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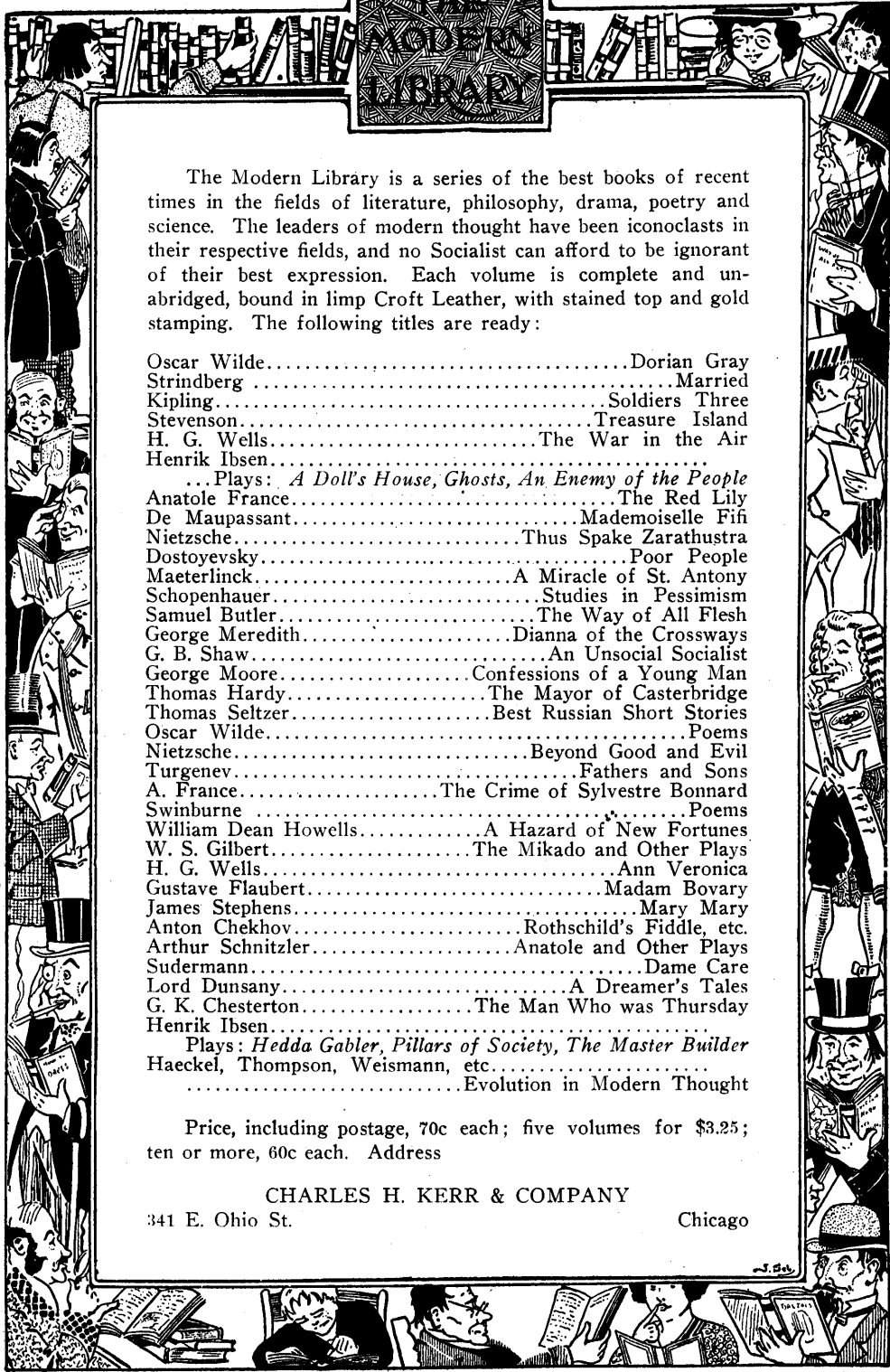
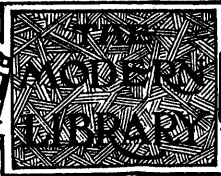
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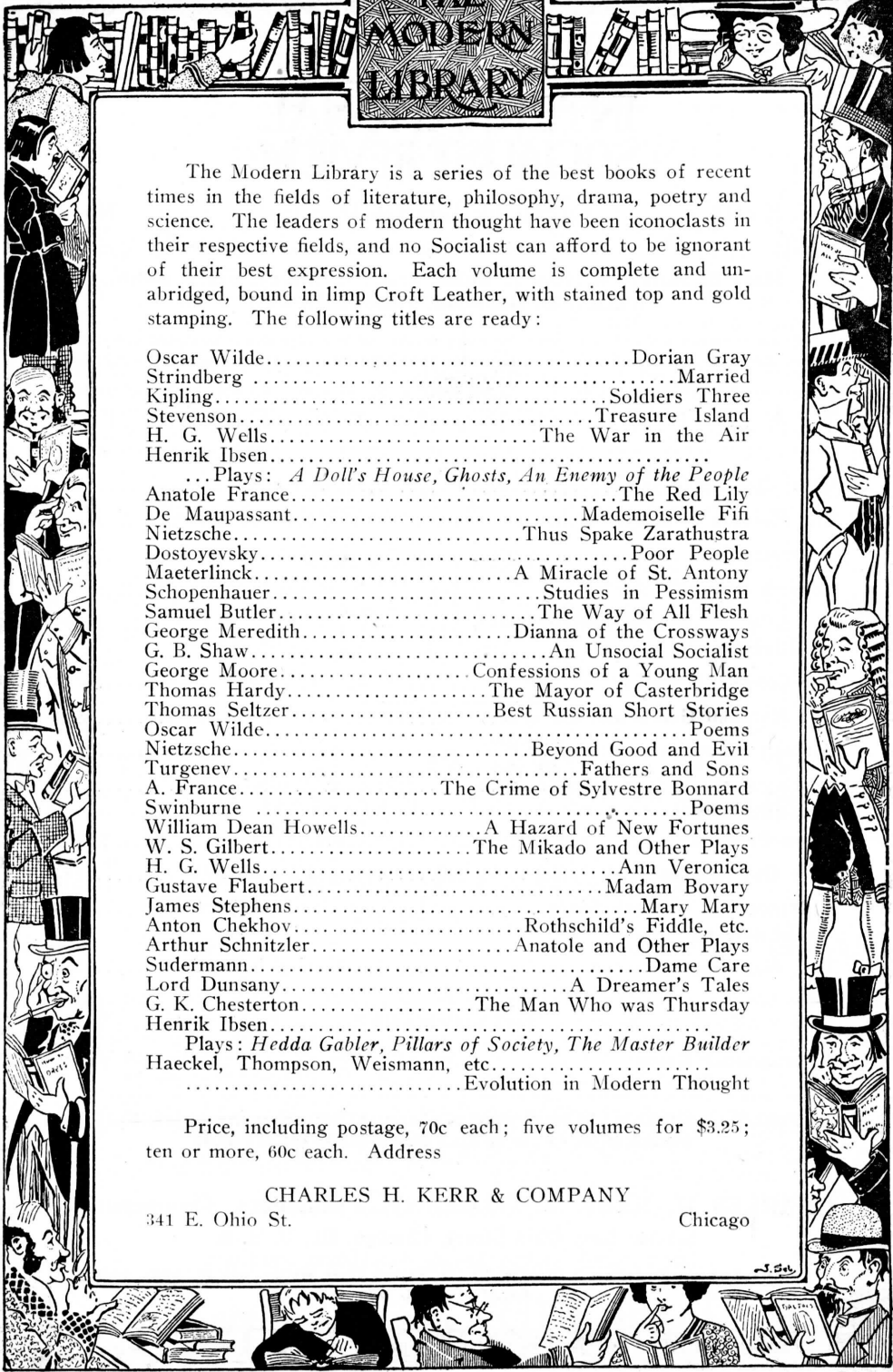
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## WHAT SOCIALISM IS

By CHARLES H. KERR

THE word Socialism is a growing word. It grows because the movement for which it stands is growing. Seventy-five years ago, the word stood vaguely for the yearnings of a few scattered thinkers toward some better social order that might bring a happier life to the down-trodden millions. Today the countless millions of workers all over the world are waking into a new and vigorous life, inspired by a new hope, and to their mighty movement of revolution they have given the name SOCIALISM.

This world-wide movement has crystallized around the writings of KARL MARX, because he was the first great writer to reach a clear understanding of the social forces which are transforming society, and to point out to the workers of the world how they may take possession of the world and enjoy it.

As Prof. Thorstein Veblen wrote in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*: "The Socialism that inspires hopes and fears today is of the school of Marx. No one is seriously apprehensive of any other so-called socialistic movement, and no one is seriously concerned to criticise or refute the doctrines set forth by any other school of 'Socialists.'"

The object of this article is to explain as briefly, clearly and simply as possible the principles, the aims and the methods of Marxian Socialism, and at the same time to direct the reader to the standard works in which the subject is fully treated.

### I. HOW WE EXPLAIN PEOPLE'S ACTIONS.

What is the difference between good people and bad? Why did the world's greatest philosophers think human slavery a good thing 2000 years ago? Why was slavery right in Virginia and wrong in Massachusetts in 1850? Why do most wage-workers hate a scab? and why do college presidents call him a hero? Why do capitalists talk about the sacredness of contracts, and why do clear-headed wage-workers object to making contracts with capitalists or to being bound by them after they are made?

Questions like these cannot be answered intelligently by people whose heads are full of the moral ideas taught in the churches. They can only be explained in the light of a discovery of Marx to which we Socialists give the name of **Economic Determinism**, or the **Materialist Conception of History**. The names may sound hard, but the theory itself is so clear, and makes so many other things clear that you may wonder why it ever had to be discovered.

Stated in the simplest possible terms, the theory is this: People must have food or they will starve. In most countries they must also have clothing and shelter, or they will die of cold and exposure. Most people wish to live. Therefore the matter of supreme importance to them is to provide themselves with food, clothing and shelter. In different

countries, and at different times, they PRODUCE and they DISTRIBUTE these necessities of life in different ways. And their actions and feelings toward each other, their laws and customs, their ideas of what ought and what ought to be done, are bound to change as the methods of PRODUCTION and DISTRIBUTION change.

For example, here in America our great-grandfathers produced what they needed by going out on unoccupied land and planting corn. Their tools were crude; they did not produce much, but what they did produce they could keep. As long as there was plenty of land, all who would work could get plenty to eat, and it was natural enough to think under such conditions that private ownership of land and tools was right, and that if a man was poor it was his own fault.

But conditions have changed. Railroads have been built; machinery has been invented which does most of the work that used to be done by hand; the same amount of labor will produce ten times as much of the necessities and comforts of life. But now the good land is all fenced in; the wonderful machinery belongs to a small class of capitalists; millions of laborers who own no land and no machinery are compelled to work for the owners if these are willing to employ them, while if they cannot find work they must starve.

This new state of things develops two opposite ways of looking at the question of the private ownership of land and tools. Those who own them find life easy and pleasant; to them the whole social system based on private ownership naturally seems right. They bring up their children in this belief, and those who grow up in a property-owning atmosphere usually have an inborn respect for all laws and moral precepts which tend to make property secure.

The children of wage-workers, on the other hand, grow up in a totally different atmosphere. To them, property is not something sacred to be preserved inviolate; it is something to fight for and to be enjoyed when won. And they are fast learning that to make a winning fight they must struggle together, not each for himself. This different class attitude toward property is a necessary consequence of an organization of society in which one class owns the wealth and another class produces it.

All through history, the way people got their food has shaped their ideas. There have been times when the people of a victorious tribe had to eat the flesh of their conquered enemies or starve. Then cannibalism was "right." But by and by men learned to apply labor to land so as to get more food from the

land than was required to feed the man who did the digging. Then cannibalism came to be "wrong"; the "right" thing to do with a prisoner was to make a slave of him.

When machinery was invented the ruling class, who became the owners of the machinery, found that it was more profitable to pay wages to a laborer when they wanted him and let him shift for himself when they did not want him than to "own" him and be responsible for his livelihood. Then they decided that chattel slavery of human beings was "wrong." The eternally right thing, to their minds, came to be **free competition**, laborers competing for jobs, capitalists competing in the sale of the goods produced by wage-workers.

This ideal was almost unchallenged in America for a generation after the civil war. But now it is not only challenged by the wage-workers, it is freely questioned by many well-to-do people. And their changing mental attitude is an illustration of our Socialist theory of economic determinism. The MACHINE PROCESS has gone on developing. In all important fields of production the machines are becoming bigger and more expensive. Only the big capitalists can own the big machines, and the little capitalists are fast being crowded to the wall because the big capitalists can undersell them. So now it is only the trust magnates who seem perfectly satisfied with things as they are; every one else wants a change. But the kind of change each group of people wants depends on its economic position.

The best definitions of Historical Materialism will be found on page 8 of the **Communist Manifesto** (cloth, 50c; paper, 10c), and on pages 94 and 95 of Engels' **"Socialism, Utopian and Scientific"** (cloth, 50c; paper, 15c). An indispensable book to any student desiring a full understanding of the theory and its applications is Labriola's **Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History** (cloth, \$1.00). An admirable and fascinating book applying the theory to the moral ideas commonly held in America is Clarence Melly's **Puritanism** (cloth, 50c).

## II. SURPLUS VALUE.

With modern machinery, an American wage-worker can produce and does on the average produce each day commodities that retail for at least \$10.00. He gets on the average not over \$2.00. These facts can no longer be denied. They must be explained. And the Socialist is the only one who can offer a clear and satisfactory explanation.

The great English economists, Adam Smith (1776) and David Ricardo (1817) had long ago discovered that commodities tend to exchange at their values, that is, according to the amount of necessary social labor embodied in each. Karl Marx published in 1867 the first volume of "Capital," in which he stated a scientific discovery which has become one of the fundamental principles of Socialism.

Marx's discovery is that the power to labor day by day is itself a commodity, which the laborer sells to the capitalist who employs him. He **MUST** sell it, since otherwise he has no way of obtaining food, clothing and shelter. This commodity, like others, is sold at its **VALUE**, and this value is determined by the amount of social labor required to produce the food, clothing and shelter required for the laborer and his family, since children must be provided for in order to insure a future supply of laborers.

The capitalist who is a manufacturer buys the machinery, the raw material, the coal or other source of power to keep the machinery revolving, and he also buys the **LABOR POWER** of the men, women and children needed to tend the machinery. He has a very good reason for buying this labor power, for it has a most remarkable property, first pointed out by Marx. In less than **TWO HOURS** the American laborer produces wealth equal in value to the wages he receives. But when he has done this he does not stop working. He keeps on six, or eight, or sometimes ten hours more, and in those hours he is producing **SURPLUS VALUE**, which belongs to the employer.

This is the way the capitalist makes his profit. But not everyone who employs laborers is growing rich. Out of the "surplus value" the employer must pay interest if he is a borrower. He must pay rent if he is a tenant. He must pay taxes (and by the way, Socialists should not make the mistake of supposing that it makes any great difference to the wage-worker whether taxes are high or low). What the employer has left, after these and other expenses are paid, is his profit.

Now, as Marx has shown, in countries where capitalism is highly developed and conditions are stable, competition establishes an average rate of profit, so that, accidents apart, the capitalists divide the surplus value produced by the laborers not according to the number of laborers each capitalist employs, but according to the number of dollars each capitalist has invested.

For a full explanation of this and the proof of it, the reader must turn to the third volume of Marx's *Capital*, and this whole work should be read by anyone desiring to write or to speak in public on the question of surplus value. But here I wish to point out some very practical conclusions at which we arrive by applying the theory.

The way in which competition establishes the average rate of profit is this: Take two industries, one like shirt-making, where inexpensive tools or machines are used, and where a capital of one thousand dollars will employ several laborers. Let the other industry be

one like the making of structural steel, where the most expensive machinery is required, so that several thousand dollars must be invested for each laborer employed. If now both shirts and steel products were sold at their value, investors could get far better returns by making shirts than by making steel products. As a matter of fact, the shirt-makers compete with each other to get business by cutting the wholesale prices of shirts far below their value, until each little capitalist, buying the labor-power of his work-women as cheaply as he can, gets on the average, besides pay for his own individual labor-power, about the usual rate of profit on what little capital he has invested. On the other hand the big investor who has bought a million dollars' worth of steel trust stock will get only about the same rate of profit, even tho the steel products are sold above their value. He is better off than the shirtmaker, not because his rate of profit is larger, but because his capital, and with it his mass of profit, is larger.

As capitalism develops, as machinery is improved, more and more capital is needed to become an employer. The average rate of profit is growing less, but this does not mean that the wage-workers are getting more of what they produce; quite the contrary. The rate of profit is growing less because the percentage has to be figured on an ever greater mass of capital.

It used to be so that a wage-worker might hope to establish himself as an employer. This is now growing harder and harder. Moreover, as capitalism develops, the employer with small capital finds his profits growing smaller and smaller, so that he is scarcely better off than the laborers he employs, while thousands on thousands of little capitalists every year drop back into the ranks of the wage-workers.

In pointing out the nature of surplus value, we Socialists do not assert that the wage system was always wrong, nor that the capitalists who uphold it today are "bad." The wage system in its time was a distinct advance upon the forms of production which had preceded it. Under this system labor has become far more efficient and productive than ever before. But two things should be noted:

First, the capitalist, whose brain directed the whole process in the early stages of machine production, has thru the growth of corporations and trusts, become transformed into a do-nothing stockholder or bondholder. The brain work as well as the hand work is now done by hired laborers.

Second, every improvement in machine production has diminished the amount of **necessary labor** required to produce the food, clothing and shelter of the laborer and his family.



The consequence is that the **surplus value** produced by the laborer for the capitalist is much greater today than at any previous stage in the world's history. When Marx wrote "Capital" the English wage-worker, whom he took for an example, produced wealth to the amount of \$1.50 a day and received 75 cents in wages. The average American wage-worker today produces \$10.00 and gets \$2.00. A dollar buys much less than formerly because gold can be produced more cheaply, so that part of the increase on both sides is only apparent. But the important point is that the capitalist class of America today makes about \$8.00 a day out of the labor of each productive wage-worker, which is far more than any previous ruling class ever squeezed out of its slaves.

By all means the first book to read when beginning the study of Surplus Value is Mary E. Marcy's **Shop Talks on Economics**. Any wage-worker can read it understandingly in a few hours. It is not only a delightful and stimulating book in itself; it is also the best possible introduction to the study of Marx. 10 cents. Untermann's **Marxian Economics** is interesting and suggestive, altho marred here and there by an opportunistic bias. Boudin's **The Theoretical System of Karl Marx** is an important and valuable work, showing the necessary connection between the various theories of Marx and answering in a convincing fashion the attacks on Marx by various critics. But of course the great authority on this subject is Marx himself. Two small books of his, **Wage Labor and Capital** and **Value, Price and Profit**, should be read, as well as some of the introductory works just mentioned, before attacking **Capital**, which is a three volume work of over 2,500 pages. No one should, however, feel himself thoroughly qualified to talk on Socialism in public who has not studied **Capital**.

### III. THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

We have seen that people's political institutions and their moral ideas are the direct result of the way the people get their living—taken in connection with the way their fathers and grandfathers got their living. We have also seen how the laborers today get their living by creating surplus value for the capitalists.

Put these two thoughts together and what do they suggest? Here we have on the one side a class of capitalists living in luxury on the labors of others. Yet no one capitalist is forcibly robbing any one laborer. In many cases each capitalist, or at least the father or grandfather of each capitalist, has been a laborer himself. So these capitalists and their hangers-on persuade themselves and also persuade the less intelligent laborers that wealth is the natural reward of virtue and efficiency.

On the other hand, the more intelligent laborers realize that they are getting far less than they produce. They realize that the modern machinery now used makes their labor immensely more productive than labor used to be, yet they see that they are receiving as wages a smaller portion of their product than ever laborers received before.

So the class struggle is on. Socialists do not make it; they simply explain it, and point out the lines on which it must develop. Thus far the chief weapon of the laborers has been the labor union, and the fighting has been thru strikes and boycotts. In the day of the small capitalist, real gains were made by the unions. But in this country the development of the unions has lagged behind the development of industry. The laborers today if organized at all are mostly organized by crafts, so that a corporation employing laborers of several crafts can make a separate contract with each, and when those of one craft are striking for better conditions, can use their fellow workers in the other crafts to crush them. To contend with the great corporations on anything like equal terms, the unions will be forced to organize industrially, so as to include in the membership of one union every laborer in the employ of one corporation.

Again, the unions have thus far been made up mainly of the better paid laborers, and thru these unions they have generally endeavored to hold on to what little advantages they have had, rather than to overthrow the capitalists; they have been conservative rather than revolutionary. But the changing mode of production, irresistible force that it is, has cheapened the skill of the union laborers.

Every improvement in machinery enables each laborer to turn out a larger product than before in the same number of hours, and thus the employer is enabled to do without a part of his laborers. These displaced laborers make up the "army of the unemployed." If the workmen employed by a trust go on strike, a new force of workmen can soon be organized out of that army.

It is natural under such circumstances for the unions to resort to force, but here the capitalists are ready for them with superior force. The powers of government in America and in every other "civilized" country are at the disposal of the capitalist when a contest is on with the laborer.

Thus by the logic of events the class struggle has been extended to the ballot box. Here from year to year the voters have a chance to say who shall direct the clubs of the police and the rifles of the soldiers. Thus both in the shops and at the polls the struggle is on.

(Continued on page 237)

# The Horrors of Respectability

By EDWARD CARY HAYES

WHY is it that "respectability" excites the rage of such writers as Bernard Shaw? Can anything be more respectable than respectability? Can anything be more contemptible? these writers retort. The question and the answer issue from points of view so diverse as to be mutually almost incomprehensible.

Yet those who question thus and those who reply have certain ground in common. Both look with respect upon gratitude, generosity, helpfulness, fidelity, and competent pursuit of worthy aims; and both look with abhorrence upon ingratitude, meanness, cruelty, falseness, and purposeless drifting, when these are clearly recognized for what they are. In so far as there is a difference in appreciation of these respectable virtues and in contempt for these sins between the two classes, those who decry burgeoise respectability have the greater moral earnestness and evince the more compelling moral enthusiasms and detestations. Those who defend respectability often speak with cynical skepticism of any ideal aims and of the possibility of any devotion stronger than selfishness, while it is those with most respect for what is most respectable in man who decry respectability.

Conventional respectability is mere conformity, and mere conformity is not respectable, but contemptible. To be a mere conformist to the prevalent standards of the moment is to despair of all the unfulfilled possibilities or to be a traitor to them, or at best to be carelessly oblivious to them. Nonconformity may be reckless, ignorant, and selfish. Conformity usually is all three. It is *reckless* of the woe of the world, which it cares not to abate; it is *ignorant* of the signs of the times, of the promises implied in past changes, and of the proffers of sciences as yet largely unapplied; it is *selfish* in its disregard of posterity and of all social classes except those which profit most from the existing status. No life is truly respectable that has not in its habits of thought a potential element of fellowship with the prophets and the martyrs.

That contemptible respectability which is mere conformity is difficult to escape. Suc-

cess, in its usual forms, is another name for conformity. Even the "original" man succeeds by inventing a new way of getting what people want to get or a new justification for thinking what people want to think. Success is a matter of supply and demand is the desire of those who can reward or punish. It is profitable, not only to do what the influential want us to do, but also to think what they want us to think and to entertain the sentiments which they approve. They enter into our inner life with their subtlest deterrents and inducements. Even when we reflect in solitude, our interest unconsciously biases us in favor of conformity. To resist this bias requires a sturdy spirit with an element of heroism like that of Carlyle, who could differ with the mother whom he loved above all human creatures, suffer his genius to smolder in obscurity, and prefer to go, if need be, to the pit of perdition with open eyes of unflinching intellectual honesty rather than go to paradise blindfolded by comfortable self-deception.

Self-deception is unconscious, otherwise it would be no deception. One needs only to suffer his mind to drift where interest turns the helm to deviate to the opposite point of the compass from that where the star of truth is shining. To shift the figure: when interest puts us in blinders, we do not have to close our eyes to be deceived, for all that our blinders let us clearly see justifies the mind in its erroneous beliefs.

It is not interest alone that renders it difficult to escape from mere conformity. It is also the weight of social prestige. If conformity were no more advantageous than nonconformity, still we should conform. The *status quo* rests on us like a superincumbent mountain. The influences which press on us from infancy make one a Democrat and another a Republican, one a Catholic and another a Protestant. Mentally we are part and parcel of the social classes to which we belong, unless by a determined resolution we have declared our independence. And if with reference to certain questions the advocates of change do make

their voices heard above the steady *bourdon* of conformity, it makes comparatively little difference what arguments they present unless they win some advocates who have the prestige of "respectability." Nowadays almost everyone believes in biological evolution, whatever he may think of the comparatively infant processes of social evolution. But among this "almost everyone" how many have adopted their belief in evolution as a result of an appreciative consideration of the facts and arguments adduced by Darwin and his followers? If, now and then, a new belief grows to prevalence, it is but little because the reasons for it appeal to the intelligence of ordinary men, and chiefly because here and there those reasons win the assent of a person who enjoys prestige, and, therefore, ordinary men believe because the man of prestige believed, as we believe in evolution because our ministers have given us permission, our teachers have indorsed the theory, and, at length, "everybody" accepts it. It has become respectable. Thus prestige unites with interest in determining belief, and the two embed us in "respectable" conformity.

In social and economic matters, however, interest occasionally sides with innovation. Those who have no hope of ordinary, conventional, "respectable" success, and upon whom the existing status presses cruelly, may cry aloud for change. The innovation which is thus advocated by the less "respectable" classes may be either that which is blindly desired in the hope that any change may benefit those on whom the existing order lays such cruel handicaps, or it may be the wisest measure which experience and investigation justify as promising relief and benefit; in either case it will usually be opposed by prestige and by the interest of the well-situated classes. It is thus that the abolition of slavery and of child labor in mines and factories was once passionately resisted. Even the most recent step in the mitigation of the evil of

child labor encountered resistance from respectable people. It is almost always "respectable" to stand pat, and it is usually of doubtful respectability to advocate social change. In spite of all the social changes of the past, some of which were once more incredible than any of the proposals that now are advocated by any party of reform, it is still easy to argue that what has not been, cannot be. It is both easy and cheap to camp in the actual and laugh at those who set forth upon the path of hope. And among those who thus camp and scoff are sure to be most of those who profit by the *status quo*, most of the well-fixed who desire all things to stay fixed, most of the rich, most of those who own and control the more "respectable" dalies, most of those who set the fashion in opinions, most of those who have prestige and whose favor conditions "success."

Change is not desirable for its own sake. The heritage of the past is infinitely precious. Some things appear to be settled once for all, or a thousand times for all. Yet change is indispensable if there is to be progress. In the most "respectable" quarters, not only is it bad form to advocate specific changes, it often is bad form even to hope for progress. But to be laughed out of that hope would be craven and contemptible. Prestige and interest, like gravitation, weigh down the limbs of endeavor. But the past and the present are full of prophetic promise as well as of warning. And men will cease to be men when they are so intimidated by prestige and so bribed or drugged by interest that they will not lift a hand for faith and hope and love—*faith* in humanity which has martyrs and mothers as well as tyrants and sycophants, *hope* for humanity which has a future far longer than its past and full of ever-accelerating movement, *love* of humanity which suffers needless woes and is rich with possibilities as yet unfulfilled.—From *The American Journal of Sociology*, July.



# GOVERNMENT

By Carl Sandburg

The Government—I heard about the Government and I went out to find it. I said I would look closely at it when I saw it.

Then I saw a policeman dragging a drunken man to the calaboose. It was the Government in action.

I saw a ward alderman slip into an office one morning and talk with a judge. Later in the day the judge dismissed a case against a pickpocket who was a live ward worker for the alderman. Again I saw this was the Government, doing things.

I saw militiamen level their rifles at a crowd of workmen who were trying to get other workmen to stay away from a shop where there was a strike on. Government in action.

Everywhere I saw that Government is a thing made of men, that Government has blood and bones, it is many mouths whispering into many ears, sending telegrams, aiming rifles, writing orders, saying yes and no.

Government dies as the men who form it die and are laid away in their graves and the new Government that comes after is human, made of heartbeats of blood, ambitions, lusts, and money running thru it all, money paid and money taken, and money covered up and spoken of with hushed voices.

A Government is just as secret and mysterious and sensitive as any human sinner carrying a load of germs, traditions and corpuscles handed down from fathers and mothers away back.

# AS WE GO TO PRESS

## GENERAL STRIKE IN AUSTRALIA

AS we go to press word comes that Australia is now paralyzed with a general strike of trade unionists, I. W. W. and soldiers. Two hundred and fifty thousand men are reported out. Railroad workers are permitting the movement of mail only. Docks and mines are closed down solid.

Fifty trades in Sydney are tied up, including all street car lines. Soldiers are selling union papers on the streets.

Tom Barker, editor of Direct Action, recently sentenced to a long term in prison, has been released.

The strike is spreading out into the country among sheep herders and harvesters.

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## FROM THE DEPORTED BISBEE MINERS

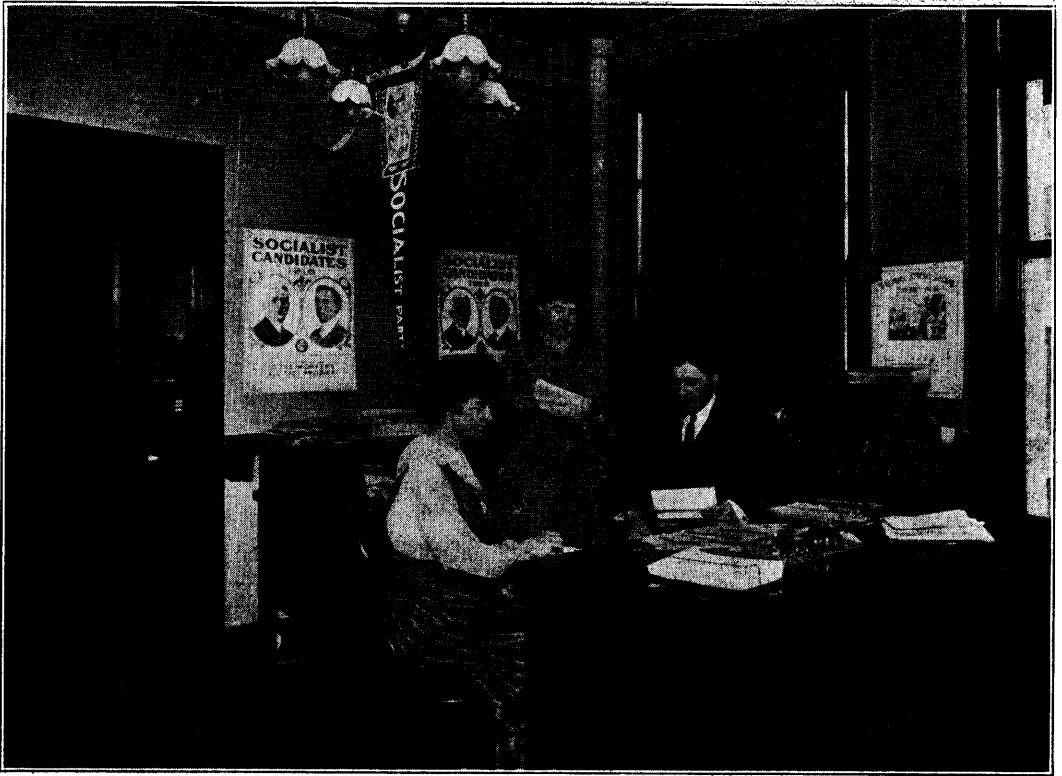
A LETTER from one of the 1,164 exiled Arizona copper miners reads: "I am writing to let you know that our civilian camp at Columbus, New Mexico, was broken up by the government shutting off rations. There is nothing to do but to scatter over the country like a bunch of outlaws.

"We had about determined to go back to our homes in a body when we learned that several of the boys who had gone into Bisbee for their clothes were seized by gunmen and that they received no protection from the authorities.

"I am writing from —, Mexico. About fifty of us crossed the line with some two hundred of our Mexican fellow workers. The consul here has assured us we are welcome. We are staying at a ranch and a large amount of supplies have been brought to us."







OFFICE OF EXECUTIVE SECRETARY ADOLPH GERMER

The National Headquarters of the Socialist Party, Chicago, Illinois, cover the entire fourth floor in the big Mid-City Bank Building. This is divided into sixteen rooms.

## The I. W. W. and the Socialist Party

**S**IMULTANEOUSLY on September 5th, representatives of the U. S. Government raided the national offices of the Socialist party and of the I. W. W. Chicago, and of some twenty branch offices of the I. W. W. in different states. U. S. marshals armed with search warrants have taken files, records, pamphlets, leaflets and in many places the entire offices were cleaned out.

Such a wholesale and simultaneous invasion upon the offices of a labor and Socialist organization have never taken place before in the history of this country. The charge has been made that the I. W. W. is a seditious organization and that the I. W. W. and the Socialist Party headquarters are guilty of violating the Espionage Act.

### From the National Office

**S**EPTEMBER 5th a force of Federal Agents took possession of the national

office. A thoro search of the office was made and later copies of books, leaflets, records and lists were taken.

This material is to be placed before the grand jury. The charge made against the national office is that some of the comrades have violated the Espionage Act.

It may have been the intention to conceal the real purpose of this search, but the inference was left that there was no disposition to interfere with the routine work of the party. If the information given us is correct, we will be permitted to continue our regular activities except so far as we interfere with the war program.

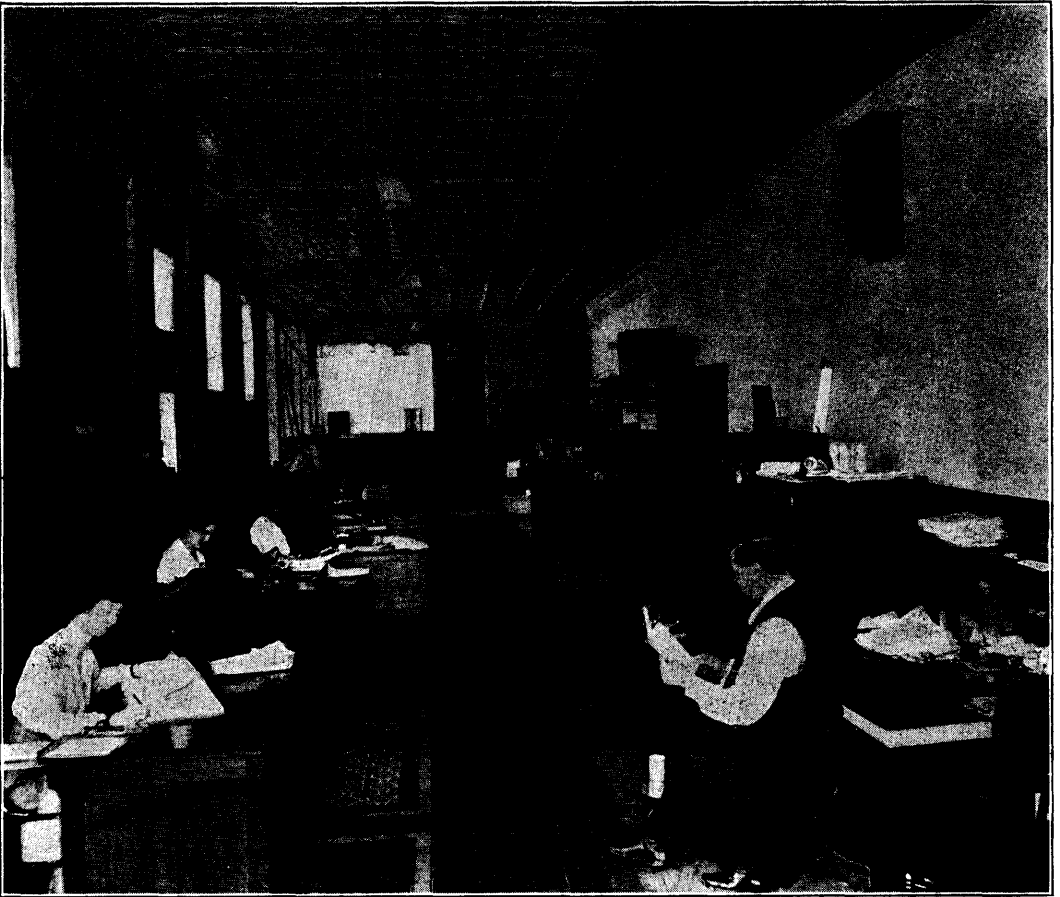
We appeal to the members of the party to lay special stress on organization at this time. Every member should enlist as a recruiting officer in order to build up the party machinery so that we can win a sweeping victory in the congressional elections of 1918.



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MAIN OFFICE OF THE I. W. W., CHICAGO, ILL.—WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD, SECRETARY-TREASURER,  
AND ASSISTANTS  
The General Headquarters occupies a large three-story building at 1001 West Madison street

## Statement from the I. W. W.

Fellow Workers:

At 2:00 p. m., September 5th, the general office and publishing bureau were raided by the United States authorities.

Government officials have taken for investigation all the correspondence files, books and ledgers wherein the financial transactions of the general office are recorded, and the duplicate membership record of the G. R. U. and many of the Industrial unions, that were kept on file in the general office. Also there was taken samples of all literature published by the organization, and samples of the due stamps and various assessment stamps, membership books, report blanks, cre-

dentials, and all other supplies pertaining to the work of the organization.

In the publishing bureau, none of the machinery was disturbed, but the federal officials requested that proofs be printed of all the papers, cuts and literature published by the bureau.

From the editorial rooms was taken all the contents of the safe belonging to Solidarity, all the books, records and mailing list of Solidarity, and also the mailing list of all the language papers, all bound and unbound files and all the papers, and the contents of the desks of the editors of all the papers.

From this voluminous mass of papers,



MAIN OFFICE OF THE I. W. W., CHICAGO, ILL.—WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD, SECRETARY-TREASURER,  
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A BUSY PLACE IS THE I. W. W. PRINTING PLANT, ALTHO SO GREAT IS THE DEMAND FOR LITERATURE AND SUPPLIES THAT MUCH WORK IS GIVEN TO OUTSIDE PRINTERS

literature, and records the government will endeavor to sift whatever evidence (if any) they can find to substantiate their charges against the organization, and will present same to the federal Grand Jury now sitting in Chicago.

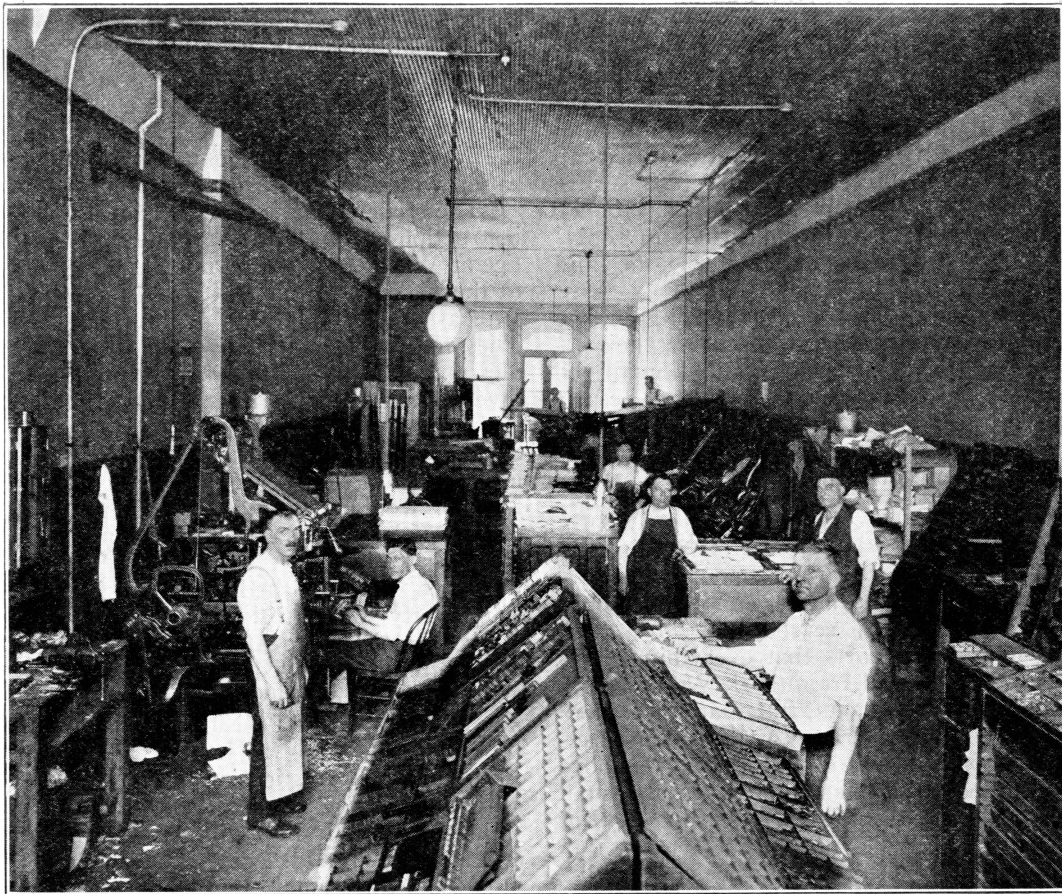
We who have nothing to hide, and never have had, have nothing to fear from a fair and square investigation. In fact the general office, only a few weeks ago, sent an invitation to Justice Covington, who had been appointed by President Wilson to investigate the I. W. W., to visit the general office in Chicago and go over all of our records himself, and we assured him of our hearty co-operation in the event he accepted our invitation.

However, while this indiscriminate seizure of the records, files and property, etc., of the organization, and the fact that

the general office and the publishing bureau have been in the possession of federal authorities has handicapped the work of the organization considerably, we are now able to inform the membership that the general office is open for business, and will fill all orders for supplies and literature promptly and efficiently.

In regard to the publication of our papers, we do not know when we shall be allowed to publish them again, but we think that in the course of a few more days we shall be able to resume the publication of *Solidarity* and the foreign language papers.

In the meantime until the publication of our papers is resumed, we shall endeavor to keep the membership informed



A BUSY PLACE IS THE I. W. W. PRINTING PLANT, ALTHO SO GREAT IS THE DEMAND FOR LITERATURE AND SUPPLIES THAT MUCH WORK IS GIVEN TO OUTSIDE PRINTERS

thru bulletins and letters of whatever events may yet transpire.

We also ask the forbearance of the membership if answers to their correspondence is somewhat delayed, as the mail of the general office, the publishing bureau and of all the papers is tied up in the post office. We expect to secure the release of all our mail in a day or so, and we will lose no time then in replying to the correspondence of one and all.

Until things become normal again, we ask the membership to redouble their efforts to build up the organization to the end that the lot of the workers may be bettered, and their toil-worn existence brightened.

Yours for the O. B. U.  
WM. D. HAYWOOD,  
Sec'y.-Treas. I. W. W.

A copy of the *Industrial Worker*, published at Seattle, reached our desk this morning. It reports that everything movable was removed from the I. W. W. headquarters at that point, but that since there had been no withdrawal of the second class mailing privileges of that paper, the boys proceeded to publish an edition as usual, under great difficulties. Says the *Industrial Worker*:

"A raid on the offices of the Seattle district of the Lumber Workers I. U. No. 500 and the I. W. W. hall in Seattle was carried out as completely as that on the *Industrial Worker*. Everything that could be used in the work of organization was taken.

"Word from Spokane is to the effect that everything belonging to the organization was taken and that some records in private houses were seized. The supplies were taken there as at most other places, and those in charge of the offices report that they are about out of supplies to carry on the work.

"The raid was carried on very thoroughly at general headquarters in Chicago. Even the private homes of several members of the I. W. W. were entered and searched. The day after the raid of the Minneapolis office of the Agricultural Workers that office issued the following statement:

"According to information, September 5 was the date set for a nation-wide search of the files of the Industrial Workers of the

World by federal authorities. The purpose of this raid, as near as we are able to learn, was to find out whether the I. W. W., as an organization, is carrying on a propaganda of sedition and anti-militarism.

"There will be no evidence obtained from the I. W. W. that will connect the organization with any such propaganda.

"The federal authorities, acting under instructions from the Department of Justice at Washington, came into headquarters of the A. W. I. U. No. 400, in Minneapolis, with assistants and U. S. deputy marshals. They made a complete investigation of the files and everything else in the office. The investigation was carried on quietly and with order. They were told when they commenced their investigation they would find no such evidence as they were looking for, nor would they find any evidence that the organization was being financed by "German Gold."

"When they finished their work, they were pretty well satisfied that the business carried on is legitimate business. There was nothing destroyed or taken from the main office of No. 400 that would in any way interfere with the business of the union.

"Business is going on just the same as it did before the investigation.

"Instead of this investigation hurting the organization, it is my firm opinion that it will result in a great boost. Every delegate should get busy and take advantage of the excitement caused by this investigation. Those who are not carrying credentials and who are eligible to do so, should write in and get them at once. We are herewith producing some telegrams received from various branches:

"Tulsa, Okla. Federal agents under instructions of U. S. attorney general's office, seized literature, letters and day book today. No arrests. Hall open for business as usual."

"Omaha, Neb.: Hall raided and everything confiscated by federal officers."

"Great Falls, Mont.: Hall raided and closed by the police."

"Spokane, Wash.: All records and papers taken by U. S. marshals. No arrests."

*From Minneapolis*

"The entire effects of the I. W. W. have been gone over in the hopes that something or other would be found that would prove

their allegiance to kaiserism. It was undoubtedly hoped that large consignments of gold and other evidences of Germany's control would be discovered.

"The cause of the raid is attributed to the labor troubles of the West. The labor trouble is attributed to German influence. We have a faint suspicion that the attorney-general was searching the wrong house for the attributed cause of the latter.

"We also suspect that he was misinformed as to the ability of the members of the I. W. W. to conduct their business and go on without the aid of leaders.

"Akron, Ohio, reports all supplies confiscated."

#### *The Socialist National Headquarters*

At the time of the raids made upon I. W. W. headquarters, the federal authorities took charge of the offices of Socialist national headquarters. The office force was sent home; copies of pamphlets, books, papers, records, files, letter copy books, etc., etc., were taken for use in the investigation which has been going on for ten days.

The *American Socialist* has been permanently denied mailing privileges. We understand that every assistance was given the federal officers both at the I. W. W. and Socialist headquarters. The comrades at the national office of the party are sending out rallying cries to Socialists all over the country to get together, to become organizers and to elect as many Socialists as possible at the coming elections.

The *Chicago Tribune*, printing a "tentative slate" of an agreement reached between the Democratic and Republican organizations on the judicial election, says:

"The leaders hope to avoid a bitter battle between the factions in each party preceding the nominations, and a partisan campaign following, which might end, the leaders on

both sides say, in a clean slate of Socialist candidates slipping through in November.

Governor Burnquist of Minnesota, has issued orders to every sheriff, with the possible exception, we are informed, of those counties in which Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth are located, to prevent all Socialist meetings. The three cities mentioned are the only ones where it is now possible to hold Socialist meetings.

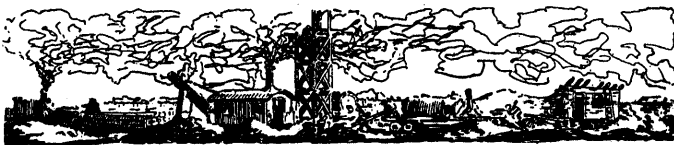
State secretary of Minnesota, A. L. Sugarman, went to Deer Wood to fulfill a speaking engagement. At the depot he was met by half a dozen deputies and the sheriff informed him that he had orders from the governor to permit no Socialist meetings in that county. The sheriff saw to it that Sugarman got on a train bound for Minneapolis.

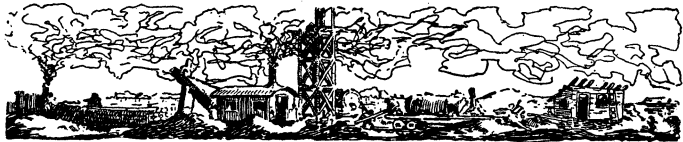
A few days later Andrew Hansen went to Greeley to fill a lecture date for the Socialist party. The sheriff and county attorney declared the meeting could not be held. They offered to pay all the Socialist expenses and even asked Hansen what "his price" was. The sheriff put Hansen on a train bound for Minneapolis and there was no Socialist meeting.

At Staples the authorities assured the Socialists that a mob had organized to put their Socialist speaker out of business and that they would have to prevent meetings in order to avoid riots.

At Dale where 10,000 people had planned holding a Socialist picnic, a bunch of deputies, sheriffs, rowdies, etc., etc., took possession of the hall and picnic grounds before the Socialists began to arrive.

All this persecution and misrepresentation is going to cause the Socialist movement and industrial union organization to grow as never before.





# THE COMING UNIONISM

By AUSTIN LEWIS

NOW that there is a stoppage in immigration and a demand for men in other directions than in productive industry, the time has come that the masses of workers in this country, as well as in others, may reconsider their position and try to make the best of it. We know that when two men are looking for one job the chances of improving the conditions of labor are very hard, for it is difficult for any other idea than that of absolute physical necessity to find a lodgment in the mind of a worker at such times. But when times are such that the quantity of available labor power is very limited, and that supplies are not renewed in the usual fashion but are, on the contrary, continually reduced by the attrition of war, the ordinary working man is in a better position to establish a standard.

Even governments and capitalists feel this and act accordingly. Over in Great Britain there has been a commission of doctors and others to report on the way to get the best output of munitions. Their report is an eye opener. They require as the preliminary to efficient production, shop conditions which do not obtain anywhere, except in a few very highly developed factories. They want a limited workday, regular week-end holidays, cheap railway excursions for the sake of change, shower and other baths, the best ventilation of factories, provision against cold and wet clothes, and many other things which would appeal to the ordinary worker as luxuries. And these are set by physicians and factory inspectors, and even employers, like Rowntree, as the necessary elements in successful production. In this report there is no attempt to talk humanitarianism or altruism or any other ism except that of effective exploitation, the making of the most goods in the least time.

It is a cold-blooded proposition and there is complete agreement by all the experts that the best way to make plenty of goods most quickly is to treat the employees as the commission suggests. As Rowntree says, the employer has machines and workers. The machine he nurses and gives individual attention. If the machine is a little out of order it is treated back to good con-

dition and has an oiler to coddle it. It is never allowed to overstrain and it is kept in the pink of condition as long as its life lasts. He suggests that the worker also be regarded as part of the machinery of production and that the same care be lavished upon him as on the machine. Then, Mr. Rowntree thinks, he will repay as the machine repays. You will see that it is purely a capitalistic proposition of efficiency and does not go to the essence of the matter at issue in the working-class fight.

But it is very plain that this point of view puts a new complexion on the matter, for, if it becomes obvious to the employer that he can get better work by a distinct improvement in the working conditions of the worker, it does away with a whole lot of unnecessary fighting on the part of the working class in the way of organization for mere palliative measures, and allows of organization for what is, after all, the main purpose (or should be the main purpose), of a labor organization. That purpose is the control of the job and the displacement of the capitalist employer by associated labor.

Now why have the employers taken the pains to have the commission appointed, and why have they allowed the publication of the report? Neither of these things would have happened a few years ago. Now comes the United States Government and reprints the main points of the British report and circulates it, through the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The reason is plain enough. *There is a shortage of labor* and, since there is a shortage, labor becomes at once valuable and must be taken care of, if only for the making of products which will again shorten the supply of labor, and render the question of production more and more difficult of solution.

Suppose there had been an unlimited supply of labor in England; the same old system would have been persisted in and the same old destructive methods supported as being necessary to the required amount of production. If it had been necessary to kill twenty per cent of those employed in the production of munitions they would have



been killed, for the munitions had to be produced. If there had been enough labor power loose to allow for the killing of twenty per cent without seriously jeopardizing the continuance of industry, they would still have been killed, for it would have been cheaper to have killed them in production than to have furnished the equipment which the commission reports as necessary to successful production.

There is no poetry at all about it, and the demand on the part of the commissioners for the improvement of conditions is merely the practical solution by the bureau of the capitalist experts for the problem of the scarcity of labor and the proper production of commodities—the carrying out of a system of industrial efficiency. Only that, but its complications are great.

If the admission is made that the condition of labor must be improved to the extent demanded in England and if the intelligent capitalist sees that the condition of labor must be so improved in order to get the maximum of efficient production, then the question of decent conditions is removed from the work of labor organization and becomes a part of the capitalistic method of production, whether that production is carried on by a firm, corporation, a syndicate or the government itself. If the worker is part of the machinery he is the care of the employer.

Taking a concrete example: a few weeks ago I was in the Northwest, in the neighborhood of the lumber workers' strike. I found a series of demands which ran practically as follows: An eight-hour day, proper conditions, such as the substitution of good beds in a well-aired room for the present arrangement of rotten bunks full of vermin and all manner of uncleanness, shower baths, and the proper placing of meals on the table by the employer, in place of the utterly inhuman and bestial way in which food is presented to the worker at present.

Now all of this is covered by the report of the commission, which finds expressly: "Cleanliness is not only beneficial to the health and personal efficiency of workers engaged on processes in which heat, dust and dirt are present to an unusual degree, but it bears an important relation to the good health and working efficiency of *all workers*. Shower and douche baths should be provided for both men and women.

Water at a temperature of 100 degrees F. should be provided."

Taking the question of hours, the commission finds: "The human system flags and produces less in a system of long hours." Prof. Stanley Kent of the British Home Office, showed that the output between six and eight p. m. was less than for any other two hours during the day.

Even the question of wages came under the consideration of the commission, which finds that high wages tend to an increase in the amount of product and are followed by better and greater efficiency in production. Again attention is to be called to the point that there is nothing altruistic or humanitarian about this; it is solely a matter of efficiency, of the amount of actual product of a given quality to be produced in a given time. These higher wages are found to result in the following factors, which make for increase in product: (1) Higher will-power on the part of the man, having more energy of course he is able to expend more and where the work requires a more concentrated effort he is able to give it. (2) "Better wages mean better food for a larger number of men with families, and again they mean a better provision for those families, which reacts upon a man's health and his work. In these cases it is not so much the saving or the possibility of saving money which is the factor of importance, but the satisfactory spending of it."

In the last sentence is repudiated the whole of the old-fashioned view. According to that, the worker was a lazy and selfish, good-for-nothing, who did not save, who did not actually deny himself in order to save, and go without the elementary pleasures of life in order that he might save. Now spending becomes of more importance than saving, even in the eyes of this commission. The commission regards pleasure as essential to the proper production of output in sufficient quantities and of the proper quality. "Opportunity for recreation is of the highest importance," says the commission, "as a healthy relief from the monotony of work."

Here is topsy-turvydom with a vengeance; who can imagine the old capitalist economists presented with a program such as this?

Also, what becomes of the old trade union notion with its labor commodity standpoint,

and its demands for higher wages, as a better price for the commodity, labor power, which was peddled by the business agents? If there is to be no higgling at the point of production, and if the worker is to be regarded as a high-priced machine which has to be kept in constant repair at such an expense as is found to be reproductive, like any other machine, what is to become of the business agent? He will be as extinct as the dodo, for if his business is to get wages and conditions, and the wages and conditions are forthcoming, his occupation is gone, and he will be another capitalistic agent flung on the scrapheap by the demands of war and the consequent shortage of labor power.

Of course it is not to be imagined that the employers as a whole are going to be enlightened enough, or in the mass (speaking of the small competitive employers) rich enough to furnish the material for the change in conditions sketched out as necessary. But such as do not change their methods will be inferior employers with inferior machines and unable to compete in the markets with the efficient employers, whether they be the government or corporations which can expend the amount required to improve the human machines requisite to turn out the increased product. This again will be another drive in the tendency towards government employment and the increase of the scope of government industrial enterprise. In the district of the lumber strike the strikers were frequently asked how they would regard government employment; to which they replied that they would just as readily work for the government as for any other employer.

"But," added the men, "the government will have to give us our conditions or we will not work for them any more than for any other employer." Would the government grant the conditions? That would depend upon the attitude of the government officials and whether they were modern and enlightened industrial overlords or have merely carried over the psychology of the older and more crudely brutal school. It would all depend on whether they are like the Neapolitan who fancied he could get more work out of his ass by giving it little hay, plenty of beatings, and some prayers. In spite of such stupidities as are inseparable from governmental officialdom, there is little doubt that a government would

grant such conditions as are demanded by the lumber workers. Such would appear to be a reasonable assumption at least. But the workings of governments are, to say the very least, problematical, and a government which turns over the manufacture of clothes for soldiers to notorious scab firms is more than that.

But suppose the government or some great corporation does take over the lumber industry, and does provide those conditions which the English commission has considered as necessarily preliminary to the production of the greatest amount and the best quality; what would be the condition of organized labor?

Speaking by and large, its position would be just what the capitalist experts have declared that it should be; to wit, a well-kept, well-oiled, well-finished, well-polished machine, properly geared and running steadily and purring contentedly like a good motor engine, and grinding out profits as they were never ground out before. Cannot you see the workers? All in the pink of condition, and profits piling up all around, the greatest amount of product of the best quality spilling beneficently all over creation at the very touch of these highly trained, carefully watched and splendidly handled proletarian mechanics!

Actually the workers would be a great deal better off physically, better fed, better clothed, better rested, and at the same time more completely policed, herded together with the most beneficent and philanthropic oversight ever expended. Relatively they would be much worse off for the wealth created by such a class would be relatively much greater, its exploitation much higher than ever before. The creation of this greater wealth is the cause of the new idea. More wealth for the industrial overlord is the incentive which lies behind the whole of the scheme. As has already been pointed out over and over again, there is nothing to move employers in the idea except that fact that such treatment of employees means a greater amount of product and thus greater values created. These values would remain in the hands of the employing class, as well as the very effective human machinery.

And what would be the position of the craft trade unions under such conditions? It would be hard to create a case against

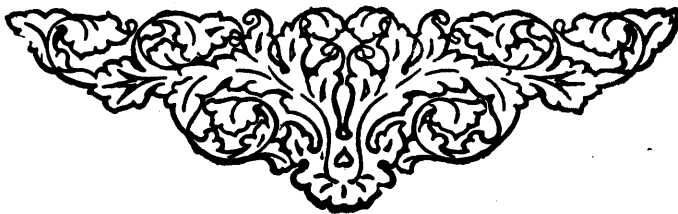
employers who treated their help with such consideration and care, would it not? If we accept the idea that labor power not only is, but must always be, a commodity to be bought and sold, which is the current concept in the American Federation of Labor, the position of the trade union leaders would be practically untenable. Of course, I am told over and over again, that the American Federation does not accept the commodity conception of labor. But I can see no proof. Indeed I am convinced to the contrary. I know that there is a provision which states that the commodity, *labor*, is not one of those commodities which are subject to the Sherman Act, as amended, but even this staggering statement does not compel me to accept the conclusion that the American Federation of Labor has abandoned the practice of asking a high price for the commodity, labor power, and conceding the product to the employers.

If the essence of the labor movement is wages and hours, then the American craft union will be driven out of the ring by the process of the new idea, for wages and hours will be conceded as oil to the machine. The idea of labor as a machine will be hailed enthusiastically by the really capable portion of the American industrial capitalists and the mere question of wages and hours will recede into the background.

But the fortress of capitalistic domination, of the power of the industrial over-

lord, will be just as strong as ever. For whether the process of production is carried on by the corporation guided by the machine-proletarian principle or by a governmental body, which is actuated by the same principle, the results will be identical. We shall have a subject proletariat manufacturing vastly increasing amounts of vastly improved products for the industrial overlords and still in a state of subjection itself, and still as far away as ever from the actual control of industry. And against this condition of affairs the old-fashioned craft union will be helpless.

But it is just under such conditions that an industrial unionism, striving for the overthrow of the industrial overlord and endeavoring for shop control and all that shop control implies, will be at its very best. A working class, well enough fed and well enough rested to be ambitious and to have developed the "Will to power" is the proletariat which can the most successfully make the great fight of the future. It is a working class which can be inspired, for it is a class which would have the time and energy for imagination and enthusiasm. The whole tendency of the modern industrial movement, even in the capitalistic circles, is towards making possible those conditions under which industrial unionism will thrive and is shaping the trend of the industrial union to the goal of possession and power for the working class.



# The National Guilds League and the War

By LAURENCE WELSH

The British Ministry of Reconstruction has just given out a preliminary program including a scheme giving labor a hand in the direction of industry. They call it Guild Socialism over there.

THE National Guilds League is one of the newest of the propagandist associations in the British labor movement, but it has already come well to the front on account of the force and value of its doctrines and the energy and ability with which they are set before the public. The League was formed in 1915 in order to organize into one effective body all those who sympathize with the Guild principles. The defined objects of the association are:

"The abolition of the wage systems and the establishment of self-government in industry thru a system of National Guilds working in conjunction with the State."

As will be seen, the intention of National Guildsmen is a revolutionary one. It is to take from the capitalist the entire ownership and control of industrial capital and land. No completer alteration in the economic structure of society than this can be imagined.

The ownership of the means of production the Guildsmen would vest in the State. This much they have in common with the orthodox Socialist tradition, and in this arrangement they see a guarantee of protection for the consumers against exploitation by the producers. It is, however, the organization of self-governing associations actually responsible for production, which gives its special significance to the National Guilds movement. Such a National Guild is an organization embracing the whole personnel actively engaged in any given industry. It will from time to time receive orders for the supply of certain materials or services from the central organizing bureau (consisting of joint representatives of Guilds and the organized State).

The task will then rest with the Guild to execute those orders in the manner best suited to its own conceptions of industrial fitness. Guilds will develop in existing society from the trade unions of today. These must organize on a purely "industrial basis" and must assume a revolution-

ary aim if they are to become fit for their new role.

In internal organization the Guilds will be democratic thruout. In this fact lies the special value to labor of the National Guildman's message. No matter how democratically organized a political system may be, the vastness of the political machine, the vagueness of political issues, and the mental inertia and economic impotence of the mass of the population will conspire to render politics the sport of plutocrats or of log-rollers.

In a democratic industrial system, on the other hand, every member would have an intimate knowledge of the technical process and the industrial conditions which form the substance of industrial politics. The internal organization of each Guild would be hierarchic, and the principle of popular election of all foremen and officials would apply thruout. In each grade of workers there would be electoral machinery to enable all those directly affected by the acts of the holder of an office to elect the man for that office. It would be necessary, of course, to qualify this simple democratic method in the case of highly technical appointments, but in general it would be widely applicable. The electors would be competent judges of all candidates, able to select them both as suitable from a technical point of view and as men calculated to exercise authority in a reasonable and humane way. By this means real popular control of the conditions of life would be secured. "Industrial democracy is direct democracy; and its immediacy is a guarantee of freedom."

Into a further explanation of the doctrines of the National Guilds League it is not now possible to go. The revolution aimed at is primarily an economic one, and the means to securing the new order of society must also be economic. Political activities are, therefore, at any rate for the present, entirely out of the sphere of the National Guilds League. The attitude of the League on the war as a political

and military activity is determined by this fact, and is one of sublime indifference! The suggestion that any organization can deliberately neglect important aspects of so vast a phenomenon as this war may sound frivolous, but closer consideration will soon show that this is the wisest position that can be adopted. No one would expect the Royal Geographic Society or the Zoological Society to have a "war policy," precisely because the war is entirely extraneous to the activities of these bodies. But if the war resulted, let us say, in the introduction into France of large numbers of African elephants, the Zoological Society would rightly concern itself with the effects of such an action on the elephants and the military value of the animals in their new sphere. Questions of military strategy or of political policy connected with the inception and continuance of the war would still remain outside the scope of the Zoological Society.

Similarly, when the war has social reactions (such as the Munitions Act and the Military Service Acts) that affect industrial organization and the prospects of the establishment of National Guilds, Guildsmen naturally take an active interest in this aspects of the proceedings. The questions of the responsibility for the present war and the most effective means of bringing it to a close, are, however, not regarded as any immediate concern of the League, and no official policy on these subjects has therefore been formulated.

Moreover, the resources of the League, both in finances and in personnel, are limited. Before entering on any activity, therefore, it has first clearly to be ascertained that the work is necessary and essential. In proportion as the energy of the League is directed to "war" aims (either "pro" or "anti"), its efforts to abolish the wage system and to substitute a system of National Guilds must slacken. The latter being its principal object, it wisely concentrates its efforts on this. The policy of 'neglecting the war' then, first dictated on grounds of theory, is supported also by reasons of the highest expediency.

While the League as a whole has no views on the subject of war in general or this war in particular, the individuals who constitute the League are not themselves

in so colorless a state of mind. There is, in fact, considerable diversity of opinion amongst members of the League, views on the war ranging from the extremely bellicose to the pacifist Independent Labor Party position.

It is possible, however, from private conversations and from a few references to the general subject of war in Guild literature, to discover and define a fairly general line of thought on the matter. While what follows must not, then, be taken as representing the official view of the League on war, yet it may be assumed to be an expression of the general position of the majority of the members.

Such a view unhesitatingly condemns war quite as heartily as the extremist pacifist, and if it supports the present war, it does so because it sees in the German claims a promise of unending aggression and consequent conflict, and in the defeat of those claims the only hope of a new order of international relations which shall exclude war from its machinery.

The main bases of war are economic antagonism and nationalist vanity, and both of these would be vastly reduced by the establishment of a Guild system in the great nations of the world. Economic antagonism is the result of competing attempts on the part of traders to secure profits from foreign trade, and a Guild state would never allow foreign trade to rest in the hands of private profiteers. While economic rivalry might persist between nations, and even constitute a source of healthy competition, it would no longer spur private capitalists on to egregious efforts at mutual extermination issuing in international warfare. In the reduction of economic antagonism, therefore, National Guilds hold promise of one guarantee against war.

The institution of large self-governing industrial units side by side with the political "State" would naturally tend towards a relative lowering of the latter's prestige. When men found that the greater part of their corporate concerns were dealt with, not by a centralized "State" definitely associated with the political conception of a nation, but by their respective Guilds, a considerable part of their loyalty would be transferred to strengthen the more real and intimate bond of association. This blow at the "Sovereignty of the State"

would weaken organization on nationalist lines and this weakening would increase as time went on by the tendency of economic Guilds towards international association. The advantages of union between Guilds engaged in fulfilling corresponding functions in different countries would be so great that internationalism would speedily become a practical fact.

Guildmen's hope for the future in international relations are fixed, not on any mechanical device for the prevention of war (tho supra-national machinery will undoubtedly be a necessary expres-

sion of the new ideals), but on an internal revolution in the principal industrial countries. Mechanical devices such as the League of Nations attempt to canalize in a pacifist direction ideals and aspirations which to a large extent exist only in the minds of those responsible for this kind of propaganda. National Guilds would simultaneously develop international machinery and internationalist ideals of a pacific nature:

NOTE—Any information regarding the League may be obtained either from the present writer, care THE REVIEW, or from the Secretary, 17 Acacia Road, N. W. 8, London, England.

## GERMAN SOCIALISTS IN RUSSIA

By MARY E. MARCY

NOW that the German army, composed of one-third Socialists, as they have boastfully assured us in the past, is marching so bravely under the Prussian banner to destroy the new-won and glorious liberties of the Russian people and to succor the powers of reaction so busily engaged in fastening themselves upon their throats, we recall the farewell visits of a score or more eager political exiles who, on their way, called back to the homeland to help rebuild the glad new world of labor out of the ruins left by the czar and his clique.

Full of sweet hopes in the glorious possibilities before them, they flowed into the office of the REVIEW. The dreams of William Morris were coming true, they jovially assured us, and the Russian workers were winning their own at last.

"But what about the Germans? And the war?" we asked.

"We will end it," they insisted. "We do not want peace for Russia alone, but for all the world."

Then one of the Russian comrades told us how, in the rebellion of 1905, the Lithuanian peasants, made mad by hunger and oppression, drove the German land barons off the Russian land and back into

Germany; how the peasants sent guards to protect the lives of these nobles, giving them all safe-conduct to the border line. He told us how the German barons, with the help of the czar, returned a few weeks later and murdered 2,000 Russian-Lithuanian peasants and exiled several thousand others to Siberia. The comrade who related the story had managed to escape to America.

"But now it will be different!" he exclaimed. "We have no cause to love the Germans but the Socialists—they occupy the trenches on the Russian front."

In spite of his faith, we expressed grave doubts of the wisdom of trusting to the Germans.

"You shall see!" another returning exile shouted. "The German Socialists are not now attacking their Russian comrades. We will greet them at the trenches and refuse to fight. We will say to them, 'Comrades, we have no quarrel with you. We have overthrown our czar and his overlords; go home and clean up your own enemies. The Russian workers are your friends. We are brothers in the same cause.' " He smiled down on us in triumph. It was all going to be so very simple. Among comrades the war would be quickly ended.

So full of eager hope and high resolves

were they—these splendid, happy returning exiles, who had given so much, sacrificed so deeply for the cause of Russian liberty, that their enthusiasm was infectious.

So noble was their ideal, so wondrous their hope of seeing fighting, slaying men lay down their arms, shake hands and return home to their peaceful labors—that it caught us, too—the vision of a new German people—made sane at last.

I know it brought a lump to my throat. I could not speak. Was it not worth trying? Was it not worth the risk? Just to lay down your gun and call "Comrade" to the men across the battle-scarred fields; just to grasp hands with the weary German soldiers and wake them from their madness.

"It cannot fail," continued our friend. "We will call the German comrades to their sober senses. They will respond. They will stop the war."

But we were not so sure. We counseled, we advised, we feared.

"Do you not trust Socialism?" one asked us in surprise.

"Yes," we said, "but, perhaps, not *German* Socialism."

"Have you forgotten Liebknecht?" he returned.

"But the Party disowned him. Besides, it was he who declared the German Social Democracy the worst enemy of the German workers."

"But when we show them that the Russians are their friends; that we want no land, no aggressions—the German comrades will go home and put the kaiser to driving a bus and all the other Prussians to doing useful labor."

And so they shook hands all around, their heads held high, their faces glowing with a great resolve.

"Do not fear. We have set them an example. When they see we are their friends, they will follow it!"

When they left my eyes were dim. Yes,

I thought, it would be worth while to try this way of bringing peace to bleeding Europe. Everything else had failed. Perhaps, who knew? the call of the old Internationale might yet save Russia, and Germany, France and England.

\* \* \* \* \*

And so they sailed back to the new Russia and all her mighty problems. And the Russian soldiers set a new standard of sacrifice and brotherhood and appealed to their German comrades—and refused to fight.

But the German soldiers would not hear. At the command of their own supreme enemies they shot down the men who dared stretch out their hands across the trenches and offer them peace and freedom, and peace and freedom to all Europe.

\* \* \* \* \*

Comrades of Russia, who bade us farewell a few short months ago, you have fought the good fight, you have upheld the faith; you have borne high the Red Flag of Brotherhood—and the German Socialists have shot it down.

Surely now you must see how little German "socialism" means. Surely now that the German Social Democrats have murdered our comrades and are bearing forward into the new Russia, by fire and by the sword, the hated Prussian flag of servitude, you have stayed your hand long enough.

The reactionaries in Russia can more easily make peace with Prussia than with the soldiers of Free Russia. Socialists are not pacifists. We have fought for every inch of progress made in the past. We will not hesitate to make war upon any army of working men which unites with its enemies and with our enemies to wrest from us any newly gained liberties. Since the German army has proven traitors to the Cause, Comrades of Russia, defend your dreams of freedom.



A COMMON SIGHT IN THE EAST.

The mango tree grows from beneath the cloth, and the child disappears through the topmost branches

## MOVING PICTURES OF THE EAST

By R. R. HORNBECK

### "Let Him Eat Cake."

**W**HILE walking home from work on a sultry afternoon I saw a big man with bowed head coming toward me. His body sways from side to side, and his step is halting and feeble. He must be drunk. As he comes nearer I see that his long hair is matted with filth, and his face and hands are covered by the grime of many weeks. There is a dirty sack thrown across his back as a protection against the tropical sun, but his hairy, sunken chest is uncovered. The trousers he wears were evidently thrown away by some European a long time ago, and are ragged and polluted. The man's whole appearance is utterly revolting, and the stench from his body is sickening.

As he passes I draw aside in terror, for the wild look in his eyes denotes insanity. To my astonishment, he drops on hands and knees just behind me, and I hear an unearthly chuckle as he runs his bony fingers over the ground and passes some-

thing into his mouth. Stepping back to where he is sprawling, I see that he is raking up dried potato peelings and the rotten fragments of a green cabbage. The Chinese family living nearby had thrown these away as unfit for human consumption, and so they are, but they are a God-send to this starving derelict. There is now a look of exultation on his emaciated face, and after swallowing every fragment of his find without taking time to chew it, he sits on the ground for a few minutes and croons to himself.

He has not seen me, and as he shambles off and passes a roadside restaurant, he does not seem to see the food which is arranged so temptingly on the large platters. A square meal of this costs only two cents, but two cents is a fortune to him.

As he disappears around the corner I notice a large banner in front of a nearby school, and on it these patriotic words are inscribed: "Help Strafe the Huns!" There is a collection box underneath, and as the happy school children of many na-





A COMMON SIGHT IN THE EAST.

The mango tree grows from beneath the cloth, and the child disappears through the topmost branches

tionalties begin dropping their pennies into this, a military band strikes up "God Save the King."

\* \* \*

### The Rajah's Son Dines a la mode

As the train pulls into the station of a Malay jungle village on the Malay Peninsula, I observe unwonted commotion among the group of natives assembled there. Suddenly the door of my coach is pushed open, and a Malay enters with two large pillows incased in yellow silk, and a gorgeous silk cloth about six feet square. The cloth is ceremoniously spread over a seat and the pillows are arranged comfortably. Another Malay now enters bearing an armful of expensive hunting paraphernalia, which he deposits in a corner.

As the door is held open by a third attendant, the adorable Rajah's son himself appears, and as the three attendants kowtow themselves out of the first-class coach, the scion of the jungle grandiloquently struts to the place prepared for him, inserts a cigar at an aristocratic angle, and benignly surveys his fellow travelers. Being the only Asiatic in this coach, he manifestly feels his superiority, for he affects nothing western except his clothing and the aforesaid cigar.

He is a nice specimen of the titled Malay, and this hunting trip is the most strenuous exertion of his otherwise care-free life.

Happily, it is now time for dinner, and one of his attendants enters with a huge silver platter, on which reposes a whole chicken and a liberal supply of potatoes. A large bottle of wine is next produced, and the feast begins. The son tears the chicken apart with his fingers, and in the absence of knife and fork dines even as did Adam. He is not mindful of the grease which spatters onto the floor, and as the bones are stripped clean they find a place beside the spilt gravy. The wine is exceptionally rich, judging by the resounding smacks which follow a draught, and the potatoes disappear like a prestidigitator's apples. Since there are no amenities to be observed, the repast is soon over, and the ubiquitous servant sweeps the remains into a corner and bears away the spoils of war.

### An Honest Living

While waiting for a street car in the Chinese quarter, my wandering gaze is arrested by the squatting figure of a Chinese young man. Approaching nearer, I hear him muttering faintly, and can see that he is either ill-fed or in wretched health. His hair is unkempt, and there is no evidence that his face and hands have ever been washed.

But what the hands contain is enough to excite any American's curiosity. He is tightly clasping hundreds of the burnt stubs of cigarettes, and a few of these have fallen from his twitching fingers. He seems to pay no attention to the fruits of his day's toil, for there is a far-away look in his eyes. His coat pockets are quite empty and could easily hold all the stubs he has gathered, but he is too hungry and tired to think of that.

This is so different from what he had expected to find in Singapore. His father had tried to persuade him, over three years ago, to remain on the little farm in the interior of China, for his help was needed to tend the poppy plants. But the white men who came twice a year to buy opium to export had often talked to him about the wonderful "golden cheronese," as they called it, and so he had resolved to explore the region of his dreams. Only a few dollars were necessary to pay for a steerage passage in a small Chinese coaster, and he had arrived in Singapore expecting to make a fortune in a few short months. His aged parents needed some of the money he was to get so easily, and his last promise to them had been that a nice sum would be sent by every steamer which stopped at their small port.

But how different he had found it! The feeling of joyful expectation had given way to dull despair, and he longed for the wholesome food which his father had always provided. It would take a long time now to save enough money to return to his old home, for it took about a dozen stubs to supply sufficient tobacco for one new cigarette, and then he had to sell twenty cigarettes for one cent.

This is what he was muttering, as the tiny objects slipped to the ground.

### Enter the Witch Doctor

The long house before me is a Sea

Dyak dwelling in the Bornean jungle. A young girl inside has a severe attack of fever, and I have been invited to come and watch the Witch Doctor cure her. As I scramble up the notched pole leading to the enclosed veranda, a group of naked children emit a startled yelp and scamper away into the dark corners.

The beating of tom-toms is now heard not far away, and in the twilight we soon discern the flickering light of torches and a small group of men—the Witch Doctor and his helpers are approaching. There is an awed silence as they enter the room, and then the father of the sick girl points to her bed. But a liberal fee must be paid first, after which all lights are put out, for it is dangerous to exorcise the evil spirits in the light.

The Witch Doctor mutters that an evil spirit passed the girl and afflicted her, and that he must be propitiated at once. The father replies that he knows this, and explains that he has already killed four chickens and a dog, chopping the flesh into small pieces and strewing it around the doorway so the evil spirit would be satisfied with these sacrifices and not take a human life. But somehow, the fever still rages, and I suggest that perhaps the spirit does not relish dog meat.

However, there is no need to worry longer, for the Witch Doctor wields supernatural power over all malignant spirits, and is able to rescue the soul of the sick girl from the clutches of this one. The doctor's attendants place his medicine box before a long-handled spear, near the girl, and he produces a wild boar's tusk from a great heap of charms inside. Stroking the body of the girl with this, he takes his Stone of Light and gazes into it to seek the soul of the sufferer. He then begins to chant wildly, and is joined in the uncanny noise by his six attendants. The chanting is unintelligible to anyone present, but the evil spirit understands perfectly that the Witch Doctor is demanding the soul of the sick girl.

Suddenly one of the helpers falls to the floor in a swoon—his spirit has gone into the great spirit realm to seek the wandering soul. After half an hour the man revives and raises himself on his elbow, clenching his right hand. That hand has the lost soul, and he walks to the girl to return it to her body through the crown of her head, muttering incoherently all the while. But he is too late—the girl had died an hour before.



THE WITCH DOCTOR

Note the boar tusks in his nose and the elongated lobes



### THE WITCH DOCTOR

Note the boar tusks in his nose and the elongated lobes

# NEWS FROM RUSSIA

Chicago Tribune, Sept. 14th

(Associated Press)

THE political equilibrium, which the country had expected as a result of the collapse of the rebellion, has not been reached. The cabinet crisis continued all day. The cause of the trouble is an acute revival of the old struggle for power. Premier Kerensky persists that the entry of four constitutional democrats into the cabinet is indispensable, but opposition to this is growing among members of the Left. Kerensky might give way to this point, but he also is negotiating thru Minister of the Interior Kishkin for the entry into the cabinet of representatives of the Moscow industrial workers, and these declare that they will not accept portfolios if the constitutional democrats are expelled.

The social democrats and social revolutionaries, while continuing to oppose the constitutional democrats, declare that they also are against the formation of a purely socialist cabinet.

The problem is complicated by the attitude of the Petrograd council of deputies, in which at last night's meeting the Bolsheviks for the first time gained an overwhelming majority of 279 against 115 in favor of an extremely radical program. This program declares that not only the constitutional democrats but also all representatives of propertied classes must be excluded from power; that the policy of compromise must be abandoned, as it is merely a cause of counter revolutionary plotting, and that exceptional powers of repression claimed by the government must be relinquished.

It also demands the immediate declaration of a democratic republic, the abolition of private property and land, with the transfer to peasants of all stock and machinery on estates; control by the working classes over production, the nationalization of the chief branches of industry, "merciless taxation" of capital, and the confiscation of war profits.

The resolution demands further the publication of secret treaties, an immediate invitation to the warring states to conclude peace, the expulsion of counter revolutionaries from the commands in the army, the

satisfaction of the demands of Ukraine and Finland, the dissolution of the дума and the council of empire, the immediate summoning of a constituent assembly, and the abolition of privileges of nobles.

M. Tseretelli, former minister of the interior, vainly warned the meeting against extremists, declaring that the reactionaries await with impatience the transfer of power into the hands of the council of workmen's and soldiers' deputies, which will give them excuse for a new attack on the revolution. The Bolsheviks retorted that only the proletariat could save the revolution.

An officer who arrived here today from Gen. Korniloff's headquarters at Mohilev gave the first authoritative account of the events there at the outbreak of the Korniloff rebellion.

The officer said that last Saturday a number of infantry, "striking battalions," volunteers and picked men, splendidly disciplined and armed, who were the backbone of Gen. Korniloff's Galician offensive early last summer, arrived at headquarters. They had been informed that they were needed to reinforce the Riga front, but the real aim was to march them against Petrograd. Korniloff reviewed them with great pomp.

That night Korniloff prepared his first proclamation to the army, ordering the printing of vast numbers of it. The socialist compositors refused to do the general's bidding, and an officer took a detachment of Tekke Turcomans, who composed the rebel general's bodyguard, into the composing room, and under a threat to cut down the printers, forced them to set the type and print the proclamation.

The compositors later received Premier Kerensky's proclamation, and while diligently printing that of Korniloff also printed secretly Kerensky's and circulated it everywhere.

Meanwhile the local council of defense began a vigorous demonstration among the "striking battalions." The Kerensky proclamation caused dissension among the troops and a majority of them sent a demand to Korniloff that they immediately be

sent back to the front. On all trains passing thru Mohilev the printers threw large quantities of Kerensky's proclamation so that they might reach the soldiers at the front. As a result of the government's counter agitation a battalion of the Cavaliers of St. George seceded from the rebellion. They announced to their officers they would die for the provisional government and issued orders to attack Korniloff.

Another officer says that he, with one officer from the All-Moscow regiments, was summoned to Mohilev ostensibly for the purpose of studying "the English method of throwing bombs." When he arrived he was informed that he had been summoned for a more serious purpose.

"In Petrograd," the officer said he was told, "there has been planned a new Bolshevik rising, in which are implicated some of the ministers and the object of which is to conclude a separate peace and to send disbanded soldiers from house to house to massacre the bourgeoisie. Without help from the front it is impossible to defeat the plot. General Korniloff already has sent part of the army to Petrograd and his plan is to appoint himself temporary dictator."

This officer says the officers, on Monday returned to Moscow, passing on the way the "savage" division, one detachment of Siberian Cossacks and "Korniloff units." On reaching Moscow the officers read Kerensky's proclamations and realized the truth of the situation.

In the midst of this new crisis Premier Kerensky struck vigorously today to wipe out all traces of the ill-fated revolt.

At Odessa, Minsk, and Mohilev, and in other towns, numerous officers and politicians who had declared in favor of Gen. Korniloff have been arrested. Among the latter was Deputy Rimsky Korsakoff, the former president of the League of the Russian People.

After being received by Premier Kerensky at the Winter palace and informed of the fate which awaited him, Gen. Krymoff, commander of the Korniloff troops, which were sent against Petrograd, returned to his lodgings and killed himself.

The central committee of the Baltic fleet has telegraphed Premier Kerensky assuring him of the unanimous decision of all the crews to support the government.

*From the United Press Staff Correspondent, Chicago-Tribune, Sept. 15th:*

Petrograd, Sept. 15.—Gen. Korniloff and his principal accomplices have been arrested, the government was informed today. It is believed here that he will have to face death. He misjudged Russia; therefore Russia is demanding that he die.

The provisional government faced a spreading anger of the people against the former generalissimo today. It was due less perhaps to his actual attempt at a revolt than to events which preceded it.

Isstesma, a people's organ, expressed today the popular suspicion that Riga was surrendered to the Germans in furtherance of Korniloff's schemes.

"If Korniloff succeeded in outwitting the soldiers' committees," the newspaper asserted, "his treachery has not been punished. Our country was handed over to the enemy. Only the soldiers' committees saved Russia. Is it not true that the reported panicky retreats of the Russian army were exaggerated? With the investigation under way, we can now discover whether or not these panics were organized by Korniloff's own adjutants."

The newspaper referred to recent "remarkable communiques" frankly dilating on the panic in the Russian retreat.

Korniloff's fate had not yet been officially decided today. The cabinet was in the throes of a re-organization, due as much to differences on what punishment should be given the rebel leader as to internal conflict.

But Petrograd is demanding one of only two courses for Korniloff—suicide or surrender.

The one means death just as certainly as the other, in the view of the populace. Korniloff himself decreed punishment for revolt in the army. It was the main issue which he projected into the Moscow convention. He put it into effect at once. Probably a number of Russian private soldiers have already paid the penalty for infractions of discipline.

It was at the Moscow conference that Korniloff planned his coup. I believe the idea sprang full grown into his brain at the dramatic moment when the great army commander stood on the platform in the city hall of Moscow, acclaimed a hero in five minutes' tumultuous demonstration.

A splendid audience of bankers, mer-

chants, manufacturers, and intellectuals, in complacent confidence, arose from the boxes and galleries. They cheered the militant figure tumultuously. For five minutes the noise continued unabated.

Even Korniloff's stoicism melted under the warmth. He visibly expanded. That was the moment, as I see it today, that the idea of power was established in the commander-in-chief's mind. He believed the cheers were those of all Russia.

In one corner of the vast hall 300 men—only a tenth of the great assemblage—sat, grim and silent thruout the cheering. The frenzied ones jeered at them. Yells demanded they arise and join. But they sat silent.

Korniloff, the general, the military man par excellence, did not know them. He was ignorant of what was happening away from the battle front. Constantly surrounded by military affairs, constantly studying military strategy, ever thinking in terms of army life, the generalissimo thought all the voice of Russia spoke to him in this great demonstration.

If Korniloff thought at all about the silent 300, he thought they were a minority. He was wrong. They represented the armed citizens of Russia—the majority. Every man of the 300 had been elected by the vote of thousands of soldiers at the front and by workers thruout the nation.

To them Korniloff represented everything in Russia that they had overthrown by the revolution—the cold power of military force. Yet Korniloff disdained to look at them. In his ears there resounded the sweet sound of 2,700 wildly acclaiming delegates and he forgot the chorus was not joined by the grim 300. It must have been at this dramatic moment that the idea of revolt came to Korniloff.

Thus it happened when Korniloff's troops met those of the provisional government, forty miles from Petrograd, there was no fighting. On the contrary, the men on the two sides fraternized. Not a shot was fired. Men in the ranks on both sides understood each other. They conferred at length and then returned to their comrades. Before Korniloff's own eyes his common soldiers arbitrated the differences of a nation. Korniloff and his officers were left alone.

Meanwhile, on Russia's front, headquarters stood back, looking for civil war as much as for war from the Germans.

Petrograd never lost its nerve thruout the great mistake. There were crowds on the streets, but no panic. They merely jammed the corners and spaces on the Nevskv Prospekt and eagerly awaited meager newspaper reports. On Tuesday and Wednesday, when Korniloff's mistake appeared for a moment not to be a mistake, the populace was unmoved. They made a new record for patience and fortitude. The two days were formally observed, as usual, as church holidays. All business was closed.

At the Winter palace, however, strong guards and tremendous activity betrayed that the people of Russia were fighting civil war. There Kerensky received ministers, talked over the telephone and by telegraph to distant parts of Russia, and collected the vast forces of the public to crush the rebellion.

In the room of Breshko Breshkovsky I sought the "grandmother of the revolution" on one of these grim days of unexcited preparation. She was gone, but a gentle white-haired lady who sat there working declared:

"The grandmother of the revolution says we mustn't make terms with Korniloff. We will not."

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*Chapter IV of THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN JAPAN, by S. Katayama, The Socialist Movement and Russo-Japan War, will appear in the November issue of the REVIEW.*



# How Old Is Man?

By WILLIAM BOELSCHÉ

**I**T was about a million years ago. If a man could have had the opportunity to wander thru our present European continent, with a rifle in his hands, he would have seen in those days a very strange country. He might have imagined that he was in the interior of Africa as we know it to-day. He would have tramped for weeks over immense prairies in Southern Europe, dotted sporadically with a few dense woods, and out of the wilderness of this green ocean of grass, he would have started before him innumerable herds of antelopes, giraffes and animals resembling wild horses. From his camp near a rippling spring, he could have watched in the clear moonlight, such colossal forms coming to drink and to bathe as were once seen by the first hunters who ventured into the interior of Africa by way of Cape Colony. There, he could have seen elephants of various species, with two and four tusks, or even with tusks bent downward like those of the walrus, massive rhinoceros, and ponderous hippopotami. Behind them he could have heard the roaring of lions, panthers, and giant wild-cats armed with saberlike teeth. Wandering further north into localities which are now the scenes of a highly advanced civilization, he would have entered the most impenetrable, primeval forest, similar to that in which Stanley, in the heart of Africa, experienced all the sensations of daring conquest of an absolutely wild tropical country. Out of the dense undergrowth

splendid palms rose toward the sunlight. Parrots of many colors shrieked, the features of a large anthropoid ape, similar to our gorilla, might peep suddenly out of the thick covering of foliage, piercing the daring intruder with sharp glances. And above it all, there trembled the atmosphere of a hot climate.

Our wanderer would have been still more surprised if he could have compared our present-day maps with the road traveled by him in those primeval days. Where the blue surface of the Mediterranean now extends so widely that a navigator cannot see the shores on either side, he would have advanced over dry ground from horizon to horizon thru prairies inhabited by giraffes and forests peopled by monkeys. And where today the red rose of the Alps grows upon dizzy heights near the grim ice of the glaciers on mountain passes, there he would have found nothing but wooded hills in which his geologically trained eye might have discovered traces of a slow but irresistible rise. And where today the sun is sending its glowing rays down upon bare mountain ranges, as in the heart of France, he could have observed the horizon tinted blood-red, a reflection of the boiling lava of volcanoes.

A strange world in an immeasurably far off time!

A million years is a tremendous period of time for human minds to grasp. If the history of human civilization is traced by





written chronicles, it does not take us back beyond six thousand years. One might fill entire libraries with events thru which human beings have passed merely in a period of one thousand years. Here, we are supposed to place side by side thousands of thousands of years. What wonder then if the mirror of research transports us back to those primeval times into a different Europe, composed of different seas, countries, mountains and climates.

It is the so-called "Tertiary Period" into which we have looked.

Four great periods are distinguished by the historians of the earth, in speaking of the change and succession of animal and plant life as it is discovered in the course of the many million years during which it has developed. We may use the simple Latin numbers to designate these periods: Primus, the first; Secundus, the second; Tertius, the third; Quartus, the fourth. There is the Primary period, the very first in which we discover traces of living beings on our earth. It was then that the forests were green, the fossil remains of which we now know as coal. Strange and uncouth newts crawled about in their shade. The sea, the shores of which were covered by these trees, was alive with long forgotten crustaceans and fishes. Then followed the Secondary period, in which the terrible giant saurians, typified by Ichthyosaurus, infested land and sea. After that we reach the third great period, the Tertiary period, when Europe had the climate and the fauna of present day Africa, such as giraffes, elephants and monkeys. And when this epoch came to an end, the Quaternary period began, with which our entire historical tradition is identified and in which we are still living today. We do not meet any familiar objects until we reach this last period. The surface of the earth then assumes the form to which we are now accustomed. All things come closer to us. The things that lie beyond are strange to us, like an unknown creation, like a dream of some other planet.

And yet man lived even in that Tertiary period.

No song, no heroic story, gives any information about him. But where the voice of tradition, the chronicles of conscious humanity are silent, there we find other witnesses that speak to us—the stones. The tradition of mankind expires within the

Quaternary period. There is an extreme moment when even the most ancient inscriptions of the Chinese, the Babylonians, and the Egyptians become mute. Written characters disappear and with them the earliest direct voice from the cradle of humanity about itself. But beyond that point we are made aware of a very important event in the development of this earth which took place in this Quaternary period, the traces of which are still visibly impressed in the rocks. It is the great ice age. For many thousand years, colossal masses of glacial ice were piled on top of the continents of Europe and North America. Large herds of mammoth, a species of elephant, covered with a thick coating of hair as a protection against the cold, grazed along the edge of these glaciers, just as in our day the musk-ox and the reindeer are doing in the countries near the North Pole. Undeniable and plain traces of human beings are still preserved from that period.

In the sand, which remained when the glaciers flowed into the caves which were formed by the mighty ice waters boring their way thru the lime rocks, the crude and simple stone tools have been found with which the men of that period hunted the mammoth. The walls of such caves in France are still covered with colored pictures in which the men of that ice age have drawn unmistakable pictures of the mammoth. As it happens we are enabled to test the accuracy of those pictures, since well preserved bodies of mammoth with skin and hair are found in the ice of Siberia. We have also found the skulls and bones of those men, so that we now have a fairly good idea of their characteristics, in spite of the fact that all written and oral traditions of the civilized nations now living have completely forgotten their ancestors of the ice age.

But those simple stone tools, especially knives and arrowheads, which give us such reliable information of man as the contemporary of the mammoth, are occasionally found also in the strata of rock which were already present when the ice age with its glaciers and mammoths began. We find in them remains of that most primitive human civilization, together with bones of a giant elephant, who was not only larger and of different form than the mammoth, but also older—the so-called South-elephant

(*Elephas meridionalis*.) But this South-elephant was still living in laurel groves and under magnolia blossoms in France and Germany, instead of feeding on reindeer lichens on the edges of the glaciers. With this elephant we have come into the middle of the genuine Tertiary period. This Tertiary period, the more we follow it backwards, takes us into a warmer climate instead of a colder one. In the middle of this period we meet with that very picture which I drew in the beginning. Europe then had the giraffe plains and the primeval forests of the present day inhabited by anthropoid apes, and there is no longer any doubt that the oldest tools of man, which we can distinguish as such, lead us even to the limit of this very hot, middle period of the Tertiary age. Man is even then a part of that picture! He is himself almost a million years old on the surface of this globe, and had simple stone weapons and other tools which he used in his fight with the giant animals of that time. In other words, he possessed the indubitable beginnings of civilization.

It seems to me that we cannot trace matters up to this point without confronting this further question: Is it not possible that man may be still older?

With this venerable age of one million years he is a part of the wonders of the primitive world, he drifts into the company of still stranger animals than the mammoth, into other climates than those of present-day Europe, the Alps of which were then in the first stage of formation and the seas of which had not yet found their present level. So it really would not change matters very much even if we found that we must trace him further back into still more ancient and strange landscapes of this globe. It is true that all traces of civilization disappear at this point. We do not know of a single piece of flint stone in the first half of the Tertiary period, or even of the saurian period following it, which would show traces of the human hand. But long before we reach this point, we may observe a gradual divergence of these flint stone tools. They grow cruder and cruder. Is it too wild a speculation to suppose that men may have existed even beyond that time who may not have possessed sufficient civilization even to fashion the simplest stone tools? In that case, we could not expect to find any stone tools as witnesses.

But, one might say, there should at least be genuine human bones preserved in a fossil state in the solid rocks together with skeletons of the ichthyosaurians? Still, this objection would not carry much weight. We know very well that not all of the living beings which once lived upon this earth left their fossil bones behind. The bones may have been destroyed, for human bones particularly are not very durable. Or they may be buried in certain places of the earth which we cannot investigate today, because they may be at the bottom of the sea, or covered by the perennial ice of polar regions. How often has not this earth been shaken thru and thru and turned inside out in these long, long periods? Strata, which were once sediment at the bottom of the sea and which are still full of sea shells, are now found on the high summits of the Alps. On the other hand, entire mountain ranges, ground into sand, are now found in the flat sandstone of the plains, or at the bottom of the sea. Many of the remains of the primitive world have certainly been destroyed in this wild chaos, have been ground into powder, or broken to pieces. We get a vague conception of this when we see that even the gigantic monsters of those primitive days have frequently left but one single bone, a thigh bone or skull of one single individual. That is to say, while thousands and thousands of individuals of this species lived once upon a time, only the scant remains of one single individual have come down to our time.

Then too, there is still another possibility which is far more interesting. It is very probable that we may not recognize the man of those far distant days, even if some of his bones were preserved. For man himself might have become transformed in his structure, and his bones might differ from ours. Might it not be possible that his bones might look strange to us that scientists might have described them as belonging to some other thing, little aware of the fact that these remains represented just the thing for which they were looking?

Similar ideas have ever played a role in various tales and legends. There, we read that the men of the primitive world were gnomes, or again giants, Cyclopes with one eye, or fauns with goat's feet, tails and pointed ears. When mammoth bones were first found, it was said that they were the

actual remains of such old fabulous men, bones of the giants Gog and Magog, or of St. Christopher. Of course, this was nonsense, and the supposed human bones were nothing but honest mammoth bones with no relation to primitive man. But, we of today have really something better than mere remains to rely on, we have reliable scientific data for the theory that men with essentially different characteristics from ours existed not so very long ago.

I mentioned, a while ago, that we have remains of skeletons of men who lived in the ice age, the age of mammoths. But these men of the ice age, who are still relatively close to us when compared to the more distant primitive periods, are not so very much behind in their civilization when compared to certain savage peoples of today. Even in our day, there are certain tribes, for in-

stance in South America, who are not familiar with metals, who fashion all their tools and weapons out of stone, horn, or wood, and who therefore are actually living in the "Stone Age," similar to those primitive mammoth hunters. Nevertheless, if one of us had met one of these primitive ice age men, we should have been somewhat startled by the features of that man. For his face, his size and his limbs would have appeared to us perceptibly different from ours, even from those of the savages of the present day. True, no one would have doubted that this was still a "man," but something strange, something divergent, would certainly have startled us in this type of the "Ice-age man." We may still reconstruct this man tolerably well from the remains of his skeleton.

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## CIVIL WAR IN GERMANY?

After we had written the indictment against the pro-war German Social Democrats, our attention was called to the enclosed quotation from a cablegram published in the *Chicago Tribune*. It appears that the Left Wing Socialists of Germany are remaining true to the spirit of the International and, in the midst of tyranny such as the world has never known, when all the brutal forces of the German autocracy are arrayed against the working class of that country, are conducting a campaign for nothing less than civil war. We hope they may succeed in rallying enough socialists and workmen to crush militarism in Germany and bring us hope for an early peace. While, to our mind, nothing can equal the cowardice of the pro-war German (so-called) socialists, it requires courage of the very highest order for men to organize a

revolt against the military clique of Germany at this time.

Amsterdam, Sept. 20—According to the Socialist newspaper, *Voryaerts* of Berlin, the following manifesto has been circulated thruout Germany:

"Citizens: The fatherland is in peril. It is in worse peril than three years ago. Today the enemy is in our midst and he is at work."

The newspaper adds: "It is not enough that the whole world is fighting us. The men who are responsible for this manifesto being issued also want to war against their own people. The civilian truce is over. Let us have a civilian war! Very well, let them have it! But the reichstag must see to it that nothing shall interfere with the people's defense against the civil war agitators."





### AN ARKANSAS MOTOR-GROCERY

When this car comes to the farmer's gate the bell on the wind shield bracket is rung, and the housewife comes out with her purse and exchanges cash for groceries.

and below in which various kinds of package goods are carried. At the extreme rear, at the right is a top-lift ice-box, which forms a part of the counter when the top is down. In it are carried meats, butter, milk and other perishable goods.

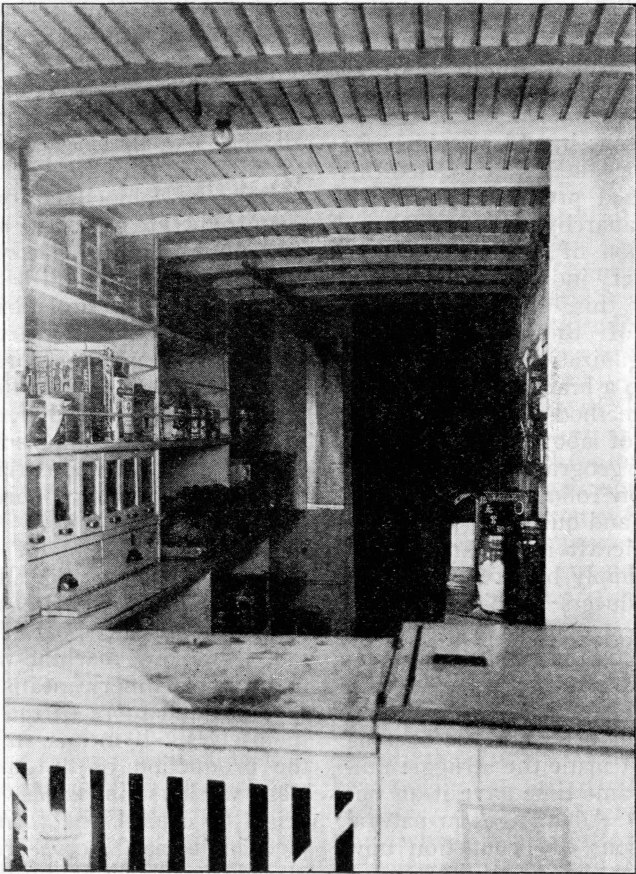
"Outside of the body under the rear are two chicken-coops with hinged swingback bottoms. Two tanks are also carried at the rear for kerosene and gasoline.

"The truck is equipped with an electric starting and lighting system, the current being used to light three electric ceiling lights in the body and to operate the bell used to announce the arrival of the truck so that the housewife has time to get her list of purchases and purse ready. The body is heated in the cold months by a utilization of the engine exhaust."—From the *Literary Digest*.



LOOKING INTO THE MOTOR-STORE

The reader's view is that of the customer standing in the rear vestibule. The opening at the farther end leads to the driver's seat. The right-hand part of the counter contains the lid of the ice-box. The equipment is described on the opposite page.



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# THE WAY OUT

By Frederick Engels

WITH the extension of the production of commodities, and especially with the introduction of the capitalist mode of production, the laws of commodity-production, hitherto latent, came into action more openly and with greater force. The old bonds were loosened, the old exclusive limits broken thru, the producers were more and more turned into independent, isolated producers of commodities. It became apparent that the production of society at large was ruled by absence of plan, by accident, by anarchy; and this anarchy grew to greater and greater height.

But the chief means by aid of which the capitalist mode of production intensified this anarchy of socialized production, was the exact opposite of anarchy. It was the increasing organization of production, upon a social basis, in every individual productive establishment. By this, the old, peaceful, stable condition of things was ended. Wherever this organization of production was introduced into a branch of industry, it brooked no other method of production by its side. The field of labor became a battleground. The great geographical discoveries and the colonization following upon them, multiplied markets and quickened the transformation of handicraft into manufacture. The war did not simply break out between the individual producers of particular localities. The local struggles begat in their turn national conflicts, the commercial wars of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

Finally, modern industry and the opening of the world-market made the struggle universal, and at the same time gave it an unheard-of virulence. Advantages in natural or artificial conditions of production now decide the existence or non-existence of individual capitalists, as well as of whole industries and countries. He that falls is remorselessly cast aside. It is the Darwinian struggle of the individual for existence transferred from Nature to society with intensified violence. The conditions of existence natural to the animal appear as the final term of human development. The con-

tradiction between socialized production and capitalistic appropriation now presents itself as *an antagonism between the organization of production in the individual workshop and the anarchy of production in society generally.*

The capitalistic mode of production moves in these two forms of the antagonism imminent to it from its very origin. It is never able to get out of that "vicious circle," which Fourier had already discovered. What Fourier could not, indeed, see in his time is, that this circle is gradually narrowing; that the movement becomes more and more a spiral, and must come to an end, like the movement of the planets, by collision with the center.

It is the compelling force of anarchy in the production of society at large that more and more completely turns the great majority of men into proletarians; and it is the masses of the proletariat again who will finally put an end to anarchy in production. It is the compelling force of anarchy in social production that turns the limitless perfectibility of machinery under modern industry into a compulsory law by which every individual industrial capitalist must perfect his machinery more and more, under penalty of ruin.

But the perfecting of machinery is the making of human labor superfluous. If the introduction and increase of machinery means the displacement of millions of manual, by a few machine-workers, improvement in machinery means the displacement of more and more of the machine-workers themselves. It means, in the last instance, the production of a number of available wage-workers in excess of the average needs of capital, the formation of a complete industrial reserve army, as I called it in 1845, available at the times when industry is working at high pressure, to be cast out upon the street when the inevitable crash comes, a constant dead weight upon the limbs of the working-class in its struggle for existence with capital, a regulator for the keeping of wages down to the low level that suits the interests of capital.

Thus it comes about, to quote Marx, that

machinery becomes the most powerful weapon in the war of capital against the working-class; that the instruments of labor constantly tear the means of subsistence out of the hands of the laborers; that the very product of the worker is turned into an instrument for his subjugation. Thus it comes about that the economizing of the instruments of labor becomes at the same time, from the outset, the most reckless waste of labor-power, and robbery based upon the normal conditions under which labor functions; that machinery, "the most powerful instrument for shortening labor-time, becomes the most unfailing means for placing every moment of the laborer's time and that of his family at the disposal of the capitalist for the purpose of expanding the value of his capital."

Thus it comes about that over-work of some becomes the preliminary condition for the idleness of others, and that modern industry, which hunts after new consumers over the whole world, forces the consumption of the masses at home down to a starvation minimum, and in doing thus destroys its own home market.

"The law that always equilibrates the relative surplus population, or industrial reserve army, to the extent and energy of accumulation, this law rivets the laborer to capital more firmly than the wedges of Vulcan did Prometheus to the rock. It establishes an accumulation of misery, corresponding with accumulation of capital. Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time, accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, *i. e.*, on the side of the class that produces *its own product in the form of capital.*" And to expect any other division of the products from the capitalistic mode of production is the same as expecting the electrodes of a battery not to decompose acidulated water, not to liberate oxygen at the positive, hydrogen at the negative pole, so long as they are connected with the battery.

We have seen that the ever-increasing perfectibility of modern machinery is, by the anarchy of social production, turned into a compulsory law that forces the individual industrial capitalist always to improve his machinery, always to increase its productive force. The bare possibility of extending the field of production is transformed for him

into a similar compulsory law. The enormous expansive force of modern industry, compared with which that of gases is mere child's play, appears to us now as a *necessity* for expansion, both qualitative and quantitative, that laughs at all resistance. Such resistance is offered by consumption, by sales, by the markets for the products of modern industry. But the capacity for extension, extensive and intensive, of the markets is primarily governed by quite different laws, that work much less energetically. The extension of the markets can not keep pace with the extension of production. The collision becomes inevitable, and as this cannot produce any real solution so long as it does not break in pieces the capitalist mode of production, the collisions become periodic. Capitalist production has begotten another "vicious circle."

As a matter of fact, since 1825, when the first general crisis broke out, the whole industrial and commercial world, production and exchange among all civilized peoples and their more or less barbaric hangers-on, are thrown out of joint about once every ten years. Commerce is at a standstill, the markets are glutted, products accumulate, as multitudinous as they are unsaleable, hard cash disappears, credit vanishes, factories are closed, the mass of the workers are in want of the means of subsistence, because they have produced too much of the means of subsistence; bankruptcy follows upon bankruptcy, execution upon execution. The stagnation lasts for years; productive forces and products are wasted and destroyed wholesale, until the accumulated mass of commodities finally filter off, more or less depreciated in value, until production and exchange gradually begin to move again. Little by little the pace quickens. It becomes a trot. The industrial trot breaks into a canter, the canter in turn grows into the headlong gallop of a perfect steeplechase of industry, commercial credit, and speculation, which finally, after breakneck leaps, ends where it began—in the ditch of a crisis. And so over and over again. We have now, since the year 1825, gone thru this five times, and at the present moment (1877) we are going thru it for the sixth time. And the character of these crises is so clearly defined that Fourier hit all of them off, when he described the first as "*crise pléthorique*," a crisis from plethora.

In these crises, the contradiction between

socialized production and capitalist appropriation ends in a violent explosion. The circulation of commodities is, for the time being, stopped. Money, the means of circulation, becomes a hindrance to circulation. All the laws of production and circulation of commodities are turned upside down. The economic collision has reached its apogee. *The mode of production is in rebellion against the mode of exchange.*

The fact that the socialized organization of production within the factory has developed so far that it has become incompatible with the anarchy of production in society, which exists side by side with and dominates it, is brought home to the capitalists themselves by the violent concentration of capital that occurs during crises, thru the ruin of many large, and a still greater number of small, capitalists. The whole mechanism of the capitalist mode of production breaks down under the pressure of the productive forces, its own creations. It is no longer able to turn all this mass of means of production into capital. They lie fallow, and for that very reason the industrial reserve army must also lie fallow.

Means of production, means of subsistence, available laborers, all the elements of production and of general wealth, are present in abundance. But "abundance becomes the source of distress and want" (Fourier), because it is the very thing that prevents the transformation of the means of production and subsistence into capital. For in capitalistic society the means of production can only function when they have undergone a preliminary transformation into capital, into the means of exploiting human labor-power. The necessity of this transformation into capital of the means of production and subsistence stands like a ghost between these and the workers. It alone prevents the coming together of the material and personal levers of production; it alone forbids the means of production to function, the workers to work and live.

On the one hand, therefore, the capitalistic mode of production stands convicted of its own incapacity to further direct these productive forces. On the other, these productive forces themselves, with increasing energy, press forward to the removal of the existing contradiction, to the abolition of their quality as capital, to the *practical recognition of their character as social productive forces.*

This rebellion of the productive forces, as they grow more and more powerful against their quality as capital, this stronger and stronger command that their social character shall be recognized, forces the capitalist class itself to treat them more and more as social productive forces, so far as this is possible under capitalist conditions. The period of industrial high pressure, with its unbounded inflation of credit, not less than the crash itself, by the collapse of great capitalist establishments, tends to bring about that form of the socialization of great masses of means of production, which we meet with in the different kinds of joint-stock companies.

Many of these means of production and of distribution are, from the outset, so colossal that, like the railroads, they exclude all other forms of capitalistic exploitation. At a further stage of evolution this form also becomes insufficient. The producers on a large scale in a particular branch of industry in a particular country unite in a "Trust," a union for the purpose of regulating production. They determine the total amount to be produced, parcel it out among themselves, and thus enforce the selling price fixed beforehand. But trusts of this kind, as soon as business becomes bad, are generally liable to break up, and on this very account compel a yet greater concentration of association. The whole of the particular industry is turned into one gigantic joint-stock company; internal competition gives place to the internal monopoly of this one company. This has happened in 1890 with the English *alkali* production, which is now, after the fusion of 48 large works, in the hands of one company, conducted upon a single plan, and with a capital of £6,000,000.

In the trusts, freedom of competition changes into its very opposite—into monopoly; and the production without any definite plan of capitalistic society capitulates to the production upon a definite plan of the invading socialistic society. Certainly this is so far still to the benefit and advantage of the capitalists. But in this case the exploitation is so palpable that it must break down. No nation will put up with production conducted by trusts, with so barefaced an exploitation of the community by a small band of dividend-mongers.

In any case, with trusts or without, the official representative of capitalistic society the State—will ultimately have to undertake

the direction of production.\* This necessity for conversion into state property is felt first in the great institutions for intercourse and communication—the postoffice, the telegraphs, the railways.

If the crisis demonstrate the incapacity of the bourgeoisie for managing any longer modern productive forces, the transformation of the great establishments for production and distribution into joint-stock companies, trusts, and state property, show how unnecessary the bourgeoisie are for that purpose.

All the social functions of the capitalist are now performed by salaried employees. The capitalist has no further social function than that of pocketing dividends, tearing off coupons, and gambling on the stock exchange, where the different capitalists despoil one another of their capital. At first the capitalistic mode of production forces out the workers. Now it forces out the capitalists, and reduces them, just as it reduced the workers, to the ranks of the surplus population, altho not immediately into those of the industrial reserve army.

But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies and trusts, or into state ownership does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the joint-stock companies and trusts this is obvious. And the modern state, again, is only the organization that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments, as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern state, no matter what its form, is

\* I say "have to." For only when the means of production and distribution have *actually* outgrown the form of management by joint-stock companies, and when, therefore, the taking them over by the State has become *economically* inevitable, only then—even if it is the State of today that effects this—is there an economic advance, the attainment of another step preliminary to the taking over of all productive forces by society itself. But of late, since Bismarck went in for State-ownership of industrial establishments, a kind of spurious Socialism has arisen, degenerating, now and again, into something of flunkeyism, that without more ado declares *all* State-ownership, even of the Bismarkian sort, to be socialistic. Certainly, if the taking over by the State of the tobacco industry is socialistic, then Napoleon and Metternich must be numbered among the founders of Socialism. If the Belgian State, for quite ordinary political and financial reasons, itself constructed its chief railway lines; if Bismarck, not under any economic compulsion, took over for the State the chief Prussian lines, simply to be the better able to have them in hand in case of war, to bring up the railway employees as voting cattle for the Government, and especially to create for himself a new source of income independent of parliamentary votes—this was, in no sense, a socialistic measure, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously. Otherwise, the Royal Maritime Company, the Royal porcelain manufacture, and even the regimental tailor of the army would also be socialistic institutions, or even, as was seriously proposed by a sly dog in Frederick William III's reign, the taking over by the State of the brothels.

essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians.

The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But, brought to a head, it topples over. State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution.

This solution can only consist in the practical recognition of the social nature of the modern forces of production, and therefore in the harmonizing the modes of production, appropriation, and exchange with the socialized character of the means of production. And this can only come about by society openly and directly taking possession of the productive forces which have outgrown all control except that of society as a whole. The social character of the means of production and of the products today reacts against the producers, periodically disrupts all production and exchange, acts only like a law of Nature working blindly, forcibly, destructively. But with the taking over by society of the productive forces, the social character of the means of production and of the products will be utilized by the producers with a perfect understanding of its nature, and instead of being a source of disturbance and periodical collapse, will become the most powerful lever of production itself.

Active social forces work exactly like natural forces; blindly, forcibly, destructively, so long as we do not understand, and reckon with them. But when once we understand them, when once we grasp their action, their direction, their effects, it depends only upon ourselves to subject them more and more to our own will, and by means of them to reach our own ends. And this holds quite especially of the mighty productive forces of today. As long as we obstinately refuse to understand the nature and the character of these social means of action—and this understanding goes against the grain of the capitalist mode of production and its defenders—so long these forces are at work in spite of us, in opposition to

us, so long they master us, as we have shown above in detail.

But when once their nature is understood, they can, in the hands of the producers working together, be transformed from master demons into willing servants. The difference is as that between the destructive force of electricity in the lightning of the storm, and electricity under command in the telegraph and the voltaic arc; the difference between a conflagration, and fire working in the service of man.

With this recognition at last of the real nature of the productive forces of today, the social anarchy of production gives place to a social regulation of production upon a definite plan, according to the needs of the community and of each individual. Then the capitalist mode of appropriation, in which the product enslaves first the producer and then the appropriator, is replaced by the mode of appropriation of the products that is based upon the nature of the modern means of production; upon the one hand, direct social appropriation, as means to the maintenance and extension of production—on the other, direct individual appropriation, as means of subsistence and of enjoyment.

Whilst the capitalist mode of production more and more completely transforms the great majority of the population into proletarians, it creates the power which, under penalty of its own destruction, is forced to accomplish this revolution. Whilst it forces on more and more the transformation of the vast means of production, already socialized, into state property, it shows itself the way to accomplishing this revolution. *The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into state property.*

But in doing this, it abolishes itself as proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, abolishes also the State as State. Society thus far, based upon class antagonisms, had need of the State. That is, of an organization of the particular class which was *pro tempore* the exploiting class, an organization for the purpose of preventing any interference from without with the existing conditions of production, and therefore, especially, for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited classes in the condition of oppression corresponding with the given mode of production (slavery, serfdom, wage labor). The state was the offi-

cial representative of society as a whole; the gathering of it together into a visible embodiment. But it was this only insofar as it was the state of that class which itself represented, for the time being, society as a whole; in ancient times the state of slave-owning citizens; in the middle ages, the feudal lords; in our own time, the bourgeoisie.

When at last it becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule and the individual struggle for existence, based upon our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a state, is no longer necessary. The first act by virtue of which the state really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a state.

State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The State is not "abolished." *It dies out.* This gives the measure of the value of the phrase "a free state," both as to its justifiable use at times by agitators, and as to its ultimate scientific insufficiency; and also of the demands of the so-called anarchists for the abolition of the state out of hand.

Since the historical appearance of the capitalist mode of production, the appropriation by society of all the means of production has often been dreamed of, more or less vaguely, by individuals, as well as by sects, as the ideal of the future. But it could become possible, could become a historical necessity, only when the actual conditions for its realization were there. Like every other social advance, it becomes practicable, not by men understanding that the existence of classes is in contradiction to justice, equality, etc., not by the mere willingness to abolish these classes, but by virtue of certain new economic conditions. The separation of society into an exploiting and an exploited class, a ruling and an oppressed

class, was the necessary consequence of the deficient and restricted development of production in former times.

So long as the total social labor only yields a produce which but slightly exceeds that barely necessary for the existence of all; so long, therefore, as labor engages all or almost all the time of the great majority of the members of society—so long, of necessity, this society is divided into classes. Side by side with the great majority, exclusively bond slaves to labor, arises a class freed from directly productive labor, which looks after the general affairs of society; the direction of labor, state business, law, science, art, etc. It is, therefore, the law of division of labor that lies at the basis of the division into classes. But this does not prevent this division into classes from being carried out by means of violence and robbery, trickery and fraud. It does not prevent the ruling class, once having the upper hand, from consolidating its power at the expense of the working class, from turning their social leadership into an intensified exploitation of the masses.

But if, upon this showing, division into classes has a certain historical justification, it has this only for a given period, only under given social conditions. It was based upon the insufficiency of production. It will be swept away by the complete development of modern productive forces. And, in fact, the abolition of classes in society presupposes a degree of historical evolution, at which the existence, not simply of this or that particular ruling class, but of any ruling class at all, and, therefore, the existence of class distinction itself has become an obsolete anachronism. It presupposes, therefore, the development of production carried out to a degree at which appropriation of the means of production and of the products, and, with this, of political domination, of the monopoly of culture, and of intellectual leadership by a particular class of society, has become not only superfluous, but economically, politically, intellectually a hindrance to development.

This point is now reached. Their political and intellectual bankruptcy is scarcely any longer a secret to the bourgeoisie themselves. Their economic bankruptcy recurs regularly every ten years. In every crisis, society is suffocated beneath the weight of its own productive forces and products,

which it cannot use, and stands helpless, face to face with the absurd contradiction that the producers have nothing to consume, because consumers are wanting. The expansive force of the means of production bursts the bonds that the capitalist mode of production had imposed upon them. Their deliverance from these bonds is the one pre-condition for an unbroken, constantly accelerated development of the productive forces, and therewith for a practically unlimited increase of production itself.

Nor is this all. The socialized appropriation of the means of production does away, not only with the present artificial restrictions upon production, but also with the positive waste and devastation of productive forces and products that are at the present time the inevitable concomitants of production, and that reach their height in the crises. Further, it sets free for the community at large a mass of means of production and of products, by doing away with the senseless extravagance of the ruling classes of today, and their political representatives. The possibility of securing for every member of our society, by means of socialized production, an existence not only fully sufficient materially, and becoming day by day more full, but an existence guaranteeing to all the free development and exercise of their physical and mental faculties—this possibility is now for the first time here, but *it is here*.

With the seizing of the means of production by society, production of commodities is done away with, and, simultaneously, the mastery of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by systematic, definite organization. The struggle for an individual existence disappears. Then for the first time, man, in a certain sense, is finally marked off from the rest of the animal kingdom, and emerges from mere animal conditions of existence into really human ones.

The whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of Nature, because he has now become master of his own social organization. The laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with man as laws of Nature foreign to, and dominating, him, will then be used with

full understanding, and so mastered by him. Man's own social organization, hitherto confronting him, as a necessity imposed by Nature and history, now becomes the result of his own free action. The extraneous objective forces that have hitherto governed history, pass under the control of man himself. Only from that time will man himself, more and more consciously, make his own history—only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him. It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom.

Let us briefly sum up our sketch of historical evolution.

I. *Medieval Society*.—Individual production on a small scale. Means of production adapted for individual use; hence primitive, ungainly, petty, dwarfed in action. Production for immediate consumption, either of the producer himself or of his feudal lord. Only where an excess of production over this consumption occurs is such excess offered for sale, enters into exchange. Production of commodities, therefore, only in its infancy. But already it contains within itself, in embryo, *anarchy in the production of society at large*.

II. *Capitalist Revolution*.—Transformation of industry, at first by means of simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the means of production, hitherto scattered, into great workshops. As a consequence, their transformation from individual to social means of production—a transformation which does not, on the whole, affect the form of exchange. The old forms of appropriation remain in force. The capitalist appears. In his capacity as owner of the means of production, he also appropriates the products and turns them into commodities. Production has become a *social act*. Exchange and appropriation continue to be *individual acts*, the acts of individuals. *The social product is appropriated by the individual capitalist*. Fundamental contradiction, whence arise all the contradictions in which our present day society moves, and which modern industry brings to light.

A. Severance of the producer from the means of production. Condemnation of the worker to wage-labor for life. *Antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie*.

B. Growing predominance and increasing effectiveness of the laws governing the production of commodities. Unbridled competition. *Contradiction between socialized organization in the individual factory and social anarchy in production as a whole*.

C. On the one hand, perfecting of machinery, made by competition compulsory for each individual manufacturer, and complemented by a constantly growing displacement of laborers. *Industrial reserve-army*. On the other hand, unlimited extension of production, also compulsory under competition, for every manufacturer. On both sides, unheard of development of productive forces, excess of supply over demand, overproduction, glutting of the markets, crises every ten years, the vicious circle: excess here, of means of production and products—excess there, of laborers, without employment and without means of existence. But these two levers of production and of social well-being are unable to work together, because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive forces from working and the products from circulating, unless they are first turned into capital—which their very superabundance prevents. The contradiction has grown into an absurdity. *The mode of production rises in rebellion against the form of exchange*. The bourgeoisie are convicted of incapacity further to manage their own social productive forces.

D. Partial recognition of the social character of the productive forces forced upon the capitalists themselves. Taking over of the great institutions for production and communication, first by joint-stock companies, later on by trusts, then by the State. The bourgeoisie demonstrated to be a superfluous class. All its social functions are now performed by salaried employees.

III. *Proletarian Revolution*.—Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizes the public power, and by means of this transforms the socialized means of production, slipping from the hands of the bourgeoisie, into public property. By this act, the proletariat frees the means of production from the character of capital they have thus far borne, and gives their socialized character complete freedom to work itself out. Socialized production upon a predetermined plan becomes henceforth possible. The development of production makes the

existence of different classes of society thenceforth an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in social production vanishes, the political authority of the state dies out, Man, at last the master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time the lord over Nature, his own master—free.

To accomplish this act of universal emancipation is the historical mission of the mod-

ern proletariat. To thoroly comprehend the historical conditions and thus the very nature of this act, to impart to the now oppressed proletarian class a full knowledge of the conditions and of the meaning of the momentous act it is called upon to accomplish, this is the task of the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement, scientific Socialism.—*From Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.*)

### What Socialism Is—(Continued from page 200)

Let us take a look at the forces ranged on each side. The capitalists would have you believe that the battle is between hand workers on one side and brain workers on the other. But such an assumption is wholly untrue, and it is in direct conflict with the Marxian ideas that we are studying.

We have seen that classes of men are mainly moved by the economic conditions under which they get their bread. Now apart from begging and the various illegal methods of stealing there are just two ways to get bread and the other necessities of life under our present society. One way is to work with hand and brain. The other way is to own things and by this ownership to get hold of the wealth made by someone else. It is, of course, possible for one person to do both. It used to be more common than it is. It will soon be less common than it is. The lines are being drawn more and more clearly between those who live by working and those who live by owning.

Once the employer was a laborer who worked in a little shop along with the other laborers to whom he paid wages.

Later, he was a superintendent who did not work with his own hands, but day by day directed the labor of the others to make it more efficient.

Still later, he hired a workman to do the superintending, while he went into the market to buy the raw material and sell the product.

Lastly he has sold his factory to a trust and has received in payment a block of dividend-paying stock or a bunch of interest-drawing bonds. Now he never needs go near the factory; he may live where he likes and spend his income as he pleases. All the buying and selling, all the account-keeping and planning, all the brain work as well as all the hand work is done by hired wage-laborers. And the income he draws and spends without working is made possible only by the fact that those who are doing the work are getting for it less than they really earn.

So when the battle lines are drawn for the

final contest between the capitalist and the laborer, there will be on the side of the capitalist only those who live by owning and those who can be fooled, or bribed, into voting against the interests of the class to which they really belong.

On the other side will be those who live by their labor. The distinction between bodily and mental labor is really an outgrown distinction like that between body and "soul." There is no bodily labor without mental labor. If a ditch-digger were to put no intelligence into his work he could not hold his job. And there is no mental labor without bodily labor. No matter how sharp or unscrupulous a corporation attorney may be, he cannot earn his big fee without the bodily labor of dictating his legal papers and then examining them.

Again, it is absurd to attempt to draw a line between useful work and useless work under capitalism and to count those who do useless work on the side of capital. Useful work is that which satisfies the desires of somebody that has the price, and under our present system, when each member of the working class must find a purchaser for his labor power if he is to stay on the earth, it is foolish to count a man as being on the capitalist side because he has to earn his week's pay by setting jewels in a poodle dog's collar or adding up columns of figures in a bank.

And not all workers are employed on a weekly wage. When the railroad corporations received from their government millions of acres of fertile lands, they did not hire wage-workers to go on those lands and raise crops for them. That was because they found that by selling the land to farmers who thought they were going to become wealthy by their labor they could get a great deal more out of each farm in interest and freight charges than by hiring laborers to work it. And these Western farmers are working longer hours for smaller pay than the average city laborer. What is more, they are as ready to rebel.

The small shopkeeper is also in the same



boat. If he is stupid, he many think of himself as a capitalist, but if he is at all bright he is coming to see that his "profit" is mostly wages, and usually very low wages, for the labor he expends in taking care of his shop and selling goods. So his material interests really lead him to favor the social revolution that will bring him better pay for shorter hours of labor.

Thus we see that in the class struggle that is daily growing more intense, only those who live by owning, less than ten per cent of the people, have anything to gain by upholding the present social system, while those who live by working, more than ninety per cent, have, in the words of the Communist Manifesto, nothing to lose but their chains, and all the world to gain.

The classic book on this subject is "**The Class Struggle**," by Karl Kautsky, translated by William E. Bohn from the German work entitled "Das Erfurter Program." The book is a general exposition of Socialism, but its closing chapter, pages 159-217, deals specifically with the war between the classes. **Industrial Socialism**, by William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn, is a most valuable pamphlet which deals specifically with present industrial conditions in America, showing the need of industrial union and of working class party in harmony with them. **Socialism Made Easy**, by James Connolly, is a simple and readable booklet for beginners, which is well suited to start wage-workers on the right track.

#### IV.—THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

The class struggle between workers and owners can have only one possible ending. The end may be near or far, but sooner or later the great mass of the people who do the work will see that their own separate interests are bound up with the interests of their class. They will see that it is folly for them to support in luxury a class of do-nothing owners. They will unite to overthrow the capitalistic system under which we are living, and to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

By this we mean a society in which the good things of life shall not be produced for the profit of a part of the people, but for the use of all the people, and where no one who is able to work shall have the privilege of living on the labor of others. We mean a society in which there shall not be a class of rulers with a class of workers under them, but in which all shall work and all shall rule—in which human equality shall be not a phrase, but a fact.

When I say equality, I do not mean that all the money or all the wealth of the country will be "divided up." That is something never

advocated by a Socialist. It is one of the ridiculous lies told by our opponents to scare the laborer who has \$98 in the savings bank or who has a \$1,200 cottage with a \$900 mortgage on it.

No, we don't need the money nor the houses nor the automobiles that the capitalists have today. We want the use of the earth and of the machinery, and our labor will every year produce all the good things we need.

Again, it is no part of the Socialist program to make wages exactly equal for all kinds of labor. When the Socialist party comes into power it will find industry being carried on and wages being paid. It will find some workers being paid good wages and others very low wages. It will find many unable to get work. It will find many children at work who ought to be in school. It will find that a large proportion of the earnings of those who work have been used to pay incomes to idlers.

Now, I do not know, nor does anyone know, just what will be the first act of a Socialist administration, but assuming that it comes into power with the general industrial conditions as I have described them, I think it pretty safe to make a few predictions as to what it would do.

It would stop paying rent, interest and dividends to capitalists.

It would take the children out of the factories and send them to school, and would at least double the force of teachers within a short time.

It would give at once to the least-skilled laborers enough of the comforts of life in return for their labor to let them live like human beings.

It would at once reduce the hours of labor to not more than eight, to be followed by further reductions as soon as a plentiful supply of the necessities and comforts of life have been accumulated.

It would, no matter whether "money" were continued or abolished, sell the products of labor back to the laborers at actual cost, allowing for a percentage to pay for public services, furnished free, which would take the place of our present taxes.

When the Co-operative Commonwealth is in operation the rewards of the various kinds of labor will tend to adjust themselves automatically. If it is hard to find street cleaners and easy to find bookkeepers when collectivism begins, it will be a simple matter to increase the rewards and reduce the hours of the street cleaners until a balance is reached.

It is very certain that a Socialist administration would not control all industry from one central point. The Socialist party always and everywhere leaves the control in the hands of the smallest groups that can manage things

efficiently. Again, it would not take away the artist's brushes, nor the farmer's little farm. We hold that tools so complex that they have to be used in common, should be owned in common, but if a man choose to work with his own tools, there would be nothing in the world to prevent him doing so, except the probable fact that as machinery improves it will be possible to earn more by working-co-operatively than by working alone.

Finally, Socialists do not want to set up a government to control people's actions. They believe that when everyone has an equal chance to earn a living there will be little temptation to steal. We may have to keep a few policemen a few years, but their work will be mostly in taking care of those whose lives have already been wrecked by capitalism. When alcoholic drinks are no longer sold for profit, when cheating is no longer the road to social prominence, when every woman can be sure of a living, without selling herself—then we may safely leave all questions of morals to the individual, while society attends to the production of the things the people need.

Socialists do not want to do away with the freedom of the individual. On the contrary, they realize that today it is only a few here and there who have any freedom worth speaking of. What they mean to do is to make individual freedom a real thing for all.

There is no Socialist Utopia. In other words, there is no picture of the future collectivist society on which all Socialists agree. All who know anything of International Socialism realize that ideas and institutions are not eternal and do not fall from heaven; neither do they take shape because a few individuals wish them to take shape in a particular way. New ideas and institutions are the outgrowth of industrial and economic changes, and since we cannot tell what industrial and economic changes the next few years may bring, we cannot tell how the laborers, when once victorious over the capitalists, will modify their ideas or adjust their institutions.

Consequently most clear-headed Socialists are extremely cautious about making predictions. There are, however, two books by a European writer of unquestioned standing in the Socialist movement which answer in some detail the questions constantly asked as to how things might be adjusted under the Co-operative Commonwealth. These are "The Class Struggle" and "The Social Revolution," both by Karl Kautsky. The one book to avoid if you want to get a clear idea of the Socialist republic of the future is Bellamy's "Looking Backward." Bellamy had not, when he wrote this book, the faintest conception of the principles of Socialism; on the other hand his mind

was saturated with middle-class ideas about regulating people's conduct. Naturally, his book pictures a society in which poverty is indeed abolished, but in which the "best people" of Boston as they were in 1887 have laid down elaborate regulations as to how each individual in the United States shall spend both his working and his leisure hours. Any one who enters the Socialist movement with his head filled with the ideas in this book will be a nuisance in it until he learns better. This is because the ideas of "Looking Backward" are a character to attract the complacent little capitalists who are an unimportant survival from a by-gone age, and to repel the rebellious wage-workers by whom the social revolution must be accomplished.

## V. THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

We have seen that men's ideas and institutions grow out of the methods by which they make a living. Also that American wage-workers make a living by producing "surplus value" for the capitalists, who in their turn get a very luxurious living by taking what the workers earn. We have seen also that this class division leads to a class struggle, which must end in the overthrow of the Capitalists and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth by the workers.

We come now to the means by which the Co-operative Commonwealth is to be brought about; whether by reform or by revolution; and if by revolution, then whether this is to be effected by political action, or direct action, or both. And in this discussion we shall become hopelessly entangled unless we define our terms.

Reforms are not necessarily peaceful; revolutions are not necessarily violent. The real difference between them is this. Reforms are changes made in laws or institutions by the same economic class which had all the time been in control. A revolution is a change in laws or institutions made by a new economic class which overthrows the former rulers and takes control of the political and economic structure of society.

The SOCIALIST PARTY, in America and elsewhere, stands not for reform but for revolution, since it holds that the rule of the capitalist class must come to an end, and that the workers must become the rulers.

As to the means by which the revolution shall be brought about, the only important question is as to what means will prove most effective.

The methods generally advocated by Socialists are known as political action and direct action. By political action we mean the election of Socialists to legislative, executive

and judicial positions, and thus indirectly, through the action of these elected officers, taking possession of the means of production. By direct action, we refer to the collective efforts of wage-workers, exerted not thru officials elected to political office, but thru their own economic organizations, the industrial unions.

Clear-headed Socialists in all countries advocate both direct action and political action. Direct action alone will almost inevitably be suppressed by force, since if the capitalists are left in undisputed possession of all the powers of government, they will not hesitate to use those powers to crush the labor unions. On the other hand, political action alone can never overthrow capitalism, for in every country the ruling class is so entrenched in power that they could successfully defy even a united working class, if the struggle were confined to the political field alone. In Germany the Socialists cast a large plurality at the last election, but they have no voice in the administration of the government, and they might remain equally powerless if they were to increase their plurality to a majority unless they supplemented their political action by direct action. Here in America the senate and the courts might hold a Socialist majority in check for years were we to do nothing but vote.

Moreover, government ownership is a very different thing from Socialism. The United States government already employs more wage-workers than even the largest trust, and with few exceptions they are exploited for the benefit of the capitalist class like other wage-workers. Certain sections of the capitalist class are enthusiastic for more government ownership of industry, and rapid progress in this direction is more than probable.

The great war has hastened ten-fold the progress toward government ownership of industry in all the warring countries, and as we go to press with the present edition of this booklet (September, 1917), the process is fairly under way in the United States. Much that we have urged in our propaganda regarding the useless wastes of competition is now out of date, not because there was anything wrong with our arguments, but because the capitalist class has itself applied the remedy. Even many of the so-called "immediate demands" which the Socialist Party has incorporated in former platforms are out of date, since the capitalist class has already taken control of the distribution of food and coal, and has forced the private owners of the railroads to run them under a unified administration which is virtually controlled by the government. And this is probably only the beginning. More

startling changes in the same direction may be looked for any day.

International trade has practically passed out of the hands of private capitalists and into the hands of the allied governments, working together so as to buy on the best possible terms. England, which until the war began was the greatest investor in the stocks and bonds of corporations, has now practically prohibited any new investment except in government bonds. Production in the United States is increasing by leaps and bounds; the wage-workers are still getting a living and nothing more, and the title to most of the new wealth that is being produced is passing to the owners of the "Liberty Bonds."

When the smoke of the great war finally blows away, it will probably be found that production in America, England, France, Germany, Italy and Austria is too firmly organized under government control to be "unscrambled," and that a new era has set in, the era of state capitalism. This means that a great and increasing number of wage-workers in all the most essential industries will be under one powerful group of bosses, who will exercise a double control, thru the power of hiring and firing in the shops, and the power of the policeman's club and the soldier's bayonet in the streets.

What then will the Socialist Party do? It is becoming more and more evident that only one course is possible, and that is why the members of the party are drawing closer together and forgetting past controversies over tactics. What we must do is to stand together for the right to organize in the shops and to have a controlling voice over the conditions under which we are to work. Craft unions will be helpless to meet the new conditions. Industrial unions enrolling all the workers in each industry will be the only kind that can make headway against the concentrated power of the capitalist government. The Socialist Party must, in its propaganda and educational work, urge the need of such organization. And on the political field we must stand firm for the right of the workers to control the conditions under which they work. The old-party officials will represent the bond holders, who will be the most obviously parasitic class in the whole history of the world. Their claim to a share in the annual product of American workers will rest on ownership and nothing else, for they as bond holders will be performing no useful function whatever. And yet the interest on bonds can only be paid out of the wealth created by the workers. Never were class lines so clearly drawn. Ours is the party of the workers, and if we stand together we shall win.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

## **An Independent Finland**

It was seven years ago that we chronicled in the REVIEW how Russia robbed Finland of independence. That ancient people was crushed. Its parliament was placed under the heel of a Russian grand duke. No law went into effect before it had been approved by the Czar.

When the revolution occurred the Finns naturally thought they had seen the end of all that. No doubt the difficulties between the governments can all be straightened out in time. But at present the Finns are still waiting for evidence of good faith at Petrograd.

In July the Finnish parliament approved a constitutional amendment giving Finland absolute independence. The Russian provisional government sent a committee headed by Tcheidze to postpone the crisis. The Russian cabinet assures the people of Finland that they have nothing to fear in a democratic Russia. The Finns, for their part, demand the approval of laws passed long years ago—laws which are still waiting for the sanction of the Russian government. It is now six months since the revolution. They want some of the proofs of freedom.

This problem of subject peoples is one with which former revolutions have not had to deal. It presents a tremendous difficulty. The provisional government cannot possibly deny either the Finns or the Ukrainians the right of self-government. But freedom does not exclude cooperation. A voluntary federation of free peoples should be stronger than any empire. But the building of a constitution for such a great federation demands statesmanship of a higher order than empire-making. It means the placing of the whole civilization on a higher level. The Finns' first impulse is toward independence, for they have sought independence these many years. Let us hope their strongest impulse will be toward loyal cooperation with their Russian comrades.

## **Dividing Up the Land in Russia**

Outside of America everybody is coming to believe in dividing up the land. The English are planning for it, but being a

"practical" people, they will spend a long time planning. The Russians, being impractical theorists, have already set about doing it.

In June there was held in Russia a great convention of peasants. The following resolution was passed: "All the lands of the government, the monasteries, the church and of great proprietors should be placed at the disposal of the land-working peasants without price or indemnity of any sort."

These peasants gave proof of fine powers of self-government. In March, during the first days of the revolution, the peasants in some regions siezed whatever land they could lay hold of. This proceeding was condemned by the congress. The claims of these persons will not be allowed. The whole thing is to be gone about systematically, so that no great estates may escape and the real workers may get the soil. No land-owner is to be allowed to dispose of his estates before the division is made. In the meantime local committees are to take charge of the land and see to it that the peasants have a chance to cultivate them.

The method of final division is to be left to the Constitutional Convention. It will have to be considered in connection with the whole problem of labor and property.

## **Election at Petrograd**

Early in September Petrograd had its second election since the revolution. In the June election 700,000 votes were cast. The Socialists secured 530,000 of these, the non-Socialists 180,000. In the more recent contest the Socialists numbered 350,000, the other groups 100,000. Within the Socialist movement the Social Revolutionists, the party of Kerensky, seems to have gained in numbers. In June it secured 66,000 votes out of 700,000; in September, 182,000 out of 450,000.

## **Little Change in Germany**

Richard von Kühlmann, the new German foreign secretary, is trying hard to earn for Germany a new reputation. "A policy based on might alone," he says, "and not on right, is doomed to failure from the beginning."

The fact that the imperial government is trying to come to terms with Argentina is another proof of a change of heart.

It is more and more evident that there is a reason for the new Catholic devotion to peace. The Centrists are good politicians. They have now got the Pope registered against war. This party voted in favor of ending it. They would never have done this if the minds of many were not forcing them to do it. Peace is gaining popularity and they want to rob the Socialists of some of their glory.

German statesmen and newspapers pretend to be very angry over President Wilson's answer to the Pope. "Wilson is the greatest despot in the war," they say. And it is true that the American government is doing very well. But when the Germans come to prove their own democracy they made a poor showing. The Kaiser promised Prussia a new franchise law and he has promised to form an unofficial cabinet of parliamentary leaders. But that is about all. Their democracy consists largely of promises.

The majority Socialists held a conference of supporters in Berlin. It was decided that Philip Scheidemann and his friends should be allowed to enter the new cabinet

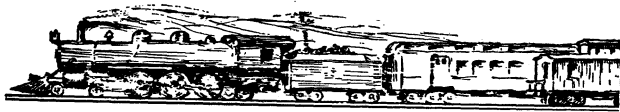
if they are asked. The process of reasoning by which this conclusion was reached is an interesting one. This is a revolutionary party, they said, so we have a perfect right to have a revolution in our minds. A revolution, of course, means turning round. So they are quite right in turning round on Marx. They probably know perfectly well that the revolution in their minds took place years ago.

**English Capitalists Alarmed**

Said a well-known English Liberal about a month ago: "If we don't help the people to the land, they will help themselves to it." The same person said that men who had been conscripted into the trenches could not be expected to come home and live on twenty-five shillings a week.

So they have a Ministry of Reconstruction in England. Its business is to make life tolerable for the working classes. A preliminary program has just been given out. It includes a land reform project and a scheme for giving labor a hand in the direction of industry. In fact, England is advancing rapidly toward guild Socialism—that is what they call it over there. It is really state capitalism modified by recognition of the unions.





# NEWS AND VIEWS

**A Law-Abiding Governor**—That one state executive recognizes and deprecates the mob violence which has been used upon striking miners in Arizona and Montana and upon the Agricultural Workers in South Dakota and other states and that he will tolerate no lawlessness on the part of the capitalist class in North Dakota if he can prevent it, is shown by the following which we quote from the *Fargo Daily Courier-News*:

"Governor Frazier speaks a special word of caution against permitting mob action such as has been taken against the I. W. W. in various states in the west, but tells officers of the law that he will hold them responsible for the protection of law and property.

"If there should be any who so far forget their duty to the state and to their official position and oath of office as to assist or countenance violence, I shall not hesitate to cause their prompt removal from office," says the governor.

\* \* \* \*

"According to reports mob violence is prevalent in many parts of our country. Within the last few days most deplorable reports have come from South Dakota and Montana. It is charged that the constitutional rights of individuals have been trampled under foot by mobs in the guise of so-called safety committees, defense leagues, vigilant committees, labor organizations and even by peace officers.

"To some of these misguided mobs and officers it seems to be a crime to be seeking work and not to possess money. Men have been illegally searched, beaten, deported and otherwise mistreated contrary to all law and in direct violation of the inalienable rights of every citizen.

"I wish it distinctly understood that no such unwarranted actions against the rights of any individual will be tolerated in this state while I am governor. No official has a legal right to search any man, without a search warrant. He has no right to beat any man. He has no right to deport any man, because he is without money, or because he demands higher wages. The federal and state constitutions guarantee to individuals certain rights. These rights must be respected. The surest way to lose our liberties and constitutional rights is to take them away from those who are less fortunate. Abuse of official power is but to weaken all respect for law and order. Officials must protect the weak as well as the strong. I call upon you to sustain me in making North Dakota a model state of law and order.

## Deal Firmly With Crime

"In conclusion, let me urge upon you again the necessity of dealing with firmness and determination with any man who is guilty of burning, attempting or threatening to burn crops or destroy farm machinery, or any other property, or committing any offense against

the peace and order of the state. Such a man must be promptly arrested, tried and punished in accordance with the law. Let us use the strong arm of the law, but not the strong arm of a mad mob, or of a bullying official.

"I trust that all officers of the state will sustain me in enforcing and observing the laws, and thus protecting the rights of all people, but if there should be any who so far forget their duty to the state and their official position and oath of office as to assist or countenance violence, I shall not hesitate to cause their prompt removal from office. Nothing does more to destroy respect for government and to cause disloyalty than violation of the law by those entrusted with its enforcement. I urge your earnest co-operation that our government may have the united support of all its people.

"Respectfully submitted,

"LYNN J. FRAZIER, Governor."

**Russia's "Democratic Republic"**—Russia has been proclaimed a republic by the Kerensky government and possibly some advantage will come from this since the "indefiniteness of the state's organization" is supposed to have encouraged reactionaries in their hopes of restoring the monarchy. Fundamentally, however, the coup settles nothing. A few men, backed by a self-constituted council of workmen and soldiers, cannot determine the constitution of Russia. The constituent assembly, which is to be elected in November and to be convened November 28—or December 11, according to the reckoning of western nations—will undoubtedly claim full freedom of action as regards the form of Russia's government.

The Kerensky ministry does not expect to retain power even until the constituent assembly comes into existence. A congress is to be called one week from today—to be made up "largely if not wholly of soldiers, workmen and peasants"—and this congress will name a ministry responsible for itself. Evidently the provisional government feels the need of wider and more direct popular support than it now enjoys.

The chief trouble in Russia has been the extreme radicals' ignorance of the essential spirit of democracy. They have talked much about democratic rule, but their actions have betrayed an intolerant and tyrannical spirit, a rule or ruin temper. The fact that democracy is based on discussion and compromise, they do not appear to understand.

The platform just adopted by the maximalist members of the Petrograd council of deputies illustrates this ignorance. It declares for the abolition of private property, for working class control of industry, confiscation of war profits and so on. This is wild enough, but the climax is reached in a declaration for "the exclusion from power of the representa-



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Of Internationalist Socialist Review, published monthly at Chicago, Ill., for October 1, 1917.

STATE OF ILLINOIS,  
COUNTY OF COOK—SS.

Before me, a notary public in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Charles H. Kerr, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the International Socialist Review, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Charles H. Kerr & Company, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.

Editor, Charles H. Kerr, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.  
Managing Editor, Mary E. Marcy, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.

Business Manager, Leslie H. Marcy, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.

2. That the owners are (give names and addresses of individuals owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock):

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CHARLES H. KERR, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of September, 1917.

MICHAEL J. O'MALLEY.

(My commission expires March 8, 1920.)

tives of property owning classes." This is mobocracy, not democracy. Such a policy, if persisted in, must inevitably lead to civil war, to terror and so to counter-revolution.

These extremists may never recover their sanity, but the common sense of the masses of the Russian population should make short work of syndicalist and anarchist programs and effectually prevent any attempt at forestalling the decisions on all vital questions of a properly elected and truly national democratic assembly which can speak for all Russia. It is safe to say that no such assembly will decree the exclusion of owners of property from power or the abolition of private property and the establishment of a syndicalist commune.—*Chicago Daily News.*

**Verdict Without Evidence**—The *New York Evening Post* makes the claim that the treason accusations against socialist and industrial union organizations are absurd. It makes the following editorial comment on the manner in which recent raids of the department of justice upon the Socialist and I. W. W. offices were "press agented" by the papers:

"But there are newspaper commentators who have the power of knowing that the treasonable evidence is there without searching for it, and if the evidence isn't there, why so much greater the degree of guilt.

"One contemporary on the very day of the raids was convinced that the past history of the Socialist party and the I. W. W. warrants the surmise that they have been acting in the pay of Germany.

"Another neighbor recognizes that it is conjectural how much evidence can be found against the I. W. W. and deplors the fact that the 'loose and shifting character of the organization adds to the difficulty of fixing responsibility.'

"How a loose and shifting organization, maintaining formidable expense accounts to the amount of \$375.50 in one striking instance, could turn into a shrewd and well-organized conspiracy against the government is not made clear. We repeat, Mr. Wilson must envy these commentators the clairvoyant war powers which need not wait for an actual show of evidence, but automatically detect treason and conspiracy, whether they exist or not."

**Czech Workingmen Demand Independent Republic**—In Prague, the capital of Bohemia, a big strike of 80,000 workingmen has broken out. More than 80,000 Czech workingmen have walked out in protest against the systematic governmental measures, aimed at the starving of the Bohemian people and against the systematic depletion of the food supply in Bohemian lands in favor of Germany. It seems that almost everything grown in the Bohemian lands is exported into the German Empire. The strike culminated in bloody riots in Prague and some of the provincial towns. German and Magyar troops intervened. The rioters were dispersed at the point of bayonets



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and in some cases were fired at. The strike, organized by radical nationalists, in the end assumed an almost wholly political character. The striking workmen, among whom are representatives of all shades of political opinion, social democrats, national socialists and Catholics, in large mass meetings adopted resolutions demanding the establishment of an independent Czechoslovak republic.—*Slav Press*.

**The 'Frisco Frame-Up**—The news has just leaked out that President Wilson intervened to save Tom Mooney's life on May 11th of this year, or six days before the day fixed for his murder. The President's intervention was probably dictated by the demonstration of the workers of Petrograd in front of the American embassy a short time after Mooney was railroaded on the glaring perjury of the infamous Oxman.

The news of President Wilson's intervention was kept very secret, probably because its publication would have helped in the exposure of the frame-up. Its publication now is more accidental than anything else, and is bound to have a good moral effect. The President would not have taken such a stand unless he thought there was good justification for it. It is, therefore, heartily welcomed by the defense.

Of almost equal importance was the declaration of Mayor James J. Curley, of Boston, that he was convinced that the whole prosecution was a frame-up of the worst kind and that all the defendants were absolutely innocent. The declaration was made at a meeting of ten thousand men and women held on the historic Boston Commons, on Sunday, September 2d, and was received with wild applause.

"I am satisfied," said the noted speaker, "that Thomas J. Mooney and all the other defendants are the victims of a frame-up, and I will do all in my power to expose the injustice."

At the conclusion of the meeting a committee was appointed to draft a letter to Mayor James H. Rolph, of San Francisco, asking him to assist in saving the lives of the victims of the Chamber of Commerce.

Among late press comments on the cases are *The New York Nation*, *The Springfield (Mass.) Republican*, *The New York Evening Globe* and *The (New York) Public*.

"The case against all the defendants is un-

der a cloud of impeachable testimony," says *The Nation*. "It is a matter of satisfaction that the way should be open to a review of the previous convictions in a spirit different from that which marked the original trials."

"Indications have not been lacking," says *The Springfield Republican*, "that an effort was made to manufacture a case against Mr. and Mrs. Mooney."

"No reason existed for even suspecting Mooney," says *The New York Globe*. "He was indicted, one may assume, not because he had anything to do with the throwing of the bomb, but because he had some time before called a strike on the San Francisco street railways."

"The public utility corporations, against which Mooney had been conducting strikes, are holding up Fickert's hand," says *The Public*. "That is requiring an increasing amount of audacity and willingness to blink incontestable proof of appalling unscrupulousness on the part of the prosecution."

The appeals of Warren K. Billings and Thomas J. Mooney have been heard. The District Court of Appeals denied Billings' appeal, despite the fact that every one knows he was convicted on palpably perjured testimony. An appeal will be taken to a higher court, with some show of success.

The decision has not yet been handed down in Mooney's case. Though Attorney-General Webb backed up Mooney's counsel, an unusual procedure, indications do not seem entirely favorable. The judges hold that the appeal is based on Oxman's perjury and that, as they can find no error in the record, they can't see their way clear to grant the appeal.

We have an uproaring farce in San Francisco now. It's none other than the spectacle of District Attorney Fickert "prosecuting" his brother criminal, Frank C. Oxman. Of course, the result is a foregone conclusion. Fickert won't accept any juror that looks in any way honest. Fickert's own liberty and reputation are dependent upon Oxman's acquittal. So it's going to be a funny prosecution. But, then, that's "law and order"!

Fickert's recall is going ahead by degrees. But we can't depend on that. WE MUST HAVE FUNDS to prosecute two appeals and fight another trial in the next few weeks. Send those funds NOW to Henry Hagelstein, Secretary-Treasurer, International Workers' Defense League, 210 Russ Building, San Francisco.

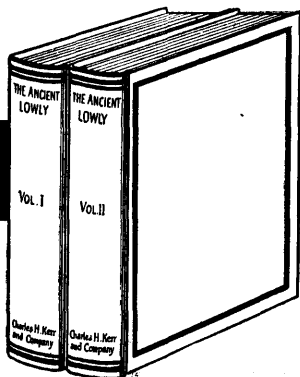
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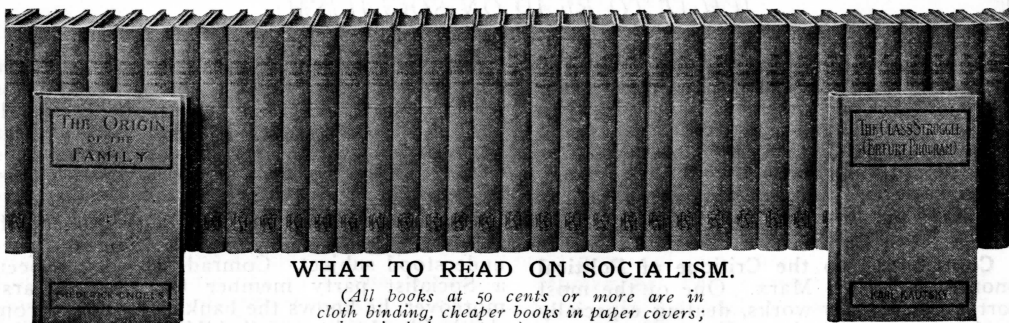
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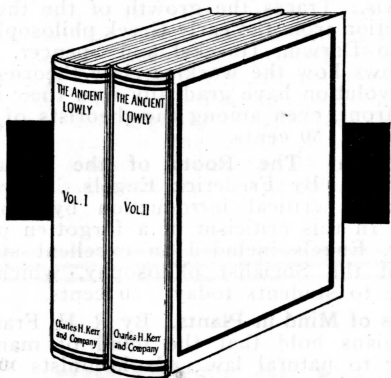
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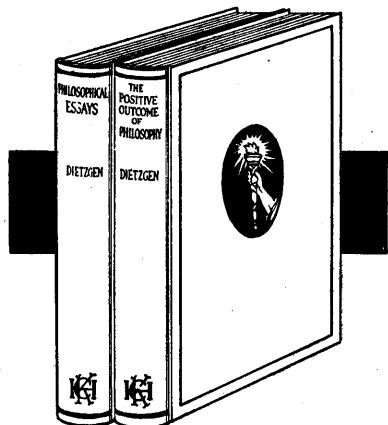
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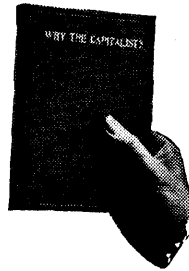
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(Ready November 10th)

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Man has risen from a stage of lowest savagery, little higher than the apes, buffeted by the hand of Nature, dependent on the wild game he might kill or the food he found ready to hand, a fearing and a furtive creature of the forests and of the plains, preyed upon by a thousand stronger foes, to a being able to provide warmth and clothing and shelter against the rains and the cold and food against the seasons. He has become a master instead of a plaything of the elements. In a large measure he has become arbiter of his own food supply and, hence, his own destiny. He has subjugated, in a marvelous degree, the forces of Nature and harnessed them to his needs.



And all this because of his discovery of the use of tools.

These stories show the First Steps in Human Progress. In them life is not complex and it is easy for the young folks to discover the relation between cause and effect, to see how every new invention and discovery altered the whole fabric of primitive society and how every primitive social institution had its roots in the discovery of a new tool or weapon or in a new method of providing food or shelter or protection for the early tribes.

*Extra cloth, illustrated with original drawings, \$1.00 postpaid.*

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# Special!

## Offer to Socialists

**W**E are determined to complete the overwhelming introduction of the great Burlington. So we have decided to offer the **21 jewel Burlington**, our very finest product—the masterpiece of watch manufacture, **direct to members of the Party**—at the rock-bottom price—the same price that even the wholesale jeweler must pay. And in order to encourage every member of the party to secure this watch at once, you may pay this rock-bottom price *direct* from us *either* for cash or \$2.50 a month. The watch is sent on approval, *prepaid*.

### Socialists

**Read Below!** Sent to Members of the Party —No Money Down—Prepaid

Remember, members of the party can now get the highest grade watch *direct* (for special reasons, now) at the same price that even the wholesale jeweler must pay! You risk absolutely nothing—you pay nothing—not one cent—unless you want this *exceptional* offer after seeing and thoroughly inspecting the watch.

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The superb 21 jewel Burlington is fitted at the factory into the 25 year guaranteed gold strata case. The latest designs in watch cases are yours to choose from. All illustrated in the new catalog—note especially the *Emblem of the Party with your own signature*, *The Inlay Enamel Monograms*, *Block and Ribbon Monograms*, *Diamond Set*, *Lodge*, *French Art and Dragon Designs*. These are the very acme of the designers' art. The very newest ideas in watch cases. Open face or hunting case, ladies' or gentlemen's 12 and 16 sizes.

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Learn the inside facts about watch prices, and the many superior points of the Burlington. Just send the coupon or a letter or a postal. We will tell you all about the great special offer now being made to members of the Party. No obligations whatever. Send the coupon today—NOW!

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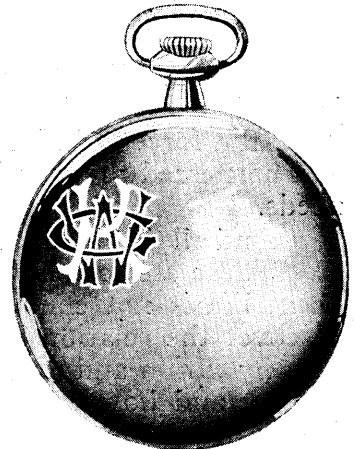
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**The Emblem of the Party and Your Own Signature**

Here is the superb emblem of the Party, handsomely engraved on the gold strata case by hand and your own signature. Guaranteed for 25 years. One of the most handsome cases ever shown. Special to members only. Your choice of scores of other designs. See our catalog.



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Here is one of the exquisite new "inlay enamel" monogram cases that you may get on this great special offer. Your own initials handsomely inlaid in any colors of enamel you select. Just picture for yourself an exquisite hunting case watch with the emblem of the Party, handsomely engraved on one side, and your own initials in the superb inlay enamel monogram design on the other.