consequently hadn't the least understanding for anything outside of the Department; and the only words they knew were: "With assurances of the highest esteem, I am your humble servant."

But the Department was abolished, and as the services of the two Officials were no longer needed, they were given their freedom. So the retired Officials migrated to Podyacheskaya Street in St. Petersburg. Each had his own home, his own cook and his pension.

Waking up on the uninhabited isle,

they found themselves lying under the same cover. At first, of course, they couldn't understand what had happened to them, and they spoke as if nothing extraordinary had taken place.

"What a peculiar dream I had last night, your Excellency," said the one Official. "It seemed to me as if I were on an uninhabited isle."

Scarcely had he uttered the words, when he jumped to his feet. The other Official also jumped up.

"Good Lord, what does this mean! Where are we?" they cried out in astonishment.

They felt each other to make sure that they were no longer dreaming, and finally convinced themselves of the sad reality.

Before them stretched the ocean, and behind them was a little spot of earth, beyond which the ocean stretched again. They began to cry—the first time since their Department had been shut down.

They looked at each other, and each noticed that the other was clad in nothing but his night shirt with his order hanging about his neck.

"We really should be having our coffee now," observed the one Official. Then he bethought himself again of the strange situation he was in and a second time fell to weeping.

"What are we going to do now?" he sobbed. "Even supposing we were to draw up a report, what good would that do?"

"You know what, your Excellency," replied the other Officer, "you go to the east and I will go to the west. Toward evening we will come back here again, and, perhaps, we shall have found something."

They started to ascertain which was the east and which was the west. They recalled that the head of their Department had once said to them, "If you want to know where the east is, then turn your face to the north, and the east will be on your right." But when they tried to find out which was the north, they turned to the right and to the left and looked around on all sides. Having spent their whole life in the Department of Records, their efforts were all in vain.

"To my mind, your Excellency, the best thing to do would be for you to go to the right and me to go to the left," said one Official, who had served not only in the Department of Records, but had also been teacher of handwriting in the School for Reserves, and so was a little bit cleverer.

So said, so done. The one Official went to the right. He came upon trees bearing all sorts of fruits. Gladly would he have plucked an apple, but they all hung so high that he would have been obliged to climb up. He tried to climb up in vain. All he succeeded in doing was tearing his night shirt. Then he struck upon a brook. It was swarming with fish.

"Wouldn't it be wonderful if we had all this fish in Podyacheskaya Street!" he thought, and his mouth watered. Then he entered woods and found partridges, grouse and hares.

"Good Lord, what an abundance of food!" he cried. His hunger was going up tremendously.

But he had to return to the appointed spot with empty hands. He found the other Official waiting for him.

"Well, Your Excellency, how went it? Did you find anything?"

"Nothing but an old number of the *Moscow Gazette*, not another thing.

The Officials lay down to sleep again, but their empty stomachs gave them no rest. They were partly robbed of their sleep by the thought of who was now enjoying their pension, and partly by the recollection of the fruit, fishes, partridges, grouse and hares that they had seen during the day.

"The human pabulum in its original form flies, swims and grows on trees. Who would have thought it your Excellency?" said the one Official.

"To be sure," rejoined the other Official. "I, too, must admit that I had imagined that our breakfast rolls came into the world just as they appear on the table."

"From which it is to be deduced that if we want to eat a pheasant, we must catch it first, kill it, pull its feathers and roast it. But how's that to be done?"

"Yes, how's that to be done?" repeated the other Official.

They turned silent and tried again to fall asleep, but their hunger scared sleep away. Before their eyes swarmed flocks of pheasants and ducks, herds of porklings, and they were all so juicy, done so tenderly and garnished so deliciously with olives, capers and pickles.

"I believe I could devour my own boots now," said the one Official.

"Gloves are not bad either, especially if they have been born quite mellow," said the other Official.

The two Officials stared at each other fixedly. In their glances gleamed an evil-boding fire, their teeth chattered and a dull groaning issued from their breasts. Slowly they crept upon each other and suddenly they burst into a fearful frenzy. There was a yelling and groaning, the rags flew about, and the Official who had been teacher of handwriting bit off his colleague's order and swallowed it. However, the sight of blood brought them both back to their senses.

"God help us!" they cried at the same time. "We certainly don't mean to eat each other up. How could we have come to such a pass as this? What evil genius is making sport of us?"

"We must, by all means, entertain each other to pass the time away, otherwise

there will be murder and death," said the one Official.

"You begin," said the other.

"Can you explain why it is that the sun first rises and then sets? Why isn't it the reverse?"

"Aren't you a funny man, your Excellency? You get up first, then you go to your office and work there, and at night you lie down to sleep."

"But why can't one assume the opposite, that is, that one goes to bed, sees all sorts of dream figures, and then gets up?"

"Well, yes, certainly. But when I was still an Official, I always thought this way: 'Now it is dawn, then it will be day, then will come supper, and finally will come the time to go to bed.'"

The word "supper" recalled that incident in the day's doings, and the thought of it made both Officials melancholy, so that conversation came to a halt.

"A doctor once told me that human beings can sustain themselves for a long time on their own juices," the one Official began again.

"What does that mean?"

"It is quite simple. You see, one's own juices generate other juices, and these in their turn still other juices, and so it goes on until finally all the juices are consumed."

"And then what happens?"

"Then food has to be taken into the system again."

"The devil!"

No matter what topic the Officials chose, the conversation invariably reverted to the subject of eating; which only increased their appetite more and more. So they decided to give up talking altogether, and, recollecting the *Moscow Gazette* that the one of them had found, they picked it up and began to read it eagerly.

BANQUET GIVEN BY THE MAYOR

"The table was set for one hundred persons. The magnificence of it exceeded all expectations. The remotest provinces were represented at this feast of the gods by the costliest gifts. The golden sturgeon from Sheksna and the silver pheasant from the Caucasian woods held a rendezvous with strawberries so seldom to be had in our latitude in winter. . ."

"The devil! For God's sake, stop read-

ing, your Excellency. Couldn't you find something else to read about?" cried the other Official in sheer desperation. He snatched the paper from his colleague's hands, and started to read something else.

"Our correspondent in Tula informs us that yesterday a sturgeon was found in the Upa (an event which even the oldest inhabitants cannot recall, and all the more remarkable since they recognized the former police captain in this sturgeon). This was made the occasion for giving a banquet in the club. The prime cause of the banquet was served in a large wooden platter garnished with vinegar pickles. A bunch of parsley stuck out of its mouth. Doctor P—— who acted as toast-master saw to it that everybody present got a piece of the sturgeon. The sauces to go with it were unusually varied and delicate——"

"Permit me, your Excellency, it seems to me you are not so careful either in the selection of reading matter," interrupted the first Official, who secured the *Gazette* again and started to read:

"One of the oldest inhabitants of Viatka has discovered a new and highly original recipe for fish soup. A live cod-fish (*lota vulgaris*) is taken and beaten with a rod until its liver swells up with anger . . ."

The Officials' heads drooped. Whatever their eyes fell upon had something to do with eating. Even their own thoughts were fatal. No matter how much they tried to keep their minds off beefsteak and the like, it was all in vain; their fancy returned invariably, with irresistible force, back to that for which they were so painfully yearning.

Suddenly an inspiration came to the Official who had once taught handwriting.

"I have it!" he cried delightedly. "What do you say to this, your Excellency? What do you say to our finding a muzhik?"

"A muzhik, your Excellency? What sort of a muzhik?"

"Why a plain ordinary muzhik. A muzhik like all other muzhiks. He would get the breakfast rolls for us right away, and he could also catch partridges and fish for us."

"Hm, a muzhik. But where are we to fetch one from, if these is no muzhik here?"

"Why shouldn't there be a muzhik here? There are muzhiks everywhere. All one has to do is hunt for them. There certainly must be a muzhik hiding here somewhere so as to get out of working."

This thought so cheered the Officials that they instantly jumped up to go in search of a muzhik.

For a long while they wandered about on the island without the desired result, until finally a concentrated smell of black bread and old sheep skin assailed their nostrils and guided them in the right direction. There under a tree was a colossal muzhik lying fast asleep with his hands under his head. It was clear that to escape his duty to work he had impudently withdrawn to this island. The indignation of the Officials knew no bounds.

"What, lying asleep here, you lazy-bones you!" they raged at him. "It is nothing to you that there are two Officials here who are fairly perishing of hunger. Up, forward, march, work."

The Muzhik rose and looked at the two severe gentlemen standing in front of him. His first thought was to make his escape, but the Officials held him fast.

He had to submit to his fate. He had to work.

First he climbed up on a tree and plucked several dozen of the finest apples for the Officials. He kept a rotten one for himself. Then he turned up the earth and dug out some potatoes. Next he started a fire with two bits of wood that he rubbed against each other. Out of his own hair he made a snare and caught partridges. Over the fire, by this time burning brightly, he cooked so many kinds of food that the question arose in the Officials' minds whether they shouldn't give some to this idler.

Beholding the efforts of the Muzhik, they rejoiced in their hearts. They had already forgotten how the day before they had nearly been perishing of hunger, and all they thought of now was: "What a good thing it is to be an Official. Nothing bad can ever happen to an Official."

"Are you satisfied, gentlemen?" the lazy Muzhik asked.

"Yes, we appreciate your industry," replied the Officials.

"Then you will permit me to rest a little?"

"Go take a little rest, but first make a good strong cord."

The Muzhik gathered wild hemp stalks, laid them in water, beat them and broke them, and toward evening a good stout cord was ready. The Officials took the cord and bound the Muzhik to a tree, so that he should not run away. Then they laid themselves to sleep.

Thus day after day passed, and the Muzhik became so skilful that he could actually cook soup for the Officials in his bare hands. The Officials had become round and well-fed and happy. It rejoiced them that here they needn't spend any money and that in the meanwhile their pensions were accumulating in St. Petersburg.

"What is your opinion, your Excellency," one said to the other after breakfast one day, "is the Story of the Tower of Babel true? Don't you think it is simply an allegory?"

"By no means, your Excellency, I think it was something that really happened. What other explanation is there for the existence of so many different languages on earth?"

"Then the Flood must really have taken place, too?"

"Certainly, else how would you explain the existence of Antediluvian animals? Besides, the *Moscow Gazette* says——"

They made search for the old number of the *Moscow Gazette*, seated themselves in the shade, and read the whole sheet from beginning to end. They read of festivities in Moscow, Tula, Penza and Riazan, and strangely enough felt no discomfort at the description of the delicacies served.

There is no saying how long this life might have lasted. Finally, however, it began to bore the Officials. They often thought of their cooks in St. Petersburg, and even shed a few tears in secret.

"I wonder how it looks in Podyacheskaya street now, your Excellency," one of them said to the other.

"Oh, don't remind me of it, your Excellency. I am pining away with homesickness."

"It is very nice here. There is really no fault to be found with this place, but the lamb longs for its mother sheep. And it is a pity, too, for the beautiful uniforms."

"Yes, indeed, a uniform of the fourth class is no joke. The gold embroidery alone is enough to make one dizzy."

Now they began to importune the Muzhik to find some way of getting them back to Podyacheskaya street, and strange to say, the Muzhik even knew where Podyacheskaya street was. He had once drunk beer and mead there, and as the saying goes, everything had run down his beard, alas, but nothing into his mouth. The Officials rejoiced and said: "We are Officials from Podyacheskaya street."

"And I am one of those men—do you remember?—who sit on a scaffolding hung by ropes from the roof and paint the outside walls. I am one of those who crawl about on the roofs like-flies. That is what I am," replied the Muzhik.

The Muzhik now pondered long and heavily on how to give great pleasure to his Officials, who had been so gracious to him, the lazy-bones, and had not scorned his work. And he actually succeeded in constructing a ship. It was not really a ship, but still it was a vessel that would carry them across the ocean close to Podyacheskaya street.

"Now, take care, you dog, that you don't drown us," said the Officials, when

they saw the raft rising and falling on the waves.

"Don't be afraid. We muzhiks are used to this," said the Muzhik, making all the preparations for the journey. He gathered swan's-down and made a couch for his two Officials, then he crossed himself and rowed off from shore.

How frightened the Officials were on the way, how seasick they were during the storms, how they scolded the coarse Muzhik for his idleness, can neither be told nor described. The Muzhik, however, just kept rowing on and fed his Officials on herring. At last, they caught sight of dear old Mother Neva. Soon they were in the glorious Catherine Canal, and then, oh joy! they struck the grand Podyacheskaya street. When the cooks saw their Officials so well-fed, round and so happy, they rejoiced immensely. The Officials drank coffee and rolls, then put on their uniforms and drove to the Pension Bureau. How much money they collected there is another thing that can neither be told nor described. Nor was the Muzhik forgotten. The Officials sent a glass of whiskey out to him and five kopeks.

Now, Muzhik, rejoice.

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Study Course in Scientific Socialism

LESSON I

INTRODUCTION

The questions and answers used in this study course are not prepared to be memorized. This is not a catechism. It is intended to supply, in the brief outlines, a comprehensive grasp of Scientific Socialism to be taken up in conjunction with the reading of books in which the principles of Scientific Socialism are elaborated. By following this course the student will know what he is reading about when he takes up a book dealing with any phase of the science. Certain books are here referred to, but we do not expect the student to be limited to them. We merely desire to direct a systematic study and reading of books with a grasp of the different phases of the subject in mind.

TO CONDUCT STUDY CLUB

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

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

A SYNOPSIS OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

1. How do you explain the phenomena of history?

Ans.: It is a record of political and intellectual changes and revolutions; principally of wars and the actions of so-called great men, wherein the economic causes for these acts and changes are ignored or concealed. When viewed from the economic standpoint it reveals a series of class struggles between an exploited wealth-producing class and an exploiting ruling class over the wealth produced.

2. What effect have "great men" had on history?

Ans.: Great men were simply ideal expressions of the hopes of some class in society that was becoming economically powerful. They formed a nucleus around which a class gathered itself in attaining economic conquests in its own interest, and in estab-

lishing social institutions in harmony with, and for the perpetuation of, such class interests. These men had to embody some vital principle from the economic conditions of their time and represent some class interest. The same men with the same ideas would not be great men under a different mode of production when the time for their ideas was not ripe.

3. What great factor is responsible for the rise of "great men"?

Ans.: The fact that the ideas of these men coincided with the class interests of some class in society that was becoming economically powerful. Therefore, economic conditions must exist or be developing which find their highest expression in the ideas of such men.

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civilization the natural environment loses in relative importance and the economic (man-made) environment, *i. e.*, machinery, factories, railroads and improved appliances grows in importance until in our day the man-made economic environment has become equally important."

17. Explain, briefly, the law of Surplus Value.

Ans.: Briefly, it is the difference between what the working class gets for its labor power, at its value in wages, for producing commodities, and what the employing class gets for the same commodities when sold at their value.

18. Since the economic factor is the determining factor, what does the law of Surplus Value furnish us?

Ans.: "Surplus Value is the key to the whole present economic organization of society. The end and object of capitalist society is the formation and accumulation of surplus value; or in other words, the systematic, legal robbery of the subject working class."

19. Define value and state how measured.

Ans.: Value is the average amount of human labor time *socially* necessary, under average normal conditions, for the production or reproduction of commodities.

20. What determines the value of labor power?

Ans.: It is determined precisely like the value of every other commodity, *i. e.*, by the amount of labor time socially necessary for its production or reproduction.

21. Since labor power is a commodity, what condition is it subjected to?

Ans.: It is subject to the same conditions that all other commodities are subjected to without regard to the fact that it is the source of all value. The worker in whom the commodity labor power is embodied, does not get the value of the product of his labor, but only enough to keep him in working order and reproduce more labor power. If the worker received the value of the product of his labor he would receive much more than enough to keep him in working order and reproduce more labor power. Such an economic condition would abolish all forms of surplus value or profit, also the wages system, by substituting economic and social organization in the interest of the working class. No other class could remain in existence and the class struggle would be ended.

22. In what economic systems, past or present, does surplus value or unpaid labor appear?

Ans.: It is the root of the present wages

system and was the substance of both chattel slavery and serfdom.

23. Name the three great systems of economic organization upon which the structure of past history and social institutions have their basis.

Ans.: Chattel slavery, serfdom and the wages system.

24. Explain, briefly, how the subject class was exploited in each.

Ans.: (a) Under slavery the laborer was a chattel the same as a mule or horse and only received his "keep," that is, enough food, clothing and shelter to keep him in working order and to reproduce labor power. All he produced was taken by his master.

(b) Under serfdom the worker produced what was necessary to keep him in working order and to reproduce labor power; and then separately and apart produced, the balance of his time, for his feudal lord.

(c) Under the wages system the worker receives wages which again equals only the amount necessary to keep him in working order and to reproduce more labor power. His entire product belongs to the capitalist, and out of this resource the employer pays the wages for the commodity labor, also for other commodities such as raw materials, and appropriates all of the balance and converts it into capital with which to continue the exploitation of the workers.

25. Define the "Class Struggle."

Ans.: It is the direct clash between two hostile class interests wherein the employing class makes every effort to appropriate more of the wealth produced by the working class, and the working class ever struggles to retain more of the wealth which it produces. The capitalist class strives to get more surplus value and the working class strives to get more wages.

26. Define "class consciousness."

Ans.: Class consciousness of the workers means that they are conscious of the fact that they, as a class, have interests which are in direct conflict with interests of the capitalist class.

27. What function does the state perform in the class struggle?

Ans.: "The state is a class instrument, and is the public power of coercion created and maintained in human societies by their division into classes, a power which, being clothed with force, makes laws and levies taxes." It is, therefore, used by the dominant class to keep the subject working

class in subjection in accordance with the interests of the ruling and owning class. It is also used to prevent the workers from altering the economic structure of society in the interests of the working class.

Conclusion.

We have found that society is a growth subject to the laws of evolution. We have enumerated the conditions and causes that impel classes of people to act. We have now reached that stage of evolution where a new class, the machine proletariat, has been developed within an economic system which has become detrimental to its existence. When evolution reaches a certain point revolution becomes necessary in order to break the bonds of the old and bring in the new. As the chicken grows thru evolution until it reaches the point where it must break its shell (the revolution) in order to continue its growth, so do classes of people come to the point in their evolution where revolution is necessary in order to

continue their growth, bring in the new society and consummate the next step in civilization. To bring about this revolution in a more intelligent manner than was ever accomplished in the past, the two following lines of action are now used thruout the world by the working class.

When working people organize politically to vote for and with their economic class, in order to end the class struggle and alter the economic structure of society in the interests of the working class, we call that **POLITICAL ACTION**.

When the working people organize industrially in order to act directly where they are employed for and with their economic class for the purpose of ending the class struggle and altering the economic structure of society in the interest of the working class, we call that **DIRECT ACTION**.

Books used in connection with the foregoing are La Monte's Science and Socialism, Engels' Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, and The Communist Manifesto.

AT LAST!

Liebknecht's suppressed book MILITARISM

THIS is the book whose appearance in Germany made armed autocracy shrink and pale. They promptly put Liebknecht in prison and destroyed his book. This translation was made from a copy Liebknecht borrowed from his brother—the only copy obtainable.

To know the mind of the boldest man in Europe—now in prison again because of his passion to **make the world safe for industrial democracy**—

You will read at once

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Industrial Unionism :

What It Is

By JAMES P. THOMPSON



JAMES P. THOMPSON

CALLED as a witness, before the Federal Industrial Relation Commission, he testified as follows: Mr. O. W. Thompson, Council for the Commission: Will you please give us your name? Answer: Mr. J. P. Thompson; James P. Thompson. Question: And your business address? Answer: 208 Second Avenue S., Seattle. Question: And your occupation? Answer: Organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World. Question: That is the organization with headquarters in Chicago? Answer: Chicago. Question: Of which Mr. Vincent St. John is general secretary? Answer: Yes, sir. Question: How long have you been an organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World? Answer: I have been an organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World, that is drawing a salary from them as an organizer, since 1906. I was one of those who worked for it before it was born, I mean I helped organize it.

Question: You say you helped work for it before it was born; you mean as a similar organization? Answer: I mean I was one of those who worked to have it formed and took steps in starting it. Question: How long have you been engaged in the work of propagation or agitation or whatever you want to call it, along that line? Answer: Well, let me see, I think I got to be a sort of an agitator when I was a

fireman on the Great Lakes when I was about fifteen or sixteen years old. Question: As you look over the labor field and look into the condition of the workers and look at the organization then in existence, what was in your mind that gave you the idea that a new organization should be formed? What was the reason that led you to that conclusion?

Answer: Why, I saw the one big union of employers forming; I saw that in case of a strike in a shop that one craft would strike and the other crafts in that shop would remain at work and help the company to break the strike. From that I got the idea that every one in the shop should be organized together, from the man that scrubs the floor to the man who starts the engine. Then I saw that when we even succeeded in tying up a shop in that manner that they would sometimes be able to get scabs, what we call strike-breakers. I saw then an organization must be formed in such a way as to cut off raw material from going into such a mill where strike-breakers were working, and refuse to handle the scab product brought out from such a mill or factory. Then we saw as we studied, that the one big union of bosses, employers, associations, and so on, that they met even those tactics by transferring orders to other shops, to other members of the employers' association, and so we got the idea that every one in a craft should stand together

in the shop, and every shop in the industry should stand together, and then we saw, like in the case of the strike of the coal miners, we saw the railroad men haul scabs in on one train and haul scab coal away on another, and from that the idea formed that not only should every craft in an industry stand together, but the workers of one industry should back up the workers of another industry, and that we should all combine into one big union, having for our motto an injury to one is an injury to all.

Question: Looking at the standpoint of the older organizations, wherein would you claim that there is a difference between yours and theirs so far as the question of organization is concerned? Answer: The former, as I have pointed out, is chiefly organized by crafts. They teach everyone in a craft to stand together. Now, we say for the same reason that every one in a craft should stand together, for that same reason every craft in an industry should stand together, and every industry should stand together, the workers of one industry with another. And, fundamentally, the difference is vital, the craft union is founded upon the attempt to simply better the condition of the wage worker under present conditions; while the I. W. W. is founded upon a recognition of the class struggle, and that a revolution is rapidly approaching, and that the thing most vital for any working man to do is to organize not only for the every day struggle with the capitalist, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. Now, your civil government has broken down in three states, I think I heard you say, it will break down in every state. There will be a general strike and revolt that will be too big for anyone to handle, only the organized workers. Now, by the way, I am the author of the *I. W. W. Preamble*, and I would like to have you read, if you want to figure on our principle, the last paragraph, which says: "The army of production must be organized, not only for the every day struggle with the capitalist, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown." I look to the time when the organization known as The Industrial Workers of the World, or a revolutionary organization formed on the same lines, will be the class who will save civilization from going back

to barbarism. I see a time when our speakers can influence when no one else can.

Question: Well, Mr. Thompson, getting more to specifics on that proposition, how would you figure, for instance, that the old organizations, the craft unions, would fall down in the matter of production in case the capitalistic system went to pieces? Answer: The craft union today is a result, you understand. Of course, you understand, that when any organization is first formed, it is supposed to conform to the conditions of the times. And when those conditions change, if the organization does not change to meet the changed conditions, then we have what we call an out-of-date organization. Now, there are ideas that go along with out-of-date organizations, and the American Federation of Labor is out-of-date in form, it is out-of-date in spirit, it is a representative of the past, as far as organized labor is concerned, it is dying of dry rot. The I. W. W. has got the red-blooded part of the working class. And we are not organizing on craft lines, but on class lines. And the I. W. W. is aiming, not only to better our conditions now, but to prepare for the revolution.

Question: Just coming again to specifics, Mr. Thompson, what can you state to this commission, what facts or data of any kind can you give to them from which they can draw the same conclusions that you are drawing? Answer: Well, I would say to the commission, I understand that the law that created you, says that you should investigate the underlying cause of the social unrest. I think it foolish to ask the man who is satisfied with the system, the cause of unrest. He would not tell you if he knew, many of them would not anyway. You have quite a lot of hypocrites, you have had men who were afraid of losing their jobs, if they told the truth. But I would advise that if you really want to know the underlying cause of the social unrest, that you should ask the revolutionist. Now, I claim to be a revolutionist.

Question: Well, I—J. P. Thompson breaking in on the question—And I claim to be able to answer that question, the cause of social unrest.

Question: Well, I will come to that, Mr. Thompson, but before getting to that, the Commission is commanded by Congress to

examine into organizations of labor. J. P. Thompson: Yes, sir.

Question: We are examining now thru you, as we have done thru others, into the Industrial Workers of the World. You have made a statement that the older unions were organized under a condition which has passed away, that they carry with them a philosophy of action which does not fit present needs, and that they are on the wane, but you are on the come? Answer: Yes.

Question: Now, what I ask is, it is clear—of course, it must be to you; that these conclusions, they may be correct—it is not for me to question them here as counsel. Answer: I understand that.

Question: I simply want to get from you the facts so that the Commission itself when it reads your testimony may say: "Well, from what he states, which appear to be the correct facts, his conclusions are correct, or they are incorrect." Now, what I would like you to give the Commission is some data with reference to the old organizations which will prove the statements you make, or tend to prove them. Answer: Why, you want documentary proof?

Question: No, we don't limit you. You can take your own way of stating it. You can state what you hear, or what you have seen yourself, or what you believe, but I simply ask you for facts rather than conclusions. Answer: Well, since one of the printing industry was represented here a moment ago in the form of one of the employers, I will call attention to the fact that in San Francisco last winter the pressmen went on strike in the job printing shops, and the union—so called union printers—remained at work. The union bookbinders and so on remained at work. And by remaining at work they helped the Company to fill their orders, and helped the company to break the strike of the pressmen. And I also will take the testimony while it is warm, from Colonel Blethen, that these people sign contracts running out at different times. That is sufficient proof of what I said about them breaking one another's strikes. It is a fact, not a dream or anything like that.

Question: That objection would go to the question of sympathetic strikes, that is to say, that the old organization does not indulge sufficiently in sympathetic, what are commonly called sympathetic, strikes?

Answer: No, I don't like the word sympathetic strikes.

Question: But I am talking about the word as the general public use it. Answer: Well, the general public don't use the word in that sense, that is, sympathetic. Now, here is the idea, if there is a strike in a restaurant, and a harness-maker up on some street somewhere would go on strike in sympathy, you know, you might say it was sympathy, but we can get that in the dictionary; sympathy, that is the way we look at it. We say that the ice wagon driver and the bread wagon driver and the driver who delivers meat or ice or supplies of any kind to that scab restaurant are strike-breakers, and it is a question of whether they want to be union men or scabs, not a question of whether they want to strike in sympathy, but a question of whether they want to help break the strike or win the strike, and if they do these things, we call that union strike breakers.

Question: Well, now, in what other respect is the old organization unable to meet the new conditions? Answer: The old organization is not based on the recognition of the class struggle, and an organization that is not revolutionary—a labor organization that is not revolutionary—cannot rally to its support any red blooded members of the working class. I will add further, that I believe that the red blooded part of the American Federation of Labor, when it comes to a show down, will back up the I. W. W. better than they will the American Federation of Labor.

Question: What do you mean by the class struggle, as you have stated it? Answer: Well, whenever you get ready to ask me that question of the cause of social unrest, I think I could probably lay the foundation of the whole thing right there in a nutshell. Counsel: Well, I said you might follow your own methods, Mr. Thompson. Answer: Well, I understood you said later you would ask about that. Counsel: Yes. J. P. Thompson: The reason I say this, I would like to answer the whole thing at once in one way. Counsel: You may go on and answer it, take up the question of Industrial unrest, its cause—. J. P. Thompson: The class struggle all comes under that. Counsel: And your cure. I want to get from you your opinion. J. P. Thompson: Certainly,

that is the idea, and it is worth whatever it weighs, that is the idea.

Counsel: Go right ahead. J. P. Thompson: Now, the real cause of all social changes and revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in their more or less confused ideas of right and wrong, or of truth and justice, not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch. That is one of our sayings. We say that in order to understand the social problem it must be looked at as a process of natural history, governed by laws not only independent of the human will, consciousness and intelligence, but on the contrary, determining that will, consciousness and intelligence. Now, when we speak of the world, of the working class, we mean the workers of the world. We are as broad as the world. We claim that in studying economics we must consider it from the standpoint of the world. You never hear us talk about immigration being a bad thing, we believe it is a good thing and so on. And so you might question me on that, if you wish, later. But here is the point, that, I will just take for example in this country, since I am an American for many generations, and naturally quite familiar with the history of this country.

In the day of what we call petty industry in this country, the tool of production was of a kind that could be used by the individual. The man who used the tool owned the tool. In the early days of our forefathers, all they had to do was to kill some Indians and get the land and then they could settle down on that land and make a living. They didn't have any railroads. The only railroads they had were in the form of an ox team, and they took their commodities to market. They didn't have shoe factories. The worker who made shoes made them by hand and carried his tools under his arm.

When the farmer in those days wanted clothes he didn't go to the factory for them. The women folks used to be the textile mill in the home. They used to make the home-spuns, knit the socks and the mittens, and made the clothing, the home-spuns. Now, if a man was up against it, as we put it today, why they would say: "Go out and take up a piece of land and settle down and make your own living." Well, now there has come a change. There is an unrest here, look for the cause in a change

in the economics, in the mode of production.

The tool of production is not now a thing that can be used by an individual. The labor process has taken the co-operative form. You can not, if you own a textile mill, you cannot weave the woolen cloth without the sheep shearer, or the cotton cloth without the cotton picker. You can't weave cloth, woolen or cotton, without the ironworker to make the looms, and you can't have the building without the labor of the building workers. The tool of production today is not an individual tool, not a thing that one man can use. The co-operative plan or form has entered into the labor process. Now, here is what is the matter in the world, we have social production but we have private ownership of the means of production, and this divides the human race into two classes, the class who own the means of production and don't operate them, and the class who operate them but don't own them. You never saw a railroad operated by the class that owns it, nor you never saw a railroad built by the owners of it.

You will find one class owns the means of production and another class operate them. The interests of these two classes are diametrically opposed. The interest of the employing class demands that we work hard for small pay. Our interest demands that we put the other class to work. Today, we not only have to feed ourselves, but we have to feed an idle, worthless class who have no more function in society than a bedbug. Now, in order that you may fully understand this, you have asked me in this letter to me, when subpoenaing me, to mention the lumber industry. And I will explain the psychology of the lumber worker.

I think, altho I am a longshore man—I am one of those undesirables who travel everywhere, not to simply stir up people, but to tell people what we believe can be done to make this a better world. Now, the logger, he walks out in the woods and looks around at a wilderness of trees. He works hard in there. And what does he get? He gets wages that are below the dead line. I say dead line in wages means below the line necessary to keep him alive. They are being murdered on the installment plan.

Now, they breathe bad air in the camps. That ruins their lungs. They eat bad food. That ruins their stomachs. These foul con-

ditions shorten their lives and make their short lives miserable. When they ask for more, like the I. W. W. did—we asked for dry rooms so we could have a place to dry our clothes. If we don't dry our clothes—I have got a bad cold, it bothers my throat—if we don't have—that is all right, I don't want any water, thank you. You know it rains very much, now, speaking of this particular part of the country, which I always like to apologize for doing, as this is a world question, I am only using this as an example, in this part of the country, for example, it rains a great deal and they work in the rain. If they didn't work in the rain they wouldn't work at all. When they come in from the camps, they are wet, their feet are wet. They go into a dark barn, not as good as where the horses are, and the only place to dry their clothes is around the hot stove made hot to dry the clothes. Those in the top bunks suffer from the heat, those far away from the cold. Well, if they don't dry their clothes they put them on wet the next morning. Then they would have rheumatism. And when we asked for dry rooms in which to dry our clothes, a man like Weyerhaeuser, who owns all this land here as far as your eye can reach—or as far as a mind's eye can reach, almost. Oh, no, he can't afford to put in dry rooms. No. Why not. Well, business is business.

And so the logger, he finds that he is nothing but a living machine, not even treated as well as a horse. When the horse is out of work he is glad of it. When the wage worker is out of work he is up against it, they turn the hose on him in Sacramento. All right. Now to show you just how we look at this. We say that in the early days a man came into this western country—this is only an example of the western country—when land was cheap, and when politicians could be bought two for a nickel—that is the way we put it in our language, understand—they got possession of this land, like Morgan and those fellows of the so-called better class, you know, that bribe legislators, as in the New Haven Railroad proposition you know about. They got out here and by bribing and grafting and gunning and one thing and another, they got possession of this land, this forest out here. And then they say to us:

“You came too late. We own this land.”

Where did they get it? We know where they got it, they stole it. But they say: “We have a legal right,” and all that stuff, a law they made themselves. Now, just to show you how we look at it, because that is the vital point, you know, you are talking now with a revolutionist. I believe I have the psychology of a revolutionist. And we look at that as just as ridiculous as it would be as if suppose we would go out into the forest, and we would see a lot of squirrels out there working hard gathering nuts. Then in the winter we would go out there and we would see the nuts piled high, and these same working squirrels in misery. We would say to them, “What is the matter?” “Why,” they would say, “Don't you know what is the matter? Why, those fat squirrels over there they never worked and they own all this forest here, and when we produce the nuts we turn all the nuts over to those fat squirrels. And then they have a lot of little clerks to sort out the wormy nuts, and on pay day they give us our snuff and our overalls and our hob-nailed boots—” the way the worker puts it, the squirrel would get the wormy nuts.

We claim that no man has more right to own this earth than he has to own the air he breathes; that John D. Rockefeller has no more right to say: “I own that coal mine, I own the coal down in the earth as far as hell.” You don't have to go very far in a coal mine to get to hell. You are in hell if you are in a coal mine, especially if it is Rockefeller's coal mine, because he murders more in proportion to the number than any other in the country. We say they have no right to own this. Right is a relative term. They will own it just as long as they have the power to own it. And just the minute that we get the power we will do away with this thing of some human beings owning the things that other human beings must use in order to live.

And now I will become a real American again. Abraham Lincoln said, “the government of the people, by the people, for the people.” Well, that is tame compared to the I. W. W., and our idea will prevail when those who are opposing it are forgotten. I believe that, as much as that I am sitting here. We are the modern abolitionists fighting against wage slavery. Here is one of our sayings: “The industries must be owned by the people, operated by

the people for the people, instead of being owned by the few, operated by the many for the few." And in regard to the social unrest, it is not the degree of exploitation as much as it is the fact of exploitation. If we remain in this room for many days we would learn more about the room as we remained. We would know that it was warmer in one corner, and more cool in another. And so with society, the longer we live in this capitalist society the more we learn about it. We have learned that the capitalist papers, as we call them, will lie, that they will lie—well, will lie about the I. W. W., see. And so, as the result of the lying, and suggestions and misrepresentations on the part of the press, the workers are losing confidence. You know we used to say in this country that a thing was true, and prove it was, by saying we saw it in black and white. Well, a man that would try to prove a thing by saying he saw it in black and white in some of the papers in this country now, would be considered a candidate for the insane asylum.

And so with the courts. Now, we are losing confidence in the law. We have but very little confidence, I am speaking frankly of the working class all over the country and to those of the world this applies to a more or less extent. The country most developed industrially will furnish to the more backward countries the image of their own future. Now, we are gradually losing respect for the law, because it is universally expressed in this way, there is one law for the rich and another law for the poor. Everyone, generally speaking, will admit that if you steal a loaf of bread you go to jail; if you steal a railroad, you go to Congress. Now, that is the way they express that idea.

Now, the other class attempts to hold our class down by high-handed methods, like the hop-pickers' case. When you go to California you will hear about the hop-pickers' case. Two men are in jail sentenced to life imprisonment. They didn't kill any one. Everybody admits they didn't kill anybody. They were telling the workers in that hop ranch what they thought ought to be done. There was no drinking water there. Every way the conditions were unspeakable. I won't take up your time with that, I expect you will get all of that in California. But those two men are in jail. Now, it doesn't matter what you

think or what I think, in a way; what I mean is this, that going from one end of the country to the other, any working man who knows anything about it believes those men are innocent, and every day they are in jail—every day they are in jail, just like rust eats iron—so confidence in the capitalists' courts is dying in the hearts of the workers.

Now, they can be high-handed, like in Ludlow. They can fire the tents there, and they did. And you have heard the old saying, "the shot is heard around the world." When they fired the tents of Ludlow, they lighted fires in the hearts of the workers they can never put out. We are not patriotic like we used to be, in the sense that we will fight for the other class to get markets. We do not take any stock in this foreign market business at all. The world's market for steel, the workers of the world produce the steel, and no matter whether the railroad is built in China or in England, it matters not to us as a class. We do the work, and all we get is what? As the wealth piles up on the one hand, misery piles up on the other, and the working class see this. They know that labor produced all the wealth.

Now, this puts it so any child can understand it. You know we form habits of thought. Now, we workers know that if our class wasn't here on earth at all, the other class would have to go to work. We know that well enough. If our class was not here on earth and the other class wanted shoes, for instance, they would have to go ahead and make them, and if they didn't know how to make them, they would have to learn how or go barefoot. Now, the difference between what we produce and what we get is the amount of which we are robbed. All capital is unpaid labor.

Now, there are two armies in some countries in the world, the army of production and the army of destruction. The army of destruction is the military army, that is it is one of them. Now, the army of production feeds everybody. They produce it all, and what we want is for the army of destruction to disband, and join the army of production, and then we who do the work won't have to work so hard, won't have to work so long. We will have the world's work to do, but we will have more help to do it, and then we won't have

the capitalist class that class that says: "We own the earth and the machinery of production." We want to put them to work and make them do their share. In other words, we want to do away with the wage system and establish the co-operative system in its place.

The labor process has taken the co-operative form and the things that are used collectively must be owned collectively. And this class struggle will never end until the workers of the world organize as a class, and take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

Counsel: Now, Mr. Thompson, assuming that we were all in accord with your ideas, your philosophy of industry, taking society as it is today, formed of people with various views, with the majority not, perhaps, agreeing with your theories of production, what would you say to this Commission that it could do, either by recommendation to Congress, to the various state governments, or to the workers—the people of the country, that would probably be accepted and would lead towards this newer society that you are speaking of? Answer: Well, since you put it so broadly that you recommend to all the different ones what to do: Now, I would say to the government, for instance (to put it that way; I look upon them as a committee of the capitalist class. But the government, political government, not the real ruling government of the country; I don't mean that, I mean the political government.) I mean that I would recommend to this Commission that they say to the representatives—to all whom it may concern—that the cause of social unrest is to be found in the mode of production, that a revolution is inevitable, that we may delay that revolution a little, we may hurry it a little, but we can't stop it, and that everyone who is big enough to rise above local interests and see the inevitable, should do all in their power to lessen the birth pangs of the new society being born from the womb of the old. And to the capitalist class, I would say to them: "You are doomed. The best thing you can do is to look for a soft place to fall."

Counsel: That, Mr. Thompson, then, would be your practical suggestions to this Commission? Answer. I would absolutely think that that would save—if the

ruling class of today were big enough to do that, I believe it would save much misery in the world.

Council: I don't mean that, Mr. Thompson. I mean your idea of what can be accomplished. Answer: I lost one point. You asked me what I would recommend to the working people?

Counsel: Yes. Answer. All right. We would recommend to the working class that they organize as a class and depend for their labor laws, not on the politician, but that they should organize and pass the labor laws in the union, and enforce them on the job. We are unlike the editor of the *Seattle Record* of the A. F. of L. He says they, the A. F. of L., issue a paper. You asked him what the purpose of that union paper was, and he said—if I remember rightly, he said it was to teach the workers their rights under the law and to get them to work for the passage of better laws. Now, our idea of a labor paper is that it should teach the foolishness of going to these politicians to get these laws, and that they should pass the law in the union and enforce it on the job. If you wanted to do away with child labor, organize and refuse to work with children.

Counsel: Any other practical suggestions, Mr. Thompson? Answer: I believe that the way to do away with the unemployed is this: Now, I mentioned a moment ago that there are two armies, the army of production and the army of destruction. I include the capitalists in that, because when they eat it is destruction of property. When the workingman eats, it is in a sense productive consumption, like a locomotive eating coal. So, I say this: That—I don't mean that literally—that it is real productive consumption when I say the workman eats, I don't mean in the literal sense, but I mean it in one sense; but in regard to this army of production and the army of destruction I want to use an illustration that I think will make clear the cause and cure for unemployment.

Now, we will take the army of destruction in an enemy's country. Suppose that there is only a certain amount of food to eat, and it is all in the form of bread; suppose that when we come to see that army of soldiers, the army of destruction, we see that they have nothing to eat but bread, but that one part of the army got eight or ten loaves

every day, and the other part of the army had no bread at all. We would think they were crazy. We would say put that army on rations; give each five loaves, or whatever is necessary so it will go around. Now, we walk away from them, and we see the army of destruction; they do not live on bread—they do and they don't—they must have labor in order to live. Well, we see that some of that army get eight, ten, or twelve hours labor, and the others have none at all—well, what would we do?

The same as with the bread. Now, we divide the bread among the soldiers, and so we should divide—now notice—we should divide the work of the world among the workers of the world. Then, when we do that, there will be no unemployment. If there is not work enough for all of us all the time, there must be work enough for all of us part of the time. The idea of some working ten hours and others having no work at all, that is out of date—ridiculous. The idea of little children being worked to death while strong men are

out of work, no one but a savage will support that in our opinion. So we believe that we ought to shorten the work day, divide the work of the world among the workers of the world, and then there would be no unemployment. Then, the other class, in their struggle with us, would find it hard to get scabs, they would find it hard to get men to eat food that we had refused to eat, as there wouldn't be any unemployed to draw from.

Well, when we get the unemployed out of the hands of the other class, the main club would be out of their hands, and then we would make the boss, we would force the boss to pay us more wages for five or six hours than he does now for eight and ten. That is not all. When we have divided the work among the workers of the world, then we have gotten the bosses around on the slippery end of the stick. Then we will put them to work, and this system will be over, and we will establish the co-operative system. That is revolutionary, but that is what we are after.



UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE

THE *Chicago Tribune* is running almost daily editorials urging that Congress immediately pass a universal military service law. One of the stock arguments this newspaper advances is that the people would stand for the passing of such a law now and might seriously object to such a law after the present war is over.

We are very glad to see a progressive paper like the *New Republic* coming out with a strong protest. Says the *New Republic* in effect: We are today fighting Germany because German Militarism has become the menace of the civilized world. It ill behooves people in America to advocate universal military service, an aping of all the system that makes Germany abhorrent to the rest of the democratic world if

we are honest in our desire to make the world safe for democracy. The *New Republic* also suggests that if we desire to see the world disarm we ought to follow our own teachings at home in regard to universal military service, and not build up a new cause for distrust among foreign nations after the war is over.

Everybody knows that France was only able to enforce universal military training on the working class of France because of the constant menace of Germany on her East. If people are honestly eager to abolish the danger of increased armaments after this war is over, they should demonstrate the fact that they will not tolerate the saddling of another great parasitical army upon this country now, or at any other time.

Today the working class supports, feeds,

clothes and shelters not only itself but the Leisure Class that produces nothing. We do not propose to have to support a standing army. We suspect that as long as the German workers permit themselves to be used to further the predatory aims of the Junkers, no socialist republic will ever be safe, and we would prefer to see the present war last five years rather than to see universal military service, and militarism, after the German pattern, established here.

The *New York Nation*, in its issue of Nov. 15th, publishes an article on Mr. Theodore Roosevelt and his attitude toward this question that is illuminating in this connection. We quote:

"The international point of view he (Mr. Roosevelt) regards as the refuge of weaklings. His own state is his supreme reality and his highest political conception. He opposes, however, the Revolutionary ideas in which his own state had its origin. He abominates all the necessary 'red-tape' of democratic procedure.

"He wants a government which will take its people in hand, as the German government has done, and mould them swiftly and firmly into a shape which not the people, but the Government determines. He is not at war to make the world safe for democracy; he is at war to make the world safe for America. . . .

"What he hopes to get out of the war is not a new lease for democracy, liberty, and fraternity, but an immensely strengthened national government, a highly intensified military spirit, a permanently established universal military service, and a grim determination to keep up the population for the

'next war,' so that when Uncle Sam shakes his sabre the rattle thereof may be heard and dreaded throughout the hemisphere—and beyond.

"Now, to speak it frankly, it is not the socialists, the radicals, the 'professional pacifists' only, but the fighting men and the plain people everywhere who are growing unspeakably weary of that kind of cheery, energetic preparation for repeating on into the indefinite future the bloody history of the last three years.

"The hearts and minds of men in all the Allied lands have been enlisted for the express and declared object of terminating forever the barbaric rite of wholesale human sacrifice. They have been summoned from the ends of the earth specifically to slay in the Prussian labyrinth the black-faced Minotaur of militarism, to which they have hitherto paid perennial tribute.

"Americans have responded in the faith of their fathers, undaunted by the cynics or the savages, trusting that the children of men who in this country brought to an ultimate end the ancient institution of monarchy and the world-old institution of slavery need not despair of success in undertaking the radical abolition of a third, equally hoary iniquity.

"*It is not their purpose to substitute the menace of an American militarism for the menace of a German militarism.* (The italics are ours.) It is their purpose to make a secure and lasting quietude for all the peace-loving, self-governing peoples of the world. If Mr. Roosevelt is against this object, he is against this war."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

REVOLUTIONS REVOLVING

By WILLIAM E. BOHN

The Military Situation

We have a new world every week—the lie of yesterday becomes the truth of today. By the time the January REVIEW is in the hands of its readers, all that the wisest are saying now may be turned to nonsense.

The German drive on Italy has changed the military situation. As we go to press (Nov. 11) the enemy troops are approaching Venice. The Russian situation baffles the allies. They expect little fighting on the eastern front. The English are slowly advancing in Belgium and in Turkey. But French, English and American authorities are thoroly alarmed. They see that the central powers have more striking power left than was suspected—the Anglo-American public is preparing its mind for a desperate struggle. It is said that America must send five million troops instead of two.

Revolutionists and Kaiser

The center of the situation is occupied by the Russian revolutionists. Kerensky's government has been attacked from both sides. First came Korniloff, a successful general. He made a great speech before the congress of Moscow. He favored blood and iron. The applause turned his head. Then came the vision of himself as the Russian Napoleon. He rose against Kerensky. The chief of the provisional government prevailed over the troops of the would-be dictator by means of argument. So Korniloff capitulated and was finally pardoned. Then came the revolution of the Bolsheviki, Revolutionary Socialists. The most prominent of these were Lenine and Leon Trotsky. These men gained possession of Petrograd and Moscow and for a time had supreme power in their hands. They called a meeting of the National Council of Soldiers and working people and a completely revolutionary program was voted—including peace and a division of land.

What we are most interested in is the peace move. The Bolsheviki proposed a truce for three months and a conference of

representatives chosen directly by the people. There is in this no hint of a separate peace. How these ultra-revolutionists could make peace with the kaiser or how the kaiser could make peace with them passes understanding. He is the friend and counterpart of their old enemy, the czar; while they to him are very devils like his own Liebknecht. So even if the followers of Lenine remain the controlling element it probably will not lead to a separate peace. As we go to press Kerensky and his followers are fighting desperately to regain possession of Petrograd.

O, Where Are the German Revolutionists?

Late in August there was held in London a conference of allied Socialists. These men and women—French, English, Russian and Italian—sent greetings to the German Independent Socialists. The German Independents never before held the fate of the world in their hands as they do now. We know, of course, that their leaders are in jail and many of the members are in the army. And all Germany is under strict military rule. The Germans are, moreover, the most docile and best drilled nation in the world. We must not expect too much.

But the new move of the Bolsheviki puts a new face on the situation. Lenine and Trotsky must know what is passing in Germany, and the German revolutionists must be looking to Russia as to a rising star of hope. If the Bolsheviki determine the policy of Russia, may we not expect a new stirring in Germany?

About Sept. 1 there was a meeting in the German navy. It appears that sailors are drafted from the regular naval service to man the U-boats. Once on the U-boats their chances of coming off alive are very small. So the men rebelled. The kaiser ordered one out of every ten shot. There was a great wave of protest and finally only a few leaders were executed.

The incident caused a commotion in the Reichstag. A cabinet member charged that

Hugo Haase knew the mutineers and had encouraged them. Haase did know some of them. This at least was enough to show that the rebels were Socialists. But the zealous minister had to withdraw his charge of complicity and the incident hastened the fall of the Michaelis cabinet.

On November 1 Dr. Michaelis came to his downfall as chancellor of the empire. He was put in to fool people into thinking there had been a reform. But he made a bad matter worse. So it became necessary to try another bluff. Count von Hertting, Premier of Bavaria, was put into his place. He is a centrist, or clerical, and the fact that he is a south German helps a little to quiet discontent. As was expected, Mathias Erzberger, the Centrist leader, is delighted with the change and talks glibly of the political revolution which he wants to think has taken place in Germany. Really, all that has happened is that the Catholic party has now come to top in Germany.

On Nov. 14 M. Panleve, the French premier, also met his fate. The Socialists deserted him and he could not stand without them. He was evidently nursing am-

bitions for German territory. He would not promise to be content with the return of Alsace and Lorraine. In France practically everyone insists on the return of the territory stolen in 1876, but many are unwilling to fight for annexations.

The Italian Retreat During the first weeks of November the Italian army suffered an unexpected defeat. It had conquered a mountain ridge and established what looked like unconquerable lines along to Isonzo. Then suddenly we read these positions were deserted and the army was in flight.

Now comes an astonishing explanation. It seems that Austrian and Italian troops had begun to get acquainted. Naturally they had to get out of the habit of fighting. Then suddenly the high command threw against this line a force of first-class German shock troops. The Italians were unsuspecting and helpless. Before they knew what had happened there had been a complete rout. A German division was thrust into the Italian line. Thus a general retreat was necessary and cannon and supplies had to be deserted.



NEWS AND VIEWS



A. NIEBERT

A. Niebert Killed in Russia—Former Secretary-translator of Lettish Branch is a victim of reactionaries at Vladivostok, is the word that reached Chicago this month. Those who sent the brief information declare particulars will be given by women who are on their way back to America. Comrade Niebert was one of the foremost industrial union Socialists in the American movement. He was for an economic organization that would represent the working class, rather than the craft. Heart and soul Comrade Niebert was for the glad day of Industrial Democracy, only a brief vision of which he was able to realize before his tragic murder in Russia. The editors of the REVIEW had the joy of attending the farewell meeting given by the Lettish comrades in Chicago for Comrades Niebert, Miller and Endee before they returned to Russia a few months ago, at which Comrade Niebert promised to send us the news for the REVIEW. He intended to go to one of the large cities in

Russia, either Petrograd or Moscow, but when he arrived at Vladivostok, which is the Russian port of entry on the Pacific, the report says that he remained there and became editor of the Russian revolutionary paper, *The Workingmen's News*, the local organ for the council of workingmen and soldiers. The report further declares that during some riots about a month ago, in which it was said the Black Hundred, Russia's reactionary organization, took part, several hundred were wounded and a number were killed. His last words to the Review Staff were—A good blacksmith should not be afraid of smoke. We have lost a true blue comrade.

From a Railroader—"Dear Comrades: It is late and I have worked very hard today, but could not resist the temptation to run into the postoffice long enough to get the enclosed money order for a bundle of November REVIEWS. We will stay by the REVIEW as long as the children are not hungry or cold. You are doing and have done good work, and there is work ahead for us all. The capitalists are giving us what we need and it will result in welding political and industrial action into an effective working class organization."

Masses Group Indicted—As a result of an investigation by the federal grand jury, seven persons connected with the *Masses*, the radical magazine which was barred from the mails by the postoffice department some time ago, were indicted on the charge of conspiracy in violation of the espionage law.

C. Merrill Rogers, Jr., business manager of the magazine, and the *Masses* Publishing Company, as a corporation, were also indicted on the charge of misuse of the mails.

On the conspiracy charge, indictments were returned against Max Eastman, editor; Floyd Dell, managing editor; C. Merrill Rogers, Jr., Henry J. Glintenkamp, artist; Arthur Young, artist; John Reed, writer, and Josephine Bell, writer. Bench warrants for their arrest were issued by Judge Julius M. Mayer yesterday.

Action against the magazine for violation of the espionage act was begun early in July, when Solicitor for the Postoffice W. H. Lamar ruled that it was non-mailable. On July 24 Judge Learned Hand granted an injunction restraining the postmaster general from pro-

hibiting the use of the mails to the publication. This injunction was almost immediately stayed by an order from Judge C. M. Hough, in the United States court of appeals.

The postoffice authorities again barred the September issue of the magazine, this time on the ground that as the magazine had not been mailed at regular intervals it was not entitled to the second-class rights. The *Masses* brought a second injunction proceeding against the postoffice department, but the injunction was not granted.

The decision of Judge Learned Hand regarding the August issue was reversed on November 2.

Max Eastman, who has just returned from the West, said last night:

"These indictments seem to be a part of the organized effort of certain subordinate officials in the United States government to crush the voice of the Socialists. We have as yet no evidence that the courts of the United States are a party to these proceedings, and we have complete confidence that they are not."—*New York Call*.

Liebkecht Party Grows—Amsterdam, Nov. 9.—More and more proofs come to the surface daily to show that the working class in Germany stands behind the so-called "minority" of the Independent Socialist party rather than behind the "majority," led by Scheidemann, David and their friends.

In the recent party convention in Wuerzburg, special care was taken that only locals in good standing were represented, and could make motions. A local that had paid up its dues, but had not publicly said they would renounce their deputy in the Reichstag if he joins the Independent Socialist group, lost its right to representation in the convention.

Despite this, the delegates who were seated seemed rather to favor the policies of the Independents. For instance, many of the delegates had instructions to oppose all attacks upon the Independent Socialists. These represented Nueremburg, Hamburg, 3, Goerlitz, Breslau-West, Schweidnitz-Strigau, Elberfeld.

Others demanded by special motions that action be immediately taken to hasten the reunion with the secessionists, among them Nueremburg, Wuerzburg, Bayreuth, Luebeck, Hamburg 3, Frankfort-on-Main, Wiemar, Muenich, Danzig, Cologne, Meissen, Stollberg, and Muehlhausen in Alsace, while Muehlhausen in Thuringia moved to have a committee of five who should be instructed to negotiate with a similar committee of the I. S. P. within two weeks.

The congressional districts in Alsace-Lorraine have all joined the I. S. P., Leopold Emmel being the only Alsatian representative who is still with the majority. Emmel was always with the radicals, and he holds aloof now only because of an old prejudice concerning the position of Alsace-Lorraine.

Many motions concerning the democratization of Germany were made. Ludwigshaven, a stronghold of the government policies of the majority, demanded "a stronger expression of our demands for democratizing Germany," and made a special request that "the realization of

our minimum demands must come during the war, because we will stand small chance of getting them after the return of normal times."

Berlin, district IV, that is, the reorganized "majority" branch, made the same demand in a more emphatic way. Breslau, also a stronghold of the moderates, urged "that the speeches in the Reichstag would again assume the character of an opposition party, instead of the cooing of loving turtle doves." Furthermore, this Silesian metropolis demands with great emphasis "that the government should make good the promises it has so generously given."—*New Times*.

Stanley Clark in Jail—Bond has not yet been secured for Stanley Clark, who is in the Chicago Cook county jail, indicted with the I. W. W. boys. Comrade Clark is one of the oldest and most loyal members of the Socialist party in this country. For twenty years he has been one of the most successful speakers and organizers in Texas and in the Southwest. Don't forget when you are holding a meeting for the I. W. W. defence to get Clark's old friends to do all they can for the boys. We will be glad to receive any special contributions for Comrade Clark at this office.

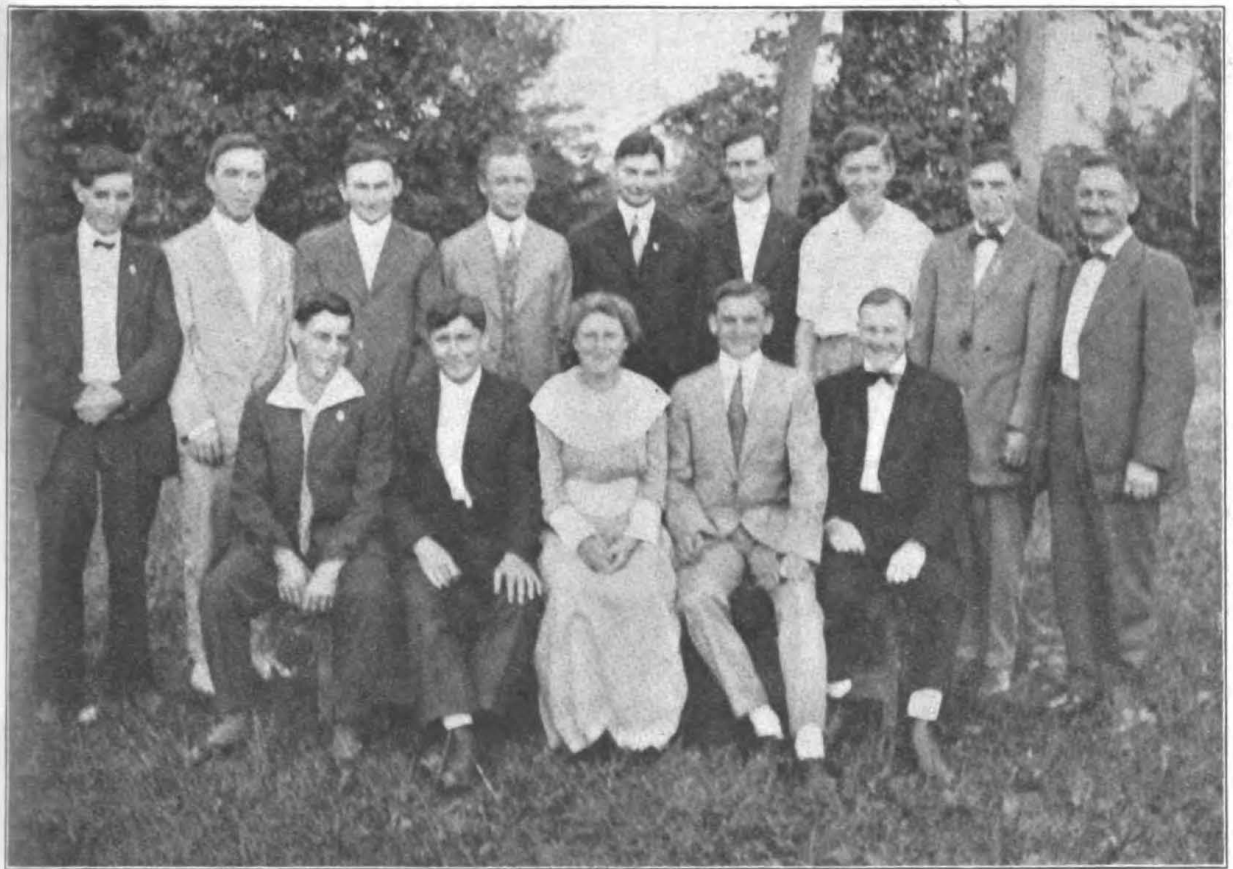
Akron, Ohio—Comrade Stehmeyer, the local secretary, writes: "Received twenty REVIEWS and sold them all in one night. Send along twenty more. We elected eight assessors and one constable."

Acting State Secretary Otto Wangerin of Minnesota, recently drafted into the army, was sentenced to fifteen years at hard labor in the federal penitentiary, by general court martial. It is charged that Wangerin refused to obey the order of his company commander, Capt. H. S. Church, to go to the regimental supply officer and draw his uniform; also that he refused to drill. Comrade Wangerin has long been a member of the Socialist party.

The Best Weekly—The REVIEW takes pleasure in assuring its readers that W. E. Reynolds is editing a weekly Socialist paper at Duluth, Minn., called *Truth*, and which is sent to subscribers under postage stamps, which is, without any exception, the best Socialist party weekly we have read in a good many days. If you can spare a dollar, send it along to Comrade Reynolds and read the most Marxian, newsy, snappy and interesting paper still on the job. Address Manhattan Building, Room 510, Duluth, Minn.

Faded Away—The Republic of Haiti has quietly passed out. A few days since the American army officer who had been in temporary charge of Haitian affairs spoke softly to the assembled multitude, to the effect that these colored gentlemen need not hold any further elections, and that the United States would assume full responsibility for the future conduct of the island of Haiti. As all the firearms had long since been gathered in from the natives by United States officials, the proclamation did not create any unnecessary stir.—*Toronto Saturday Night*.

Did some one, some time, somewhere, say something about "the rights of small nations"? (From *Truth*.)



CINCINNATI, OHIO, COMRADES INDICTED FOR CONSPIRACY

Front Row (left to right)—Philip Rothenbusch, Joseph Geier, Lotta Burke, Carl Thieman, Frank Ries.
 Back Row (left to right)—Walter Gregory, A. Feldhaus, Arthur Tiedke, Alfred Welker, Fred Schneider, C. Stapf,
 J. W. Hahn, Wm. Gruber, T. M. Hammerschmitt.

Labor Must Put on a Uniform—(From the *Washington Post*)—The labor problem comes on apace. It cannot be dodged. Congress must face it and master it. When 1,000,000 conscripted American boys are facing bullets in France, their fathers and brothers will not tolerate a condition at home that might mean the useless slaughter of the soldiers. The nation will demand that able-bodied men shall be conscripted for labor, each according to his ability and training. This labor will wear the uniform of the United States. Laboring men will be the foremost in making this demand for universal liability to industrial service, because this system will insure a square deal to labor. Under the selective draft of labor the United States government can easily build 6,000,000 tons of shipping every year, or even twice that amount.

Every day drives the hard truth nearer home. The United States must win this war. American muscle applied to American materials, directed by American brains, and sustained by American sinews of war, constitute the only available resource in this world capable of demolishing the German power. Europe cannot beat Germany. Asia cannot beat Germany. Africa cannot beat Germany. America can beat Germany, but only by organization superior to Germany's.

Kautsky Forced to Resign—The summary dismissal of the veteran Socialist, Clara Zetkin, from the editorship of the *Gleichheit*, the well known organ of the Socialist women of Germany, which is also the recognized organ of the Socialist Women's International, has now been followed by the dismissal of Karl Kautsky, one of the few surviving founders of Socialism, as editor of *Nele Zeit*, the scientific Socialist magazine, which throughout the war has criticized German autocracy and its exponents.

This is undoubtedly the reason for Kautsky's discharge, ordered by the executive committee of the Socialist party, which is commonly known as the "Scheidemann majority."

Kautsky belongs to the Independent Socialist party.

Kautsky himself comments on the action of the executive committee in an article in the *Leipziger Volkzeitung*, in which he says that the dismissal came so suddenly that he was not even able to say good-bye to his readers. The discharge becomes formally effective from September 31, but the editor has to give up his activity on the paper at once.

"Sabotage"—The *Oakland (Cal.) World* announces that in one week thirty tons of fish were dumped into San Francisco Bay, although thousands of families would gladly have con-

Library of Science for the Workers

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

1. **The Evolution of Man.** By Wilhelm Boelsche. Contains absolute proof of the truth of Darwin's theory of the descent of man. Illustrated.
2. **The Triumph of Life.** By Wilhelm Boelsche. Describes the resistless triumph of the Life Force over all obstacles. Illustrated.
3. **Life and Death.** By Dr. E. Teichmann. A study in biology, explaining how and why life began and how the life of each individual ends.
4. **The End of the World.** By Dr. M. Wilhelm Meyer. A study of the natural forces that will some time destroy all life on the earth. Illustrated.
5. **The Making of the World.** By Dr. M. Wilhelm Meyer. Describes the process by which dead worlds are re-born into new worlds and how life begins again. Illustrated.
6. **Germ of Mind in Plants.** By R. H. Francé. A remarkable work proving that "mind" is not limited to man or even to animals, but is found in plants also. Illustrated.
7. **Human, All Too Human.** By Friedrich Nietzsche. A study of human motives, showing the absence of "free will" and the folly of orthodox theology.
8. **Science and Revolution.** By Ernest Untermann. A history of the growth of the Evolution theory, showing how at every step it was fought by the ruling classes and welcomed by the workers.
9. **Social and Philosophical Studies.** By Paul Lafargue. The causes of belief in God and the origin of abstract ideas explained in a brilliant and convincing way.
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sumed the fish if prices had been dropped within reach. But to have reduced prices would have endangered the extremely large profits of the fish trust in the future. So the fish were destroyed and the catch will probably be considerably reduced for some time to come in order to stabilize the market. It is all very well to urge the people of the nation to conserve food, fuel, etc., but something ought to be done speedily to send the anarchistic destroyers to a place where dogs won't bite them.

The U. S. Government Should Go Slow in deciding to assist the Kerensky party against the Bolsheviki party in Russia. Better wait and allow the Russian people to decide which they want. If the U. S. government really believes in "democracy" of a kind worth while, we must not attempt to dictate Russia's internal policy. Besides, a really successful working class revolution in Russia would weaken German imperialism at home more than anything the United States can do. And working class government for all nations lies straight ahead. No man, no party, no nation, can long hold back the resistless, oncoming tide of real industrial and political democracy. Let us rather clear the way for it and avoid unnecessary difficulty and suffering.—*Real Democracy.*

I. W. W. Fight Forest Fires—Missoula, Mont.—Chief Forester Sillcox says that every fire-fighting gang working out of Missoula this summer had an I. W. W. foreman, and was composed largely of I. W. W. members.

He never had such an efficient bunch. The I. W. W. leaders sent out orders that the preservation of the forests was of chief concern, and that wherever the forests and harvest fires occurred, all the members were to get busy immediately in fighting them.—*Truth.*

The Seattle Daily Call, whose application for second class entry has been hanging fire these last ninety-five days, is a great little daily socialist rebel from the great and growing west. While only a kid in the journalistic age, it is a great and fine and dandy young huskie. It says it is printed to carry the truth to the people, and it sure does. It has a habit of calling spades spades, and not garden implements. It costs 50 cents a month. Slip 'em a four-bit piece. You need the paper and as they are a Socialist paper we'll gamble they need the money.—*Truth.*

Labor, Capital and Government—In his recent address before the American Federation of Labor convention in Buffalo, President Wilson said: "I believe that I am speaking of my own experience not only, but of the experience of others, when I say that labor is reasonable in larger number of cases than the capitalists." He indicated that he would speak further on this subject at a future time when addressing "the capitalists" themselves. The President's statement is of great impor-

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tance at this critical time. Employers of labor everywhere should study it in all its aspects.

On the day following the President's address the chief executive of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, spoke to an audience of Buffalo business men at the Great Buffalo Club, and was roundly applauded when he said: "No bolsheviki and no anarchy would exist in Russia today if that country had an organization like the American Federation of Labor." Here is another statement that should be considered by employers of labor in the light of experience.

A day or two later the National Founders' Association, at its annual convention in New York City, took a positive stand against what in a telegram to President Wilson it designated as "the autocracy of labor." This association represents approximately 600 manufacturers of iron, steel and brass, employing more than 500,000 men in open shops. Its telegram to the president challenged the methods of Secretary of Labor Wilson, who was declared to be operating through a labor registration bureau "a surreptitious scheme to unionize all industry." The association says further: "To gain that measure of efficiency requisite for the proper equipment of our army and navy we stand squarely on the platform that the processes of labor shall not be interfered with and trust employes thruout the various industries of the nation may quickly be brought to a realization of the fact that autocracy of labor is fully as disturbing to the welfare of mankind as is the autocracy of government." Rightly or wrongly, organized labor interprets these words as a threat. Yet surely this is the worst of all possible times for employers and workers to engage in disputes. All alike should show a spirit of cooperation in the interests of their imperiled country.

It is apparent that organized labor and organized employers are both putting pressure on the national government. The chief spokesman of that government goes so far as to say that "labor is reasonable in a larger number of cases than the capitalists." The president should make known the facts and should make good his promise to discuss the subject before employers of labor.

There are, speaking broadly, two groups of employers in this country. One is typified in the National Founders' Association, which is militantly active for the open shop. The other group of employers includes men like

Richard Aishton and Thurston Ballard, one a railroad executive and the other a manufacturer, who represented the employers on the federal industrial relations commission. In their separate report for the commission they said that personally if they were wage earners they would be members of labor unions, and they favored recognition of and negotiation with the unions.

The present crisis in the tripartite relations of labor, capital and government must necessarily result in a wide public discussion of the views and methods of the two classes of employers, as well as of the claims of organized labor. But at the outset the public cannot afford to lose sight of the great overshadowing need—industrial peace and the highest possible degree of production in essential industries. Through these and not otherwise, can the war be won.—*Chicago Daily News* editorial.

For Free Press—The A. F. of L. convention at Buffalo, November 19, endorsed that part of its executive council's report which demands that the rights of a free press and free speech shall be jealously guarded during the war period.

"The only environment in which free institutions can be maintained," says the report, "is generated through freedom of expression and press. Untrammelled discussion is the only safe preliminary to determination of policy. A minority group, suffering from injustice, can more readily secure redress when freedom of speech exists. The minority cause of today becomes the accepted method of tomorrow. Repression never removed any injustice or corrected an evil.

"The public press is the public forum. It creates and directs public opinion. Publicity calculated to mislead can be counteracted by increased publicity for truth." Let those who speak or write treasonable thoughts be tried by the courts. "Freedom must not be confused with license."

The committee which reported on this executive council view of the convention today said, after endorsing these views: "We are in accord with these fundamental principles, and that especially during the war period there should be no restriction of free speech and a free press, and that those who abuse and defile these cornerstones of democracy should be punished by due process of law and a trial by jury."

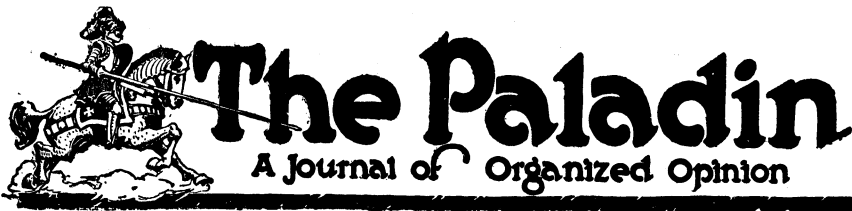


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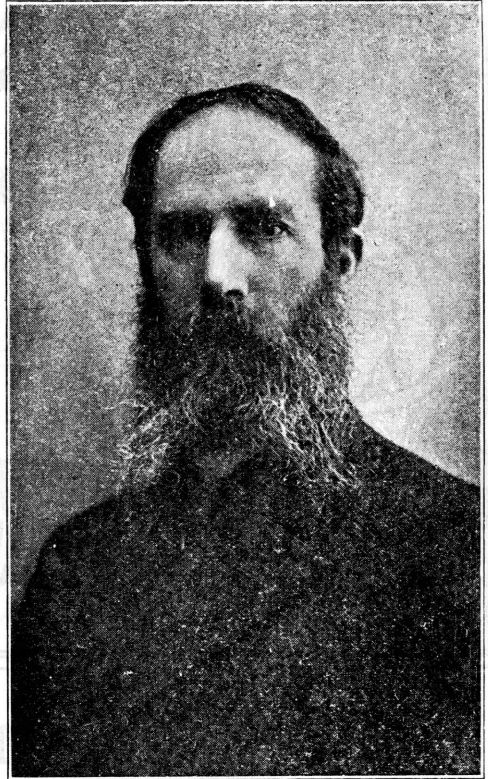
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