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Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives La Monte, William E. Bohn.
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When he who feeds and clothes and houses the world makes up his mind.....?



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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XV

FEBRUARY, 1915

No. 8



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FRENCH WORKERS IN VINEYARDS NEAR EPERNAY, FRANCE. NOTE THE INDIFFERENCE OF THE WORKERS TO THE PASSING FRENCH SOLDIERS.

GERMAN SOCIALISM IN THE WAR

By ANTON PANNEKOEK

A TERRIBLE breakdown of the German social democracy—and of the Socialist movement in the other countries—came when the European war broke out. Before that German socialism seemed full size and full strength, admired by the Socialists of the world as an example no other country had been able to equal; those who knew how things were on the inside, however, were aware that not everything was as good and strong as it seemed. Now all socialism seems suddenly to have disappeared; now it is commonly believed in foreign countries that the entire party, filled with enthusiasm for the kaiser, has fallen into the worst kind of chauvinism.

But appearances are deceptive in this case also. Socialism is not completely dead, and it has already been made clear more than once, by bringing together evidence from the newspapers and other periodicals, that a part of the party still stands by the old flag. It is of the greatest importance for the American comrades to find out and to understand what is going on in the German Socialist movement in wartime.

German socialism was not in a position to hinder the war by energetic action; in the mood prevailing at the time, the leaders never thought of doing so for a moment. The party consequently might have made a declaration like this: "We are opposed to



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all wars; it was our wish to keep the war from breaking out, but we are too weak, and every effort is useless. With a heavy heart our workmen bend to the inevitable; gritting their teeth they march away to the war, vowing in their hearts to take up the struggle for socialism again as soon as the position of the government seems to be shattered." Such a confession of their own weakness would have been a come-down, of course, from their proud declarations of other days, but the courage of its sincerity no one could have called in question. But no such declaration was made. The group in the Reichstag voted the war-credit unanimously. This especially is what the comrades in other countries did not understand, for the party by this act sided with the war, assumed responsibility for the war, declared its solidarity with the government, placed itself in the service of German imperialism, and tore to pieces the International of the proletariat.

To understand this act, it is necessary to have a clear insight into the different tendencies that stood side by side in the German party. As regards the reformists, who in recent years controlled about a third of the party, held about half of its seats in the Reichstag, and included about all the officials of the trade-unions, this attitude is at once comprehensible: they always tried to change the class struggle into a struggle for minor improvements, in which they joined forces with a part of the bourgeoisie; they would hear nothing of revolution; they had a nationalist and middle-class mentality. Of the radicals the greater half were neither hot nor cold; under the leadership of Kautsky and the executive committee of the party, they clung fast to the "old, tried tactics," would hear nothing of aggressive, revolutionary movements, and so, as a matter of course, they fell into opportunism practically, though still retaining the old phrases; to this group belongs the majority of the party bureaucrats. They stood confused in the face of the threatening war, without strength and also without enthusiasm, and looked for a middle course that would not bring the party into opposition with the national current. The rest of the radicals, generally referred to as the "extreme left," who often stood for revolutionary tactics, wanted the party to protest against the war, and to refuse to vote the war-credit. This faction, which mustered

about a third of the votes at the last national convention of the party, is still, as a matter of fact, far from being uniform and clear in its aims, but there are in it some men well informed on imperialism and some advocates of aggressive tactics. However, in the caucus of the Socialist element in the Reichstag, in which this matter was to be settled, only about seventeen men stood by their proposal to vote against the measure. The overpowering majority of reformists and old radicals were for voting in favor of it. So the Socialist group in the public session of the Reichstag voted the war-credit. Could not the seventeen opponents have voted "No" also in the public session? It is an old custom for the Socialist group in the Reichstag to stand as a compact, uniform body, whose members give their votes not according to their personal judgment but according to the decision of the party. In this custom lies a mighty force; not chance opinions of single individuals but the decisions of the workmen who make up the party decide the attitude of the party in parliament. The reformists have often opposed this custom, because they would like to have a free field of activity for their personal shrewdness and for political deals with capitalistic parties. But then the force of the distinctive class struggle against the whole capitalist world would be broken, consequently these efforts were always discouraged. It is true, a formal resolution was never drawn up, declaring that Socialist legislators should follow the majority of the party group unconditionally and mechanically; the discipline was nothing but generally recognized normal rules. Because of these rules of discipline it did not occur to the opposition to take a stand against the majority in the open session. Besides, it demanded extraordinary courage and a great deal of it, in the face of the dignified enthusiasm of public sentiment, to take a stand in opposition; and what arguments could they have offered, since the government had arranged everything so neatly that no one doubted that Germany was the victim of a malicious aggression, and wanted to do nothing but defend its national existence and its civilization?

Four months of the war passed by, and the effects of the war inside the country were seen. They were such as could have been expected. No opposition had arisen on August 4th. Consequently the military

government was able to manage things to its own liking. Military censorship was established over the entire press. That dangerous war news about movements of troops should be carefully looked after and suppressed when necessary, goes without saying, but the censorship went further. It looked upon it as its duty to see that "the splendid harmony that our people show in war time" should not be disturbed by preachers of discontent; that is to say, the military censorship became a means for the suppression of socialism. It is true, the prohibitive regulations against the social democracy were done away with, and its press was admitted to the army—the military authorities were wise enough to make friends with the Socialist press, which could preach no class struggle, however, because of the censorship. In the Red Cross and food supply commissions delegates from the trade-unions and the party were given places along with the capitalist members, for the latter were unable to handle all the work. This outward recognition of equality, which contrasted so sharply with the former exclusion and contemptuous disqualification, had completely turned the heads of a good many party members; it seemed to them that this marked the beginning of a time of liberty and equality. But at the same time an open word of criticism, of struggle against the bourgeoisie, of socialism, was hindered as far as possible by the military censorship. "*Vorwaerts*" had to make a promise to publish nothing further about the class struggle; otherwise it would not have been permitted to appear again. And in Thuringia the military commander simply suspended the paragraphs of the constitution which grant every citizen the right of free speech and of association and assembly. Only a few papers which before had sought for Socialist strength above all in thorough enlightenment and not merely in sharp words were able to maintain a Socialist standpoint even under these circumstances. The most of them were reduced to colorless labor papers.

And against this condition of affairs the party had no strength for resistance. It is true, there were everywhere larger or smaller groups of radical workingmen who held fast to the class struggle, who understood the nature of the war, exasperated at nationalism—but the apparent unity of the group in the Reichstag robbed them of all

confidence in themselves. If the representatives of the extreme left had spoken their "No" in public, they would have become the leaders around whom all Socialists could rally, who at that time or later were willing to take a stand against the war; in this way the opposition would have become a well defined force. As it is, the silence of the minority group means also to them, "Say nothing and submit." So they were weak and powerless against the prevailing current.

On the other hand, the reformists were in ecstasy; they had reached the goal of their wishes, suspension of the class struggle, recognition of the social democracy as a respectable party with equal rights with other parties, fraternal relations with the bourgeoisie. A good many of their papers outdid the capitalist press in chauvinism, and stirred up bad feeling against foreign countries—so that even the more moderate elements got disgusted with it. One of their most important organs (the Chemnitz paper), expressed the opinion that anyone who wrote as he should write would not need to feel that the censorship was hindering him. In a trade-union paper appeared the statement that the comrades who did not like the new turn of affairs and wanted to criticise would have to be thrown out of the party. The active, radical workingmen of Stuttgart, who in long years of struggle had shaken off the yoke of the reformist leadership of the party in Wuerttemberg, and had got control over the party paper in Stuttgart, saw themselves robbed again of their paper by an act of violence. In short, the reformists feel they are masters of the party, and are trying to take advantage of the situation to serve their ends. They make a great deal of the tactics followed as a victory for socialism: First, because the government recognizes them; second, because the government often has to take forcible possession of private property on account of the war, and for war supplies has to undertake a good deal of industrial organization—all this so many steps in the direction of socialism, say the reformists.

In reality the industrial measures of the government are nearly all undertaken as means of caring for capital. The war loan of five billions was a fine deal for capital, which looked forward in advance to sure gain from it. Millions were made by furnishers of war supplies. But the working masses suffered severely. The outbreak of

the war brought on a terrible derangement of the industrial life of all countries, a crisis of great consequence even in America. In Germany the percentage of people out of work, in spite of the large number of soldiers in the field, rose in August to 25 per cent; it sank to 15 per cent only in the following months, as industrial life gradually accommodated itself to the situation, and people went to work on all hands in providing war supplies.

What did the government do to help those in want? Nothing. The unemployed were left to be cared for by private charity. However, a capitalist paper in the middle of November had the following to say: "Private charity has shown itself wholly insufficient; so far only three million marks have been collected, and less and less is coming in all the time; the government must take up the matter." But why should the government take action? A possessing class does something only when it feels itself threatened by the suffering of those in want, but the masses made no movement and found no leadership in an opposition party that would take a strong stand in their favor against the government. When the leaders of the working people lull the masses to sleep with the song of the fatherland in danger, the government needs to take no thought then as to how the masses are to be cared for.

And then came the rise in prices in addition to all this. The war cut off the importation of grain; it was explained, of course, that Germany had of its own harvest nearly enough for a whole year, but wild speculation drove prices continually higher and higher. The government had secured the right to fix maximum prices, but it looked on without taking action till the speculators had gathered in their profit; then in November it set maximum prices that were far too high. Not only for the unemployed but also for the families of the soldiers, who received an extra allowance from the empire, this meant extreme poverty.

In the meantime the true character of the war had come into a better light. Under the appearance of a defensive war, it is in reality a war for world-power, for a stronger position in the world. That is given out without any attempt at concealment in a recently published work of the imperialistic writer, Paul Rohrbach. And the most influential capitalist circles have been demanding the annexation of conquered Belgium, the

extension of Germany to the Atlantic coast, the partition of Russia, the degradation of England, an increase in the number of colonies and the lion's share in the opening-up of the Asiatic and Oriental world, without any disavowal whatever coming from the government. So it becomes evident even in Germany that the workingmen had allowed themselves to be deceived early in August.

Under these circumstances the Reichstag assembled again on December 2 to approve another war loan of five billions for the government. Must not the social democracy vote this time different from August 4? In the press it was insisted upon, especially by Bernstein, that a different attitude should be assumed this time, seeing that the war has changed its character, as we are told; in August a war against barbaric Russia was promised us, and now it is a war against democratic France, against innocent Belgium, against free England. Of course, all this argumentation is nonsense; the war is in December what it was in August—a war for world-power. But it was also not to be expected that the social democratic group in the Reichstag would say, "We walked into a trap that time, but no more of that for us." The reformists were entirely satisfied and patriotic; the old radicals were befogged as usual.

But what was not to be expected from the entire group might now have been expected from the minority of the extreme left. This time they could have given their votes in the open session of the Reichstag against the war credit. They had had plenty of time to see the bad effects of the tactics previously followed; how the radical workingmen had lost their bearings; how the impudence of the reformists in the party and the impudence of the military government from above, which worked hand in hand to keep down the opposition, kept growing all the time. They could now point out the true imperialistic character of the war.

But they kept silent. Only one had the courage to say "No." This one was *Karl Liebknecht*, alone among 397 members of the Reichstag; alone among 110 Socialists; alone among more than a dozen revolutionary Socialists.

Among the members of the left there is more than one better informed on imperialism and who can make finer speeches on the subject than Liebknecht. But in such times as the present it is not so much a case of

information as it is of *courage*; not so much a matter of fine, ringing words as of *fearless action*.

Courage is no rare quality. Millions of soldiers risk their lives because they believe they are fighting for the safety of their country. Thousands of Socialists have made extreme sacrifices for their great cause. In every group of persons with common interests the individual must sacrifice himself for the good of the whole body; the approval, the praise, the admiration, the respect of their comrades is the reward for which they endure stout-hearted all the trials and suffering. But very uncommon is the *moral courage* to turn against a person's own comrades when it seems they are going the wrong way, and then to bear quietly their reproaches, their slander, their hatred. The better the group is organized for the struggle on the outside, the firmer consequently is the discipline, the greater is the moral courage necessary to disregard it. In the German social democracy this discipline was so highly developed because the movement was always in great danger from a powerful enemy and constantly under at-

tack. Now when this discipline has become a reactionary force, since it serves to break up all opposition to fraternal relations with the bourgeoisie, the effect of the old custom and sentiment is still the same. It was unfortunately still so strong that it was able to keep down the opposition of the extreme left. It is consequently to be considered all the more praiseworthy that one was able to free himself from it.

The executive committee of the party has already sent out a threatening warning regarding this "breach of discipline." But thousands of Socialists in all countries will greet his act as an act of obedience to Socialist principle, as the proof that in Germany also a small beginning is being made in opposition to the imperialistic war. Thousands of workingmen will side with Liebknecht; will gather round him, and so form the nucleus of the army which, when the old, the worn-out, the strengthless, has gone down in the whirlpool of the world-war, will again take up the revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

(Translated by Alfred D. Schoch).



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DEAD AUSTRIANS IN THE STREETS OF BELGRADE.



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DEAD AUSTRIANS IN THE STREETS OF BELGRADE.



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RUSSIAN SOLDIERS CAPTURED BY THE GERMANS RESTING ALONG THE ROADSIDE. THEY ARE BEING TAKEN TO THE CONCENTRATION CAMP AT LONICZYCA.

THE RUSSIAN MENACE

By AUSTIN LEWIS

THE Russian menace is the German apology for the war. It is the backbone of the Teutonic case.

The Social Democrats justify their repudiation of internationalism and the tenets of Socialism, by the threat of Russian aggression, and see themselves as heroes, battling against Slavic hordes which would otherwise overwhelm Europe in a flood of Oriental savagery.

They crush the life out of Belgium; they devastate Northern France; they exchange the doctrines of Marx for those of Von Bernhardi, but to defend themselves against invasion from Russia. They burn the library at Louvain as a protest against degrading doctrines of the Orthodox church and they batter down the cathedral at Rheims to show their contempt for the Kremlin.

To all charges of cowardice and lack of good faith, the official social democrats reply with the single word—Russia. It is their motive, their excuse, even their justification.

It was a groundless and stupid government-manufactured terror which swept the German social democrats off their feet and caused them to sacrifice their place in the international movement. It was justifiable in terms neither of fact nor of theory. The terror of Russian invasion was carefully cultivated by the German military staff, under whose inspiration the Russian government acted in its worst moments, for it is fairly well agreed among all who have studied the question, from the point of view of the proletarian movement, that the Petrograd government was encouraged in its worst excesses from Potsdam and that



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the Prussian ministry was more afraid of the progress of the Russian revolutionary movement than of any schemes of territorial aggrandizement which might temporarily engage the attention of the Tsar's advisers. This fact has been recognized indeed by Russian democrats of all shades and they hail the war as a deliverance from maleficent Prussian influence.

As between the economic and industrial development of the two countries there can, of course, be no question of German superiority. As regards revolutionary potentiality, however, no such positive statement can be made. This is a matter on which there may be some latitude of opinion. Thus we find Geo. D. Herron stating "Russia is completely invaded by a true and always growing revolutionary spirit. Russia today is immeasurably nearer to liberty than Germany and its best representatives have a greater and more spiritual culture than the Germans."

But without taking any such advanced views and without laying stress upon those qualities of "spiritual culture," which are at the best somewhat elusive, the threat to the advance of the working class implied in a Russian victory is not nearly so great as the speakers and writers of the military group in Germany would have us believe. The German social democrats appear to have been too easily misled in this matter.

Kautsky has recently, with highly commendable courage, called attention to this. In a recent number of "Neue Zeit" he points out that the war cannot last long without the Tsar being obliged to make notable concessions and grants of popular liberty, which, once being given, cannot be again taken back. He regards the modernization of the "Russian Colossus" by means of the war as unavoidable, and declares that when once this tendency becomes apparent, Russia would cease to be an obstacle in the path of European democracy and would become hostile to the military powers.

From any angle, of course, the downfall of Tsarism is overwhelmingly important, sufficiently so indeed to justify almost any sacrifice. One is driven to agreement with William English Walling, who states that the sacrifice of a million French and English lives is not too great a price to pay for such a result.

But the downfall of Tsarism is in-

volved not in German victory but in that of the Allies. Victorious Potsdam would not destroy Tsarism; on the contrary, it would sustain and encourage it. Autocracy is the very last thing that the German military party would willingly injure; it would much prefer to devote itself to the crippling of democracy.

It is true that Kautsky does not so regard the matter. He considers that the triumph of the Allies might still further increase the power of the Tsar. This does not, however, agree with his other contention that the development of the war must itself necessitate the spread of liberalism in Russia.

Plechanoff, the Great Russian Marxist, puts the matter more satisfactorily from the Socialist standpoint. He says, "Germany would impose upon Russia such onerous conditions as would render her further economic evolution exceedingly difficult. But as economic evolution is the basis of social and political evolution, Russia would lose all or nearly all the chances of bringing Tsarism to an end."

This evidently rests upon the very sound Marxian hypothesis which predicates political progress upon economic progress. It seems to meet the situation and agrees with the conclusions of Kropotkin, who, not being a Marxist, must have arrived at his results by a different route. Kropotkin says, "The Russian autocracy will never more be established in the forms which it had before 1905. The warlike spirit would be absolutely incompatible with the Federation Russia is bound to become in the very near future."

In fact, the Russian autocracy is a decaying institution and cannot find any means of maintaining itself. It rests upon no sound economic foundation and has not the support of any solid economic class. The peasantry which might naturally be supposed to be its adherent, as in this stage of social development elsewhere in Europe, is not so. On the contrary, much revolutionary activity has proceeded from the rural population. The squires, who have been such an obstacle in the path of social progress in England and Germany, have no real influence in Russia. The state of mind of the rural population is chaotic, the old ideas being shattered and nothing definite having succeeded. Hence the very fact of the war

with its gathering of agriculturists and industrialists from all parts of the Russian empire is a revolutionary factor of no small significance.

The industrial development which Russia must experience at the close of the war is in itself the best guarantee of her future democratization. Moreover, the addition of the new Slavic peoples which will follow from the victory of the Allies is another factor tending to the destruction of the autocracy. The Slav is by no means essentially Russian, in any limited sense; quite the contrary. The autocracy is the one thing which stands in the way of the successful welding of the Slavic peoples into a great federation and, in face of the overwhelming tendency towards union, the autocracy must go. The one possibility for the continued maintenance of the Russian autocracy lies in German victory, for, then, the force of the triumphant German war party would be devoted to the maintenance of the autocracy and the destruction of popular democratic movements in Russia.

Let the industrial process develop in Russia, as it necessarily must, if victory rests with the arms of the Allies, and the Russian autocracy, with all that it implies, will disappear, and Russia will take her place among the industrial people of the West. This is all that can be expected, even under the best circumstances, for Russia cannot avoid that process of economic development which is an essential preliminary of the revolutionary state of mind.

To place her where this development can proceed effectively and where industrial evolution may advance with the least possible friction is the necessary and useful function of this war. To build up a class whose economic interests are in antagonism to the rule of the autocracy and which will necessitate the growth of the modern industrialist and syndicalistic movement, is the most that we can hope for Russia, as, indeed, it is the most that we can desire for any country at this time. And such a consummation can only be speedily and effectively attained by the victory of the Allies.

Keeping these essentials of Marxism in mind, it is not so difficult to understand statements of Herron and others which otherwise might appear to be exaggerated, with reference to the revolutionary poten-

tialities of Russia. Even Kautsky, by virtue of his essentially robust Marxism, regards Russia as a potential liberator rather than as an eternal menace.

Recent facts in connection with this war tend to confirm faith in the revolutionary fighting qualities of the Russian people. The stand of certain members of the Duma at this crisis, in spite of tremendous personal risks, has been admirable. It is in brilliant contrast to that the German social democrats, whose awful surrender will be for many years a hissing and a by-word in the revolutionary movement. The industrial strikes of 1905 left very little to be desired from a people so recently introduced to modern industrial life.

The remarkable development of literature steeped in the best modern revolutionary thought is in startlingly violent contrast to the achievements of the German nation during the later years while Germany has lain supine under the spell of the military clique, which has, as Nietzsche so remarkably prophesied, strangled the intellectual life of the nation, weakened its imagination and compelled it to a fetish worship of big siege guns and Zeppelins. Russia, backward and ignorant as are her people, has intellectuals who are not content to lean upon a fatalistic worship of mere material power but who have a fervent and almost childlike faith in the efficacy of revolution and the potentiality of the great idea.

The Slav is not essentially military. Of the wars in recent times the Russo-Turkish involving as it did things vital to the Russian nation was popular, as is the present war, for much the same reason. But the war with Japan, which was purely a military enterprise, was decidedly unpopular and provoked the distinct hostility of the masses. The present war, moreover, besides being generally popular, has the support of the radicals of Russia.

The German military system, which has invaded every department of German life, has also permeated the Socialist movement. Thus, the social democratic party was so involved in the red tape of officialdom that when the war came it was strangled in the meshes of its own ultra-efficiency.

Apart, however, from the purely revolutionary aspect of the matter, the victory of the Allies is fraught with potentiality for future development of the proletarian move-

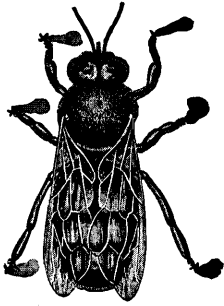
ment, owing to the inevitable political and geographical changes, since the Allies are bound to the doctrine of the small nationality based on racial lines. Finland, Poland, the Southern Slavs, Alsace Lorraine are all likely to be the beneficiaries of the victory of the Allies. The treatment of the Poles by the Germans has provoked the liveliest antagonism among them against Germany. The Poles look consequently to Russia as a deliverer. The same state of feeling predominates in Galicia, the inhabitants of which district would prefer Russian rule to the continuance of Teutonic domination. It has been the misfortune of the German government that by its very rigidity and efficiency it has failed to win the adherence of the non-Teutonic peoples which have come under its control. In all the more recently acquired Teutonic possessions, European and colonial, we find the same conditions. Even the Boers, who were possible friends, became so disgusted with the German official system in the Herero war that the chance of a Boer revolt against England and in favor of Germany was doomed to failure from the start.

A release of these minor national groups from the government which they detest cannot but tend in the direction of greater democracy and a fair field for the social revolution. An Ireland united against an oppressive England cannot develop real revolutionary force. The tyranny of its foreign oppressor outweighs the tyranny of the local industrialist. Political freedom, at least to the extent of local self-government, seems to be an essential preliminary to social and political movements. Russia, on the question of local autonomy,

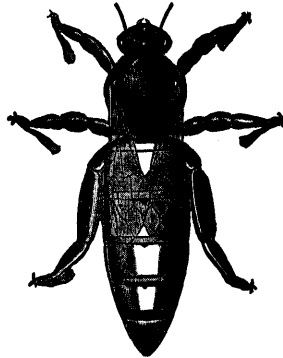
seems to be committed to the policy laid down by the Allies, at least in all of their declarations since the war began. The break-up of the Turkish power which will now follow directly upon the heels of the victory of the Allies, should that occur, will of itself set Europe free from the constant menace which the maintenance of Turkish rule in Europe has always laid upon the European communities. This will in turn still further liberate small local communities which must in time attain self-government and render them open to capitalistic exploitation and hence to industrial evolution.

In all of these ways the power of Russia as an aggressive and threatening factor in the future of Europe is limited so that the empire of the Muscovite no longer looms as the terrifying danger which it formerly did. A Russia purged of absolutism and safely embarked upon the road to industrial development, a Russia whose real genius will have at last its opportunity of self-expression, will not be the least of the blessings following the smashing of the Prussian war machine.

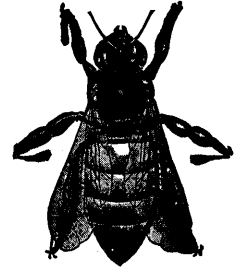
Even some of the greatest of the German social democrats are now contemplating this possibility of a regenerated and progressive Russia as a result of the war. The scare of a Russian barbaric invasion having served its purpose in hoodwinking and misleading the social democrats, we shall hear no more of it. On the other hand, if Germany wins, the backwardness of Russia will be used as an excuse for the employment of that petty militaristic tyranny with which Zabern was associated before the war.



DRONE.



QUEEN.



WORKER.

“OVER-TIME” FOR THE BUSY BEE

By FRANK BOHN

I DON'T know how many billion bees there are at work in America, but the census of 1910 shows that their total product in America in 1909 amounted to fifty-five millions of pounds valued at nearly six millions of dollars. Perhaps you expect me to describe how terribly these proverbially busy workers are being exploited. But for once the readers of the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* are going to be disappointed. Here is a tale of industrial revolution and typically modern methods without a sob in it anywhere—at least none that I can find.

The Machine on the Job

In the A. I. Root factory at Medina, Ohio, where most of our bee-keeping supplies are made, I stood and watched a wonderful mechanic device. It was not a machine which makes honey—no machine can do that. But this machine does the next thing to it. It makes the “foundation” for honey; that is, it presses bees-wax into forms, which, placed inside the hive, save the bees half their labor. Thus it doubles the product. A colony, or a hive of bees, which would ordinarily turn out twenty pounds of honey will turn out fifty pounds where this “foundation” is used. A thin sheet of wax runs over a cylindrical steel form and comes out with the peculiar tri-

angular impressions which is the beginning of the first row of hexagonal cells with which the bees start the honey comb. In all America there is just one machine for making the metal cylinders for use in the machines which turn out the “foundation.” I went in and saw it work. Two men could carry it upstairs—this 200 pounds of slow-moving cog-wheels and sharp-edged knives, which doubles the honey yield. From it I went straight to its off-spring, a machine which turns out the “foundation.” Regularly, about twice a second, it discharges its curiously wrought strip of wax which is equivalent in labor to six pounds of honey and which would probably require six weeks of painstaking labor on the part of the wax-producing bees for duplication.

There is an odd story about a bee-keeper who mated fire-flies with honey-bees in order that they might work nights. Numerous devices which have been practiced strongly remind one of this joke. Mr. Root, by careful breeding, produced a queen bee with a tongue three-sixteenths of an inch long. So the working organs of her daughters (working bees are all females) reached considerably farther into the roses and honey-suckle blossoms than those of any other bees.

How much more these bees could gather than bees with ordinary tongues I do not know. Unfortunately, the valuable Queen Mother, for which a German bee-keeper offered hundreds of dollars, was killed at an early age by poison brought from a sprayed fruit tree.

Then another fortunate idea, fulfilling the second part of the fire-fly story, occurred to one of the Messrs. Root. In the late autumn, when frost had killed the last goldenrod and aster in Ohio, the Root Company shipped two hundred colonies of bees south. These, set to work in the vicinity of the luxurious vegetation of southern swamps, gave a double meaning to the old song of the "busy bee," which is supposed to point so valuable a moral to idle children.

The First Great Change

At first honey-loving people who kept bees simply appropriated what sweets they found wild. Bees were tracked home to a cleft in the rocks or a hollow tree. Even today country boys in some sections of the country find "wild honey" in the woods. The bees when smoked out of their homes either perish or starve the following winter.

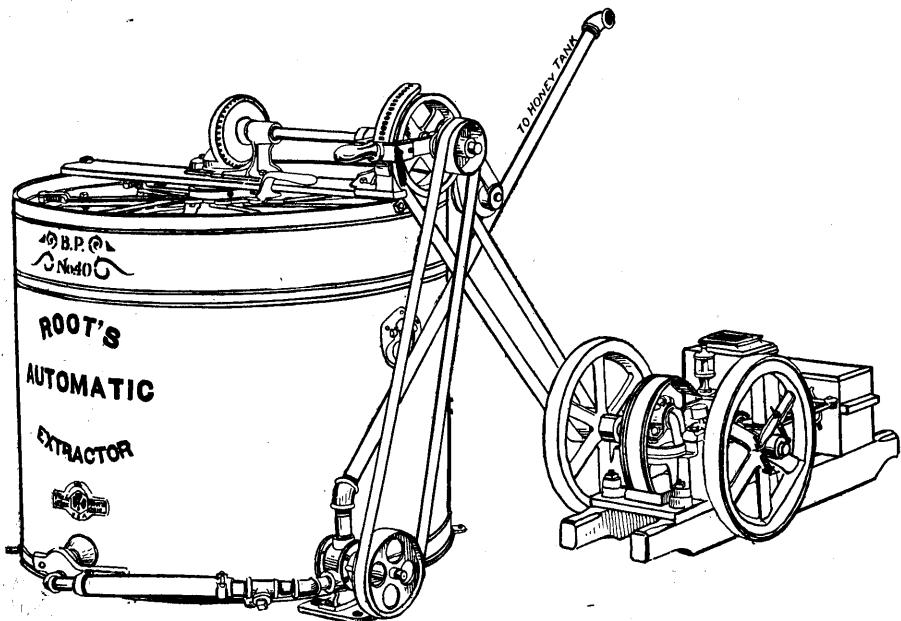
The first bee-keepers in modern times used the skep. This tightly wrought form of straw, which looked much like an inverted bowl, housed a colony of bees for

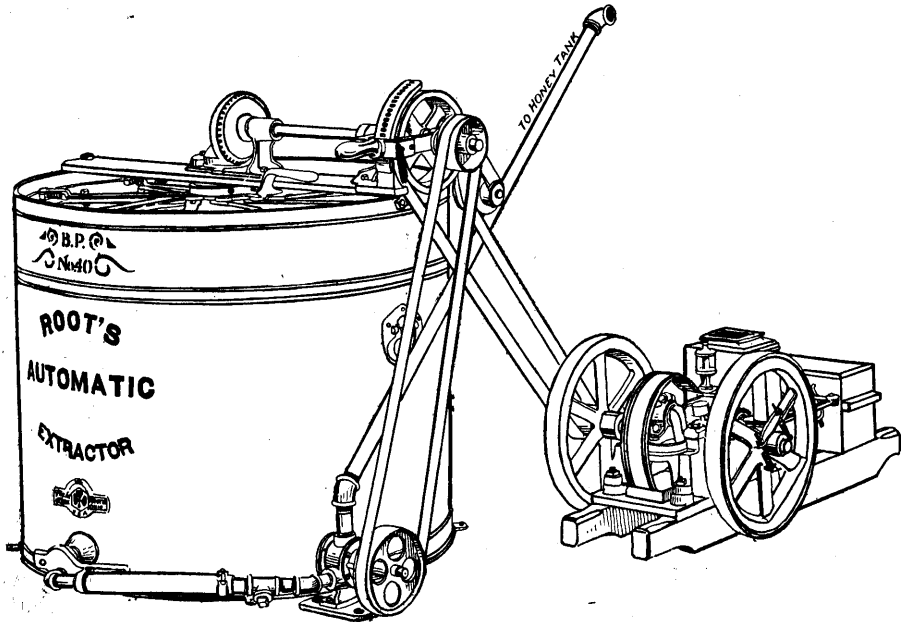
one season only. They deposited the honey comb on the inside of the skep and at the end of the honey season the bee-keeper destroyed the bees by burning brimstone underneath. The skep was then turned over and the honey taken out with a spoon.

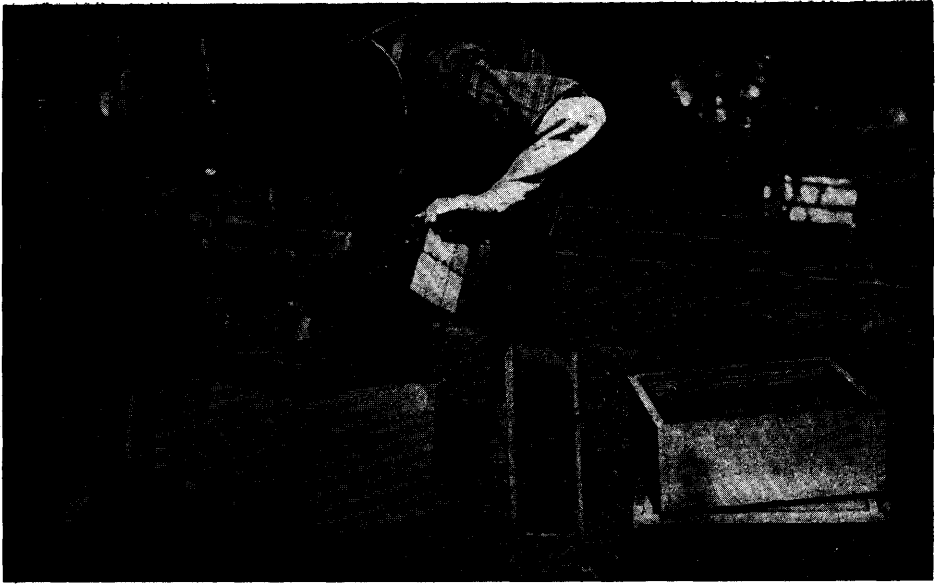
It was about 1840 when a man named Langstroth invented the movable hive. This permitted a colony to work year after year and in reality created bee-keeping as an industry.

As in other industries, the past twenty years witnessed the marvelous mechanical changes we have already described. Bee-keeping has become industrialized. It is conducted for profits by bee-keepers who often devote themselves exclusively to this industry. At the Root plant in Medina, honey is received in the comb from Missouri, California, Maine and the West Indies. From there it is distributed nation wide. Perhaps thirty per cent is consumed in the comb. The remaining seventy per cent is extracted and put in omnipresent tin can or glass bottle. The honey-bee has been organized. Its work is but part of a process. But the profit-producer inside knows as little what has happened as the average human worker in the great hive of the nation's machine industry.

A generation ago the keeping of bees







HANDLING BEES IS AN ART.

was pursued as a pastime or side issue by a few eccentric ladies or gentlemen. Today it is studied as scientifically as dairying and fruit raising. In no industry is the exact knowledge more necessary for success. The habits of the very sentient bees who do the work must be carefully understood. For in this the bees differ from human slaves. The latter conform readily to the requirements of the wage market. The bees have never in the least degree altered their habits to suit him who robs the hive. They must be guarded against cold and disease. The product must be harvested according to fixed rules.

The Honey Extractor

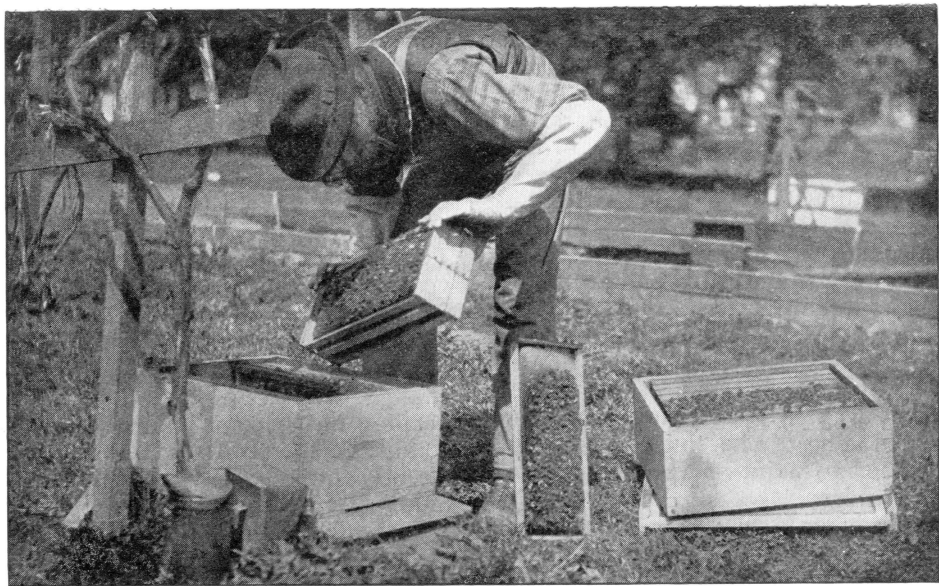
Imagine the honeycomb not in the form of a small pound box, but in pieces of from ten to twenty pounds. The capings of wax which the bees have so carefully placed over the cells are carefully pared off. The comb is then placed in the rotary extractor with the open cells turned outward. This machine is either turned by hand or driven by a gas engine. Centrifugal force throws the honey out of the comb against the side of the press. Two minutes of rapid turning and the work is done. The inner forms are then reversed, the other side of the comb is capped and the process repeated. After the comb is free from honey it is either melted, compressed and sold as beeswax or replaced

in the hives to receive a new deposit of honey.

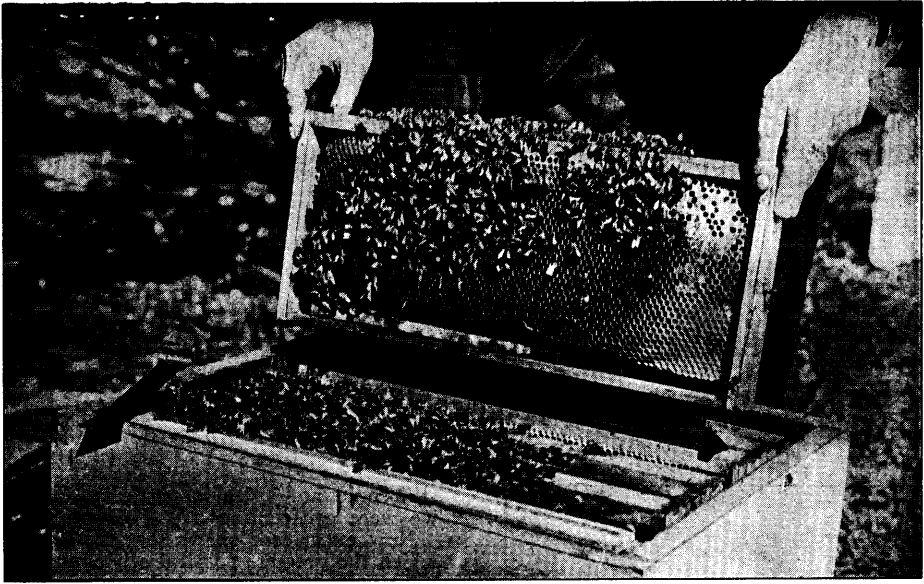
The Basswood Tree

In one of his most delightful essays, entitled "Locusts and Wild Honey," John Burroughs discusses that process of country life whereby the blossom of the buckwheat loses its sweetness to the honeybee in the summer time and then in winter meets its own again in the form of buckwheat pan-cakes and honey. The basswood tree can tell much the same story. Of all the varieties of honey, for there are as many as there are different species of flowers in the fields and woods, that from the basswood blossom is usually considered the most delectable, and it is from the trunk of the basswood tree that the boxes for the pound combs are manufactured. Basswood makes the only cheap lumber which can be cut into the thin strips and then into the square forms without tacking or pasting. Last year the A. I. Root Company turned out twenty-three millions of these forms. Automatic machinery has reduced their hives to half a cent apiece.

In this factory over one hundred mechanical inventions have been perfected for the manufacture of bee-keepers' supplies. Separators are placed between the boxes and the hives in order that all the combs may be made the same size. A



HANDLING BEES IS AN ART.



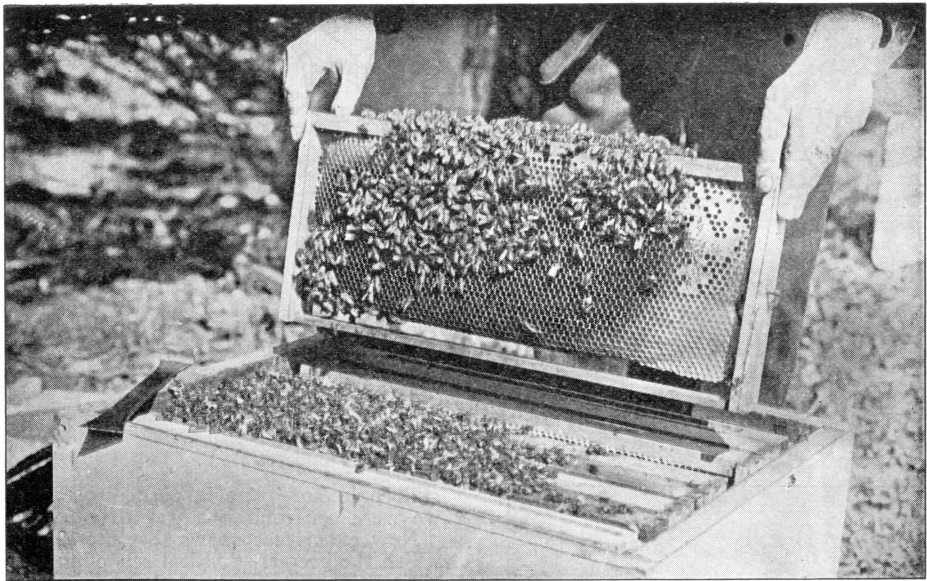
SLIDING A DANZENBAKER FRAME DOWN BETWEEN TWO OTHERS.

thin metal sheet is punched full of holes just large enough to permit the working bees to get out on the job while the queen bee is kept a prisoner in a very small apartment. There is a theory that the honey-bee, through long periods of time, has developed an instinct which guides her in the way of making the most of her time and opportunity. This is not true. Nature is a very lazy as well as a very wasteful worker and performs mighty few tasks so well that human scientific processes cannot improve upon them. Honey-making is no exception. Observed and studied until her inmost secrets are laid bare, imprisoned and hedged about a hundred devices of wood and metal, "the busy little bee," whose habits man is told to study for his moral improvement, has now been fitted into a mechanical system without which bee-

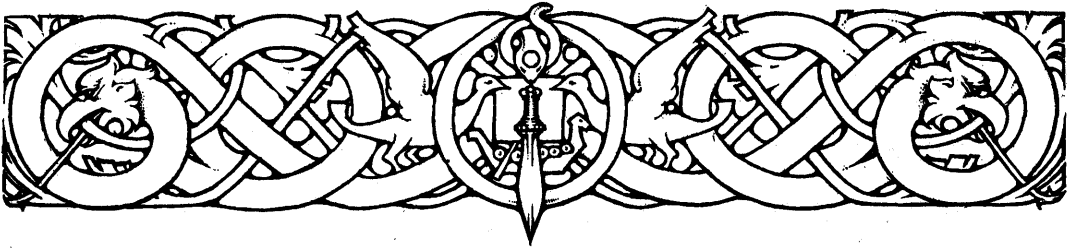
keeping as a profitable industry would be impossible.

The Future of Bee-Keeping

Here is an industry limited only by the number of persons who are moved to enter it. For every pound of honey which is gathered and deposited in the little wax cells, there are tons which "waste their sweetness on the desert air." And the more bees are kept the more flowers will grow, because, biologically, the honey is produced by the flowers for the purpose of attracting the pollen-carrying insects. Orchards will produce more fruit if visited by bees. If Americans should perchance desire to eat a billion pounds of honey a year instead of fifty millions, that amount could easily be produced. All that is required is a present rise in price. It bids fair, with rising prices of food-stuffs, to become a really great industry.

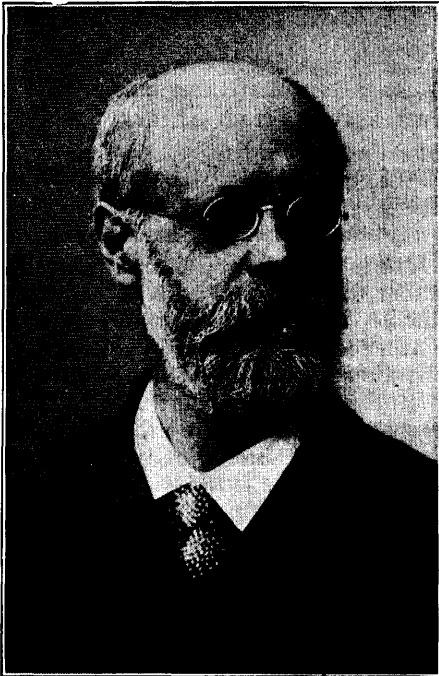


SLIDING A DANZENBAKER FRAME DOWN BETWEEN TWO OTHERS.



KARL KAUTSKY ON THE WAR

[Translated From Die Neue Zeit]



KARL KAUTSKY.

AT the outbreak of a war not only did both parties appeal to the same God for the protection of their great cause but the populations of both sides, in a similar way, considered themselves attacked.

This experience caused me in Essen (1907) to oppose the Bebel point of view—one of the few cases in which we differed from one another.

Bebel said at that time:

"I have been asked, and Kautsky too has harped on this same string—what is a war of offense? Well, it would be right sad if today, when large circles of the people interest themselves in politics more and more day by day, we

still could not judge in particular cases whether we were confronting a war of offense or not."

Now experience shows that there are cases in which the greatest political schooling is not sufficient to say forthwith, at the outbreak of a war, and without possibility of disagreement, who is the aggressor. And for this reason, that there are situations in which all the powers engaged run into a blind alley out of which none of them can come without considerable losses in strength and prestige, in which a surrender without struggle would mean a defeat for everyone of them. It often depends upon chance or upon the most various degrees of diplomatic cleverness who delivers the first blow and who appears as the first aggressor.

This time the decision was especially difficult on account of the suddenness with which events broke over our heads and on account of the complications of the policy of alliances which increased from day to day.

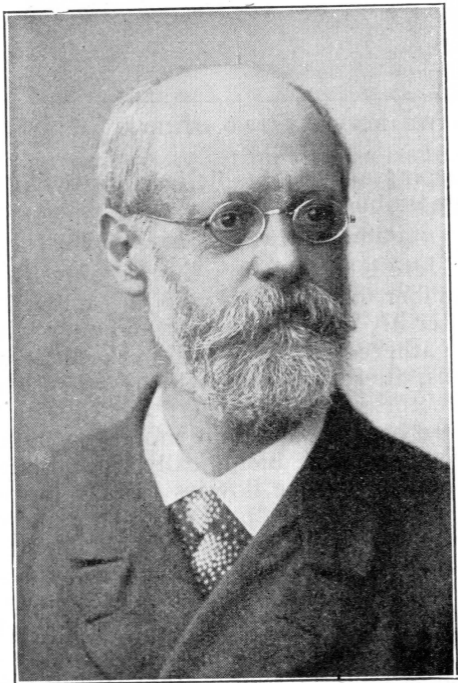
Through these complications even that guide which I offered against Bebel's 'aggressive war' criterion in Essen, lost its definition. I said at that time:

"The German government may one day inform the German proletarians that it is attacked, the French government may do the same for the French proletarians, and we would then have a war in which the German and French proletarians would follow their governments with equal enthusiasm and mutually murder one another and cut one another's throats. That must be avoided and can be avoided if we do not adopt the criterion of aggressive war but that of proletarian interests."

This criterion, too, was considered at the outbreak of the present war on both sides, but, just as with the criterion of aggressive war, it led Germans and French to an opposite standpoint.

Our French comrades issued a manifesto, together with the Belgians, in which they declared they must stand behind their government because on the German side the attack had been willed and because they were defending freedom and justice against German monarchism. * * *

They, therefore, felt themselves obligated to fight as republicans against the Empire, but the



KARL KAUTSKY.

German Social-Democrats for the most part felt the same obligation to fight, for the war appeared to them as a war of a realm with universal and equal suffrage, the right of organization, and freedom of the press against the despotism of the Czarism. The Germans fought simultaneously against the Czar and the Republic. The French simultaneously against German monarchism and for Russian Absolutism. Where does the proletarian and democratic interest lie?

But each time we find that the opposition between German and French Socialists does not lie in the criterion nor in the fundamental point of view but in varying conceptions of the situations, which in turn results from the difference of geographical situation. So that this opposition can scarcely be overcome as long as the war continues. However, it is no opposition of principle but arises from a particular situation which I need not outline.

Naturally, the prevailing view of the German Social-Democracy is not to be confused with that simple popular view, still strong in Germany, which sees in all Russia nothing but Cossacks, Bashkirs, and Kalmucks, servile tools of the Czarism. The colossal transformation through which the Russian people has passed in the last generation is well understood and appreciated in our party, since it made a powerful impression in the Revolution of 1905. We know that democracy is on the march in Russia and that it created a strong movement among the proletarian masses and also in the bourgeoisie before the war. We no longer take the point of view that war against Russia is necessary in order to break the power of the Czar or to protect that of the democracy of Western Europe. On the contrary, the war between Germany and Russia today may—though this result will not necessarily follow—create obstacles for the democracy of both realms, whoever conquers. The view that the war against Russia is just as great a misfortune as any other war, however, does not contradict the conviction that after the war has once broken out the victory of the Czar would be the greatest misfortune of all the misfortunes it might bring.

However, if neither the criterion of aggressive war nor that of the proletarian interest produces in the present situation an equally clear and binding point of view for the comrades of all countries, there nevertheless remains a third criterion. One may dispute who is the attacker and who is the attacked, or which threatens Europe more—a victory of Germany over France or a victory of Russia over Germany; one thing is clear: every people, and the proletariat of every people, has a pressing interest in this: to prevent the enemy of the country from coming over the frontier, as it is this way that the terror and devastation of war reach their most frightful form: that of a hostile invasion. And in every national state the proletariat too must use all its energy to see that the independence and integrity of the national territory is maintained. That is an essential part of democracy, which is a necessary basis for the struggle and the victory of the proletariat. * * *

However, is there not a risk for Socialist thought if one makes one's attitude toward the war depend exclusively on the answer to the question: who is the attacker? Especially if the situation is doubtful and one does not investigate the problem whether the war came out of great historical conflicts which had their roots in economic struggle independent of the motives of individuals. If one further refuses to investigate what will be the political effect of the outcome of the war, but reduces the investigation to a judicial inquiry in order to judge the guilty, who had frivolously produced the monstrous crime of conjuring up a world war for a peace-loving world and forced others to defend themselves against it. In such a view all guilt, all injustice lies on the one side and all justice and right on the other. * * *

The Marxist conception works in quite a different way, for it strives, not to judge, but to understand. In a given case, it may come to the conclusion that the same tendencies prevail among the various Powers and bring them into hostility with one another, that in this relation none has anything of which to accuse the other. If in spite of all efforts of the Social Democracy along this line, a war breaks out, then every nation must protect its skin as well as it can. From this it follows that the Social-Democrats of all nations have the same right or the same duty to take part in this defense; none can attack the other on this ground.

But from this follows also the further duty of the Social Democracy of every country to regard the war exclusively as a defensive war, to set up as its goal only protection from the enemy, not his "punishment" or diminishment. Since this view seeks the cause of war not in the personal badness or the inferiority of the enemy but in objective relations, it will regard the assurance which peace is to bring not to be the discouragement or maiming of the enemy, which would only furnish a new cause of war for the future, but the abolition of conditions which brought about the war. At the present time, that is, imperialistic antagonisms and world armament. * * *

Whether the war is conducted defensively or offensively is a purely military question which has nothing to do with the question whether it is undertaken as a defensive war or as an aggressive war. And every defensive war must finally turn into an offensive war if the campaign is effectively conducted.

At the same time, although the military and political aggressive are to be sharply separated, the military aggressive, as soon as it is carried on with great success, is not without a reaction on foreign politics, and easily colours the latter with its own aggressive character. Thus the character of the war of 1870 was changed. At the beginning it was on the whole an aggressive war of Napoleon, but during its course it took on more and more the character of a defensive war of the French, not only in a military, but also in a political sense. Through such a transformation during the war, the attitude of the Social-Democracy of a country may also change.

KARL KAUTSKY—NATIONALIST

By William English Walling

KAUTSKY says in the above article, that we Socialists cannot be indifferent as to who wins during the war. But according to what principle are we to take sides? He says, expressly, that we are *not* to judge by "the proletarian interests of the world," the principle by which he and all other Socialists have hitherto judged everything and why? Because the Socialists of the various countries do not agree as to where this principle leads during the present war. In other words, because Scheidemann, Suedekum, Fischer, David, Legien and the other German opportunists, craft-unionists, and nationalists, are opposed to Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg, and Clara Zetkin, and pretend to believe that "the proletarian interests of the world" require Germany to win the war, we are to lower this Socialist banner and put another in its place!

We must have a standard that satisfies nationalistic Socialists! And this banner he finds in the principle that the proletarians of all countries must support their governments because there is a possibility of invasion!

Kautsky's article is nationalistic in nearly every paragraph. Thus, in comparing France and Germany, he tells us what the French are fighting *against* and what they are fighting *for*, namely, against Prussian militarism, and for French republicanism and democracy and the Czar. But he only tells us what the Germans are fighting *against*: i. e., Czarism on the one side and republicanism on the other; he does not say what they are fighting *for*, namely, *Prussian militarism*—though he concedes that this is what the Germans are fighting for in another place in his article, when he is not making any comparison between the two countries!

He gives a list of the advantages of German civilization over that of Russian, but he does not give any corresponding list of the advantages of French civilization over German, namely, that they have no semi-absolute monarch, no House of Lords, no subjection of civil to military authority (as we saw in the Zabern affair), no possibility of officers torturing soldiers, without the right of civil trial—except in the penal battalions of Algeria. Rosa Luxemburg's lawyers had

accumulated last spring 32,000 *recent* cases of such cruelties in the German army and over 1,000 Socialists had the courage to volunteer as witnesses.

Kautsky says that we may conclude that "the same tendencies" prevail in all the great nations, and that the Socialists everywhere have the same "duty" to defend their governments. Yet he makes an exception for Russia. The Russian government represents capitalism and imperialism, but it also represents Czarism, and Kautsky admits that the Russian Socialists only do their duty in refusing their support to the Czar in the present war.

The government of Russia is much worse than the government of Prussia; but the government of Prussia, we must remind Kautsky, is just as much inferior to the government of France, which is quite similar to the governments of Great Britain and the United States. These latter governments, *all Socialists have always agreed are thoroughly capitalistic; but they are not reactionary*. They represent the twentieth century and not the eighteenth—and there is *some* difference. On the other hand, *all Socialists have always agreed that the governments of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Hungary are reactionary*, that they represent capitalism *plus* a feudalistic caste system, a landlord nobility, eighteenth century monarchism and militarism. It is too late, simply because the war has broken out, for the Socialists of the last named countries to ask us to forget, what they themselves have a million times declared, that their governments are by far the worst in the world—and that it would be worth an enormous sacrifice for them—even a revolution—merely to establish in their unfortunate countries modern capitalistic governments like those of America, England and France.

Then Kautsky classes Austria as a country of many nationalities and Germany as a national country, which therefore should lose no territory. Yet before the war, even the German Socialists demanded autonomy for Alsace and Lorraine. Why should not the people of Alsace-Lorraine, Schleswig-Holstein and Prussian Poland *themselves* vote the kind of government they want. And if they voted themselves out of Germany,

would Kautsky oppose them? According to the statement just mentioned he would.

Kautsky suggests that the German Socialists may cease to support the Kaiser if it becomes a war of conquest *in the future!* How about the conquest of 95 per cent of Belgium? How about the special efforts of the Kaiser to hold Belgium? If the German Socialist majority does not concede that as a war of conquest, would they ever concede anything as a war of conquest? This statement of Kautsky's, which he has repeated several times, is by far the most radical he has made since the war. That is, on the surface. In view of the *facts* it is a *farce*, a bitter mockery of the Belgian Socialists.

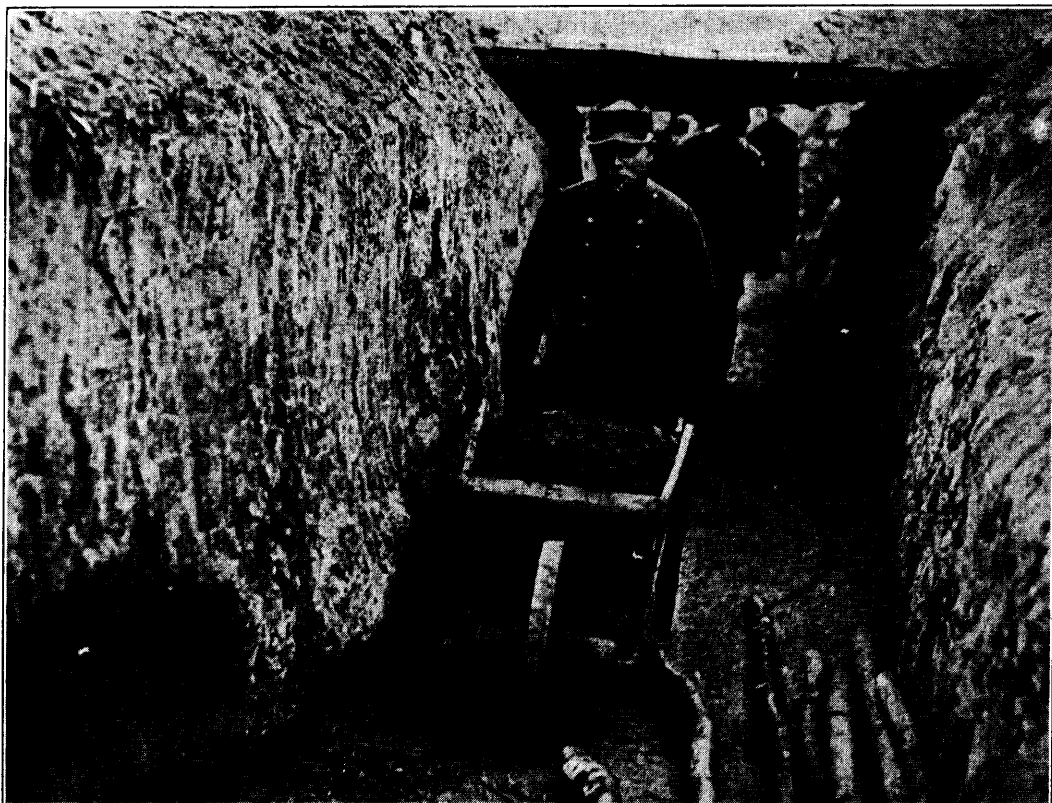
If Kautsky is not a nationalist today there never was one. In a later article he lets the cat out of the bag. There is a conflict between the *immediate* material interests of

the proletarians of Germany and those of other nations [like the conflict of *immediate* interests between craftsmen that we know so well]. The German workers are fighting, says Kautsky, for fear that "the present material basis of their existence may be considerably narrowed" by the defeat of the Kaiser. That is, they are engaged in an economic conflict with the workers of other nations.

If this is not nationalism, then what is?

In fact Kautsky declares himself to be a nationalist. For he favors the internationalism only when it is not in conflict with nationalism; when "*it does not aim at a surrender of national interests.*"

This is like a person that says he stands for the working-class, *except when there is a conflict of interest between the working-class and the capitalist class.*



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ON THE FIRING LINE IN WESTERN FRANCE. THE ALLIES HAVE DUG HUNDREDS OF MILES OF TRENCHES ALONG THE BATTLE FRONT.



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PARLIAMENTARISM AND ECONOMIC ACTION

PARLIAMENTARISM showed itself utterly futile in the European crisis. The supreme utility attached to parliamentarism was a strong factor in destroying the morale and taming the fighting energy of the German Socialist movement. Marx bitterly satirized those who consider parliamentarism creative and dynamic. Even had the German Socialists had the will to oppose the war, what effective means could they have adopted? Parliament had no control over events; all the Socialist parliamentarians could have done was to vote against the war credits, which would not have averted war. The unions had no initiative, the political movement having always played the dominant rôle. A general Strike? But a General Strike implies virile economic organization, conscious of its power and aware of its decisive utility, accustomed to playing a leading part and not acting in obedience to a parliamentary-mad bureaucracy. The German Social Democracy has always denied the unions any vital function, conceiving them as an auxiliary of minor importance with no revolutionary mission to perform.

Parliament—political government—is essentially a bourgeois institution, developed by the bourgeois in their fight against feudalism, and expressing bourgeois requirements of supremacy. Socialism, of course, cannot ignore political government; it is an expression of class war in capitalist society, and political action becomes a necessary form of action. But the proletariat must develop its own fighting expression, its own organ of government—the revolutionary union. Socialism seeks not control of the State, but the destruction of the State.

The revolutionary union alone is capable of dynamic, creative action.

Economic action assumes dominance in our tactics as the Socialist movement becomes more definite and aggressive; political action becomes an auxiliary. Revolutionary unionism develops the initiative and virility of the proletariat, unites the proletariat as a fighting force. It organizes the proletariat not alone for every-day struggles but for the final struggle against Capitalism. Revolutionary unionism prepares the workers for their historic mission of ending political government and establishing an industrial government—the “administration of things.” Revolutionary Unionism, finally, can secure for the workers all necessary immediate reforms through their own efforts, without the action of the State. In this process Revolutionary Unionism develops itself as the means for the overthrow of State Socialism.

These are the larger outlines visible in the future of Socialism. The Great War will simply produce new conditions for new Socialist action—not the Revolution. Socialists have believed that a universal war such as that now in progress would end in Revolution. In a letter I received recently Lucien Sanial says: “The present European War is pregnant with a mighty revolution.” Engels prophesied revolution as a consequence of the Great War which “must either bring the immediate victory of Socialism, or it must upset the old order of things from head to foot and leave such heaps of ruins behind that the old capitalistic society will be more impossible than ever and the social revolution though put off until ten or fifteen years later, would surely conquer after that time all the

more rapidly, and all the more thoroughly." But it is now clear that the Great War does not mean Revolution; all it will do is provide the necessary

factors for new Socialist action productive of ultimate revolution. Let us direct our efforts accordingly.—Louis Fraina, *New Review*.

TO THE SOCIALIST PUBLIC

THE Socialist International is now in process of being re-organized.

It must be reorganized. That conclusion is apparently unanimous, whatever disagreement may exist as to the basis of re-organization.

Upon an adequate re-organization largely depends the rapidity of *Socialist* progress after the Great War.

The discussion of the basis of re-organization, accordingly, assumes an immediate and vital importance.

The organized and un-organized Socialist sentiment of the world must seriously discuss the problem, arrive at some measure of unanimity, and assert itself insistently in the re-organizing movement.

Before you can answer the query, "Upon what basis shall the International be re-organized?" you must answer another query, "What caused the collapse of the International?"

The answer to that is obvious, and unanimous. Dismissing details, and without emphasizing the guilt of any particular Party or the compelling exigency of any particular situation—the *International disintegrated because Na-*

tionalism assumed supremacy in the councils of the Socialist movement.

It is now clear that the Socialist International consists in large measure of parties and groups strongly nationalistic.

The nationalistic elements are now a majority in the International. Having overcome the genuine internationalists, the "Nationalistic Socialists" directed the international movement to disaster by assuming responsibility for national interests.

This being the situation, the *New Review* submits three questions for the consideration of the Socialist Public:

1. Are Nationalism and Socialism mutually exclusive?

2. Should a test of Socialist Internationalism consist in relentless opposition to militarism, and the steadfast refusal of Socialist legislators to vote military appropriations, whatever the pretext may be?

3. Should the International be re-organized to include International Socialists alone, with "Nationalistic Socialists" rigidly denied admission?

Let us hear from you!—From the *New Review*.

BUTTE BETTER

By WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

BUTTE is recovering from her spasm of martial law, the soldiers have folded their tents, taken their cannon from the court house steps, pulled the flag down and departed. No more does the blatant blare of bugles mingle with the whistles on the hill.

The camp is safe again, although it is said a locality is never the same where soldiers' feet have trod. There is some sort

of a pollution that taints the atmosphere like iodoform in a sick room.

Times were lively in Butte during the reign of Major Donahue and his soldier boys. The writ of habeas corpus was suspended. The press was censored, one paper, the "Montana Socialist," was closed down. Public speaking was forbidden. Instances were recorded where members of the I. W. W. were sentenced to 18 months

in jail, one for speaking on the street corner, the other for singing a song. Many men were arrested and thrown into a prison that had been condemned by the authorities on account of its vile and unsanitary condition. Others were unceremoniously deported from town. A *Vigilance Committee* was formed, *principally of business men*. Impeachment proceedings were brought against Mayor Duncan, Socialist, and Sheriff Driscoll, Democrat. The hearing of these cases took place in the civil court, the charge being neglect and inefficiency in discharging the duties of office during the stormy period last June. These men were found guilty and ousted from office.

As a climax came the arrest of Muckie McDonald, president; Joseph Bradley, vice-president, and Joseph Shannon, member of the executive committee, of the Butte Mine Workers Union. The perfunctory charge against these men was kidnaping, the real charge their activity in forming the new union and the official positions they held in that organization. Their trials took place in Boulder, Jefferson county. Judge W. A. Clark, presiding. Here the law as it is "writ" was supposed to be enforced, but the findings in the case of Bradley and McDonald would lead one to believe that martial law still obtained. The men were found guilty.

Bradley when asked if he had anything to say before sentence was passed upon him replied: "Go to it, it won't make any difference what I say." The judge sentenced him to five years in the penitentiary, remarking that in his opinion Bradley was the brains of the movement and was the man who influenced McDonald and others. He then delivered a sentence of three years upon McDonald, Joseph Shannon having been acquitted by the jury. These things have tended to strengthen the members of the new union. Those who had been conservative or held aloof from the organization now realize that the courts are not for their support and that the laws of Montana can be dictated by the Amalgamated Copper Company.

In the meantime the Butte Miners Union No. 1 has been having its troubles with the Western Federation of Miners. Guy Miller, a member of the executive board, has appeared on the grounds and demanded the resignation of the officers and that prop-

erty be turned over to him. To this the officials have replied in a letter to the press:

"TO THE PRESS: GENTLEMEN:

"Butte Miners' Union No. 1, W. F. of M., desires to correct an erroneous statement that appeared in the public press of this date, December 9, 1914, namely:

"That Butte Miners' Union No. 1, W. F. of M., has called for the resignation of Charles H. Moyer, John C. Lowney and Guy E. Miller, when the resolution adopted by the Miners' Union was in compliance with the requirements of section 15, article 3, of the constitution and by-laws of the Western Federation of Miners, which provides for the recall of officers.

"The motion reading as follows: Resolved, that we, Butte Miners' Union No. 1, W. F. of M., petition all locals of the Western Federation of Miners to recall Charles H. Moyer, John C. Lowney and Guy E. Miller, for the benefit of the organization.

"We further beg to advise the press that the motion carried unanimously."

To which Miller replied in a lengthy statement as follows:

"Butte, Mont., Dec. 10, 1914.

"To the Officers and Members of Local Unions of the Western Federation of Miners:

"Dear Sirs and Brothers: While endeavoring to introduce order and efficiency into the conduct of the affairs of Butte Miners' Union No. 1, Western Federation of Miners, the officials of that organization broke into print, making false and malicious charges against officials of the federation. A statement of facts is herewith submitted for your consideration.

"The president and executive board of the federation have been without power to correct abuses in the conduct of the affairs of a local union, until the constitution was amended as follows:

"The president shall have power on petition of 10 per cent of the members in good standing in their respective locals, making charges in writing against their local officers, to take complete charge of the local's affairs, and, if the charges are proved, he shall call a special election within 30 days and place the local's affairs on a business basis before relinquishing to local officials."

"In the referendum vote on this amendment, but one vote was cast against it by No. 1.

"Acting under this amendment, written charges signed by many more than the constitutional number were read at the meeting on Dec. 8, followed by a demand that conduct of the local's affairs be turned over to me, Guy E. Miller, the delegated agent of President Moyer. The demand was refused by the officers and backed up by a meeting packed to prevent the passage of amendments reducing the number of officers on salary to one and re-establishing sick benefits. They had previously suffered a similar fate through the use of Tammany methods. The following charges were submitted:

"1. Violation of the constitution by packing the meeting with men in arrears, some of whose names were not on the books of the union, giving them a voice and vote in matters of great importance.

"2. Refusal of secretary-treasurer, aided and abetted by the president, to submit books and accounts for examination.

"3. Failure of walking delegates to render any report to the union or put forth reasonable effort to increase the membership of this union.

"4. Stamps on members' cards without entry in books of receipt.

"5. Wilful waste in the disbursing of funds, especially the sick relief, the constitutional notice to secretary not being complied with.

"6. That indifference to the welfare of the organization is clearly manifested by the failure of various officials and trustees to keep in good standing.

"The latter charge is still in evidence in spite of the false entries and the mutilation of the books. From June 30 until Aug. 26, \$11,075 was paid out in sick benefits; expenditures from June 30 to Oct. 27 totaled \$25,712.24. It required four men on salary to collect in that period \$709.50; every attempt to reduce the number of officials was met by a gang. In the face of the figures submitted, is there not reason for every union man demanding an investigation and a meeting where only legitimate members will have a voice and vote? A few months more of such rule and even the bricks of the dismantled hall would disappear.

"Since the drawing up of the charges, further investigations have added overwhelming evidence of the charges made and laid the basis for new ones. It is with extreme regret that I uncover the shame of officials, who, stopped by constitutional provisions in a career of loot, seek to divert attention from their infamy by charging federation officials with attempting to disrupt No. 1. The men who have packed meetings and allowed fraudulent bills over protest have left but little to do in that respect.

"The membership of the federation will find the grant of increased power to the president a wise one. Had it been granted years ago, organized labor would be intact in Butte.

"Trusting that you will give this statement your thoughtful consideration and place the blame where it belongs, I remain,

"Yours for a better Butte No. 1,

"GUY E. MILLER,

"Exec. Board Member Western Federation of Miners."

After making these serious charges, Guy Miller, as attorney in fact for one President Moyer, of the W. F. of M., asks for resignation of the officers. He also applies to the court for a temporary injunction. The charges and the complaint made against

the defendants are lavish, improvident and unauthorized expenditure of the union funds; failure to properly account for money handled; allowing persons not members of the union to vote on questions of government of the corporation; spending money unnecessarily; payment of unnecessary and exorbitant salaries and the almost complete depletion of the sick relief fund.

This action was brought by Chas. H. Moyer, Guy E. Miller and Ed. O'Byrne in the district court against Martin Scahill, Patrick Lee, Patrick O'Neill, Mike A. Sullivan, James Ryan, James Walsh and Patrick Quigley. The court is asked to issue a temporary restraining order to prevent the defendants or their agents, attorneys and employes or any one acting in their behalf, or under their direction from interfering in any way with the plaintiffs in the possession or control of the property of the Butte Miners Union No. 1, or interfering with the prosecution of the business of the union.

It is strange that the W. F. of M. officials could not recognize that the same conditions existed in Butte No. 1 for many years past.

It was for these reasons and others that the great mass of its members broke away and organized the Butte Mine Workers Union. But they did not sue out an injunction, it was through main strength and awkwardness—direct action—they obtained their relief; money or property was not the things they sought, it was an organization where the voice of the membership could be heard. They got it—militia, courts and the powers of the Amalgamated could not prevent it.

Certainly the members of Butte Mine Workers look with surprise and disgust at the elements that are fighting over their leavings. The money and property that the W. F. of M. and Butte No. 1 are squabbling over belongs in fact to the members of the new organization, Butte Mine Workers Union. But they passed it up like a white chip; let the sweepers get it.



RECREATION SPOT AND PLAYGROUND.

OUT-FORDING MR. FORD IN JAPAN

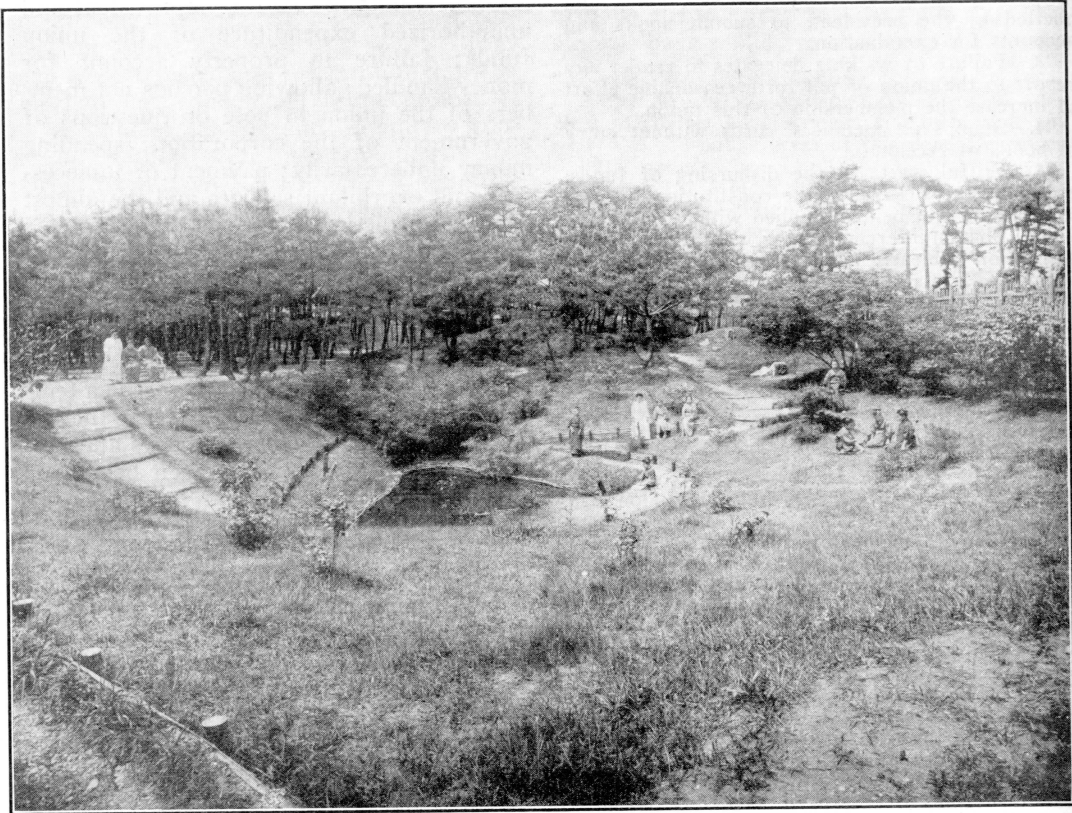
By MARION WRIGHT

Before the entrance of Japan into the present world conflict her people shared with those of Italy the distinction of being the most heavily taxed of all the world. With an active army and navy to support and prospects of troublesome times to come for many years the burden of taxation has increased. In addition to taxes and war the people of Japan have also to deal with floods, famine and earthquakes on a scale unprecedented in other countries.

Formerly an almost exclusively agricultural country, Japan has, within the

last three decades, become a great manufacturing center providing employment for a great many of the "floating" workers who fed the famines of old. And in founding these industries their founders had the foresight to consider carefully the problem of the laboring man, which they solved on this basis:

"In order to do good work the worker must be well cared for and be contented." This does not mean that they proposed to pay him sufficient wages to care for himself. Not at all. That was never considered. But they proposed to care for



RECREATION SPOT AND PLAYGROUND.

the worker as they did for the machine—to personally keep him in order.

Thus the great manufacturing industries of Japan have arrived at the "Benevolent Feudal System" to which this country is rapidly drifting. The Japanese plan would not work at all in this country—yet. Our workmen who lack the sand and unity of purpose to take over the industries for themselves still mouth their empty boasts about being "free and independent" and refuse to accept anything from the boss in the way of a benefit except higher wages with any show of enthusiasm. In the old days it was an iron collar about the neck. Now, in many great cities the employes of certain big corporations wear a distinctive button or uniform and they live up to the company rules even when off duty. In the due course of time if they continue to lack backbone and to scorn unity they will all herd together in great barracks or tene-

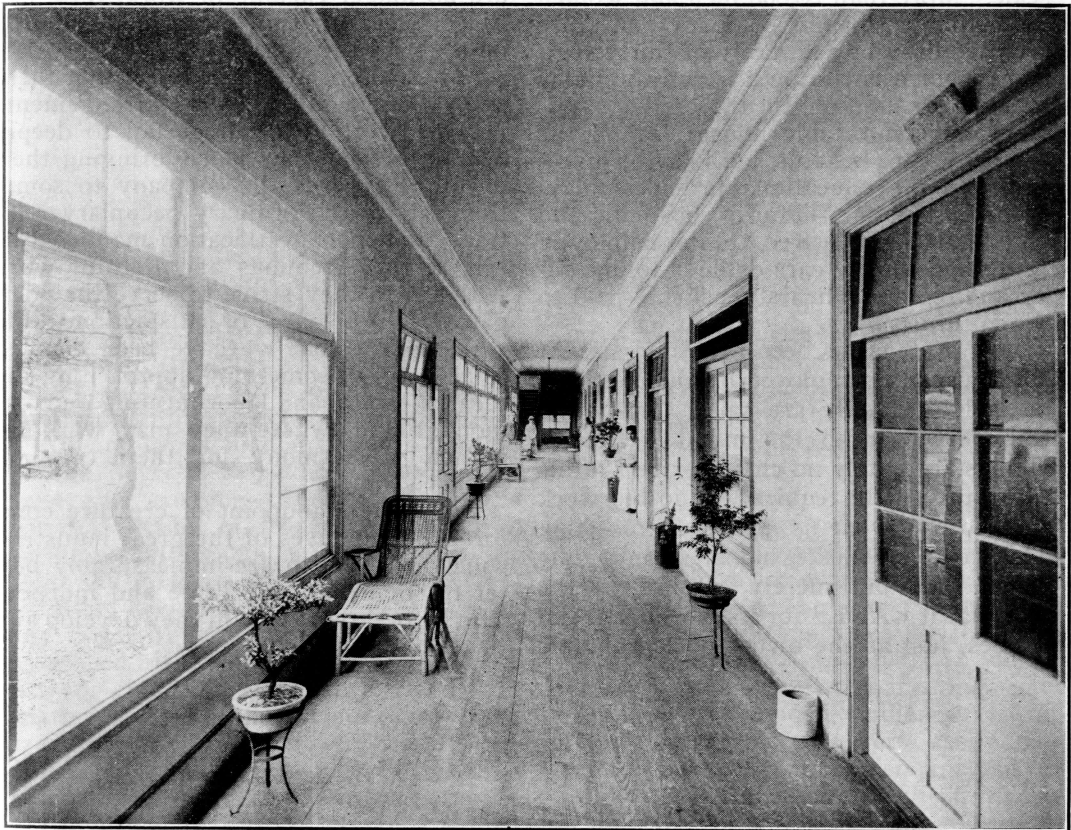
ments owned by the company and erected for its particular slaves. Just like the yokels of old were gathered inside the gates of My Lord's castle at night.

My Lord's have already learned that an increase in wages does not necessarily improve the social or physical condition of the wage slave. Indeed the obstinate fellow is more apt to spend his ten per cent increase for more beer and tobacco than he is to purchase faithful reproductions of the "old Masters" for his bed-room wall. So the masters have begun to give the worker things which THEY think he should have in the way of social and physical improvement.

In Japan, where the common people never heard of freedom or independence this benevolence of the Barons works like a charm. There, even more so than in this country, the "unattached" workingman is in a sorry plight indeed. While he may be able to keep soul and body to-



INTERIOR OF INFIRMARY.



INTERIOR OF INFIRMARY.

gether in America by industrious pan-handling, in Japan, he may starve or freeze to death and there is little noise made over him. This grim reality, coupled with the fact that nobody has ever told him that he is, "and of right ought to be," free and independent, makes him a very docile subject for the philanthropic experiments of his masters.

And with the patience and thoroughness that runs through all things Japanese, let it be said to the credit of their industrial Barons that they are setting a fine example for Western "civilization" in their care of wage slaves. The shrewdest owner of old time slaves never looked after his people with more attention than that shown by the great manufacturing establishments of Japan.

Take for illustration one of the greatest factories in Japan, the Kanegafuchi Spinning Company of Tokyo. This company has worked out a system of co-operative relief and co-efficiency on a most elaborate scale. More than 26,000 men and women are employed by this company and these are organized into an army of thirty regiments which is run on a strictly military basis. In addition to thoroughly sanitary and comfortable houses for all the company runs schools, both for technical and general education, provides playgrounds, theaters, libraries, hospitals and kindergartens, all free to its employes. And the company care extends to disability and old age when a pension is paid to the faithful slave.

This system has been perfected so that when a man is employed by the company he and his family are cared for by the company, even to the minutest details. He has absolutely no choice or will of his own but is only required to do his work and accept what is provided for him. This company makes no mention of the wages paid but merely emphasizes the fact that it CARES for its workers. And it does, just as the owner of a profitable

stable keeps his horses sleek, fat and contented.

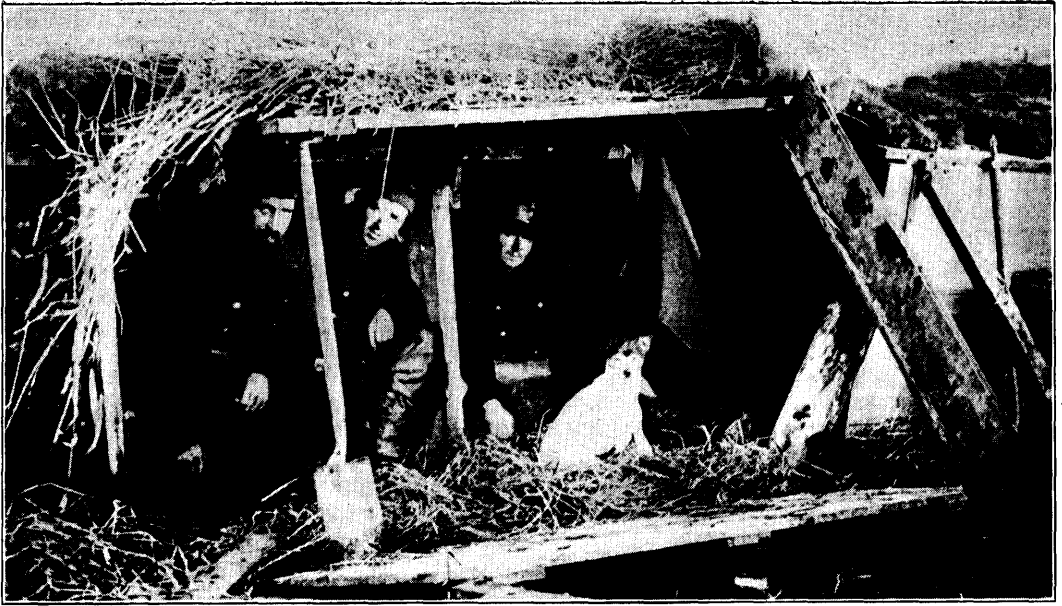
The following statement, recently issued by the company mentioned reads like an effusion by our own Henry Ford, faker:

"Suggestions for the improvement of machines and methods, for the decreasing of factory and office expenses and for general improvements are asked of all operatives and employes. Boxes for suggestions are scattered throughout the mills. Prizes and medals are awarded to those making valuable suggestions.

"It is the constant effort, on the part of the company, to promote the interests and happiness of the employes, for the purpose of which no expense or effort is too much to be spared. Under these liberal arrangements, the employes and operatives are in a position to enjoy recreation after the day's toil, and they are also protected from misfortunes, such as disease and accident, and when they get old and are no longer capable of work, they will be enabled to spend the rest of their life on a liberal pension.

"Therefore it is quite natural that these sympathetic and family-like arrangements provided for them cannot fail to deeply appeal to their conscience, bringing their devotion towards the company to something above the ordinary pecuniary relations, and their gratification manifests itself in the strenuous and faithful work with which they strive to serve the company. It is a source of satisfaction to the management that we have been enabled to accomplish something approaching the ideal of capital and labor meeting on common ground, where they may work together, in harmony for their common good."

From the standpoint of creature comforts the employes of the great industrial concerns of Japan are immeasurably better off than our own "free and independent" workers. But will they develop any revolutionary spirit?



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IN THE BELGIAN TRENCHES.

CANADA AND THE WAR

By GRACE V. SILVER

TO realize the way the Canadian is affected by the war one must realize first of all that Canada is not yet an industrial country, as we understand the term. It is still the land of the pioneer, a place of alleged opportunities waiting at every man's door.

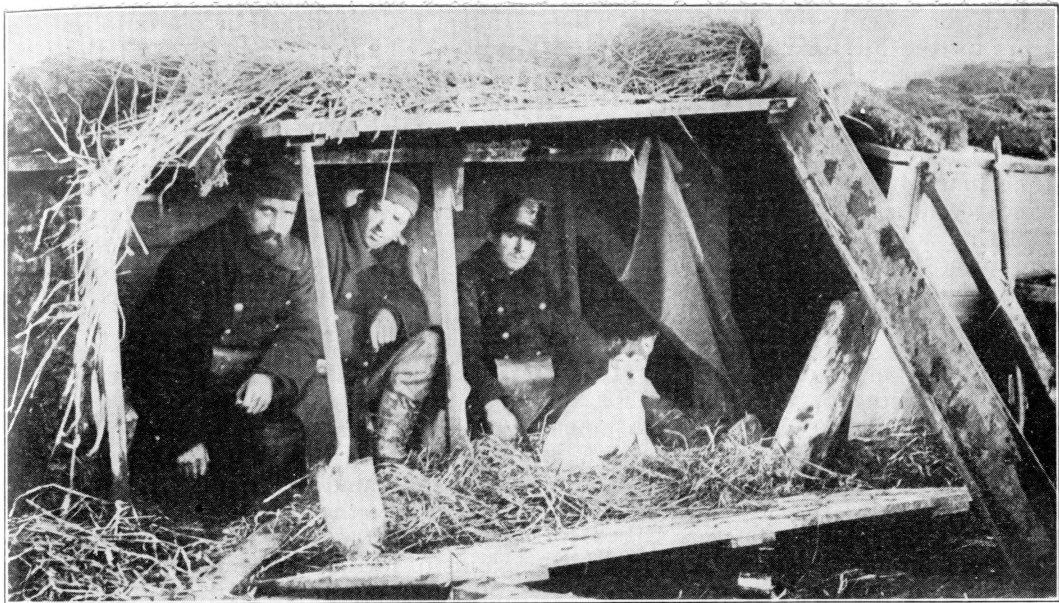
An ambitious man may, with the aid of the never-to-be-paid-for labor of his wife and growing children, take up a quarter section of frozen Saskatchewan or an equal amount of Ontario stump land and create a home that a capitalist wouldn't keep a dog in—not if he paid for the dog. Wherefore the Canadian has cherished his freedom to work, freeze and starve, clung to established laws as a matter of course, and has scarcely realized that such a thing as Socialism existed.

That was before the war. The political upheaval in Europe caused a similar mental explosion in the minds of the Ca-

nadian workers. They began to think. They discovered, too, that both the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Party were actively opposing the war. Furthermore, in spite of the bold jingoism of certain government officials and many newspapers, the war was never a popular thing with the masses. Neither was it unpopular.

So far as Canadian industrial life is concerned, victory or defeat mean about the same. Some industries run night and day and others are entirely closed on account of the war. Armament costs much money, which means taxes for the home owner and petty capitalist. In consequence, Socialist anti-war meetings have been largely attended, audiences are intensely interested and very easily convinced when the Socialist analysis of war has been presented. The Canadian is not "patriotic."

In the beginning things looked very



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IN THE BELGIAN TRENCHES.

much the other way. The government asked for twenty-two thousand volunteers for the First Contingent. They got thirty thousand and were overjoyed. They called for thirty thousand for the Second Contingent; when the men were herded together at the expiration of the time limit there were only sixteen thousand recruits. That, too, in spite of the fact that soldiers' wages are good across the line (\$1.10 per day and board for killing people—\$4.00 per day for stabbing hogs).

But at the outbreak of the war the Canadian, like most of us, treated it as a joke; and most of the recruits for the First Contingent were Englishmen, stranded, who joined the volunteers in order to get a ticket back to old England—very few ever expected to see actual warfare. When recruits were called for again the situation had changed and men did not come forward.

Some cities offered a thousand dollar life insurance policy to each volunteer. Others gave from five to fifteen dollars as a sort of cash bounty to each man. Unemployment increased; many enlisted in the hope that "if we have to sleep out in Europe it won't be so cold as it is here." And yet most of the regiments had only from six to eleven per cent Canadians enrolled, the balance being mostly recent arrivals from England and Scotland. The natives could neither be starved nor frozen into being patriotic. Many fear conscription will be resorted to if a Third Contingent is required.

The so-called Patriotic Fund furnished the principal outlet for local patriotism

—for a time. Immense collections were taken up (\$350,000 in Toronto in one day), and the alleged object of the fund was to provide adequate support for the wives and children of men at the front. The money was collected all right; administrators were appointed to investigate worthy cases and dole it out. A Toronto woman with a three-year-old child was given one dollar a week with which to feed (?) herself and child, and assured by the women in charge that the amount was plenty. Another woman, with six children, was advised to give up her four-room shack, take *one* room and go out scrubbing to help make expenses while her breadwinner was away fighting for *his* country. The enthusiasm for the Patriotic Fund began to languish.

Probably the war is a good thing for Canada, after all. It has caused thousands of men with strong, healthy bodies and no brains to be sent out of the country. Few will return; most of them will make first-class fertilizer. The war has precipitated the greatest panic Canada ever knew; it has turned countless contented slaves into grumbling knockers; it has given the Socialist movement an impetus which our active, trained comrades across the line will know how to take advantage of.

Even the would-be capitalist, who was afraid Socialism would take his stump patch away, knows there's something wrong somewhere. In other words, the Canadian workers have begun to think; and a thinking working class is a dangerous class—from the capitalist viewpoint.







COMRADES OF FINNISH SOCIALIST LOCAL, NEGAUNEE, MICHIGAN, WHO HAVE BEEN EXPELLED FROM THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE RULE

By T. E. LATIMER

IT is probable that most readers of the "Review" have heard something of the "Finnish Controversy," but like many others, you have passed it by as simply a factional fight similar to those which have embroiled different groups of the Socialist Party in the past. This controversy, which began as a struggle between individuals and groups of individuals for control, has divided the Finnish Federation into radicals and conservatives, developed Committee rule in the Federation, and, with the entrance of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party into the controversy, has brought the Party organization to the parting of the ways. The problems which have arisen out of this conflict must be faced by the entire membership, and they are so serious as to require careful consideration.

History of the Controversy.

Before the present situation is considered it may be well to review briefly the more important events which led up to the

recent decision of the National Executive Committee. The Finnish Federation, organized in 1904, had grown to a membership of about 15,000 by the beginning of 1914, although at the present time there are probably less than 10,000 members. For purposes of propaganda the organization is divided into three districts, each under the control of a District Executive Committee, and each had a daily paper owned by a stock company. The papers representing the Eastern and the Middle Districts had many tilts over questions of tactics, each representing very largely the sentiment of its district, the Eastern being the more conservative and the Middle District more radical. Until 1913 these differences were almost entirely fought out in the field of academic discussion.

In that year, however, a determined effort was made to extend the influence of those dominant in the Eastern into the Middle District. This latter district had a larger membership than either of the



COMRADES OF FINNISH SOCIALIST LOCAL, NEGAUNEE, MICHIGAN, WHO HAVE BEEN EXPELLED FROM THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

others and its paper was the most influential, having a larger circulation than any Finnish paper in America. The contest began in Local Negaunee, Michigan, where Frank Aaltonen and Wm. Risto had each attempted to control the Local and Risto finally secured a majority of the 200 members. It was then that Aaltonen called upon the State Executive Board to expel this Local, which demand was obeyed on March, 16, 1913, on the ground that the Local Secretary had failed to send in eight ballots on a state referendum, the secretary's excuse being that the ballots reached him too late. A new Local of Aaltonen's friends was given a charter at once, and four days later Aaltonen and four others appeared before the Circuit Court of Marquette County and asked for an injunction against the members of the old Local on the ground given above as a reason for expulsion and on the further ground "That the said defendants are believers in, and advocates of, sabotage. This implies that the said defendants advocated and taught among other things, the destruction of property and the disregard of personal and property rights and personal violence, and that said defendants believed and taught that employes should take and use unlawfully measures extending from sulking and neglecting their work to the destruction of property owned by their employers, and among other things, the said defendants believed in and advocated the nonpayment of bills owing by them and others and generally advocated and believed in the overthrow of existing systems and governments by revolution and violence; that such beliefs and teachings were contrary to the principles of the Socialist Party and were contrary to the law of the land." He asked that the hall, \$2,000 worth of personal property, and \$7,000 worth of stock, be turned over to the new Local; also that the members of the old Local be forbidden from holding any meetings in their hall, from even entering the hall, and from inspecting the books of the Local. If the old Local was to be broken up its property must be secured, but this resort to the capitalist courts aroused a storm of protest from Finnish Locals all over the country, and the National Executive Committee of the Federation and the Middle District Executive Committee each sent

committees to Negaunee to investigate. The report of the investigators caused the action of Aaltonen (known among the Finnish comrades as "Injunction Frank") and his friends to be condemned and the new Local was refused admission to the Federation. This action was also condemned by "Tyomies," the paper of the Middle District.

Later, these men, who had maligned their comrades in injunction proceedings, entered into an agreement whereby all those who were members of the Local at the time it was expelled should be permitted to become members of the new Local. Such an agreement being an admission that there was either no truth in the injunction charges or that they were willing to condone violation of party tactics to secure a few thousand dollars' worth of property. The fact that Tyomies had opposed these high-handed methods caused Aaltonen to look about for means to control the paper. Later a vacancy occurred and S. Alanne, a member of the State Committee of Michigan, was chosen editor and the paper then admitted that an injunction was all right under certain circumstances when the rank and file became unruly.

Wm. Risto, one of the active members of the majority faction of Local Negaunee, was sent to the Eastern District as a representative of the Working People's College, and the Executive Committee of that district decreed that the locals should not permit him to speak in their halls. They expelled six Locals for disobeying this order. These Locals appealed to the National Executive Committee of the Federation, which reversed the action of the District Committee, but the Locals were not reinstated.

More Committee Rule.

The newspapers and District Committees conducted an active campaign for the control of the National Executive Committee of the Federation for 1914, this being especially true of the Eastern organ. The new Committee admitted the new Negaunee Local and upheld the expulsion of the eastern Locals. The conservative element had also secured control of all three papers and the Eastern and Western District Committees, while the radicals still remained in control of the Middle District Committee and the Workers' Col-

lege. The conservatives now centered their efforts to secure control of the Middle District.

This district held its convention at Duluth, Minn., February 21-29, 1914, and among other things refused to seat the new Negaunee Local, instructed changes in the editorial policy of "Tyomies" to conform to the sentiment of the majority of the Middle District, and proposed an investigation of the business management of the paper. Refusal to comply with the decisions of this convention caused a demand to be made by the majority faction in that district for a meeting of the stockholders of the Tyomies Publishing Company. Moses Hahl, spokesman for the conservatives, says that they feared that the radicals might have a majority of the stock, so the conservatives made a deal with Raivaaja Publishing Company, a concern which has no property except the subscription list of the paper which it publishes, the plant being owned by another company, by which \$20,000 worth of stock in Tyomies Publishing Company should be transferred to Raivaaja in exchange for a note for that amount due in five years. The radicals withdrew when they found the conservatives in control. Later a stock company was formed in Duluth, Minn., by representatives of radical Locals for the purpose of publishing a Finnish Socialist daily. They began the publication of "The Socialist," about June 10, and at the June meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Federation a decree was issued informing the members that any member or Local supporting "The Socialist" would be expelled. Later this Committee expelled twenty Locals and members in about twenty others, because they had supported this paper.

After the expulsions these Locals and others in sympathy with them began to pay dues direct to the State organizations, and the Finnish Federation requested the various State Executive Boards to support the Federation, not on any ground of right but only of fraternal spirit. In fact Comrade Hahl, who prepared a statement for the Federation says, "Formally the Finnish organization has no right to revoke charters of any Locals affiliated with it. This right is vested solely with the respective state organizations."

Comrade Lanfersiek, Executive Secretary, was asked for a ruling and he replied that members and Locals could not be expelled for supporting a Socialist paper. The expelled Locals appealed to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and this question was taken up at the September meeting and it was decided that "we offer it as the opinion of this Committee that the expelled Locals still remain Locals of the Socialist Party until such time as the expulsion is concurred in by the state organization." At this meeting Comrades Berger, Germer and Maurer were elected to attend the Finnish convention.

Last November the conservative faction held a convention in Chicago, the principal decisions being to reaffirm the expulsion of locals and members, the boycott of the Workers' College, and to incorporate the Executive Committee of the Federation so that it might have the legal ownership of all the property of the various Locals belonging to the Federation. They called upon the American Socialist Party to refuse to permit members and Locals to join the state organizations direct. Here would be another opportunity to use the courts to get possession of the property of all the Locals which might disagree with the Committee.

When the representatives of these factions appeared before the members of the National Executive Committee the latter were not to be found, but in their places were Comrades Lanfersiek and Ameringer. During the past year the National Executive Committee has spent \$1,700 holding meetings, at which they have accomplished practically nothing, and when a question affecting the rights of some five thousand members of the Socialist Party comes before them, they shift the responsibility upon others and are too busy to attend. It is declared by some of those present at the convention that the chairman announced that it had been already decided by those in charge of the American Socialist movement that the radical members would be expelled from the party, and the conservative Finnish papers stated that Comrade Ameringer had declared the radical faction to be anarchists. A comrade has remarked that "such claims of partiality and collusion

made by those papers and officials tend to minimize the esteem for the investigators and the fairness of this trial in the eyes of the membership."

Sub-Committee Report.

The findings of those who took the place of the members of the National Executive Committee on the Investigating Committee are a rehash of the statements made by the conservative faction, containing the arguments and excuses offered by that faction. Some of the excuses offered by Comrades Ameringer and Lanfersiek are illuminating; for instance, the excuse for the stock juggling on Tyomies Publishing Company, that it was one of the "numerous measures taken by both sides to secure control." Other excuses are "their language is altogether different from any other European language." "This is not a pink tea affair, therefore the Finnish Federation should be upheld." This Committee concludes that the Federation "has not violated the constitution or platform; it has done no injustice, and **NOTHING COULD BE DONE IN THIS CASE IF IT HAD.**" It is to be hoped that the members of the Socialist Party will let this statement soak in.

At the meeting of the National Executive Committee, on December 13, resolutions were adopted upholding the acts of the Executive Committee of the Federation, the findings of its sub-committee, and then, forgetting that the Socialist Party had a Constitution, declared "that the decision of the Finnish Federation as to expulsion of locals or members **SHALL** be accepted by state, county and local organizations as final."

On December 15, the State Executive Committee of Michigan expelled two Locals and members from others under the decision stated above, although the official notice of this decision was not sent out for at least a week later. The State Secretary of Michigan in the December Bulletin states that these expulsions took place upon the order of National Committeeman Aaltonen as that would eliminate candidates opposed to him.

This in brief is a statement of the more important events which are either admitted by both parties to the controversy or are proven by documents. Care has been taken to eliminate references to occurrences over which there are conflicting

reports and there are no other means of getting the facts. The important fact which stands out above all others is that **members and Locals have been expelled for supporting a Socialist paper, and the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has ordered the state organizations to accept this action as binding on them.**

It is stated in the decision that it was given only after "the most careful and painstaking investigation," yet Comrade Duncan, in a letter to the Executive Secretary dated September 16, 1914, states that "it is my opinion that national, state, and local organizations should be guided by the recommendation of the Finnish organization and that no Finnish Local be recognized that is not in good standing with the Federation." This letter was written some three months before the "careful and painstaking investigation" above referred to.

Many Socialist Parties.

This decision has the effect of making of each language, federation and independent organization responsible only to the N. E. C. In states having Locals belonging to each of the Federations, there will be eleven Socialist parties, each working under its own constitution, but only the English-speaking members will be subject to the will of the state membership, while they in turn will have no authority that the foreign-speaking locals will need to respect. The result of such a condition will be chaos. By this decision the N. E. C. has taken to itself the power to determine who shall and who shall not remain members of the Socialist Party.

If this decision stands, a precedent has been established of giving power to national officers to place any Socialist paper under the ban, even to the extent of expelling those who should give such papers their support. It may be urged that this could not happen, yet not many months ago an attempt was made to prevent certain Socialist papers from advertising in the party paper since those papers were not in harmony with the N. E. C.

It appears that the National Executive Committee has not only ordered the expulsion of some 5,000 party members, but has done what it could to obstruct the work of the Woman's National Commit-

tee as is shown by the following extracts from a communication from the Woman's National Committee: "while the present National Executive Committee has blocked every effort of the Woman's Committee, it has made no woman's propaganda on its own account." "Virtually, every motion which we have submitted providing for activity in the ranks of the women, has been rejected by the National Executive Committee." "We have made our protest to the N. E. C. They have replied by adopting a motion which might well have proceeded from a standard bourgeois body addressing its natural inferiors."

The answer referred to by the Woman's Committee was an expression of regret at their inability to do anything and an assurance that no discourtesy was intended.

The N. E. C. has already admitted that it made a mistake when it caused the locals to be circularized on behalf of "The Leader." Is it not about time that it admits the other mistakes it has made in blocking propaganda work and expelling members, so that it can at least say that it did not stand as a stumbling block to the progress of the movement, even though it cannot point to much constructive work?

1914 ELECTION FIGURES

SEE TABLE ON NEXT PAGE

The figures in the 1914 column have been carefully compared with the data on file in the National Office as well as the Chicago Daily News Almanac for 1915, and the New York Times which, in its edition of January 17, claims to present the official returns.

The straight vote is given in all states excepting Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, Virginia and Wyoming, in which states the high vote is shown.

Assuming that the Party ticket in Florida and Georgia polled as many votes in 1914 as in 1912, the total Socialist vote for 1914 amounts to 601,215. A loss of 300,000 votes when compared with 1912, and about an even break with the 1910 vote. Four states show a gain, 42 a loss.

Comparing the Socialist vote by states with the 1914 returns, we find that Colorado cast more votes in 1906, when Haywood headed the Socialist ticket for Governor. Illinois also cast a larger vote in 1906. Wisconsin, Utah and Nebraska polled a larger vote in 1904. Both Maine and South Dakota cast a larger vote in 1902, while in the state of Massachusetts there were more votes cast in the year 1900 A. D.

Comparing the 1910 column with the 1908 column, we find that there was an increase of over 180,000 votes, 33 states showing a gain and 13 a loss.

Commenting on the Socialist vote in the state of California, which is repre-

sented on the National Executive Committee by the Rev. J. Stitt Wilson, the Western Comrade says: "The vote for N. A. Richardson, Socialist candidate for Governor should have reached the 120,000 mark. Tens of thousands of registered Socialists stampeded to the polls and voted for Hiram Johnson."

"Los Angeles county Socialists nominated Thomas Lee Woolwine, a Democrat, for district attorney, and they spattered all over the ticket, even casting 451 votes for Joseph W. Ford, who was running as a Los Angeles Times candidate, on his record as a labor hater in the office of district attorney."

"These voters, registered as Socialists, with 2,609 votes, nominated Gavin Craig as presiding justice of the court of appeals, and gave Job Harriman 91. They cast 2,742 votes for Paul Wedderin, Socialist, for sheriff, and 3,349 for others, and gave a large vote to a reactionary office holder. They actually nominated Walter Bordwell, a reactionary Republican, for chief justice of the supreme court of California by giving him 2,037 votes." Several other cases are cited showing up the rotten political conditions.

An interesting article might be written about Socialism and Votes. In the meantime we hope every REVIEW reader will again peruse the little pamphlet written by Comrade Charles Edward Russell entitled, "Playing the Game."

THE VOTE FOR SOCIALIST PARTY TICKET IN THE UNITED STATES

State	1900	1902	1904	1906	1908	1910	1912	1914	
Alabama.....	928	2,312	853	389	1,399	1,633	3,029	1,159	(3)
Arizona.....	....	510	1,304	1,995	1,912	.....	3,163	2,973	(1)
Arkansas.....	27	....	1,816	2,164	5,842	9,196	8,153	10,434	(1)
California.....	7,572	9,592	29,533	17,515	28,659	47,819	79,201	50,716	(1)
Colorado.....	684	7,177	4,304	16,938	7,974	9,603	16,418	13,943	(3)
Connecticut.....	1,029	2,804	4,543	3,005	5,113	12,179	10,056	5,890	(3)
Delaware.....	57	....	146	149	240	556	556	463	(2)
Florida.....	603	....	2,337	2,530	3,747	10,204	4,806	....	..
Georgia.....	....	....	197	98	584	224	1,028	....	..
Idaho.....	....	1,567	4,954	5,011	6,400	5,791	11,960	7,888	(3)
Illinois.....	9,687	20,167	69,225	42,005	34,711	49,896	81,249	39,889	(3)
Indiana.....	2,374	7,111	12,013	7,824	13,476	19,632	36,931	21,719	(3)
Iowa.....	2,742	6,360	14,847	8,901	8,287	9,685	16,967	8,462	(3)
Kansas.....	1,605	4,078	15,494	8,796	12,420	16,994	26,779	20,360	(1)
Kentucky.....	770	1,683	3,602	1,819	4,185	5,239	11,647	4,890	(3)
Louisiana.....	....	....	995	603	2,538	706	5,249	1,344	(4)
Maine.....	878	1,973	2,106	1,553	1,758	1,641	2,541	1,872	(1)
Maryland.....	908	499	2,247	3,106	2,323	3,924	3,996	3,255	(3)
Massachusetts.....	9,716	33,629	13,604	20,699	10,781	14,444	12,662	9,520	(1)
Michigan.....	2,826	4,271	8,941	5,994	11,586	10,608	23,211	11,056	(1)
Minnesota.....	3,065	5,143	11,692	14,445	14,527	18,363	27,505	17,225	(1)
Mississippi.....	....	....	393	173	978	23	2,061	1,125	(4)
Missouri.....	6,128	5,335	13,009	11,528	15,431	19,957	28,466	16,853	(3)
Montana.....	708	3,131	5,676	4,638	5,855	5,412	10,885	9,430	(2)
Nebraska.....	823	3,157	7,412	3,763	3,524	6,721	10,185	5,718	(1)
Nevada.....	....	....	925	1,251	2,103	3,637	3,313	5,426	(3)
New Hampshire.....	790	1,057	1,090	1,011	1,299	1,072	1,980	1,089	(3)
New Jersey.....	4,609	4,541	9,587	7,766	10,249	10,134	15,928	14,581	(2)
New Mexico.....	....	....	162	211	1,056	....	2,859	1,101	(2)
New York.....	12,869	23,400	36,883	25,947	38,451	48,982	63,381	37,793	(1)
North Carolina.....	....	....	123	....	345	437	1,025	425	(3)
North Carolina.....	....	....	124	1,689	2,421	5,114	6,966	6,231	(3)
Ohio.....	4,847	14,270	36,260	18,432	33,795	62,356	89,930	51,441	(3)
Oklahoma.....	815	1,963	4,443	4,040	21,779	24,707	42,262	52,049	(1)
Oregon.....	1,495	3,771	7,651	7,033	7,339	19,475	13,343	10,666	(3)
Pennsylvania.....	4,831	21,910	21,863	18,736	33,913	59,630	83,614	40,115	(1)
Rhode Island.....	....	....	956	416	1,365	529	2,049	1,691	(1)
South Carolina.....	....	....	22	32	100	70	164	89	..
South Dakota.....	169	2,738	3,138	2,542	2,846	1,675	4,662	2,674	(3)
Tennessee.....	410	....	1,354	1,637	1,870	4,571	3,504	1,671	(1)
Texas.....	1,846	3,615	2,791	3,065	7,870	11,538	24,896	24,276	(4)
Utah.....	717	3,069	5,767	3,010	4,895	4,889	9,023	5,257	(3)
Vermont.....	371	....	844	512	547	1,067	928	899	(1)
Virginia.....	145	155	218	....	255	987	820	1,812	(4)
Washington.....	2,006	4,739	10,023	8,717	14,177	15,994	40,134	30,234	(3)
West Virginia.....	268	....	1,572	2,611	3,679	8,152	15,336	11,944	..
Wisconsin.....	7,095	15,970	28,220	24,916	28,164	40,053	33,481	25,917	(1)
Wyoming.....	....	552	1,077	1,827	1,715	2,155	2,760	1,816	(4)
Totals.....	96,931	223,494	408,230	331,043	424,488	607,674	901,062	595,381	

- (1) Vote for Governor.
- (2) Vote for Representative in Congress.
- (3) Vote for U. S. Senator.
- (4) High Vote.

MARX'S AND ENGELS' FORTY YEARS' CORRESPONDENCE

By GUSTAV BANG

Translated by Caroline Nelson

MARX lived a third of a century in London as an exile, until his death in 1883, and during that time he spent his chief energy on *Capital*. The first volume was published in 1867; the two following volumes Marx did not succeed in finishing. Engels later completed them on the foundation of the manuscripts that he had left. The first chapters of *Capital* are the most difficult of understanding. They contain the famous theory of surplus value, and necessarily forms a basis for the understanding of the whole Marxian economic theory.

The correspondence brings us into the work-shop of Marx and Engels and shows us the method that they followed in building up the great work, and the difficulties that they had to overcome before their data could be hammered into shape for their literary undertaking, in order that it might be presented in the finished form in which we now have it. *Capital* presents a closely built theoretical system that enlightens all sides of capitalistic society, and leaves no important question open for doubt.

We have already seen some of the sufferings and sorrows that Marx had to contend with, and the mass of information that had to be gathered; but that was not all. Marx in his work possessed personally great drawbacks. He worked with difficulty and with dragging effort. As quick as he was in his thoughts and just as surely as he could "strike the nail on the head" with lightning rapidity, just so slow was he when he came to the point of drawing an absolute scientific conclusion. It was against his nature to be satisfied with a surface understanding that might shine for the moment, but on closer study might prove to be false. He thus had to sound every question to the very bottom, until every possibility was tried and all doubts removed. We see

that he could occupy himself for years with the same problems. If he reached conclusions that did not seem to him perfectly satisfying and absolutely unassailable, he put them aside for a time, to take them up later for solution. When at last the problems had been solved, then Marx could work at full speed to unfold the theoretical conclusions which he had drawn. He wrote in one of his letters:

"I work like a madman through the nights to embody my economic studies. I work rapidly until four o'clock in the morning generally."

Engels hurried him on. The absolute correctness of the work played a less important role to him than the agitating influence that it could be used for. He writes in a letter already in 1851:

"You'll not begin to write as long as there is a single book on the subject that you have not read," and in 1860, when the pamphlet on "Criticism of Political Economy" was published, and Marx prepared to continue it, he wrote: "You must surely be a little less conscientious in your work; it is much too good for the public. That the book gets written and published is the main thing. The weak points which you can see, the 'asses' will never discover, and when there come unsettled times, and history comes to a standstill, what use will it be if you are not ready with *Capital*? The main cause of this delay lies in your awful conscientiousness, but in the last analysis it is better to get the book out than it is on this account not to get it out at all."

Marx had first decided to publish his work in a series of pamphlets, but in the early sixties he changed his plan, and decided to give out his economic studies in gathered form. He did not like to let the first volume come to light before it was perfectly clear to him what material

should compose the rest of the volumes. The first volume of *Capital* was, on the whole, ready long before it was published, but there was yet material that was to go into the second and third volume, which was not fully worked out. And before that was done he could not let the first volume be published, because the whole theory in *Capital* form a connected system, an organic whole, where the divisions are integral parts. Each proves the correctness of the others.

There is a long letter from Marx in 1862 that tells how, in the main, he is perfectly clear on the theory of the division of exploitation, which he presents in *Capital*, and which turned all the inherited economic theories upside down, and placed the capitalist production in the right light. In a letter in 1868, a year after the publishing of the first volume of *Capital*, he gives a simple sketch of the contents of the third volume that corresponds perfectly to the work that many years after saw the light.

But while the Marxian economic theory was early formed in its general outline in his mind and partly worked out in manuscript, there were, nevertheless, all the minute details to be worked out to deepen and broaden it. Here it was that Engels' business experiences and insight came to good use in the work. We find in the letters that time after time Marx directs questions to Engels regarding practical business conditions. He wants to know the general wage of the spinners of different kinds of cloth; how much cotton they can spin in a day, and what price there is on raw cotton and cotton thread, and about the division of labor in the cotton industry, and how the wear and tear of machinery and working material is taken stock of, and how the capitalists take account of that part of the profit that is used in householding, etc.?

"The theoretical law regarding these questions," he writes, "is very simple and self-evident, but it is well to have an inkling of how they present themselves in practice."

Under other circumstances, where the questions for theoretical purposes are superfluous, but have an actual bearing on the conditions as they exist, we find

Marx never shrank from any trouble to acquire a perfect knowledge of his subject. We find that Marx took a course of study to secure an understanding of the development of practical mechanics. He writes regarding this:

"It is with me in mechanics as it is in languages, I understand the theoretical laws, but the simplest technical reality that demands ideas, causes me the greatest trouble."

Those who are familiar with the Marxian economic system, and who have formed their idea of society on its foundation, have naturally a great interest in learning that it was worked out through long intellectual labors. The most interesting part, perhaps, is the theory of land value, which is developed in the third volume of *Capital*. We find in the correspondence how wrong the idea is that Marx in the development of his system dealt only with the factory system, without giving the special conditions in agriculture sufficient notice. On the contrary, the developing tendencies in agriculture interested him in a high degree and occupied his mind constantly. The special laws that here came into play are continually objects of the most thorough study. There was first and foremost the theory of land value to solve, as to whether it issued directly from its use or indirectly from investment. In 1857 Marx had discovered the main fault in the land-value theory of Ricardo, which Ricardo had presented a generation before, and which had universally been accepted as correct in national economy. Marx realized that it was not alone the different natural quality of the soil that decided its high or low productiveness, but also the more or less developed technique in agriculture. Through long and hard study he built up his own special theory on land value that finally solved the question. This theory did not rest on mere abstractions; far from it. He continually sought to learn from practice. He studied the agricultural development, not only in England and Western Europe, but in Russia, Western Asia and India as well. He also sought to be familiar with the latest technical agricultural development, and this problem was the subject of many and very interesting examinations by Marx and Engels.

V.

In the long period that the correspondence covers, whole series of historical events took place that turned the then ruling power in Europe upside down. The cause of this was undoubtedly the onward sweep of the capitalist method of production into wider and wider fields.

In 1854-55 war took place between France and England on one side and Russia on the other; in 1859 there was the Italian war that laid the basis for the Italian political organization; in 1864 there was war with Denmark on one side and Prussia and Austria on the other; in 1866 there was the Prussia-Austrian war that led to the foundation of the German Empire as a united country, and lastly we have in 1870-71 the German-Franco war, that ended in the overthrow of the French monarchy and establishment of the republic, and the short-lived Paris Commune. All this formed the basis for the so-called "Armed Peace," a craze that has inflicted the whole of the world with its constantly growing militarism. There were also other events of far-reaching importance that issued from the revolutions that the capitalist mode of production brought about. In 1861 the bondage of the Russian peasantry was abolished, which became the first step in the Russian social change, with a tendency toward capitalism. In 1861-65 the great American war was fought to a finish between the Southern and Northern states, that ended in the abolition of Negro slavery, and thereby created a free run for the overwhelming development of the American business life on a gigantic capitalist basis.

It was a period of great movements and adventures, a time full of anxiety and expectations; one big political crisis was scarcely over before another stood before the door. All these strenuous events were continually objects of discussion between Marx and Engels in their correspondence. If we did not already know beforehand how deeply they studied their times, we would know it from the study of these letters. The reading of these letters gives one the same impression as a series of moving pictures, where twenty years of European national life unfolds itself in a steady, changing panorama, in

logical sequences; where one situation gives birth to another; causes and effects follow each other very closely here. It unravels that peculiar chapter in European history where the star of France sets and Germany's star rises; Bismarck relieved Napoleon III as leader of European international politics, and the central power of Europe shifts. It shows how the state-forms gradually shape themselves in accordance with the interests of capitalistic society. This correspondence between Marx and Engels is therefore also a rich source of information regarding these historical events. And this is not so much because it contains anything beyond that which is already known to the historians, but because it throws a new light on events.

It is easy to see afterward that Marx and Engels often made hasty judgments, formed wrong interpretations, but it is beyond all human possibility to be able to correctly judge events when we are in the midst of them. We are, on the other hand, often surprised by the wonderful keenness, especially of Engels, in interpreting political situations and seeing the results they would have in the long run. Foremost stand their judgment of Napoleon III and his government. It is clear to them from the very first that he is a miserable character. He has a shallow, gambling nature, whose power could only rest on the hollowest and most irresponsible foundation, which sooner or later would come down with a crash. Then demoralization would eat itself into all public life in France and undermine its political position that would create a catastrophe that would remove the central political power of Europe eastward to Germany. When at last this comes about in 1870, when the French army was demolished and the monarchy had fallen, Marx had good reason to write to Engels:

"I believe that you and I are the only two men who, from the very beginning, understood Napoleon in all his common war marshalings and who were never deceived or put off on the wrong track by his momentary success."

Marx and Engels saw everything through the view-point of the revolutionary proletarian, and their judgments were never haphazard in their expression, and always turned around the possibility of

the working-class struggle for freedom. That is the psychology that permeates the letters where European conditions are discussed. These thoughts become stronger and stronger as time passes and the socialist labor movement changes from a possibility for the future to an actual reality of the present.

Already in 1859 this revolutionary viewpoint is in the foreground. Engels writes: "Looked at from our point of view, I mean, in a revolutionary light, it does not matter if Austria meets with defeat. . . . On the whole, it is such that no matter who makes mistakes they must fall to our advantage."

Under Prussian-Austrian war in 1866 this revolutionary viewpoint becomes still stronger. No matter how strongly they both disliked Bismarck and his politics, they understood fully that the victory of Prussia and the formation of Germany into a united nation under the Prussian leadership, was a historical necessity for a future German labor movement of a very different order and size than that which had been a possibility before. Engels here writes:

"The situation has the advantage that it clears the field for a revolutionary movement, because it makes an end to the fights in the small capitols, and at any rate makes for development. In the last analysis, is a German Reichstag very different from a Prussian Lantag? The movement swept away all the small state nonsensical talk, and the worst influence, which considered only local conditions, has ceased. Parties at last have become national instead of merely local."

The letters are especially interesting from the summer of 1870, shortly after the breaking out of the German-Franco war. Here the superior intelligence of the two men plainly shows itself. There were two reasons for wishing the defeat of France; one was on account of the chauvinism that ruled the French middle class. A great part of the working class would thereby disappear; the other was that the German national organization necessarily had to be settled before there could be any talk of a strong and far-reaching labor movement there.

In a letter of the 15th of August, 1870, Engels gives his view of the situation as he sees it from a socialist standpoint:

"The condition, according to my understanding, is this: Germany is driven into a war with Napoleon, where the national existence is at stake. If Germany is defeated by Napoleon, Bonapartism is then established for many years to come, and Germany may be bankrupt for a generation. It will then be useless to talk about an independent German labor movement, for the struggle for national existence will then consume all energy, and at best the German workers will drag on behind the French. On the other hand, if Germany wins, then Bonapartism is, at any rate, finished, and the everlasting talk about the union of Germany will come to an end, as it will be accomplished.

"The German workers can then organize themselves on a much more rational basis than they could before; and no matter what kind of government France gets, the French workers will, at any rate, get more freedom than under Bonapartism. . . . Napoleon could not have made this war except for the chauvinism that rules the great mass of the French people, including the workers, especially those occupied in the building trades in the great cities that have come under the influence of Bonaparte. Until this chauvinism gets a sound ducking, peace between Germany and France is impossible. We could have expected that a proletarian revolution would have undertaken this work; but now that we have the war, the Germans will have to do it, and that as quickly as possible.

"That it is Bismarck and his followers who undertake this affair is positively obnoxious, but there is nothing to do about that, and to make a fight against Bismarck on that account would be foolish. Bismarck is here, just as he was in 1866, doing a good work that is an advantage to us. It gets done, though he does it in his own way and against his own will. He brushes the tables cleaner for us than they were before. The German workers therefore ought, in the interest of their movement, confine their tactics to the following: First, join the national movement as far as it tends only to defend Germany; second, sound the difference between the German national interest and the Prussian dynasty; third, oppose the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine;

fourth, work for an honorable peace as soon as a republican and not a chauvinistic government is in power in France; and lastly, always point out the common interest of the German and French workers, and the fact that the working class does not counsel war and the fighting of each other."

The Communard uprising in Paris took place shortly after this, and for a short time established the Paris Commune. But alas! here is a gap in the letters. So that they throw no light on how Marx and Engels judged this episode of the revolutionary movement. We only see that they opposed it with all their power.

ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

Proletarian Vs. "Intellectual" Conception

By E. L. DEWAR

TO the professional classes the labor movement presents a problem that can only be "solved" by the trained mind of the intellectual. For this reason they believe that much depends upon the character of its leaders and their ability to think and reason correctly.

We industrialists or socialists explain all social phenomena by economic or teluric change. That is, by a change that alters the way food, clothing and shelter are produced, or by geographic or geologic changes such as a change in the surface of the earth and the appearance or disappearance of certain islands, etc., etc., due to natural forces. Industrial changes are the basis of human ideas and human conduct. Therefore, to know the human mind and its many social expressions through various movements is chiefly to know the history of industry. As Frederick Engels in *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, says:

"We no longer explain man's being by his KNOWING, but, instead, his KNOWING by his BEING."

It naturally follows from the industrialist premise, that the higher we go in the intellectual scale for a solution or explanation of society's constant expressions of change—such as wars, etc., etc., the farther we get from the facts, for the more importance is laid upon the MIND (the lesser factor). It is the more difficult for "great minds" to understand social phenomena, because they do not know where ideas spring from.

Now, the dividing line between the industrialist and the idealist—between the high-brow and the worker—is right here: The former—the worker—by reason of his position at the point of production, in the factory, mine or mill, acts in the final analysis, in obedience to the law of necessity, or the conditions imposed upon him by industrial evolution. Thus he expresses the highest and most advanced type of human intelligence in action, though he may not completely understand the natural laws that cause him so to act. While the latter—the "intellectual"—by virtue of his separation or indirect connection with industry, seeks to depend entirely upon his mind for guidance. Even when he may not seem to represent special class interests, he cannot properly comprehend the revolutionary movement of labor and is, therefore, unfitted to take part in its councils.

The proletariat, or working class, at the opposite pole of industrial society, actuated by the law of economic necessity, will be the only aggressive factor in the revolution. Their needs, which are born in industry, must determine and will determine their form of organization and tactics; not a declaration of principles or a program submitted to paper by some aspirant to intellectual honors, or recognition in history. The only workable program is the one that springs from and responds to the economic NEEDS of the working class.

No group of men outside of industry

can evolve, through pure reason, a plan of action adapted to the every-day needs of the working class.

Even those men who met a few years ago to organize themselves into the Industrial Workers of the World could only ACT for their own particular group. The I. W. W. declares the futility of any individual or group of individuals imposing a program of their own upon the workers. Perhaps the men and women who formed the nucleus of the I. W. W. were among the most experienced, the most advanced students in the labor movement. By this, I mean that they more certainly recognized the determining power of INDUSTRY in shaping human institutions than any of their predecessors.

Nevertheless the workers have failed to respond to any appreciable extent to adopt the means or program of the I. W. W. In the light of these facts we are forced to conclude that something more powerful is necessary to bring about the kind of action that will result in a concrete demonstration of the industrial solidarity in the ranks of labor. The IDEA is not sufficient stimuli in the majority of cases to induce ACTION. The solidarity of labor evidently does not depend altogether upon a conscious understanding of some great principle or idea thought out and handed to us in speech or pamphlet. Instead it may more largely result from a recognition in ACTION and PRACTICE of the laws of industrial change. In my opinion, the working class does not need FIRST to understand the laws underlying historical development in order to act toward the control of industry. The working class and the capitalist class in the every-day acts of their lives are living and expressing the principles of historical materialism by conducting themselves according to the dictates of the machine process of production.

And this, not through some superior intelligence upon the part of the master class, for they, too, are subject to the laws of industrial development, as is proven by their constant demands for legislation to facilitate production and exchange.

There are no supermen possessed with great ideas for the enslavement of the

working class. All human beings tend to act in accord with the historical conditions imposed upon them—to satisfy their desires, to seek pleasure and avoid pain. We do not act in obedience to law or laws invented by supermen.

The ruling class and their mouthpieces are prevented from giving expression to the highest intelligence because of their special class interests. This remains to the working class to be demonstrated IN ACTION, IN INDUSTRY. Being tied to industry, the worker must need represent finally the only possible class tactic, consistent with his status in the life of society. He performs the POSSIBLE act, the NECESSARY act. In his struggles it is HE who discovers new ways of fighting—new methods by which to attain the satisfaction of his needs.

“When people speak of ideas that revolutionize society, they do but express the fact that within the old society the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence.”—Karl Marx, Communist Manifesto.

This is equivalent to saying that the human mind bears the same relation to social institutions and their changes that the mercury in the thermometer does to the weather.

So much for the ability of the intellectual in the capitalist class or any other class in society to change conditions by beautifully postulated theories or eloquent outbursts of oratory. In spite of allusions of our speakers and writers to the materialist conception of history, it is evident that we have failed to grasp the significance of this theory in its application to the MIND and IDEAS.

If the history of society were determined by the ability of the spokesmen of the ruling class to impose false and erroneous ideas into print, there would be little hope for the wage workers. Fortunately, the workers read little along these lines; otherwise we might be more confused than we are now.

We do not improve or change the condition of the weather by hanging out a thermometer. We register it. Things would be pretty much where they are today if Marx and Engels had never written one word. The law of gravita-

tion did not spring into existence because Newton discovered it; neither did Galileo's hypothesis make possible the circumnavigation of the earth, but stern and stubborn industrial requirements. If IDEAS were the principal and guiding force in human activities, not one move would be made, not one move COULD be made until some great mind had pre-conceived it (out of nothing) to point the way.

Observing, intelligent workers are in a position to explain the labor movement, but not to change it even when we most clearly understand it. The growth and extension of the capitalist system of production into every land on the globe will force the workers of the world to ACT in accordance with the theories of the materialistic conception of history. The theorists will be vindicated. The workers who have been wrenched from their lives of routine, their habits and customs by changing industrial conditions will SEE demonstrated and *help* to demonstrate these theories by the *living facts* in their daily lives. The workers will learn by facing FACTS.

The rapid development of industry is not due to some special intelligence inherent in our economic masters but has its origin and growth in the capitalist method of production itself, which drives the individual capitalist to extend his plant, to install new machinery, to employ new methods of production, to cut his wage scale, to employ women and children instead of men, to enable him to compete with his competitors and avoid extinction in the business game. The interests of the exploiting class call into existence institutions such as the state, the military, the church, etc., etc., and others best fitted to function in maintaining the supremacy of the capitalist class.

The professional classes thus find their interests bound up in and with the interests of the capitalist class and develop a psychology in perfect harmony with the interests of the masters they serve. To quote Marx again:

"What else does the history of ideas prove than that intellectual production changes in character in proportion as ma-

terial production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class."

The fact is that the ruling class acts as it sees best to conserve its own interests, but it is incapable of correctly interpreting the laws of historical development. The truths of history cannot emanate from such a source. It remains for the machinery of production to create a condition that will compel man to know and feel the facts of history through industrial or economic change, and not the superior intelligence of the ruling class.

One of the stock lies that is taught us from the cradle to the grave is that the interests of our masters, who employ and exploit us, and our own interests are identical. But this lie is refuted in the shop and mill by the daily events in the lives of the workers and are being proven by strikes, lockouts and open rebellion wherever capitalism exists. Conditions surrounding the old order of industry are gradually being undermined by the new processes of production, and these new processes are bringing new understanding to the working class based upon experience and necessity. Come then struggles for more of the product of their labor and more control in the shop, mine or mill. The minds of the workers have not been changed by the plans or methods advised in books but by their needs.

This is Historical Materialism as we, the uncultured and unlettered rebels of the revolutionary movement, know it from our actual experience in shop and factory.

As Marx and Engels so well understood, it is not enlightening the *mind* that will set the workers free or cause them to ACTION, but industrial change and development and plain, physical NEEDS. The general ideas prevailing during the period of private property in the tools of production correspond to the historical conditions prevailing at a given time. It is the ideas born IN INDUSTRY that will aid the working class. Marx and Engels well knew it was only the workers themselves who could carry the revolution on to victory.

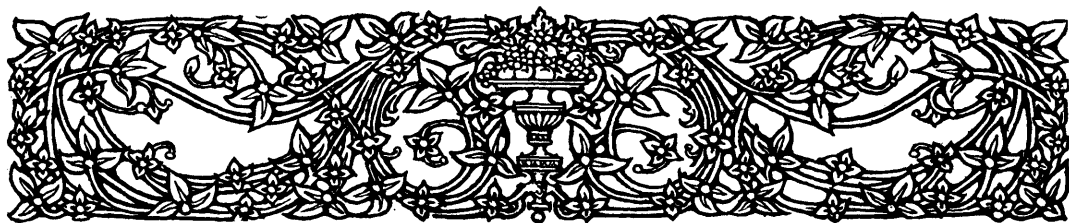
"Workers of the world, unite!"

LABOR NEWS

WHEN WILL IT BE TIME TO CHANGE YOUR TACTICS?

The Colorado coal miners have returned to work, fighting against the calling off of the strike. They recognize that if the workers themselves had been the ruling power in their union, instead of a bunch of highly-paid capitalistic-minded officials, they could have had some results at the end of their five-year battle; as it is, they go back, beaten and crushed, not by any extraordinary brilliancy on the part of their opponents, but by the antiquated and useless tactics their leaders insisted in forcing upon them. That the miners of Colorado realize this is one of the few hopeful signs to be seen in the reports now coming from that field. They are declaring that when strikes are called there should be no district boundary lines in their industry; they have learned that capitalism is not divided into districts, and that to strike against a few square miles of coal octopus territory, while their brothers over in the next district start to working an extra shift for the same octopus, in order to make up for the loss of production caused by the strike, is not only futile, but damned ignorance. Yet these are the tactics the "leaders" of the U. M. W. of A. have pursued in their battles for the past ten years. That they have lost every one of the strikes carried on in that time does not seem to have impressed them in the least with the fact that they are trying to fit nineteenth century tactics to twentieth century conditions. Following the massacre of Ludlow, the rank and file of the U. M. W. of A., the country over, demanded and pleaded with their officials that they call a nation-wide strike of coal miners in order that the American public might be forced to realize that the miners of Colorado had a grievance that deserved their attention. The National Executive Board of the organization met to discuss the proposition

of putting the matter to a referendum vote of the rank and file. They discussed it several days, and then issued a statement to the effect that, in their judgment, "it was NOT YET time for such action." The Colorado miners were driven, at the point of the bayonet, back into the mines, and it is "NOT YET time" for the National Executive Committee to act. The Ohio miners, another district, if you please, are being slowly forced to bow their heroic heads in defeat, and still "it is NOT YET time" for action by the National Executive Committee of their organization. The once powerful and great organization has been beaten on every industrial battlefield of the last decade, and still "it is NOT YET time" for them to change the tactics which have proven so useless before present day conditions. The anthracite struggle in Pennsylvania—lost; the bitter fight in Alabama—lost; the West Virginia war—lost; the British Columbia conflict—lost; the Colorado struggle—lost; the Ohio famine, practically lost, and then the gentlemanly, well-paid, expense-account-padding leeches who live from the dues checked-off the sorry remnants of the once grand army of labor whimper THAT IT IS NOT YET TIME TO ACT FOR THE MEN THEY ARE SUPPOSED TO REPRESENT! When will it "be time," you rear guard of a forlorn hope? Will it be time to act when every coal miner in America is chained in the pits, and a company of State Cossacks is quartered in every camp? Is it any wonder that the defeated, yet still hopeful, Colorado miners are deserting your standards and flocking into the Industrial Workers of the World? It at least has higher ideals than a "check-off," and does not teach the miserable philosophy of bartering men's lives and liberties for worthless "District contracts."—From *Labor Argus*.



EDITORIAL

BETTER ANY KIND OF ACTION THAN INERT THEORY!

WHEN the war in Europe first broke out, some of us believed that it was only some overwhelming elemental instinct that could cause men to leave the security of their homes to face death and disease at the front. We attributed their swift advances to the hunting instinct or to social stampede, or to mob psychology. We could not believe that anything short of primal instinct or "original tendency" could so sweep men off their feet and carry them into the horrors of war.

But, as a matter of fact, we find that the women were not caught in the whirl and borne to the front, and instinct is not a respecter of persons. The girl baby inherits the hunting and fighting tendencies of her father as does the boy. On what basis would we explain the fact that the primitive emotion passes her by and infects the male only?

At the very onset we find that acquired habits played a very important rôle in the conduct of the people of Europe. The women refrained from going to war because it was their **HABIT** or custom to abstain from war.

And when we look closely we find almost an utter lack of enthusiasm, an amazing lack of emotion among the soldiers. They went toward France like men going to work in a factory; they discharged their guns like "hands" running a machine in a steel mill.

All the movements for improving the condition of the working class, all movements for the emancipation of the proletariat are

based on the premise that the human animal seeks pleasure and avoids pain. He **HAS** sought pleasure and avoided pain, or he would not have lived to reproduce himself.

When we realize how persistently and under what adverse circumstances men cling to life at normal times, one would imagine that only universal and fundamental causes could force them to go to war.

It is doubtless true that few men expect to be killed when they are mobilized. Every soldier believes in the invincibility of the army of which he forms a part. But when hundreds of thousands of soldiers are suffering the hardships of cold, hunger, wounds and death in the trenches, human instinct, or the "original tendencies of man" would lead us to expect them to right-about-face and homeward march.

Perhaps most of the readers of the **REVIEW** agree with Dr. Jacques Loeb that men are unwilling to sacrifice their lives for an *idea*, the histories of the lofty (?) claims of the men themselves notwithstanding. It is incomprehensible to us that men should die for patriotism or justice or religion or any other abstract **IDEA**.

To us it seems that it has been an **ACQUIRED** characteristic — namely the *HABIT of taking orders, of obedience*, imposed by discipline, that has sent 5,000,000 Germans to the battle front, the **HABIT** of mental inhibition—inactivity. The same may hold good of Russia and Belgium and of France to a large extent.

In other words it would seem that **HABIT**, engendered by discipline, is the

cause of the war becoming a FACT. Without this habit of mental inertia, of doing what one is told to do, of following a leader, of obeying a command, the desires of the capitalist class for new conquests would have remained fruitless.

If we wish to avoid the German result, we must avoid the German CAUSE. The German Social Democracy was cut from the same piece of cloth as the German military system and the German government. The rank and file were fostered in Party *inaction*, were taught and compelled to trust to the leaders who have drawn them into the pitfalls of war. Party discipline, obedience to majority rule, mean obedience to political compromisers. It means the crushing out of all healthful activity not in line with the advancement of political office seekers.

Discipline and leadership mean mental and physical INACTION on the part of the working class; mean men that lack initiative and may be led astray, that WILL be led astray.

No labor movement is a healthy movement when it has become wholly harmonious. Absolute freedom of expression and activity are necessary to healthy growth. Better a thousand premature or futile strikes every year than a rank and file that moves only in obedience to the word of command from leaders.

The workers develop initiative in ACTION and initiative renders one and all capable of thinking and acting as real factors in the revolution.

Down with discipline! And away with *habits* of obedience to both Kaiser and labor leader. Absolutism is as fatal in the labor movement as it is in the scientific world. All that encourages men to break the routine of their lives, every machine that replaces men and women in the factories, everything that jars them loose from the ruts of existence, that wrenches them away from their accustomed grind is a thought stimulator, a stimulator to action, a blessing in disguise. The *economic jolt* is the greatest of all teachers!

It was not any one IDEA that made the war a fact. It will not be any one IDEA that will free the working class. But rather the common human needs of the workers,

made acute by the breaking of old time habits of life and thought. It is this breaking of old ties and old HABITS that creates revolutionary INITIATIVE. The more flux the revolutionary movement is allowed to become (so long as it retains its distinctly working-class character) the more vital will it become. The oftener every member FUNCTIONS in an organization (we do not here refer to the mere paying of dues) the oftener will he *desire* to function or take part. Every movement gains MOMENTUM THROUGH ACTION.

We should encourage rebellious activity on all the part of the workers everywhere and at all times. ACTIVITY always adds to the strength of the movement, brings new workers into the ranks. We do not learn inaction through activity but how *best* to act in order to win. Action tested in the fires of experience, finds the best tactic.

The war itself may prove an aid to the revolutionary movement by destroying old habits of life and thought. When the factory worker finds his job destroyed, his old associates gone, he will evolve new ideas and a new line of conduct in harmony with the new conditions. Torn from his old moorings, he may develop into a real revolutionist, provided he does not again permit himself to be drawn into the old hard and fast organization that demands unquestioned obedience from its members. Questioning and rebellion in ANY organization is a sign of life. Unless some one rebelled or disagreed the sons would know even less than their fathers, and progress would mean a word only. Let us greet the rebels, the hot-heads with more patience. The hope of the working class lies in those who are eager to do and dare.

Let us remember that *discipline* and party *obedience* mean *unpreparedness* and inaction and that rebellion means *initiative* to think and to ACT. And above all we must remember that the revolutionary movement gains strength, experience, equipment and MOMENTUM TO ATTACK AND RESIST THROUGH ACTION ALONE.

Better any kind of ACTION than INERT THEORY!

MARY E. MARCY.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Second Thoughts on the War

Border towns are being taken and re-taken. A few yards of trenches are fought over till they are covered with dead again and again. First the Russians drive westward and then the Germans drive eastward. Hundreds of thousands fall and nothing is gained for either side.

But this not what a Socialist has his eye on. What we are watching for now is the reaction against war. And it is coming faster than victory for either side.

The last line of defense is made up of those who are doing the work at home. No

Those in the Last Line of Defense hymns are written to them, but they bear the brunt of work and woe. In Paris women are working for a franc a day. Children are

exploited as they have not been for fifty years. In France the government seems to be doing less than elsewhere to keep conditions tolerable. Their soldiers are sent to do work for which civilians would receive real wages. But everywhere men and women are unemployed in tremendous numbers. In London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Lodz the tale is the same. And everywhere wages are being forced down. The Germans, as usual, show superior power of organization. German employers' associations have shown wonderful efficiency in the ease and speed with which they have changed their methods and products to suit the war conditions. They are doing all that can be done to keep industry going and insure the continuation of their profits. But the cost of living is going up and wages are going down.

There is a story going the rounds of an Irish regiment that went on strike because pay was withheld and food was not up to the requirements. And a German union man writes home that a good many of his Socialist comrades are with him. They are carrying on a ceaseless propaganda, he says, and many new Socialists will come out of the war.

In Vienna and Budapest there have been anti-war riots. These are merely extreme manifestations of a change of tone which is discoverable even in

"Patriotism" the Morning After the most conservative journals. No one now

is talking much of possible glorious victories. In Germany, in fact, one hears again and again of "ending the war with honor." The general attitude is one of grim forbearance. A correspondent of *Vorwaerts* journeyed through the country making notes on conversations with working people. They told of sons and husbands and fathers fallen. They voiced a fatalistic belief in the inevitability of the thing. "Of course, it had to come," was the way several put it. But many of them said, "But after this never another war." Somehow the center of gravity has shifted in their minds since August 4th.

Outside of Germany there have been no important developments with regard to the attitude of Socialists. In Russia the Socialist members of the Duma have been

Socialists in the Warring Countries imprisoned because of their clear and heroic stand. In Italy and

Roumania our comrades see no reason to lessen their hostility to any move looking to the participation of these countries. In England many labor unions are assisting the government to gain recruits, but the Independent Labor Party continues to agitate against the war. More and more it is gaining the support of outside advocates of peace. In general the English peace party is gaining in weight. There is very little news from France. What little there is indicates that the Socialists have seen no reason to change their attitude. They still regard the present government, not as an organ of the employing class, but as a defense committee of the whole population. Late in November and early in December there went the rounds of the papers an interview of the distinguished Italian Syndicalist, De Ambris,

with Jules Guesde. Guesde insisted that it is the duty of Italian Socialists to advocate joining the Allies. He based this contention on two notions. If Italy joins, he said, the war will be the sooner ended, and this is surely an object to be desired by members of the working class. Furthermore, he said, the more democratic countries there are joined on the victorious side the less will be the influence of Russia in the day of peace. Of course De Ambris had no difficulty in meeting these curiously disingenuous arguments, but Jules Guesde, old Marxist though he is, remained unconvinced of his error.

Among German Socialists, however, there is the beginning of a real awakening.

German Socialists Finding Out

It becomes more and more evident that their action on August 4th was the result of misinformation. They debated the whole matter and composed their declaration to the Reichstag without knowing that Belgium was to be invaded. To be sure, one would not expect such experienced opponents of capitalist government to be so easily deceived by their former enemies. And one might expect them to recognize their error immediately upon securing real information. But we are not interested in what might have been.

Finally the various blue and yellow and white books have been reprinted in Germany. With the general sobering influence of the terrible struggle the information thus put in circulation is having a decided effect. Just before the second session of the Reichstag since the famous one in August, Eduard Bernstein asked in an article whether "the conditions under which the Socialists voted in favor of the war credits on August 4th still existed." This question he answered in the negative. His argument is that in the course of four months the character of the war has changed. In the beginning it was, for Germans a war against the Slavs; it has become a war against western Europe. Therefore the original reason for voting a war budget, fear of Russia, cannot now be the chief reason for repeating this action. If there is any reason for doing it, this reason must be a new one. So the whole matter must be discussed over again and, presumably, our decision may be different from what it was.

As all the world knows, the majority of Socialist parliamentarians were not of this mind. Comrade Liebknecht was the only one who refused to vote for the budget presented on December 2nd. But the fact that a considerable group of German Socialists agitated against this action shows that there has been a great change.

A correspondent of the New York *Volkszeitung*, writing from Hamburg toward the end of December, said: "I recently conferred with a Socialist deputy, a thoroughly trustworthy comrade. He stated as his opinion that the group had erred in voting for the war credits on August 4th. Acknowledging his own mistake, he stated: 'I could reconcile myself with the way we voted the credit if their purpose had remained as we understood it. Unfortunately this is not the case. Many things had not been foreseen by us.'"

Of all those who have right to be heard on the war Karl Liebknecht is the foremost. In the midst of confusion and deception he saw straight and acted straight. Writing to the English *Labor Leader* on January 2nd, he said in part: "I am pleased to be

able to write a message of brotherhood to the British Socialists at a time when the ruling classes of Germany and Great Britain are trying by all the means in their power to incite bloodthirsty hatred between the two peoples.

"But it is painful to write at a time when the radiant hope of previous days, the Socialist International, lies smashed with its thousand expectations, when even many Socialists of the belligerent countries in this most rapacious of all wars of robbery willingly put on the yoke of imperialism, just when the evils of capitalism were becoming more apparent than ever. The British Independent Labor party, with their Russian and Servian comrades, saved the honor of Socialism against the madness of national slaughter.

"Confusion reigns in the rank and file of the Socialist army. Many Socialists blame our principles for our present failure. It is not our principles which have failed, but the representatives of those principles. . . .

"Nowhere have the masses desired this war. Why should they, then, murder one another to finish it? It would be a sign

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of weakness, it is said, for any one people to demand peace. Well, let all the people suggest it together. The nation which speaks first will not show weakness, but strength, and will win glory and the gratitude of posterity.

"Already among German workers there is far greater opposition to the war than is generally supposed, and the louder the echo of the cry for peace in other countries the more energetically will they work for peace here."

Since October we have been hearing of the plans for an International Socialist Peace Conference. It was to be held at Copenhagen on January 15-16. But one

No International Congress

national party after another has refused to send delegates until the meeting, if it is held at all, will have no more significance than two or three which have already been held. The belligerent nations were ruled out. The Italians held that the time for such a congress has not yet arrived. Comrade Morris Hilquit, who was to represent the American Party, published a letter in which he explained, very sensibly, that since the congress was not to be truly representative it would be unwise for us to expend our party funds to send a delegate across the water.

Playing Politics in Sweden.—In the December REVIEW was recorded the fact that in Sweden the Socialists are now the strongest party in the lower house of parliament. They have 87 votes, the Conservatives have 86, and the Liberals have 45. The situation is a tempting one for the party leaders. The new cabinet must be made up either of Socialists or Conservatives. By combining with the Liberals the Socialists can have the naming of the chief ministers and a chief part in drawing up a government program. The leading men in the Swedish party have always been reformist in their tendencies. It was to be expected that they would yield to this exceptional temptation. And they have done so.

The party congress met at Stockholm during the last days of November. There were two important matters up for discussion, militarism and participation in the

government. Action on both matters went the same way.

With regard to militarism the action taken indicates a definite backsliding. The party program demanded a progressive

A Good Imitation of the Germans

reduction of expenditures for army and navy to the point of disarmament. It was charged that the Socialist deputies had not lived up to the requirements of this program. They had, it is true, insisted on certain economies in military expenditures, but they had countenanced an experimental mobilization and voted appropriations for the navy and for war aeroplanes. When these facts were brought out by critics of the parliamentary group the conventional answer was given. We cannot disarm, it was said in effect, before disarmament is brought about by international agreement. This position was approved by a vote of 70 to 61.

With regard to participation in the government there was a sharp discussion. The minority was well represented. But the party executive committee, represented by Branting, carried the day for "practical" politics. Branting argued that if it is possible to agree with the Liberals on a "minimum program" of reforms it is the duty of the party to its supporters at the polls to

enter into a coalition. These voters, he said, have a right to expect definite results. If we have results to show they will support us again. If we are able to agree with the Liberals on a "minimum program," we may, of course, be thwarted by the king. That will throw the responsibility on the supporters of the royal power and we can go into the next campaign with a good case. The only definite suggestion made as to the possible nature of the proposed program had to do with the inclusion of an agreement to do away with plural voting in municipal elections!

The opposition was ably represented by Comrade Högland. If one can judge from the slight reports which have come to hand, he made an excellent statement of the real Socialist position. "The Socialist Democracy strives," he said, "for political domination. But this depends not only on the number of parliamentary seats which we

control, but also on the power of our organization and the class consciousness of our members. Our power at present is only apparent and is not based on real, internal strength. Only one-fifth of our voters are party members, our labor unions have great difficulties to overcome and our co-operative movement is largely bourgeois. A real, organized and industrial basis of a Socialist government is still lacking. Under these circumstances the proposed experiment is foredoomed to failure."

The proposal of the Executive Committee represented by Branting was accepted by a vote of 90 to 58. In accordance with this proposal the Socialist deputies are first to meet the Liberals and attempt to draw up a common program. If they succeed in doing this they will be at liberty to form a cabinet made up of representatives of the two parties.

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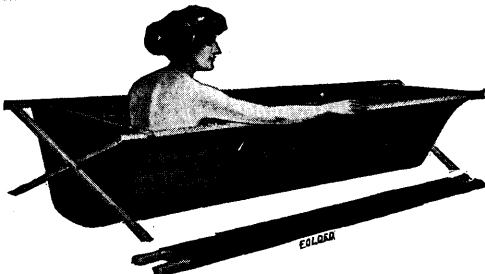
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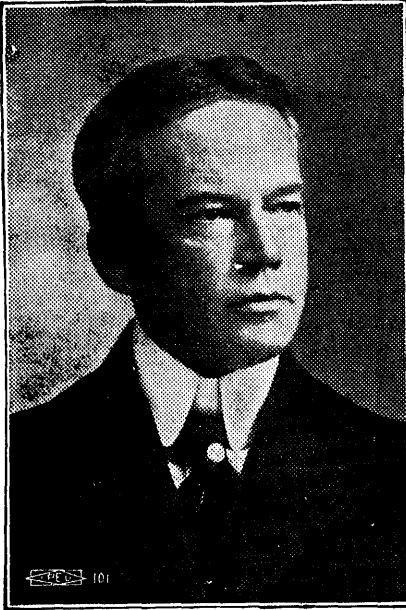


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NEWS AND VIEWS

Annual Stockholders' Meeting. The annual stockholders' meeting of Charles H. Kerr & Company was held at 118 West Kinzie street, Chicago, Jan. 15, 1915, at 3 p. m. Present, Charles H. Kerr, holding personally 1,245 shares of stock and the stamped proxy of Pansy Deese (one share), Walter Lanfersiek, National Secretary, holding a number of unstamped proxies, and the following stockholders owning one share each: L. H. Marcy, Ralph H. Chaplin, Marcus Hitch, F. W. Millar, J. M. Woodcock, Dr. J. H. Greer, Mary E. Marcy and R. B. Tobias. Total number of shares legally represented, 1,254.

Many hundreds of proxies were received by Charles H. Kerr and other comrades present to be used at the meeting, but we were informed only two hours before the meeting that these proxies were not legal unless each and every one bore the new U. S. revenue 10-cent stamp. Consequently only one proxy was voted at the meeting, but all comrades present were invited to take part. Charles H. Kerr presided and Mary E. Marcy acted as secretary. President Kerr read the following:

Annual Report

During the first half of the year 1914 our ordinary receipts covered all expenses, with a surplus of \$651.67. Then the European war began, the demand for Socialist literature was cut in two, while expenses kept right on. We close the year with a deficit of \$1,112.84, and we rejoice that things are no worse with us.

This deficit does not mean that our assets are less than a year ago, nor that our debt has grown. We have during the year sold treasury stock to the amount of \$2,130.00, and part of the money received from the sale of this stock has gone to make up the year's losses. The exact figures for the year are as follows:

Receipts for 1914 (Exclusive of Stock Sold)	
Book sales	\$22,468.50
Review subscriptions and sales.....	12,809.21
Review advertising	1,571.62
Increased value of books on hand...	935.90
Deficit for year.....	1,112.84

Total \$38,898.07

Expenditures for 1914

Manufacture of books.....	\$ 8,201.25
Manufacture of Review.....	7,723.38
Wages	9,972.90
Postage and expressage.....	5,904.07
Advertising	567.80
Review circulation expense.....	878.85
Review articles and photographs....	846.45
Authors of books.....	619.89
Books purchased	1,293.01
Rent	1,200.00
Insurance	110.25
Taxes	183.08
Miscellaneous expense	966.14
Interest	61.04
Depreciation on furniture.....	111.20
Depreciation on electrotype plates..	258.76

\$38,898.07

Assets Dec. 31, 1914.

Cash on hand.....	\$ 72.43
Books, bound and unbound.....	12,923.59
Electrotype plates	14,000.00
Copyrights	8,752.74
International Socialist Review.....	5,000.00
Office furniture and fixtures.....	500.00
Accounts receivable	656.18
Real estate	450.00
Bills receivable	1,001.25
Deficit	1,112.84
Total	\$44,469.03

Liabilities Dec. 31, 1914.

Paid-up capital stock.....	\$39,830.00
Co-operative publishing bonds.....	620.00
Accounts payable	24.86
Loans from stockholders.....	3,994.17
Total	\$44,469.03

We may as well face the fact that the outlook for the next few months shows no prospect of any quick improvement in the demand for Socialist literature. Unemployment in the United States is worse than at any time since 1894, and one consequence is that many of our friends who usually buy our literature are unable to do so. Again, the failure of European Socialists to unite in effective opposition to the war has been disastrous to the Socialist movement here as well as in Europe, or rather had revealed a weakness in it which had scarcely been suspected either by friends or enemies. The working class still remains the most important of all classes, and it must and will in the near future find new methods of carrying on its fight against capitalism, but for the moment every one seems to be awaiting the outcome of the war.

In view of all this we must expect a small deficit during 1915, and the question is how to meet it. Here I have a definite proposition to make. I am willing to contribute out of my salary and what little savings I have the sum of one thousand dollars to the publishing house, provided our other stockholders and friends will make up an equal amount. Two thousand dollars will just about make up the deficit for 1914 and the probable deficit for 1915. If more is contributed, it will be used to pay off loans. A dollar from each stockholder would be more than enough, but many are unable to pay anything, so we hope for more in proportion from those who have the coin.

The lease of our present quarters expires the last of April, 1915. We expect at that time to move to new quarters that will be more convenient and somewhat less expensive, but the cost of moving will at best be considerable and we need the co-operation of all our friends in disposing of as much literature as possible before we move.

CHARLES H. KERR.

Dr. Greer moved the report be accepted; seconded by R. B. Tobias and carried.

Comrade Marcus Hitch made the motion,

Hillquit-Gompers Debate

For many years Socialists have tried to get Samuel Gompers to debate with some prominent Socialist. At last the unexpected has happened. Morris Hillquit and Samuel Gompers locked horns in a debate before the Commission on Industrial Relations at New York City. Not only were both permitted to refute each other's arguments, but they were allowed to cross-question each other. The Socialists are not ashamed of the result. The debate bristles with wit and repartee. You will read it with interest and pleasure.

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Three pamphlets of especial merit published by the national office of the Socialist party are:

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which was seconded by Comrade Millar, that all the old members of the board of directors, except J. O. Bentall, who is at present residing outside Chicago, be re-elected for the coming year.

Amended by L. H. Marcy that R. H. Chaplin be included in the list of directors for 1915. Both motion and amendment carried.

After an informal discussion of the work of the publishing house, the stockholders' meeting adjourned.

The newly elected board of directors then met and re-elected the officers for the ensuing year, Charles H. Kerr, president; Leslie H. Marcy, vice-president, and Mary E. Marcy, secretary.

National Union of Railwaymen.—Bristol, England. Comrade G. W. Brown, organizing secretary, writes us an interesting letter under date of December 27 in which he says: "I have been a reader of the Review for about eight years and should not like to miss it. I desire to take advantage of your bundle offer so you will kindly forward me five copies and repeat the process for the following three months, as I want to push its sale."

From a Railroader.—Comrade Mann of Ohio, in remitting for a share of stock, says: "Business is as 'rotten' as ever on the road, with 75 engineers back firing and 150 firemen laid off. Engineers and firemen in service are working on half or two-thirds time so as not to lay off more."

Attention, Review Readers.—We have received several letters from comrades who are railroad men suggesting the importance of a closer organization among railroad workers who are Socialists. The Review will be only too glad to co-operate towards this end and therefore requests its readers to send in the names and addresses of all Red Card men whom they know. We will then compile the names received and furnish them to our railroad comrades. We sincerely trust that the Review will receive your hearty co-operation in putting these comrades in touch with each other so that they can do more effective propaganda work.

Twin Falls, Idaho.—Comrade Olson writes: "I think the Review is the best Socialist magazine in the market. It shows actual conditions as well as giving the clearest idea of what Socialism stands for." He also forwards ten new readers for the FIGHTING MAGAZINE.

Sounds Good to Us.—Comrade Larson of South Dakota writes: "The Review is the only magazine that lets me know anything about the class struggle and I certainly do not want to miss a copy."

From a Socialist Doctor.—I have read every issue of the Review for the last year and herewith inclose my subscription for 1915.

I hope you will never publish another article that is not Revolutionary. The pure, political socialists of this country do not seem to have learned anything from the German and other political socialists of Europe. Can they not see that if they sail the same sea over the same course it will land them in the same port? Voting for politicians did not prevent war in Europe, neither will it do so in this country.

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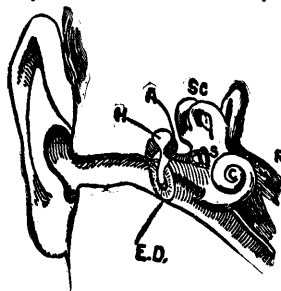
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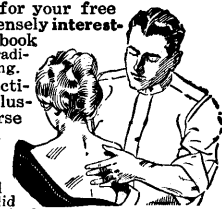
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Capitalism is the same hydra-headed monster here as there. If would seem that the average socialist has as vague notions regarding what Socialism really is as the average Republican or Democrat has of the meaning of these terms.

One solid class conscious union of the workers on the industrial field (as that is where the worker is robbed) is the only thing that can successfully cope with capitalism. Keep the issue clear.

From Far Off Australia—Comrade Will Andrade writes: "Owing to your interesting articles on the war, we are glad to report a further demand for the International Socialist Review. Please increase our order by 15 copies monthly, making a total of 270."

From a Review Reader.—"You comrades on the Review must get terribly tired and disgusted with all of us cranks. I bet sometimes you cannot even laugh, but you have the reward of knowing you are helping to pay the price for a better future.

"Every time I get a Review I feel that I am cheating you. If we Socialists paid you what it is really worth, instead of what you ask, we should all have starved to death months ago. An inspiration is worth more than ten cents. I was particularly moved by Frank Bohn's article, "The Fallen Mighty," not so much because he would be brave enough to die for the cause, but because he had courage to say so."—C. R. C., Santa Ana, Cal.

From One of the Unemployed.—"I have been unemployed for two months, yet I dig up these \$2.00 as I would go without a meal rather than go without the Review, which I consider the most fearless and best fighting magazine of the working class."—O. Bartson.

The Intercollegiate Socialist Society held its annual meeting in New York City from December 29 to the 31st. The convention as a whole was the most successful ever held. Many colleges too far away to send delegates sent in interesting reports. At the most important sessions over 500 graduates and undergraduates were present.

Return greetings were sent to the British University Socialist Federation, which sent the following letter:

"The University Socialist Federation conveys to your annual convention the heartiest greetings of the University Socialists of Great Britain. It is with mixed feelings of satisfaction and envy that we watch the normal proceeding of your business—satisfaction that somewhere at least in the civilized world the work of Socialists continues unhampered, envy that it cannot do so here in Europe.

"Most cordial relations have been established during the last few years between our two organizations, and have been immeasurably strengthened by our recent opportunities for personal acquaintance—opportunities which we hope may be renewed at some near and happier future. It is a source of gratification to us that these cordial relations are in no way shaken by the European catastrophe, and that

there exists between us no reason for suspicion or distrust, and no need for reconciliation or explanation.

"Indeed the war itself is a contributory reason why we look to you and your organization with even more hope and admiration than usual. When the stattered International comes to be rebuilt, a difficult task for reconstruction will fall very largely on the shoulders of Socialists in neutral countries. Amongst these the Socialists of the U. S. A. will surely be the foremost, and we know what an essential part among the Socialists of the U. S. A. the Intercollegiate Socialist Society has played and is destined to play.

"Please convey to your convention our most sincere greetings and our very best wishes for highly successful deliberations.

"THEODORE CHAUNDY,
"Chairman U. S. F."

The work of the I. S. S. is conducted from 41 Union Square. The society will be pleased to receive names of any collegians who might be interested in its work.

From a Colorado Coal Miner.—"Dear Comrades: Enclosed find 50 cents for ten January Reviews. The strike is over after long suffering in the struggle for little better conditions and more bread and butter for miners' families. The strike is lost, the capitalists won. Perhaps you can imagine how we and our families suffered in tents with the thermometer registering 30 and 40 below zero. The strikers cannot get work. In the Oak Creek district only 12 strikers out of 300 have found work."

From Independent Labor Party.—Secretary J. G. Clapham of the Manchester Central Branch enclosed one pound six shillings for 15 Reviews for six months and writes: "I think your articles on the war are about the best and most illuminating of any I have read. There is a great opportunity ahead for the world-wide Socialist movement. The price is great, but let's make the triumph worth it."

Local Lorain Endorses Karl Liebknecht.—Local Lorain, Ohio, in a ringing resolution that was passed upon hearing that Karl Liebknecht refused to follow the edict of the party leaders in Germany and vote further war credits, says: "Dr. Liebknecht was the only Socialist member who voted against said war credit and the other Socialist members of the Reichstag have issued a statement which says Liebknecht acted again PARTY DISCIPLINE, whereas.

"It is the historic mission of the International Socialist movement to abolish capitalist governments and establish Industrial Democracy, inexorably forcing the war between the working class and the capitalist class in each and all countries, which is the ONLY war worthy of the powers of the working class, be it resolved, that we in meeting assembled heartily commend Karl Liebknecht for voting against the war credit and extend to him our sincere appreciation for upholding the spirit of Socialism against such tremendous odds." From E. P. Pierce, chairman, and Anna Storck, secretary.



The Partition of Poland was one of the greatest tragedies in History. It was accomplished by the three crowned eagles. Poland is shown by the fallen soldier, the flag of his country trailing in the dust. The Goddess of Liberty is defending the soldier, trying to beat back the crowned powers. The burning fire brands, the battered walls, the broken cannon, the burning cities in the distance, all serve to illustrate this event. This illustration from Ridpath's History is only one of 2,000 in the complete work and illustrates but one event of all the thousands in the world-famed publication,

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INTER. SOC. REVIEW

From a Pennsylvania Miner.—"The best Christmas present I received was a copy of the International Socialist Review. I wish I could subscribe for a year at least but I cannot because of awful industrial depression which we have had for more than a year. Therefore, I will ask you to accept ten cents for a start as three months' subscription. There are three little boys and two girls dependent on me and wife and myself, and no work at all. Rent and grocer bills unpaid and there are hundreds of thousands of wage slaves in the same or worse condition in prosperous America. We are receiving starvation in return for our loyalty from our masters. I am a miner. Our contract expired on May 1st, 1914, and we were getting ready for battle for run-mine basis while Colorado and Ohio strikes were in progress and we have received orders from our officials to remain at work. Don't you think we were scabbing on our brothers in Ohio and Colorado? In my opinion I think we did. That is craft unionism, and after we have helped our masters to crush the Colorado strike and beat strikers in submission, what reward have we received? We have to suffer hunger as well as the miners in Colorado and Ohio. Our leaders betray us politely. One of our leaders has been supporting Boyse Penrose, candidate for U. S. Senator for Pennsylvania, and he was strongly criticized by one of our brothers at a meeting for doing such a dirty work in the name of our local union, which counts about 400 men; but he denied that he was supporting anybody and 15 minutes after the meeting him and another organizer, by name Wm. Feeney, he went to Republican headquarters and spoke to a crowd of about thirty or forty men and said that miners are in favor of the Republican party, and Penrose, who had voted against every bill that would possibly benefit the working class, was there, and he is a head of the Republican political machine. Advocate the industrial union as you have been doing in the past. We need it and need it bad.

"In case you publish this, which you can if you see fit, don't publish my name. I am already black-listed by Pittsburgh Steel Company through this way. I can't get a job in any mill around here and no doubt I would be black-listed by mining companies as well.

Progress in Mexico.—We are in receipt of a letter from Comrade Zierold stating the situation in Mexico is much improved. Peace will be the result of the convention. It will clear the way for Socialism. The last revolution is doing wonders. Villa and Zapata, the two most important men to attend the convention, are more than half Socialists.

Gets a Library Free.—Comrade Finnegan of Brooklyn, N. Y., has remitted \$11.00 for 11 yearly Review subscription cards and selected a fine lot of Socialist books for his library. A library of Socialist books is the best investment any comrade can make as one intelligent Socialist is worth a thousand boneheads.

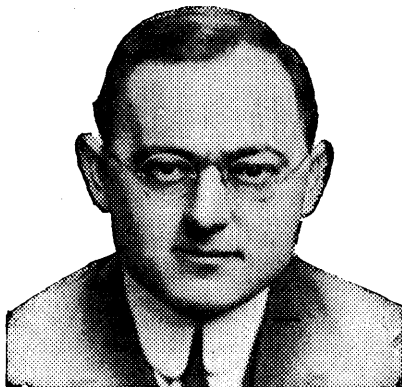
From Illinois.—Comrade Larson writes: "Please send me the Review for another year as I think it produces the right kind of propaganda."

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different, something delightful and healthful, something instantly successful. You do not have to wait, and linger and pay out a lot of money. You can stop it over night—and I will gladly tell you how—FREE. I am not a doctor and this is not a so-called doctor's prescription—but I am cured and my friends are cured, and you can be cured. Your suffering will stop at once like magic.

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My catarrh was filthy and loathsome. It made me ill. It dulled my mind. It undermined my health and was weakening my will. The hawking, coughing, spitting made me obnoxious to all, and my foul breath and disgusting habits made even my loved ones avoid me secretly. My delight in life was dulled and my faculties impaired. I knew that in time it would bring me to an untimely grave, because every moment of the day and night it was slowly yet surely sapping my vitality.

But I found a cure, and I am ready to tell you about it FREE. Write me promptly.

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Send no money. Just your name and address on a postal card, Say: "Dear Sam Katz: Please tell me how you cured your catarrh and how I can cure mine." That's all you need to say, I will understand, and I will write to you with complete information, FREE, at once. Do not delay. Send postal card or write me a letter today. Don't think of turning this page until you have asked for this wonderful treatment that can do for you what it has done for me.

**SAM KATZ, Suite B1627
1325 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.**

From Pennsylvania—Comrade Sunderland writes: "Enclosed find money order for \$1.00 for the Review until January, 1916. Money is scarce, but I cannot do without the Review."

From Natal, South Africa—Comrade Good-enough, in renewing his subscription, writes: "Very hard up but cannot do without the FIGHTING MAGAZINE."

From Michigan—Comrade Clifford sends in two yearly subscriptions and adds: "I hope to see more articles by Comrade Uswald in the Review. If we must fight, lets fight for the interests of the working class alone. I have also enjoyed the good stuff the Paint Creek miner puts out. Keep up the good work."

Esperanto—Those wishing information regarding the study of Esperanto can secure same free by addressing the Esperanto Association of North America, Newton Centre, Mass.

The Revolution—In Song and Story is a new booklet selling at 15 cents, published and composed by J. A. Williams, of Sawtelle, Cal. This booklet will be a welcome addition to many of the young people's Socialist societies. Rates can doubtless be secured for getting the book in quantities.

Enlist Your News Dealer—Comrade L. T. Rush of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, has a fine idea about getting the news dealers to handle the Review. He orders a small bundle every month and puts them on the news stands, charging the agents six cents a copy, and if there are any left he keeps these. If all our friends would tell their news dealer or cigar dealer that they would patronize him with the understanding that he keep the Review in sight, also that they would buy the copy from him and would take one or more unsold copies, we believe we could double circulation inside of six months. Several of our friends are doing this now. Won't you be the next?

From Pennsylvania—"I work seven days a week, twelve hours a day, but cannot get along without the REVIEW. Have been taking it for four years and always pass my copies to wage slaves after I have read it from cover to cover."—E. W. S.

On the Desert of Nevada—"Have been getting the REVIEW from news stands and

read it quite a lot. I like its fighting qualities and wish we had some more of the same kind. Enclosed find \$1.00 for subscription."—D. B.

From an Internationalist—Comrade Edwards of Ashland, Kentucky, writes: "Comrade Bohn's article of criticism on the conduct of

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the German Socialists has the hearty endorsement of myself and friends. The leading strings which held us so firmly to the millstone (German Socialism) have, we hope, been severed. Perhaps now the American Socialists will be free to talk and fight without asking permission from Herr this or Von that. Working class struggles have shown that the Germans were not the fittest to take the role of leadership."

Local Dubuque Against Nationalism.—Whereas, in view of the fact that the Socialist parties of Germany, France, Belgium and England failed to represent the interests of the working class in the present crisis;

Whereas, it is obvious that in playing the political game the class struggle was lost sight of, and that the fear of injuring the organization resulted in the failure of making any concrete plan of action in case of a declaration of war;

Therefore, Be It Resolved, that it is the sense of the Local Dubuque that the Socialist party of the United States should be a party strictly in opposition to capitalism and confine its efforts chiefly to the capturing of administrative power to the end that the club of the policeman may be kept off the head, and the bayonet of the soldier from the breast of the striker; that it is the enforcement of existent laws by class conscious working men of their own class that is

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If you are suffering with Pyorrhoea or Riggs Disease, gingivitis, receding gums, elongated or loose teeth; soft, discolored or spongy gums; if your breath is foul; if your teeth pain while eating; if you are subject to bad headaches—then, for your own sake, send for Dr. Willard's book and learn how easy his method is—how painless and speedy—how this simple remedy quickly and permanently gives sound, healthy teeth.

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E. M.

From the Live Ones.—The following comrades have sent in ten or more subscriptions during the past twenty days. We want every one of our readers to feel that the REVIEW is their magazine. We are doing our best on the production end, but it is up to you readers to handle the circulation end. You are on the ground and we want you to get on the job. You read the REVIEW and know what it stands for.

Drop us a postal card and we will send you ten sample REVIEWS, free of charge; also subscription blanks. You will be surprised at the number of people you meet who will be glad to receive a free copy of the REVIEW. You will find fellows in your boarding house and where you work who will read the REVIEW with interest and will be glad to dig up the coin for a three months subscription if you will give them a chance.

We want to make the REVIEW the forty-two centimeter gun of the working class and if you have the nerve to be a soldier in the revolution, you will do your share in the work of "wising" up the wage slaves. Let us hear from you.

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The Ancient Lowly

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

By C. OSBORNE WARD

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

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

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By Charles Edward Russell

WHEN, before the War, Wendell Phillips denounced chattel slavery, he was assailed by the slaveholding interests of the South; when, after the war, he rejected all proffers of high political office and threatened wage-slavery, he was assailed by the manufacturing interests of the North. In both instances he threatened somebody's profits. That was all, and for this reason Southern fire-eaters offered a price for his head.



Yet, in his long life of ceaseless activities, he debated for no crown, argued for no fees, strove for no reward, sought no place nor any fame, cared for no achievement for its own sake, and used his unequalled gifts only for some cause of justice or freedom in which he could earn nothing but obloquy, hatred and isolation.

No man ever gave up more for the sake of his faith. All his brilliant career was wrecked in an instant. His friends and family deserted him. Some of his relatives declared that he was insane and planned to have him confined in an asylum. The press covered him with ridicule and abuse.

For more than twenty years he lived in daily danger of his life, with a price on his head.

When a cause was won, as in the case of the abolition of slavery in the South, and in the natural revulsion of popular feeling men sought to make him its hero, he put aside their tributes and demanded their attention to the next unpopular reform.

Compared with such a career, the stories of the men that on the grounds of material triumph have won place in the world's regard, seem poor indeed. They toiled for themselves, or for the glory of achievement.

This man's single and unselfish purpose was to win better conditions for the unfortunate, wherever they might be, to strive against injustice, to further brotherhood, to spread liberty.

As ardently as other men sought wealth and power, he sought the Common Good.

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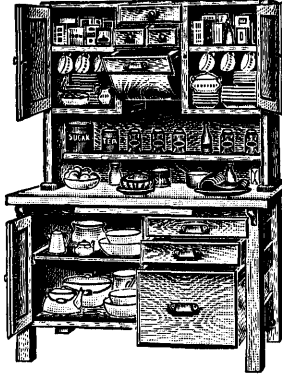
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