

*The*

# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

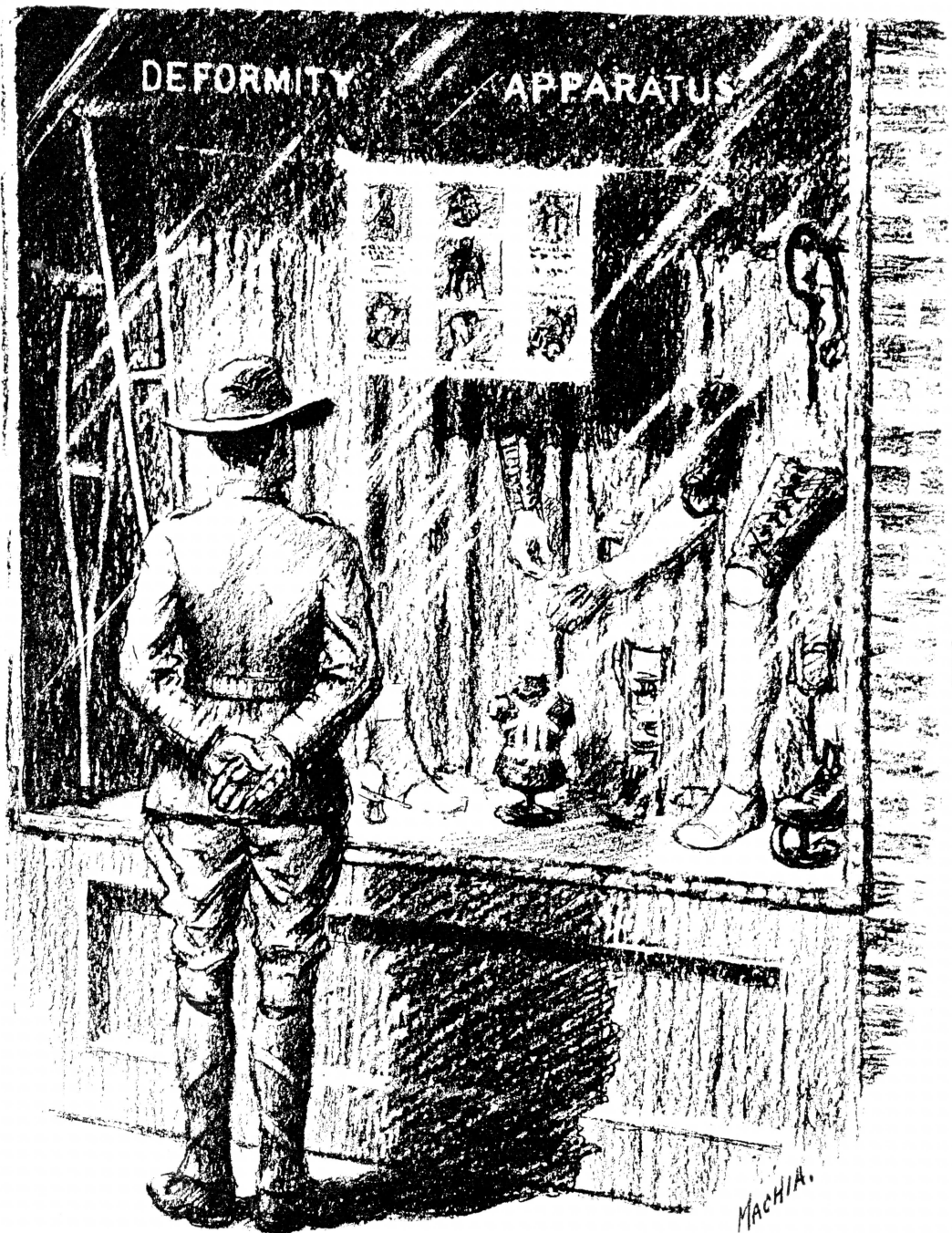


JULY, 1917

PRICE TEN CENTS

*The*

# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



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

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

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

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

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

The Need for Organization.

The Need for Leadership Felt by the Mass.

The Political Gratitude of the Masses.

Financial Power of the Leaders.

Relation of the Leaders to the Masses.

The Struggle Between the Leaders and the Masses.

Centralization.

The Exercise of Power and Its Reaction Upon the Leaders.

The Metamorphosis of the Leaders.

Syndicalism as a Remedy.

Anarchism.

Party-Life in War-Time.

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

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

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

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*The*  
**INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

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Edited by Charles H. Kerr

No. 1

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*The Editor is responsible only for views expressed on the editorial page and in unsigned department matter. Each contributor and associate editor is responsible for views expressed over his own signature*

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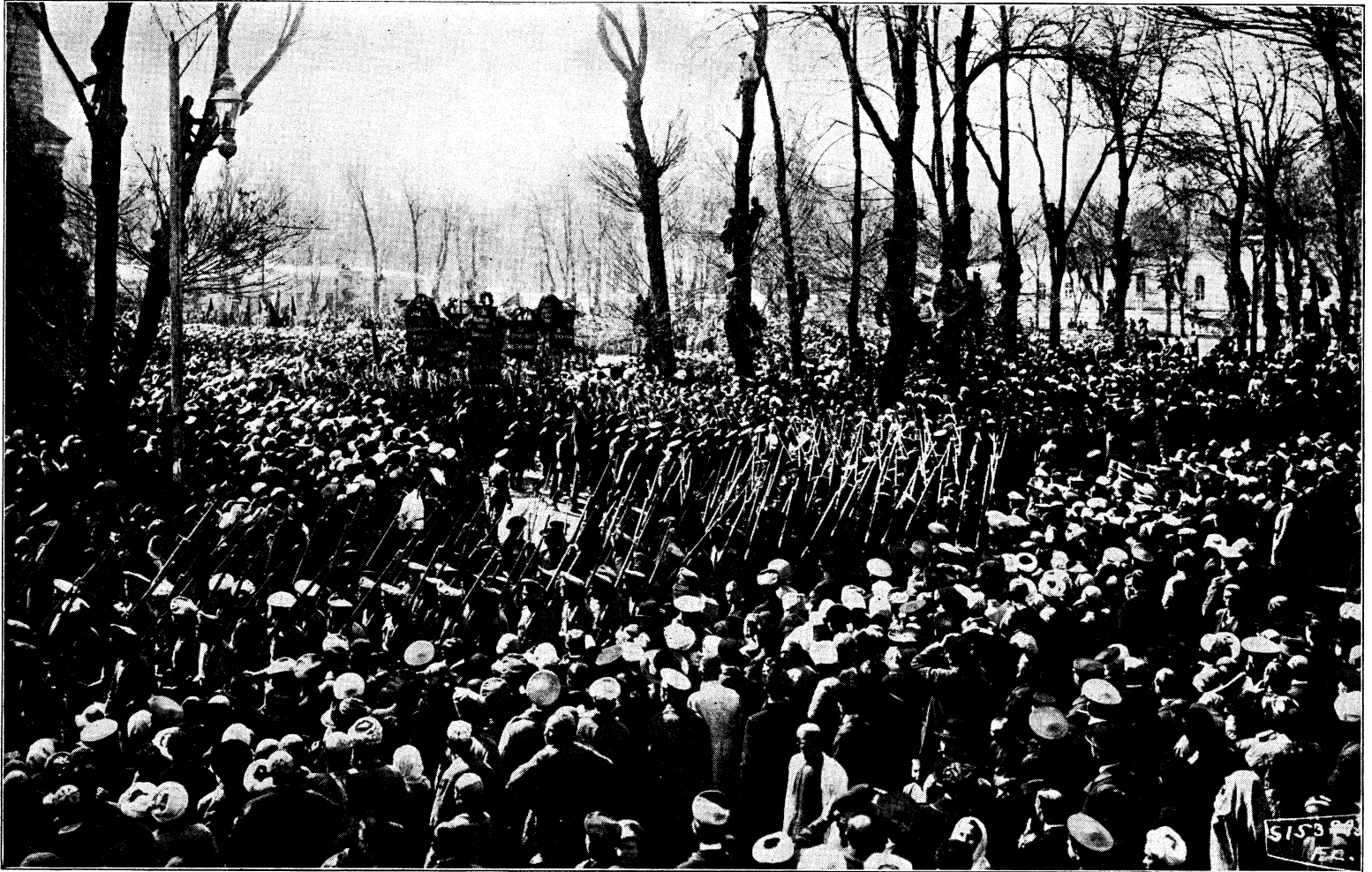
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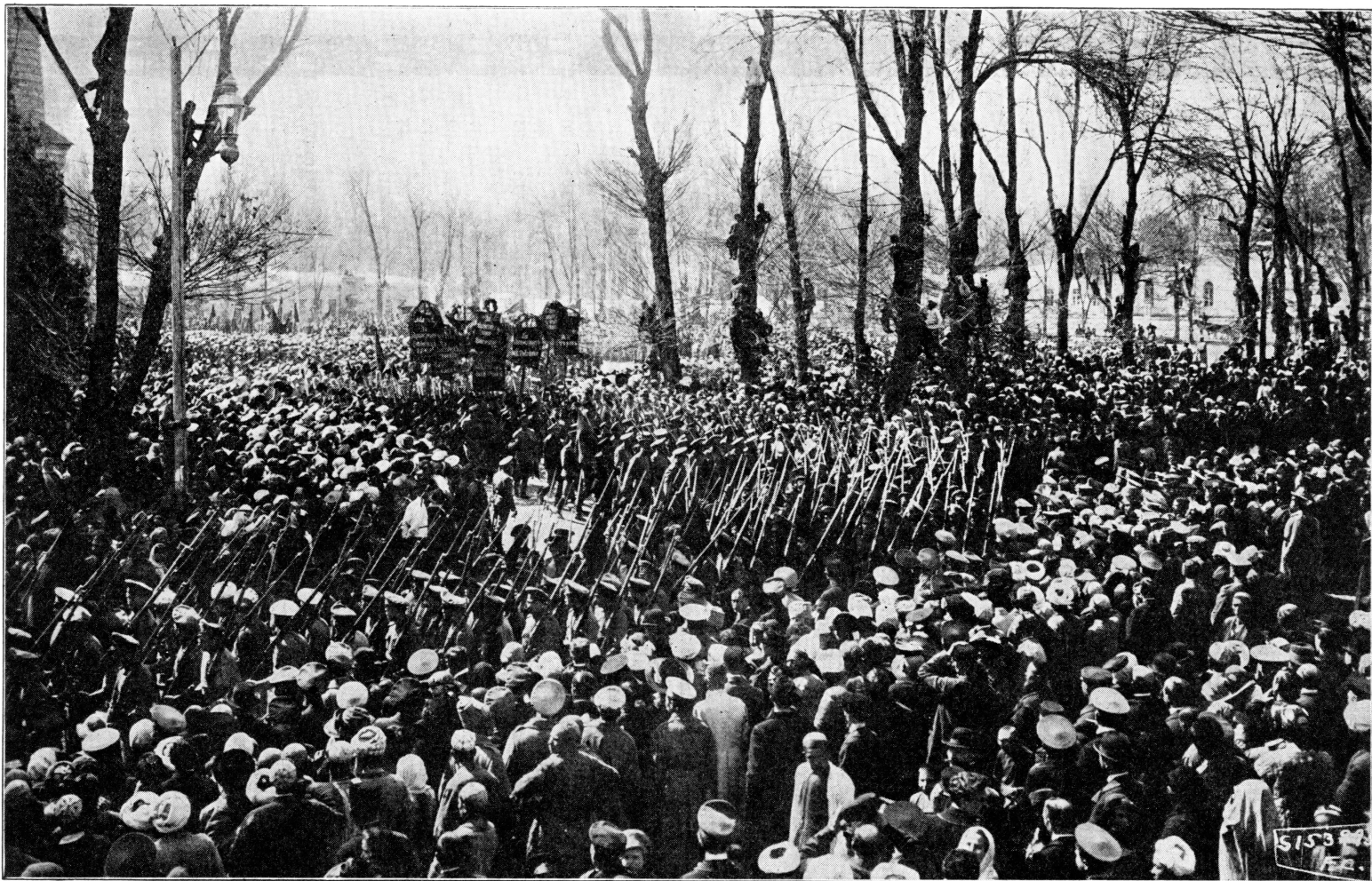




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CELEBRATING THE REVOLUTION, TASHKENT, ASIATIC RUSSIA.

Some of the Banners Carried Were Inscribed With "Long Live Brotherhood and Equality"; "Rejoice, Children, We Will Be Educated in Free Schools by Free Teachers."



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# The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XVIII

CHICAGO, JULY 1917

No. 1



THE RUSSIAN STEAM-ROLLER.  
WILL IT EVER WORK AGAIN?

—Nebelspalter (Zurich)

## THE PASSING SHOW "ROOT"-ING IN RUSSIA

**I**N THESE days of columns upon columns and page after page of stories of war horrors, of hunger riots and draft laws, the working class turns with relief to comic phases of the great cataclysm like the Root-ing Expedition into Russia. We can all so easily recall the days when the Czar sat upon his throne and Mr. Root was so earnest in his zeal to serve the Bureaucracy that he wanted Congress to pass a law making it possible to send back every rebel or socialist refugee who had escaped the clutches of the old dynasty. Mr. Root was the Best Friend of the Old Régime. Just as now he has suddenly become converted (?) to the cause of the Red Flag revolutionists. His heart is singing with joy to know that the down-trodden Russian workers have at last risen and thrown off the yoke of the oppressors.

And so he has gone upon this Expedition to Help the Cause Along. Mr. Root knows a great deal about international law and some people claim he is the greatest financial genius of the age. It is hinted that his best friends are some of the Wall Street Banking Pirates who would be willing to extend a Helping Hand to the Provisional Government—provided there was a sure and fat profit in it.

Our old friend Charles Edward Russell was appointed a member of the commission. He travels in strange company these days, but we are not surprised that he accepted the commission. Mr. Russell is as honest and as square as any man who ever called himself a socialist. Only he never understood socialism. He had so long been associated with publishers and editors and business men that he never became ac-



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quainted with the workers in the factories, mines and shops. He has never trusted the working class to work out its own liberation, but has always believed this would come through the disinterested leadership of wise and scholarly men. Mr. Russell has never understood that the working class must emancipate itself, alone can emancipate itself.

We have no doubt Mr. Root will know with what bait to tempt the capitalist class of Russia; how best to appeal to their profit-hunger; how to show them the advantages of a "democratic" form of government (like the United States) which may be made to mean enormous profits to the owning class. But neither he nor Mr. Russell will understand the language of the Social Revolution, will be able to find any common ground with the revolutionists.

For too many Russian exiles have returned to Russia, too many members of the I. W. W. and of the socialist party, who will inform the Russian comrades just what the profit system means in America. We believe the American Commission to Rus-

sia will endeavor to caution the revolutionists "not to go too far; not to demand too much; to advance a 'step at a time,'" etc.

Meanwhile the newspapers report that the Japanese Government has warned the Provisional Russian Government not to make a separate peace with Germany. (Personally we hope the Russian people will not make a separate peace with any nation but will demand that the workers of all warring nations force a universal cessation of hostilities and a universal peace.) But it is interesting to note that Japan, as the ally of England, is suggesting that a separate peace between Germany and Russia might mean a war between Russia and Japan. We hope it will not next be proposed that the American soldiers wage war upon Russia to force her to fight.

We do not believe the Russian revolutionists will permit themselves to become Americanized. They are trying to secure much more than the workers of America possess. They are trying to secure actual industrial democracy, actual job ownership and control for the Russian working class.

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## WHY AMERICA IS FIGHTING

THERE are so many workingmen in America who do not want to fight that the question is being asked everywhere why this country has entered the war. So the magazines and the capitalist newspapers have undertaken the task of explaining the situation. We herewith reprint portions of an article appearing in the *Review of Reviews* which take up the economic side of the question. You may recall that socialists have always claimed that wars are fought today to hold or to gain some economic advantage for the capitalist classes of the various nations.

"We are not one whit better people, essentially, than Germans or Austrians or Bulgarians or Russians. We have simply been placed in fortunate circumstances, and it has been easy for us to entertain sentiments of good-will towards mankind at large. We do not need adjacent territory; therefore, we do not embark upon schemes of conquest. We are not at present tempted to tap reservoirs of other people's wealth and prosperity. We happen to have plenty of coal and iron. We do not quite understand, therefore, how intense at this time

are the forces in Europe that are struggling to obtain supplies of fuel and of iron ore. Coal during the past winter has been selling in Paris for from fifty dollars to one hundred dollars a ton. The greatest diplomatic game of recent months (except the Russian game) has been turning upon the shipment of iron ore from Spain. The intensity of the struggle over the future of Alsace-Lorraine turns largely upon considerations of underground wealth. The most intense fighting of the whole war has been raging around the coal-mining district of Lens, in the Arras sector. Germany would be glad to make peace on a guarantee of her future control over even a fraction of the economic resources—including Roumanian petroleum and undeveloped wealth in Asia Minor—that are now within her military grasp. But we in the United States are so favored in those natural resources upon which modern industrial development rests that we can afford to be content with what we have. . . .

"Germany has adopted the principle that the relatively undeveloped resources of the world should be at the disposal of that na-

tion which, thru its own resolute discipline of mind and muscle and thru its united effort and purpose, can both take and utilize such materials and opportunities. This German doctrine, if justified by success in the present war, would have left the United States as the foremost exponent of a sharply contradictory theory. And the clash would have been inevitable. . . . We could never have lived safely in the same world with a completely triumphant Germany. . . . Germany has accepted the view that "God is on the side of the strongest battalions." And Germany has definitely intended to take a dominant place in the affairs of the world thru sheer use of military and naval power. . . .

"The other great empires had grown up in a more or less opportune or accidental way. Britain and France, in their African and Asiatic colonial enterprises, have neither of them set out deliberately to achieve great empires for the explicit commercial profit of the British Islands or the French Republic. Their imperial policies have not been in all respects either wise, just or consistent. But they have not rested upon the principle of force. Germany has been using the most up-to-date methods to accomplish wholly out-of-date objects. We should certainly, then, have been forced into conflict with Germany if she had come out of this war triumphant."

Translated into very simple working class language, we think this merely means that the ruling class of Germany has become so strong and so determined upon economic aggression upon the entrenched capitalist classes of other nations that the capitalist class of America, when it began to look as tho Germany might win the war, decided to force the working class of America to help win it for the capitalist classes of the allied nations.

Nor is this all. The German system is the envy of the capitalist classes of all Europe—and of America. It works in many ways to the glory and profit of the German capitalist (or ruling) class. More valuable than in all other things, the German military system produces a disciplined working class, drilled to obey instead of to think. In a recent editorial in the *Chicago Herald* the following was quoted from a letter written by a young college graduate who served a brief apprenticeship last summer in the guard on the Mexican border and now in training at Fort Sheridan. This explains why every intelligent workingman and

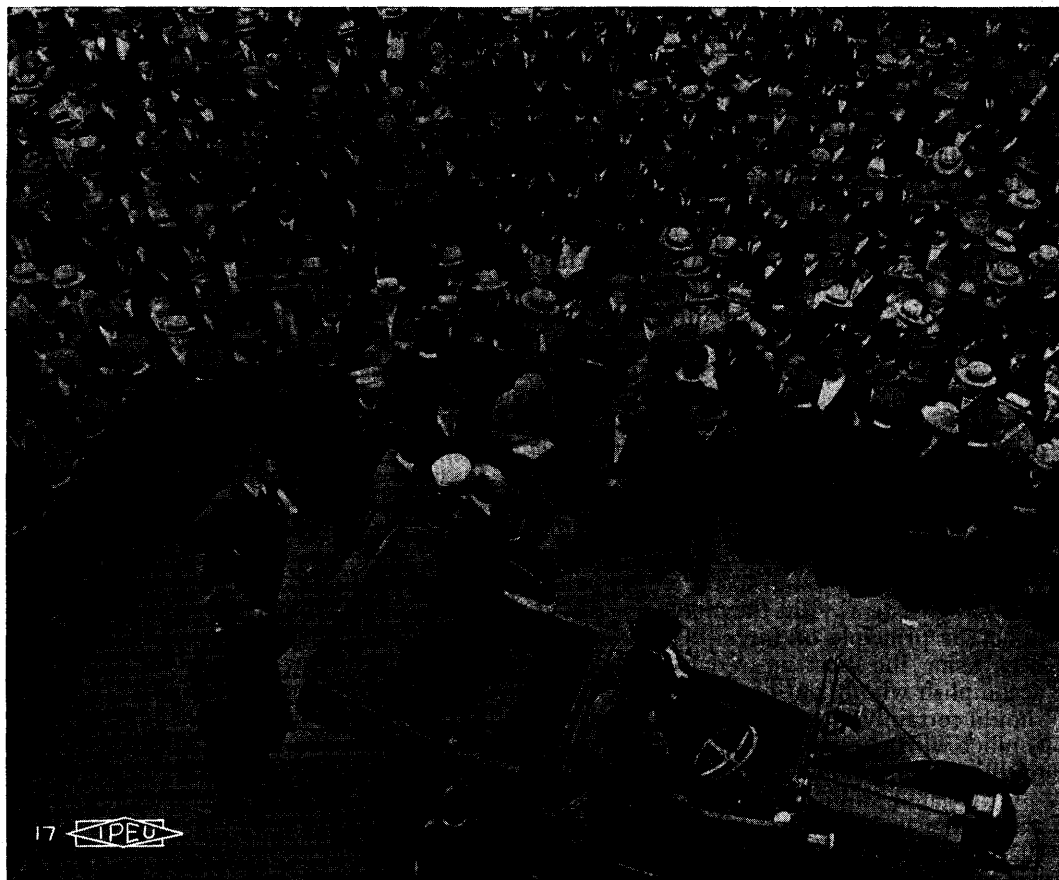
woman opposes the war and loathes conscription. They understand, as well as millionaire capitalists, that the war will produce, not only more wealth and more power for these capitalists, but slave wageworkers as well:

"Just as the army has a definite transformation to work upon the good old instinct of self-preservation, so does it possess a definite method of accomplishing this result. You fall for it; and behold! you are hypnotized, enslaved, the creature of your officer's will as much as tho you were his hand, and you know perfectly well that when he says 'Go' you'll march into the jaws of hell without a moment's hesitation.

"Take as a typical instance the matter of 'standing at attention.' Saturday during company inspection under arms we were lined up in double rank, each with his rifle and bayonet, while the captain inspected. The wind was icy cold; every muscle in me was rigid; I almost prayed, I was so miserable. I could have made myself comfortable by even the slightest movement, to restore circulation. But it never occurred to me to do so. My only thought was, 'When, oh when, will he put us at ease?' The volition—the actuating impulse for my muscles—had been switched off, so that I could not do a thing for myself; the motor nerves had somehow been plugged in on the line along which would come the command from the captain, for all the world like central plugging in on the wrong number. Be as miserable as I would, I was powerless to stir.

"Transfer the example from 'standing at attention' to leaving shelter to charge. A green man's mind would be fully made up to obey, come what would, but at the command he would hear the whistling bullets and would override his intentions—and there he would stick in his shelter. He would be still responsive to his own volition, and his instinct of self-preservation would have a chance. The soldier, on the other hand, when the bugle went 'Ta-ta, ta-ta, ta-ta,' on the single fast note which means charge, would leap up and run, fainting almost, it might be, with fear and mental agony, toward the enemy, because the motor nerves controlling his limbs had been switched off from his own mind and plugged in on the aural mechanism which received commands from the bugle, leaving his body only the power to obey and to suffer while obeying. This is the psychology of the soldier."

# PROPAGANDA NEWS



PART OF AN AUDIENCE OF 5,000 AT SOCIALIST MEETING, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

C. E. Ruthenberg speaking, Alfred Wagenknecht, Chairman of the meeting, and Tom Clifford, the second speaker, on side of auto away from audience. Chief of Police Rowe at back of auto with back to speaker, stenographer taking notes for federal authorities, Federal Agent DeWoody to the left of stenographer and Police Prosecutor Lind next to him.

**S**IDE by side with the sweep of our incomparable patriotism across the country, comes the news of Socialist and I. W. W. anti-war demonstrations in many cities.

We feel sure all REVIEW readers, not only in this country but in South Africa, Australia and the prison camps of Europe, will be interested in what is happening in America today.

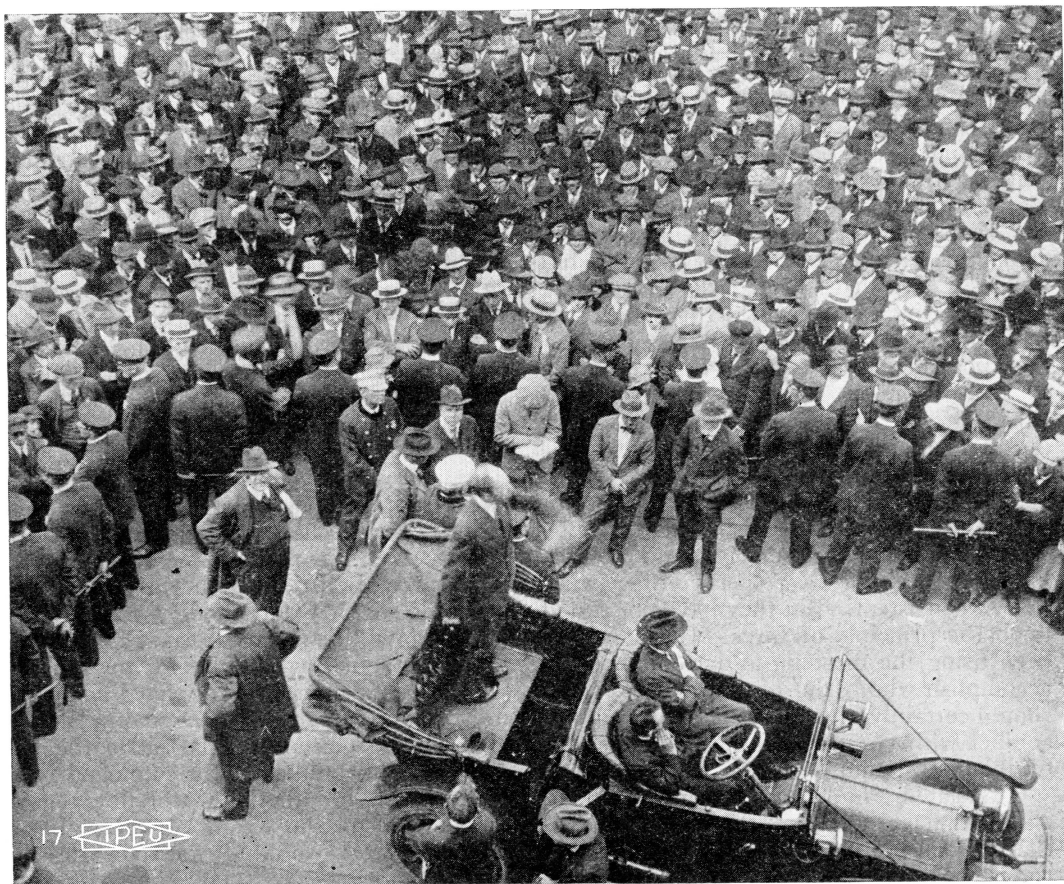
## Cleveland, Ohio

The members of Local Cleveland determined at the beginning of the war that so far as it lay within their power they would continue their activities just as if

there had been no declaration of war. They determined that in reference to the war and attempts to abridge the rights of the workers, there would be no faltering, no hesitancy, no yielding of rights previously exercised, but open, bold and unafraid opposition.

The first step was to organize a May day parade which would be a demonstration of internationalism and against war. This parade, which was the biggest ever held on May Day in Cleveland, was referred to by the capitalist papers as "a streak of revolutionary red across the heart of the city." Scores of signs were carried in the parade denouncing the war,





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conscription and the capitalist class—carried thru the downtown streets at the hour when tens of thousands of workers were leaving their work for their homes.

Since the May Day demonstration five great peace demonstrations have been held on the Public Square and Market Square. These have been attended by from three to six thousand people. Three distributions of fifty thousand leaflets each have been made. Among these has been the party war manifesto and an anti-conscription leaflet. Street meetings attended by audiences ranging from five hundred to a thousand people are being held nightly.

Altho the police are always in evidence at the meetings, as shown by the accompanying picture, and a court stenographer takes down the speeches for the federal authorities, the only trouble thus far has been the arrest of Alfred Wagenknecht, state secretary of the party, at a meeting held May 27th, and of Charles Baker, state organizer of Ohio, at one of the street meetings. Both comrades are charged with disorderly conduct. Comrade Wagenknecht was in the midst of an anti-conscription argument when stopped and Comrade Baker was arrested on the trumped up charge of a war patriot who tried to break up his meeting, that he had made disrespectful remarks about the flag. The "*Socialist News*," local weekly of the party, has been withheld from the mails for two weeks, but hundreds of Reviews have been sold.

The result of the campaign which the party is making, has been three hundred new members added to the party in six weeks' time. Collections ranging from \$125 to \$350 have been taken up at the big mass meetings and a thousand new readers have been added to the mailing list of the "*Socialist News*," and interest and enthusiasm among party members such as has never been developed locally before.—By C. E. Ruthenberg.

### Grand Rapids, Michigan

Almost all active members of the Socialist Party have been arrested and indicted by a Federal Grand Jury. Principal charge is that the accused, by the circulation of literature and "thru demonstrations, mass petitions and by other means," conspired to "prevent, hin-

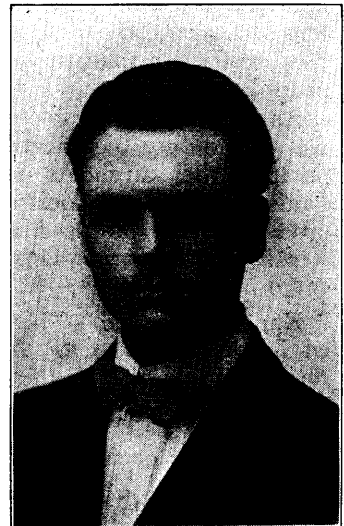
der and delay" the execution of the conscription law. There were six counts in the indictment.

National Secretary Adolph Germer, of the Socialist Party, was also indicted by the same jury and charged with conspiracy. On learning the "news," Comrade Germer went to Grand Rapids, submitted to arrest, plead "not guilty" and was liberated on bonds. If necessary, these cases will be carried to the highest courts.

Grand Rapids has a population around 130,000—mostly wage slaves. Scab labor runs its factories. It is a typical American Billy Sunday burg. Therefore all the fury of the pulpit and the press was directed against the socialists.

Among the indicted comrades are Ben A. Falkner, financial secretary of the Local. For years he has been employed in the city water works department. He has been fired and blacklisted by the political patriots. Comrade G. G. Fleser, corresponding secretary of the Local, who had worked eight years for the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad as a stenographer, was discharged by the patriotic rail-plutes. Viva L. Flaherty, social worker and writer; Charles G. Taylor, member of Board of Education; James W. Clement, manufacturer; Charles J. Callaghan, postal clerk (discharged); Dr. Martin E. Elzinga; G. H. Pangborn; Vernon Kilpatrick; Rev. Klaas Osterhuis, and our well-known, active old-time Comrade, Ben Blumenberg.

In spite of the fact that the minutes of socialist meetings were confiscated by the city sleuths, the comrades are holding well attended local meetings and are now busy looking for new headquarters.



COMRADE G. G. FLESER  
Corresponding Secretary, Local Grand Rapids, Mich.

—L. H. M.



COMRADE G. G. FLESER  
Corresponding Secretary, Local Grand  
Rapids, Mich.

### Rock Island, Illinois

Anti-military propaganda has been carried on here by the comrades of Rock Island and Moline for the past two years, and during the past three months we have held many overflow anti-conscription meetings.

Last Saturday night we packed the Turner Hall and sold all our literature, including the last 149 copies of the REVIEW.

At the open air street meeting we had to compete with a recruiting outfit of five auto trucks, two of which had cannon on them, the others carrying the drum and fife corps. We had the largest crowd as the workers are with us.—Edgar Owens.

### Minneapolis, Minnesota

Two comrades, Arthur Tiala and C. Mattson, Treasurer Hennepin County Central Committee, have been jailed and held under \$5,000 bail for failing to register.

Over in St. Paul, Comrades C. and H. Holm have been bound over to the October court charged with distributing seditious literature. Otto Wangerin, Walter Wangerin, Alfred Grahl, Joe Arver, all Socialist Party members, are out on bail after having refused to register. A defense committee is on the job and doing effective work. It is practically admitted that 9,000 failed to register in St. Paul and more than that number in Minneapolis.

As a result of newspaper statements, we are holding big meetings in different parts of the state. At one point we organized a Socialist Local of sixty out of a crowd of five hundred and sold \$40.00 worth of literature. This is being duplicated in other places.—A. L. Sugarman.

**Kansas City, Mo.**—The following printed in the *Kansas City Star* gives a historic example of how the organization of the working class are illegally attacked, beaten and their headquarters destroyed and then the organizers thrown into jail on a charge of "breaking the peace":

"Under the law, the powers of military forces in the United States do not extend to the civilian population unless

a city is under martial rule. Consequently, all three of the raids on I. W. W. headquarters have been made in defiance of both military and civil law, and without the sanction of those higher in command.

"In the first two raids only slight disturbances occurred, but the one yesterday came near to bloodshed.

"Since the last previous raid, I. W. W. headquarters had been abandoned most of the time. Yesterday afternoon, however, word reached the Battery B recruiting station at 901 Main street, that the headquarters had again been opened, and that a dozen men were talking *pacifism* inside.

"Accordingly a squad under Sergt. H. C. Davis promptly descended upon 722 Main, threw its occupants outside and wrecked the place.

"Among the men who were thrown out was W. Francik, an ardent I. W. W. from Wisconsin. Francik went to his rooms, got a large revolver, filled his pockets with cartridges and returned.

"J. M. Blankenship of Merriam, Kas., and Sergeant Davis followed Francik up the stairs. Near the top the man drew his revolver and ordered Blankenship to halt. That was Sergeant Davis' signal to get into his action, which he did with such abruptness that the revolver was lying on the floor and Francik half way down the stairs before any damage could be done.

"At the bottom Francik was beaten by other men in army uniforms—a fate which bystanders said was also shared by a boy who tried to interfere. The police finally came up, stopped the riot, and rescued Francik by taking him to police headquarters, where *he was held on a charge of disturbing the peace*. None of the militiamen who had started the disturbance was taken."

And yet some people have the nerve to call the members of the I. W. W. rowdies and law-breaking destroyers of property! This is the place to laugh; But don't say we did not warn you that the story in the *Star* expresses exactly what the working class may expect of militarism. Militarism means no law save brute force against the workers.—R. T.



SAM SADLER.

AARON FISLERMAN.

HULET M. WELLS.

### Seattle, Washington

Four active socialists are facing long terms of imprisonment and heavy fines for their "crime," which consisted in the alleged drawing up and circulation of a leaflet similar in contents to that issued by the Conscientious Objectors of Great Britain. Among the "seditious" utterances in the suppressed leaflet were quotations from the Constitution of the United States and from Daniel Webster.

Hulet M. Wells is one of the best known members of the Socialist and Labor movement in the Northwest. He has been twice candidate for Mayor of Seattle in the interests of the Socialist Party; he was president of the Seattle Central Labor Council during a most successful term; and he has for long been an active member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Comrade Sam Sadler has been for years identified with the activities of the Socialist Party of Washington and is esteemed one of the most trustworthy and vigorous revolutionary propagandists on the Pacific Coast. He was for some time President of the Seattle Local of the International Longshoremens' Association and served on the Central Labor Council as delegate. Aaron Fislerman is secretary of the King County Socialist Party and is also known as a capable writer on Marxian economics. R. E. Rice, the fourth and last

defendant, is a member of the Laundry Drivers' Union, an obscure but earnest soldier of the Social Revolution.

The cases are to come up for trial shortly. The four comrades who are under charges are all workers. They have not the means to put up a strong legal fight and the best talent must be secured. The International Workers' Defense League of Seattle, an organization to which are affiliated some fifty bodies, including the American Federation of Labor unions, the I. W. W. and the Socialist Party, has taken charge of the defense. Send all funds to Paul S. Parker, secretary-treasurer, International Workers' Defense League, Box 86.

As we go to press a telegram comes in from Seattle, stating that a crowd of sailors and soldiers attempted to raid the I. W. W. hall. One sailor was shot and the rest were thrown out of the hall. A later attack was made but by that time the hall had been barricaded and the police arrested six sailors and forty members of the I. W. W. All of the latter have been released with the exception of fourteen, who are being held for non-registration.

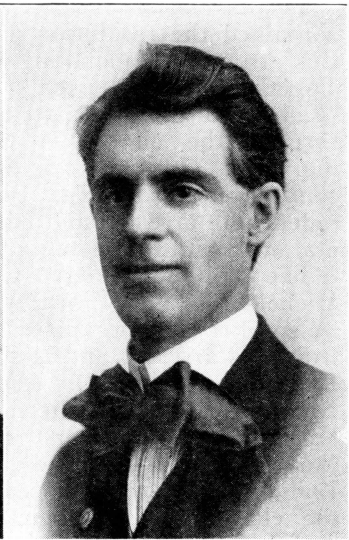
**Detroit, Mich.**—To understand the present situation here we must refer back to Monday, May 21st, when Local Detroit passed a resolution calling upon the workers to oppose conscription.



SAM SADLER.



AARON FISLERMAN.



HULET M. WELLS.

The *Michigan Socialist* of May 26th, contained the resolution as well as articles strongly condemning the draft law. Together with the paper, circulars headed "Kill the Draft" were distributed thruout the city. On Sunday morning, May 27th, the first arrests in this connection were made. Six of the comrades were arrested and held by the Federal authorities, bail being fixed at \$5,000.

The following day Comrade Paul Michelson of New York, who was acting as speaker and organizer for Local Detroit was arrested and is still being held. Later the editor of the *Michigan Socialist* Nathan Welch, and the members of the board of management of the paper, Maurice Sugar, Samuel Diamond and Ludwig Boltz were placed under arrest, the charge against them is conspiracy to defeat the draft. Bail in all cases being fixed at \$5,000 each. Most of the comrades are still in jail.

On Tuesday the 12th, they were brought into the Federal Court for a hearing when the case was postponed till Thursday, the 14th. Several others have been arrested on the charge of distributing the anti-draft literature and failing to register. On Monday, the 11th, six more arrests were made, five of the bunch were released on registering. Milton V. Breitmeyer, a member of the Socialist Party, refused to register and is held for the grand jury.

A mass meeting which was to be held here on Sunday, June 3rd, at Arcadia (the largest hall in the city) had to be abandoned on account of the federal authorities ordering the hall closed against the Socialists. Crowds gathered at the hall but were driven away by the police. No arrests were made there. In spite of the pressure brought against the movement by the police, the plute-press and the pulpit pounders, the increase of members is the greatest the Local has ever experienced.

At Jackson four have been arrested. Two, Harvey A. Hedden and Wm. Kidwell, for the circulation of literature.

At Ann Arbor two university students, members of the Socialist Local there, Ellwood Moore and Max Frocht, were arrested for failing to register. The other places in this state where arrests have been made are Grand Rapids, Negaunee and Marquette.—John Keracher.

**Rockford, Ill.**—On June 6th one hundred and thirty-eight socialists and I. W. W. marched to the sheriff's office and demanded to be arrested, as they refused to register. The proceedings passed off peacefully until the officers attempted to divide the men. A rough and tumble battle then ensued and several of the men were badly beaten up. The prisoners were divided into three groups, one remaining in Rockford and the other two groups being railroaded to nearby towns.

At this writing ten are held for conspiracy under \$10,000 bonds, eight of whom are members of the I. W. W.

A defense committee was immediately organized, composed of three members each of the I. W. W., the Swedish Socialist Party, the American Socialist Party and the Knights of Good Templar.

Attorney Hall of Rockford and Seymour Stedman of Chicago have been retained.

The socialists have five city councilmen, and at the last branch meetings the English local took in twelve new members and the Swedish branch took in sixty-five new members. Peace meetings are being held every Sunday with an average attendance of from three to five thousand.

**Cincinnati, Ohio**—We have received no word direct from comrades, but according to the Cincinnati Post, eleven Socialists have been "accused of the crime of giving aid and comfort to their country's enemies. Bail has been fixed at \$1,500." It seems they are charged with "circulating handbills against the military registration." Attorney Nicholas Klein will defend the accused. The trials will take place during July, and we will arrange to give to our readers a concise account of what takes place.

**Chicago, Ill.**—Five members of the Young People's Socialist League were arrested and held several days in police stations, where they were threatened with deportation and otherwise intimidated. The record books and minutes of the League were taken. The League has one thousand members and fourteen branches.

**New York City**—Many successful protest meetings have been held. At the last central committee meeting of Local Bronx, it was decided to issue 25-cent assessment stamps, provided to form a defense fund for the protection of those arrested during the campaign.

It was further decided that delegates to the state committee be instructed to move that the state committee instruct Meyer London to introduce a bill for the repeal of the conscription law, failing of which should result in preferring charges against him, with expulsion from the party. This motion was carried unanimously.



## GENERAL ORDINANCE NO. 35, 1916

An ordinance relating to conduct of persons toward the government of the United States of America.

Be it ordained by the common council of the city of Indianapolis, Ind.:

Section 1. It shall be unlawful for any person in the presence or hearing of any other person, to do any act, make any sign or gesture, or say or write any word expressing disrespect or contempt for, defiance of, or disloyalty to, the government of the United States of America.

Sec. 2. It shall be unlawful for any person, in the presence or hearing of any person, to do any act, make any sign or gesture, or speak or write any scurrilous, indecent, vile or profane word or words concerning the President of the United States of America or, in time of war of the United States with any other country or government, word or words expressing disrespect or contempt for, defiance of, the President or the army or navy of the United States of America.

Sec. 3. It shall be unlawful for any person to publish or circulate, or transmit by mail or otherwise, or have in his possession for the purpose of publication, circulation, transmission by mail or otherwise, any written or printed matter, whether of words, signs or pictures, in any form, that expresses disrespect or contempt for, defiance of, or disloyalty to the government of the United States of America.

Sec. 4. It shall be unlawful, while a state of war exists between the United States of America and any other country, nation or government, for any person to publish, circulate or transmit by mail or otherwise, or have in his possession for the purpose of publishing, circulating or transmitting by mail or otherwise, any written or printed matter, whether word, sign or picture, in any form that expresses disrespect or contempt for, defiance of the President of the United States of America.

Sec. 5. It shall be unlawful to incite, urge or advise strikes or disturbances by or among the workmen in any factory, shop or mill or other concern making any munition or munitions for the government of the United States of America or the allies of the United States or in any factory, shop or mill which in time of war has been offered to the service of the United States, or in any factory, shop or mill engaged in the manufacture of food or drug



THE NEW TEN COMMANDMENTS.

—Plaschke in the Louisville Times.

products, in time of war, or in any public utility or public service company, in time of war, where such strike or disturbance might tend to embarrass or interfere in any way with the carrying out of purposes of the United States, or in any way assist or encourage the enemies of the United States.

Sec. 6. Any person violating any of the provisions of this ordinance, upon conviction, shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$300, to which may be added imprisonment for a term of not exceeding six months.

Sec. 7. This ordinance shall be in full force and effect from and after its passage and publication in the *Indiana Daily Times* for two weeks successively.

State of Indiana, Marion County, City of Indianapolis—ss.

I, Thomas A. Riley, clerk of the city of Indianapolis, Ind., do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a full, true and complete copy of the general ordinance No. 35, 1917, and that said ordinance was passed by the common council of the thirtieth day of April, 1917, and was signed and approved by the mayor on the seventh day of May, 1917, and now remains on file and record in my office.

Witness my hand and the official seal of the city of Indianapolis, Ind., this eighth day of May, 1917.

[Seal]

THOMAS A. RILEY,  
City Clerk.

**THOU SHALT NOT  
EAT, DRINK, SMOKE, READ, CHEW, ENJOY,  
SMILE, LAUGH, WRITE, CREATE;  
THOU SHALT DO  
ONLY THAT WHICH IS PRESCRIBED  
BY LAW.**



GOODBYE, CRUEL WORLD,  
I'M NO GOOD THE WAY I  
AM. I MAY AS WELL BE  
DEAD.



THE NEW TEN COMMANDMENTS.

—Plaschke in the Louisville Times.

# Mass-Action in Holland

By H. ROLAND HOLST

## I

IN THE midst of the most severe winter Europe ever saw for twenty-seven years the proletariat of all countries combines in one desperate brotherhood of need and misery. Central and "Allied" Social Patriots and Revolutionists, Nationalists and Internationalists, "Warrant and Neutral" workers,—they all feel now until in their very bones the painful results of the war; they all are complaining; they all are cursing the rulers who brought this immense suffering to mankind.

The Dutch proletariat gets its share of the common misery. *Politically* weak as a result of the Nationalistic reform tactics of the official Socialist Party (opposed by the Social Democratic Party, composed of the Left Wing Socialists), which killed class consciousness, and gave up its independence, *morally* weakened by accepting public charity, which accustomed it to beg, instead of to fight,—*bodily* weakened by chronic underfeeding, it is now forced to fight for a living or to suffer starvation.

The workers of Holland, at least large groups of workers, did not take advantage of many opportunities for partial fighting in the last two years. When the war stimulated the production in a great number of industries, either for the inland market or for the warring countries; when agriculture and many industries had a period of great, tho abnormal, prosperity, it had been the right moment to start actions for considerable wage increases, as f. i. was done by the English workers even during the war. At that time industrial strikes would have been effective. Now that time has passed. Hypnotized by the idea of civil peace, urged by its leaders to be careful and patient, the greater part of the organized workers missed the opportunity.

And nobody knows when this opportunity will come again.

At this very moment conditions for partial strikes; for economic strikes, fail. Navigation has been stopped; at the harbors reigns death; every day more factories are closed; the unemployment increases to immense proportions.

At present there only remains one remedy for the proletariat: unity of action, mass action. If it wants to act now in separate groups, then it is weak as a child, helpless and powerless; but if the masses come to action, they have the power to make the ruling class tremble, to force the capitalists and to end the war.

"Necessity knows no law," is often quoted since the beginning of the war. Necessity will prove not even to know any ideology, nor any principle dictated by nationalism. Necessity will turn upside down the difference in the working class and unite her dissipated troops irresistibly into the *army of the revolution*.

## II

### THE STRIKE

The fact that revolutionary tactics are required under the present conditions will have become clear to many of us. Also, that revolutionary tactics mean victims. The main point, however, is to make our sacrifices as effective as possible in regard to our final victory, as well as our immediate demands, the prevention of hunger. And this is possible if the working class realizes in what sphere it is able to develop the highest power, a power sufficient to enforce concessions from the ruling class.

We need not emphasize that this is in the sphere of production.

The strike is the tool of concentrated power of the working class in our modern society, the tool that replaces the more primitive and rough methods of former periods: local riots and plunderings. Strikes properly conducted with quiet power, without utter violence and disorder, not giving an opportunity to the military power to kill the unarmed masses, can paralyze the violence of the ruling class, can destroy the network of laws.

We stated some days ago that as a general proposition this is an unfavorable period for partial movements. But this does not mean that for some kinds of labor the circumstances should not be favorable just at this time to wage a fight in the interest of the whole working class. If these groups

had the understanding and the will, they could force the government to a considerable extent to comply with the demands of the revolutionary Socialist Committee (formed by the Left Wing Socialists of the minority party, the S. D. P. and the Syndicalists).

Foremost among those categories are the railway workers. What power could be developed just now in the winter when all transport by water is impossible? A strong and noble deed of the railroad workers would change the whole situation considerably. If they refused to carry the foodstuffs to Germany, if they declared in favor of some of the most pressing demands of the revolutionary Socialist Committee: embargo on and confiscation of foodstuffs, doubling of the bread rations for the workers, etc.; that would mean a panic among the bourgeoisie and the government and new courage, self-consciousness and gay excitement among the proletariat.

And the railroad workers are by no

means the only ones that could bring pressure on the authorities. The mine workers, who are of so great importance under present conditions, could as well exercise influence by a political (or class) strike. The municipal workers in the big cities, the workers on street cars, gas plants, power houses, waterworks, could have a great influence, if only they got into action, if they supported the general demands by mass strikes.

Any act of resistance under present conditions is of advantage. Any public demonstration exercises a certain pressure and, therefore, is of great value. But all such separate and loose actions do not have the power to enforce from the rulers food and coal and clothes for the working class.

This can only be accomplished by a refusal of the workers to work until these necessities of life are guaranteed.

(Translated from the Dutch *Tribune*, the daily of the social democratic minority [S. D. P.] in Holland.)

## A German Deserter's War Experience

The following are extracts from A German Deserter's War Experience, published by B. W. Huebsch, New York, at \$1.00 net. The author is a socialist internationalist. His book is non-partisan so far as the warring nations are concerned. He hates German war as he hates all war. He spent fourteen months in every kind of fighting before he was able to escape. A wonderful book which ought to be read by every workingman in America. For sale at this office.

A SUBDUED signal of alarm fetched us out of our "beds" at 3 o'clock in the morning. The company assembled, and the captain explained to us the war situation. He informed us that we had to keep ready to march, that he himself was not yet informed about the direction. Scarcely half an hour later fifty large traction motors arrived and stopped in the road before our quarters. But the drivers of these wagons, too, knew no particulars and had to wait for orders. The debate about our nearest goal was resumed. The orderlies, who had snapped up many remarks of the officers, ventured the opinion that we would march into Belgium the very same day; others contradicted them. None of us could know anything for certain. But the order to march did not arrive, and in the evening all of us could lie down again on our straw. But it was a short rest. At 1 o'clock in the morning an alarm aroused us again, and the captain honored us with an address. He told us we

were at war with Belgium, that we should acquit ourselves as brave soldiers, earn iron crosses, and do honor to our German name. Then he continued somewhat as follows: "We are making war only against the armed forces; that is, the Belgium army. The lives and property of civilians are under the protection of international treaties, international law, but you soldiers must not forget that it is your duty to defend your lives as long as possible for the protection of your Fatherland, and to sell them as dearly as possible. We want to prevent useless shedding of blood as far as the civilians are concerned, but I want to remind you that a too great considerateness borders on cowardice, and cowardice in face of the enemy is punished very severely."

After that "humane" speech by our captain we were "laden" into the automobiles, and crossed the Belgian frontier on the morning of August 5th. In order to give special solemnity to that "historical" moment we had to give three cheers.

At no other moments the fruits of military education have presented themselves more clearly before my mind. The soldier is told, "The Belgian is your enemy," and he has to believe it. The soldier, the workman in uniform, had not known till then who was his enemy. If they had told us, "The Hollander is your enemy," we would have believed that, too; we would have been compelled to believe it, and would have shot him by order. We, the "German citizens in uniform," must not have an opinion of our own, must have no thoughts of our own, for they give us our enemy and our friend according to requirements, according to the requirements of their own interests. The Frenchman, the Belgian, the Italian, is your enemy. Never mind, shoot as we order, and do not bother your head about it. You have duties to perform, perform them, and for the rest—cut it out!

Those were the thoughts that tormented my brain when crossing the Belgian frontier. And to console myself, and so as to justify before my own conscience the murderous trade that had been thrust upon me, I tried to persuade myself that tho I had no Fatherland to defend, I had to defend a home and protect it from devastation. But it was a weak consolation, and did not even outlast the first few days.

\* \* \* \* \*

We now advanced quickly, but our participation was no longer necessary, for the whole line of the enemy retired and then faced us again, a mile and a quarter southwest of Sommepey. Sommepey itself was burning for the greater part, and its streets were practically covered with the dead. The enemy's artillery was still bombarding the place, and shells were falling all around us. Several hundred prisoners were gathered in the market-place. A few shells fell at the same time among the prisoners, but they had to stay where they were. An officer of my company, Lieutenant of the Reserve Neesen, observed humanely that that could not do any harm, for thus the French got a taste of their own shells. He was rewarded with some cries of shame. A Socialist comrade, a reservist, had the pluck to cry aloud, "Do you hear that, comrades? That's the noble sentiment of an exploiter; that fellow is the son of an Elberfeld capitalist and his father is a sweating-den keeper of the worst sort. When you get home again do not forget what this

capitalist massacre has taught you. Those prisoners are proletarians, are our brethren, and what we are doing here in the interest of that gang of capitalist crooks is a crime against our own body; it is murdering our own brothers!" He was going to continue talking, but the sleuths were soon upon him and he was arrested. He threw down his gun with great force; then he quietly suffered himself to be led away.

All of us were electrified. Not one spoke a word. One suddenly beheld quite a different world. We had a vision which kept our imagination prisoner. Was it true, what we had heard—that those prisoners were not our enemies at all, that they were our brothers? That which formerly—O how long ago might that have been!—in times of peace, had appeared to us as a matter of course had been forgotten; in war we had regarded our enemies as our friends and our friends as our enemies. Those words of the Elberfeld comrade had lifted the fog from our brains and from before our eyes. We had again a clear view; we could recognize things again.

One looked at the other and nodded without speaking; each one felt that the brave words of our friend had been a boon to us, and none could refrain from inwardly thanking and appreciating the bold man. The man in front of me, who had been a patriot all along, as far as I knew, but who was aware of my views, pressed my hand, saying: "Those few words have opened my eyes; I was blind; we are friends. Those words came at the proper time." Others again I heard remark: "You can't surpass Schotes; such a thing requires more courage than all of us together possess. For he knew exactly the consequences that follow when one tells the truth. Did you see the last look he gave us? That meant as much as, 'Don't be concerned about me; I shall fight my way through to the end. Be faithful workers; remain faithful to your class!'"

\* \* \* \* \*

On that day I was commanded to mount guard and was stationed with the camp guard. At that place arrested soldiers had to call to submit to the punishment inflicted on them. Among them were seven soldiers who had been sentenced to severe confinement which consisted in being tied up for two hours.

The officer on guard ordered us to tie the

“criminals” to trees in the neighborhood. Every arrested soldier had to furnish for that purpose the rope with which he cleaned his rifle. The victim I had to attend to was sapper Lohmer, a good Socialist. I was to tie his hands behind his back, wind the loose end of the rope round his chest, and tie him with his back towards the tree. In that position my comrade was to stand for two hours, exposed to the mockery of officers and sergeants. But Comrade Lohmer had been marching with the rest of us in a broiling sun for a whole day, had all night fought and murdered for the dear Fatherland which was now giving him thanks by tying him up with a rope.

I went up to him and told him that I would not tie him to the tree. “Do it, man,” he tried to persuade me; “if you don’t do it another one will. I shan’t be cross with you, you know.”—“Let others do it; I won’t fetter you.”

The officer, our old friend Lieutenant Spahn, who was getting impatient, came up to us. “Can’t you see that all the others have been seen to? How long do you expect me to wait?” I gave him a sharp look, but did not answer. Again he bellowed out the command to tie my comrade to the tree. I looked at him for a long time and did not deign him worthy of an answer. He then turned to the “criminal,” who told him that I could not get myself to do the job as we were old comrades and friends. Besides, I did not want to fetter a man who was exhausted and dead tired. “So

you won’t do it?” he thundered at me, and when again he received no reply—for I was resolved not to speak another word to the fellow—he hissed, “That b—— is a Red to the marrow!” I shall never in my life forget the look of thankfulness that Lohmer gave me; it rewarded me for the unpleasantness I had in consequence of my refusal. Of course others did what I refused to do; I got two weeks’ confinement. Naturally I was proud at having been a man for once at least. As a comrade I had remained faithful to my mate. Yet I had gained a point. They never ordered me again to perform such duty, and I was excluded from the guard that day. I could move about freely and be again a free man for a few hours.

The evening I got off I employed to undertake a reconnoitering expedition thru the surrounding country in the company of several soldiers. We spoke about the various incidents of the day and the night, and, to the surprise, I daresay, of every one of us, we discovered that very little was left of the overflowing enthusiasm and patriotism that had seized so many during the first days of the war. Most of the soldiers made no attempt to conceal the feeling that we poor devils had absolutely nothing to gain in this war, that we had only to lose our lives or, which was still worse, that we should sit at some street corner as crippled “war veterans,” trying to arouse the pity of passers-by by means of some squeaking organ.







# FILLING THE SUGAR-BOWL

By MARGARET STARR



AT BREAKFAST this morning, when your cup of steaming coffee, with its delightful aroma, was placed beside your plate, you mechanically took the sugar-bowl and put one or two spoonfuls of its contents, according to taste, into your coffee cup. If you had breakfast food, that meant one or two spoonfuls of sugar more.

At lunch, maybe, you had occasion to pick up this same sugar-bowl again, and when the dinner-hour arrived it again appeared on the table with its usual attendant, the cream pitcher. Children, especially, seem to have a way of doubling up on the spoonfuls when the sugar-bowl passes them.

And now the bowl is empty. We must refill it. Come with me to the Hawaiian Islands and we will replenish the empty jar where they are accustomed to think and speak of sugar in the terms of tons.

Not much trouble to keep the sugar-bowl filled there, you think. But you find the same old problem confronting the ordinary family here which has to divide up its wages with the groceryman—the conveniently located plantation store—the market

man, milk man, et cetera,—just as you do.

People from various parts of the world have been imported, as it were, to bring about this rapid and marvelous growth of the sugar industry in this portion of the earth's cane-growing territory. I shall speak of this island alone—Hawaii—larger than all the other islands together, in the group of five (large ones) composing the Hawaiian Islands and lying farthest south and nearest the equator.

Oahu, on which Honolulu is situated, is better known to the world. In fact, the prevalent knowledge of these islands organized as the Territory of Hawaii is the city of Honolulu and the island on which it stands and a few small outlying islands supposed to be of little or no importance. Little wonder. No one ever hears much elsewhere of anything or any place except Honolulu.

In the dim, uncertain light of early morning these Hawaiian workers begin wending their way to different parts of the cane fields to work. It is a nondescript army with leaders, usually consisting of overseers and inspectors or supervisors of spe-

cial work being done; the teamsters' brigade with its mules reminds one of the old south. Then there is the ploughing company with its gears a-clanging; the hoeing division, cane-cutters' division, which goes armed with knives about a foot and a half long, the blades being broader at the tip and growing proportionately narrower toward the hilt, and the women's division, which is said to do the *easy* work, such as planting cane and occasionally hoeing.

Here and there, to break the rank and file, young boys and a few girls, especially during vacation, are serving their first enlistment, likewise performing *easy* work. A kind of uniform, adapted to conditions, is worn, which consists of an oilcloth coat, a rainproof duplicate of the hat in similar cloth to be put over it during rain; leggings of coarse cloth serving a double purpose to protect the lower limbs from the sharp cane leaves and to prevent wear and tear on the clothing. For the most part this army does not have to consider the shoe problem; it goes barefoot. Many, especially the women, use a white cloth, big handkerchief size, tucked under a small stiff-brim hat, falling below the neck and around the shoulders.

Nevertheless, these toiling ones are wet almost all day, anyway, from excessive perspiration, particularly those in the old cane. The air is close; stalks taller than a man's head prevent the cool, never-failing sea breeze from striking them in the cane depths. Besides, the cane itself is more or less wet, the leaves retaining much moisture from rains, and it rains almost nightly. Working in the cane brings down the drops like a fairy shower.

The plantation time is regulated by the sun the year 'round. We are far enough north of the equator to notice quite a deal of difference in the length of June and December days. Railroads, schools, offices, etc., have the same time regulation as the states. Plantation time is arranged thus: it is always fifteen minutes to 6 a. m. when the sun peeps above the horizon of the Pacific. It is a "saving daylight" scheme that affords the workers a little more recreation, at this season of the year, or time to till their own small gardens after an already long day of toil.

Men working day labor start at 5:45 and finish at 4:15, with thirty minutes for lunch at 11:30. If it is contract work, they can quit when they feel like it. Different nationalities have different rates of wages, the reason being that Asiatics or Asian coast islanders can live upon less than European laborers, viz.: Portuguese, Spanish and Porto Rican, cutting cane at \$24 per month, while Filipinos and Japanese get \$20.

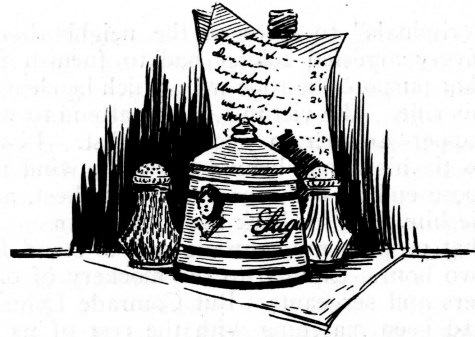
Since the highwater mark in the price of sugar was brought about by the European dance of death, which left the sugar beet a standing industrial wall flower, a bonus system of wages has been inaugurated on the plantations thruout the island. Market quotations played around \$130 per ton for a long while. I believe \$128 and some cents is the highest report I have seen. About two years and a little more ago it was down to \$64. But I have been told by a well-known engineer in the sugar mills that we could afford to grow and grind cane even if sugar sold for as low as \$60 per ton.

It costs now, on an average, fifty and some odd dollars to produce a ton of sugar



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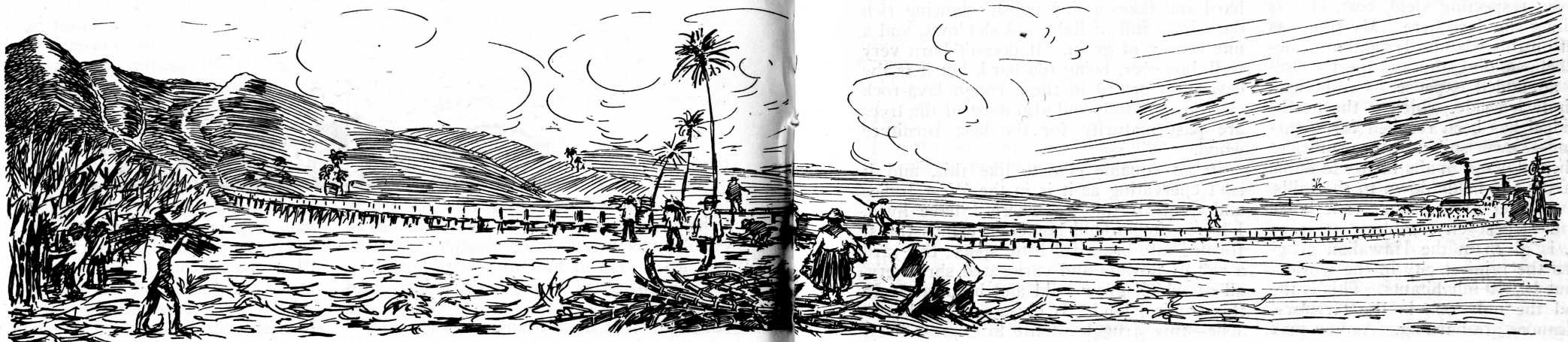
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It costs now, on an average, fifty and some odd dollars to produce a ton of sugar



—perhaps around \$55. A casual reference to the market quotations will give an idea of present profits. Not bad. This compares favorably with the munitions plants. The bonus system began April 1. For every dollar sugar is over \$70 per ton the laborers get 1½ per cent, but only 20 per cent is paid monthly and the balance is to be paid October 31. Laborers must work at least twenty days per month. If sickness overtakes one, he gets certain marks to signify the same and is paid the per cent, tho he has not been able to work much. So there is the bonus monthly, no matter on what date he begins work, and also an annual bonus on the months he has twenty days. Of course, the bonus system does not apply to the other great industries here, pineapple, etc.

About forty-five tons of cane are produced on an acre in this part of the Hawaiian Islands, which in turn yields about six tons of sugar. Cost per acre—planting, cultivating, fluming—averages \$90. If it be the first crop, it costs \$110; but if second, only \$70. The shoots from the old cane of first crop when stalks were cut in harvesting furnish the second crop. No planting need be done. After the fourth crop all is plowed up and replanted. The yield after the fourth crop from the same planting does not pay well. Altho I know one man who did not plow till after nine crops had been harvested from the original planting. Great care was given this cane to produce so long.

May finds this sugary sap at its *sweetest* time—practical proof is the output. This is the island of Hawaii for which I speak, not Oahu or any of the other islands. What I have given respecting yield, cost, etc., is the prevailing standard here. My time has been spent on this island. Irrigation, a necessity, I believe, on Oahu and mostly elsewhere, is an added expense. On Hawaii on the windward side, which is the northeast, the ideal has been reached for sugar-cane raising—newer soil, moisture sufficient for growth, and water in abundance to flume the cane from the fields down to the mills.

Hilo, the center of the sugar cane lands and second largest city, ranking next to Honolulu, is given in the Hawaiian geographies "as the rainiest city in the world." It has about 10,000 inhabitants. This is the island, and the only one in the territory, where volcanoes are burning. As you may

know, a lava flow occurred the latter part of May. By far the most part of the island is hard lava rock yet, you see; but the weathering agents have certainly converted the windward side—the rainy portion—into "broad acres." The opposite side is much drier—desert in some places. Coffee, known on the market as Kona coffee, is raised there, and it ranks as one of the world's best-flavored coffees, tho little known.

The plantations here have from about 900 to 1,200 employed, including contract workers. Camps are mostly arranged in groups according to nationalities: the Filipino camp on one slope, Portuguese on an adjoining one, Japanese on still another, etc.

A rather novel basic formation was chosen for building most houses on this particular plantation in the form of the letter T, two rooms about 10x12 with a half window (sliding back and forth) at each end, and a similar window arrangement in each at the front and also a door—three rooms if for a larger family—together with a veranda full length of this compose the horizontal bar of the letter.

All camp houses are whitewashed and cost about \$250 when complete. Lumber is expensive here—five cents a board foot—and practically all is imported, principally northwest pine. They have the same kind of houses for all nationalities, with this exception: that the Japanese have a "wash-house" (hot water bath house) allotted to every so many homes.

The plantations furnish, in addition to the homes, medical attendance and wood, sometimes wooden beds and benches. By way of parenthesis, this wood is the beautiful koa—Hawaiian mahogany—which is very hard and takes a fine polish, showing rich dark lines full of light and shadows, and a fine beauty of grain. It doesn't burn very well, however, being too hard, but it is the easiest to get to in these rough lava-rock canyons and hills and also most of the trees are past maturity for the best furniture wood.

In an equable climate like this, and it isn't enervating as it is in the West Indies and Central America where I have lived, I have often found homes—in camps transformed into beautiful little spots; the yard a riot of flowers and variegated shrubbery, all of which grow wild and luxuriantly in this tropical land. It gives you the heart-ache—this struggle of life to express itself

in beauty—in flowers which can be had for the collecting and care. Here the people lay hold of the material at hand and a bit of

mother earth yields up fragrance and loveliness, all showing the taste and ingenuity of the individuals.

# THOUGHTS ABOUT RUSSIA

By PHILLIPS RUSSELL

THE most fascinating thing in the world just now in Russia. One day the news from there is glorious. The next day it is depressing. The third day it is doubtful. No first-born of anxious parents was ever watched so eagerly as is this infant nation by a distracted world. What is Russia going to do? How will it emerge from its present struggles? What system will its social and economic life be governed by when finally it is free from its old trappings? These are the unspoken questions in the heart of every rebel the world over.

Tho it is risky to attempt comment on the movements of any people 5,000 miles away, it appears that Russia is the battleground in a struggle for mastery between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the employer and the workingman, between the forces that want a republic controlled by business men and those that demand an industrial democracy.

The autocracy does not figure any more. The reason the Russian autocracy vanished so suddenly was because it never existed in fact. It was simply a mental concept. It had no power other than that bestowed upon it by the imagination of the Russian people. When the masses no longer conceded any power to it, it had none. It simply dissolved like the chimera it was.

There is a lesson for us all here. The kind of a revolution we need first is a revolution in the minds of men and women. Economic development always makes physical conditions ripe for a change long before the brains of human beings catch up with the process. For aught we know, we could sweep away capitalism tomorrow if the working people were *mentally* prepared to do it.

We all hope for the best from Russia, but we must make up our minds not to expect too much from it. Because the Russian workers have won political liberty, it does not follow that they have achieved industrial freedom.

The news from Petrograd on the day this was written was to the effect that in

a municipal election [take note] the Socialists were victorious. Of course, we cannot altogether trust the dispatches from Petrograd, since most of the foreign correspondents there are probably ignorant of social movements. But if this news is accurate, it is not very comforting. It indicates that the Russian comrades, in constructing a new regime, are making use of the old-fashioned, futile political machinery which is in bad enough odor even in political democracies like the United States, England and France.

Let us pause here a moment and think over these fundamentals:

It is not the business of revolutionists to elect governors or mayors or sheriffs or pound-keepers to fill the seats left open in the machinery of a republican form of government, which, as experience shows, is abundantly suited to capitalism, but to organize a new world.

In erecting the framework of this new society, we must organize from the bottom upward.

The unit of that new society will be not the municipal council, not the political cabinet, not even the Socialist party branch, but the *labor union*.

We no longer need a government of persons, but an administration of things.

Modern nations no longer have their bases in political subdivisions, but in industrial organizations.

The congress, the parliament, the council, of the future must be composed not of representatives from states or provinces or districts or counties, but of representatives from industries.

It is the business of the producers and distributors of the modern world to maintain not a political but an *industrial* democracy.

Russia may be merely experimenting till she finds herself. She may show us some things yet. But let us hope, for the sake of Russia's working men and women, that they won't wake up to find that they have destroyed a brutal autocracy and replaced it with a greedy capitalism.





LEFT TO RIGHT—RENA MOONEY, TOM MOONEY, ED. NOLAN, W. K. BILLINGS, ISRAEL WEINBERG.

## They Are Building the Gallows

By ROBERT MINOR

**I**T HAS been proven that Tom Mooney was framed up. We who are interesting ourselves in his case were glad, after our long and terrible struggle, when we were able to offer the public the absolute and unquestioned proof that Mooney's conviction was the result of perjury bought and paid for. We were glad to be able to silence arguments with actual letters in the handwriting of the chief perjury conspirator, which letters tell in black and white that Mooney's death is sought by false testimony. We have silenced argument.

Franklin A. Griffin, the judge who pronounced the death sentence upon Mooney, has angrily demanded that Mooney be given another trial, free of perjury. The newspapers which formerly demanded his blood have now ceased to call for Mooney's death, and two of them are demanding that the disgraceful conviction be undone.

All of California and American Labor has ceased to discuss personal differences and has demanded in one tremendous voice that Mooney, Mrs. Mooney, Billings, Weinberg and Nolan be freed. Every national figure in the labor movement of the United States is active now in behalf of the humble labor unionists in the jail of San Francisco.

Prominent citizens of California have done the same.

The American ambassador to Russia has quieted the turbulent crowds of Petrograd by assuring them that Mooney is not yet hanged.

Chief Justice Angellotti of the California Supreme Court has pronounced the unanimous verdict of that tribunal that the evidence against Oxman, the chief perjurer against Mooney, is overwhelming and that he must stand trial for the felony.

Our cause is vindicated.

And yet, across the beautiful bay of San



LEFT TO RIGHT—RENA MOONEY, TOM MOONEY, ED. NOLAN, W. K. BILLINGS, ISRAEL WEINBERG.

Francisco, in the penitentiary yards of San Quentin, they are building a gallows for Tom Mooney.

The attorney-general says that he would like to comply with Judge Griffin's request that Mooney's life be not taken until a jury has passed upon the perjury proof,—*but there is a technical objection!* "The official record of the case does not show any error." The Oxman letters are "not officially included in the record."

A man is under sentence of death; the gallows are being built. The proof of his innocence is at hand. Will the man be saved? There is a technical objection. It would violate the official record

\* \* \*

Rena Mooney is now on trial for her life. The same witnesses are to be used against her as were used against Tom Mooney—and who were then proven perjurers. they are officially recognized as witnesses and have been subpoenaed in the regular form. None of them has been convicted of perjury—not in recent times, at least. If they were perjurers, wouldn't the official prosecutor (who induced them to give their testimony, by telling them of the reward they would get)—wouldn't he prosecute them?

So they are still witnesses in the eyes of the law.

Rena Mooney is facing the same prosecutor who said he was going to have F. E. Rigall give testimony against Tom Mooney which he now admits he knew would have been perjury. The prosecutor says that he is going to have Oxman, who wrote the letters soliciting perjury, testify against Rena Mooney.

Every witness who has claimed to implicate Rena Mooney has been either held to answer a perjury conspiracy charge or else proven by the police chief and inspector of Oakland, by several other witnesses, by the police records, by photographs and by THEIR OWN CONFESSION to have lied in the Billings and Tom Mooney trials.

There are no witnesses against Rena Mooney who have not been discredited, unless new ones have since been employed.

Why is Rena Mooney, then, forced to face a murder trial? Because she has been officially indicted. The story upon which she was indicted has long ago been discarded as absurd and admitted to be false. But she was officially indicted.

In the so-called Hall of Justice they are asking men today whether they would be willing to hang Rena Mooney on circumstantial evidence. Those who would be willing are made into a jury and sworn to respect the law and hang Rena Mooney, if the official records warrant it.

\* \* \*

The letters which Oxman wrote to Ed. Rigall are as follows:

Mr. Ed. Rigall,  
Grayville III

Dear Ed has ben a Long time sence I hurd from you I have a chance for you to cum to San Frisco as a Expurt Wittness in a very important case you will only hafto anseur 3 & 4 questiones and I will Post you on them you will get milegage and all that a witness can draw Proibly 100 in the clearr so if you will come ans me quick in care of this Hotel and I will manage the Balance it is all ok but I need a wittness Let me no if you can come Jan 3 is the dait set for trile Pleas keep this confidential Answer hear  
Yours Truly

F. C. OXMAN

Dec 18, 1916

Mr. F. E. Rigall  
Grayville II

Dear Ed

Your Telegram Received I will wire you Transportation in Plenty of time allso Expece money will Route you by Chicago Omaha U. P. Ogden S P. to San Frisco I thought you can make the Trip and see California and save a letle money As you will Be allowed to collect 10c Per mile from the state which will Be about 200 Besids I can get your Expences and you will only hafto Say you seen me on July 22 in San Frisco and that will Be Easey dun. I will try and meet you on the wa out and Tolk it over the state of California will Pay you but I will attend to the Expces The case wont come up untill Jan 3 or 4 1917 so start about 29 off this month

you know that the silent Road is the one and say nuthing to any Body the fewer People no it the Better when you ariv Registure as Evansville Ind little more milege.

Yours Truly

F. C. OXMAN



Mrs. J. D. Riggal (mother of Ed. Rigall)  
Grayville

Dear Mrs Rigal

As I am sending Ed Transpertation to morrow 26 it might be that I can use you allso about the 10. if so I can obtain you a ticket that you can see California if you would like the Trip Adrees me care this Hotell tell F. E. to say nuthing untill he see me can probly use a Extry witness Been a long time I dont see you

Yours Truly

F. C. OXMAN

\* \* \*

Rigal has given the full story, explaining that Assistant District Attorney Edward A. Cunha, Police Lieutenant Stephen Bunner and Oxman took him to the scene of the crime and there instructed him as to what he was to swear. The officials and Oxman disputed for quite a while about the best time for Rigall to claim to have seen Mooney and the others at the place; they finally decided to make it fifteen or twenty minutes to two, and told Rigall to swear to that. Oxman afterwards swore that it was "fifteen to twenty minutes to two."

Rigall heard District Attorney Fickert tell Oxman that \$16,000 would be split between the "witnesses." Oxman told Rigall that the money would be apportioned according to which witness gave the strongest testimony. Rigall went with Lieutenant Bunner and Oxman to see Weinberg's jitney bus and saw the number plate of the automobile taken out and shown to Oxman, for him to write the "memorandum" of its number to use afterwards with such deadly effect on the witness stand. Rigall was told to sit down and study the appearance of the car, so that he could swear that he saw it at the scene of the crime.

\* \* \*

Inspector William H. Smith of the Oakland Police Department is the officer who brought Mrs. Mellie Edeau to the San Francisco jail to see whether she could identify Mooney and Billings. His official report reads as follows:

"July 28.—Took Mrs. Sadie Edeau of 4106 Bayo street to San Francisco to see if she could identify Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings as the men she saw at Market and Steuart streets with suitcases; failed to identify them."

"January 31.—Went to San Francisco

to see District Attorney Fickert He wanted me to corroborate the testimony of Mrs. Sadie Edeau in the Thomas Mooney bomb case. Could not testify in case. She failed to identify Thomas Mooney or Warren K. Billings, July 28, 1916, the day I took her to the city prison in San Francisco to see them. She told me it was at Steuart and Market street where she saw them and now claims it was at 721 Market street, San Francisco."

\* \* \*

When Inspector Smith refused to corroborate Mrs. Edeau and told Fickert that the woman was perjuring herself, District Attorney replied:

"Keep your mouth shut. You would make a good witness for the defense."

Inspector Smith, with Chief Peterson, Attorney Tom O'Connor and Fremont Older, editor of the *Bulletin*, went to Oakland to ask Mrs. Edeau about her conflicting stories. Mrs. Edeau tried to kill Tom O'Connor with a revolver. Then she admitted that she had first told a vastly different tale from her later testimony and had changed it to fit the state's case, under the coaching influence of Policeman Draper Hand. Then Mrs. Edeau lapsed into incoherence and said that "her soul told her" the men were guilty when she "looked into the brown eyes of her dear dead husband."

Thomas Stout, William Burgess and Mrs. Muriel Stewart, fellow employees of Mrs. Edeau, have made affidavit that Mrs. Edeau first told them a different story and later changed it, saying, "What's the difference, so long as you get paid for it."

But Mrs. Edeau and Oxman are official witnesses against Rena Mooney.

Assistant District Attorney Edward Cunha has at one time begged not to be prosecuted for the Oxman perjury conspiracy. He said, with tears in his eyes, "I know that I'm on the dump heap for the rest of my life, but if you think you're going to get me in jail you are mistaken." He also said, "The Oxman-Rigall affair does not bother me as much as the jury situation in the (Tom) Mooney case; that is the situation that troubles my conscience."

Cunha is now prosecuting Rena Mooney. Gaetano Malpiede, bailiff in the court, was caught putting a fraudulent juror into Rena Mooney's jury. He has been discharged after admitting that he wrote the name of Daniel Kelley over that of a real

juror and thus got Kelley in as the first man sworn. Malpiede is a bosom friend of Assistant District Attorney Fred Berry.

In the investigation of this affair it was accidentally brought out that despite a court order that the jury personnel be kept secret the slips with the jurymen's names on them had been stolen overnight and held in the possession of Berry, who had copies made of them for "investigation" purposes. Thus jury tampering has been proven,—fraud against the life of Rena Mooney!

Had such a thing been done by the defense, it would have been cause for a general arrest of all attorneys and friends of

Rena Mooney. But the prosecution did it.

Rufus Patterson, admitted gunman for the Chamber of Commerce, who had been convicted of perjury to "frame up" a man in a strike, has been freed from jail in consideration of his writing a letter to District Attorney Fickert stating that Tom Mooney told him he was going to blow up the jail. Patterson confessed that Fickert had dictated the letter to him. Later, Patterson repudiated the confession and Fickert secured his release.

But there will probably be other "witnesses" who can not be caught until after Rena Mooney is hanged.

## All Europe Eyes Socialist Moves

By Rene Arcos

(Special Correspondence of The Chicago Daily News.)

Berne, Switzerland, May 10.—It would be puerile to deny the importance of the meeting which representatives of international Socialism are about to hold in Stockholm. That all belligerent countries are interested in it is proved by the numerous articles devoted to the subject by the press everywhere. Socialism, at the beginning of the war, lost much of its influence. It is again to become a great power, a power with which it will be well to reckon hereafter, and it is but natural to see each group of the adversaries seeking to secure this new factor for its own. Every force of mind and matter has been thrown successively into the present conflict, which has no precedent under the sun. Art, science, religion, philosophy and ethics have gradually become a means of combat. The very current of prayer has been turned to irrigate this new ideal.

### Russia Helps Socialistic Move

International Socialism, which is more-over divided, seems to have a growing tendency to escape the control of the leaders of the world war. It is visible that the minority Socialist party, which is opposed to the continuation of the war and partisan to the resumption of international relations, is daily gaining ground. The recent vote of the French Socialist delegates who decided to attend the Stockholm congress is also significant. The pacifist action of minority Socialists throughout the world had but slight effect

till the Russian revolution; this revolution, however, appears to have given it an astonishing impulsion.

### New Diplomats to the Fore

European governments so well understood the nature of the Russian revolution that they promptly dispatched the leaders of Socialism to take action with their Russian "Comrades." Old time diplomacy has taken a second place; a new era demands new methods and other men. But will these majority Socialists who rallied to the idea of pursuing the war to the finish succeed in their task? Their mission assumes a double rôle which menaces its final success. For the more they show themselves the faithful servants of the state by supporting their government in voting war credits and placing at its disposal their blood and wealth, the more will they be distrusted by the Russian radical revolutionists, who wish to enter into negotiations with their proletarian comrades and not with skilful diplomats.

"Patriotic diplomats" cannot but appear suspicious to them and Russians will ask themselves what they have in common with these men of whom formerly they were the collaborators in the International Socialist Congress. He who today desires to have an influence on the opponents of war in Russia must be able to prove that he has always been opposed to war and that he has never sustained

the imperialistic activity of his government, which has stirred up one people against another. With regard to the entente, this proof can be easily furnished. The French, English and Italian Socialists have ever shown themselves extremely hostile to all idea of militarism and of war.

### Radical Germans Loyal Socialists

Among the central powers, the Socialists who make common cause with their governments are greatly compromised in the eyes of their Russian comrades and one may be certain that the representatives of the minority Socialists, who have been molested and condemned by the government leaders of Berlin and Vienna because of their radical convictions, would not work for the King of Prussia if they were sent to Stockholm, but rather as adversaries of war and for the "International," the ideal which they maintain against the world at the price of any sacrifice.

If the Germans and the Austrians wish to obtain a result they must assure the Russians that the revolution of minds exists in their respective countries, that democracy is on the way to conquer the state; then, and then only, will they be permitted to draw from their portfolios the propositions of the governments whose downfall they promise.

The governments of all belligerent states are giving their close attention to

present events in Russia, events whose development seems to act outside of the influence of the official mandates sent to Russia by the different states.

### Reichstag Men Meet Russians

The diplomatic game now being played in Russia, Scandinavia and even here in Switzerland is highly complicated, for confusion still reigns in the minds of the Russian revolutionists and every state is keenly interested in the decisions which will be made in the former empire of the Czar.

Several interviews, preparatory one might say, have recently taken place in Switzerland between Russian and German Socialists. French delegates, more or less authorized, are said to have attended these meetings. Three deputies from the Reichstag yesterday met Russian delegates in Geneva.

### "General Peace" Is Object

If one is to believe the information I have received here from Swiss Socialists, of whom a number are to attend the Stockholm congress, the object of this congress is simply to prepare the ground for diplomacy, to find for it a form that will enable it to conclude peace. There can be no question of its purpose being to seek to facilitate the conclusion of a separate peace between Russia and Germany. The object in view is that of a "general peace."

# Industrial Unionism

## Labor's Only Answer to Imperialized Capital

By J. M. G.

**T**HE movement towards increased combination of International Capital, for the purpose of securing the markets of the world and eliminating competition, has been foretold by many Socialist writers in the past. It is the historic role of modern capital. It must go on finding new markets for the increasing commodities produced by more perfected machinery. It could not be otherwise under a system of production for profit. But the inevitable end must come, for tho the

world is large, yet there is a limit to expansion, and when that limit is reached Capitalism will become disrupted.

The workers have to seriously consider, in view of the increased power which this combine will give to Capital, how to combat this menace. For it is a menace, and one that will wield the big club of coercion to keep the workers in subjection as wage slaves.

Their only hope is to organize industrially on a class basis. Craft Unions, with their

narrow outlook of getting concessions for themselves, leading to one Union scabbing on another, conserving their own interests in opposition to the workers as a class, looking upon the interests of Capital and Labor as identical, agreeing to arbitration courts, conciliation boards, and the many futile attempts to harmonize that conflict of interests which must go on without remission under a system where every tool required to produce the necessaries of life are owned and controlled by a small section of society, while the larger portion of society have to compete against one another in the labor market for jobs, thus keeping wages at the line of bare subsistence.

No, Craft Unions wont do. They are obsolete and unable to deal with the mighty forces of capital; and powerless to free the workers from the tyranny of a system responsible for all the brutalizing condition of poverty, slums, drunkenness, war, and crimes of the vilest nature.

Craft Unions have played a useful part in the past under the simpler form of production, but are an obstacle to the organization of the growing body of semi-skilled workers, which the subdivision of labor is increasing very rapidly, owing to the perfecting of the tools of production.

Industrial Unionism is the negation of all that Craft Unionism stands for. It proposes to organize every worker of any industry in one Union, to organize them as a class, not only to force concessions from the employing class, but with the ultimate object of taking control of those industries.

The Industrial Union formed on a class conscious basis will be a compact, practical and revolutionary body, strong enough to enforce any demands from the employing class. It will recognize nothing in common with the capitalists, no trace between exploited and exploiter. It will realize that the workers produce the wealth of the world, and are compelled under the present system to hand the surplus value of what they produce over to the capitalist class, to be squandered in luxury and debauchery, while they are compelled to live in slums and hovels.

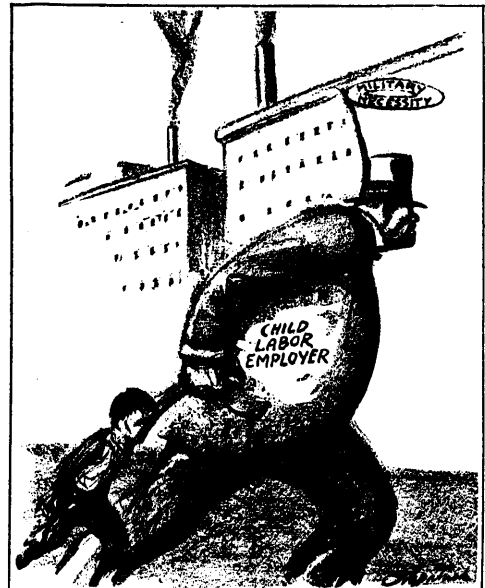
They will organize to take control and be masters of the tools, the great machinery of industry, by which they produce the wealth. Having control of these tools, they

will reap the full reward of their labor, own their jobs, and enjoy the wealth they create; thus eliminating that section in society of useless parasites who toil not nor spin.

Industrial Unionism is the only hope for the workers, the only means by which they can combat such a huge combine of capital as is forming, a combine that will have the material forces of the State to keep the workers toiling to produce wealth for the master class.

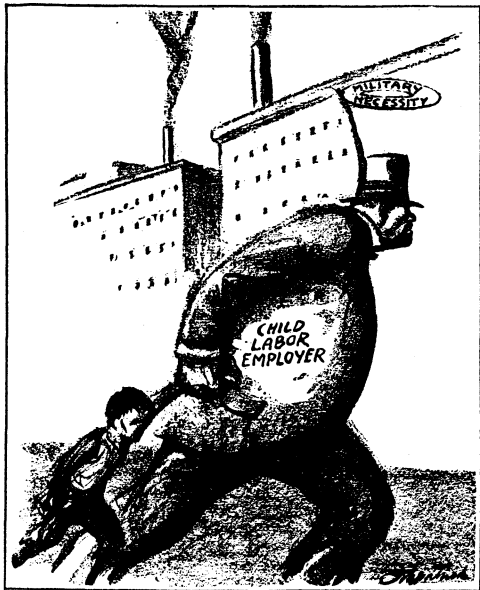
Let the workers pause and consider their position. Let them realize the enormous strides Capital is taking to consolidate its power, a power such as Labor has never had before arrayed against it. Do not be misled by Craft Union salary-conserving misleaders, whose only interest is to befog the workers into continuing in the old grooves of compromise.

Organize on these broad lines of class, and when strong enough form your own political party with the object of capturing the machinery of government; not for the purpose of administering it, but to abolish it and all class rule, and establish in its place the administration machinery, the same Industrial Union Committees, necessary for directing industry in the Co-operative Commonwealth.—*The International.*



—St. L. Post-Despatch

MILITARY NECESSITY.



—St. L. Post-Despâch

MILITARY NECESSITY.

# THE CAUSE OF WAR

By MARY MARCY

THE Profit System is the cause of all wars today. We are going to prove this to you so that you will recognize the facts even if you have never thought on the subject before in your life.

You know that all the coal mines, the oil wells, the railroads, the land, the packing companies, the shops and factories are owned by a few private millionaires. This is true of Germany, France, England, Belgium, Austria and America.

When you and I were born into the working class we found that just about all of the natural resources of the "civilized" nations, and the railroads, the shops and mills had been gobbled up by people who had been born before us. As we grew up we found that, after our parents had ceased to support us, the only way we could get money to buy food and clothes and shelter was by selling our strength of hand or brain to one of these groups of capitalists who *owned* the land and machinery with which food and clothes and houses were produced.

And there were hundreds of thousands of other propertyless men and women also looking for a master who would buy their strength and permit them to work in the shops and factories, making things for the shop and factory owners.

Because there were many men after each job, the bosses were able, and are still able, to buy our labor power for a *wage* that just about covered the cost of living. Now a *wage* means a *part*. For example, a miner digs \$15.00 worth of coal in a day (for the boss) and the boss pays him \$3.00 in wages, or a very small *part* of the value of his product. And the boss keeps the *product*. And so we have the *profit* or *Wage* System.

Now suppose there are 400,000 miners in the United States and all of them are paid \$3.00 a day for producing \$15.00 worth of coal; and suppose there are millions of factory and mill and shop and railroad workers *all* of whom are producing ten or fifteen or twenty dollars worth of wheat, or shoes, or houses, or service—for which they are only paid the small *part*, or *wage*, of \$2.00 or \$3.00 a day.

Now just imagine that all of the products

of the whole working class of this country for one month—the food, the clothing, the houses, etc., etc., could all be piled into one great big market place for sale. You would see on one side the *owners* of the things you *workers* had *made*, and their servants, nearly all the lawyers, judges, preachers, professors, editors, publishers. None of these people *produce anything*. They would all be on one side. And on the other side would be the whole productive, service-giving, working class.

Suppose the prices the idle, *owning* class asked for the the things *you* had made in a month were all added up and printed on a huge price tag. And suppose you workers of this country all lined up with your wages for the month and added them together to see how many of the things you always need so badly—you could buy.

You would find that your total added wages would equal just about one-fourth or one-fifth of the value of the commodities you had altogether produced in a month, probably one-fifth of the price that the *owners* of your *products* asked for them.

After you had bought all your wages would buy, you would see that the millionaire capitalist class would divide a part of the surplus value with its servants—the editors, writers, law-makers, advertisers, managers, superintendents, etc., etc., by paying these people enormous salaries to keep the present system of profits running smoothly for their benefit.

The millionaire industrial capitalists would give a portion of the surplus (produced by the working class) to the middle class, the speculators, the merchants, the banker, the landlord. And then you would see that even after all this class of useless people had spent their salaries, or percentages, buying things from that huge market place (produced by *you* workers) there would still be a big portion of commodities left over.

And you would be unable to buy any more (of your products) because your wages would all be spent. And the professional classes, and the middle classes would be unable to buy any more, because their sal-

aries and incomes would all be spent. And the millionaire owners would have used all they could possibly eat, or wear, or sleep in, or squander—and there would still remain an enormous amount of your products still undisposed of.

Probably you would be wearing cheap, sweatshop clothes and paper-soled shoes, or faded dresses and thin cloaks for the cold; probably you are forced to eat cheap food and tough meats and drink imitation coffee and sleep in basements or tenements.

And you could look right over on that huge market place and see all the left-over, unsold products of the working class: good clothes, leather shoes, rich food.

And this is what the very wise (?) editors (who are owned by the capitalist class) call "over-production."

Think it over. I am willing to wager a dollar to a doughnut you can find the cure for "Over-production" out of your own head.

Picture to yourself the whole working class standing before that market place with all its wages spent—looking at the *unsold* things *you have made*, and *need* and *cannot buy*.

Suppose the working class received a value equal to the value of their products? Could you then consume, or buy up, all the goods you had produced? And would there then be any problem of "Over-production"?

#### THE CAUSE OF WAR.

Now you can easily see that the capitalist class, which owns all these surplus things, wants a *market* in which to sell them. Besides, the capitalist class has billions of dollars (profits) which it wants to invest in some other country in order to make more profits.

And this is the cause of all capitalist wars. The capitalists in Germany, in America, in England, France, Italy and Belgium—all want to seize, or to hold, territory in foreign, undeveloped countries. They want to have an army and navy in order to protect these foreign investments—from the armies and navies of the capitalist government of other countries.

Wars are caused by the competition of various national capitalist groups for new markets, new natural resources in undeveloped countries, for new, protected foreign

investments. Each national capitalist group wants the strongest army and navy to protect their industrial and financial invasion in new territories like China, Mexico, South America, Africa, etc., etc.

#### THE CURE.

Suppose in England, in France, Belgium, Italy, Austria, Germany and in America the working class of these countries received the full value of the things they produced. They would be able to *buy* the entire product of the national working class and live in comfort; eat good foods; wear decent clothes; live in real homes.

Then there would be no profit-taking capitalists with dividends to invest in other countries; there would be no capitalist class with a surplus of commodities to sell. There would remain no cause for war. There would be no war.

The capitalist classes of the warring nations today rule those nations because they own the lands, the mines, the shops, the mills, the factories and the railroads. Because they own these, they own the *jobs*.

Socialism will prevent wars because it means the ownership of the factories, mines, shops, lands and all other instruments of production and distribution by the workers who use them. It means the value of his products for the worker and the abolition of the Profit System.

The way to cure a disease is not to put salve upon the symptoms, but to remove the cause. The Profit System is almost the only cause of war today. Discard the system and remove the cause of war.

The Profit System is the cause of nearly all the suffering poverty, sickness, crime, as well as war. It is the One Great Enemy of the Working Class.

Amidst the horrors of famine, poverty, crime and war there is one way out for the working class of every country. There is one way that means victory for the useful workers of that country. That way means Socialism, or Industrial Democracy.

Nearly all power lies in the hands of the workers. You can make the whole world *your* world with a united working class. But you must have an educated, organized class.

"Workers of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain!"

# AS WE GO ALONG

BY JACK PHILLIPS

THE day of ORGANIZED labor is here.

The labor that is unorganized gets no concessions or recognitions.

The internationally organized working class—loose and shattered tho its organization is—today enters into the reckonings and computations of all forecasters trying to chart future developments. Tho "The Internationale" is split with treacheries and hatreds, there still exists a bond of communication. The working classes of the nations at war have not smashed the means of communication between each other in the way that the ruling classes of the warring nations have.

The one international force today that has a machinery for bringing peace is the somewhat broken tho existent mesh of working class contacts and weaves formed before the war.

Without a doubt the Kaiser and the German foreign secretary of affairs wished success for Philip Scheidemann and the delegates chosen to attend a convention of "The Internationale" in Stockholm. Without a doubt there was an arrangement for delegates to arrive from other nations and formulate a peace program that would tickle the Hohenzollern ribs.

Entirely aside from such consideration, however, the essential fact stands that across the blood-red frontiers of the warring nations, the one human organization most notable for keeping alive the bottom sanities and decencies of human society, is that part of the old "Internationale" which still survives, which in the sweep of war, for all that it has lost, at least retains its communication powers.

These wires of communication that are still in the air ought to be kept there because no one can tell what the whirl of events the coming year will bring among the grappled nations.

In the nations at war the balances of power are so evenly distributed that the "yes" or the "no" of organized labor counts for much.

\* \* \*

In what previous war in the world's

history was the organized working class the sort of a factor it is in the world war now on?

The last time a somewhat similar international military struggle took place was in the Napoleonic wars. Then, as now, a league of nations formed an iron ring around one nation to crush its power. But—in the Napoleonic wars, who heard anything about trade unions, syndicalists, socialists and workmen-soldier councils, figuring as important arbiters of the destinies of war?

\* \* \*

"SECRETARY OF WAR BAKER tells a business men's convention that the war is a contest of smokestacks. Tho it is probably true that in all wars of the past the success of the armies in the field depended to a large extent on the food-producing and munitions-producing capacity of the people behind the battle lines, the folks at home, the present era being the most intensely industrial era that the world has ever known, the workmen at home are fighting the war as vitally as the soldiers at the front.

\* \* \*

"THE Russian working class has shattered Tsarism and secured a democratic republic, the introduction of popular government. And we? Should we continue to bear patiently the old misery, the exploitation, hunger and slaughter—the cause of all our wretchedness? No! A thousand times no!

"Leave your workshops and factories. Let work be at a standstill. Man of Labor: Awake and recognize your power.

"All wheels stand still when your strong arm wills it so. Down with the war. Down with the Government. Peace. Liberty. Bread."

The above paragraphs are from leaflets which the Berner Tagwacht, official organ of the Swiss Social Democratic party, publishes as indications of what the German labor movement is doing in line with the lessons of the Russian revolution.

"Lessons of the Great Strike" is the title of another leaflet translated by the Berner Tagwacht. The extent to which



this sort of literature is being circulated in Germany is, of course, the most vital factor in the world politics today. The latter leaflet, as an instance, declares that "the strike of April 16-17 will be a landmark in the history of the German Socialist proletariat." The assertion is made that "despite the proclamation of martial law, and without the assistance of compulsion and military discipline, over 300,000 men and women, or a force equal to ten army corps, mobilized themselves with wonderful unanimity and order." The demonstration, whatever its nature and purpose, was followed by "embarrassed reports in the bourgeois press" and by "tremulous anxiety of the Government," says the leaflet.

Direct action of some sort probably was attempted by the German workingmen. A leaflet issued between the reported Berlin strikes and May 1 says:

"The great strike of Berlin workpeople is over—the general misery, the general disabilities, martial law and the slaughter of the nations continues. So does the hunger crisis."

It is explained that the Berlin workingmen planned to stand fast till the whole German proletariat was rallied into a nation-wide general strike. The strikers were "led astray," however, by promises of settlement of the food question. So they went back to work.

Extra rations won't stave off the final crisis, it is argued in the following paragraph:

"The extra rations (promised) can be granted only if we eat up a considerable portion of the seed potatoes and the cattle kept for breeding purposes. If the Government resorts to this, in order to escape popular indignation and a revolution like that in Russia, millions of German men and women will be faced with sheer starvation in the coming winter. The only escape from the abyss into which the Government has drawn the country is to bring about peace immediately."

Workingmen of the United States will naturally take with suspicion anything and everything that doesn't come from a clear and direct source in Europe during these war days. Just what are the influences behind the official organ of the Swiss Social-Democratic party is not definitely known. On the face of it, these re-

markable leaflets have actually been published and circulated in at least a limited circle of the Kaiser's domain. They may be the first sparks of the conflagration of revolt so earnestly wished for by the millions of Socialists whose hearts beat in kinship with Karl Liebknecht, whose imaginations go back to the first Liebknecht, to Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and Socialists who instigated insurrections and backed up theory with action.

\* \* \*

"SEE THE WORLD," said the recruiting sign.

And the hungry young workman eager for adventure walked in, passed the exam. and became an enlisted man in the United States army.

Now he is with Pershing's corps on the western battlefront.

The betting is that few or none will come back.

They will be shot off the horizon and form a pyramid of skulls.

They will never understand just what the recruiting sign meant by "See the World."

\* \* \*

"WHAT the United States may say is not all that is needed," says William Marion Reedy on the Russian tangle. "The other allies must make specific declarations in order to hold Russia, in order to gain support for peace moves in Germany.

"It is Socialists that must be satisfied, not merely Jeffersonian Democrats. None of the old lingo will satisfy. Democratic phrases won't mix with purposes to hold all the German colonies, to grab the Bagdad railway, to organize the Balkans as a bulwark for India, to imperialize Chinese concessions, and all that sort of thing.

"The Social Democrats of Germany may not like their Hohenzollerns, but they like British imperialism no better. And like their brethren in Russia, they know something of the industrial imperialism in the United States. Mere Fourth of July stuff will not do for either Russians or Germans."

For a staunch and regular pro-ally, this is a mighty keen analysis of why the Russian workmen-soldiers' councils are slow and lumbering in action.

The prattling of American autocrats like Charley Schwab and J. P. Morgan and Frank Munsey and the Rockefellers—about a war for “democracy”—is farce. Max Eastman’s guess that the word “democratic” will take on fresh and meaningless implications, like the word “excellent,” is a good hunch. Industrial autocrats hollering for political democracy constitute what Ezra Kendall used to call “an illogical improbability.” Ludlow, Calumet, West Virginia, the Mooney-Billings case, the Chicago and New York garment strikes, the 12-hour day and 7-day week of the United States Steel corporation’s army of 300,000 workers, the use of negro strikebreakers by the Armours and Swifts to take the places of Lithuanians, Poles and Irishmen in revolt against pittance wages at the stock-yards—all these things are known and understood in Petrograd and Moscow. The hesitancy of the Russian working class about pouring out its blood for war as an ally of America is based on the fear that the American industrial autocrats are human bloodsuckers of the same breed and species as the dethroned Romanoffs of Russia.

\* \* \*

**A**N INCALCULABLE magic of suggestion attaches to that organization which has sprung up in Russia going under the name of “The Workmen-Soldiers’ Council.”

Likewise there has been an incalculable magic of suggestion to the repeated stories of “fraternization” of soldiers in the Russian and German armies on the eastern front.

When the workmen at home and the soldiers at the front join hands in an organization aimed to dictate policies and purposes of the nation at war, then capitalism and the grasping personal ends of capitalism in war are sure to lose out. So long as the workmen-soldier councils in Russia keep control of the balance of power in Russian government, the working class of that nation will retain the hard-won gains of the late revolution.

Anything like widespread “fraternization” between the soldiers of armies in the field would spell the end of the war. The armies are deliberately organized to destroy human units on a wholesale scale. In order to kill each other effectively the soldiers must hate each other.

“Fraternization” dispels hate and there can be no war where there is widespread “fraternization” among soldiers. Isolated raiding parties and desultory outpost squads probably traded cigarettes and played a few games of cards recently on the eastern front. But there was no deliberate mass “fraternization.” It would have ended in a joint Russo-German army establishing a republic of Germany with a provisional government taking its orders from the workmen-soldiers’ councils in Berlin as in Petrograd.



# The Inheritance of Acquired Characteristics

By J. A. A. WATSON, B. Sc.

THE question as to the possibility of the inheritance of acquired characteristics has been, and is, one of the most stubbornly fought in the whole field of biology. This is in part due to the great difficulty of the question itself, and in part to the great importance in practical breeding and in its bearing on our whole theory of heredity.

All sorts of misunderstandings have arisen regarding the real question at issue, and the term "acquired characteristics" has been too often used to indicate just whatever a particular writer chose. We must, in the first place, endeavor to understand clearly what we mean by "acquired characteristics." It may be well to state one or two cases which bring out the real difference of opinion.

Suppose that a race horse is put to stud before having been trained for racing and begets a number of offspring. The next year he is trained and wins a number of races. The following year he is again put to stud and mated with the same lot of mares as before. Will the second group of offspring tend to be better racehorses than the first? In other words, will the fact that the racing ability has been developed have anything to do with the possibilities of speed in the offspring? One camp of biologists says "yes"; the other says "no".

In the first place, an acquired character (or characteristic) is one which is acquired during the lifetime of the individual. We can, in a certain sense, speak of a character which has been acquired by a race. Before we can describe anything as acquired, we must be able to point to something more or less abnormal in the environment or habits of the individual which has produced the modification. Suppose, for example, that a person becomes gray-haired at an abnormally early age, and that his children afterwards show the same tendency. This in itself would be no evidence for the inheritance of acquired characters, since the tendency to turn gray at an early age might well have been an inborn variation. But

if we could point to a definite inducing cause for the condition, such as a severe illness, its reappearance in the next generation would be either a case of the inheritance of acquired characters or a very remarkable coincidence.

An acquired characteristic is a change produced on the *body* of an organism, and not directly on its germ plasm. This is the most difficult point of all to grasp.

It is readily conceivable that certain causes, acting on the body, may produce modifications and at the same time may produce variations in the germ plasm. But in order to prove the inheritance of *acquired* characters, we should require to show that the change in the germ plasm actually specifically represents the body modification.

If a man is a drunkard, his germ cells may be poisoned and his children be weaklings. But in order to prove an inheritance of acquired characters, we should require to show a reappearance in the offspring of the father's ruined digestion and red nose.

*No one* believes that acquired characters are always inherited; nothing is more easily proved than that the majority are not. If all acquired characters were inherited, even to a very limited extent, our fox terriers and hackney horses (whose tails have been bobbed for years) would have become short tailed. The foot of the Chinese lady would remain small without artificial devices to keep it so, and children in civilized countries would develop the ability to read, write and speak without any education whatever.

Nothing is easier than to accumulate instances of the *non-inheritance of modifications*.

A large group of modifications may be classed as the effects of use and disuse of organs, and it is perhaps with regard to the possibility of the inheritance of such effects that the greater part of the whole controversy has arisen.

In the process of evolution many things have occurred which are easy of explana-

tion if we assume that the effects of *use* and *disuse* are inherited, and some of them are hard to explain on any other hypothesis.

The hind limbs of the whale long ago ceased to be used, and they have now all but disappeared. The wings of the ostrich have ceased to be used for flight, and they have become greatly reduced. The remote ancestors of our present-day horse began to walk on the tips of his toes, with the result that the middle toe of the five began to bear most of the weight. Since then the middle toe has become very much larger, and the others has disappeared except for two small rudiments.

Generations of giraffes have stretched their necks to reach the foliage of trees, and the neck of the giraffe is grown to a prodigious length. The antelope has been accustomed for centuries to flee from beasts of prey, and has developed in the direction of extreme speed.

Lamarck's theory of evolution was to the effect that races were developed by the accumulation of the effects of use and disuse. And certainly it seems the obvious explanation of the dwindling of the whale's hind limbs to say that they have become gradually smaller *through disuse*, or to say that the neck of the giraffe has become long through its special use, which involves its being stretched continually.

But we have no proof whatever that these explanations are the correct ones. Moreover, it is possible to explain all the instances given above *without* assuming the *inheritance of modifications*.

According to Darwin's theory of *Natural Selection* the giraffe's neck has become long because through generations the long-necked specimens have been able to reach more leaves than their shorter-necked fellows and, consequently, have been able to live through times of scarcity while others have starved. The longer-necked specimens have continually been preserved by nature and the race has become long-necked.

Similarly, the fleet antelope escapes from the lion, while his slightly more slow-footed brother is caught and eaten, and the race thereby becomes swifter of foot.

As regards the dwindling of disused members, the explanation of Darwin is perhaps less convincing. But Darwin says the wings of the ostrich, for instance, became useless when the ostrich took to running. Hence, those individuals which wasted least food and energy in wing-building had the

more for leg-building. They had thus the advantage over their stronger-winged fellows and tended to be preserved.

Yet in certain cases such an explanation seems undeniably far-fetched. Take the case of the eyes of the cave fishes. Fishes are found in numerous deep caves where there is absolutely no light. It is often possible to tell, from geological indications, about how many thousands or tens of thousands of years any particular cave has existed. The eyes of these fishes are invariably more or less reduced, in some cases being nothing more than mere rudimentary and useless specks. It is assumed, of course, that the fishes had normal eyes at the time of their imprisonment. It is found that the degree of degeneration of the eyes always corresponds pretty closely with the length of time that the fishes have been in the cave. The process of losing the eyes seems to be extremely slow. The inheritance of the effects of disuse is the obvious explanation and any other must appear less simple and less probable. . . .

Use or disuse is supposed to have only a very slight hereditary effect, so that several generations would have to elapse before this was noticeable. All we can say from ordinary observation is that the effects of use and disuse, if they are inherited at all, must be so to a very slight extent.

But the slightest of effects, if cumulative through many generations, would ultimately bring about results of tremendous importance. So that if the inheritance of the effects of use and disuse be ever so slight, it may still be ever so important.

Another group of acquired characters may be described as the direct effects of environment. Changed conditions sometimes produce an effect on the organism which is not, so far as we can see, *adaptive*. In other words, the change brought about in the organism does not appear to render it better suited to the new conditions.

Where we can *see* the body *adapting* itself to new conditions we may confidently class the changes as true modifications. But where we observe simply a change, without being able to trace its purpose, we have still to discover whether it began in the *body* or in the *germ cell*. . . .

Alpine plants when brought down to low altitudes become taller, broader leaved, and, in short, lose much of their Alpine character. This change seems to be complete and persists as long as the plants remain under

lowland conditions. But on returning the plants to their original habitat the original habit also returns and remains constant thru generations,

We frequently hear of hereditary disease. Several members of a family die of consumption, and we say that the disease has been inherited. But on examining such a case it appears that we cannot strictly speak of consumption, or in fact, of any disease as hereditary. Consumption is due to a special microbe, which must somehow be introduced into the system before the disease can appear. Sometimes it may be introduced from the mother before the birth of the child, but even in this case we cannot regard the disease as inherited, since all that occurs is the transference of the parasite from one person to another. . . . *Liability* to disease (or vulnerability) is frequently strongly inherited.

To sum up the main argument, it must be said that there is some presumptive evidence in favor of the inheritance of acquired characters, but that direct experiments have given positive results of only the most meager and inconclusive kind.

Finally, we have the difficulty of conceiving any mechanism which would bring about the inheritance of modifications. (From his book on Heredity, by J. A. S. Watson.)

We believe readers of the REVIEW will agree with us that this is one of the most interesting and important subjects ever discussed in the field of modern science and that they will also agree with men foremost in the field of biology who declare that acquired characteristics (or *made* characteristics gained after a child is born) are not inherited to any large extent. Otherwise, the offspring of educated or scholarly forefathers would possess an accumulation of mental capabilities that would forever put them in the front rank in the increasing struggle for existence.

The sons of brainy men would know more than the sons of the manual laborer and would be able to outstrip them in the race for place and position. Every generation would find the working class less able to compete with the ruling class, whereas, we find the proletariat steadily advancing in economic strength in the great war of the classes.

Fortunately, we find the son of the industrial worker able to out-manuever, out-plan and often out-reason the sons of a long line of educated parasites. And the capitalist's hope of bequeathing to his children characteristics acquired thru the possession of unlimited wealth and leisure seems to have vanished in the light of the facts of the class struggles of the day.

## GERMAN REVOLUTIONISTS

(Editorial Note.—The new German party was formed early in April. A recent news story announces that the regular party branches at Halle have gone over to it in a body. Doubtless the same thing has happened in other places. The following appeal was sent out by the newly chosen executive committee of the new Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.)

Fellow Citizens:

The opposition groups in the Social Democratic party met at Gotha during Easter week and formed a new organization, the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Independent of the policies of the government, independent of the activities of bourgeois parties, independent of the war Socialists, the new organization will have a definitely Socialist purpose and an autonomous Socialist policy.

In our time of profound economic, political and social changes this party will unite the masses of the German proletariat in the spirit of the International to hasten the establishment of peace.

It will lead the masses of the people back to the paths marked out by Marx, Engels and Lassalle, the paths along which August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Paul Singer led them for decades gloriously and victoriously. To continue their work with energy and devotion, and, what is more, to complete it by the realization of democracy and socialism, by the final liberation of humanity from the horrors of war—this is our duty.

We feel assured that millions of workers will rally about the independent or-

ganizations which already exist or are about to be called into existence; all of our old forces and many new ones will swing into line when they realize that the old Social Democracy has come to life again.

Those who lost faith in socialism when they saw how the party abandoned the old principles and became a national, government party will be filled with hope and confidence; rapidly they will join the new organization in order to resume their efforts toward the end to which they formerly devoted their best energies, for which in fact, they lived; the sacred ideal of socialism.

Fellow citizens, to us, the undersigned, the conference at Gotha has confided the organization of the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Our task, weighty with responsibility and accepted at a time when destinies are determined, cannot be accomplished unless we may count on the enthusiastic and persistent collaboration of our fellow citizens.

Gain new adherents to our cause; work without ceasing. Found organizations for the spread and the realization of our principles wherever there are none, and strengthen those which already exist; you will conquer all difficulties which you encounter.

On Woman's day, May 5 to 12, the

women will agitate in favor of equal rights; in favor of protection for themselves and their children, and will demand the termination of this terrible butchery.

Fellow citizens! we know well that we do not appeal in vain to that spirit of sacrifice which you have so often shown. Each one according to his strength will contribute in order that we may do our whole duty and accomplish our entire purpose. The dues normally paid to the party will not suffice. See to it that every means be employed to furnish as many funds as possible. Let us have for the benefit of the new party special stamps, collections and gifts.

You know well that the sums contributed will not be used to play politics, as has been done during these last years by the government socialists, but to serve your purposes, to develop an independent socialist policy.

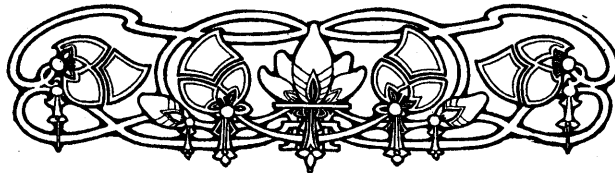
Fellow citizens, the iron is hot. Let us strike with vigor.

Berlin, April 12, 1917.

**Central Committee:** Wilhelm Dittman, Hugo Haase, Adolph Hofer, Gustav Lankant, Georg Ledebour, Robert Wengels, Louise Zietz.

**Advisory Council:** Robert Dissman, Paul Dittman, Herman Fleissner, Willi Grutz, Alfred Henke, Seff Oerter, Fritz Schnellbacher.

Translated by W. E. B.



# Introduction to the History of the Labor Movement in Japan

By S. J. RUTGERS

WE CONSIDER it a great privilege to be able to publish a history of the Labor Movement in Japan, written by the man whose life, more than that of any other, has been interwoven with, and forms part of, the history of Japanese Socialism. Before giving the facts as presented by Katayama, our readers no doubt will be interested to know something about the author.

Dr. Sen Katayama was born on December 7, 1858, on a farm and engaged in farm work until 1875, when he began to study at home, with only short periods of school education. In 1882 he went to Tokio to work in a printing house ten hours a day at 7½ cents per day, making it \$2.50 per month by overtime. Afterwards he worked as a janitor in a Chinese university in order to be nearer the Chinese classics.

Thirst for knowledge drove Katayama, in 1884, to the United States, where he landed with less than a dollar, and worked at all kinds of jobs. Once he understood a little English, he continued his studies in a Chinese mission in Alameda, entered Johns Hopkins Academy, Oakland, and a year later went to Maryville College, Tewalski. In 1889 he entered Grinnell College and graduated in 1892. After that he spent about two years at Andover and one at Yale University, to study social problems, which he found a most fascinating study at that time. Unnecessary to say that Katayama had to work all that time for a living in most differing branches of activity, finding that of cooking the most profitable employment.

Having saved two hundred dollars, he went to England in 1894 to study social problems and returned to Boston after three months, with five dollars in his pockets.

In 1891, studying socialism, he got hold of Lassalle and was inspired by the life of the man to devote his own life to socialism. His later activities in Japan, and especially his preference for organization rather than for theoretical discussions, harmonize with

his sympathy with the active part Lassalle took in organizing the German workers.

Returning to Japan in 1896, he at once started to take an active part in the labor movement and his life becomes part of that movement as described in the following articles.

In 1903 he left Japan again to attend the International Socialist Congress in Amsterdam in 1904, and the National Socialist Party Convention in Chicago. Some of the American comrades will remember his addressing the Socialist picnic in Milwaukee in 1904. And many of us remember the historic handshaking of Katayama and Plechanov in Amsterdam as a demonstration against the Russian-Japanese war.

In 1906 Katayama went again to Japan and organized for the second time a Socialist party, but soon returned to the United States for a short visit. Back in Japan he found the party more influenced by intellectuals and more vigorously persecuted by the authorities, chiefly as a result of the strong anti-war stand of the party during the Russian-Japanese war. Katayama was put in prison as a result of a big strike in Tokyo, and nine months' cell life, with hard labor, greatly impaired his health. After being released he was persecuted and was constantly under police supervision. Detectives lived on both sides of his house and followed him wherever he went. Visiting a friend meant to place the friend under suspicion. His literary activities were interfered with and he was prevented from earning a living by writing and still more from engaging in any activity for the cause of labor.

This drove Katayama again to the United States in an effort to organize the Japanese in California. But here the detectives did not lose sight of him and the Japanese consul, who is very powerful among the Japanese because they need his help in all kinds of red tape, made his life not only unpleasant, but his work for organization impossible. Japanese who came in touch with Katayama were classed as suspects and

those who lived in the same house were told to leave. The example of another Japanese who was simply kidnapped on a Japanese steamer and transported to a Japanese jail where he was released after eighteen months, made Katayama's friends fear that some day or other he might disappear as mysteriously.

The Day Laborers' Union, helped by Katayama, as one of its officers, was forced to denounce him. Not obeying the consul in this would mean interference in the life of the members by all kinds of formalities, and the practical impossibility of getting permission to marry a woman from Japan.

Katayama finally decided to go to New York, where he expected to be able to do some work of organization among Japanese and to continue more efficiently the publication of his monthly, already started in San Francisco, "*The Heimin*," written in English and Japanese. The Japanese in New York are of a class that is very hard to organize into unions and the work of Katayama even in New York was interfered with. In spite of all, he continued the publication of his paper, wholly dependent upon his own labor and a few subscriptions of fifty cents per year.

Katayama is now 58 years of age, but his spirit is young and his ideals unbroken. He has already conceived a plan for future activity among the Japanese in China in order to bring better understanding between Chinese and Japanese workers in a united effort to counteract the imperialistic schemes of the Japanese bureaucracy and money interests.

This interference, with any form of labor movement that had developed out of its own conditions, is organized in Japan very efficiently under the auspices of the Imperial government and a delegate of this organized movement to suppress labor unions has been sent to this country, welcomed and honored by Gompers and his A. F. of L. This being one of the most shameful episodes of the international relations of American labor, it is good to remember the fact.

A certain Mr. Swanki, secretary of the millionaire banker, industrial king, Baron

Shibusawa, was sent to the United States as representative of the Yu-di-Kai, with plenty of money of Japanese capitalists and the support of the Japanese government. The Yu-di-Kai in Japan is no labor organization but an organization of capitalists, professors and officers of the government. Its only purpose is to publish a paper to deceive the workers and break down real unions. Anybody subscribing to the paper is considered a member, and the most brutal Japanese capitalists encourage their workers to subscribe, admitting only this paper in their workshops. Even policemen are invited to subscribe.

The delegate of this imperial institution recently came to the United States, made same socialistic-sounding speeches, helped to crush whatever beginning of real unions was developing in California, and boldly came before the convention of the A. F. of L. to deceive the American workers, with Gompers assisting. The *New York Call*, which published a first warning by Katayama a year ago, now refused to expose Susuki, evidently because the A. F. of L. had already gone too far in its endorsement, and any crime was considered good enough to save the countenance of the A. F. of L. Gompers and Scharenberg solemnly accepted invitations to go to Japan to "teach" the Japanese workers how to organize.

From the History of the Japanese Labor Movement here presented it may be learned whether Japanese workers need the teachings of Mr. Gompers.

They certainly have shown by their deeds that they are willing and able to organize, provided only that the iron heel, of which Mr. Susuki is a tool, be shaken off their necks. The workers from Japan will complete this job in blood and pain and they will do it by their own efforts, inspired by their own martyrs, their own history. But it may have become more difficult to convince them to stand for international solidarity since the American workers, thru ignorance and the treason of their leaders, have supported the schemes of the Japanese exploiters.





# Labor Movement in Japan

By S. KATAYAMA

## ITS BACKGROUND

FOREIGNERS who visit Japan often claim that Japan's recent progress, however remarkable, is a superficial one, is skindeep, a mere adoption of western civilization. They say there is no real development and progress, but merely an imitation of the West.

Thus saying, they tried to discredit the present achievements of the Japanese and reached the conclusion that the Japanese are inferior to the western peoples, stimulating in this way the anti-Japanese movement among the white peoples.

To understand the real character and feelings of a present-day Japanese worker, however, it is necessary to know something about his past, the background leading into feudal times. Feudalism in Japan would be a most interesting study in itself, because Japanese feudalism has a unique history of many centuries ending after the time of the American Civil war. It enjoyed a peaceful life of activities and developments for three centuries. During these years Japan shut herself off from all outside influences and civilizations.

Hers was an independent life and she created a unique and a genuine Japanese civilization. Class lines were drawn quite sharply and distinctly. Farmers, artisans and merchants, each enjoyed life in peaceful development. The study of these classes is illuminating, but our aim is to show that some of the good qualities possessed by the Japanese workers were developed during feudal times. Here we will speak only of the artisan class of that period in order to illustrate that the present working classes have their roots and history in the past however much they may appear to differ from the Japanese working class of today.

During the days of Japanese feudalism the artisan class made very good progress. Their products are of great value to the present generations and beautify not only the civilization and life of Japan, but museums and art galleries in the West.

In some of the old crafts, organized into guilds, our artisans have devised ingenious

means to protect their interests against the masters and also against outsiders. One of the most interesting guilds is that of the wood sawyers. The Woodsawyers' Guild of Tokyo includes master sawyers, journeymen and apprentices. All the journeymen must serve first as an apprentice, regardless of his skill. Wages were dependent upon and regulated by the prices of rice.

Rice has been, and is still, the chief food of the Japanese. Its price regulated all the other necessities of life in the past. Another requirement of the guild was that each member should pay to his employer a small percentage of his wages, for the use of the lumber yard. This nominal payment gave him an exclusive right to work in the lumber yard and the owner could not employ any outsider. Thus the sawyers' guild attained a perfect closed shop, in the modern sense; also a wage scale based on the price of rice.

The miners' guild is far more extensive and thoroughgoing in its organization. It was communistic and it included miners of all Japan and of all kinds of mines. After a miner worked for three years the guild issued to him a membership card or scroll and this membership entitled him to seek a job in any mine in the country. And this institution still holds at the present day.

Wherever the miner goes he is treated as a comrade and a guest by the working miners. He may work, if there is work, at any mine, or he may remain in the hope of securing work. If he prefers to try his luck at other places he receives a sufficient allowance from his fellow miners to reach the next mine.

When an old miner quits his job on account of his age, or when a miner is crippled in some accident, he is authorized by the guild to collect from all the miners thruout the country. Each mine is an independent and self-governing unit of the one great guild.

The miner thus authorized in one mine will be allowed by all other mines to collect benefits amounting today to from one to

two thousand yen, according to his standing. For this institution still holds at the present day.

During the feudal period our miners had entire underground as their exclusive jurisdiction and their own territories. None but miners might enter there. Besides the miners received the best wages, which is shown by a Japanese idiom-Kanayama Shotai to describe their pay. This phrase means luxurious living or Epicureanism.

The miners called each other "brother." Their mutual relations were most warm and cordial. All the bachelors, or single men, lived a communistic life. They could travel all over Japan without any difficulty. Of course, they possessed defects and shortcomings, being the products of their own age, but theirs was a strong and well-regulated guild. Each and all miners benefited by it.

But the miners of feudal times were considered, in the eyes of the public, to be the most rough and dangerous members of society. No doubt they were outcasts in the public mind, for the mines were considered a refuge for criminals and outlaws. It is said in Japan that if a man is degraded enough to enter a mine, he is absolutely free from the grip of the law. It is true that in the feudal days there existed neither social intercourse nor sympathy between the miners and the people of Japan. But the miners of the old days were an orderly group.

The stone masons' guild is one of the most highly developed and best regulated of the Japanese labor organizations. They possessed a technical monopoly and were considered the most trustworthy artisans in the country. They always received the highest wages.

These are only a few examples. Each trade has had its own guild and a history of struggles common to all the working classes of the world. Each protected its own interest to the best of its own ability, but most of them were broken up by the coming industrial system under modern capitalism. Yet we can trace many good features existing today to the old organizations, particularly in the metal industries, in shipbuilding and in factories using the modern machine processes. The best Japanese workers today are the old blacksmiths who forged and wrought swords and plows, or those trained by them.

The very first Japanese factory was started by the feudal government and managed by the English. Those who went to work in the factory were the blacksmiths of that time. It was so with other industries.

Such is the background of our modern Japanese industry in which over one million factory workers are now employed. Fifty years ago there was no cotton mill in Japan; now there are one hundred and sixty-two cotton spinning factories, with nearly three million spindles and several hundred thousand young girls are working in the mills day and night.

#### BEGINNING OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

The modern labor movement in Japan may be said to have begun in the summer of 1897 after the war with China. For the first time in the history of Japan the industries had been prosperous on account of the war indemnity taken from China. The working class seemed to awaken. The workers were demanding an increase in wages owing to the increased cost of living. Many strikes were reported with varied successes and failures. The modern industrial system was a new experience in Japan so there was no legal restriction upon the labor movement or upon strikes.

This was shown by the fact that in six months we gained over two thousand members for the Rodo-Kumiai Kiseikoi, a labor association organized for the purpose of forming trade unions. A majority of them were iron workers employed in the government's arsenal and the railway workshop at Shimbashi, Tokyo, and at the Yokohama dock and the Yokosuka navy yard.

Labor meetings were well attended and the topics discussed were the *power* of the unions, the strike and boycott, and above all we urged the necessity of organizing the working class. Our work was most pleasant during this period. The men from different factories talked to their fellow workers on the labor movement during meal time. Each week our membership increased. Each successive meeting was held with a larger attendance than before. Soon the labor meetings were arranged by the workers themselves. Three of us, Takano, a journalist, Sawada, a tailor and I often went to speak at these meetings and we found new speakers among the workers who were able to address these gatherings of their fellow workers.

## IRON WORKERS' UNION AND THE LABOR WORLD.

On the 1st of December, 1897, the Iron Workers' Union was organized in Tokyo, with over one thousand members. This was the first trades union in Japan. Its constitution and by-laws were copied from those of the American trades unions. On the same day the first number of the *Labor World* was published, this being the sole organ of the labor movement. I was one of the secretaries of the Iron Workers' Union and editor of the *Labor World*.

This little journal had played a very important part in the Japanese labor movement. It contained one full page of labor news in English for the benefit of the foreign exchanges. The last number appeared Dec. 21, in 1901, making just one hundred issues that had been published. It was enlarged to a daily on January 1, 1902. The tone and spirit of the labor movement at that time can best be illustrated by a quotation from the *Labor World*:

"The people are silent. I will be the advocate of this silence. I will speak for the dumb; I will speak for the despairing silent ones; I will interpret their stammerings; I will interpret the grumblings, murmurings, the tumults of the crowds, the complaints, the cries of men who have been so degraded by suffering and ignorance that they have no strength to voice their wrongs. I will be the world of the people. I will be the bleeding mouth from which the gag has been snatched. I will say everything."

The time for beginning the labor movement was auspicious, as is shown by the government report on strikes from June 20 to November 19, 1897.

Number of strikes.....	29
Number of strikers.....	3,768
Of men .....	3,584
Of women .....	184
Largest strike .....	500
Smallest strike .....	7
Suppressed by police.....	12
Wages partially increased.....	1
Strikes successful .....	12
Partially successful .....	6
Failures .....	11
Uncertain .....	2
Strike leaders dismissed.....	28
Longest strike .....	25 days
Shortest strike .....	5 hours

## BIG RAILWAY STRIKE.

The year 1898 began with a great strike in the Nippon Railway Company, at that time the largest railway company in Japan. Its lines extend from Tokyo to Amori, a distance of over five hundred miles, forming two large circles. The company employed over ten thousand persons. Engineers and firemen numbered about 1,000. They were harshly dealt with by the company so they were dissatisfied with conditions. The company was ever watchful to prevent any one from organizing for better conditions. It promptly picked out the rebels and sent them to distant stations, often to a poorer climate and an isolated point. This was called "exile."

Between Mosioka and Amori on the line there are two locomotive stations which are considered the worst points. At this time there were two or three dozen "exilers" at these stations. Every day they met and discussed the situation. On January, 1898, one of them addressed a letter to firemen and engineers of the entire lines. This letter stated their common grievances and demanded remedies.

The exiled firemen and engineers started to organize secretly, but some one betrayed the cause. At this the company immediately dismissed them. But already the letter had accomplished its intended aim and the dismissal of these ringleaders was the signal for a strike, which began on the 24th of February, 1898.

It lasted only a few days. The company complied with all the demands and the strike was a complete success to the workers, who had conducted the strike very skillfully, using a telegraphic code previously arranged. They accomplished the end sought without a leak. Encouraged by the success of this strike the railroad men formed a union and compelled the company to recognize it, establishing the closed shop.

The *Labor World* gives a record of fifteen strikes beside the one occurring on the Nippon Railroad during the year of 1898. In thirteen of these strikes 6,762 persons, including 150 girls, were involved. Besides the railroad workers 1,000 printers, 70 dyers and 65 furniture makers were organized and sixteen workmen's co-operative distributive unions were organized, each with its own store.

These were mostly managed by iron workers and railroad workers who were

members of the union. One productive, co-operative union was started by iron workers at Tokyo. In a few years the organization grew into a strong union of over a thousand members with about ten thousand yen in funds.

An indirect result of our labor movement so far, we had at least revived and reorganized two old guilds into a modern union, *i. e.*, the ship carpenters' and wood sawyers' union. One had 1,500 members and the other 2,200. Both had conducted a successful strike during the year. The president of the ship carpenters' union, Mr. F. Saito, has joined the labor association and later became a good Socialist. I have often addressed the meetings of the Ship Carpenters' Union.

In the course of a few years all the unions gained more members than ever before. For instance, the Nippon Railroad Workers' Union accumulated 50,000 yen for a strike fund and 20,000 yen for benefit funds. It published its own monthly organ.

The Iron Workers' Union had enrolled 5,400 members at the end of four years and spent 8,000 yen for the sick and death benefits of members. The I. W. U. bought a house for their headquarters and the *Labor World* was used as the official organ of the union. If we include the unions revived and reorganized from the old guilds, we had at one time nearly twenty thousand union members.

This was before there were legal obstructions to labor organizations and we had a free hand in the labor movement. We were not, however, left much longer free to grow and to build up our movement. We soon felt the pressure of the government, although there were as yet no laws to directly suppress the labor movement. The first movement against us occurred in

the spring of 1898 upon the occasion of the Iron Workers' Union Cherry Blossom picnic, when the police authorities prohibited us from marching through the streets of Tokyo and enjoying ourselves at the Uyeno park like other people.

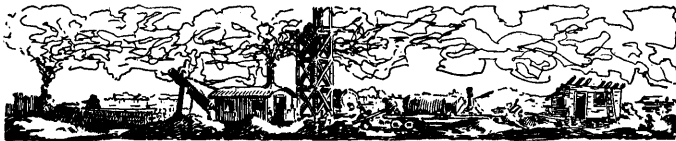
There was another event which we may look upon as an indirect result of the labor movement. The government prepared a factory bill with the intention of introducing it at the coming session of the Imperial Diet. The bill was sent to all the chambers of commerce of the land to get opinions on it. Then the bill was discussed at the meetings of the higher commercial and industrial commissions appointed by the government from a group of prominent persons in the country.

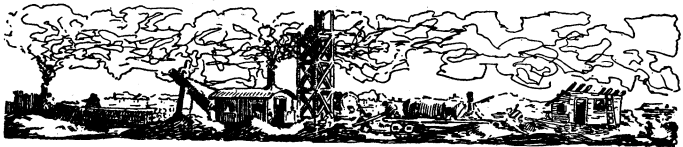
They discussed the bill and finally passed it in almost worthless amended skeleton form. But even in this form of so little use to labor, the bill was not introduced at the next Diet, because of the opposition of the big capitalists, including Baron Shibuswa, the present patron of the Yu-Ai-Kai Friendly Society; and it was laid on the table for many years to come.

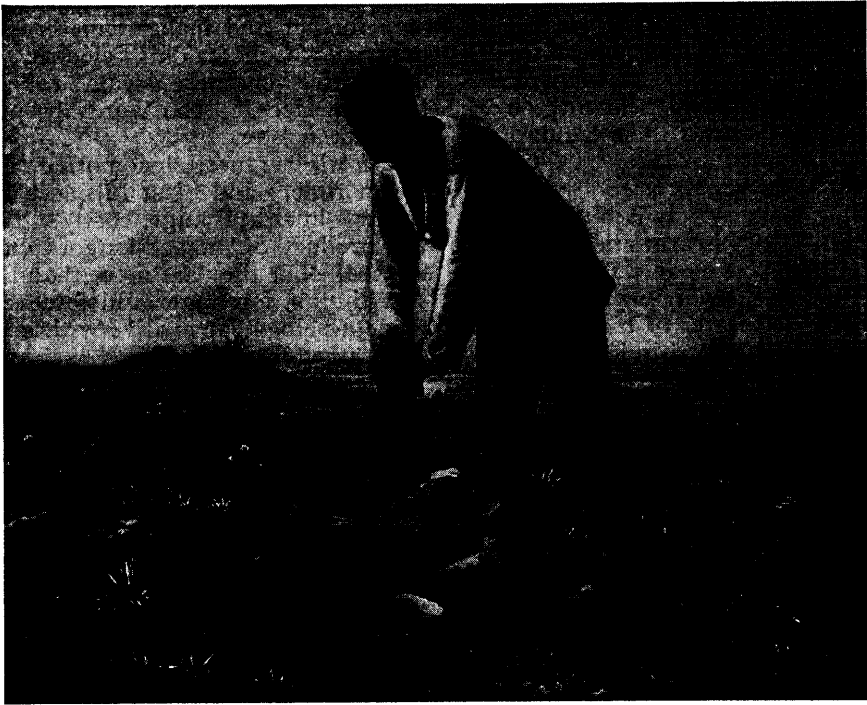
At the time of the discussion of the bill the Iron Workers' Union appointed a committee to draw up a note stating its desire for amendments to the bill and the committee was sent to call on the commissioners to urge the passage of the bill in the form suggested in the note. But this too came to nothing on account of capitalist opposition. It shows, however, that the Iron Workers' Union and the labor leaders had an active interest in factory regulations.

These checks, however, did not cause us to lose faith in the labor movement, but we vigorously continued our work for the cause of labor.

(To be continued)







# THE MAN AND THE MACHINE

BY SCOTT NEARING

## The Tool Maker.

**M**AN has been called the tool-making and tool-using animal. Among living creatures, he alone has supplemented his powers by the use of tools. The tool augments man's possibilities. "Without tools, he is nothing; with tools, he is all," writes Carlyle. Ideas, taking shape in the tool, have placed man far in the lead of his competitors. Even the king of beasts falls an easy victim to his weapons.

With neither defensive armor nor offensive powers, man, without tools, must rank as one of the weakest of earth's inhabitants. Armed with the tool, he is able to place all living things under his domination. Nature and all of her creatures bow before the tool-magic.

The kingdom of man rests upon the tool, which, in its turn, depends upon the thumb, the forefinger and the forehead. Among all the animals, none, except man and the man-like apes, can place the end of the thumb against the ends of all of the fingers; therefore, except for the anthropoids, no animal can make or successfully use a tool. This mechanical possibility, guided by the light of intelligence that burns in the frontal lobe of the brain, organized and co-ordinated through man's reason, has built civilization.

The tool gives man his power over the universe. He fashions the tool; wields it; owns it.

A sense of possession goes with the



fashioning of the tool. The savage who hollowed his canoe from the log or chipped the flint for his spear head owned the thing he had made. It was his because he fashioned it. Men love the work of their hands, because their hands have done the work.

The man who wields a tool feels the power of his mastery. It is his. Backed by the strength of his arm and guided by the light of his brain, it pulsates to its task. He pushes, swings, pulls, directs. The tool user is master of his tool.

Ownership carries with it a sense of proprietorship. The man has fashioned and wielded the tool. He owns it. It is his. The title, the right of possession, remains in the man to whom the tool belongs.

The power of the tool, backed by man's master guidance, is the title to his kingdom. He has the earth. He has been told to master it and possess it.

### The Tool and the Machine

The modern tool is the machine. Ever since the first rude wooden spear was fashioned, ever since the first fish bone was shaped into a needle, the first clay was molded into a bowl, and the flint was chipped and fitted to the arrow; from the most primitive beginnings down to the present day, man has been perfecting the tool. He has seen in it new possibilities and dreamed into it new wonders of invention.

Only yesterday, the man made, wielded and owned the tool. Today—what transformation! The tool has left the narrow confines of its age-long prison and appeared in its true form as a machine.

Between the tool and the machine there is this most fundamental difference. The tool user fashioned, wielded and owned the tool; the machine user neither fashions nor wields his machine. Robert Burns describes the cotter, leaving his work on Saturday night. He "collects his spades, his mattocks and his hoes," throws them over his shoulder and trudges homeward. How unlike this is the picture presented by modern industry. Even on the farm, in these last few years, the mattocks and hoes have yielded place to plows, cultivators, potato diggers, seeders and a host of other horsepower machinery that performs the work that was formerly the product of the cotter's

back and arms. Carry the parallel one step further and make it in terms of industry. "Collects his electric cranes, locomotive engines, steam rollers and blast furnaces." The words bespeak the contrast.

Electric cranes, locomotive engines, steam rollers and blast furnaces are machines—intricate, huge, costly. They are the product of an age-long evolution of the tool—but they are more than the tool. The thumb, forefinger and forehead have made a being that is alive with a tireless, superhuman power.

The machine is intricate. No man can make all of the parts or engage in all of the processes that go to the construction of any one machine. Men do not fashion the machines they use.

The machine is huge. No man can toss it upon his shoulder and carry it to his cot. No man can wield it. The machine is not carried about as was the tool, from place to place. It is not raised or swung or wielded. Instead it is fixed in a place, to which the man comes to do his work.

The machine is costly. No man can own the machinery with which he works. First, because it is too expensive for each man to own, and second, because where many men work with one machine, like a locomotive, if one should own it, another would necessarily be denied ownership. Aside from collective ownership, there is no possibility for the individual to own the machine.

The huge, intricate, costly machine cannot be fashioned, wielded and owned by the man who uses it. The rail mill and the printing press differ essentially from the smith's hammer and the pen. The machine is a super-tool—a new entity—for behind it, within it, driving it relentlessly, are the eternal powers of nature which drive the universe. Jove's lightnings play through the dynamos and along the wires. Water, earth and air concentrated in the machine, toil for man.

For centuries men have harnessed the wind and the water, but it is only in recent years, with the development in iron and steel making, the use of coal, the steam engine, power-driven machinery, the turbine, the dynamo, organic chemistry and applied mechanics, that nature's powers have been called upon to render effective service. When at last those



forces were utilized—when nature was called upon to do man's work in the multitudinous activities of modern industry, the tool had been pushed aside by the machine, which, from that time forward was destined to heed the beck and call of the human race.

### The Possibilities of the Machine

The machine is the offspring of man's genius and nature's power. Is it to be a ministering angel? Is it to be a Frankenstein monster of destruction? Man has called this thing into being. Can he control the child of his imagination, the creature of his hands? The thumb and forefinger and the forehead have created a new being—the machine. They have bent nature to do their work. Can the forehead still rule the earth?

During untold ages mankind has struggled against want and privation. It was the effort to escape from this struggle that called the machine into being.

The life of man was bitter. In the jungle, on the plain, under the mountain-side, dependent on nature, he lived, precariously, from hand to mouth, warring continually with the forces by which he was surrounded; or else, a unit in some form of social organization, he earned black bread and a pallet of straw through unremitting toil. Conquest, tribute, slavery, serfdom were means of escape which raised a few above the crudities of the wolf struggle, while they ground the majority of mankind into dust. Many slaves lived lives of hardship and subjection in order that one philosopher might make excursions into the realms of metaphysics, or one author pen his lyrics.

The difficulties in the way of securing a living were so great! The odds against man were so stupendous! It took so much human energy to raise a pitcher of water or a bushel of wheat, to fashion a sword or polish a cup, that a full day of arduous toil produced little more than a bare living. It was only when many men, laboring and living on a very little, gave the surplus of their production to one whom they called "master" that the one man—the master—had freedom and leisure to think, speculate, experiment.

The thinkers believed that they saw a great future for the human race. Could they but find a means of multiplying

man's power! That means was first, in small measure, the tool, and later, in immense proportion, the machine.

The machine has vanquished that most ancient enemy of mankind—famine. The machine has made want and privation eternally unnecessary. The industrial régime produces enough for all. No stomach need be empty, no back naked, no head shelterless. The machine has given man a hundred hands where before he had only two. Flour, woolen yarn, leather, clapboards, may be had in ample abundance. If each man will do only a moderate amount of labor, the people of every country that employs machinery would be provided with all of the necessaries of life.

The supply of these necessaries can be insured without overwork. There is no need for a twelve-hour day. The users of machinery may be well supplied with all things needful to life with a few hours' work each day, leaving ample time for the unfolding of the human spirit.

Leisure is as much a product of the machine as are bread and shoes. The command, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou earn thy bread" is so mitigated by the powers of the machine that men may earn a generous living and have time to play and think in the same number of hours that formerly produced a bare subsistence.

The machine augments the possibilities of life. By multiplying human productive power it increases the number of things that man may have at the same time that it enlarges his possibility of leisure.

### The Fruits of the Machine.

What has the machine done? With so vast a possibility there should have gone some measure of achievements. Machinery has multiplied human productive power. Has it, at the same time, augmented health and happiness?

The machine has led, as might readily have been predicted, to the piling up of phenomenal masses of wealth. Man's productive power has been multiplied by marvelous achievements. New resources are utilized. Old ones are employed to better purpose. New methods, improved devices, save labor, time and energy, while they increase output.

The change in the method of bread-baking gives an excellent idea of the advance in productive efficiency. Once or twice each week, in the old-time home, came baking day. The fire was tended, the oven made hot, and the dough, raised over the previous night, was kneaded, cut into loaves and set into the pans. The housewife baked her bread with simple hand tools. Even when the baking was a complete success the toil was severe. But the baking was not always a complete success; failure was frequent, and the "bread that mother used to make" was frequently heavy and unpalatable. It is in the modern bread factory that bread-making is put on a permanently expert basis.

The successful factory bakers make and keep on hand a good supply of first-class yeast. This yeast is mixed with the flour and other ingredients of the bread in accordance with an exact formula which represents the result of years of study and experiment. When the bread is ready for the oven, it is brought in great troughs and dumped into the hopper of the bread machine. The machine first cuts the dough into proper-sized loaves, sprinkling flour on each piece. Then these loaves pass into the part of the machine that rolls, kneads and shapes them. They are then dropped into the pans, which are taken by an endless carrier to a chamber kept at a certain temperature, where the dough rises; to a second and third chamber, and then into the oven. After about three-quarters of an hour in the oven the bread is dropped out, perfectly baked, passed into a machine, wrapped in paper and sent out to the trade. Nearly two hours have elapsed since the bread entered the machine as dough. During that time, no hand has touched it, but, in the course of its thousand-foot journey, it has been made into high-grade bread, in a machine tended by a dozen men whose sole duty it is to see that the machine does its work. The housewife, in a day's baking would make a dozen loaves of bread. This machine makes fifty thousand loaves in the course of a night.

The bread machine is complex, intricate, huge, costly. An outlay of a hundred thousand dollars is necessary to in-

stall one machine; but once at work, under proper direction, it increases the productive power of human energy to an extent that is almost unbelievable.

The bread machine, invented and perfected by the human brain, and guided by the human hand, spells plenty for the sons of men. If grain can be raised in sufficient quantities, no one, henceforth, needs to suffer for lack of the facilities for converting that grain into a usable form.

The bread machine is an individual unit in the productive mechanism. The power of mechanical production is illustrated even more strikingly in great unified industries that have sprung into being during the past half century. Among these none yields more wonderful results than the steel industry.

There was a time when iron ore was dug from the ground with pick and shovel, loaded on wagons, hauled to a furnace, and after an immense expenditure of energy, converted into pig iron. This pig iron, in turn, was reheated and made into some form of wrought or cast iron or steel.

The modern steel industry is built on machinery. The iron ore is dug from the Superior mines by a steam shovel, thrown on cars that run to the lake front by gravity, dumped into pockets that shoot the ore directly into the hold of the ore steamers which carry it to one of the lower lake ports, picked up from the holds of the steamers by great grab-buckets and thrown on cars, carried to the blast furnace, emptied on the ore dump, shifted by an endless conveyor up into the furnace, and there, with coal and limestone, under a forced draft of heated gas and air, made into molten iron. Without more ado, this molten iron is carried to the converter, turned to steel, poured into molds, run over to the rolling mill, passed through the rolls, and dropped out on the pile as a finished rail. In this whole process, from the ore mine to the rail pile, the lifting and carrying, heating, hammering and rolling have been done by machinery. In the entire process, human hands have played no direct part. Only with lever, switches and mechanical devices, they have busied themselves in guiding the titanic powers of nature.

Man's hand is no more mighty than it was in past ages, but, backed by the tireless energy of machinery, it is able, with but a slight effort, to turn out products that even the strength and cunning of Seigfried could not have forged.

The United States Bureau of Labor tells the story in figures. Twelve-pound packages of pins can be made by a man working with a machine in 1 hour 34 minutes. By hand the work would take 140 hours 55 minutes. The machine is ninety times quicker than the hand. Furthermore, "the machine-made pin is a much more desirable article than the hand-made." "A hundred pairs of men's medium grade, calf, welt, lace shoes, single soles, soft box toes, by machine work take 234 hours 26 minutes; by hand the same shoes take 1,831 hours 40 minutes. The labor cost on the machine is \$69.55; by hand, it is \$457.92. Five hundred yards of gingham checks are made by machine labor in 73 hours; by hand labor in 5,844 hours. One hundred pounds of sewing cotton can be made by machine labor in 39 hours; by hand labor in 2,895 hours. The labor costs are proportionate." The same facts hold true of agriculture. A good man with a scythe can reap one acre a day; a good reaper and binder does the same work in 20 minutes; six men with flails can thresh 60 liters of wheat in half an hour. One American thresher can do twelve times as much (740 liters). Commenting on these and similar figures, the government report states: "The increased effectiveness of man-labor, aided by the use of machinery, \* \* \* varies from 150 per cent in the case of rye, to 2,244 per cent in the case of barley. From this point of view, a machine is not a labor-saving but rather a product-making device. \* \* \*

This, then, is the machine—a thing conceived by man's inventive genius and utilizing nature's power to supply human needs. The machine is man's energy and strength, multiplied many times.

#### The Machine and the Future

The machine has been hailed as the world's savior from drudgery. Within it lay infinite possibilities of happiness and well-being.

This was the promise of the machine. Its performance sounds an ominous note

—a note of warning to all well wishers of the future. The machine has subordinated the man, thrusting him aside, and taking from him the precious heritage of craftsmanship, upon which he had relied for education, for civilization itself. Instead of the apprenticeship which was so essential an element in hand industry, the machine has put highly specialized occupations, reeking with monotony and speeded to the top notch of human staying powers. Large scale industry, integration, combination and centralized financial control are all a part of the industrial revolution which has followed in the wake of the machine.

C. Hanford Henderson, in his "Pay Day," writes: "This institution of industry, the most primitive of all institutions, organized and developed in order to free mankind from the tyranny of things, has become itself the greater tyrant, degrading a multitude into the condition of slaves—slaves, doomed to produce, through long and weary hours, a senseless glut of things, and then forced to suffer for lack of the very things they have produced."

The machine threatens to inaugurate a new slavery—a slavery of the individual worker to routine, mechanical production, a slavery of the community to an irresponsible, self-constituted, industrial plutocracy. The former menace has become a reality. The latter threat is still a nebulous, shadowy uncertainty. Let it become certain, and the political democracy of the eighteenth century is dead.

That combination of steel and fire, which man has produced and called a machine, must be ever the servant, never the master of man. Neither the machine nor the machine owner may rule the human race.

The machine may be separated from its evil effects. Says Carlyle: "Cotton spinning is the clothing of the naked in its result; the triumph of man over matter in its means. Soot and despair are not the essence of it; they are divisible from it—at this hour, are they not crying fiercely to be divided?"

There is one last test to which every act of machine or man is subject: What is its effect upon the men and women of the community? "The man's the gold for

a' that." It is the happiness and well-being of the families of a community that sets the stamp of final social approval upon any measure.

The machine is indispensable to civilization. Without it we must revert to some form of serfdom or of slavery. The machine is the device that must lift all mankind out of the morass of economic degradation onto the tableland of economic sufficiency. The machine, as the servant of mankind, and not of any par-

ticular coterie of men, will decrease drudgery, increase the number and richness of things that all may possess, and the amount and quality of the leisure that all may enjoy.

Machinery is the servant of all. The children of men, joint heirs to the untold advantages that may accrue to the world from the use of machinery and of the present industrial order, are learning from the Industrial Régime to look forward to a true Industrial Democracy.

## WHY IS A GOVERNMENT NEEDED IN MEXICO?

By M. C. ROLLAND

**H**AS there ever existed a government in Mexico? Has there ever been a legitimate Congress there? Has the Law been effective in Mexico? Has the Constitution ever been in force? What do those people who are clamoring for a Constitutional Government, *call government*, and what do those Americans who demand responsible authority in Mexico, *call government*?

The Mexican people, conquered by the Spaniards, was merely a subject for exploitation by reason of conquest. Its lands were all distributed among the soldiers and the clergy. It was said that the Indian lacked a soul. What was called "Government" *then*, was merely the will of the Spanish King and his viceroys. The existence of Law was a myth. Nevertheless, that horde of exploiters, soldiers, clericals, lawyers and land-holders called that systematic exploitation a "government," but the people never had a voice in political affairs, however deeply matters affected them.

But the people revolted, under the guidance of a priest. That priest was killed by the church; and by a refined cruelty, his head was put on a spear and exposed for weeks to the public gaze. But the peons, the Indians deprived of their lands, had supported this priest in the struggle, and it was

they who continued the work of revolt. When the land-holders could resist no longer, they affected a compromise, and by means of a tri-colored flag deceived the people. They agreed to have a *government*, but in reality it was the same old tyrannical ruling, with a different face, a changed appearance, and another form; and so, the people had secured no redress, conquered no advantages.

One hundred and sixteen years have passed since that first revolution. The people, hungry and in rags, has fought instinctively against its oppressors, winning, one by one, its rights amid fearful strife.

The Laws of Reform were the first formal step towards the liberation of the people's conscience; a step which France took only forty years later. At that time (1857), the Catholic Church experienced the severest blow to its pocket-book.

Previous to these laws, the church was the national banker. Nine-tenths of the republic was in the hands of the clergy. But in 1859, the church was forced to part with the lands. The struggle was terrific. The church fought, and with the cry of "Religion and Privileges," almost drowned the country in blood.

Somehow the Clerical party was repressed; but it soon found the means of

re-organization, as well as of monopolizing the lands in an underhand way, but, however, in violation of the law.

In the meantime, *what was the government?* There existed a "Constitution," which when it was not being openly violated, was being misapplied. The people were still under the will of those who rose to power, and in the hands of the clergy which exacted "tithes."

The struggle persisted, and we have seen it at its height during the last events in Mexico.

Justice has been an empty word on the other side of the Rio Grande. The people, swayed by the leaders, have always paid with its blood, but has never secured a "government"; it has never had an honorable representation; the Mexicans have never had guarantees, nor have they learned what liberty really is. They have always *maintained* an ideal of liberation, which at the bottom is only economic freedom, but *they have always been deceived by a farcical representation which they have been told is "government."*

In truth, the only government they have had, has been that of the land-holders, in conspiracy with the church, which in itself is a land-holder too. The people have been tied to this yoke, and they have cared very little about it, because they know, and they have known, that the landed proprietor is very powerful, the owner of houses is unconquerable; the controller of concessions over which a slip of paper gives him rule, is a sacred individual.

*This is the "government," under different disguises, that Mexico has had!*

For this reason, the Mexican people care very little to have a Constitution effective in name only. If the economic processes do not change, things will be the same as ever, that is, it will be as though no Constitution existed.

If small landed interest is not created, if the land is not given back to the people, if an equitable tax on the present land-holders is not established, in order to make them relinquish their prey; if, in a word, the fortress of the Mexican family is not built by means of the communion of the peon with the land, it will be senseless to speak of "government" in Mexico. *It will again be a farce.*

But the present Revolution, having seen all this, appreciates its importance and is

trying to help the people. This work of reconstruction is gigantic. The big interests, the Catholic church, the old politicians, the intellectuals and the defeated ones, who servilely obeyed their masters, are clamoring for a government. But they want the same old fictitious one. They know that they cannot enter through any other door. They are clever; they know how to carry elections; they can handle a congress; they can decree laws *for the people*, by means of which they rob the people of its rights; and that is why they are clamoring for the so-called "Reign of the Constitution."

That is why they wanted Villa, even as a President. They covered themselves with the Constitution, even with Huerta at the head. The foreigners want the farce of a Congress and of a Constitution, because this will lend force to the concessions they enjoy.

But, gentlemen, the Mexican people, the people who know that they have lived without a government, and without constitutions, the people who know that these were merely shields to protect those who struck blows at them, what would these people want a "government" for?

What the Mexican people want is lands, a more human tax system, and a greater economic freedom, especially in the municipalities.

What is the use of organizing the same farce, since we are all conscious of what it conceals?

Everyone is exerting pressure, because politics is almost an obsession; so the Revolution may be obliged to organize something to satisfy those individuals who dream of a *respectable government*; but we should not lose sight of the fact that the only salvation of Mexico lies in the change of its economic government. Only when the Mexican family is economically freed, that is, only when the present land-holder and the clerical party which is owner of tenement houses and large farms, are held in subjection, and only when the Mexican Law will be able to control the foreigners' concessions, then, and only then, will we be able to speak with some respect to the true "government" of Mexico, as being the genuine representative of the people. It is only when this is accomplished that foreigners may be able to have confidence in the Mexican Congress and the government.—*Latin-American News Association.*



# EDITORIAL

## AMERICAN WORLD POLICIES

Under this title Walter E. Weyl has written a book\* of uncommon importance and suggestiveness. Written and published just before the United States entered the world war, it is a keen and logical analysis of the economic causes that have ended America's isolation and have forced the government of this country to a choice between two possible courses in its foreign policy. One of these is to join in the scramble for the conquest of colonies and spheres of influence, grabbing as many as possible for its own capitalists. The other is to work and, if necessary, to fight for an international control of the undeveloped natural resources of the backward countries, which today appear as prizes of battle.

In his opening chapters the author points out the absurdity of attributing war merely to the wickedness of certain individuals or to a "general human idiocy," and shows that in questions of war and peace the economic motive has been and must be the controlling one. We quote from his second chapter:

At first glance, this economic or business side of war is obscured. We find tribes and nations fighting for women and heads and scalps, to please the gods, to destroy sorcerers, to slay heretics, to show prowess, and for other reasons which seem equally remote from an economic motive. A nation will go to war "to save its face," or to annihilate the "hereditary enemy," as well as to improve its position to the world. Yet these diverse human motives are related to, though not fully absorbed in, the omnipresent economic motive. The "hereditary enemy" usually is no other than the tribe or nation that blocks our way; the "gods" enjoin war against neighbors who occupy the lands we need or can furnish us tribute; the women, whom we capture, are

tame and pleasant beasts of burden, who help to swell our numbers. As for pride and tribal vanity, which so often precipitates war, these are a powerful social bond, which, by holding the tribe together, permits it to conquer the things it needs. A war for prestige is often a war for economic gain once removed. There remains a residue of martial emotion, not so closely united with the desire for economic gain, but all these derivative motives do not prevent the economic factor from remaining preponderant. Remove the economic factors leading to war, give man more than enough, and the chief incentive to war disappears.

\* \* \*

Wherever we open the book of history, and read of marching and counter-marching, of slaughter and rapine, we discover that the tribes, clans, cities or nations engaged in these bloody conflicts were not fighting for nothing, whatever they themselves may have believed, but were impelled in the main by the hope of securing economic goods—food, lands, slaves, trade, money.

\* \* \*

Even with the development of commerce, the motive does not change in character, though its form becomes different. All through history we find maritime cities and states fighting for the control of trade routes, the exploitation of markets and peoples, the right to sell goods and keep competitors from selling. Athens, Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Holland, England—it is all the same story. Undoubtedly, with the development of commerce, wealth takes a new form. Land is no longer the sole wealth, and successful warriors need no longer be paid in land and live off the land, as they are forced to do in every feudal society. A money economy, a conversion of values into money, changes the technique of war by creating professional mercenary armies. But the business goes on as before. Rival groups fight for a monopoly of trade as they once fought for land. There is still not enough to go around, and no way of deciding between rival claimants except by the arbitrament of war.

\* \* \*

Nor does this fighting for things, to be obtained only by fighting, involve moral turpitude. Nothing could be more grotesque than the moralistic tone in which we industrious moderns lecture the ancient fighting peoples. They did what we do, gained the things they wanted in the only way they could. Men will fight or work rather than starve, and whether

\*American World Policies. By Walter E. Weyl, author of "The New Democracy," etc. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$2.00 net.

they fight or work depends upon which, in the given circumstances, is the feasible mode of accumulation. . . . Nothing can be wrong that is necessary to survival. Warfare is not immoral until there is an alternative.

In the following chapter, "Peace Without Effort," Mr. Weyl pays his compliments to the stupid or hypocritical fashion in which so many Americans have until lately been criticizing the warring peoples of Europe, as if it were our superior moral qualities that had kept us out of war while the rest of the world was fighting. He says:

The truth is that our peace has been a peace of circumstances, due to a favoring geographical and economic situation. Our peacefulness came down to us like our rivers, farms and cities, a heritage of exceptional conditions. We were inaccessible to European armies. We were supreme on a fertile, sparsely settled continent. We could afford peace. Our resources were immensely great, and if we did not reach out for more, it was because we already had as much as we could handle. What we did need we could take from weak peoples, and a nation which fights weak peoples need not be martial, just as a man who robs orphans need not be a thug.

The Spanish War, says Mr. Weyl, which added the Philippines to United States territory, was an experiment in "unripe imperialism." The revival of American industry a few years later caused American capitalists to lose interest in colonies. In 1908 the United States was slowly recovering from a financial panic, interest rates were low, wage-workers were unemployed, and there was a feeling among capitalists that the only relief could come from a big export trade. A few years later trade was booming, prices and wages rose, the property of farmers doubled in a short time, and vast new opportunities for the investment of capital presented themselves inside the United States, the automobile industry being the most notable example.

But year by year the United States has gradually become involved in world politics. It had to assume financial control of Hayti and San Domingo or else give up the Monroe Doctrine and let the European nations send war ships to collect their debts from these black republics. It completed

the Panama Canal and became alarmed for its safety. The revolution in Mexico "proved to us that whatever our positive action, we could not remain passive." It is, however, the world war that has closed the chapter of America's isolation. The immense war export trade is fast making the United States a creditor nation. Mr. Weyl, writing last November, estimates a net balance of \$2,000,000,000 still due from the capitalists of this country to those of Europe, but this has evidently been wiped out by the transactions of the last eight months. Henceforth the capitalists of the United States will be in the world market as investors.

"As we expand both industrially and financially beyond our political borders we are placed in new, difficult and complicated economic relations, and are forced to determine for ourselves the role that America must play in this great development. We can no longer stand aside and do nothing, for that is the worst and most dangerous of policies. We must either plunge into national competitive imperialism, with all its profits and dangers, following our financiers wherever they lead, or must seek out some method by which the economic needs and desires of rival industrial nations may be compromised and appeased, so that foreign trade may go on and capital develop backward lands without the interested nations flying at each other's throats. Isolation, aloofness, a hermit life among the nations is no longer safe or possible."

Lack of space prevents our summarizing the admirable study of the economic causes of war which takes up several chapters, but the conclusion is summed up in this sentence:

Until the nations realize that wars are in the main wars of interest, fought for concrete things, and unless such things can be utilized with some regard to the desires of all nations involved, war cannot be avoided.

As a concrete suggestion for a possible economic adjustment that would tend to prevent war, Mr. Weyl proposes great international corporations, each owned by the capitalists, not of one, but of several nations, which should exploit the natural resources of the backward countries. Along with this he proposes that there be free trade with these countries, no protective tariff to be



levied and each industrial nation to have an opportunity to buy food and raw materials on equal terms. Such a policy might, by removing the economic causes of wars, make permanent peace a reality instead of a dream.

These suggestions are of immense importance at this time because, for one thing, they are directly in line with the theories advocated by Woodrow Wilson, who is likely to be in a position to use the resources of the United States in a way to launch some such experiment as Mr. Weyl has outlined.

This book is addressed to capitalists and legislators; it makes little reference to the class struggle, altho the author is far from ignorant of its existence. What he has accomplished is to outline a plan of action which is very much to the economic interest of the people who make laws and decide policies. The great world war cannot last forever, and the peace, when it comes,

may be on some such basis as this book suggests. If things should turn out so, what will the working class gain or lose? At least, the end of war will be a gain, since from war the workers suffer most. The one great menace in the plan is the creation of giant corporations more powerful than any that now exist. International capitalism would then be an organized force that could be directed in all its strength by a single group of magnates. But on the other hand, the false issues of nationalism that have divided the workers against each other would disappear. Peace between nations and peace between capitalists would throw into bold relief the age-long struggle between workers and owners. The stockholders and bondholders in the International Trust would be such colossal and such obvious parasites that all workers would see the folly of turning over to them the good things produced by labor. The expropriators would be expropriated.

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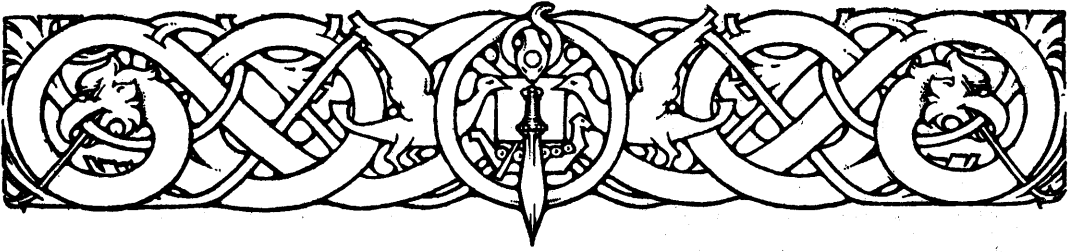
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# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

## What is Happening in Germany?

Socialists are not much interested in the defeat of the German government by the English government. But they are mightily interested in the possible defeat of Wilhelm Hohenzollern by the German people. And they are not alone in this interest. In fact, the signs of unrest in Germany have become the central point in world politics.

## The Shortest Road to Peace

Any outside observer must acknowledge at the present time that Germany will be defeated. The U-boat campaign has wrought terrible havoc, but it has not starved England and cannot do it. On the Western Front, where the crucial fighting goes on, the English are slowly pounding their way ahead. Superiority in resources is having the effect it was bound to have. But a mile costs tens of thousands of lives and weeks of time. Moreover, the new harvests will soon begin to come in. Germany will not be starved this year. A German revolution is the only sure and short way out.

## Salvation for German Business

Even German business men are looking to drastic reform for salvation. A quickly victorious campaign would have given them vast advantages. But now they foresee a period of poverty and isolation. We know well that world commerce will not permanently boycott a region as important as that of the Central powers. But German business connections have everywhere been broken off. Brazil and China are patronizing other markets. Germany's military and naval methods, supplemented by England's press and diplomacy, have everywhere bred a new hatred of everything

German. What is to become of German business after the war?

German economists write pessimistically of the prospect. Germany without colonies in a world of enemies will think sadly of the wished-for place in the sun. It is doubtless a vision of all this that leads a radical paper like the *Berliner Tageblatt* to come out for reform. It demands abolition of classes, disarmament, and compulsory arbitration of international disputes. Such a transformation would set Germans on their feet again with a new international reputation.

## Sad Rôle of Scheidemann

Scheidemann and the other "War-Socialists" are demanding "peace without annexations and without indemnities." The phrase is borrowed from the Russian revolutionists and might be supposed to indicate that these patriots are on their way back to internationalism. On May 15 they went so far as to vote in the Reichstag against the war budget, and at that time Scheidemann spoke vigorously for immediate peace. But let no one think that he does this because he represents the German masses. He is trying desperately to save for the Kaiser and the junkers and German business as much as can be saved from the engulfing conflagrations. Count Reventlaw and the other old land barons are playing the part of Louis Napoleon. Ignorant, incompetent, mad with war-lust, they will wreck Germany utterly if they have their way. The "War-Socialists" are more intelligent. They want to call a halt before the day of final disaster and set Germany on its feet with some show of reform to fool the outside world.

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**Hail to the  
German  
Republic!**

In vivid contrast to all this is the fine, clear uprising for a German revolution. On another page the REVIEW publishes the first appeal of the new Independent German Socialist Party. These are our comrades. American Socialists are not pro-Germans, but they are pro-German-revolution. All that we can do to aid Haase and Ledebour and their brave co-workers shall be done.

Simply, openly, absolutely without fear these men and women stand against the government and the Kaiser. Ledebour stood up in the Reichstag and said: "We are convinced that what happened in Russia will happen in Germany. Our rulers are working with us to bring it about. Soon, very soon, we must have a republic in Germany."

The Gotha conference, which met on April 9 and 10, adopted two resolutions which were suppressed by the government. The *Volksblatt*, Halle, which was one of the few old party papers under control of the revolutionists, has been suspended. Almost every day brings news of comrades who have been imprisoned for distributing leaflets. The campaign is kept up vigorously from various centers outside of Germany. From Berne comes a new journal, *Die Freie Zeitung*, published twice a week. Here is a sentence from one of its editorials: "It will not be the Germans, the French, the Austrians or the Turks, not the Russians, the English, nor the Americans, who will win this war; it will be the principles of democracy."

**The  
Stockholm  
Conference**

Present indications are that the Stockholm conference will not succeed in putting the International on a working basis. The American delegates were denied passports. So were the representatives of the English Independent Labor Party. The Italian party elected delegates with the proviso that they were to have no dealings with Scheidemann and his group. The French party decided not to send delegates, giving as an excuse a statement that the Conference was irregularly called. Then two Russian Socialists persuaded them to change their minds. But, as the REVIEW goes to press, the date for the meeting has passed and no general sessions have taken place.

### The Russian Peace Call

In the meantime Russian Socialists have taken charge of the Russian government and issued a call of their own for an international conference. This was done on June 5 in the name of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. This call has done more than anything else to show the revolutionary character of the Russian revolution:

"The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates is of the opinion that the speedy termination of the war and the restoration of international peace on the basis required by the general interests of labor as well as of mankind can only be achieved if the Socialist labor parties and trade unions in all countries, belligerent and neutral, will unite their efforts in a stubborn and energetic fight against this universal slaughter.

"The first important step in that direction is the summoning of an international conference, the main object of which should be to arrive at an agreement between the representatives of the Socialist proletariat in regard to the termination of the 'party truce' with imperialistic governments and classes which makes nugatory the real struggle for peace, as well as to carry this endeavor into practical effect.

"An international agreement upon such a policy is the main preliminary condition for placing the struggle for peace upon a broad international footing. This road is indicated to the proletariat by all its international treaties.

"At the same time the summoning of the conference is strongly dictated by the most vital interests of the proletariat and all peoples. All parties and organizations representing the working classes which share these views and opinions and are prepared to unite their efforts to carry them into operation are cordially invited by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates to take part in the proposed conference.

"The council begs to express its conviction that the parties and organizations which accept this invitation will, by doing so, accept the obligations to carry out unflinchingly all decisions adopted by the conference. The conference will be opened at Stockholm on a certain day between June 28 and July 8,"

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"We cannot accept as the God of Creation," he writes, "this savage idol (Jehovah) of an obscure tribe, and we have renounced him and are ashamed of him, not because of any later divine revelation, but because mankind have become too enlightened to tolerate Jehovah."

"The ethical code of the Old Testament is no longer suitable as the rule of life. The moral and intellectual advance of the human race has left it behind."

"CHRISTIANS declare the highest conception of God is the Christian conception of him as a Heavenly Father. "God is love," they say. To which Blatchford replies: "This is a very lofty, poetical and gratifying conception, but it is open to one fatal objection—it is not true!"

Mr. Blatchford does not believe that a divine being would need or ask for PRAYER and PRAISE.

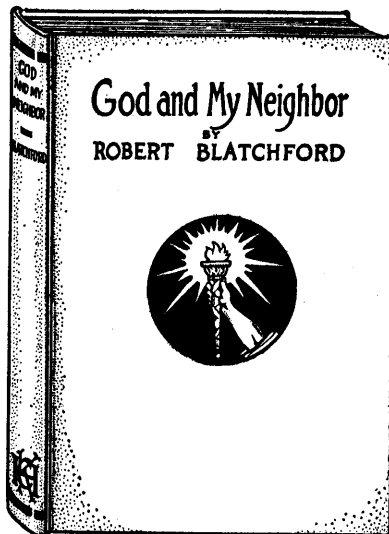
"If you were a human father, would you rather your children praised you and neglected each other, or that brother should stand by brother, and sister cherish sister?"

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## NEWS AND VIEWS

**An Opinion on Liberty Bonds**—A Pittsburgh friend sends us anonymously the following sentences: "The 'Liberty Bond' is one of the most diabolical schemes that ever emanated from the brain of a fiend. Its sole purpose is to make it to the interest of as many as possible to keep the war going, no matter how great the slaughter, until the bondholders are sure of the safety of their blood money." We print this as a "horrible example" of what not to do in the way of propaganda. In the first place, calling names does not convince. In the second place, the statement as to the "sole purpose" of the bonds is a serious mistake. The safety of the "blood money," if we choose to give it this name, does not depend on the outcome of the war. Defeated nations, as well as victorious ones, pay bond interest regularly, and United States bonds can always be sold readily. The real purpose of the patriotic appeal to buy Liberty Bonds is to have the little capitalists, and even the wage workers, put up as much as possible of the war money, getting three and a half per cent on it, while the big capitalists gather in bigger profits than the world has yet known. The truth is good enough propaganda. Let us stick to facts.

**From a Russian Woman**—Dear comrade, I am not anxious to go back to Russia, and if I do so it will be only because the economical conditions are too hard here. You say I might do the propaganda work there. Well, I might. But why not to do the same right here? Do you think Canada is more advanced than Russia in social life problems? Not at all. Its civilization is rather superficial. Its women are a thousand times more backward. They mean by education—pie-baking and dressmaking. By high schools for women—they mean Domestic Science, what means the way to put your lace curtains or furniture, and again to bake the pies and cakes and to serve this or that at certain times, for certain people, etc. And what about their religious views? I tell you, Canadian women need more knowledge than Russian peasants, as the latter *want to know* and Canadians think they have an accomplished knowledge only because they talk English, altho they never care to read real good English books. Certainly Russians have some attractive features of character. But it is not their race quality, but the result of their surroundings. The capital is not developed yet; there is no chance to make much money

in competing fiercely with your neighbor. Russia is 200 years backward in economic development, therefore there is more quitness, more dignity, more human feelings which have nothing common with the artificial self-control of civilized races like English. The Russians who come to America or Canada change quick and are becoming worse than the natives, hunting after dollars. There are exceptions, of course, but exceptions only prove the usual rule.

It is just the result of stagnant economical life, where it is of no use to hurry up like hounds after game; no use to make intrigues to get in power; no use to deny human feelings, as it was the only one-field where Russians are and have been less controlled by law of rulers than any people in the world. We have more freedom than any other race in our private life. Our rulers were always indulgent to all kinds of things, which kept the minds of people away from politics, no matter how dangerous those things might be in the eyes of "Mrs. Grundy."

I'll get some books next month and I gave the last copy of I. S. R. to one who pitied "poor Russia will be mere conglomeration of small republics ruled by Berlin."

Nobody cared about Russia when it was a cemetery for its people, but everybody claimed it is a fine country, doing great work in this war. Yes, they are for cannon fodder for Russian soldiers, that is all. I say, do not care about Russia now; believe me, the time for worrying about "poor Russia" is gone forever away; let Russians to care about their affairs themselves now, as they know something about the sincerity "of your care."

I believe, tho, Russians did their best calling Germans to make peace by the way of revolution and overthrowing of their Czar or Kaiser. The Germans are not willing to do so, then the Russians have to fight with "Kaiser's slaves" unless they will re-establish monarchy in Russia, as it was ruled by the Kaiser always, Czar being his obedient nephew and dog.—Yours for Soc. Rev., M. N.

**For Mooney**—We, the delegates of the United Mine Workers of America, the West Virginia State Federation of Labor, International Association of Machinists, Brotherhood of American Railway Carmen, the Charleston Central Labor Council and the affiliated trades and Crafts of America, in special convention assembled in the city of Charleston, W. Va.,

this the 22d day of May, 1917, most heartily commend the action of Mr. Fremont Older, the editor of the *San Francisco Bulletin*, for his magnificent defense of organized labor, and in particular his splendid services in preventing the criminal effort of the capitalists of that city to railroad Tom Mooney and his devoted wife, Renna H. Mooney, to the gallows.

Mr. Older is entitled to the gratitude of organized labor of all lands, and we pledge to him our undivided support.

*Be it Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Mr. Older and one be given to the press.

**One of Many**—Local Elkhart, Ind., sends us a report of a Peace Mass Meeting held in Elkhart on June 3d. Our old friend, Billie Patterson of Toledo, Ohio, was the chief speaker. Several hundred people attended the meeting, including the entire night force of the police department, a number of the day force, the sheriff and his deputies, the police matron and a corp of secret service men and three of the city's most important lawyers to determine as to the legality of the speech. It is said the Portmaster tried to have Comrade Patterson arrested when he stepped off the train; also that an attempt was made to have three or four prominent Socialists arrested and held, to bluff the rest into abandoning their meeting. But in spite of all the attempts made by the authorities to scare off the Socialists and other rebels, our friends write us that the meeting was one of the most successful ever held in Elkhart and created new enthusiasm against imperialism and an understanding of the cause of war. We can see that if this sort of thing keeps on and the Socialists and industrialists keep up the good work, the working class of this country is going to flock to the real working class organizations—union and party—in such great numbers as will give the capitalist class a new problem to think about.

**From One of the Rebels**—Fellow Worker Howell of Nebraska orders a bunch of sub. cards; also a bundle of REVIEWS and adds: "I think it would be a good idea to raise price of REVIEWS and also the sub. cards. I will be on the job for the REVIEW at any price."

**Review Is Especially Valuable During War**—A comrade in Chicago writes the following: "I consider the REVIEW of extra value now, as events are taking place with such rapidity that most of the literature written before the war is out of date, excepting of course, the standard works of Marx, etc. A running commentary is needed, interpreting events as they transpire."

**Attention Railway Workers**—Comrade H.

E. Keas, member Order Railroad Telegraphers, would like to hear from all railway brothers and comrades, readers of the REVIEW, who are in accord with the idea of ONE BIG RAILWAY UNION. Address 490 Seminary street, Dubuque, Iowa.

**A Flash From San Francisco**—A comrade writes: "We were all sold out before the first of June. By the way, I may add that the secret service men enjoy the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW immensely. Although we purchased additional copies from other dealers, we could not get enough REVIEWS to supply the demand."

**The Socialist Encampment at Conneaut Lake**—By the time the July issue of the REVIEW is in the hands of its readers the comrades from Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio, and, in fact, from near and far, will have assembled in a great camp at Exposition Park on Conneaut Lake, Pa. Over 200 tents will make up a Socialist city, where the comrades will enjoy themselves for ten days. The date is June 23d to July 2d, inclusive. Each tent is 10x12 feet, with a wood floor and two cots, which makes a good home for anyone for a ten days' outing. The comrades here at this camp will find all the pleasures and joy that can be found anywhere in a ten days' outing, besides the pleasure of knowing that he or she is camping in a Socialist tent city with 400 or 500 other men and women that are fighting in the same great cause in which they are fighting. There will be fishing, boating and swimming. There will be athletics for men, women and children, with valuable prizes for the winners of all events. There will be three (3) prominent speakers of the party present. Comrade Kirkpatrick will wind up the camp with a lecture on Sunday, July 1. At the time this article was written, over 100 tents had been sold for this camp, assuring the success of the camp and a larger and better one for 1918.

## Is He Crazy?

The owner of a large plantation in Mississippi, where the fine figs grow, is giving away a few five-acre fruit tracts. The only condition is that figs be planted. The owner wants enough figs raised to supply a cooperative canning factory. You can secure five acres and an interest in the canning factory by writing the Eubank Farms Company, 1428 Keystone, Pittsburgh, Pa. They will plant and care for your trees for \$6 per month. Your profit should be \$1,000 per year. For 18 cents to cover mailing expense, they will send you, prepaid, sample jar preserved figs, grown on the plantation.

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Very sincerely yours,  
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21 Jansen St., Dubuque, Ia.  
Mr. C. E. Brooks,  
Dear Sir:—The baby's rupture is altogether cured, thanks to your Appliance, and we are so thankful to you. If we could only have known of it sooner our little boy would not have had to suffer near as much as he did. He wore your brace a little over four months and has not worn it now for six weeks.

Yours very truly,  
ANDREW EGGENBERGER.

## Confederate Veteran Cured

Commerce Ga., R. F. D. No. 11.  
Mr. C. E. Brooks,  
Dear Sir:—I am glad to tell you that I am now sound and well and can plough or do any heavy work. I can say your Appliance has effected a permanent cure. Before getting your Appliance I was in a terrible condition and had given up all hope of ever being any better. If it hadn't been for your Appliance I would never have been cured. I am sixty-eight years old and served three years in Eckle's Artillery, Oglethorpe Co. I hope God will reward you for the good you are doing for suffering humanity. Yours sincerely,  
H. D. BANKS.



The above is C. E. Brooks, inventor of the Appliance, who cured himself and who is now giving others the benefit of his experience—If ruptured, write him today, at Marshall, Mich.

## Pennsylvania Man Thankful

Mr. C. E. Brooks, Marshall, Mich.  
Dear Sir:—Perhaps it will interest you to know that I have been ruptured six years and have always had trouble with it till I got your Appliance. It is very easy to wear, fits neat and snug, and is not in the way at any time, day or night. In fact, at times I did not know I had it on; it just adapted itself to the shape of the body and seemed to be a part of the body, as it clung to the spot, no matter what position I was in.

It would be a veritable God-send to the unfortunates who suffer from rupture if all could procure the Brooks Rupture Appliance and wear it. They would certainly never regret it.

My rupture is now all healed up and nothing ever did it but your Appliance. Whenever the opportunity presents itself I will say a good word for your Appliance, and also the honorable way in which you deal with ruptured people. It is a pleasure to recommend a good thing among your friends\* or strangers.

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## Remember

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122 State St., Marshall, Mich.  
Please send me by mail in plain wrapper your illustrated book and full information about your Appliance for the cure of rupture.

Name .....

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R. F. D. .... State .....





**The above is C. E. Brooks, inventor  
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write him today, at  
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**A New Book by Loria.** We have just made arrangements for publishing a new book by Prof. Achille Loria of the University of Turin, Italy, on **THE ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR**. It is translated, with the sanction of the author, by John Leslie Garner, who is now at work on a final revision of the manuscript. We expect to have copies ready for mailing in October. The retail price will be \$1.00, with the usual discount to our stockholders. This will be a book that every student of Socialism will need, to keep his ideas up to date. Its publication will cost us several hundred dollars, and we hope every comrade who can afford to do so will send on a dollar in advance for a copy of the book to be mailed on publication.

**Combination Offers Withdrawn.** The cost of book paper is likely to go still higher in the near future, and the cost of printing and binding is also advancing. In view of this we have withdrawn all the combination offers previously advertised of books at special rates in combination with a share of stock, or in combination with a year's subscription to the **REVIEW**. We are, however, still selling shares of stock in our publishing house at \$10.00 cash or \$1.00 a month for ten months, and for the remainder of the year 1917 we shall continue to allow stockholders forty per cent discount on the books we publish, we paying postage. Whether we shall be able to continue this discount later will depend on the future cost of book manufacturing; in any case, we shall sell our books to stockholders at cost. For the last two years we have been selling at a trifle less than cost, leaving a small deficit which has been made up thru the sale of new stock.

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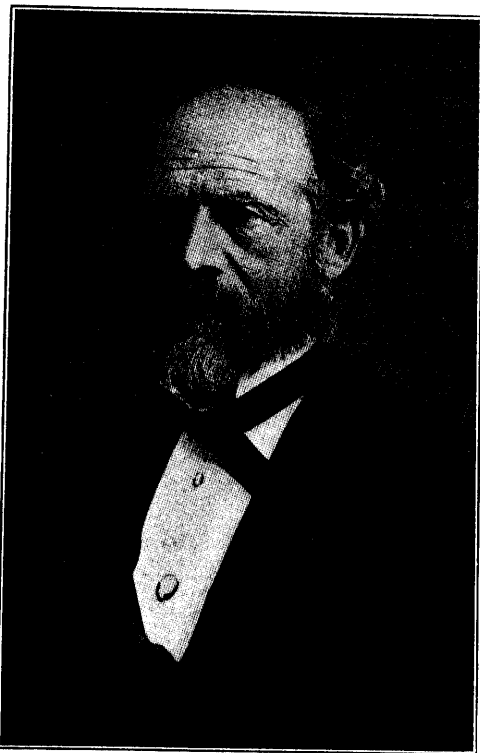
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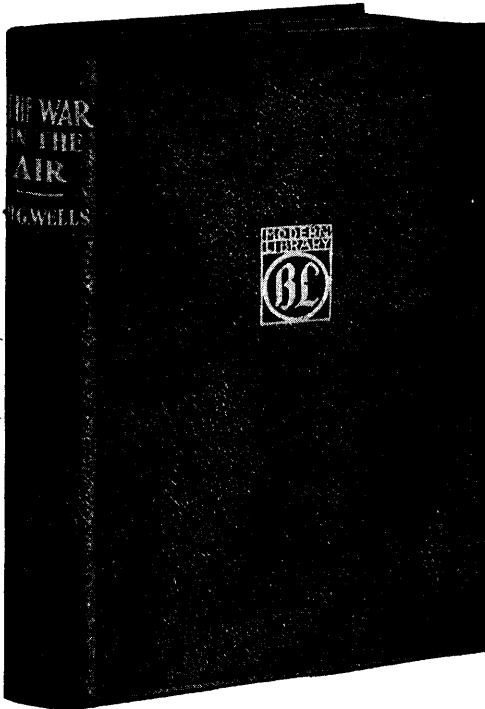
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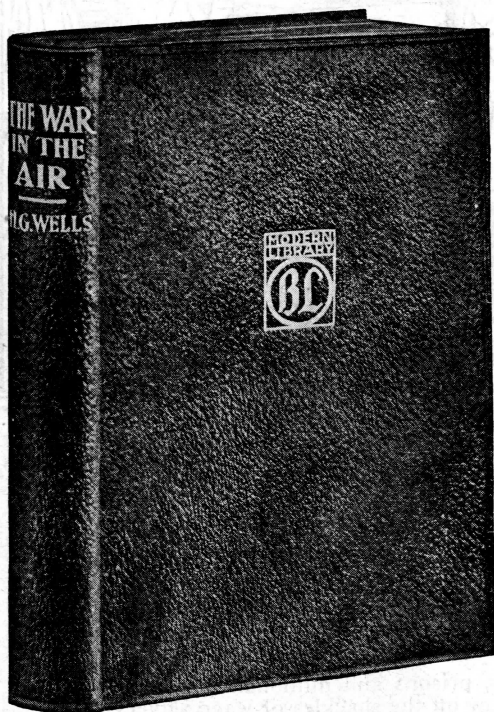
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