

NOVEMBER, 1910

The

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



*The Fighting Magazine
of the Working Class*

Working Class Politics

Eugene V. Debs

Los Angeles Conspiracy

Unionist

Insurrection Rather Than War

Gustave Hervé

White Slavery In America

Gustavus Myers

Study Course In Socialism

Mary E. Marcy

Colonel Roosevelt

Prof. Masaryk

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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WORKING CLASS POLITICS



FROM
DEBS' CHICAGO SPEECH
BY
WILLIAM CHERNEY

THE campaign of the Socialist party of Cook county, Illinois, was formally opened on September 18th, Eugene V. Debs being the principal speaker. A vast concourse of people were assembled at Riverview Park where the meeting took place. Below will be found some extracts from the speech of Debs, in which he emphasized the necessity of industrial unity as the only means of effective political action. Said Debs:

We live in the capitalist system, so-called because it is dominated by the capitalist class. In this system the capitalists are the rulers and the workers the subjects. The capitalists are in a decided minority and yet they rule because

of the ignorance of the working class.

So long as the workers are divided, economically and politically, they will remain in subjection, exploited of what they produce and treated with contempt by the parasites who live out of their labor.

The economic unity of the workers must first be effected before there can be any progress toward emancipation. The interests of the millions of wage workers are identical, regardless of nationality, creed or sex, and if they will only open their eyes to this simple, self-evident fact, the greatest obstacle will have been overcome and the day of victory will draw near.

The primary need of the workers is

industrial unity and by this I mean their organization in the industries in which they are employed as a whole instead of being separated into more or less important unions according to their crafts. Industrial unionism is the only effective means of economic organization and the quicker the workers realize this and unite within one compact body for the good of all, the sooner will they cease to be the victims of ward-heeling labor politicians and accomplish something of actual benefit to themselves and those dependent upon them. In Chicago where the labor grafters, posing as union leaders, have so long been permitted to thrive in their iniquity, there is especially urgent need of industrial unionism, and when this is fairly under way it will express itself politically in a class conscious vote of and for the working class.

So long as the workers are content with conditions as they are, so long as they are satisfied to belong to a craft union under the leadership of those who are far more interested in drawing their own salaries and feathering their own nests with graft than in the welfare of their followers, so long, in a word, as the workers are meek and submissive followers, mere sheep, they will be fleeced, and no one will hold them in greater contempt than the very grafters and parasites who fatten out of their misery.

It is not Gompers, who banquets with Belmont and Carnegie, and Mitchell, who is paid and pampered by the plutocrats, who are going to unite the workers in their struggle for emancipation. The civic federation, which was organized by the master class and consists of plutocrats, politicians and priests, in connivance with so-called labor leaders, who are used as decoys to give that body the outward appearance of representing both capital and labor, is the staunch supporter of trade-unions and the implacable foe of industrial unionism and Socialism, and this in itself should be sufficient to convince every intelligent worker that the trade union under its present leadership and, as now used, is more beneficial to the capitalist class than it is to the workers, seeing that it is the means of keeping them disunited and pitted against

each other, and as an inevitable result, in wage slavery.

The workers themselves must take the initiative in uniting their forces for effective economic and political action; the leaders will never do it for them. They must no longer suffer themselves to be deceived by the specious arguments of their betrayers, who blatantly boast of their unionism that they may traffic in it and sell out the dupes who blindly follow them. I have very little use for labor leaders in general and none at all for the kind who feel their self-importance and are so impressed by their own wisdom that where they lead their dupes are expected to blindly follow without a question. Such "leaders" lead their victims to the shambles and deliver them over for a consideration and this is possible only among craft-divided wage-slaves who are kept apart for the very purpose that they may feel their economic helplessness and rely upon some "leader" to do something for them.

Economic unity will be speedily followed by political unity. The workers once united in one great industrial union will vote a united working class ticket. Not only this, but only when they are so united can they fit themselves to take control of industry when the change comes from wage-slavery to economic freedom. It is precisely because it is the mission of industrial unionism to unite the workers in harmonious cooperation in the industries in which they are employed, and by their enlightened inter-dependence and self-imposed discipline prepare them for industrial mastery and self-control when the hour strikes, thereby backing up with their economic power the verdict they render at the ballot box, it is precisely because of this fact that every Socialist, every class-conscious worker should be an industrial unionist and strive by all the means at his command to unify the workers in the all-embracing bonds of industrial unionism.

The Socialist party is the party of the workers, organized to express in political terms their determination to break their fetters and rise to the dignity of free men. In this party the workers must unite and develop their political power to conquer

and abolish the capitalist political state and clear the way for industrial and social democracy.

But the new order can never be established by mere votes alone. This must be the result of industrial development and intelligent economic and political organization, necessitating both the industrial union and the political party of the workers to achieve their emancipation.

In this work, to be successfully accomplished, woman must have an equal part with man. If the revolutionary movement of the workers stands for anything it stands for the absolute equality of the sexes and when this fact is fully realized and the working woman takes her place side by side with the working man all along the battlefield the great struggle will soon be crowned with victory. x





"Truth from his lips prevailed with double sway,
And fools who came to scoff, remained to pray."

* * *

"A man cannot help being deeply impressed by what he says. He seems to speak direct from his heart."

This was a part of a conversation overheard at the outskirts of the large crowd at Riverview Park, Sunday, Sept. 18, while the thundering applause and cheers split the air and re-echoed on every side, as the last words of the address left the speaker's lips.

Of course it was Debs. "Our Gene," as we call him. No other man could have such a magnetic influence on the thousands of workingmen and women as had gathered there to listen.

It was a great speech. I knew it

would be. When I met him at the hotel in the morning his smile seemed to show that he was at his best. Scarcely had we entered the room, and he had thrown aside his baggage, than he was full of enthusiasm about the rally.

"I tell you I am feeling fine to-day," he said. "If I don't make a good speech it is going to be my fault." So we knew what to expect.

Yet as far as that goes, he is always jovial, and bubbling over with enthusiasm. Well along in years, he is as happy in the work he is doing as a school boy when he gets his diploma. Socialism is a serious thing with him. It is the only thing. Yet he always manages to keep everybody around in good humor by his brilliant witticisms and personal anecdotes.

When we left the downtown district



in the afternoon he kept this up all the way. He was full of stories, and every now and then the Republican and Democratic parties would be the butt of the joke.

Of course he had to tell one on his own press agent, Brewer. "Whenever we leave for a trip," said Debs, "my suitcase is packed full and Brewer's is almost empty. In a few days mine is empty and his is full. Of course this may be all right, but I notice that very often I cannot find my whiskbroom and such."

We all laughed—even Brewer.

Then he spied a straw hat on the walk and calling attention to it exclaimed, "Now I won't be lonesome." We looked—he had one, too.

"Stop talking, Gene," said Brewer. "You will be hoarse before we get to

the park." "Ah, go on, I am only practicing," he replied with a smile, and kept on.

Such is the man. Elderly in years, yet young in spirit. Working all the time, too. Continually on a speaking tour, he brings the message of emancipation home to thousands of workingmen, and leaves them inspired and enthused.

Nothing daunts him. He is fearless as well as tireless. The master class, with its corrupt judges and politicians, hates him, and "we love him for the enemies he has made."

The spirit of the man is clearly shown in a message that he gave us younger men here in Chicago. These are the words: "Let nothing that may arise from the earth, or fall from the skies, or be spewed from Hell, daunt or discourage you in the work which you are doing."

THE LOS ANGELES CONSPIRACY

AGAINST

ORGANIZED LABOR

BY

UNIONIST



ABOUT midnight on Friday, the 30th of September, the main office of the Los Angeles Times was wrecked by an explosion, the cause of which is not at this time positively known.

Almost instantly the entire building became enveloped in one vast sheet of flame; and, in the course of one hour, nothing remained but the solid stone front and a mass of twisted girders.

Of the fifty-odd occupants of the building at the time, twenty-one were killed and a number injured. (These men were all DESPISED workingmen). While

the fire yet raged, special editions of the evening press were issued each containing a conspicuous pronouncement signed by one of the Times editors, deliberately accusing the unions of having dynamited the building. To support this monstrous and criminal accusation there is not at this time one particle of evidence.

It is interesting to note in this connection that in the course of the next twenty-four hours following the explosion, bombs were conveniently "discovered" (?) in one case by the infamous Detective Rico, near the residence of General Otis, the Times proprietor and

again at the residence of the secretary of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association. In the latter case, the bomb, after the parties concerned in the "discovery" (?) had removed themselves to a safe distance, consented to "go off" in token of asservation.

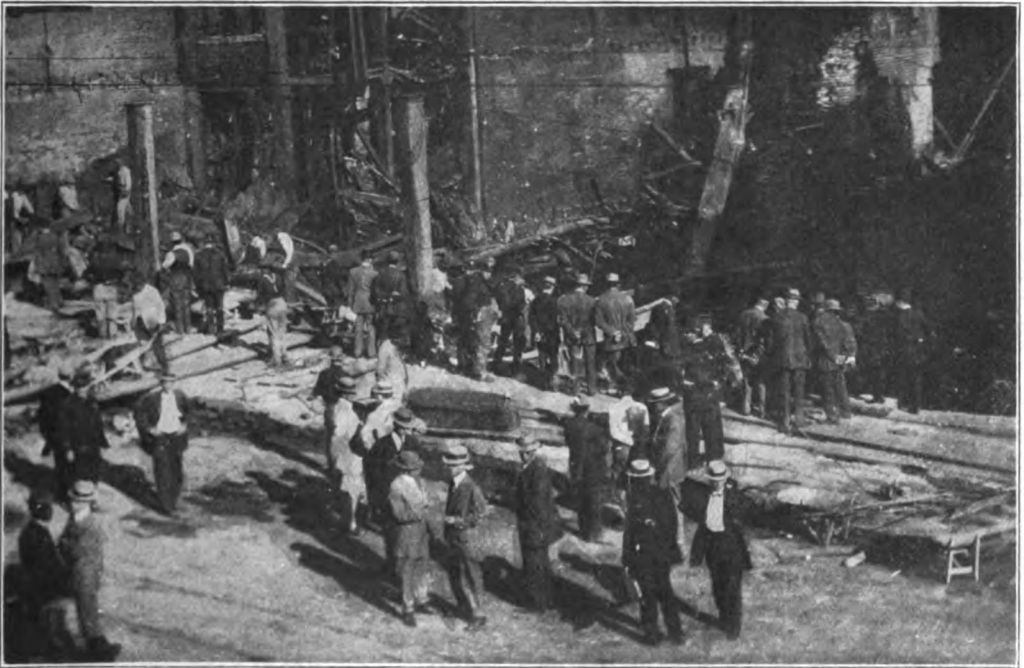
To those who remember how at Cripple Creek the Pinkerton agents of the mine owners repeatedly dynamited buildings and destroyed life, "discovered" bombs and instigated riots, in order to inflame public indignation against

terest opponents of any and all progressive movements on the part of wage-workers. His paper has been a scab shop and for many years the TIMES has not received any support from the labor unions.

At the time of the disaster General Otis was conveniently out of the city.

The Times building was very heavily insured.

The morning after the explosion, the Times printed a paper in an auxiliary office where (and this is strange, indeed)



the striking miners—this ghastly repetition of those hideous methods of suppressing working-class organizations will cause a shudder, a flux of implacable anger—but no belief—from the Los Angeles people's paper.

There are several significant facts to which I wish to call the attention of readers of the REVIEW:

General Otis was prominent among the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association which had publicly and privately sworn to suppress the labor unions in the West, at ANY COST.

General Otis has been one of the bit-

the Times had maintained a SCHOOL FOR PRINTERS.

For several years, during which General Otis has fought every step taken by organized labor for the betterment of the working class, the circulation of the TIMES has not MADE any *material headway*.

Says the Examiner: "In addition to the declaration that the building had been dynamited, there was the theory that the explosion came from an ignition of the stock of ink, oils and highly inflammable and explosive materials used in the printing and kindred processes."

The only men killed in the explosion were workers, a class of men whom the M. & M. Association have always held in extreme contempt.

The effect of the explosion has been thousands of dollars worth of FREE ADVERTISING for the TIMES. The persistent lies circulated against the trades unions have won public opinion to the side of the exploiters of labor.

Not a single CAPITALIST was injured in the alleged plot against the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association.

The unions had everything to lose and NOTHING TO GAIN by violence.

The Merchants and Manufacturers' Association and the TIMES had everything to gain through a disaster which could be fraudulently laid at the door of union labor.

WAS THIS A HUGE CONSPIRACY AGAINST UNION LABOR in Los Angeles?

* * *

The Saturday morning edition of the Times, printed at the auxiliary office by the "school for printers," consisted of one page—chiefly head-lines, announcing that the trade unionists had destroyed the Times building with dynamite bombs.

Nobody ought to be surprised at the position of the Times. If the city of Los Angeles should be destroyed by an earthquake, the next morning would find General Otis printing some kind of a sheet accusing the UNIONS of bomb throwing.

Some of us hoped for a squarer deal from the other papers, but with the exception of the Record, papers which have fought Otis for years have united to place the blame for the disaster upon some union man.

Nearly all articles begin by praising "law-abiding members of trade unions," but after a few lines wander off upon the supposition that the Los Angeles outrage was committed by some "bad" union man.

Says General Otis in an interview published in the Examiner:

"The purpose of the fiends who blew up our building and killed our men was further exemplified in the placing of bombs under my house. The discovery of this, and the one under Mr. Zeehande-

laar's residence, proved conclusively that the explosion wrecking the Times building was not gas nor anything else but an outrage."

It seems a little peculiar to all intelligent men and women, that General Otis, arriving upon the scene of the fire should have been instantaneously able to lay his (mental) fingers upon UNION culprits. He has made the exploits of Sherlock Holmes look like the amateur methods of a school boy.

Personally, I spent a great deal of time quietly investigating for the REVIEW.

I have the statement of a business man located very close to the old Times building. At the first shock or explosion, he advised me that he rushed from his doorway to the street and saw flames pouring from every window of the Times building. It would have been an impossibility for dynamite to ignite the building in so short a time. Dynamite does not produce FLAMES.

Two men who were in the building at the time of the explosion and several others told me that the composing room had been filled with gas. A telegraph operator, named Furman, is reported to have become overcome with gas fumes and left the building in a stifling condition. Ten minutes later the explosion occurred. I have been unable to locate him and to verify his story. And several men who reported as above, have since CHANGED their minds and THEIR STORIES. Evidently some sort of pressure was brought to bear upon them. Either they have been intimidated or they have been rewarded for this change of heart.

Now, of course, if it can be proved that the explosion was caused by leaking gas, or by a careless handling of oils and combustible materials the Times Mirror Company will it have a score of damage suits upon its hands and it will experience much difficulty in collecting insurance money.

From every point of view it was to the interests of General OTIS to THROW THE BLAME UPON THE LABOR UNIONS.

It was Rigo, the notorious tool, who "discovered" (?) the bomb at the Otis home. Rigo, who so freely perjured him-

self in the well known De Lara case. We have grave suspicions that Rigo knows the man who placed the bomb there **AS WELL AS HE KNOWS HIMSELF**. But we have grave doubts about his being willing to disclose this knowledge. Self-preservation is still the first law of life.

One of the well-known methods of the modern detective is to manufacture evidence in **ORDER TO DISCOVER IT**.

It is very true that working men and women have said many impolite and unkind things about General Otis—perhaps almost as harsh as the conduct of General Otis toward the toilers of Los Angeles would merit, but it is doubtful if anything equal in style, and vitriolic denunciation to the speech made by Hiram Johnson, Republican candidate for Governor, in the Los Angeles auditorium, has ever been published.

"In the city from which I have come we have drunk to the very dregs the cup of infamy; we have had vile officials; we have had rotten newspapers; we have had men who sold their birthright; we have dipped into every infamy; every form of wickedness has been ours in the past; every debased passion and every sin has flourished, but we have nothing so vile, nothing so low, nothing so debased, nothing so infamous in San Francisco, nor did we ever have, as Harrison Gray Otis. This man has attacked me on the only side to which I will not respond, concerning which rather than respond, I would lose the governorship of the state of California. He sits there in senile dementia, with gangrened heart and rotting brain, grimacing at every reform, chattering impotently at all things that are decent, frothing, fuming, violently gibbering, going down to his grave in snarling infamy. This man Otis is the one blot on the banner of Southern California; he is the bar sinister upon your escutcheon. My friends, he is the one thing that all California looks at, when in, looking at Southern California, they see anything that is disgraceful, depraved, corrupt, crooked and putrescent—that is, Harrison Gray Otis."

Luckily for Mr. Johnson, he comes from the capitalist class and has not been accused of blowing up the Times building. Fortunately he was able to give

us an accurate pen-picture of General Otis, without fear of the jail.

Upon the Monday following the Times disaster, the socialists and unionists in Los Angeles were to have a parade. Preparations had been concluded two weeks before the date set for the march.

The Chief of Police advised the Workers' Committee that no transparencies would be allowed except those approved by the Mayor and himself. Seven wagon-loads of arms and ammunition were conveyed from the depot to the city hall on Saturday and the streets were filled with soldiers.

Word was passed about that if the workers marched down the streets of Los Angeles the soldiers and detectives would start a riot and shoot down the paraders in order to strengthen the belief all over the United States that the Los Angeles socialists and unionists were a lot of **DANGEROUS** characters. The parade was called off. We did not give the enemies of the working class a chance to destroy us.

But the death of a few workingmen means nothing to a brute like General Otis. When we talk of a peaceful parade, the streets are thronged with thugs and soldiers and when we lose our lives through the greed and deliberate carelessness and criminal niggardliness of our masters, every means for **PUBLICITY IS CLOSED AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS** and the crimes are **LAI**D AT OUR DOORS.

The Class Struggle is the real issue in Los Angeles. The Merchants and Manufacturers' Association will carry things so far that they will kill the goose that lays the golden egg. The workers all over California are rousing their comrades into line for a great battle in the coming election. If we don't carry this whole end of California and put some men in office who will show these lying, murderous money perverts how to respect the working class, it won't be our fault, and we will keep at it until the **NEXT TIME**.

The indignities this band of capitalist pirates here in Los Angeles have heaped upon the working class is doing more for socialism than anything else in the world. Our meetings are getting bigger every day and we can't teach our comrades fast enough what socialism means.

Our only hope lies in UNITED political and industrial action and we are learning to UNITE.

When the Big Day comes we will meet the forces of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association not by dynamiting buildings and killing defenseless working people, but in the open. The slaves will get the shake out of their knees and the cringe out of their souls and will show the exploiters and traducers of labor that LABOR and LABOR ONLY IS KING.

In that day—when profits are declared

at an end and the working class come into their own—General Otis and his gang of lying robbers will be relegated to the ignominy and obscurity they so richly deserve.

General Otis admits that he "expected" the calamity. What led him to expect it and ARE HIS OWN HANDS CLEAN? This is the question labor, all over the United States, is asking today.

OTIS was the CHIEF beneficiary through the disaster. Perhaps it would be well to do some INVESTIGATING in HIS DIRECTION.

Employers have ever regarded labor unions as hostile to their rights; they have so regarded them because it has been the business of organized workmen to get shorter hours, better conditions, safer tools, and a larger share of production than the workman individually could obtain.

—Clarence S. Darrow.

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

—Karl Marx.



IGOROT HUT.

THE BONTOC IGOROTS

BY

HENRY FLURY.

THIS is as strange a corner of the world as any in which a Socialist could find himself. There are comparatively few places where Socialism is unnecessary, and Bontoc is one of them.

Although there are two thousand inhabitants (not "souls," because the natives are not "Christianized"), yet there is positively no opportunity for propaganda owing to the fact that Capitalism has not been developed.

Bontoc is an Igorot village situated in the heart of the Caraballo mountains in northern Luzon, which is the largest island of the Philippine group. It is the capital of the mountain province and can only be reached after a three day's trip on horseback along one of the most beautiful, and incidentally, one of the most dangerous, trails in the islands. The scenery along the route is magnificent and awe-inspiring; in places the trail narrows to a few inches and is only a mere scratch on the unbroken precipice which goes hurtling downwards for hundreds of feet. As one looks down, the azure river can be seen threading its way, now among the slate colored rocks and boulders, now among the diminutive pines. The mountain air is bracing, and one seems to breathe the very atmosphere of freedom.

The natives are of an ancient Malay stock, the most ancient in the Philippines, and are one of the several uncivilized hill tribes or Igorots. There is nothing exceptionally remarkable about them except

that they represent as a type the half million Igorots in northern Luzon; are extremely conservative, have beautiful physiques (which show to advantage) and are economically independent. Sociologically, they are interesting.

They have no civilization, no laws, no government or chiefs, no priests or poverty. In spite of a grudgingly small amount of soil on the steep mountain sides, the Bontoc Igorots manage to live comfortably. There is no agriculture, yet by the sign of the pointed stick (the weapon of offense on the hostile soil) they manage to get a good crop of rice or camotes (sweet potatoes), which are the two staples. Both men and women work freely in the fields, oftentimes clothed in Nature's garb alone, driving their pointed sticks into the ground to turn the sod, in unison with a simple song.

They have no government; they have social organization. It is a balance between agricultural communism and political or regulated individualism. Each man (or woman) believes himself endowed with natural sagacity and competent to govern himself. The presidente (an office instituted by the Spaniards which still survives), is an Igorot appointed head of the tribe by the United States government, who is merely the mouthpiece of the people when they want anything from the government, but is in no sense a ruler or chief.

Frequent meetings of a sort of witenagemot or old men's council are held, not



IGOROTS DANCING.

so much to talk about government as about crops, the next canao (feast) and to smoke their pipes and drink tapoi (rice-cider). At planting or harvest season the work is done co-operatively, just as is the case when a newly married couple wish to have a house built. All the members of the group work associa-

tively in communistic effort. Monogamy is general.

They are not religious or more properly ecclesiastical; priest-craft does not flourish, and the four centuries of Spanish occupation have not been able to convert them to Christianity. Any progress of ecclesiastism that has been made in the



THREE-LEGGED RACE.

Philippines has been among the later stock, among the lowland people and Filipinos proper. The pure, free atmosphere of the mountains and the beauty of the scenery seem to breed a contempt in the breast of the Igorot for an indoor or ceremonial religion. His religion is rather an admiration of Nature and satisfaction with the completeness of his own life. He has two deities: Anito is a spirit that inspires fear. To get the better of him all that it is necessary to do is to go into the hut and shut the door or bring a crowd of people. Lumawig is rather an abstract term for natural forces and is personified for convenience rather than for the purpose of worship. To the Igorot, everything is as it has ever been. He is the ideal Conservative. There is no room for improvement, no need for it. I agree with him except in one particular—in the matter of hygiene; the infant mortality is high and the huts dirty.

The Igorot is a Conservative. Ask him why he does this or that and the answer is "Cachaoyan" (custom). Custom is all sufficing. It is his alpha and omega, the reason, the logic and the excuse of existence. Once I wanted an Igorot to accompany me on a day's journey. He argued that it was impossible for him to go.

"Why?" I inquired.

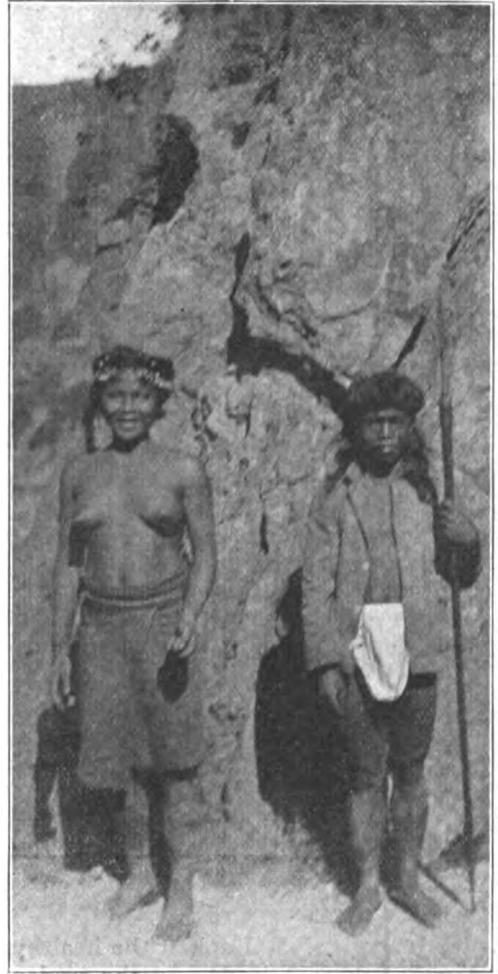
"I have never been there," he said.

"Yes, but there is only one trail and I know the way," I urged.

"I have never been there!" His reasoning was cogent. I desisted. This is not surprising when we remember that the basis of "civilized" law practice and government in America is based on Anglo-Saxon custom and ancient Roman law.

Comparisons are sometimes useful and the more I study the Igorots, the better does their lot seem compared to the average family in the midst of our jungles of civilization—the slums of the big cities. I have lived right in the heart of industrial society and have seen men and boys come rushing out of Baldwin's locomotive works all dirty and frowsy, crowding the street cars, pushing and struggling until I have wondered whether society had not lost something by civilization. Now, as I sit serenely smoking a cigar, watching the Bontocs leisurely wending their way homewards from rice field or potato

patch in the gentle glow of the setting sun, their brown bodies blending with the shadows of evening, I know that the slum-dweller has lost his heritage. The Igorot has no need to worry about hunting a job or losing a job. Unemploy-



NATIVES OF BONTOC.

ment in his case means rest from toil and not annihilation. It means time for dances and canaas, time for enjoyment with his family and friends. I am holding forth no eulogy for a return to savagery, but am only drawing a comparison.

It is a tribute to the fair and wise treatment accorded the natives by the Americans that no American has ever lost his head, although the practice of head-hunt-



THE TRAIL TO BONTOC.

ing between tribes has only fallen into disrepute within the last two or three years. The Igorots appreciate the square deal given them by the Americans after the infamous terrorism and heartless exploitation of old Spanish days, when their rice was stolen from them, their lands confiscated and their villages often burned

to the ground as sport for the king's soldiers.

An Igorot will do anything reasonable for an American, except violate a custom. One could travel from one end of the Mountain Province to the other without cost, if he wished, since the natives would furnish food for man and beast.

Look at the healthy savage whom the missionaries of trade and the traders of religion have not yet corrupted with Christianity, syphilis and the dogma of work, and then look at our miserable slaves of machines.

—Paul La Fargue.

THE COLONEL: HE TRAVELS INCOGNITO

BY
GOUROCK

The Colonel rose from his "oystermoor,"
As colonels mostly do;
And scanned the situation o'er
In search of something new
To further his advertising plan,
The plan that can't be beat, oh!
A brilliant thought, "The very thing,
I'll travel incognito."
And thus and so, with matters aright,
Adjusted as they ought to,
He sped upon adventure bent
Until by accident brought to.
A gaping crowd were soon around;
The Fates were all attention;
"Oh! by the way, I'm Colonel Ted;
But don't you ever mention."

*"Hip, hip, hooray, toorooralay!
But don't you repeat it, oh!
For I am Colonel Roosevelt, and
I'm traveling incognito."*

Hip, hip, etc.

He slapped his thigh; he chuckled with
glee;
And murmured, "Most dee-lighted!
Of politicians I am *It*,
And all the rest benighted."
He ordered forth an automobile
In secrecy supernal.
"A breath, a word, a look, a sign;
And 'blessings' from the Colonel."

He topped the "dump" around the mine,
And bird's-eye-viewed the scene o'er;
And various other experiments
Which we will draw a screen o'er.
Dust-begrimed from head to foot,
He certainly was no shirker
To prove himself a worker, too—
That is, he worked the worker.

Hip, hip, etc.

Hip, hip, etc.

Alas for look! Alas for sign!
For secrecy supernal!
An automo' firm has many friends
Appended to a journal.
The Colonel swore in vigorous wrath,
By brimstone pits eternal;
"If any advertising's to do,
You leave it to the Colonel."

Thus and so are the poor beguiled,
In Plute's unholy mission;
To serve the ends and purposes of
A petty politician.
By holy church; by platform, press,
And personal conversation,
They seek to fix, 'twixt worker and
worked,
A mutual relation.

Hip, hip, etc.

Hip, hip, etc.

The wind is ill that blows no good
When properly adjusted;
And "wind" was sure conspicuous,
For Teddy can be trusted.
He dandled the "kids" and patted their
curls,
And bought them sugar-candy;
For when elections are in view
Such treatment comes in handy.

Oh! proletarian, dense and dull,
And ignorant in your welfare!
When will you take the wealth you make,
And banish such heinous hell-fare?
Shoulder to shoulder in firm array
Let's hope we soon shall meet, oh!
The Colonel then to save his skin
Had best be incognito.

Hip, hip, etc.

*Hip, hip, hooray, toorooralay!
Let one and all repeat, oh!
"The Colonel then, to save his skin,
Had best be incognito."*

INSURRECTION RATHER THAN WAR

BY

GUSTAVE HERVÉ

FROM "MY COUNTRY, RIGHT OR WRONG."



HERVÉ.

WHAT is a Country?
For anybody who is not satisfied with words, or anybody who wants to forget for a moment the fantastic definitions of the Country which have been taught him at school, a Country is a group of men living under the same laws; because they themselves or their ancestors have been brought willingly or by force, more often by force, to obey the some sovereign, the same government.

* * *

Patriotism groups men according to their land of origin, as decided by the

vicissitudes of history; within every country, thanks to the patriotic link, rich and poor unite against the foreigner.

Socialism groups men, poor against rich, class against class, without taking into account the differences of race and language, and over and above the frontiers traced by history.

* * *

To the poor, to the crowds of lesser civil servants, small traders without credit, peasants without capital, the propertyless mass and the multitude of domestic servants of both sexes, falls the lot of ignorance, painful or loathsome

toil, dangerous or unhealthy trades, long hours which make one disgusted with work and drive men to drink and women even lower still. To them starvation wages or insignificant profits; to them the insecurity of the morrow, the rigours of the law at the slightest fault, and if illness, old age, or unemployment comes, privations and dark misery with, especially for women, its procession of sorrows and shame.

That's what a Country is—a monstrous social inequality, the shameful exploitation of a nation by a privileged class!

* * *

There is nothing more natural, more logical, than that in every Country the rich should be patriots! Nobody would wonder at THEIR fighting and getting killed occasionally for THEIR Country. Yet, even so, in France ever since the reign of Napoleon they have found means to avoid conscription.

* * *

But what confounds intelligence is that in all countries the beggars, poverty-stricken, disinherited, the over-worked beasts of burden, ill-fed, badly housed, badly clothed, badly educated, as are three-fourths of the inhabitants of every country, march like one man at the first call, whatever may be the cause of war.

* * *

It is good, it is useful, it is indispensable for the leading classes that the pariahs they shear be profoundly convinced that the interests of the rich and of the poor are identical in every nation.

It is good, it is useful, it is indispensable for the leading classes that pariahs of every country consider the rich countryman who exploit them, not as enemies, but as friends, and on certain days as brethren.

Patriotism in every nation masks the

class antagonisms to the great profit of the leading classes; through it, they prolong and facilitate its domination.

But patriotism is not only at the present hour the moral upholder of the capitalist system; it serves as a pretext for the keeping up of formidable permanent armies, which are the material upholder, the last bulwark of the privileged classes.

The pretext, the only avowable and avowed aim of the army, is to defend the country against the foreigners; but once dressed in the country's livery, when the barrack training has killed in him every intelligence, every consciousness of his own interests, the man of the people is but a gendarme in the service of the exploiters against his brethren of misery.

* * *

The proletarians have no country.

The differences which exist between the present countries are all superficial differences.

The capitalist regime is the same in all countries; and as it cannot work without a minimum of political liberties, all countries which live under a capitalist system enjoy elementary liberties which cannot anywhere be denied any longer to the proletariat. Even in Russia, the autocratic regime is today beaten to death.

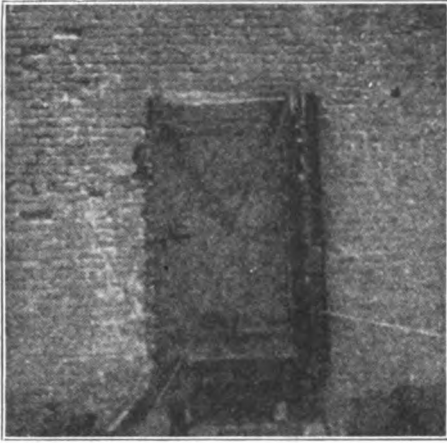
The proletarians who give their lives for the present countries are dupes, stupid brutes.

The only war which is not a deception is that at the end of which, if they are victors, proletarians may hope by the expropriation of the capitalist class to put their hands on the social wealth accumulated by human genius for generations past.

There is only one war which is worthy of intelligent men, it is civil war, social revolution.

* * *

Whoever be the aggressor, rather insurrection than war!



A SLAVE PEN.

THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

BY

GUSTAVUS MYERS

AUTHOR OF HISTORY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN FORTUNES.

The engravings on this page and on page 276 are reproduced by permission from Ernest A. Bell's book "Fighting the Traffic in Young Girls."

ANY condition, it may be safely premised, that can even slightly shock law-makers and the ruling forces represented by them into an expression of horror must be incontrovertibly true. That very manifestation of itself supplies the conclusive proof. To comprehend the force of this it is only necessary to scan the roll of other incessant horrors to which the paramount class is callous or which it insists upon perpetuating. The extraordinary phenomenon of such a class being perturbed by any horror whatsoever is then translucently seen.

Thousands of miners are every year maimed or blown into dissolution or entombed alive. But these are such trivial, perfunctory incidents that in that infallible register of the emotions of the propertied class—the stock market—not a quiver is felt. The fine susceptibilities of that class arrogating to itself so exclusive a possession of refinement, culture, piety and philanthropy are nowise disturbed. Of what importance is it that a multitude of widows and orphans are thus violently deprived of loving providers and left to shift for themselves in the extremes of grief, destitution and misery? They are all of the impoverished class, obscure, gaunt people, having no recognized place in society except for purposes of statistical classification. Imagination must not be wasted over their sufferings; it must be reserved for the

one great terrible tragedy which never fails to shake the very vitals of the capitalist class. Acute, indeed, is the quickened imagination of this class, and intense its wrath, when anything looms up to threaten or interfere with its profits. Then the occasion, obviously, becomes a national calamity, and the whole country rings with tragic cries of rage.

The same governing forces which are forbidden to enact and enforce adequate laws for the protection of the lives of the workers are ordered to speed to the relief of the oppressed rich. And they do it in post-haste dispatch. Legislatures which amuse themselves with the yearly pastime of torturing labor legislation to death, and the courts which prove their claims of majestic judicial fitness by squelching most of such measures as have been painfully passed for the benefit of the workers—these and every other function of government hustle into activity. All unite in the one sublime effort of hastening to show their delicate consideration for the sufferings of capitalists by passing and enforcing every act demanded. But the slaughter of workingmen is no material matter; workers are the cheapest of all tools and can easily be replaced. Not with the dead of the working class nor with their survivors is capitalist society concerned, but only with its own immunity. Officials go through a mummery of investigating; reports are soon forthcoming traducing the victims

with having been the culpable, and the mine owners wax secure in their palaces.

When some potentate, no matter how bloody his record, however steeped in tyranny and murder, passes away the cheap hirelings who parade in our loftiest offices rush their effusive messages of condolence, and no mere private messages are they, but invested with the full blaze of official publicity. The death of a great capitalist moves all that is powerful in society to professions of mourning and to eulogy. But where is to be seen the faintest symptom of concern, much less of horror, over the abounding, never-ceasing slaughter in all of the channels of industry? Within a decade, one single decade, 53,000 railroad workers were killed while at work, and more than 800,000 maimed or (as the official phrase indifferently goes) "otherwise injured." Killed or maimed in the very act of earning their living, which fact is of no import to capitalist society; killed and maimed in the act of piling up profits for a group of schemers, which fact is also of no relevance to the aforesaid schemers, provided the profits continue. Murder and profits go together—a fundamental which orthodox political economists still have to discover; and this all-encircling murder causes no tremor to ruling society and all swayed by its code. Only when it is feared that some legislation, paltry enough, may be passed to compel the use of life-saving equipment or to reduce the racking hours of labor is perturbation felt, and it is one angrily bent upon pushing that legislation out of the way.

The steady scourge of death goes on endlessly among the workers on railroads and in factories, mills, shops and mines. Violent death kills off an immense number, estimated at nearly a million a year; and millions not slain outright are subjected to the slow agony of being swept to their graves by diseases contracted in foul working or living quarters. And what neither violence nor disease suffice to do, the worry and strain and all of the other evil factors inseparable from the insecurity and privations of the system conspire to do.

Do these conditions arouse any outcry? None. When opposition to such a

system shows itself, the capitalist has his ready reply, and it is a reply hoary with antiquated service. His very victims—the living victims—are blandly assured that the system is a most rational, beneficial one, although care is taken not to specify *whom* it benefits. All of his retainers take their cue accordingly; they know it well by instinct and training;—the mouthy politician, the sleek clergyman, the servile editor, and, above all, those prime lackeys of capitalism, the judges of the courts. No mere accident is it, but a consistent program, that virtually every time a disabled worker sues a corporation for redress his case is found to be "without merit," nor is it fortuitous that the vast number of prison inmates are poor men, women and children.

Only one consolation, it may be said in passing, is allowed the worker. How profound is the interest of the government (which is capitalism's agent) in the welfare of the worker! See how this touching solicitude is carried out; how the government regularly collects statistics of "industrial accidents," and distributes the information. No objection must be raised to the exploitation and slaughter of workers, but (what a glorious privilege!) he is allowed to know how many of his brothers and sisters are yearly killed and maimed and how many die of this disease or that! The life of a worker is worth no expenditure, but millions may be properly spent in investigating *how* he dies. Here is to be seen in all its glory the full triumph of that loudly-proclaimed bourgeois reform which is to correct all evils—that reform called "Publicity."

But what, it may be impatiently asked, has all of this to do with the white slave traffic? It is in these conditions that slavery of every form has its root and substance. If capitalist society cares nothing for the slaughtered, it cares still less for the fate of their survivors. What, indeed, is the fate of these? What becomes of the sons and daughters—particularly the daughters—of slain, disabled or sick workers? Of the children of the tens of millions of workers living in cankering care, sometimes in utter destitution, and always in precarious uncer-

tainty? If strong, able men bend down prematurely under the stress, and so frequently take refuge in drink or resort to theft, to what extremities are women and girls, with their narrow opportunities and their weaker physical organization, driven? If they lack a supporter, or they cannot get work, or their pay is too scant, and their homes (should they have any) mean and miserable, what do they do?

* * * *

These piercing questions, opening up the whole depths and ramifications of the industrial infamy, never trouble the master class which instinctively knows that the solution will mean its own extermination. It is most commonplace knowledge—even the smuggest moralizers say it—that vile conditions are the fecund breeders of every form of vice and crime. But these results of the system when taking place among the poor, are usually attributed not to conditions or environment, but to some “inherent depravity” of the workers themselves. Not content with hurling the workers into poverty and demoralizing them with all of pov-

erty's sinister influences, capitalism, backed by theology and the authority of law, punishes the workers for the very vices and crimes into which its own system is so well calculated to force them. At the same time, it creates an entirely different code of morality for itself. Its practices entail no such terrible consequences as do those of the poor. Neither odium nor loss of caste ensues to the woman who under the cover of wealth yields herself from choicé. But the poor girl who either does so voluntarily or who is forced to surrender herself because of the iron necessity of living immediately steps on the high road to the realm of the outcasts, often dies in the hells of the social underground, and her corpse is shunted away to Potter's field, or goes on the dissecting table in a medical college.

All of these facts are so familiar that the white slave agitation came not as a revelation, but purely as another significant instance of the hypocrisy of capitalist morality. Persistently silent as to the other horrors on every side—the



ALL THE FRESH AIR THESE POOR SLAVES GET IS IN THE BACK YARD OF THE DIVES, WHERE THEY ARE WATCHED BY COLORED ATTENDANTS.

slaughter of the worker and all of the system's other abominations—why should capitalist society allow itself to be aroused, even ephemerally, over the white slave traffic? Where Congress, that un-failing echo of capitalism, has long and contemptuously rejected vital measure after measure drafted for the benefit of the working class, it begins to pass acts for the suppression of the white slave traffic. This readiness of itself was suspicious; what could the impelling motive be?

The reason is transparent. Although official reports in abundance, while not going deeply into the subject nor with any clear comprehension, have pointed out in facts if not in philosophy that economic conditions lay at the bottom of all prostitution, yet no capitalist is so fool-hardy of his own interests as to allow agitation along that line. Legislators in Congress have made perfervid speeches on the horrors of the white slave traffic, but the pettifoggers did not realize or care to face this one great fact: That no case is known of a rich girl or woman being forced to walk the streets or go into a brothel. There is the salient fact; at the basis of white slavery lay poverty, and at the basis of poverty present economic conditions.

But these economic conditions are profitable to a certain class. The economic resources and establishments of the country are owned by this definite class, headed by the most powerful plutocrats in the world. These great capitalists command the power of the nation, and tolerate no interference with the conditions from which they derive their stupendous wealth. The more servile, degraded and defenseless the status of the working class, the greater is the power of the capitalist class.

On the other hand, the white slave traffic is merely one of the results of those conditions. Legislating against results does not offset the conditions. No law-making body at present would dare to do anything seriously contrary to the interests of the great capitalists. But with the white slavers it is a different matter. They are obscure men and women, with absolutely no power and no influence except that bought by paying protection

money to police officials or petty political bosses. *They* never put a tool in Congress or a puppet on the bench. In attacking them no vested interest seems threatened, and no dividend will decline.

But as recent events have shown, even legislating against results has its indirect effects upon so indefensible a thing as the capitalist system. In allowing the white slave traffic to be uncovered, the capitalists inadvertently permitted one of the most horrible results of their own "divinely ordained" system to be exposed, and one that most poignantly touches even those blind to all other infamies of capitalism. Along with this realization came a quick lapse of interest in the actual and persistent enforcement of the law. After all, victims are only the daughters of workingmen, and the capitalist class, as a class, is not much concerned. That part of the act of Congress of 1907 declaring it to be a crime to harbor girls or women imported for immoral purposes was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States, thus almost vitiating the law's effectiveness. Had the case been one of an act for the benefit of the ruling class, can anyone doubt that the omniscient judges would have pronounced it obviously constitutional?

There is another incisive reason why capitalist society should now be unwilling to make public the investigations carried on by its own officials. All of the elements schooled by self-interest and instinct to follow the lead of capitalists and interpret their demands, now join in discouraging talk of the subject and in minimizing the extent and horrible nature of the traffic. Twenty years ago, when there was no aggressive and powerful Socialist Party to seize hold of facts and explain their real meaning to the people at large, such precautions were not so necessary. But now with a host of Socialist orators, writers and agitators the white slave revelations form one of the most powerful means whereby to rouse the working class to an understanding of its condition and to the system's iniquities. Hence it was that, affrighted by the disclosures that United States Senate Report No. 196 contained, and the uses to which they could be put in overthrowing the system,

someone or some persons in high power virtually suppressed its circulation.

Ruling society, with fine casuistry, seeks to draw a distinction between the ordinary prostitute and the white slave. It makes the assumption that the one goes into the life voluntarily, but *why* voluntarily no explanation is given except the customary one of "inherent depravity," while the other, the white slave victim, is sold into it involuntarily by deception, stratagem and force. What it refuses to say is that every girl or woman that has to sell herself is a white slave, no matter how the methods in projecting her into that life vary. And, further, it will not incriminate its own system by admitting that the underlying cause in nearly every case is identical, that cause being the absence of proper provision for the maintenance of normal life. In the case of the white slave victim it is generally the fact that she is seeking work, which makes her a victim to deception; in that of the average prostitute the inability to get work or adequate wages is the actuating factor. Concatenated with these factors and superimposed upon them is the demoralizing environment created by poverty.

The white slave traffic is simply a part of an immense system, the culmination of which is prostitution of a vast number of girls and women. Official estimates place the number of white slave victims imported into this country at from 15,000 to 30,000 a year. But this number is small compared to the total number of prostitutes in the United States. One of two inspectors delegated by the United States Government to investigate the white slave question in Europe and America, repeatedly assured me, after an extended investigation, that there were at least 100,000 girls and women in New York City alone who derive a living from the sale of their bodies. These inspectors found (what is common knowledge) that the traffic went on continuously in monarchies as well as republics, in cities ruled by republican, democratic and reform parties. In Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia and other large cities the number of prostitutes is also enormous, and there is not a small town, especially of an in-

dustrial character, which does not have its quota.

Nearly twenty years ago the total number of prostitutes in the United States was estimated by the National Purity Congress at 230,000—an obvious underestimate. At a conservative estimate it is probable that the number at present is fully a million. Here is the final brood of the capitalist system: a million girls and women, all babes once, and little innocents, as inherently fine and pure as the most punctilious moralizer could wish. And now what are they? Outcasts flung down into the depths, kicked in their hopeless degradation (for no hope is there) to outlawed haunts and alleyways and slums. Judged by this one single fact, all that is called civilization stands damned, and the system breeding it will be looked upon in future ages as something so unspeakably hideous as to excite incredulity.

Behind it all that one great principle asserts itself: People must have the means to live. This is the lever by which innocent foreign girls are snared over. The testimony in virtually every case investigated shows that it was promises of work, of bettering their condition, that influenced the victims to yield to the artful lies of the procurers. It is not to the purpose here to describe the revolting methods by which the procurers make sure of their victims; we shall pass over detailing the horrible extremes of violence, the overpowering, the imprisonment and sale. Once in the ranks an astounding fact occurs to her if she thinks. As an ordinary working girl her value is nil; she would not fetch a dollar if put up in the market, for the simple reason is that chattel slavery has long since been discarded by capitalism as too expensive. She has the full legal right to starve if she is so minded, and society offers her abundant opportunities to do so; there are many more of her kind who can be cheaply hired. But as a harlot, if she be young and attractive, her "selling value" is from \$400 to \$2,000. Such is the glorious incentive that capitalist society, prating of virtue, offers to virtue! How splendid an illustration of its noble efficiency in "preserving the home and the sanctity of the family!"

The average longevity, or rather exploitation, of the average prostitute is from three to five years. To make up for the gaps, constant recruiting has to be done. Importation partly supplies the demand, but far more so by the inroads upon the daughters of the workers in America. Young girls of tender age are systematically decoyed, ruined and sold. The records of the state courts and societies for the prevention of cruelty to children give only an indication of the vastness of this traffic. But an even larger number of older girls and women either are directly propelled into the life by circumstances or are gradually drifted into it. The impelling factors are low wages, environment or lack of work or support.

Every genuine investigation held in the last seventy years into mill, factory and shop conditions has shown that young girls learn more immorality in one year in a mill than in five years out of it, and that the low wages and high cost of living have their corresponding effect in increasing prostitution. Recently, in going the rounds of the religious missions in Chicago I was everywhere informed that at least one-half of the native prostitutes in Chicago were products of department stores. It was not without good reason that an Illinois legislator some years ago

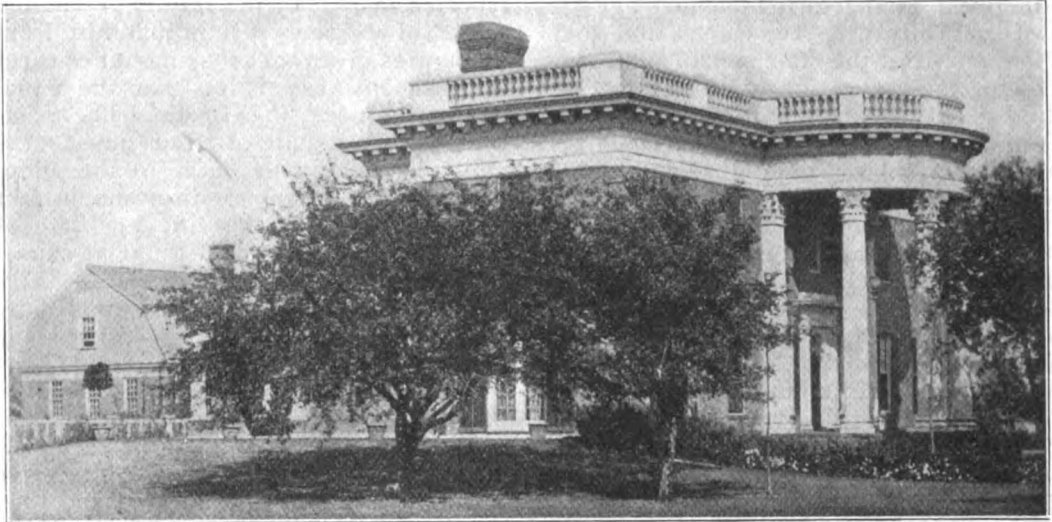
introduced a resolution to investigate the department stores on the ground that conditions in them led to a frightful state of immorality. The same is true of department stores in every city. Nor was it without securing abundant proof that the United States Industrial Commission reported in 1902 of the results of the low wages of women: "It is manifest from the figures given that the amount of earnings in many cases is less than the actual cost of the necessities of life. The existence of such a state of affairs must inevitably lead in many cases to the adoption of a life of immorality, and in fact there is no doubt that the low rate of wages is one of the most frequent causes of prostitution."

This is the fertile ground supplied by capitalism for the sinister work of the pimp and procurer; the exploitation of the daughters of the workers goes hand in hand with their despoilment and ravishment. This being so, it can be seen how farcical "moral waves" and "white slave agitations" are when conducted and then suppressed by the beneficiaries of the system so productive of these unspeakable evils. Long have these conditions persisted, and they will continue until the capitalist system is obliterated from the face of the earth.



MASTERS AND SLAVES IN MICHIGAN

BY JAMES F. McFARLAN



THE MASTER'S RESIDENCE.

Here resides one of the owners of the Buick Automobile Works. He is a kind gentleman and believes in Tag Day and other charities. He votes the Republican ticket.



THE SLAVE'S SHACK.

This home of one of the slaves of "The Buick" is subject to removal from the land of "The Buick" on five days' notice. He votes the "prosperity" ticket, the same as his master, and probably believes in Tag Day.

BEGINNERS' COURSE IN SOCIALISM AND THE ECONOMICS OF KARL MARX

BY

MARY E. MARCY

(For several months the REVIEW has been receiving requests from all over the United States for a Course in Marxian Economics. Comrades have advised us that almost every local in the country has been adding new members during the campaign and that these locals desire to instruct the new recruits in the meaning of Socialism. In response to these letters from our friends, the REVIEW has decided to run a series of simple lessons in the economics of Karl Marx.

The simplest wage-worker in the socialist party and the stupidest socialist college man or woman know more about economics than Theodore Roosevelt or the wisest Democrat in America. These men jumble definitions and terms in utter disregard to scientific thinking. The socialist economist alone defines his terms and stands for a definite aim and program.

Socialism depends, for its strength, upon the intelligence of its membership, every one of whom is an active educator for the revolutionary movement.)

WHAT YOU SELL TO THE BOSS.

IF you are a workingman or woman, no matter what you do in a shop or factory or mine, you know that there are TWO kinds of power used in the plant—human, or LABOR-POWER, and steam, or water (or perhaps—gas-explosion) power.

The owner of a new barrel mill in Indiana decided it would be cheaper to have some company furnish POWER to run his mill than to install a power plant himself, so he sent for the three representatives of the three power plants in that city.

The first man came from the company that offered to run the machines in the mill by STEAM power; the second came from a firm which wanted to sell him a gasoline engine to furnish power by the explosions of gas, while the third came from a great water-power company. This man offered to supply power to run the mill machinery at a lower price than the others asked. Of course, he secured the contract.

By this time the mill owner was almost ready to have his plant opened. He had logs (or raw material) ready to start on; he had machinery and power to run that machinery. Only one thing more was

needed to start the plant running and to produce staves and hoops for barrels. This was the COMMODITY which you workers supply. It is HUMAN POWER, human LABOR-POWER.

One hundred years ago almost everything was produced by human labor-power, but gradually improved machinery has been invented that lessens the human toil needed to make things. Big machines, run by steam, or water-power, now do most of the heavy and difficult work. But the owner of the mine or factory or mill needs one other COMMODITY to guide the machines, to prepare raw material for the machines, to tend the machines and feed them. He needs YOUR LABOR-POWER.

The barrel manufacturer in Indiana said he needed "hands." He meant HANDS TO DO things. He meant LABOR-POWER. So he put an advertisement in the paper reading "Men Wanted." Of course he did not want to buy MEN outright, as folks used to buy chattel slaves. He hired some of you to work for him. He bought your human POWER (to work)—your LABOR-POWER.

And you sold him your LABOR-POWER, just as a stockman sells horses

or a baker sells bread. You went to the boss with something to SELL. He was in the market to BUY human LABOR-POWER, and if your price was low you probably got a job.

Some of us work many years before we realize that even we wage-workers have ONE COMMODITY to sell. As long as we are able to work we try to find a BUYER of our LABOR-POWER. We hunt for a job and the boss that goes with a job.

Men and women who have no other means of support HAVE TO SELL their LABOR-POWER for wages in order to live.

A COMMODITY is something that satisfies some human want; something produced by LABOR-POWER for sale or exchange. A dress made by a woman for herself is not a commodity. A dress made to be sold to somebody else is a commodity. It is not made for use, but for SALE.

Sheep are commodities, as are shoes, houses, gloves, bread, steam-power and water-power, when sold by one man to another. And your strength to MAKE things, your human laboring power (or, as Marx says, your LABOR-POWER) is also a commodity when sold to an employer for wages.

Now you know that any man who is selling a commodity asks as high a price for it as he can. The little grocer who runs the small store near your home charges just as much as possible in selling butter to you. The coal dealers raise their prices whenever they can. And when you strike the boss for a job, you ask just as high a price for your labor-power as you think you can get.

High prices for LABOR-POWER is what wage-workers want. LOW prices for LABOR-POWER is what your employer wants.

Are your interests identical?

What happens when there are ten men competing to SELL their LABOR-POWER? Who gets the JOB?

What happens when there are several jobs and only one worker? Will he receive HIGHER or LOWER wages? Will he get a good price for his labor-power?

When workingmen are scarce and manufacturers are forced to pay a high price for LABOR-POWER (high wages) in a certain locality, does the scarcity of workers last long? If not, why not?

When men are hunting jobs toward which cities do they go? Why?

Does SUPPLY and DEMAND have anything to do with the PRICE at which you are able to sell your LABOR-POWER?

Why is the steel trust putting up a fifty million-dollar plant in China? Will they be able to make more profits manufacturing steel there than in America? Why?

Why do Chinese workmen come to America to sell their labor-power?

Karl Marx talks much of COMMODITIES—their VALUE and their PRICE, and in order to understand his teachings, we must know first of all that we are sellers of a COMMODITY called LABOR-POWER.

Next month we shall take up the question of what determines the VALUE of your LABOR-POWER and the value of all other commodities.

We do not expect the Study Classes to spend a month's time studying this single lesson. These lessons are only a guide to the economics of Karl Marx himself.

We suggest that classes buy and study three books. These contain the gist of the whole Socialist philosophy:

The Communist Manifesto, by Marx & Engels; 10c in paper; 50c in cloth.

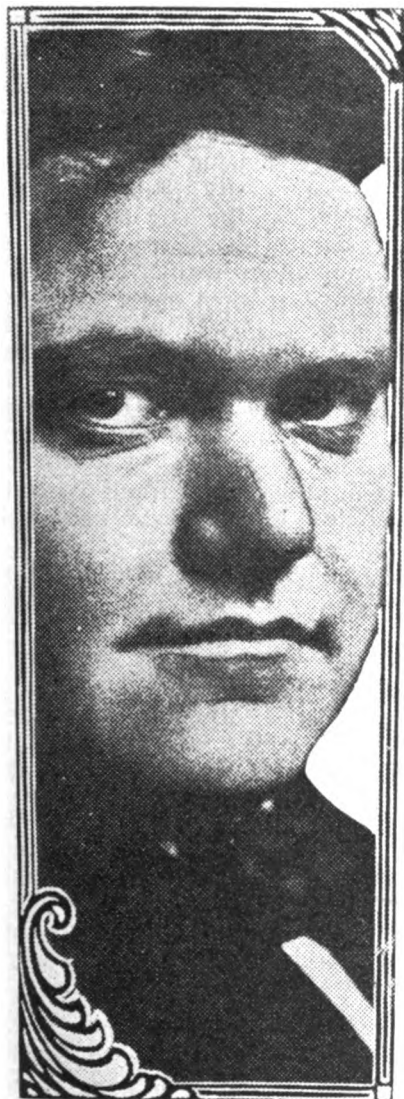
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, by Engels; same price.

Value, Price and Profit, by Marx; same price.

These lessons are only an attempt to say, in the language of working men and women, the things Marx says in his own books.

THE BOY SCOUT AND THE WORKERS

BY
BRUCE ROGERS



BRUCE ROGERS.

“A SCOUT IS LOYAL TO THE PRESIDENT AND HIS OFFICERS, AND TO HIS PARENTS, HIS COUNTRY AND HIS EMPLOYERS.”

LET the full significance of the Boy Scout Movement sink into the minds of the wealth-producing class.

The worker who scorns this new military enterprise as of no concern to him most pitifully deludes himself.

A military establishment in its very nature can never be anything but a despotism and if we are to have an enlightened civilization militarism must go.

The super-rich of the Capitalist Class in charge of this government and the governments abroad, have, for the last score of years, encountered much difficulty in bolstering up the profession of collective murder. Lurid bill boards showing the boys in blue and kahki, exhortations in the public press by the paid liars and apologists of Capitalist misrule have failed to bring the necessary enlistments. Nor has an increase of pay and allowances enabled them to hold more than a scant one-fifth of the recruits they obtain for one term of three years. Then, too, the world contagion of class consciousness is spreading like a plague through the army and navy, and it has seemed to the Capitalists that they were but organizing the working class in arms to do the bidding of the working class in civil life.

Even the petty Capitalists, the dear tax-payers, are murmuring at the increasing burden which they in turn try to shift to the shoulders of the rebelling workers.

That most despicable bit of legislation

ever enacted by the American Congress, the Dick Military Bill, it is feared, will fall short of its murderous application.

"What must we do to beat the workers into subjection when they have perfected their industrial organization?" council the ruling class.

The Boy Scouts is the happy answer and this movement is practically without expense, when considered in relation to its tremendous proportions. With the lickspittle press and pious retainers of the existing misrule shouting approval, this crafty plan originating in the brain of Baden-Powell, English rough-rider and militarist, has in the short period of three months put five million boys into military training. Simply by taking advantage of the bounding spirits of the healthy youths of the middle class they make of them our future rurales, cossacks, constabularies, invincibles!

Let us examine, if ever so briefly, the Boy Scouts' insidious Oath and Law.

Before he becomes a Scout the boy must take the Scout's binding and solemn Oath, as follows:

I will give my word of honor that I will do by best:

(1) *To do my duty to God and the country.*

(2) *To help others at all times.*

(3) *To obey the Scout Law.*

And this is the Scout Law:

(1) *A Scout's honor is to be trusted.*

(2) *A Scout is loyal to the President, and his officers, and to his parents, his country and his employers.*

(3) *A Scout's duty is to be useful and to help others.*

(4) *A Scout is a friend to all, and a brother to every other Scout, no matter to what social class the other belongs.*

(5) *A Scout is courteous.*

(6) *A Scout is a friend to animals.*

(7) *A Scout obeys orders of his parents, patrol leader, or schoolmaster without question.*

(8) *A Scout smiles and looks pleasant under all circumstances.*

(9) *A Scout is thrifty.*

Space allowed will not permit a treatment of each of these provisions. It will be apparent that some of them are pure sugar-coated, while others, such as No. 1 of the Scout Law, are reversions to the follies of medieval knight-errantry.

No. 3 of the Oath, and Nos. 2, 4 and 7 of the Scout Law are of course directly related. They are the meat of the Boy Scout Movement and essential to subjection.

We know how the ideas in Provision No. 1 of the remarkable Oath, *duty to God*, has spattered the centuries with blood in the past.

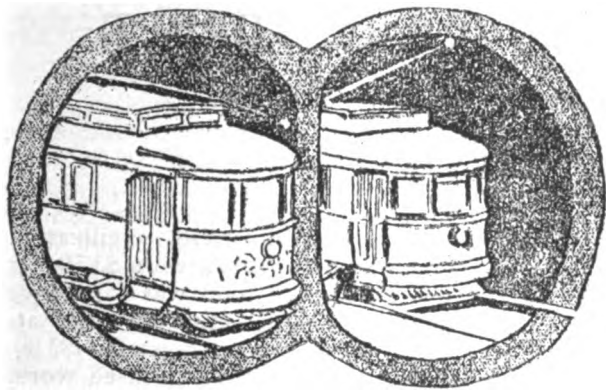
We have in Provision No. 2 an innovation in candor, *loyalty to the President* (sounds much like the oath of fealty to a Monarch) *and to his officers*. The President is Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy and as such has a number of officers. Under the Dick Law he has Sheriffs, Marshalls and Deputies. The President also appoints some 500,000 civil officers. *And to his* (the Scout's) *employers*. Comment is quite unnecessary.

In No. 4 we have the frank avowal of the social class lines we have been insisting upon.

In Provision No. 7 we have the obedience without question, the clinching essential of despotic rule.

We may do more than see to it that we are not deceived!

Note.—THE REVIEW earnestly begs its readers to use every means at their disposal to teach the boys and girls with whom they come in touch the true meaning of WAR and MILITARISM, PATRIOTISM and the FLAG. All Socialist schools for the young should make it an especial point to teach love of the working CLASS rather than of country. We must teach also that only a war in the interests of the working class can have any interest for us.



ECONOMIZING SPACE IN GREAT CITIES

YEAR after year people from all over the country and the entire world continue to flock to the great cities and an effort to relieve the congestion in crowded districts has developed entirely new feats in civil engineering.

Two months ago the world of the building trades gasped with wonder in beholding New York City tearing down a large, perfectly good 16-story business square for the purpose of erecting a 50-story edifice.

Long ago city folk grew accustomed to seeing elevated trains rushing past their third or fourth story flat windows; surface railways carrying their full quota of men and women in the streets below and New Yorkers have just grown familiar with the great subway or tube tunnel that sends every day a million people through the bowels of the earth from one far corner of the metropolis to another.

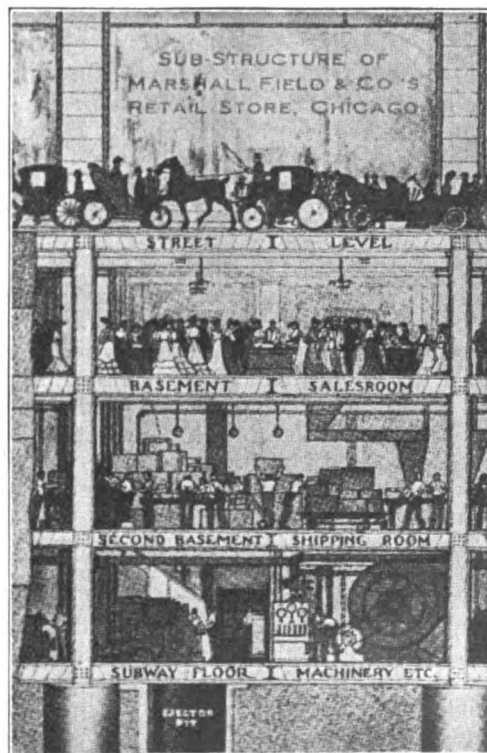
At present many people in Chicago are watching the construction of the La Salle street double tube tunnel to be run through the Chicago river.

Great dredges are deepening the river bed where the two steel tube tunnels are to be laid. These are each forty-four feet in width and 278 feet long and will be dropped into the river at the point of the La Salle street bridge. The water will be pumped from them and reinforced concrete will give Chicago the second steel shell tunnel in the world.

Chicago already possesses an underground freight tunnelway that has done

much toward lessening the congestion in the Loop District.

A teamster who was instructed to deliver some goods in the basement of one of the large Chicago department stores, was directed to the second basement. At that point he discovered that he was not yet down far enough and that his package was to be delivered in the third basement, or power plant. "I don't know how many more there are," he said.



WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD IN EUROPE

TRANSLATED BY

OLIN AND DVORAK



C O M R A D E
W I L L I A M
D. H A Y -
W O O D, dele-
gate from the Social-
ist Party of the
United States to the
International Con-
gress at Copenhagen,
is now making a
tour through Europe
speaking for Social-
ism.

One of the papers
at Copenhagen re-
ports the Haywood
meeting as follows:

Mr. H a y w o o d
spoke to the workers
of Christiania, Nor-
way, two successive

evenings. On his very first stop in Nor-
way he scored a decided success.

The lecture in the People's House,
Christiania, Norway, was interpreted to
the audience by Olav Kringen and was
met with storms of applause. Haywood
said:

"Our class war in the United States
is identical with the one you have here
in Europe. It is a continued warfare be-
tween the owners and the disowned, be-
tween those who work and have nothing
and those who never work and have
everything. It is a fight between the
oppressor and the oppressed—waged
against those who eat bread by the sweat
of another man's brow.

"The Western Federation of Miners was
born in jail. Many of those who agitated
for it are in jail still and many of us are
going there before we realize our desires.
The beginning of the struggle in the West
started in 1892 in Leadville, Colorado, in
which was located some of the greatest
mines in the world. The workers were
very restless. None of the comforts and

privileges that come with civilization
were given them. Wages were \$3.50 per
day and the cost of food was far above
that. One day the mine owners at-
tempted to force wages down to \$3.00.
The workers protested and ceased work.
The mine owners organized themselves
into an association and raised funds to
break the union. The result was a battle
between organized Capital and organized
Labor. The soldiers were called out and
1,200 workers were arrested. They were
thrown into bull pens—hurriedly con-
structed structures of wood. They were
held and fed like dogs. They were not
allowed to communicate with the outside
world and, finally, after several months'
bondage, fourteen of these men were sent
to the penitentiary. While in that bull
pen the 1,200 workers organized into a
Federation and, in 1893, the Western
Federation of Miners held its first con-
gress in Butte, Mont.

"Our next big strike occurred in Cripple
Creek, in 1894. This was carried on in
the Colorado gold mines and the issue
was the eight-hour day. Here, again,
the mine owners immediately demanded
soldiers, but this time they had to con-
tend with a different kind of a proposi-
tion.

"We had a union man in the governor's
chair and he positively refused to call the
soldiers out for strike duty. The mine
owners turned to the sheriff and he or-
ganized a band of tried and trusty sheriffs
—the scum of Colorado. The strikers
were intrenched upon very nearly the
highest point of Bull Hill. Finding a
fight unavoidable, the governor called out
the troops and stationed them in the
middle of the hill's incline.

One morning the deputies marched
forth up the hill. But on the way they
encountered the troops. And, discreetly,
they walked right down again. This
strike was of short duration and was a

victory for the miners because the governor was a workingman, and because he was true to his class.

Children Chained to the Machines.

"Conditions are no better in our American factories. There I found little boys and girls, old shattered men and women chained to the machines. Not chained with iron bands, rope or rawhide, but chained by Necessity—driven by the goad of Starvation, and Organized Capital.

"Conditions on the farms are just as bad. I saw sights in Texas last year that shall never be effaced from my mind. One day I saw a woman dragging a heavy farm implement. Every little while she would look back to a certain point and glance cautiously about. When she thought nobody observed her, she dropped the plow, rushed to the coveted spot, picked up a bundle and pressed it to her breast. It was her child.

"Workingmen in Texas often live in holes in the ground, covered over at the top to keep out the rain. In these holes they eat, sleep and rest. In these holes babies are born and brought to manhood and womanhood.

"Wageworkers in America are worse off than the chattel slaves of former days. Any intelligent man would choose chattel slavery in preference to wage slavery. Chattel slaves are the valuable property of their owners. They receive care and protection just as do horses or cows. When one falls sick the physician is called to attend to him. Care is given that he become a healthy man again.

"The wage slaves are owned only upon the installment plan. They are paid wages only so long as they are speedy workers and when they die a hundred other workers rush forward to secure their jobs. Employers of labor do not care how soon their wageworkers sicken and die.

The War of 1899.

"In 1899 the mine workers tried to get back the advantages they had lost in 1896. A strike was called and again began a mighty battle between Capital and Labor. Capitalism, as usual, yelled for soldiers, but most of these had been sent to Cuba to oust the Spaniards, and few came. However, the capitalists mustered black

troops against the workers. Thousands of mine workers were arrested.

"The local jail was so small that the mine owners had a wooden structure erected into which the mine workers were driven. They slept on the bare ground or upon hay. The food given them would have been scorned by a mangy dog. Men died daily.

"Among the arrested workers were many strict Catholics. Mike Devine, one of these, was sent to a hospital because of an injury. Knowing that he was in a dying condition Mike asked for a priest. The officer who heard his request said: 'You can confess in hell.'

"Things grew worse and worse in Colorado, till in 1904 wages had sunk to \$1.80 a day. The men became desperate and the work of organization began in earnest. The mine owners hired spies to report upon the work of the union. Later forty-five union men were discharged. The entire force went out on strike. This caused the biggest class war that has ever been recorded historically.

"Deputies were organized into marauding squads and the soldiers were instructed to protect property at any cost. As usual the governor—one Peabody—proved how much greater value he placed upon property than upon human life.

"The strike lasted several months. The workers remained true to their union. The outrages perpetrated against them did not have the desired result of embroiling them in bloody battles. All was orderly and peaceful on the part of the mine workers.

"Then it happened that a depot was blown up and several strikebreakers were killed. It was a notorious fact that the employers had no cause to call out the military forces. This depot explosion gave one to them. The troops came, 1,600 men were arrested. They were loaded into trains and shipped broadcast. None received food or drink. Some landed in New Mexico and other states. Many were left upon the desert to starve. Whole families were torn from their own homes and sent from the state at the point of guns.

"In the 1906 panic the mine owners paid their workers in clearing house checks instead of in money. And they CUT

wages to \$1.00 a day. Whereupon the men properly rebelled. And Theodore Roosevelt, one of the most brutal self-advertisers, sent the soldiers to crush them down — BEFORE TROOPS WERE EVEN ASKED FOR. These soldiers committed every kind of outrage, from assaulting women to shooting down little children.

"One night Moyer, Pettibone and I were dragged out of our homes, arrested and placed in chains. Our families did not know what had become of us. We were rushed to a railroad station, placed upon an express train and kidnapped out of the state into Idaho.

"We were refused trial in our own state. Later we discovered we were charged with murdering Governor Steunenberg. None of us had ever seen him.

It was while we were under arrest that the great Square Deal (?) Howler, Roosevelt, kicked us in the face and trampled upon us by publicly calling us UNDESIRABLE CITIZENS. This is the act we would expect of a man who shot a Spaniard in the back and boasted of his brutality. He sought to his utmost to sway public opinion against us; he did his utmost to send us to the gallows. He is a moral coward and deserves to be so

branded wherever workingmen congregate. Never has he accomplished one good thing in the interests of the working class.

"Things looked black for us while we waited for trial. We were denounced from pulpit and by the press. We appealed from every court up to the Supreme Court. At last we appealed to the people of our class—the workers of America. From all over the world the responses came. Money poured upon us. The Socialist press and magazines helped us in every way.

"This placed us in a position to engage the best legal talent the nation afforded. The attorney in charge of our case knew that the evidence had been manufactured against us and after a great fight he exonerated us.

"It is partly to you, my comrades, my fellow-workers, that I owe my life. It is the organized working class that put up the fight for me. But I have a favor to ask you. I ask you to do for yourselves what you have done for me. I beg you to organize politically as well as industrially. Stand hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, and you will be able to do for the whole working class what you did for my comrades and for me."

National differences, and antagonisms between peoples, are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

—Manifesto.



CARL LIEBKNECHT.

CARL LIEBKNECHT

BY

WILLIAM E. BOHN

A FORM a bit above medium height, lithe, nervous, tense; a shock of coal black hair; eyes that sparkle and gleam with every word. That is Karl Liebknecht—at least the physical part of him. His is a body all aglow with the message of the revolution. In public he speaks smoothly, gracefully. In private questions and answers shoot out of him as though they had the force of dynamite behind them. And in reality they have more than that. He speaks with the triumphant conviction of one who represents the triumphing working-class of the world.

The questions I put to him were prosaic in the extreme. In his public addresses he had delivered the message of the German proletariat to the workers of America. He had shown that industrial Europe and industrial America are but parts of the same great world development. He had proved that we are all fighting the same masters. And with tremendous power he had called on to the toilers of the new world to unite themselves as one man to those of the old. So I felt a bit ashamed of myself when I approached with commonplace questions about German tactics and the

state of the German movement. But a moment's talk showed me that to this man there is naught of the commonplace in anything that has to do with the struggle of the world's workers.

"What do you think of the Copenhagen resolution on co-operatives?" I ventured.

"It was good, it was right," he flashed back. "The co-operative societies of Germany are making great progress."

"Then your movement has now three wings instead of two?"

"Not three, no, no. It has four. Let me change your figure. Our movement goes on four legs. They are: the labor unions, the Socialistic party, the co-operative societies, and our young people's educational organizations."

"Do you regard the four as of equal importance?"

"Yes, yes. Certainly they are of equal importance."

Later we came upon the debates in the recent German party congress. Liebknecht, of course, had taken a prominent part in these debates. I wanted to get an inside view of them. All that he needed to start him was an account of the misrepresentations of the American capitalist press. I told him that our

great dailies had prophesied a split in the German Socialist Democracy. He seemed to swell to twice his normal size.

"A split! There was no thought of it, not even the most far-off glimmering of a notion of it! You see we have serious work to do. We face a national crisis of the most stupendous sort. All the forces of reaction are solid against us. The government will stop at nothing. What few constitutional rights we have may be wiped out at any moment. You saw the statement of one of our feudal landholders that if the Reichstag went too far a lieutenant and ten soldiers could clean them out. That statement shot a ray of light through the whole German situation. We must fight. The working-class must have all its forces ready for conflict at any moment. There can be no thought of division. And as a matter of fact no one has thought of it."

"But what of the Baden comrades? Do you feel certain that they will abide by the decision of the congress? Suppose they persist in their course and vote for another budget. What will happen? Will not that be a tantamount to a split in the party?"

"But they will not do such a thing. At least not as a body. Of course a few individuals may. In that case they will be automatically shut out of the party. That will be all there will be to it. Their action will have no effect whatever on the party as a whole. No, no, there will be no split; there can be no split."

"Will the internal antagonisms which came to expression at the congress cut down the Socialist victory in the Reichstag elections?"

"Not at all. Of course no one can tell how great our victory will be. It depends partly on the time of the elections. If they were to occur now it would be tremendous. Our enemies have prophesied that we will carry 120 seats out of the 397. Were the elections to come tomorrow we should carry more. But the elections will probably not come till next summer. What may happen in the meantime cannot be foretold. All depends on our keeping up the present feeling against the reactionary government."

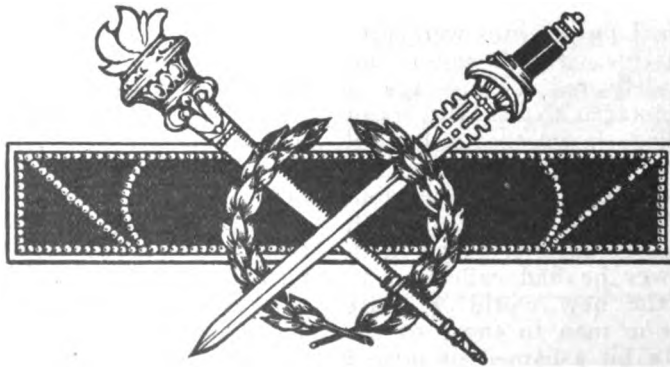
This naturally led to a discussion of the Prussian struggle for equal, direct and secret ballot.

"What will be the next move of the government?" I asked.

"It will bring in a new suffrage bill. It will be slightly better than the one which was recently defeated, but not much. We will fight it, of course."

"But suppose the government does not give way. Suppose it lets matters come to a crisis. What weapons will you use? Will you resort to the general strike?"

"Yes. We will use all means at our disposal. If necessary we will use the last weapon. We will call a general strike. You see this is a fight, a real fight, and we are ready for it. We have the power. Our enemy knows it. We know it. We will fight!"





THE STORY OF RUBBER IN THE KONGO FREE STATE

BY

JACK MORTIN

LEOPOLD, King of Belgium, he of the avaricious mind and the grasping hand, was the first to recognize the immense profits to be gained from the rubber of the Dark Continent.

After the fashion of modern Capitalism, he concealed his real aims and called together at Brussels, in 1876, a conference of travelers and "humanitarians" for the purpose of organizing the International African Association for the avowed purpose of exploring the country and establishing resting stations for travelers and founding centers of civilization in Africa.

A few years later found Stanley, with the best of intentions in the world, contributing his services to the political "humanitarian" organization. From place to place he journeyed in the Dark Continent, securing treaty after treaty from the chiefs of the various tribes.

He found the natives everywhere eager for trade. He gladdened their hearts when he told them they would be able to exchange palm kernels, ivory and rubber for beads, fancy red coats, whisky, trinkets, etc. When a chief understood that it was only necessary to attach his mark or sign to papers giving the International African Association certain privileges in order to effect this glorious state of affairs, he gladly signed all that was required of him.

We believe that nearly five hundred chiefs signed these papers. Armed with

these "treaties," Leopold secured the permission of the "civilized world," at the Congress of Berlin, to found the Congo Free State—so named, without doubt, because it left King Leopold in possession of the right to exploit the natives freely, without let or hindrance.

Immediately, but with all due and becoming diplomacy, of course, King Leopold asserted his right to issue laws without publishing them in Europe. He became the supreme head of the Congo Free State, with full power to appoint the ministers of state.

The riff-raff of Europe was collected and sent to Africa to become the agents of Leopold, and the fierce and fighting tribes of the continent were recruited and armed to aid these slave-drivers in their exploitation of the more peaceful tribes.

The lands actually used by the natives were but small villages about which they planted small fields of grain and manioc. These lands possessed no attraction for the International African Association (better known as King Leopold).

The real wealth of the natives was the ivory, copal and rubber, which lay hid in the deep forests. It was of these King Leopold had determined to become possessed.

It was not, of course, till the king's army of agents and slave-drivers had been armed and stationed all over the Congo—had thoroughly entrenched itself—that it made known his commands.

Then it was that the great white men

began to demand copal, ivory and rubber from the natives. As the agents received a percentage of these products they continued to increase the quantity demanded of the tribes, that is "the taxes" demanded by the great king were increased from time to time.

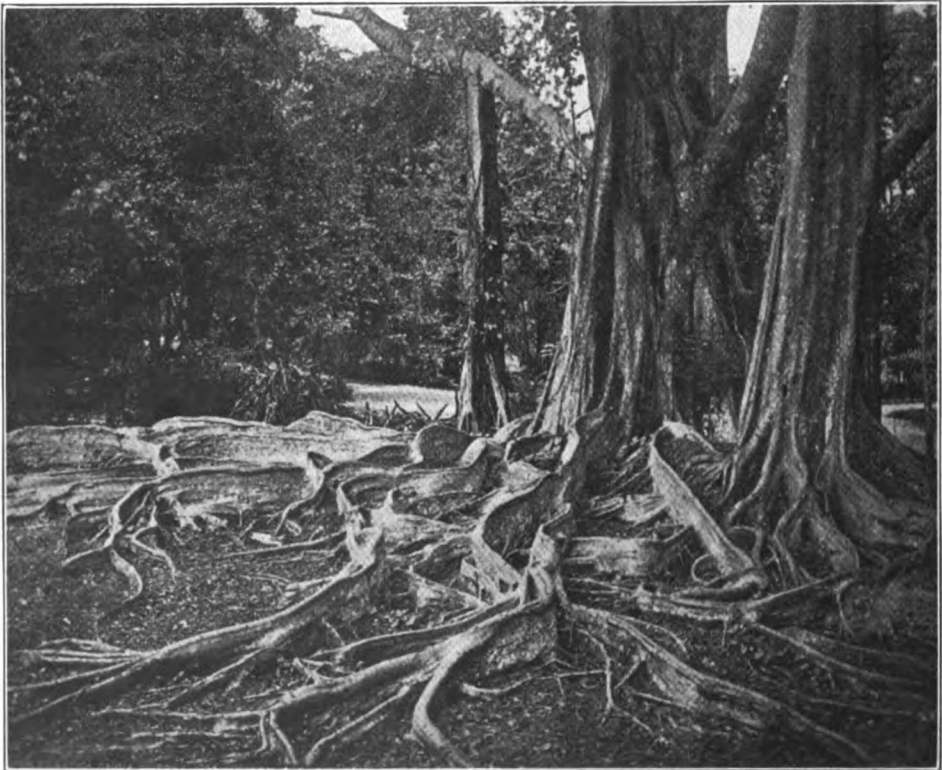
The profits in rubber, enormous in the beginning, increased by leaps and bounds. The demands of the agents grew so great that occasionally the tribes rebelled. But the punishments, mutilations, and deaths of the rebels drove their black brothers deep into the deadly forests to satisfy the growing appetite of the white man.

Alone and afraid, the natives were again and again driven into the jungle, where the rubber plant must be sought. Always they feared the wild beasts, the fevers, poisons and great snakes. Death lurked everywhere, but the black brother had learned not to return empty-handed. For that way came death also. And so for days, sometimes weeks at a time, they plied the jungle till the specified

amount of rubber was found, when they returned to the village. Within a few days they were sent forth on another quest. Often a man fails to return. But this does not trouble the International African Association. He is only one more slave whose life has been sacrificed to the profits of the rubber trade.

The demand for rubber is increasing by leaps and bounds and the natives are finding it ever more difficult to find. Great companies are being formed for the planting of rubber trees in every rubber-producing country on the globe.

But it will be some time before these trees begin to bear, and in the meantime, the rag man and the garbage sorter will continue to gather up every old pair of worn-out rubbers, old scraps of belting and battered pieces of rubber hose, all of which will ultimately find their way back to the rubber manufacturer, where they will undergo several processes of cleaning—to again reappear as automobile tires or over-shoes.



RUBBER TREES.

ANDREW CARNEGIE'S DISCOVERY

BY

WILLIAM RESTELLE SHIER

“THE greatest discovery of my life,” says Andrew Carnegie, “is that the men who actually do the work never get rich.”

Quite so! To get rich you must be an expert at “working” others.

Ten dollars a day is considered big wages. Yet to earn a million dollars a man would have to labor exactly 274 years, less eleven days, never stopping to go fishing on Sunday or for a spree on the Fourth of July.

If old Adam had set out to be a millionaire by saving up five dollars a week when God created him, he would be working yet.

There are 8,000 millionaires in the United States. Possibly they were born before Adam and have been hoarding money ever since!

In New York City alone there are 1,320 millionaires. In the same city 50,000 children go hungry to school every morning.

How did these men acquire such colossal fortunes? By rolling up their sleeves and wrestling with the forces of nature? Not by a long shot. They got them by grabbing the wealth produced by others.

AN INDISPUTABLE FACT.

All wealth is produced by labor, mental as well as manual.

Yet Andrew Carnegie tells us that those who do the work never get rich. No one will dispute that.

All men and women engaged in work in the productive industries work hard and long and they are very poor.

Professional people work hard, yet they are only comfortably well off.

Farmers work hard, yet most of their farms are heavily mortgaged.

Small business men work hard, yet

bankruptcy stares them constantly in the face.

Miners, sailors, lumbermen, mechanics, teachers, clerks and the generality of people work hard, yet they get only enough to keep them in good working order from day to day.

Why? That is the master riddle of this age.

THE RIDDLE SOLVED.

If on an island containing 1,000 people, ten men *owned* all the land, all the forests, all the factories, all the mines, all the stores, all the things upon which its inhabitants depended for food and clothing and shelter, and in addition to this they *owned* the government, they could compel their fellow citizens, could they not, to pay them a heavy tribute for the privilege of living on the earth?

Therein lies the answer to our riddle. It is all summed up in one word—PRIVATE O-W-N-E-R-S-H-I-P.

Let that word “ownership” burn deeply into your brain!

America is simply a huge island in which 250,000 people *OWN* the things upon which its vast population depend for employment and the necessaries of life.

That is why the few are excessively rich and the many excessively poor.

SOME IMPORTANT INFORMATION.

The total wealth of the United States in 1900 was \$95,000,000,000.

Of this amount the capitalist class, numbering 250,000 persons, owned \$67,000,000,000; the middle class, numbering 8,430,000 persons, owned \$24,000,000,000; the wage-earning class, called the proletariat, numbering 20,400,000 persons, owned \$4,000,000,000.

Thus, ONE PER CENT of the population owned in 1900 SEVENTY-ONE PER CENT of all "our" country's wealth, while sixty-nine per cent of the population owned only four per cent of the wealth.

John D. Rockefeller alone is estimated to own ONE-FORTIETH of all the property in this country, and his "Standard Oil Group," consisting of himself, H. H. Rogers, H. M. Flagler, John Archbold, O. M. Payne and other millionaires, is said to control ONE-TENTH of this nation's securities.

Even in 1890, according to government statistics, before the concentration of wealth had attained the stupendous proportions it has reached today, the richest one per cent of the families received as much as the poorest 50 per cent, that is, one-fourth of the annual income; and the wealthiest 10 per cent received about as much as the remaining 90 per cent.

In 1904 the number of productive workers in the United States was 23,450,000, of whom 16,250,000 belonged to the wage-earning class and 7,200,000 to the middle class.

The total wage-value of their labor-power was \$6,969,000,000.

The total value of their product was \$31,450,000,000.

Therefore, the share of productive labor in its output was only 22 per cent.

The other 27 per cent was spent by the master class in extending its control over industry, equipping armies and navies, "fixing" the legislatures and the courts, buying titles for their daughters, traveling round the world, employing retinues of servants and providing themselves with all the luxuries that modern civilization places at their command.

WHAT IT ALL MEANS.

Reduced to everyday language, these big figures and troublesome percentages simply tell us that this country is OWNED, not by the working people, but by a small number of enormously rich families who are enabled to rob the workers of four-fifths of what they produce because they control the mines, the railroads, the mills, the telephones, the departmental stores, the steamships, the foundries, the slaughter houses, the steel plants, the factories, the real estate; in short, the entire ma-

chinery of production, distribution and exchange.

The vast army of men and women who sweat daily under the Stars and Stripes are laboring, not for themselves, but for an aristocracy of money that fattens on their ignorance and toil.

The worker is getting only 22 cents on the dollar. For every dollar he receives in wages he has produced five dollars' worth of goods.

If you, my working class friend, work ten hours a day, you have produced the equivalent of your wages in the first two hours.

The other eight hours you are laboring for the benefit of the 250,000 persons who own 70 per cent of this country's wealth. They sop it up in the form of rent, interest and profit.

Mary E. Marcy once heard a miner say that he got \$2 a day for digging out \$10 worth of coal. A big strapping teamster who heard his remark asked:

"Well, why do you do it?"

"What are you going to do about it?" the miner replied. "The boss OWNS the mine."

And therein lies the reason WHY those who actually do the work never get rich.

Since the mine itself and the machinery in the mine belongs to a capitalist, so does the coal dug out.

If the miner extracts from the earth 4 tons of coal a day, and those 4 tons are worth at the mine's mouth \$10, that \$10 belongs to the proprietor of the mine, not to the coal digger.

But a part—a small part—of that \$10 must be given the miner in the form of wages to enable him to provide himself and family with the necessaries of life. All over and above what is required for his keep is retained by the capitalists.

Now, if the workers themselves OWNED the mine, then all the products of that mine would belong to THEM, and the money those products exchanged for would be spent by THEIR families instead of by their oppressors.

If the machinery of production belonged to the workers, then so would the products.

Socialists insist that the class that produces the wealth of the world should be the ones to enjoy it.

WHO IS THE FARMER?

BY W. J. BELL

WHENEVER the Socialist party is able to determine who are *farmers* it will not be slow to take a definite and permanent stand on the much mooted "land question." It is this use of a word or term without a comprehension of its application, together with the custom of regarding as infallible the conclusions drawn by revered "authorities" that were given expression at a time or place where economic phrases were different from those existing in our own country, that create the confusion in our attitude and tactics on such questions.

An expression of Engels in 1844, resulting from his analysis of conditions obtaining at that time and in that country, causes us to include the *landlord*, large and small, as farmers in this country.

We are repeatedly told that the "farmer" is a capitalist, and that his interests are not in common with the wage slave. That is true of the landlord, but not of the farmer, the man who does the work. Some of these landlords do a part of their own work, just as a capitalist may do a part of his own work. The small farmer, who constitutes the bulk of the industry, is not a landlord in fact, though he may possess a piece of paper designating him as owner of a small piece of land. He does not own it, but is a slave to the mortgagee, or rent lord. Though not receiving *wages*, his position is the same, with as great or greater element of uncertainty than the wage slave, Engels to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Far more demoralizing than even poverty in its influence upon the workingman, is the *insecurity of his position*, the necessity of living upon wages (farm hand wages, rent share, and price of products remaining after transportation and distributor's steals are deducted)

from hand to mouth, that, in short, which makes a proletarian of him."—Engels.

"The smaller peasants * * * are less at the mercy of accident; they have at least something secure."—Engels. Then the European peasant, before capitalism was fully developed, with the trust fixing the price the farmer shall receive for his product, and the price he shall pay for his supplies, was in far better economic condition than the American farmer of today.

Unorganized and unskilled workers may be more insecure than the present-day farmer and as a result they are the hardest element to reach with propaganda, being without hope or aspiration.

Organized workers work less hours, receive larger value for their labor, are no more at the mercy of accident, have less responsibility and are as secure in position as the farmer.

"The slave is assured of a bare livelihood by the self-interest of his master, the serf has at least a scrap of land on which to live, each has, at worst, a guarantee for life itself."—Engels.

The wage slave, while employed, is assured of a bare livelihood by the self-interest of his master. The farmer is not, and when he fails to yield a profit to the landlord he has not a scrap of land on which to live.

The degree in which the workers leave the farm and congest in the cities tells the tale as to where their best economic interest lies.

For the Socialist party to protect the farmer in the possession of his "patch" when he has none save that on his pants, and classify him as a "capitalist" will tend to weaken the faith of the real farmer in the sincerity of our movement, and drive him from rather than attract him to us.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT

BY

PROF. THOMAS C. MASARYK OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE,
MEMBER OF THE AUSTRIAN PARLIAMENT

THE emperor Francis Joseph invited Theodore Roosevelt to his court as an ex-colonel, not as an ex-president of the greatest republic; the writers versed in the Austro-Spanish etiquette of the court could not have characterized the former president better or in a more biting way while he was making his European trip as a preliminary to the next presidential campaign; it is true, Roosevelt's principal organ (the *Outlook*, April 30), tells us that Roosevelt protested against this title with which he was everywhere received, but the writer adds the significant remark that the title is quite universally recognized at home and that he himself writes only: Colonel Roosevelt. In talking to a veteran of the Spanish-American war, Roosevelt, while yet president, prided himself upon his title of colonel—claiming to prefer it, as won by himself, to the title of commander-in-chief belonging to him as president. I have this from a report written by Prof. W. B. Hale, in the fall of 1908, upon his observations in the White House, and the report shows that Roosevelt likes the title of Colonel exceedingly—it reminds one of so many heroes of the civil war and offers Roosevelt compensation for his failure to engage the enemy with his rough riders.

Any political observer may clearly see what Roosevelt hopes to achieve through his speeches and his travels; moreover, soon after Roosevelt's landing in Europe the news was cabled from New York, referring to the last meeting of the republican committee, that Roosevelt would accept the presidential nomination for the coming election if it should be offered to him unani- mously. The report says further that Roosevelt's friends are well aware of his intentions even though they may not have been enlightened by him directly; it is like-

wise worthy of notice that even during his sojourn in Europe negotiations concerning the presidency were carried on with him.

The former president of the United States travels like a king, he speaks and acts like a king—from Egypt to Germany and England we see and hear Roosevelt associating only with the mighty of this earth, everywhere he turns to the aristocracy and the rich, nowhere does he seek the representatives of the people; in Egypt he praises the ruling nation, in Hungary he does the same; in superlative terms he compliments the French, the Swedes, and others. Roosevelt's actions in Paris and Berlin deserve to be compared; it is evident that the man did not feel at home in Paris as he did with the emperor William. His speech in the Sorbonne on the public spirit in a republic is weak and shallow, the speech of a political trimmer; France, as a republic, has the greatest problems to solve: the relation of the state to the church is an acute problem, in the election then approaching the relation of socialism to the state and the bourgeoisie was involved, the great European republic faces a great problem of school education not wholly solved as yet, and so forth—Roosevelt speaks about a republic: he ought to say something about a European republic working out its destiny alongside of, and in opposition to, monarchies, but he says nothing about it and limits his speech to a few well meant phrases about virtues which are considered wholly desirable nowadays in every land, even in constitutional monarchies. And how artlessly Colonel Roosevelt identifies the two conceptions, republic and democracy!

In Germany, however, that is, in Berlin, Colonel Roosevelt feels perfectly at home. I know that in his youth he had studied in Germany, and that may be cited in explanation of his liking for emperor William

and for Prussian institutions; but it is precisely as a colonel that Colonel Roosevelt feels at home in Berlin, the monarchial, conservative, and reactionary Berlin. "Tell me with whom you associate and I shall tell you who you are."

The American and the English papers had announced that Roosevelt was preparing with particular care his Berlin address; I had no curiosity, however, to hear what Colonel Roosevelt would tell the Berliners for he had spoken before on the relations of America to Germany. Roosevelt praised the German people for their remarkable union of idealism with a wholesome and practical common sense; the Americans, he said, had learned from the Germans a great deal about the organization of school and university systems, the Germans had built up the most complete military and industrial organization in the world and for that reason the Americans can learn and borrow much from the Germans, and they can do it the more easily as they are related racially, the veins of the Yankees containing much German blood of the numerous immigrants.

Roosevelt had spoken thus as president in one of his university speeches (in Worcester, 1905) and he repeated it in Berlin, though only in some of his impromptus, for his chief oration dealt with the progress of culture. Notwithstanding all his adroitness, Roosevelt committed more than one blunder on his tour, and his Berlin speech likewise was a blunder. Roosevelt wanted to impress the learned Germans by his historico-philosophical view of the world—that was a blunder, and one no less tactless than his political blunders in Egypt, London and, in fact, everywhere. In his speeches Roosevelt gave proof that he spoke almost everywhere about things of which he did not possess sufficient knowledge, and that he overestimated his powers considerably. "I fear he has overdone it"—an enthusiastic admirer of the colonel said to me after his London slip. He overshot the mark, that is sure.

European constitutional lawyers often refer to the great powers vested in the president by the American constitution; quite often this reference is made in defense of the semi-autocratic monarchism of Europe—the American president, they say, possesses greater powers than this or that king or emperor. Naturally, that cannot be true; the

American president heretofore has possessed a large measure of administrative powers, it is true, but they are powers well defined and limited by the constitution, while the power of even the king of England is the power of a king, and a king is made of a different stuff than a president; he is king by the grace of God, he is the highest aristocrat ruling over all, thanks to the peculiar dynastic power which is traditional and hereditary.

The political evolution of the United States has undoubtedly enlarged the constitutional authority of the president; the prestige and power of the president grow with the prestige and power of the United States; it must particularly be admitted that the United States originally was something wholly different from what it is today, the evolution of practical politics having outstripped the written Constitution. American constitutional lawyers have recognized that the federal government and the national congress have become the organ of an all-powerful centralization which threatens the sovereignty of the several states. For proofs I may refer to the instructive book of Professor Wilson.

President Roosevelt understands this evolution of the federal government and its tendency and has furthered it with all his political powers. That is shown by his official acts toward the several states, and he has expressed himself to that effect with great vigor on many occasions. In his message to Congress in 1908, shortly before the end of his four-year term, he proclaims the centralization of authority in one man's hands as the guiding principle of the United States government. Democracy is in peril, he says, whenever the administration of political power is scattered among a variety of legislators and administrators—democracy is not in peril when all the authority of the people has been intrusted to one man. The message is a solemn repudiation of Montesquieu and his followers.

As a matter of fact, the Congress, in the early years of the American republic, was more of a deliberative body; in the course of time it became a lawmaking body, and about the only lawmaking body. Ex-president Roosevelt would subordinate the many lawgivers to the one and only one, by all means; the people would be indemnified by this lawmaker exercising his authority in sight of the people, as Roosevelt puts it,

and being from time to time compelled to give an account of its exercise to the people.

As president, Roosevelt sought to extend and to fortify his authority in all possible ways. Thus, for instance, he arranged, very cleverly, for an exchange of professors. No French, Italian, or English professors were officially invited by him, but only Germans. The German university professors, particularly the jurists, political economists and historians, are conservative in politics; they are the intellectual props of Prussian monarchism and imperialism—the influence of these universally respected men, many of whom are recognized as authorities in their respective sciences, will naturally strengthen the conservative views of the American universities and their students in accordance with Roosevelt's wishes. The effect of this influence may easily be demonstrated in the case of those American scholars who have been subjected to the influence of German science; I have here in mind the representatives of the mental sciences, particularly of those sciences which are, directly or indirectly, in the service of politics. Professor Burgess, lecturer on constitutional law, may be cited as an example. It is instructive to observe how he transfers into the American political system legal notions worked out in Germany (the political, the monarchical meaning of those notions). How, for instance, he takes the old monarchical maxim, "the king can do no wrong," and works it over into infallibility of the state and thus finds a legal support for the growing power of the president.

Roosevelt, as president has carried out in practice what Prof. Burgess and others have done in theory. In this he has followed a way which has heretofore been reserved for monarchs, basing his power on an enlarged army and an enlarged navy. In justification of these plans he could point out the Japanese peril and refer to the occupation of the Philippines, it is true, but that is not saying that Roosevelt himself, in his inmost heart, is not a militarist. The Japanese peril, the occupation of the Philippines—why, that is just the military and imperialist policy of Colonel Roosevelt and a part of the American people. Roosevelt himself soon showed in an unmistakable way how his militarism should be looked upon. As president, Colonel Roosevelt introduced into the White House regal ways and manners that were un-republican, and certainly un-

democratic. He would have a fanfare sounded when entering the audience room; he introduced military honors. As president, Colonel Roosevelt let his daughter act with Prince Henry at the christening of a ship in a way that was not any more in accord with the traditional, simple, republican manners. His daughter made a tour of the world, paying ceremonial visits to strange and very strange courts, something that the daughters of former presidents had never done before; and a special law was passed in order that she might bring home, free of duty, the many valuable presents of foreign rulers.

These things and many others of the same kind are unmistakable symptoms, aye, more than symptoms, they are partial manifestations of the evolution of the North American republic in the direction of imperialism, autocracy, and monarchy.

During Roosevelt's term the American papers spoke very often about that increase of the personal power of the president. Roosevelt, they said, knew how to strengthen his party through judicious appointments to important offices and thus to increase his own prestige very considerably. During his presidency, too, criticisms of the government by the press led to several confiscations, the like of which one could only find in Europe, and probably in Russia alone.

It was interesting to observe how long he hesitated whether or not to seek a third term, contrary to the precedent established by Washington and others. He designated his friend Taft as the next president and then wisely left for Africa in order to convince the short-sighted ones that he did not care for politics any more; but just now he has announced the condition—an autocratic one!—under which he would accept nomination, and makes use of his European tour to further his presidential campaign. A campaign tour—in Europe!

Roosevelt's political and social program cannot be misunderstood now, after the long years of his presidency.

Let us consider his treatment of the trusts and of socialism, the two great social contenders in the United States. Not only the great capitalists but likewise the middle classes and even the workingmen were divided in their attitude toward Roosevelt as soon as he had commenced his attack upon the trusts; some believed he had found

a solution of one of the gravest questions. However, in the course of his anti-trust campaign the intentions of Roosevelt became known to the parties, and the fears of the capitalists and the bourgeoisie were quieted. They found out that Roosevelt was merely advising the capitalists to exercise caution, and that he would seek to maintain and strengthen the existing order by means of little concessions to the workmen; Roosevelt had never had any real social reforms in view; his "friendliness united with firmness" meant no more than the old support of the poor, though shrewdly disguised. The condemnation of "undesirable" citizens was sufficient to enlighten the frightened trust magnates.

In June, 1906, the esteemed *North American Review* printed an article bearing the significant title of "An Appeal to Our Millionaires," the very title suggesting opposition to the Socialist weekly called *Appeal to Reason*. In that article an anonymous writer whom the editor declares to be one of the most prominent philosophers of America, attempts to make it clear to the capitalists that they must not carry the accumulation of riches and the social contrast between themselves and the workers beyond certain limits which would furnish the Socialist leaders with an opportunity, with the aid of the exasperated and dissatisfied workmen to displace the large capitalists.

The prominent philosopher who preferred to remain unnamed has merely registered the main idea of President Roosevelt. A few weeks before the publication of that article (April 14, 1906), at the laying of the corner stone of the office building of the House of Representatives, Roosevelt had delivered one

of his numerous orations, and that oration, as the editor of the *Outlook* rightly remarks, contains the quintessence of Roosevelt's policies. That quintessence may be condensed into two program pills; and the Socialists must swallow their pill first: "robberies perpetrated in violation of law by some labor leaders" will positively not be tolerated! Recipe for the capitalists—the National Government must "in some form" exercise supervision over corporations engaged in interstate business in order to deal with the far-reaching evils of over-capitalization. That is all. Even the *Outlook* editor rises to remark that such a program is hardly sufficient since over-capitalization must be prevented and the existing industrial system modified for that reason. "We cannot go on eating fats and sweets and preserve our health by an occasional dose of calomel" (a purgative).

President Roosevelt has never elaborated that vague program; for when, for example, he recommends a "progressive" tax on gifts and inheritances he certainly does not cause any heartache to the trust magnates. His real concern is to find a healing plaster for the wounds of the Baptist Sunday school teacher, Mr. Rockefeller; Mr. Rockefeller had been sentenced to pay an enormous fine, but the sentence was rescinded, and Colonel Roosevelt sent him some of his animals from Africa, and, at Mr. Rockefeller's request, will be one of the administrators of the many millions of the Rockefeller estate. The mayoralty of Mr. Seidel in Milwaukee will only render Colonel Roosevelt more cautious.



EDITORIAL

A Winning Fight. In a few days another United States Congress is to be elected. It may be controlled by the Republicans, who for years have efficiently helped the big capitalists in their historic task of reorganizing industry and putting the little capitalists out of business. It may be controlled by the Democrats, who for nearly a generation have been vainly trying to obstruct industrial evolution and save the petty exploiters from their inevitable end. Which of the two wins is a slight matter to the trust magnates, for they own enough of the Democratic politicians to make that party harmless. And it makes still less difference to the wage-worker, for no matter which of the old parties wins, HE LOSES. Gradually the workers of all capitalist countries have been learning that Republicans and Democrats, Liberals and Conservatives, however they may disagree on minor details, are always sure to uphold the capitalists in their position as rulers over the wage-workers. And so, slowly and painfully, we the wage-workers in every country are building up a party of our own, the Socialist party. It is a political party, but it is more than a political party. It is the outward expression of an ever growing class consciousness and unity of purpose among the workers of the world. Divided, we are helpless before the capitalists. United, we shall be irresistible; we shall sweep away the stocks and bonds, the land titles and franchises, the injunctions, clubs and bayonets that now compel us to work for the owning class, and we shall take up the joyful task of rebuilding a world for ourselves, the workers. Ours is a winning fight, for every triumph of organized capital only adds to the numbers and the relative importance of OUR CLASS. And what is more, every measure taken against us by the capitalists and politicians intensifies the class consciousness of the workers which our function as a

party is to develop and make effective. Elections are for us a measure of our progress toward unifying the workers. Let us do all that we can at the polls on the eighth of November, and then start with fresh energy upon the never-ending campaign.

A Socialist Politician. We go to press too early this month to print full details of the great railroad strike of the revolutionary unionists of France. Only the dispatches in the capitalist papers are available, and these indicate that the General Confederation of Labor has displayed surprising strength, and would have forced a complete surrender on the part of the railways but for the interference of the government. Curiously enough, it happens that the government official who is most active in fighting the union is Briand, a former member of the Socialist party of France. Several years ago he and a few office-holding and office-seeking associates attempted to merge the Socialists into a parliamentary alliance with capitalist politicians to run the government on "reform" lines. Their scheme was repudiated by the membership and they presently found themselves outside the party. But being clever politicians, they made themselves so useful to the capitalists of France that they were enabled to retain office, which for them was the main thing. Now Briand has shown his devotion to his masters by threatening to draft the strikers into the regular army if they do not return to work at once. Meanwhile the railroads have agreed to raise wages, so that the fight is apparently at an end for the time being. The Socialist party and the revolutionary unions are evidently coming out of the fight stronger than ever before. Briand has sold out to the capitalists, but he could deliver no one but himself. The Socialist workers in France, as in America, think for themselves, know what they want, and are not easily led astray by politicians.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY

WM. E. BOHN

PORTUGAL. A Revolution, But Not the Revolution. All Socialists rejoice at the news of the overthrow of the Portuguese throne. This event indicates progress. It shows, at least, that modern business rules Portugal. It shows that the medieval church is fast losing its power. That is something to rejoice over. For where modern business rules conditions are fair for a real revolution.

That the deposition of King Manuel is, however, no sign of a working-class revolt is clear from the despatches published in our capitalist dailies. The correspondents lay much stress on the fact that the "lower classes," "the mob," had little to do with the affair. This was a nice revolution, well planned and executed by army, navy and police. The rights of property, we are told, were everywhere jealously guarded.

The best result that can come from such a change as this is a clearing up of popular understanding. Perhaps the workers of Portugal will discover now that their real enemy is not the church, but the system which has thus far used the church as its shield. And when the working-class discovers its real enemy there will be a real revolution.

FRANCE. The Irrepressible Conflict.

As we go to press 100,000 French railway workers are out on strike. It will be at least a week before authentic news about this great industrial struggle will reach this side of the water. But even now one thing stands out as it never did before. The strike of the railway employes is regarded, both in France and this country, as a revolt against the government. The men are striking for a raise in wages from sixty cents a day to a dollar. To strive for this in a perfectly peaceful way is regarded as a sort of treason. Could anything show more clearly the function of the republican government?

GERMANY. The Social Democracy for Revolution. The congress of the Social Democratic party met at Magdeburg, September 18-24. In some respects this gathering was as momentous as any other in the whole history of the German Socialist movement. Our German comrades are in the midst of a tremendous conflict. On both economic and political fields the class-struggle in this classic land of Socialism grows more acute with every passing day. This congress was like a great council of war in the midst of battle. The representatives of the German working-class met at Magdeburg to count their numbers, estimate their strength, and determine, so far as possible, what are the tactics demanded by the great struggle in which they are engaged. As to this matter of tactics there are grave differences among them, differences in which their enemy saw hope of division and weakness. It is with a feeling of deepest satisfaction that the Socialist press can record the fact that the hope of the enemy has been brought to naught. For the Magdeburg congress gave one of the most impressive demonstrations of working-class earnestness and working-class solidarity which the world has ever seen.

The report of the national executive committee was a tale of rapid progress in matters of organization. During the past year there has been a gain of 87,000 members. Of these new members 20,000 are women. The total membership is now 720,000. In some districts more than a third of the Socialist voters are party members. But the organizers are by no means content. Their intention is to organize the majority of voters in the majority of districts. This is no mere dream. The party has organizations in all but two of the 397 districts.

Young People's Organization. The Social Democracy maintains young people's

societies in 360 towns. In 314 towns it has founded educational institutions, and in 109 it is represented by children's protective associations. All of these organizations have it for their avowed purpose to educate the youth of Germany into Socialism. Besides these there are in operation 187 educational associations in as many towns and cities. They have expended upon their activities during the past year the sum of \$125,000.

Party Press. The party supports 72 daily papers, of which number 26 receive subventions from the party treasury. During the past year there have been distributed 23,162,000 leaflets and 2,544,000 pamphlets.

All of this goes to show, as was affirmed by the report of the executive committee, that the Social Democracy has become the center of popular education in Germany as well as the only vital, saving force in German political life.

Two vital matters of tactics came up for discussion. These were the attitude of Socialist parliamentarians toward governmental budgets and the advisability of making use of the general strike in the Prussian suffrage war.

It was the first of these which occasioned the most determined difference of opinion. Discussion of it always involves the age-old differences of temperament between North-German and South-German. More than this, it brings into clear relief differences arising from differing political and social institutions.

It will be remembered that at previous congresses held at Lübeck and Nürnberg resolutions were adopted which made it obligatory for Socialist members of the various state parliaments to vote against governmental budgets on the last reading. The opening paragraphs of the resolution adopted at Nürnberg read as follows: "The party convention indorses anew the resolutions of Lübeck and Dresden, which read: 'As long as the state remains in the hands of the ruling class it is an organ of class rule and constitutes a means of keeping down the propertyless masses. The political purpose of the proletarian class-struggle is to get possession of the powers of state by conquering the enemy. Any policy of compromise with the existing social and political order is not to be considered.'

"As a necessary consequence of this fundamental conception and in view of the fact that a vote in favor of a budget must be regarded as a vote of confidence in the government, Socialist deputies are always to refuse to vote in favor of a budget presented by an opposing government—except in case the defeat of such a budget through the action of our comrades means the acceptance of one less favorable to the working-class.

Some months ago the majority of the Socialist group in the parliament of Baden cast their votes for the government's budget. Since that time there has been going on in the German party press a thorough-going discussion of the relation between Socialist parliamentarians and the capital state. In general the strictest revolutionists, the so-called Marxists, have condemned the action of the Baden comrades. The Revisionists, on the contrary, have defended it. The former are strongest in the north of Germany, the latter in the south.

The executive committee of the party introduced at Magdeburg a resolution which reaffirmed the one passed at Nürnberg and then went on as follows: "The congress sees in the granting of the budget by the majority of the Socialist deputies in the parliament of Baden a conscious breach of the rule laid down to govern the action of Socialist parliamentary groups and a serious attack on the unity of the party. Unity cannot be maintained unless all party members subordinate themselves to the decisions of party congresses. The disregard of such decisions is one of the gravest misdemeanors which a party member can commit against the party.

"Therefore the congress hereby expresses its most pronounced disapproval of Socialist deputies who voted for the budget in the parliament of Baden."

Comrade Bebel defended this resolution in an address which held the congress spellbound for two hours. He maintained that the traditional Socialist tactics, the tactics of uncompromising opposition, have been abundantly justified. They have accomplished two great results. They have forced the bourgeois government to pass all sorts of reform laws and they have brought the working-class into the Socialist party even more

rapidly than anyone had dared hope. What excuse can there be for a change?

Comrade Frank, of Mannheim, spoke for the Baden group. He explained the situation which was held to justify the action under discussion. After the last election the parliament of Baden found itself made up of 20 Socialists, 17 Liberals and 26 Clericals. This meant, of course, that if the Socialists refused to join with the Liberals the Clericals, the most bigoted of all reactionaries, would control the house. To prevent this the Socialists consented to form a "bloc." For doing this they were rewarded with various posts of responsibility and influence. They secured, it was explained, the passage of numerous measures which will bring benefit to the working-class, notably an extremely liberal school-law.

The resolution of the executive committee was finally adopted by a vote of 289 to 80. In a later session the congress adopted a resolution providing that anyone who breaks the rule laid down in the resolution on the budget question will thereby be automatically shut out of the party. This means, of course, that the great majority of German Socialists are strongly in favor of straight revolutionary tactics.

Use of General Strike in Suffrage War.

The discussion of this subject was also fraught with wide significance. For a long time Comrade Rosa Luxemburg has been carrying on a campaign in favor of the general strike. She has been opposed by Karl Kautsky and many other influential leaders. At the congress she introduced a resolution advising the use of the general strike as a last resort in the struggle for a modern suffrage law in Prussia. This resolution was finally carried by a good majority.

No doubt *Vorwaerts* speaks the conviction of all German Socialism when it says: "Not weakened, but strengthened, filled with the consciousness of power, our united party marches to the impending conflict."

ENGLAND. **New Life in an Old Movement.** The English labor movement seems to be rousing itself. To be sure enough things have happened to it of late to force it to fight for its life. But

it has seemed until lately as if English unionists were not quite sure whether their organizations were worth fighting for. There is, however, a new feeling abroad in the English world of labor.

This new feeling was very evident in the trade union congress which met at Sheffield September 14-18. The chief subject up for discussion was the now famous Osborne case. It will be remembered that some time ago a certain Osborne objected to paying his assessment toward the support of the Labor members of Parliament. He went into court and secured an injunction. The case was carried from one court to another till it finally reached the House of Lords. There, of course, Osborne was upheld. This decision has hopelessly crippled the Labor party.

The matter roused the union congress as few things have ever done. One delegate after another declared himself ready to go to jail if that were necessary to the full assertion of his right to tax himself to support members of Parliament or do anything else which seemed advisable to advance the interest of his class. It was the general sentiment of the congress that members of Parliament should be paid by the government. Nevertheless practically all of the speakers insisted that the unions should have the right to do whatever they thought best with their own money.

The resolution adopted condemned the House of Lords and called on union men throughout the country to fight for a reversal of the decision in every way possible.

It is illuminating to read that in a discussion of this topic Mr. Shackleton, the representative of the Labor group in Parliament, defended the Liberal government and urged the need of patience and caution. "Just wait," he said in effect; "be quiet, don't get too violent, and the Liberal government will see to it that in the end you get all that is good for you."

This attitude of Mr. Shackleton helps one to understand why it is that the unions have found it impossible to support their parliamentary representatives by voluntary contributions from the members. In one large union, it is reported, only four pence were contributed.

Apparently the rank and file are fast losing what little interest they had in representatives.

The congress denounced in most unmeasured terms the employment agencies which have been established in accordance with a measure put through by the Liberal government. These agencies have been proved to be nothing but recruiting offices to supply strikebreakers; and resolution of the congress declared as much. This was done in opposition to Mr. Shackleton and other parliamentary leaders.

All in all the congress goes to show that the English labor unions are breaking away from the leadership which has kept them "safe and sane."

And recent developments in the form

of strikes and lock-outs have shown even more clearly what is taking place in the English working-class mind. There are at present serious labor difficulties in the English shipyards and cotton mills and in the Welsh coal fields. In all these fields of labor the workers have broken their agreements. That is, they have grown tired of taking grievances to boards which always put them off with promises or decided in favor of the employers. They are being denounced as anarchists. But denunciation seems to have little effect upon them. They are in a healthy state of revolt. What may come of it no man can tell. There is much talk of a change in the form of union organization. Let us hope that it will come, and that soon.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.

ONE of the important questions of policy that has arisen in the trade union movement, as far as the A. F. of L. is concerned, is the relation of the latter to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. It is almost certain that regardless of the probable action of the St. Louis convention of the Federation endorsing the position of the executive council, which favors placing the Canadian body in the category of state federations, this question will not be settled for several weighty reasons.

In the first place the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress is a national body and deals with national as well as provincial questions, and, therefore, the men on the other side of the boundary line assert that not only should the Congress be not regarded as a state or provincial body, but that the various international unions having locals in Canada should, through those subordinate bodies, be affiliated with and bear their share of the burden of the Congress in the matter of spreading the work of organization, working for favorable legislation, etc.

Moreover the Canadian labor movement has been growing rapidly during the past few years and the outlook is that it will expand still faster in the next couple of years, so that prominent men in the labor ranks are looking forward to the formation of provincial branches to be attached to the Congress and to correspond with the state federations on this side of the line. Then, the Canadians say, the Congress would be in an awkward position if it held only a state charter for the provincial bodies could not be regarded as city central organizations and would become a sort of a step-child.

It's not that the Canadian unionists are aspiring for power in the American labor movement or are narrow nationalists. The cause of the contention lies deeper than that. It was produced by capitalistic meddling. In order to divide and conquer, the capitalists have been

assiduously and patriotically engaged in waving the flag and shouting "Canada for Canadians." Their orators and newspapers have insinuated and sneered that Canadian workers are regarded as inferiors by the unionists of the States, that all the headquarters were located on this side of the border, that a flood of Canadian coin is flowing into the coffers of the labor officials in the States without return, and that the workers in the Dominion ought to have their separate organizations, same as the toilers in the various European countries, or at least be affiliated with the British unionists rather than those in the States.

Quite naturally some of these arguments become pretty firmly implanted in the minds of the thoughtless elements, and those men who know better and are active workers have some difficulty in explaining matters to those who are misled by the jingoistic and hypocritical plutocrats and their satellites. Consequently the labor spokesmen in Canada are quite naturally desirous of overcoming the obstacles that are in their way, and unless the question is handled in a tactful manner it may create an undesirable condition in the not distant future.

THE Actors' Union and the White Rats (the latter a famous social and fraternal organization among the theatrical profession) have been making attempts to get together, but without result. The Rats applied for a charter from the A. F. of L., but the A. U. entered a protest, whereupon a conference was called and held, but without result. The matter went before the St. Louis A. F. of L. convention and doubtless efforts will be continued to bring about a merger between the two organizations.

While the White Rats is composed of many of the leading actors in the country, and heretofore has not been regarded as a labor organization, yet the

centralization of capital in the theatrical world and the commercializing of art during recent years brought the men and women who earn a living behind the footlights to a realization of the fact that they are in the same boat as other people who are compelled to work for pay.

What with the theatrical combines and booking agencies exploiting them, and the competition for employment that exists in the profession, the lot of the actor folks is none too pleasant. Not all is gold that glitters—especially on the stage.

THE Railway Employes' and Investors' Association, a hybrid organization that was formed last year, has finally exposed its hands. At a conference held in New York several weeks ago, which was packed by the corporations with several hundred delegates "representing" ever so many hundred thousand railroaders, it was solemnly resolved to favor increasing freight rates for the benefit of the master class and to elect "friends" to office to protect the innocent combines.

It is, of course, too early to determine how many "friends" were elected, but it is a safe guess that if not sufficient won out at the polls enough others will be bought or bulldozed to enable the corporations to continue their sandbagging game.

But that isn't the point to be considered here. The galling thing about that New York convention, and which ought to cause every self-respecting railroad man in the country to blush, was that Pat Morrissey, the \$15,000 labor skate who presides over the so-called Employes' and Investors' Association, was cunning enough to place the railway workers on the auction block and sell them mighty cheap—in fact they were virtually given away!

It is no excuse to argue that the men had received advances in wages during the past year. The Lord knows the men had to fight hard enough to obtain what they finally did get, to meet the increased cost of living, and everybody but a gibbering idiot knows that they are compelled to work hard enough for the stipend that they receive without being ex-

pected to get down upon their marrow bones and gratefully lick the boots of their masters.

THE delegates to the New York convention, who doubtless had their expenses paid by the corporations, showed that they were a cheap bunch, not because they helped the fat plute to put the boots to Mr. Common People (the favorite woe-stricken subject of the cartoonist), but were too timid or cowardly to make a few demands for themselves. Nothing was said about reducing the capitalization of the watered stock, which requires the railway men to work long hours and for little pay in order that dividends may be paid, and the sweating for which has almost reached the limit, it is desired to gouge the public by raising transportation rates. Nothing was said about employers' liability and workmen's compensation to fairly and justly reward those who sacrifice their lives and limbs to enrich the Morgans and Rockefellers and Hills, instead of leaving them dependent upon the charity doles that are handed out. Safety appliances, long hours that exhaust the men and cause the killing and maiming of hundreds of innocent people, the miserable wage received in some branches of railroading, the anti-union attitude of many corporations or their official hirelings, and other matters bearing upon the material interests of labor, received no consideration at the hands of the slavish delegates who were herded in New York by the immaculate overseer, Morrissey, and upon the signal of clacquers applauded the smooth rascals who orated about "our flag," "our glorious institutions," and the like, winding up by shouting "aye" when it came to the adoption of resolutions endorsing the proposed hold-up of the American people, which resolutions were duly dispatched to the four corners of the country by the plutocratic Associated Press. Seldom, if ever, in the history of this country has there been such an exhibition of cringing servility and cowardice as was that New York convention.

ELECTIONS in two of the big organizations take place next month. In the United Mine Workers the contest for



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president will be between Thomas L. Lewis, the present incumbent, and John White of Iowa. In the Brotherhood of Carpenters the race is between William Huber, present incumbent, and W. G. Schardt, of Chicago, for the presidency. In both organizations the opposition to the present officials is quite formidable.

THE Western Federation of Miners' strike against the Homestake mine

at Lead, S. D., controlled by the Hearst estate, is attracting the attention of the organized workers of the country. The United Mine Workers' convention in Indianapolis, the Brotherhood of Carpenters' convention in Des Moines, Ia., and the central bodies of San Francisco and other Western cities, have declared boycotts against all the Hearst papers until such time as that famous "workingman's friend," W. R. Hearst, makes his peace with the W. F. of M.

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LITERATURE

The Fighting Editor, or Warren and the Appeal.—Under this title George D. Brewer has written a book that is full of interest from the first page to the last. It includes a word picture of the Appeal to Reason office, a life sketch of Fred D. Warren, an account of the fight which the Appeal carried on for Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone when they were in the shadow of the gallows, and a story of the fight which the United States government has been waging ever since Haywood's acquittal upon Warren and the Appeal. Every reader of *THE REVIEW* should know that Fred Warren is now under sentence to six months' imprisonment for an alleged technical violation of the postal laws. He is out on bail pending a decision from the United States Court of Appeals, which has been delayed for six months, and probably will be handed down after the November election is over. *The Fighting Editor* gives a complete story of the whole case, with the full text of Warren's speech before the U. S. District Court at Fort Scott and before the Court of Appeals at St. Paul. Cloth, library style, 211 pages, 50 cents postpaid. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

History of The Great American Fortunes,

Vol. III, by Gustavus Myers, Charles H. Kerr & Co., 118 W. Kinzie Street, Chicago. Cloth, \$1.50.

In this third volume of his excellent work Comrade Myers continues his historical review of the methods by which great fortunes have been accumulated in America. Fourteen chapters are devoted to the great railroad fortunes and their owners, including magnates like Russell Sage, Jay Gould, John I. Blair, John W. Garrett, Collis P. Huntington, Leland Stanford, J. Pierpont Morgan, Stephen B. Elkins, James J. Hill and others. Long forgotten government reports, investigation committees of Congress, court litigations and other sources of history are resurrected to tell the story of fraud, bribery, swindle and theft that form the basis of these great fortunes.

There are those who hold that great fortunes based on what is called "legitimate investment" and having no taint of bribery, fraud or theft, in the ordinary acceptance of these terms, are to be commended and their possessors honored for their genius in accumulating them. It is furthermore held that this "legitimate" method of exploiting others is the normal one, and the "illegitimate" one is exceptional. Myers' investigations prove the reverse. In fact, it is doubtful whether there is a single great fortune in America that has been acquired by relying on the advantage which ownership of the sources of employment give. The apologists for the existing regime are deprived of this consolation, and an investigation into the origin of huge forms of wealth will no doubt reveal that all of their owners have violated every principle of their own code of honesty, false and contemptible as that code is.

In the present volume the author gives us the story of Russell Sage's first venture on the sea of finance, which shows the reader how the future millionaire, as alderman of Troy, New York, swindled that city out of a railroad. Later he is found with a choice group of other swindlers acquiring railroads and "double-crossing" some of his "pals" and getting away with the loot. The narrative leaves him a venerable millionaire among the vandals of Wall Street, and, on his death, leaving his immense fortune to his widow, who in turn gives a part of the plunder to a society to probe that baffling mystery—what is the cause of poverty?

Jay Gould, the master thief of his century, next crosses the stage, leaving wreck and ruin in his path. However, his career is more or less known to even the dullest, but it is well to have him embalmed with the rest. John I. Blair, always held as a model of "business virtue" even today, is shown to have been of the same stamp as the other pirates, and another idol goes over into the gut-

ter. Then comes the "Pacific quartet," Huntington, Stanford, Crocker and Hopkins, starting with nothing and ending by owning immense tracts of land, railroads, governors, judges, senators and other forms of merchandise. One becomes a governor, another senator, and still another takes a part of his loot and founds a famous California university, winning, incidentally, instant recognition as a "philanthropist" and promoter of education.

J. Pierpont Morgan next appears during the civil war and gives the "poor boy" with ambition, courage and persistence the proper idea how to "get a start in the world" and win applause as a Sunday school model. He leaped into fame by purchasing rotten rifles condemned by the government at the rate of \$3.50 each and selling them back to the government for \$22 apiece! These were no doubt the times that tried the souls of eminent financiers—there were so many opportunities of this kind. Morgan's pre-eminence based on this early venture is traced down to the present, when the narrative leaves him a pious passer of the collection plate in a fashionable church. "Steve" Elkins, who owns West Virginia as his private preserve, blossomed into one of those "beauty roses" John D. Jr., told us of a few years ago, by confiscating land in New Mexico, and later went to the senate, where he still is, to guard his thefts and those of his fellow pirates. "Jim" Hill, the railroad king of the northwest, who is now teaching us national economics in a great magazine, has a background in his life as a railroad wrecker and looter which is given the last chapter in the volume.

We are glad to note that the author will in future volumes review the career of Harriman and the rise of the Standard Oil Company, and also deal with great fortunes based on public franchises, mines and industries. An index to the three volumes is contained in the third one, which is the largest book of the three.

The entire work will be prized by many for the incontrovertible facts it contains, as well as the great mass of documentary evidence that supports every statement made and conclusion drawn.

JAMES ONEAL.

The *Diary of a Shirtwaist Striker*, by Theresa S. Malkiel, published by the Co-operative Press, 15 Spruce street, New York, N. Y., in attractive paper cover at 25 cents (cloth 50 cents) is one of the most realistic stories we have had the pleasure of reading in a long time. The little book is dedicated to "the nameless heroines of the Shirtwaist Makers' Strike"—a touching eulogy to the splendid, class-conscious girls and women who raised such consternation in the hearts of the employers in New York City last year.

We are not going to tell you the story here, because we want you to have the pleasure of suffering as the young girl on strike suffers, of fighting when she fights, and enjoying her victories as though they were you own, as you will in reading the pages of Mrs. Malkiel's little book.

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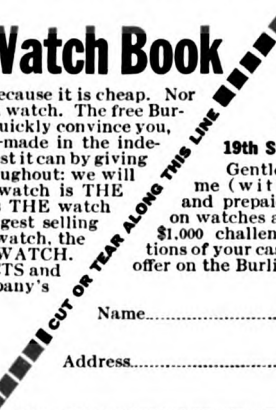
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NEWS AND VIEWS



YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE, CHICAGO—FALL FESTIVAL.

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But we see the necessity of establishing social centers for the young folks in every city in America. If the young folks will not attend dry business meetings, we can band them together in social groups and teach them Socialism by means of lectures and discussions. The Young People's Socialist League of Chicago (180 Washington street) is ready and willing to assist comrades at any other point.

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The Springfield, Ohio, comrades put up a sign reading as follows: Comrades; give us your order for the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, the fighting magazine of the working class. To sell to your co-workers. It's easy. Pay us when you have collected their dimes. The one who sells the most will receive a duplicate bound volume of any 50 cent book in our library. Literature Committee. Their first order was for 20 copies and they are now getting over 200 each month. Comrade Townsend writes us that the Springfield method will organize the comrades and get them in the habit of voluntarily distributing literature. "It makes habitual readers of our co-workers and in time, class-conscious militant Socialists. It will build up a literature fund. It will enable them to buy leaflets by the 1,000. It is BUSINESS! A double-headed business. It makes money and it makes Socialists!"

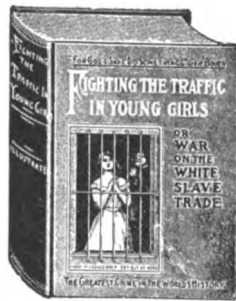
"Human Vultures Who Fatten on the Shame of Innocent Girls"

FIGHTING THE TRAFFIC IN YOUNG GIRLS, OR WAR ON THE WHITE SLAVE TRADE

By ERNEST A. BELL

Secretary of the Illinois Vigilance Association—With Special Chapters by the Following Persons:

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HON. HARRY L. PARKIN, Assist. United States Dist. Attorney, Chicago.
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You can see these young women crying out in the night; you can see the blanched faces and hear the ribald laughter of souls that are lost and minds that are warped; you can see the men that go into the rural districts, in the smaller cities, and there under the lurid promise of a good position and social advantages in the big cities, **bring into the jaws of this awful monster**, young girls who should be the mothers of our Nation's future.

To the Youths and Young Men of America

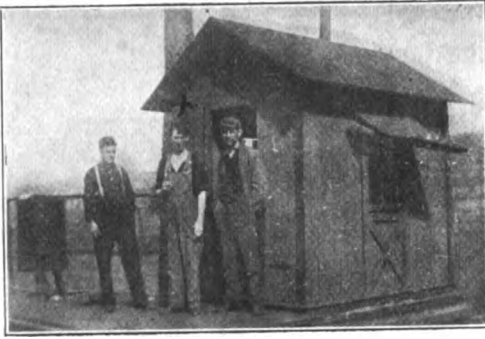
There are some things in connection with what is called "Sowing wild oats," "Having a good time in the city," etc., that you ought to know. Absolute facts and results that eminent physicians who have studied the subject, and whose experience is very wide, have found to exist as the result of this pernicious pastime. Every young man who contemplates asking some good, sweet pure young woman to be his wife, should look well to himself, so that both may be saved years of misery in the future. This book contains **special chapters** written by **prominent doctors**, that you should read for the preservation of your health, **her health** and the happiness of both, as well as the generations to come.

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This volume is **strikingly illustrated** with actual photographs and drawings of White Slavers, plying their nefarious trade, luring young girls into the net of shame, vice resorts, and their victims, the awful result of the White Slave trade on its victims, and the great war now being waged to suppress this burning shame of our nation. **Fighting the Traffic in Young Girls** is the most complete and authentic work on this burning subject, and contains a special grade of No. 1 book paper, over **500 pages of Text** printed on a special grade paper, and **32 pages of half-tone illustrations**, handsomely bound in the following styles:

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From Rochester, Pa.—Enclosed will find a picture of the 1909 Local Grievance Committee of the "Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen," of Conway, Pa. All members of the Socialist party.

The center one is myself, agent for *Chicago Daily Socialist*, *Hope*, and INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Yours for the revolution,
J. R. GALLIGAN.

Socialist Stickers on Freight Cars.—Comrade J. F. Mabie writes from Butte, Montana: "Last night I spent an hour or more in the freight yards here putting stickers on the freight cars. I pasted them on the end of the car by the lever that is used to uncouple and on the door by the lock so that any man who uncouples a car or opens a door will be sure to see it. It is safe to say that those stickers that I put on in an hour will be read by five hundred people. Could you not mention this plan in the REVIEW? A few comrades in a big railroad center could in a few days send these all over the country." The stickers referred to are supplied from this office at cost, 25 cents for a hundred each of three kinds, samples free on request.

Selling Reviews for admission tickets to lectures is the new method Socialists in Niagara Falls are using to introduce the REVIEW in their city. Comrade Parsons ordered 100 copies which the comrades sold as admission tickets at a lecture given recently. The hall held only 150 persons, but he came back ordering 50 MORE copies. Evidently the hall was filled and overflowing. Don't forget this method of acquainting your neighbors with the REVIEW.

Comrade L. T. Rush, who is now in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, continues to send in a few REVIEW subscriptions every week. On Oct. 2d three more came our way and Comrade Rush wrote: "We have to make use of every day and get the foundation of education laid. The mortar of the movement is the working class press. I take subscriptions in my spare time." What the Socialist movement needs most of all is more earnest men and women who will carry the message of Socialism into the shops, mines, the mills and factories. We are always cheered and inspired by a letter from Comrade Rush.

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Comrade Ash, of New Mexico, sends in \$14.00 for fourteen new REVIEW subscriptions and put \$14.00 worth of premium Socialist books to work telling his friends what Socialism means. "I would like to write a few words of praise for your magazine, but I am not gifted that way," he writes. "Nobody asked me to get subscribers for the REVIEW but it looked good to me and here are fourteen." We wish more of our friends were gifted in the matter of getting subscriptions. Subscriptions are better than talk any day, Comrade Ash.

Congratulations.—It is not customary for revolutionists to indulge in outbursts of congratulatory feelings to those who are merely doing their duty. But I make your case an exception, because you seem to be almost alone in being fair and absolutely true to the real proletarian class. Therefore, I think the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is by far the best Socialist publication in America. All Socialists, in theory, favor industrial organization, but they are so carried away with political action that they overlook the industrial side. I have been an active Socialist agitator for seven years, but not till I came to the Pacific Coast last winter, where the fearless fires of the revolution seem to burn in the very air, did I ever recognize the supreme importance of organizing on the industrial field—in the shop, mill, mine and factory, right at the point of production. I am convinced, now, that we must organize and get control of the industries right where we are exploited and enslaved, use the general strike and direct action, and wrest from the bosses all we can and as rapidly as we can till we can get control of it all. Then it will only be necessary to fire the bosses and stop the profits, turning the latter back into the pay envelopes of the workers. As we grow, we will gain the knowledge by experience, right in the places we work, to run the industries.

I traveled 40 miles to vote for Debs and Hanford last election, and wasn't sure I could vote when I got there. But I voted. So, I am not against political action. But it doesn't always go far enough.

M. B. BUTLER.

Socialist Hustlers!

The Socialist movement has developed many live, active, up-to-date hustlers, men who have made records at sub. taking, who can approach people, put up a convincing talk and close a quick deal. We want to get in touch with such men.

We can show you how to turn this ability into good round dollars. * Light, pleasant, steady work and a chance to travel, too, and work for Socialism, if you wish. We have shown others how to make from \$25.00 to \$100.00 per week. Why not you?

WRITE FOR PARTICULARS

THE DIXIE PORTRAIT CO. 6425 Eggleston Ave. CHICAGO

From Phil Engle.—There is a Liberty Park in Salt Lake City, where all summer the Socialists and the I. W. W. men and women and other educators have held meetings devoted to the working class.

Early in the season the chief of police attempted to stop these open air meetings but finding that the Reds refused to be bluffed, he left them in peace.

The Socialists began to crow for it looked as though the free speech fight in Salt Lake City would not have to come off.

But the daily papers were not content to let the matter rest. Every day or so they published articles for the benefit of the soldiers who come down to town from Fort Douglas, telling them how their flag was being insulted by the street anarchists.

Article after article appeared in the *Evening Telegram*, in which hints were mingled inviting the soldiers to break in and "defend the flag," by mobbing the speakers. They did not urge them on in plain English, but the soldiers understood the suggestions and they acted accordingly.

The eggs they used in showing their enmity must have been beef trust cold storage. One brave soldier boy struck W. G. Henry with a pair of brass knuckles and then the nonprofessional fighters took a hand in the game.

For almost a month, every night, brought an encounter between the soldiers and the Socialists. Strange to say the nonprofessionals had the best of it and the professional fighters bore away many evidences of the valor of the workingmen, and so, the "Army" discreetly withdrew leaving Labor in the field.

But this gave the police an excuse to stop the meetings on the grounds that they were causing disorder. As reported in *Plain Talk*, a Socialist paper published in Salt Lake City, the various organizations enduring the persecutions of the police got together. That night all six of their speakers—Watts, Young, Engle, Brilliant, Osgood and Kerns were arrested. Bonds were furnished—instantly released. Later the cases were dismissed. Comrade William Thurston Brown and Wm. Jurgens were also arrested and Comrade Brown was brutally beaten by a policeman. Comrade Brown had the "Bull" arrested and the Free Speech League announced bigger meetings and proceeded to hold them.

The city council seemed to lose interest in a fight that was never won and backed down. The ordinance against us was tabled. Meetings in Salt Lake City are better and bigger than ever.

International Language. Booklet containing Grammar and Elements of Esperanto for two-cent stamp, from Arthur Baker, 701 East Fortleth Street, Chicago. Complete compendium for home study, with propaganda magazine one year, \$1.50.

\$100 MONTHLY and expenses to trustworthy men and women to travel and distribute samples; big manufacturer. Steady work. S. Scheffer, Treas., MJ-158, Chicago.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

My Country, Right or Wrong.—It was the ringing words of **Gustave Herve** at the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress that roused proletarians the world over into militant opposition to War, and that struck terror into the hearts of the economic masters of society from Germany to Japan.

This was the clarion call that will some day render impossible capitalist wars and all wars between the nations of the world: "The Congress . . . calls upon all comrades, in view of the diplomatic incidents which, coming from all quarters, threaten European peace, to answer any declaration of war, from **whatever** side it may come, by military strike and **Insurrection.**"

Gustave Hervé is the author of a book which is beyond all comparison the most powerful indictment of **War** and of **Patriotism** ever written. It has lately been translated into English and published in London, under the title **My Country, Right or Wrong.**

PARTIAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

- Preface. By E. Belfort Bax.
- Life Sketch of Hervé. By Guy Bowman.
- The French Country.
- Almost All Countries Are Alike.
- The Miracle of Patriotism.
- Patriotic Education in the Family.
- The Patriotic Song at School.
- The Patriotic Teachings at School.
- The Patriotic Lies.
- The French Patriotic Prejudices.
- Patriotism a Religion; the Worship of the Flag.
- Why the Ruling Classes Preach Patriotism.
- Patriotism the Upholder of the Capitalist System.

- The Little Profits of Foreign Wars.
- The Internationalism of Patriot Socialists.
- Inconsistency and Dangers of Patriot Internationalism.
- The Anti-Patriot Socialists and the Question of Citizen Armies.
- The Refusal of Military Service in Time of Peace.
- In Case of War.
- The Attitude of Socialists at the International Congresses.
- Objections:
 - "Our Conception is Anarchistic."
 - "The Countries Will Always Live."
 - "Our Conception Is Reactionary."
 - "Our Project of Military Strike and Insurrection Is Unrealizable."
 - "The Electoral Reason."
- The Decisions of the International Congresses Do Not Bind Us Forever.
- The Anti-Patriotic Propaganda in the Working Class Districts of France.
- Anti-Patriotic Propaganda Among the French Rurals.
- The Question Will Be Put.
- Appendix on the Stuttgart Congress of 1907.

We have purchased from the English translator, Comrade Bowman, all the remaining sheets of the English edition, and have had them bound in extra cloth, stamped in gold. There are **only five hundred copies**, all we could get. There will not be nearly enough for all who want them, therefore

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You cannot buy it at any price. We will **give** you a copy, mailing it to your address, if you send **three dollars** for subscriptions to the **INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW**. In return for this \$3.00 we will send **THE REVIEW** three years to one name or one year to three new names, or will send you three yearly subscription cards or twelve three-months' cards.

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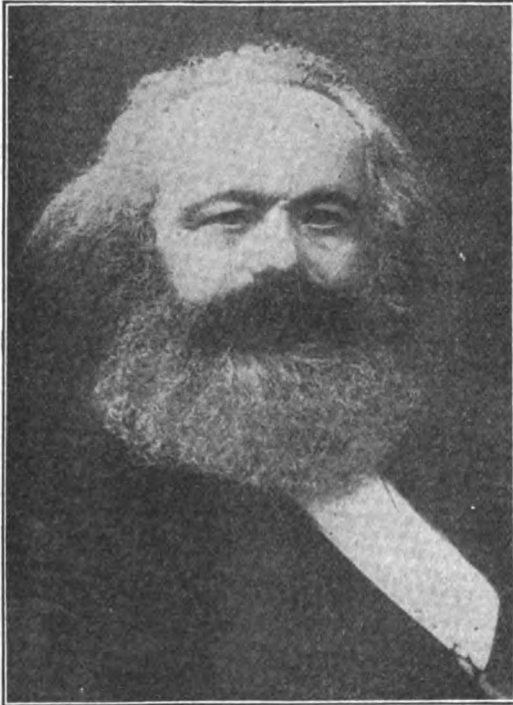
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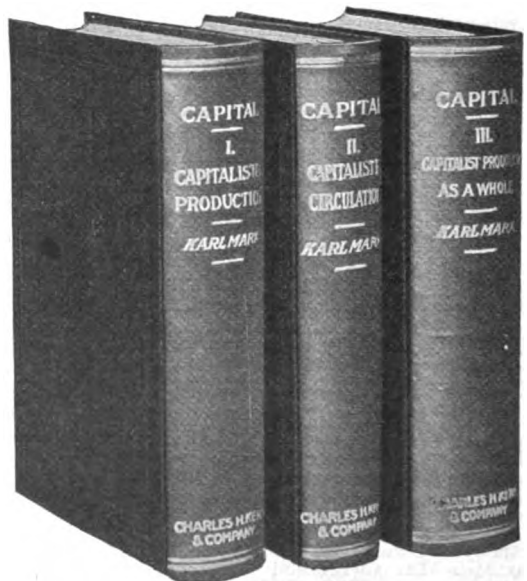
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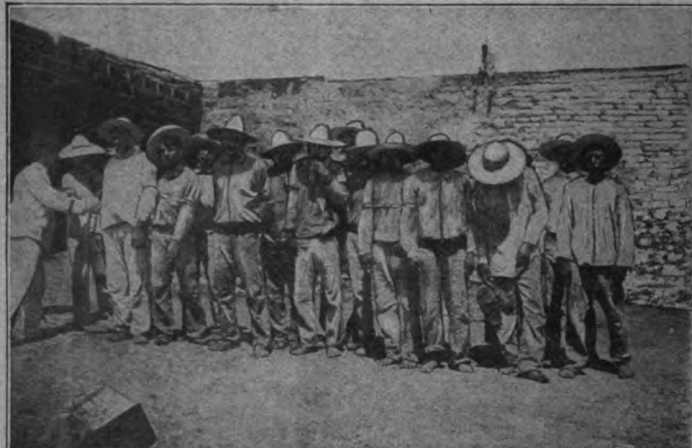
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Mr. Turner attempted to find a capitalist publisher to bring his facts before the American people. But every door was closed to him. Whether by direct bribery or by indirect influence, Diaz and the American capitalists whose interests he serves control nearly every important channel of publicity in the United States.

But they do not control our co-operative publishing house. It is controlled by over two thousand Socialist workers, and we have undertaken to publish to the world the facts which John Kenneth Turner has unearthed and which Diaz and his friends are trying to suppress.



WHAT HAPPENS TO OPPONENTS OF DIAZ.

Barbarous Mexico, which we expect to publish November 25, will contain with some revision the articles which appeared in the American Magazine. It will also contain eleven new chapters:

- The Country Peons and the City Poor.
- The Diaz System.
- Repressive Elements of the Diaz Machine.
- The Crushing of Opposition Parties.
- The Eighth Unanimous Election of President Diaz.
- Four Mexican Strikes.
- Critics and Corroboration.
- The Diaz-American Press Conspiracy.
- The American Partners of Diaz.
- American Persecution of the Enemies of Diaz.
- Diaz Himself.
- The Mexican People.

There will also be sixteen pages of engravings from photographs, most of them taken by the author during a prolonged tour of Mexico made for the purpose of learning the whole truth about that unhappy country. The book will be printed on extra book paper, handsomely bound in cloth with gold stamping, and the price upon publication will be \$1.50. But as our capital is limited we find it necessary to raise money **AT ONCE**, to meet our payments to the author and the printers. We will therefore send the book **postpaid for one dollar** if the money is sent **before publication**. Better write today. You will be more than pleased with the book. Address

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