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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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The "Red Special" at Danville, Illinois.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

A Monthly Journal of International Socialist Thought

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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DECEMBER, 1908

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The Tour of the Red Special.

By CHARLES LAPWORTH.



HE RED SPECIAL was an inspiration; just an inspiration. I am told that the idea was conceived by National Secretary Barnes, and that when this child of his brain was brought forth, and as he nursed it for a night or two and saw its promising growth, he was as much embarrassed by it as any bachelor would be with a baby on his hands.

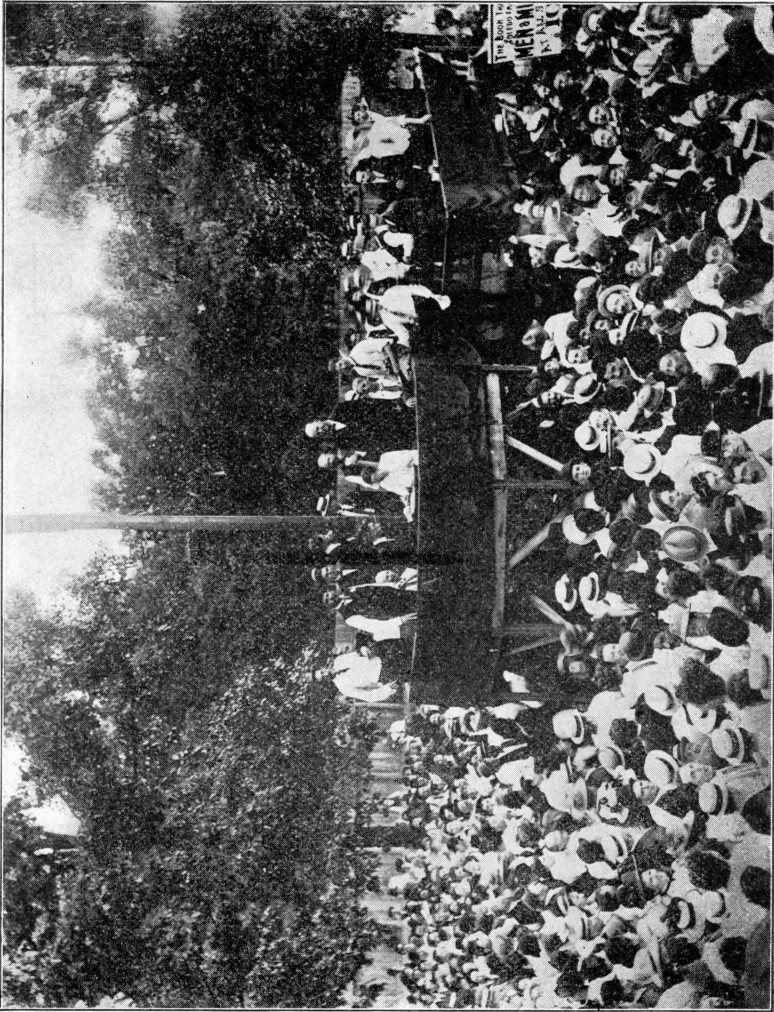
And then he took his trouble to the National Committee. As the blushing, but pardonably proud, father came before them, it is said that these eminently respectable gentlemen coughed uncomfortably behind their hands, and said "ahem" a good many times; but at last agreed, not without misgiving and foreboding, to stand sponsor to the thing.

Some genius—I believe it was Comrade Simons,—dubbed it the "Red Special." Out of the goodness of their souls, and of course out of their purses also, the comrades of the whole country were asked to contribute to the child's maintenance, and—well, I understand so much money was subscribed that it has for ever dispelled anxiety about providing for the next addition to the family—the "Red Regular."

* * * *

That was a memorable day when the Red Special was

taken for a try-out to Lemont Park. Unprecedented enthusiasm had been aroused and the people of Chicago poured out in their thousands to give the train a hearty send-off on its twice-across-



AT LEMONT PARK, NEAR CHICAGO, ILL.

the-continent trip. The Presidential candidate, Eugene V. Debs, made a great speech, which allayed any fear there might be that he could not talk politics. And Governor-yet-to-be Brower put in some slashing work.

But that was a picnic crowd. We had yet to hit up against the cold callosity of that awfully long list of places on the map that we were scheduled to visit; where the farmers lived, and the miners lived, and the other workingmen lived, amid so much Republican prosperity, all of whom most likely would laugh at us for our pains in talking about the need for a revolution in our social and economic system. And so we were a little nervous when we started out on the morrow. But in the very first day's meetings we got amongst miners out of work; and they gave us a hearty welcome. They could give us very little financial support; but they gave us their hands, and we went on our way strengthened. And even the stolid farmers got interested. So that by the time we got to Davenport, had "processioned" the town, and Debs and Brower and Simons had stirred up a big meeting to enthusiasm—we felt the Red Special was marked out for success. By the evening of the second day the last doubt had left us. We had got to the other extreme: we were just a little frightened at our own success.

Des Moines, Kansas City and Omaha gave us enormous paid admission meetings, Leavenworth and St. Joe received us royally; and we had not the slightest doubt but that the train would go right ahead and rip the old parties up the back and front.

And then—we got a telegram from the National Office. The effect of this telegram was that as subscriptions had fallen off, the Eastern Trip of the Red Special was out of the question; that the Train must go to the sheds on its return to Chicago on September 26. That kinder hit us where we lived. There was a hurry-up meeting called in the chief's two-by-four stateroom—we sat on each other's knees—and there we solemnly took oath that "By —, this thing's gotter go through to election-day." The telegraph wire to Chicago showed an astonishing temperature shortly after that. The Red Special crew discussed ways and means for an hour. We were seeing with our own eyes what the Red Special was accomplishing. And we felt confident the comrades all over the country would appreciate that very soon. And sure enough they did. An appeal, hot and marked "urgent", was sent out from the crew to all the locals in the land. And wherever we had meetings, although the locals had exploited their audiences to the limit in charging admission for a political meeting, the Red Special crew waded in, and exonerating the local comrades, exploited the Democrats and Republicans for a collection. We put it up to the boys of the West to give the boys of the East a chance to see the Red Special. And didn't they just throw in those big silver dollars, kerplunk? We said "Please give an ocular demonstration of whence the Socialist Party gets its campaign funds." And they did thus. And the

committee at headquarters were comforted. And the trip East was assured.

* * * *

We had started out amid great enthusiasm, and wherever we went the enthusiasm was the same, only more so. After a great meeting at Denver we climbed and climbed the mountains until we got to Leadville, where at an altitude of 11,500 feet we hit up against what the Americans call, I believe, a tough proposition. Although it is so high up on the map Leadville is about as low down as it can possibly get morally and economically. Unemployment we found to be a chronic state of things, and the busiest places seemed to be the saloons and the flaunting redlight district. It made one's heart sick. There was very good reason for the flaring motto that smote me between the eyes when I entered the newspaper office—"Smile, damn you!"—for everybody, even in the open-air meeting that we had, at a corner, where the four winds met, seemed unutterably miserable. Before Gene got through with his speech he had kindled a few sparks in the hearts of his hearers—but Leadville was a sad experience.

At Glenwood Springs we stayed long enough for a useful meeting among the plutes, with the Mayor presiding, and in order to boil the candidate in the natural hot springs in the mountain caves. While we were lunching on the train, in tripped a dainty little maid of about ten years, announcing that she was from Terre Haute, to present Gene with a beautiful bunch of flowers. And this set the fashion. For ever afterwards on the Western trip—flowers and fruits are rare in the East—the train was embarrassed by the mountains of fruit and flowers that were brought in by Socialist daughters and dames.

We were late when we got to the City of the Mormons. Ogden was scheduled to have a noon-hour meeting before Salt Lake City had its Labor Day demonstration. Our tardy arrival was the cause of a dickens of a shindy between the two locals. Between the two sets of representatives, it looked as if Debs would be divided, and so one or two of our heavyweights had to sail in and cause the enthusiasts to break away. No blood was spilt, no bones were broken, and very little moral and intellectual damage was sustained; but we hope that Ogden and Salt Lake City are going to live happily ever afterwards.

We left immediately after the night meeting at Salt Lake City, and struck the new trail across the desert to California. We were to reach Las Vegas in twelve hours. For two days our hearts had been heavy within us,—we had been told by travellers and railroad men that Las Vegas was the hottest place outside of Hades. But, lo! the fates were with us. On the evening before we crossed those arid wastes there had been a surprising down-



AT GLENWOOD SPRINGS, COLORADO.

pour of rain, with the result that instead of the temperature at Las Vegas being 128 degrees as on the day previous, it was but 94 on our arrival. We had a warm meeting there.

Then we were off for California. We are never likely to forget passing through those beautiful mountains and valleys, during the sunset and the twilight. Words can convey no idea of it, and so it's no use talking. We had a great welcome at San Bernardino. The local comrades had put their all upon the altar, and it turned up trumps. The metaphor's mixed, but so were the feelings of the Democrats and the Republicans when they caught sight of that parade, and saw the crowded hall—paid admission, mark you!—and heard how much collection respectable "Sanbadoo" had put up for the spread of "these pernicious Socialist doctrines."

"Sanbadoo" struck the keynote for California. At San Diego was that never-to-be-forgotten open air meeting, where 14,000 people assembled—and paid, mark you!—to hear Austin Adams and A. M. Simons and Eugene Debs. And they all did hear. For the open-air acoustics of that natural amphitheatre were perfect. Los Angeles and San Francisco followed suit with enormous gatherings and great collections for the Red Special, so that Manager Harry Parker had to be provided with a body-guard to escort him and his precious burden to the train. At the University of California at Berkeley, there was a mild "divarshun" by the questions asked the candidate by an evidently sincere inquirer. "But if these things are against the Constitution, what do you propose to do about it?" asked the gentleman. Of course, that was dead easy. "Why, just abolish the Constitution," said Gene with a smile. And that great crowd in the Greek Theatre just opened their heads wide in appreciation.

* * * *

The personality of Eugene V. Debs was a considerable factor in the campaign. From being the most maligned man in the country he is to-day the most loved. A book could be filled with the pathetic incidents that occurred of the people's devotion to this man. Many a time we had literally to fight to get him out of the roughly-tender hands of the crowds. We have almost despised ourselves when doing it, as we have caught sight of many a young face—aye, and many a time-seared face—with that inexpressible ardour and zeal and affection in their eyes—the spirit of the enthusiast without which revolutions could never be. Many were content if they could only get near enough to Gene to touch him. These were anxious times for the "brother's keepers", because Gene was as eager as the comrades to fraternize. But while their minds were harassed by their responsibility, their hearts were gladdened that the man who had

been so long persecuted was at last coming into his own. The American movement is indeed fortunate in its candidate.

I remember talking to a man out West—a middle-aged man of business, with a family, and not an irresponsible fanatic. He carried on his hip an automatic Colt, and almost blushed to confess that he still carried a gun. He had carried one ever since



WESTWARD HO! FROM PITTSBURG, PA.

the days when a gun was a necessary article of wearing apparel; and I suppose if he were to go without it now he would most likely catch cold. This man's love for Debs was a passion. We were talking about the many leaders of the people who had been maltreated by capitalist thugs, and this man of the West said, "I often feel that some day they will do something to Gene. They

are more afraid of him now than ever." With his teeth almost clenched, and placing his hand significantly on his hip, he added, "But, by God, the man who hurts Gene, wherever he be, has got to answer to me personally!" And I believed him.

We had to save Debs from his friends. When he was not dictating to his long-suffering Brother Theodore, or speaking, he was ordered rest, and his stateroom door was locked. Hundreds of men and women have come on the train at various points, and begged and pleaded just for a hand-shake with Gene—"Nothing more, on my oath!"—and they invariably had to be denied. This indeed, was the "unkindest cut of all." Most of us shrank from it, and the distressing work of disappointment these comrades fell upon Stephen Reynolds. Most of the applicants took their medicine manfully; but it was very, very hard, and very, very bitter. I have seen many a workingman, who had perhaps looked forward for weeks to grasping Gene's hand, when it was explained to him that the candidate was resting, swing round on his heel and march out of that car, with perhaps only the faintest touch of a tear in the corner of his eye to indicate how much it cost him.

One old man—I believe it was at Grand Junction—had come many miles to greet the candidate. When he arrived at the train Gene was sleeping prior to the evening meeting, and it was not until after the meeting, and Gene had got back to the Pullman, that the old man caught him alone. And there, between the double row of bunks, these two great souls put their arms about each other; and the old man, with tears trickling on to his white beard, told Gene how long he had loved him from afar. I was busy at the other end of the car, but I got out—I just couldn't stand it.

* * * *

We were sorry to have to part with Comrade Simons at Frisco. Then we hauled on board Harry McKee. Simons had been general utility man so far as managing the day meetings concerned. He was on a baggage wagon and barking before the brakes of the train had done squeaking. Tabloid talks were the order of the day, with a band concert thrown in; and therefore we were a little anxious when our hustler had to leave us. But bless your life, Harry McKee had only to take a couple of bites, and then he came up smiling; and for ever afterwards he could not be suppressed.

Those were splendid meetings at Portland and Seattle; and indeed all the way up the Pacific Coast. It was nothing unusual on the day stops for a town to close up stores and come down en masse to the depot. You see, a Presidential candidate, alive and very much kicking, did not come their way every day.

And what do you think of Everett's effort? Thousands of people crowded into a hall for a meeting in the wee sma' hours of the morn. Why, it was like a religious revival, where I understand they always sing "We won't go home till morning."

Soon we were in the mining districts that have been making history during recent years. Wardner and Wallace had great day meetings. There is no half-heartedness about those miners, I tell you; and America will hear from them again before very long. At Mullan, Idaho, we had to leave McKee, and our hearts were sore; but we left him among friends in those mountain wilds.

Then we had trouble with Hill's railroad, and our train was delayed hours. Instead of reaching Missoula, Montana, in the afternoon, it was pitch dark at night before we got there; and then we wondered what we were up against. The people were at the depot in thousands, and it was so dark that we could not see the edge of the crowd. They were keeping the red flag flying in very deed. We are never likely to forget the man with the red flag. It was about as big as he could manage; but there was a look in his eyes and in his moustache that boded ill for any man rash enough to touch that flag.

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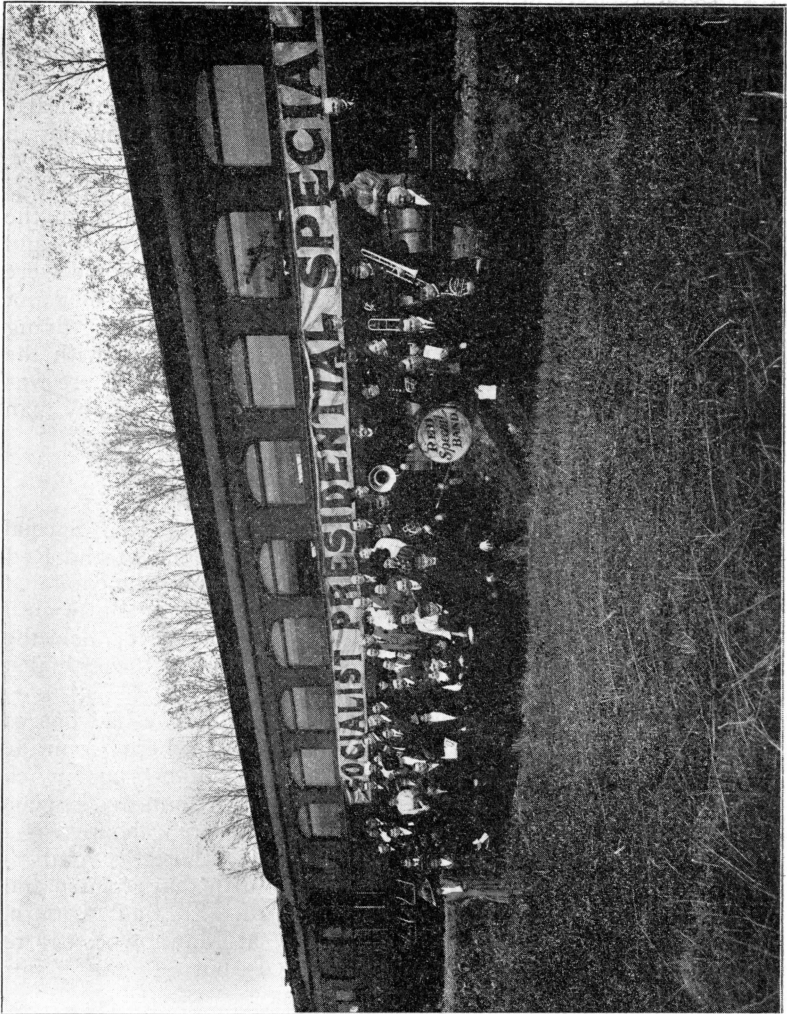
Now there had been a strike at Butte. The Red Special was due there for a night meeting. The presence of the Red Special and of Eugene Debs was undesirable—from the capitalist point of view. And the Red Special just didn't get to Butte until six o'clock next morning. The local comrades, however, held the fort until after midnight, and demonstrated that the Socialist movement is not necessarily a one man show.

Sheridan and Billings were visited, and then we had one of the finest meetings of the campaign at Lead, where Comrade Freeman Knowles, much persecuted by the capitalists and much beloved by the comrades, was paid a glowing tribute by Eugene Debs. In Minnesota we had Beecher Moore aboard as a speaker. Right along we had nothing but enthusiastic gatherings, and the work of the young farmers out in that country and South Dakota is something to make note of. St. Paul, Duluth, Hancock and Green Bay, and a full day at Manitowoc, before we got back to Chicago, made us tired—but it was "fair champion," as the Yorkshireman would say.

* * * *

And by the way, I must just express my admiration of the oratory of Eugene Debs. It was perfect in every respect. He said the right things in the right way, and brought home to the

workingmen in a way I have not seen equalled, their responsibility for the abominable system we are living in to-day. His epigrams ought to be preserved. They took the people off their feet.



ON THE WAY TO DANVILLE, ILL.

And particularly in dealing with the emancipation of woman and of the child slave, was he effective. Here is an instance. He was speaking of the enormous evils of prostitution, and quietly reminding the workingmen that it was the daughters of working

men who were found in the Red Light district. He spoke of the many temptations that beset the path of the young girl in the factory and the department store; and said with all the vehemence in his soul:

"I want you to understand this. When you go home and look at that bright-eyed girl of yours, that you love more than life itself; when you look deep into the liquid depths of her eyes and see there your own image reflected,—I want you to understand, that if it be written in the book of fate that that child of yours shall perish in a brothel, *you* are responsible if you vote to perpetuate this system."

And a fierce yell, as the roar of a wounded animal, would break from the audience, in full acknowledgement of the truth of that charge.

* * * *

Within two or three hours of our return from the Western trip we were ordered East. Not an hour's vacation was couchsafed us. And there was very little enthusiasm about the starting of the second trip, although there was a dogged, determined, do-or-die sort of atmosphere on the Red Special. That first day, including even Indianapolis, was rather a depressing one. The meetings were all right, but—everybody seemed to have the idea that everybody was going to get upon everybody else's nerves. But, bless you, after we left Indianapolis, everything brightened up. Fact was, that it went hard that not a day's rest was given between trips—and then that Eastern schedule did look formidable, didn't it?

The wheels of the Red Special were soon running merrily. South Bend with its warm real welcome did well, and on the Sunday there were enormous crowds at Battle Creek and Albion and Jackson. In the evening we were in Detroit, notorious as being the biggest scab town in the States. John Chase was now putting up most pathetic pleas for collections--and getting the money. He simply told how the boys of the West had put their hands down for the boys of the East, and,—well, the boys of the East didn't want charity, did they? Not half.

It rained next day, and it was during the rain at Trenton, Illinois, that those dear little school children came to visit us, and Gene recited to them Riley's "Clover," and told them about the little waifs in the big cities who had never seen a live chicken—just think of that!—and how the Red Special was an effort to make the lives of all children brighter and happier—and all that loving talk that only Gene can talk; talk that touched the hearts of those ruddy-faced children, and moistened the eyes of the up-grown onlookers.

At Toledo we were officially met by Brand Whitlock, mayor

of the city, upon whose shoulders seems to have fallen the mantle of Golden Rule Jones; and whose logical next step should be on to the Socialist platform. Toledo simply overflowed into several meetings that night. Cleveland filled its vast armory—paid admission, mark you!—and Erie and Buffalo and Rochester and Syracuse did ditto repeato. Coming down New York State, Joshua Wanhope, candidate for Governor, was a spell-binder; and did so much work with his throat that he could only whisper when he got to the Hippodrome at New York. Leffingwell of Wilshire's, was also with Comrade Floaten's literature lads for several days.

During these latter days we had on the train Mr. Sturdevant, the genial representative of "The World," and Collier's Weekly also had a man abroad. That reminds me that throughout the campaign one of the most surprising features has been the attention given the Red Special by the capitalist press. We had nearly always some reporter travelling with us. And scores were served by Publicity McFeely with "dope" about the Socialist campaign. In cities where formerly Debs had been dismissed disdainfully in a dozen lines he had now two or three columns, with spread eagle headers. Papers went to any expense to get interviews and photos. And it must be said that with very few exceptions their reports were remarkably fair. There was a very good reason for that—most of the newspaper men were sympathetic to Socialism, and quite a few were won over entirely by the geniality of Debs and the simple logic of the Socialist speakers.

* * * *

And then the Red Special hit New York City—and the Democrats and the Republicans, and the capitalists and the newspapers, especially the newspapers. Why, the capitalist newspapers were as enthusiastic about it as our own modest journals. But you all know what happened in New York. New York was just New York—and New York rocked that day.

Some of the New Yorkers however were over zealous in their attentions to the candidate, and he got no sleep. The consequence was that he was hardly fit to stand on the following day. That Monday was a busy day, too. Waterbury, Springfield and Worcester, particularly Worcester, are not likely to forget it. Did you ever see Socialists on the warpath? Well, you ought to have been at Worcester's depot when the Red Special pulled in—late; and Debs almost on the retired list. There was enough heat generated to set the place on fire. The Rev. Elit White will be remembered as an effectual fire extinguisher.

That night the walls of Old Faneuil Hall, Boston, were in danger of falling — the place was packed nigh to bursting—and

there were six thousand people in the Square outside. Franklin Wentworth was the chairman, and "Jim" Carey was also a speaker. The time of Gene's arrival on the platform approached; and the time went by, and still no candidate. The people inside answered the cheers of the people outside, the police between them; and still no candidate. And then about closing time, the heavens were ripped by the shout of the multitude as the candidate's cab hove into sight. It appeared that the Red Special had been taken away and lost in the labyrinth of tracks away miles up those dark yards, and the cabman couldn't find the candidate, and the candidate couldn't find the cabman. That was a gathering. It was appropriate that Gene Debs should stand magnificent where Patrick Henry stood—only the oration of Debs was the heralding of a far greater revolution.

The cities of Concord and Providence and Haverhill and Manchester gave us splendid receptions. At Hartford we had to compete with a parade of soldiers and other curiously dressed persons, who were celebrating the opening of a bridge. But a large crowd preferred hearing Debs to listening to the blare of trumpets, and watching a fools' parade. They knew that at that very hour, while money was being wasted in profusion and fireworks and decorations, there were men out of work in Hartford; that there were starving children in Hartford.

New Haven, Bridgeport and Connecticut generally had meetings which showed great promise for the near future. And then we were away to Trenton, New Jersey and Philadelphia. Quaker City, although just recovering from its Founders Celebrations, simply fell over itself that day. There were three meetings simultaneously in various parts of the city, and the local comrades got it in the neck from their own servants, the police. That was nothing fresh for Philadelphia, but it made some of the crew of the Red Special see red when they witnessed the rough handling of those peaceful demonstrators. At night Camden Theatre was filled to overflowing, and there with us was Comrade Horace Traubel. After the meeting the candidate caught a severe chill, being exposed to a raw night air while driving in an automobile, still perspiring and exhausted from his oratorical efforts.

Next morning, with long faces, we had to announce that Gene was ill abed with a fever. We were as much disappointed as Newark that day. Gene did not rise from his bed until it was time for him to visit the rally that had been arranged in the East Side of New York on the next day. Jee—rewsalem! Wasn't that a demonstration? Most admirable arrangements had been made by Robert Hunter, and Gene and his escort came through those cheering meetings unscathed. A tribute is due to the police; for

their kindness that day. Their conduct was different to what it was when last I happened to be in New York with Robert Hunter—that was the day of Union Square.

Brooklyn spread itself out that evening over two great meetings, and among the speakers were Franklin Wentworth and Alexander Irvine. Jersey City followed suit next evening after Comrade Sadie Walling and the Wilshire Girls had entertained the Red Special Boys at 200 William Street. Reading and Baltimore wondered what had happened when we struck town—great parades and meetings. At Wilmington, Delaware, the train and the candidate again got lost, and Comrade Parker and myself had a sweating time keeping that meeting going, wondering all the time what the deuce had got the candidate. But like the hero always does, Debs arrived just in the nick of time. I can't mention all those towns where the comrades worked so indefatigably to get together those big demonstrations, but Pittsburg was superb, thanks in no small measure to Comrade Slayton. There the police also interfered, but they were entirely disarmed by the legal suavity of friend Stedman.

* * * *

Seymour Stedman had joined the speaking staff of the train at Pittsburg, and he, poor chap, got up against an open-air overflow meeting for about an hour—and for two days he was simply deadheaded, and treated as a distinguished, or rather as an extinguished, passenger. But when he got into shape,—well, a whirlwind is but a gentle zephyr in comparisson. So many big-voiced men were down-and-outed by that outdoor speaking in competition with railroad engines. It was pathetic at Dayton, Ohio, for instance, where Comrade Caldwell was in "my own country", to hear this croaking raven comparing vocal notes with Stedman in front of a big meeting on a grandstand.

Another disappointment at Columbus, where Ellis O. Jones presided over a splendid gathering—paid admission, mark you!—in competition with two or three other political gatherings. At the last moment before the meeting Gene was again "all in," and Stevie Reynolds had to step into the breach. Cincinnati was fortunate in having Debs on his feet again next night, however. And they deserved it, for 't was a great meeting. At Louisville, Kentucky, we had a meeting at the top of a big hotel, where Comrade Dobbs introduced us to some very select sort of people, who were very much interested in "this Socialism."

At Evansville we were in competition with William Howard Taft, and we did not come off second best. We had the larger meeting, and the people paid admission at *our* meeting, mark you! St. Louis filled the new Armory, and provided soldiers to escort us, and see that we were not hurt by the five thousand un-

fortunates in the overflow meeting outside. Decatur and Hannibal were the next evening stops, and we had then the service of the Rev. J. Stitt Wilson, who had just stepped over from England to spend a few days in the fight. Brower was again with us, and after Galesburg and Streator we finished up strong at Joliet.

Our third trip was commenced next day. After we had fired Milwaukee at three meetings, and had rousing times at Racine and Madison University, we came back to Chicago for that great demonstration, when the twenty thousand did that shouting stunt for thirty minutes--an achievement about which they seemed proud. And then we went to take Gene home to Terre Haute, taking along with us as a special favor, National Secretary Barnes. There were also with us the girls of the National Office, a favor conferred upon us. Moreover there was aboard no less a person than big Bill Haywood. It was very appropriate that he should appear alongside of Debs when he was welcomed to his home city. And that was a welcome, and no mistake. There was very little politics in it so far as Terre Haute was concerned. It was simply the city's whole hearted tribute to an honored citizen.

* * * *

It was a stupendous achievement, and the American Socialists have every reason to be proud of it. It stirred up the country as no other scheme could have done. The party was brought together over it--it was as a grand parade of the entire Socialist strength of the country. We found the people hungry for education. We found that the strength of Socialism was in the small towns and country places; and there it is that it will be worth while to concentrate propaganda. At any rate the big cities will certainly say that they can take care of themselves. It was a stupendous achievement. And paid for, mark you!

Socialism for Students.

II. The Socialist Indictment.



THE PRESENT order in which we live did not begin the moment the first man upon earth had the breath of life blown into his nostrils. It came much later. In fact it is less than six hundred years old, having developed out of a former social order, known as feudalism, which was based upon the ownership of land by lords and barons.

And the present order was not ushered in accompanied by sweet strains of music. Quite the contrary. The manner of its coming is fairly indicative of its whole career.

Let us turn to the last part of volume I of "Capital", dealing with "The So-called Primitive Accumulation," for light upon this point. Here we learn that in the transition period between feudalism and capitalism, bands of feudal retainers were broken up, arable land was transformed into sheep walks, the church was despoiled of its property, crown lands were stolen, the commons were enclosed, estates were "cleared" of all people, several Irish villages thus being depopulated at one swoop, while in Scotland areas as large as German principalities were swept clean. In a "clearing" made for the Duchess of Sutherland, 15,000 inhabitants were rooted out, their villages destroyed and burnt and their fields turned into pasturage. By this blow the Duchess appropriated some 794,000 acres of land that had from time immemorial belonged to the clan.

Marx then tells of the "bloody legislation" by which feudal serfs were bludgeoned into becoming factory workers. Vagabonds idling about for three days were branded with a red hot iron with a V on their breasts; refusal to work forfeited a man's economic freedom; did he absent himself a fortnight from his master, he was branded with an S, upon his back, after which, did he run away thrice, he was executed as a felon.

"The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalled the rosy dawn

of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief momenta of primitive accumulation. On their heels tread the commercial wars of the European nations, with the globe for a theatre."

True enough is it, as Marx says: "In actual history it is notorious that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly force, play the great part." And, finally, "Capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt."

And when the industrial revolution had been accomplished, when feudalism had been supplanted by capitalism, what were its fruits? Great blotches upon the earth's surface called cities blotted out the hills, the meadows, the lanes, the running brooks and the golden sunsets of rural life,—great cities in which the inhabitants are huddled together in a mad struggle for existence. Engels describes England just a half century after the introduction of machinery. In his "Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844," he says: "In London, fifty thousand human beings get up every morning, not knowing where they will lay their heads at night. —The poverty is so great in Dublin, that a single benevolent institution, the Mendicity Association, gives relief to 2,500 persons or one per cent of the population daily, receiving and feeding them for the day and dismissing them at night." Similar conditions are cited for Glasgow, Edinburgh, and other cities in the kingdom. Engels speaks of diseases peculiar to the workers and gives figures to show that the death rate among the poor is twice that among the rich. And after telling of the terrible conditions under which factory "hands" are compelled to work, he concludes: "Women made unfit for child-bearing, children deformed, men enfeebled, limbs crushed, whole generations wrecked, afflicted with disease and infirmity, purely to fill the purses of the bourgeoisie."

The same charges—with even a greater burden of proof—can be made against the England of to-day. For example, turn to Jack London's "People of the Abyss," narrating experiences which befell him in the largest city in the world in the summer of 1902, during a period of "good times."

"One million, eight hundred thousand people in London live on the poverty line and below it, and another 1,000,000 live with one week's wages between them and pauperism." "The population of London is one-seventh of the total population of the United Kingdom and in London, year in and year out, an adult in every four dies on public charity, either in the workhouse, the hospital or the asylum." "There are 300,000 people in London, divided into families, that live in one-room tenements. Far, far more live in two and three rooms and

are as badly crowded, regardless of sex, as those that live in one room..... There are 900,000 people living in less than the 400 cubic feet of space prescribed by the law." And when at work, according to Sir A. Forwood: "One of every 1400 workmen is killed annually, one of every 2,500 workmen is totally disabled; one of every 300 workmen is temporarily disabled three or four weeks."

But these are only figures. And figures are cold and lifeless—they do not touch the human heart. Let us take an incident or two. "The shadow of Christ's church falls across Spitalfields Garden, and in the shadow of Christ's Church, at three o'clock in the afternoon, I saw a sight I never wish to see again.... 'Those women there,' said our guide (pointing to a group of the 35,000 wretches of the slums, not depraved women, who are homeless), 'will sell themselves for thrupence, or tuppence, or a loaf of stale bread.'" Also, this experience, which London tells of his two companions, a carter and a carpenter: "From the slimy sidewalk, they were picking up bits of orange peel, apple skin, and grape stems, and they were eating them. The pits of green gage plums they cracked between their teeth for the kernels inside. They picked up stray crumbs of bread the size of peas, apple cores so black and dirty one would not take them to be apple cores, and these things these two men took in their mouths, and chewed them, and swallowed them."

The author sums it up thus: "In short, the London Abyss is a vast shambles. Year by year, and decade after decade, rural England pours in a flood of vigorous strong life, that not only does not renew itself, but perishes by the third generation." And, quoting the scientist Huxley: "Were the alternative presented to me I would deliberately prefer the life of the savage to that of those people of Christian London."

So much for the "classic land of capitalism." What song does America sing? America, the new world, the Canaan of natural resources, vast expanse of fertile soil, magnificent forests, navigable rivers, and unlimited opportunities? Here, as in the old world, the "primitive accumulation" consists of immense land grants, bestowed upon court favorites by kings at the expense of the original inhabitants, with no other warrant than that "possession is nine points of the law." Stealing of lands is quite a gentlemanly occupation. Some of the colonial surveyors—patriots, all—were not averse to doing it, and, in our own time, several eminent gentlemen have been exposed as timber land thieves. And speaking of patriotism, we may here note that just that time when the love of country

runs strongest is seized by unscrupulous men of means to defraud the people. To this Laurens, in the Revolution, Lincoln, in the Civil War, and General Miles, in the war with Spain, bear witness.

Another popular method in vogue and in line with "primitive accumulation" is the despoiling of inventive genius. Not only do the benefits of progress inure largely to the few, but it is considered axiomatic that inventors are expected to fill paupers' graves. Edison is such a shining exception to this rule, that he is considered the marvel of the age.

Well, capitalism is established in America. We know it by its fruits. For when Robert Hunter stated the problem of poverty, he rendered so many counts in the indictment against the present social system. "These fragments of information, indicative of a widespread poverty, fall under the following heads: Pauperism, the general distress, the number of evictions, the pauper burials; the overcrowding and insanitation due to improper housing; the death rate from tuberculosis; the unemployment, and the number of accidents in certain trades."

These fragments of information gleaned by Hunter are summarized by him as follows: "There are probably in fairly prosperous years no less than 10,000,000 persons in poverty; that is to say, underfed, underclothed and poorly housed. Of these about 4,000,000 are public paupers. Over 2,000,000 workmen are unemployed from four to six months in the year. About 500,000 male immigrants arrive yearly and seek work in the very districts where unemployment is the greatest. Nearly half of the families in the country are propertyless. Over 1,700,000 little children are forced to become wage-earners when they should still be in school. About 5,000,000 women find it necessary to work and about 2,000,000 are employed in factories, mills, etc. Probably no less than 1,000,000 workers are injured or killed each year while doing their work, and about 10,000,000 of the persons now living, will, if the present ratio is kept up, die of the preventable disease, tuberculosis."

Between eighty and ninety-four per cent of the houses in the large cities are rented; in the year 1903, 60,463 of such "homes" in Manhattan, fourteen per cent of the total, were broken up by forcible eviction. In the city of New York, too, one out of every ten persons who dies is buried at public expense in Potter's Field.

Isador Ladoff, in his "American Pauperism," furnishes us with some interesting data. Over one hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars is spent annually in the State of New

York alone in charity. Ladoff quotes Dr. Savage as saying that one-fourth of the tenement population of the metropolis are treated free of charge at the dispensaries. A specific instance of conditions in the large cities surrounding modern industrial enterprises is described by A. M. Simons in his "Packingtown," the antecedent of Upton Sinclair's "Jungle."

Under the influence of the chapter on "The Child" in "Poverty," John Spargo made a more thorough investigation into the hardships of child life to-day, the results of which he gives us in his work, "The Bitter Cry of the Children." We can here only hint at the wealth of information the work contains. "In Chicago, the death rate varies from about twelve per thousand in the wards where the well-to-do reside to thirty-seven per thousand in the tenement wards." "I think it can safely be said that in this country, the richest and greatest country in the world's history, poverty is responsible for at least 80,000 lives every year." In connection with which this should be considered: "The experts say that the baby of the tenement is born physically equal to the baby of the mansion."

"Sanitary conditions do not make any real difference at all; it is food and food alone," declares Dr. Vincent. Personal examinations conducted by Spargo showed that as high as 20 per cent of school children are underfed.

The employment of children who belong in school, child-slavery, is the blackest crime in our social arrangement. The frightful condition depicted by Engels wherein children from orphan asylums and other institutions were hired by mill owners never to return alive, is equaled by a similar condition in the glass factories of New Jersey. The slavery of the breaker boys in Pennsylvania can only be felt by one who has witnessed it. And while children of tender years are employed throughout New England and all industrial states, it is only when we pass the Mason and Dixon Line to the sunny South that the institution of child slavery is presented to us in all its horror.

We give a few figures from the United States Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor for May, 1904. South Carolina prohibits the labor of tots only under ten years of age, but has no provision for factory inspection. Georgia has no age limit, and Alabama none to speak of. North Carolina prohibits the employment of children under 12 years of age but has no provision for carrying this into effect, so that children 6 and 7 years of age were found working. Violations were plentiful in every state. Except for a very few in two establishments,

the children in the Southern States were white children. The working hours run as high as sixty-six a week. None of the children reported for North and South Carolina and Alabama had foreign-born parents, while as high as thirty-seven per cent were unable to read and write English. And the number of child slaves is constantly increasing!

But this is only part of the price the working class pay for the privilege of dragging their weary bodies from the cradle to the grave. For the profit of the capitalist class, so Dr. Wiley, head chemist of the Department of Agriculture, tells us, practically everything we eat and drink, is adulterated.

For the profit of the capitalist class there are "he" towns and "she" towns, with the result that hundreds of thousands of men and women pass their lives in enforced celibacy. And worse than that, the inability of young men to earn sufficient to support families, is responsible for the fact that half a million women peddle their virtue as merchandise upon the street.

With the growth of the system, with the rich growing richer and the poor poorer, the contrast between the two classes is intensified. At one pole, the upper class is steeped in degeneracy. At the other pole, there sinks an element, creatures of the city "dumps" and "slums", into the under world. Both scum and dregs are lost to the race.

Periodically the entire system is thrown out of joint by industrial crises, due to the exploitation of labor, the anarchy in production, and the fact that the capitalist class cannot control the Frankenstein, the productive forces, they have conjured into being. During a commercial depression, the "industrial reserve army" is increased by millions of recruits, with a consequent demoralization of the whole working class. At such a time, the feeling of insecurity as to the present and uncertainty as to the future, that ever haunts the workers, becomes a veritable nightmare. It is just this fear of the future that stings more than poverty itself and that is the strongest charge in the indictment of capitalism.

Thousands of babies are every year the victims of preventable diseases, caused in the main by malnutrition; women are unfitted for the function of motherhood, due to their toiling in the factories, while to name the dangerous occupations in which men are employed is to give an inventory of all occupations—almost every trade having its special disease. In some occupations it is the monotony of work that wrecks the nervous system; in others, the strain upon certain parts of the body or certain organs; in others, the unsanitary conditions

of the workshop; in others, the handling of dyes and poisons, or the inhaling of foul air and dust. It is the last named particularly that is responsible for tuberculosis.

Tuberculosis is not only a social disease—it is a poverty disease, a working class plague—well named the Great White Plague. One glance at a map at a tuberculosis exhibit suffices to show where the “lung” districts are—suffices to prove that out of the working class will come the ten millions of men and women and children in America to-day who will fall in the white massacre. Every occupation has its distinct disease; tuberculosis is the distinct disease of capitalism.

This, then, is the Socialist indictment: That after thousands of years of toil and trial, after having stolen the secrets of the skies and harnessed the forces of nature, society is still engaged in a fiendish struggle for animal existence, a struggle that dooms the great mass of the people to poverty and misery, degradation and disease, slavery and untimely death. And the Socialist charges that the great underlying wrong out of which these evils arise is the fact that the few own what the many need. And the Socialist declares that only when society holds as common property the means of wealth production will the social ills that we are heir to be banished, for only then will the toil of the people inure to the common weal and make for the common good.

Philadelphia, Pa.

JOS. E. COHEN.

A COURSE OF READING.

The following list of works is recommended to the student. They cover the subject touched upon by the above article, and it is suggested that they be read in the order named. J. E. C.

- Capital**, Vol. I, Part 8. By Karl Marx. Cloth, \$2.00.
Condition of the Working Class in England. By F. Engels. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London.
People of the Abyss. By Jack London. The Macmillan Co., N. Y.
History of Great American Fortunes. By Gustavus Myers.
American Pauperism. By I. Ladoff. Cloth, 50 cents.
Poverty. By Robert Hunter. The Macmillan Co., New York.
Packingtown. By A. M. Simons. Paper, 5 cents.
Bitter Cry of the Children. By John Spargo. The Macmillan Co., New York.
Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor. May, 1904.

These books for which prices are named above are published by Charles H. Kerr & Company. Books of other publishers can be ordered from the Book Department of the Chicago Daily Socialist.

The Revolutionist.



T PRESENT in the socialist movement there is a spirit which in all sections of the country seems to be manifest, to conceal, somewhere in the background, what should be the foundation stone of any socialist movement, the class struggle.

The meaning of the word proletariat, the proletariat of Marx and of Engels, has been stretched and stretched until to-day, like the word Christianity, it is used to cover a multitude of sins. As the word Christianity is used to cover everything from Unitarianism to Roman Catholicism and from Christian Science to Christian Socialism, so has the word proletariat been used to cover every thing from a civil engineer to a roustabout and from a millionaire rancher to a Mexican peon. This toying with words has gone on until it is to-day a generally accepted theory that the word socialist and the word proletariat are synonymous. I have been told by socialist organizers; that lawyers were proletarians, that doctors were proletarians, that farmers were proletarians, in fact that all who worked with hand or brain doing useful work in society were proletarians. And here is another extreme error. Under capitalism whether a person were engaged at useful labor or not could in no way alter the economic status of that person.

In defining the class struggle it is a notorious fact that in the United States to-day, ninety per cent of the socialist educators accept the idea and spread it, that the line of demarcation between the classes is a line between poverty and riches. Again it is spread broadcast that every poor person's interest is with the working class, every rich person's interest is with the capitalist class. It is time that something was done in the socialist movement to stop the spread of erroneous ideas—this spreading of the doctrine of the Neo-Communist as Marxian Socialism.

There is one thing and one thing only which marks the line of demarcation between the classes, and that one thing is the wage system. The thing which sways men and societies is not future but immediate interests. In the case of a highly paid official in a corporation, that official's interests are and must be diametrically opposed to the interest of the stock-

holders. It matters not that the official may be a heavy stockholder himself, he is always the gainer by a rise in his wages, the stockholders the losers. Of course this would not mean in any sense that this highly paid official of a corporation would be a desirable acquisition to either an industrial or political organization of the wage working class. He, like every other worker who is paid for his efficiency in extracting toil from others, from section boss to president of a railroad, is by the very nature of his occupation dangerous to any movement of the wage workers.

There is not a rule which applies in any labor organization on the industrial field that will not apply equally well on the political field. A socialist organization that will stand the test of time must be simply the reverse side of the industrial movement. To-day the American Socialist movement is the reverse side of the American labor movement. Every mistake which has ever been made in the American labor movement on the industrial field finds its counterpart in the political organization of the Socialist Party. Much of the trouble in the different unions belonging to the American Federation of Labor finds its inception in the attempt of a labor organization to fuse the interests of two opposing classes.

I wish to call attention to two cases in particular.

The Journeymen Barbers take into their organization not only journeymen barbers as the name would imply, but also all barbers who are shop owners but who employ no journeymen, in other words, to use the old stock phrase of many socialists, men who exploit no one but are themselves exploited by the system. What is the result? A union will be composed we will say of two hundred men, seventy-five will be owners and partners in small shops, seventy-five will work in small shops, and fifty will work for say five big shop owners. Now as a matter of fact this kind of a union will immediately become concerned in something which is of no concern to the journeymen, and that is prices charged in the shop. The journeyman is concerned only with the questions relating to hours and wages or the degree of intensity or speed at which he must work, but the seventy-five owners of small shops are concerned in the question of keeping prices high. Times get hard and the big shop owner desires to cut prices, but the small shop owner objects. The union is now called upon to go into a foreign war to protect the small capitalist barber from his larger competitor. The seventy-five men running shops vote to declare a strike against the big shop owners who wish to crush them, the seventy-five men

working in smaller shops divide evenly according to the temperament of the men, and thus the fifty journeymen who did not desire to strike and who had no grievance are forced out by these small shop owners who have everything to gain and nothing to lose in the strike—and another union is wrecked.

Again in the painters. Small contractors, men that take contracts to paint cottages, rooms, small stores, etc., and who when they have no contracts work for wages—in painters' terms they are called pot-jugglers—these men are allowed in the labor unions. The result is that these men are always in favor of a strike, it matters not whether there is any chance to win or not, in case of a strike they might get a chance to get a small contract themselves, they have everything to gain and nothing to lose. In all these cases the men of another class hold the balance of power in the council chambers and the labor unions must recognize this fact, must put a stop to this intermingling of two classes in one organization, before they can do any more effective work.

Now the Socialist Party must be, if its name is not belie its character, nothing more and nothing less than a political party to carry this class war from the economic to the political field.

It is nonsense to pretend that two sets of men whose hands are raised with daggers to plunge in each others breasts on the economic field can ever unite and join hands at a love feast in a political organization. It matters not that the system compels men to act as they do, no set of men will join hands with and carry a card in the same political organization with men whom they must fight on the economic field.

Who are the Revolutionists? What is the proletariat? Why has the skilled mechanic so long ignored the unskilled worker?

To some a revolutionist is a nonconformist doctor, lawyer, preacher or a millionaire, or a woman with radical ideas on the sex question, to others it is a man with a dirty shirt without a desire to have it washed or a man who went on a strike against unjust conditions ten years ago and who has been on a perpetual strike ever since.

For a long while I have been seeking for the real revolutionary element in society and I believe I have found it. When these words, "Working men of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain," when these words were written they meant something.

As a class the farmer is not revolutionary; this can not be

denied, he is a perpetual reformer. The fact that large numbers of them are at present in the socialist party in the last analysis will have nothing to do with the question and will not alter their status or actions as a class. It may be that it will prove in the end to be a bad thing for the Socialist party. The skilled tradesman, it is a notorious fact, has always been rankly conservative. There must be a reason for this and there is. The skilled tradesman is not a proletarian. He has an interest to conserve, he has that additional skill for which he receives compensation in addition to his ordinary labor power.

A proletarian according to Marx in the Manifesto is a common unskilled worker. The position of Marx and of Engels is clearly defined in their Manifesto. In part they say, "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie to-day, the proletariat alone is the really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product."

Following this comes a paragraph which more clearly defines by elimination, the proletariat. "The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shop keeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary for they try to roll back the wheel of history."

Again in reference to the farmers in "Capital" Vol. I, page 815, Kerr Edition, in the chapter "Genesis of the Capitalist Farmer", Marx clearly sets forth his theory of even the farmer on rented ground, the tenant farmer. He says in part, "This form quickly disappears in England, to give place to the farmer proper, who makes his own capital breed by employing wage laborers, and pays part of the surplus product in money or in kind to the landlord as rent."

The artisan is nothing but the skilled tradesman of to-day, skilled laborer is simply an Americanized term for them, in England they are still artisans and the peasant is the small farmer of these United States who hires no one and consequently exploits no one save perhaps his wife and children, and this could hardly be called exploitation in that in general the product of the family toil is family property.

Skilled labor is nothing but common labor refined. Common labor power can be produced at a minimum of cost. Then some one must advance an additional sum above that cost to

refine that labor while the mechanic is learning the trade. Capital you might say is advanced to teach that common laborer a trade, and after becoming skillful and efficient in that line, this specialized worker gets back in addition to his pay as a common laborer the amount advanced to make of him a skilled mechanic. That extra amount he can use in any way that capital can be used. He can use it to buy a home, to wear better clothes, to eat better food, to educate his children better and to bring them up as skilled tradesmen in some line or another of the same degree of skill as he himself possesses.

But now a new factor has to be considered. A machine is invented which entirely does away with the demand for his particular kind of skill. When this occurs he drops back to the level of the unskilled worker. He is confronted with the same problem that confronts a man who has a lumber yard stocked with dressed lumber. There has been considerable capital used to convert rough lumber into finished. We will say the demand for finished lumber was eliminated, the demand for rough lumber increased. It makes no difference how much it cost to finish that lumber, what was spent in finishing it was wasted, it is now worth no more than the rough lumber, in fact it may be worth less on account of the waste in finishing it. The same with the skilled tradesman—he may be worth less than if he had never learned a trade—he may have acquired certain habits and modes of working that were harmful to him in doing simple labor.

So it has been that until the last few years the skilled tradesman, as organized in the American Labor movement, has paid but little heed to the conditions under which the unskilled laborer lived and toiled.

But one by one with but few exceptions the skilled tradesmen were coming in contact with machine production. One skilled tradesman was put to work with two or three men or boys, he doing the skilled part of the work, the boys and unskilled workers doing the rougher work. The skilled tradesman then started enforcing the closed shop rules and limiting the number of apprentices. This was met by the instituting of trades schools, of converting the Y. M. C. A. into a manual training school, giving simple laborers a theoretical and superficial training in many of the skilled trades, while at the same time giving them a moral training which would have a tendency to make of them advocates of the open shop. And now in the last few years, still further to break down the barriers the skilled tradesmen had erected, the capitalist public school is gradually replacing the old course of learning, the

Three R's, by the new Three P's, Plastering, Plumbing and Painting, and a lot of others, too numerous to mention.

The public school system in the last few years has entirely changed in character, while the children of the bourgeoisie in increasing numbers depend for an education on private schools.

In the city of Portland, Oregon, in the last year, in the center of a working class district, the biggest school in that part of the city has been turned over completely into a manual training school. Here no pretense of education is maintained, other than an education in the different trades, and the lack of being able to read or write does not disqualify a child from being a member of any class.

And although this school was in an overcrowded district, no grammar school was built to take its place.

Now where are we drifting? Just this.

A few decades ago practically every wage worker was a mechanic. The plumber dug his own trench. Even the farm laborer was a mechanic. He learned all the branches of diversified farming. In time he married the farmer's daughter. But machine industry has invaded the farm. The farm laborer in most sections of the country is a proletarian. All he knows about farming can be learned in a few days. One set of these laborers is referred to as "skimmers." They drive the horses and mules and do the plowing and drift on. They are followed in turn by harvest hands and fruit pickers—they drift on—where do they come from, where do they go to?—God knows.

The skilled tradesman is an ever decreasing quantity—the proletariat an ever increasing one.

The ratio—except in a few trades—between the amount paid skilled and unskilled laborers, constantly decreases. The tendency is toward a common wage.

In the last few years no strike of any magnitude has been won by a skilled trade. They had left the proletariat out. But unorganized though he was, homeless, propertyless and despised, his interests, his desires, his mind and ideas were becoming one. Spontaneously, unknowingly, without a flourish of trumpets he was becoming organized in spirit. His hatred of exploiters was a common hatred. What he lacked in organization he made up in numbers and in spirit, instinct if you insist, class consciousness, if you will allow it.

The tendency of the trades union is gradually toward that proletarian base. It makes no difference what any one likes or dislikes, they must come to it. Even in the talk which now pervades union circles for an industrial form of organiza-

tion there is yet lacking an understanding of what is necessary for the wage workers to cope successfully with their employers. The desire for an industrial form of organization in general is for the skilled trades in a given industry to consolidate. But the key to the situation lies not with the skilled trades but with the proletariat.

Just as the Indian with his bow and arrow had to give way before the Spanish with their powder and shot, so must the skilled tradesman retire from the arena and allow the proletarian, the product of the machine to take the stage.

This proletarian with all the strength he is mustering, is very little understood, the conservative unionist, the conservative socialist pass him by while he simply smiles at their childish self assurance and ignorance. He can bide his time, can lose nothing, no home, no family ties, no property—long, long ago he has lost these. He is as Marx described him, "The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family relations; modern industrial labor, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of National character. Law, morality, religion are to him so many bourgeois prejudices behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests."

But the day is here whether it is recognized or not, that no strike on the economic field, no battle on the political field, can be won except through sheer force of numbers of this same unskilled, unrecognized wageworker, the proletariat.

As yet he has no labor organization, he has no political expression. But the tendency is more and more for the economic organization to fall into his hands, the political organization, the Socialist Party, to give way to his numbers. Then and then only will the real struggle begin in earnest. He will not compromise, he will not back up; he has no place to back to. Victory lies before him; misery behind.

The Socialist Party and the Labor Unions must either give way to, or take up arms against, "The man that thinks through his stomach."

Gradually, so slowly that no one noticed, like the storm clouds gathering in the distant skies, like the breaking of day or its fading away, this new factor in society has arisen seemingly from nowhere.

He has a language of his own, different from the accepted language of civilization, he is uncultured and uncouth in appearance, he has a code of morals and ethics as yet unrecog-

nized by society, he has a religion unpreached in orthodox and unorthodox churches, a religion of hate, he has a system of mutual self-help, a system bred from the needs and mode of living of himself and his companions in misery, he has an intelligence which passes the understanding of the intellectuals who are born, reared and living outside his sphere.

Like the instinct of the brute in the forest, his vision is clear and he is ever on the alert, his hearing is keen, his nature suspicious, his spirit is unconquerable. Like the lion in his den this brute king of civilization, caged behind the iron bars of capitalist laws, restrained only by the gleaming lines of bayonets of those "that know and dread his enmity", this king of civilization waits and watches at the fast corroding bars that imprison him. Soon he will launch his mighty weight against them and this prison will tumble like a house of cards. Undaunted by the array of capitalist laws, morals and rights, he will spring into his own. With one swoop he will tear away your puny intellectuality, your bogus respectability and as master of all he surveys he will determine what is right and what wrong.

This is the proletarian. He has no shops, mills, mines, factories or farms. He has no profession, no trade and no property. He has no home—no country—no religion. He has little education, no manners and little care for what people think of him. His school has been the hard school of human experience. His cradle has been the cradle of want. But upon his shoulders rests the problem of freeing society. The chains that bind him bind all. From his brain must come the plan of the new order.

THOMAS SLADDEN

War and Peace Under Capitalism.

I.

War.



ENGLAND is still echoing the past summer's discussion of a possible or probable war with Germany. The discussion was precipitated by Mr. M. H. Hyndman, the veteran socialist leader; and his presentation of the German danger was ably supported by Mr. Robert Blatchford, editor of "The Clarion", and Mr. Harry Quelch, editor of "Justice". It was further enhanced by the rather brutal presentation of a like point of view to the House of Peers by Lord Cromer. The brunt of the question, however, fell upon Mr. Hyndman. He aroused the indignation of the British Liberals, whose obtuse hypocrisy he exposed to ridicule. But more especially, and most unfairly, was he attacked by the leaders and organs of the British Labor Party. It was through these Liberal and Labor Party misrepresentations that the reports of the discussion went into the American and European press; and upon these misrepresentations, have both socialist and capitalist editorials been written.

Now Mr. Hyndman is the farthest removed of any man from the jingoism of which he has been accused. He has been a life-long advocate of peace, and the most consistent and hated enemy of British imperialism. When others quibbled and compromised, he risked life and limb in opposing the Boer War. For a quarter of a century he has labored, with disastrous consequences to himself, for the freedom of India. No other man has so faithfully borne the banners of the oppressed peoples of the world in the face of the English ruling class. At all times, and through all lands, have the years of his life been spent in inciting the enslaved to manhood and revolt. Of all men, he is the last against whom the charge of jingoism should be brought. And this his opponents in the discussion perfectly well knew.

But Mr. Hyndman knows, as probably no-man has known since Joseph Mazzini, what is taking place in the Cabinets of Europe; and the present Anglo-German war discussion is due to his effort to get International Socialism to face the European political fact. It is not because he wants war, but be-

cause he wants to avert war, that his warning has been sounded; it is because he would avert a war that might turn far backward the dial of the world's progress. And his warning is in strict accord with the economic interpretations of history. He is urgent with a knowledge which so few socialist leaders really seem to possess—the knowledge that the wheels of the world are increasingly turned by capitalist control, and in no wise regulated by professional presentations of moral sentiments, or by the idle resolutions of dilettante Peace Congresses.

Now the present dominant European fact, upon which Mr. Hyndman based his warning, is the economic necessity of political expansion on the part of Germany. Next to the United States, Germany has reached the highest stage of development in her productive machinery. The German population is also increasing more rapidly than that of any other nation of capitalist Europe; and, under capitalism, the growth of population means that labor's ability to buy the things it produces decreases in ratio to its increased power of production. Thus industrial Germany necessarily reaches out for new markets. It must possess itself of yet unexploited lands, and found colonies therein, in order to make place for its surplus goods and surplus workers. It must have free course with savage peoples in Africa, with yet unindustrialized peoples in Asia; and with the islands of the seas, that it may compel these populations to buy its products. Either the collapse of German capitalism, with ten million workers in the streets, and with the social revolution at the Kaiser's doors, or else German political expansion,—this is the logic, the sheer economic necessity, of German industrial development.

But it is England that bars Germany's way to possession of more of the earth. England either owns the earth that Germany wants, or controls the ocean highways and island outposts thereto. If the continued existence of capitalism is inevitable, then just so inevitable is the Anglo-German conflict for the possession of these highways, and the markets to which they lead. It is not a question of what Hyndman wants in England, or what Bebel wants in Germany, or of what the Peace Congresses resolve; it is a question of what the capitalist control finds necessary for its continued existence and increase. Nothing but the swift establishment of the co-operative commonwealth in Europe, predicated upon an immediate social revolution, could prevent the great war between Germany and England for possession of the remaining unpillaged lands and peoples. And there is not the slightest sign of the establishment of socialism, in either of the two

nations concerned, in time to avert the world-changing war. If the socialist movement were now fully aware of itself, if it were strong and alert through a mature and vivid international experience, it might hold the strifes of nations in abeyance until labor's triumph and order should end all war by removing its economic cause. But the psychological contradictions of capitalist society still endure in the movement that makes for the overthrow of that society. The socialist movement is not yet a living world-soul, inhabiting a well-informed and harmonious world-body. We have not yet entered the long-opened door of international command; we have not been trained to treat the world as a whole, and to seek the fulfillment of the interest and freedom of each individual, each distinct people, each human type, in this wholeness of view and purpose. International Socialism might speak, even today, the word that would prevail against its enemies. It might say, Let there be peace; and there would be peace. Yet we do but babble before our matchless opportunity.

But coming back to Germany, we may see her as a potent cause of wars apparently not her own. It is well known that the red imbecile ruler of the Russias might have resisted the grand ducal ruffians, and might have compromised with Japan, had it not been for the treacherous encouragement of the Kaiser. The first step in German expansion was the weakening of Russia on the east, and the bullying of France on the west, preparatory to the decisive conflict with England. From the same source springs the embroilment of the Balkans, with the aggressions of Austria and Bulgaria, at the moment when they serve to paralyze the hand of Young Turkey; for a free Turkey would prove an effectual barrier to the German commercial and political occupation of Asia Minor. Besides all that, the program of Young Turkey looks toward a common well-being of the Ottoman peoples, toward a progressively free federal organization, that exceeds anything that either Prussia or Russia desires in neighboring states. Some of the most effective leaders of the reform movement in Turkey, as well as in Persia and India, are intelligent revolutionary socialists, political revolution being but the first step in their program. Of this fact the Prussian and Russian spies keep their respective governments well informed. And though carefully concealing its real dread, European diplomacy is fearfully engaged in quenching the springs of freedom that break forth in the deserts of Oriental despotisms. And it is to the interest of capitalist Germany to restore and protect the crumbling despotisms of Asia and Africa, in order that its own economic despotism may be established in their shadow. To even such

measure of freedom as the English and French colonial systems supply are the interests of German capitalism utterly antagonistic.

But Mr. Hyndman's warning against German purposes was not that of the mere English patriot; his concern is infinitely vaster than that. What he dreads, more than all else, is the effect of German expansion upon the socialist movement. With the hand of the German giant upon European Capitols, the Prussianization of Europe and of nearer Asia quickly follows. And the Prussianization of civilization means its recession into practical barbarism, with the long postponement of the social revolution. Let us be under no illusions about the essential Prussian spirit; it is still the spirit of the savage, ruthless to the last degree; it is preeminently the spirit of capitalism in its culminating and most devastating stage. Compared with the dominant Prussian, the Turk is a kindly and heavenly-minded human animal. It is in Prussia, more than elsewhere in the so-called civilized world, that the peasants might envy the swine they tend; and there, rather than in primitive savagery, that the women are kept in the condition of mere breeding animals and beasts of burden. From the time when the Teutonic knight stole Prussia from the Poles, and spread massacre over eastern Europe in the name of Christ; from the time when the princes and barons made with Luther one of the blackest bargains of history, taking for themselves the comparatively happy lands of the Catholic Church in exchange for their support of Luther's religion—a bargain that put some eleven millions of German peasants beneath their ravaged and untilled earth at last; from the time when Bismarck, cynical, Satanic, and the prince of perjurers, changed Germany into Prussia, every Prussian advance has been destructive to all that is free or fine in the human spirit. The German Kaiser, braggart, brutal and cowardly, and the horrible monstrosities of modern German art, are revealing types of Prussianism. Let this Prussianism once gain the hegemony of Europe, and the result will be a barbarian renaissance, followed by an abysmal human decadence; and this, notwithstanding the present strength of German social democracy. Such is Mr. Hyndman's view of the matter; and it is a view which he does not hold alone. It is because he would prevent so overwhelming a catastrophe to what is worth preserving in civilization, that he has warned English socialists, and the socialists of all nations as well, to prepare against the present European fact. And his words become the more urgent, when it is known that he has good reason for believing that the English aristocracy would welcome a German invasion sooner than a social revolution at home.

Nor is it any answer to say that the German people do not want war with England, and that the English people do not want war with Germany. Up to the present moment, historic peoples have had precious little to do with the decisions to fight, or to make peace. We have only to rightly read our histories, as far back as their first dim conjectures go, to see how world-wars are continually recurring under some form of economic pressure; to see how wars are really fought for no other reason; and to see how wars will continue to waste the earth so long as economic control is private and not social. A study of the psychology of war, especially in the light of capitalist development, also shows how little the previous sentiments of a nation have to do with any particular military struggle. And the rulers of the world know that, in case of war, they may still discount the socialist movement, notwithstanding its latent power to compel international peace; they know that they may still count upon the old appeals to patriotism, and upon the hypnotism exercised by the possession of power. With the possible exception of Italy, the governments can still throw obedient armies against revolting workers. The governing class of Germany knows, just as certainly as the governing class of the United States knows, that the black magic of war, even in the worst possible cause, can still arouse a maudlin national feeling; can still make the people senseless and delirious. Upon this knowledge will the Kaiser and the Hamburg American Steamship Company act, should the psychological moment for war with England arrive. And not Bebel, with all his superb influence, nor the German socialist movement, with all its discipline and strength, could stay the German nation an hour, in the event of such a war.

The American people did not dream of empire, when the war with Spain began. Nor did they need to fight for the freedom of Cuba; it is well known that Spain would have granted our demands on Cuba's behalf. But the knowledge was concealed from the people, in order that the governing class might secretly precipitate its imperialistic program. We really went to war with Spain, in the first place, that the financiers who had preempted Cuba might come into unbridled possession of that beautiful and unhappy island; and, in the second and larger place, the war was planned in order that American capitalism might make the Philippine Islands the door in to the great market of China. Never was a war more inexcusable, or more disgusting and cowardly in all that pertains to it; and never did war bring swifter or deeper degradation to a nation. The best leaders of the republican party were opposed to it, and so was the body of the demo-

cratic party. Yet the capitalist will prevailed; the government played its trick with success; a foul and subsidized press inflamed the people; the preachers preached their loathsome blood-sermons; and the nation went to war. In a day, in the twinkling of an eye, a blood-drunken people parted from what was best in its past, from what was true or noble in its history. And now, wallowing in the hollow of Mr. Roosevelt's hypocritical hand, we have shaped our national ideals unto the glory of the brute. Besotted with the taste of Spanish blood, insanely acclaiming our historic bully as our national hero, we are eager for the war that shall hold the markets of China against all comers. Let our capitalist masters loose the leash whenever they will; we are ready to fly to the fight at their bidding, which we shall soon and certainly have, unless the social revolution come quickly. And we shall be ready to hang as traitors, and to stamp with infamy, such as have the hardihood to declare our national guilt; while the politicians again appeal to the black magic of patriotism, and the clergy again arouse the blood-hunger of the nation in the name of Christ.

The English people did not want war with the Boer republic; England's best men opposed it; Queen Victoria was practically coerced into giving the royal assent, and was broken-hearted thereafter until her death. But the alien owners of the Transvaal mines did want war; and to war the nation went. History affords no more infamous spectacle than that of the English people, supposedly of a higher order of intelligence than most other peoples, thus instantly turned into a sottish beast by the national hypnosis which a few mineowners were able to governmentally produce. And South Africa proved to be not only the grave of seventy-five thousand soldiers, and of England's military reputation; it seems to have been the grave, for awhile at least, of what was left of England's soul; for English times, since the Boer War, have been the times of rapid decay.

The Russian people did not want war with Japan; General Kuropatkin and the the two most powerful ministers of state, exhausted their resources in vain efforts to prevent it. But the grand ducal robbers, and finally the pitiable yet monstrous Czar, thought that war with Japan would perpetuate their economic control; and war they had, with what consequences of measureless evil we now know. They wanted war in order to protect their vast timber speculations in Corea, and the still vaster schemes of governmental graft that were based thereupon. What is it to them that probably a million men, most of them slain in the strength and flush of youth,

are now under the red sod? What is it to them that the dead knew not what they died for—that the nation knew not for what it fought! What is it to them that Russia now reeks with governmental rapine and murder, in order that the ghastly throne of the Czar and his criminal kinsmen be preserved! Nothing; no more to them are the wretchedness and ruin of the people now, nor the fruitless acres of the dead, than were the voices of Russia's prophets at the war's beginning. That the Russian people did not want war from the first, that Tolstoy and Gorky cried out against it, that even the national intelligent capitalist statesmen tried to prevent it, had nothing to do with the final decree. No more than had Queen Victoria, or Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, or Mr. Hyndman and Edward Carpenter and Walter Crane, to do with England's war with the Boer republics; no more than had Senator Hoar and Edward Atkinson, or Mr. Bryan and his democratic party, or such of us as raised our poor voices of protest in college rooms and public halls, to do with the advent of American imperialism. In each case, the decision issued from the seat of economic control; which in Russia was the throne of the imperial family; which in England was the will of the owners of the Transvaal mines; which in America was the interest of speculative financiers.

Then we must keep in mind that it is not only new markets that are necessary to capitalism; the first and fundamental necessity, in these days of labor's awakening, is the suppression of domestic revolt, and the diversion of attention from social inquiry. A great foreign war is each capitalist nation's reserved defence against socialism. The German governing class waits only for a war that shall cheat and command the national feeling; that shall arouse the old illusion of the Fatherland. The German Kaiser, who is essentially a commercial drummer in medieval masquerade, and his financial associates, know very well that the idea of the Fatherland will not for a long time be subjected to close analysis or clear exposure. They have sufficiently tested the socialist leaders upon this point, and know that they have little to fear from Social Democracy, in case of a plausible foreign war. They know that, let the right pretext and moment arrive with an officially prepared sense of national danger inspired among the people, and the social revolution may be turned backward. So capitalist America is quite aware of the disgrace and difficulty that would attach to a socialist propaganda, in case of war with Japan, or with Japan and her English allies, for the ostensible freedom of China; and American socialism must be prepared to face just such a disgrace and difficulty;

for this socialist reversal, as well as the market of China, is in the capitalist mind. An American financier once remarked in my presence that he and his kind, as a last resort, could invoke a German occupation of New York against a general strike or a socialist revolution. And I heard an English duke quoted as saying, during the past summer, that his class would prefer defeat and government at the hands of Germany to socialism at the hands of English workingmen. Whether or no the duke be correctly quoted, of this we may be sure: that the possessing class of each nation, if it comes to the choice, will prefer foreign rule to dispossession at the hands of a socialist industrial administration. Grotesque and horrible as it seems, not at all impossible is a situation in which a tacit understanding for mutual preservation might exist between the possessors of two nations, say England and Germany, while the armed workers, numbered by millions, were marching and battling for their own extinction—the blind suicide of the proletaire revolution.

But there is a greater danger to socialism than foreign wars, or the suppression of domestic revolt. Not the revolutions against which the capitalist power will openly arm itself—not these need we fear; but rather the proletaire revolutions which the capitalist himself will insidiously create—these are our danger, and these should be our dread; and against these, seducing the socialist movement to self-destruction should the socialist and the worker watch. It is Victor Berger who has lately said that “a second French Revolution is just what we do not want”. And never did a socialist speak more wisely. Well does he state our purpose to be the gradual conquest of political power, with the progressive amelioration of the working-class, and the education of the whole nation in the theory and practice of socialism. But all this is exactly what the capitalist does not want; and what he will exhaust his last resource in preventing. Perhaps I may be pardoned in this connection, since it is the first time I have ever quoted myself, for repeating some words which I addressed to an audience in Faneuil Hall on the occasion of the celebration of the Paris Commune, March 21, 1903: “I have reason to say that it is already a settled capitalist purpose and tactic, in case it should become evident that socialism is about to conquer political power through the suffrage of American voters, to precipitate a revolution of force on the part of labor before the socialist movement is strong or wise enough to take care of it. It is the capitalist who would like to have us try to win the day with guns and bricks in our hands, rather than with intelligence in our heads

and comradeship in our hearts. And whoever counsels violence in these days may be safely set down as a conscious or unconscious emissary of capitalism, a conscious or unconscious traitor to the socialist movement. We must be wise enough, and have faith enough in our cause, to refuse to let those who would destroy us appoint the hour and manner of the decisive conflict. We must be sane and brave enough not to accept our appointments for battle from capitalist hands. We must be bold and true enough to refuse to be governed by the irritations that are meant to drive us to premature revolt. It is one of the marks of greatness to know how to bide one's time — greatness in a cause, or greatness in an individual. And it is the mark of one's faith in his cause, or of a cause's faith in itself, that the man or the cause know how to wait until the clock strikes the hour for finality of action".

The capitalist necessity for war is something that escapes adequate presentation, even in the attitudes and actions of socialist leaders. One of the evidences of this is the article of Jean Jaures on "Socialism and International Arbitration", in the August number of "The North American Review". Even the old-school political economist would not have written so ignorantly and foolishly about the sources of war; nor would the pietistic preacher have presented a more thoughtless or sentimental cure. Hague Congresses may afford a new amusement for the idle rich; they may provide a rather sportive veil for the cynical and naked hypocrisy of existing governments. But it is silly to suppose that they have anything to do with the world's war or peace.

Socialism is the only preventative of war. Without regard to their previous sentiments or principles, and without regard to their well-being, just so long as capitalism endures, the peoples will go to war when and where the capitalist sends them. Wars will be fought whenever any center of economic control finds war necessary for its preservation or expansion. The peoples will be stupid enough to fight for masters, and to die for masters, just so long as they are stupid enough to have masters. Men will pour out their lives in senseless battles, pour them out unto the brute's death, just so long as men labor in the exploiter's mill or mine. The world will lack the sense and strength to forbid war, and will know nothing of true peace, until it is rounded with the social revolution, and made an altogether new creation, fashioned for the fellowship of man.

II.

Peace.

But peace, no less than war, is a capitalist arrangement. As war is declared, so peace is proclaimed, according to the convenience of the dominant economic interest. And as capitalism develops intensively, interest grappling with interest for final control over the whole industrial arena, the more will the peace of the world be imperiled, and with it the economic security and spiritual repose of the individual. The armaments of the nation will increase with the increase of capitalism, for which war and present institutions endure. In these frankly financial times, the capitalist nature of our institutions is obvious and brazen; there is less and less attempt at concealment. We see that the rulers of the world are but rulers in name; the real rulers sit in the seats of the money-changers. The ambassadors of nations, the kings and the presidents, are butlers and footmen to the great bankers; they are lackeys who must henceforth wear their livery in the face of the world. The old diplomatic appearances are kept up; but it is the diplomat, not the capitalist, who thinks to save his face. The diplomat is a fool; but no fool is his capitalist master. Great Britain's King may be paraded as the peacemaker of his day, as the first gentleman of Europe, and as the presiding prince of international politics. But the great financiers, whose messenger King Edward notoriously is, discount the imposture in advance. Nor is their laughter among themselves confined to their sleeves; it is loud upon the monied streets of London and Paris. That the recent meeting of King and Czar at Reval was a bankers' arrangement is well known; and equally well known is the fact of the King's reluctance. The British government was compelled to send the King, and the King was compelled to go, by a will more sovereign than that of kings or cabinets—the will of the dominant economic interest.

There is no better illustration than the sudden end of the war between Russia and Japan. When Theodore Roosevelt received the Nobel Prize, he was doubtless unconscious that he was being rewarded for a supreme example of diplomatic treachery; nor did the givers of the prize know the thing they were rewarding. But the Portsmouth Treaty was due to no desire for peace as such; it sprang not from the stricken hearts of rulers, seeking to close the scenes of death upon Manchurian battle-fields. The real international concern, and all the sudden grief of governments, was the menaced money of the money-lenders. The value of Russian bonds, and the

collection of their accruing interest, depended upon the stability of the throne of the Czars. Let the Russian Revolution succeed, and not the Russian bonds alone might become worthless; in the revolutionary overflow from Russia, there was danger to all capitalist Europe. There was the possible exposure, too, of the whole system of national indebtedness—the very holy of holies of modern finance. It is by this system, so long and carefully developed, that the money-lenders most subtly and surely appropriate the labor-produce of the world, making even the captains of industry to serve them. A crisis in this international finance was at hand, fateful and far-reaching beyond anything yet realized by the public understanding; the world's owners knew, but not the world's workers. By this time also, Russia had been weakened enough to suit the purposes of Germany; and enough to subtract from England's imperial apprehensions the Russian menace to her Asiatic possessions. So when the great bankers said that peace must be, the governments of Europe were ready to bring it about: to this end the diplomatic machinery was set going; and finding a fit vehicle in the vanity of Theodore Roosevelt, through him the royal servants of the bankers betrayed Japan, and made peace between Japan and Russia. But it is only the ignorant who imagine that the war was ended through the pity of rulers for the Russian and Japanese peasants, by whom the killing and the dying were done; it was ended through the capitalist need of the throne of the Russias, and the other thrones endangered by its danger. The Peace of Portsmouth was made to save the money of Europe, and to prevent or to postpone an international capitalist catastrophe.

Commercial America, let it be said in this connection, was becoming eager for peace as well. Across her capitalist perspective loomed the menace of a greater Japan, balking the exploitation of Asia. That Japan should be cheated into paying for the war which Russia had forced upon her; that the defence of her national being should be made costly to herself; that she should be weakened by the victory she had won; that it should be made difficult for her to stand between the capitalist west and the markets of China; this was the desire of the nations of Europe, and the deed of the United States of America. And Japan's subsequent industrial and military expansion, even when occupied with self-recovery, is the problem and the wrath of the older capitalist world.

The Peace of Portsmouth is the pivot of the present and future history of the world. It was not only the first successful deflection of the international social revolution; it was the beginning of a new tragedy of the nations, moving toward a

universal catastrophe—a catastrophe that might have been avoided, had the socialist movement spoken the word it had power to speak. And when its truthful history comes to be written, this same peace will be read as one of the three or four most infamous bargains ever made by diplomacy—even though diplomacy is but the science of treachery. Whether Mr. Roosevelt knew or not, the rulers of Europe knew well what they did at the time; the blow at socialism was struck secretly, but it was surely aimed. And the Portsmouth Peace was the blow—the key to capitalist diplomacy for a generation. It prevented the immediate collapse of Russian despotism, releasing the hands of the Czar to deal imprisonment, exile, torture and murder to his beloved subjects. It fastened the grip of the money-lender upon the nations. It gave longer life to European capitalism, by saving the throne upon which that capitalism depends for its policing. It moved America to make military and industrial preparations for the commercial conquest of China, and for the practical control of Chinese government. It delayed the Asiatic renaissance—India for the people of India, China for the Chinese, Burmah for the Burmese, Afghanistan for the Afghans, Persia for the Persians; which renaissance, flowing westward, must give Egypt to the Egyptians, Morocco to the Moors, Africa to the Africans, and the world to its workers. The new birth of Asia, with the power to protect itself from an alien industrialism, means the collapse of the capitalist society, and the social revolution throughout the western world. This the capitalist knows better than the socialist; and it was to prevent or to postpone this that the Peace of Portsmouth was proclaimed.

If I have said less of peace than of war, it is because I am discussing national conditions as they exist under capitalism. Indeed, in the state in which mankind now finds itself, the talk of peace is an impertinence. Our whole system of life and labor, with all that we call civilization, is based on nothing else than war. It is a war which the teachers are cunning to conceal; yet it is the woof and warp of the world's social pattern. It is the war between the class that labors and the class that appropriates what that labor produces. It is a war so terrible, so full of death, that its blood is upon every human hand, upon every loaf of bread, and upon every human institution. Capitalist society is but the organization of this one human fight—this one universal and comprehensive contradiction. And it is only folly, or worse falsehood, that prates of peace in such a society. There can be nothing but war in a human system carried on by workers beneath and possessors

The New Zealand Myth.



THAT genial and kindly romantic philosopher, the Honorable Edward Tregear, Secretary for Labor of New Zealand, with undaunted courage comes once again, in the September "Arena", to the defence of the much vaunted Compulsory Arbitration Act. But his eulogy is really a swan-song. He has been personally identified with the New Zealand Government for eighteen years, and he has sincerely hoped (even when he was unable to believe) that New Zealand was blazing for the rest of the world a short and easy trail to the Co-operative Commonwealth, so that he would have to be more than human to admit at once the failure of the Arbitration Act, as that act is the keystone of the New Zealand reform edifice.

It has been so often asserted that New Zealand was the "Paradise of Labor", that it was so because the working-class of New Zealand had gone into politics and won control of the government, that New Zealand had by her Compulsory Arbitration Act abolished strikes and pointed out to the rest of the nations the peaceful method of harmonizing the relations of Capital and Labor, that many American reformers and socialists credit this myth as fully as their grandmothers believed in the account of the creation given in the book of Genesis. Being kindhearted, it has always pained me to puncture this pleasing delusion, but occasionally I steel my heart and do so, and am afterward able to salve my conscience by the pleasing reflection that no one has paid the slightest attention to me and that the New Zealand myth still flourishes with unabated vigor.

The lance with which I was wont to pierce this bubble had grown rusty through disuse but after reading Mr. Tregear's brave little lyric in the "Arena" I began to polish it up again, but before I had it ready for use the socialistic postal department of Mr. Roosevelt's government brought me a request from Comrade Kerr for six pages on New Zealand. It is a large order but as every day these days is bringing a hundred or more new optimistic and idealistic readers to the REVIEW, it may be my duty to put lance to shoulder once again.

What are the facts about New Zealand?

First, and most emphatically, it is a Paradise. This is due, it may be in part to law, but far more largely to the Counter-Trade Winds which sweeping from Cape Horn and the South Pole unimpeded and unobstructed to the West Coasts of New Zealand, give it the most reliably abundant rainfall of any land located in the temperate zone. There is no cold weather that an American born North of Mason & Dixon's line would dignify by the name of Winter. Except in the far South ice more than an eighth of an inch thick is as much of a rarity as hen's teeth. Grass, and such rank green, GREEN, grass as Americans never even dreamt of, furnishes abundant pasture ten months of the year, and while it scarcely grows the other two, it remains green and furnishes feed enough to keep stock from going back in condition. It would require mighty skillful legislation to make such a country any thing but prosperous. I doubt, if Bryan and Roosevelt together would be able to do it.

The Working Class in politics? They've never been in politics in New Zealand except as a sort of tail to the kite of the Liberal Party. The role that Gompers and John Mitchell have been playing toward Bryan and the Democratic Party in this campaign is precisely the role that the few union men in politics in New Zealand have played toward the late Richard Seddon and the Liberal Party.

The reform legislation of New Zealand sprang from the brains of students and dreamers, and the working-class as such have had very little to do with its birth or development. Though, for the decade of good times from 1891 to 1901 they aided in keeping it on the statute books by giving their votes to the Seddon government—a government in which they never had an influential voice.

The author of the Arbitration Act was the idealist scholar, the Honorable William Pember Reeves. Mr. Reeves is a gentleman of great cultivation and a poet of signal distinction. He longed for industrial peace and knew nothing of the Class Struggle. The New Zealand Compulsory Arbitration Act is the natural result.

It is based on the double fallacy, first, that there is or can be such a thing as an impartial State dwelling far removed from the petty sordid disputes of poor humanity in a realm of abstract Justice. Such a State is a sort of spiritual first cousin of the anthropomorphic God of the Christians. Men and women living under a fully developed capitalistic factory system find it difficult to retain unimpaired their faith in either. The second half of Mr. Reeves' fallacy is the belief in the existence of a third party to industrial disputes in the

shape of "a disinterested public". When the whole colony of New Zealand had less manufacturing than the single city of Dayton, Ohio (as was the case till very recently) the farmers and sheep-run owners approached impartiality as between the few manufacturers and their employees, but they only approached it, they did not attain it; for I well remember a sheep-run owner complaining to me that since they had started a flax-mill in his neighborhood he could not get station-hands at "reasonable wages". He was typical of the "disinterested public" even in favored New Zealand, and he was very keenly alive to the fact that low wages were to his interest. But he and his kind have always controlled the New Zealand government which has named and paid the Judges charged with the administration of the Compulsory Arbitration Act. Such a tribunal could always be relied on not to raise wages "unduly" from the standpoint of the employing class. But in a country like the United States where Capitalism has reached its full development it is pernicious nonsense to talk of "a disinterested public". In the words of our dear boys, "there aint none". Here it is absolutely true that no man can serve God and Mammon. The percentage of our population who are not interested on the one side or the other in every important industrial dispute is so small as to be negligible.

Organized States having their characteristic powers to make mandatory laws and to levy taxes, only arose and grew and developed with the emergence and growth of class divisions, and every state of which we have any historical knowledge has been a tool in the hands of the ruling class. Political sovereignty has always tended to follow economic revenue. Those who have the goods are sure in case of need to seize the powers of government to protect themselves in the enjoyment of the goods. Therefore for the working-class, before they have captured the powers of government, to agree to submit disputes over wages and hours of labor to the arbitration of a Court is simply equivalent to an unconditional surrender. So long as the working class allow their masters to control the government, no scheme of reform can avail them anything.

The chief function of government in capitalist countries is to keep the workers quiet while the masters extract surplus-value from them.

Once upon a time there were two little boys named Johnnie and Robbie. Johnnie was the elder and was a husky little brute. Robbie was a good little boy and worked hard raising chickens. He sold eggs and bought candy. One day Johnnie thought he would like some of Robbie's candy, so he

grabbed the hammer and attacked Robbie and transferred the candy to his own pockets and stomach. Soon their mother heard her dear Johnnie's voice uplifted, "Mother, come here and make Robbie stop crying: every time I hit him in the head with the hammer, he hollers".

Here you have in miniature our whole modern society. Robbie is the Working Class. Johnnie is the capitalist class. The hammer is power of the State. The Mother telling Robbie to stop crying is the Church repeating its trite admonition to the workers "to be content in whatsoever station it has pleased God to place them". No arbitration or reform will do Robbie any good so long as Johnnie keeps the hammer in his own hands. Robbie's only hope is to get that hammer away from Johnnie. But in our modern society there are far more Robbies than there are Johnnies, and one's man vote counts just as much as another's. The day is drawing close when Robbie will take that hammer away from Johnnie. That will be a Social Revolution.

The reformer who tells the American workers that compulsory arbitration and reform *à la* New Zealand enacted by the La Follette Republicans or the Bryan Democrats can do them any good is entitled to just as much credit as would be the Johnnie of my modest little allegory were he to tell Robbie that if he would let him keep the hammer he would use it to make the grocer give him more money for his eggs.

That is exactly the substance of the plea that Roosevelt and Bryan and La Follette have been making for the last four years to the American working class and so far a majority of the workers have been fools enough to believe them, and accept their promise to use the hammer in the interest of the workers. The Socialists stand alone in proclaiming to the workers that they will never be freed from wage-slavery till they grab the hammer themselves.

To one who has well digested the philosophy back of our little parable nothing could be more delightfully naive than the following outburst of juvenile credulity and optimism (from Mr. Tregear's article in the September "Arena").

"Let me recapitulate very briefly what compulsory arbitration stands for. Unfortunately, such repetition is sometimes necessary because as the new years appear and fresh generations of youths and scholars emerge from the schools and universities we ignore or forget the arguments considered weighty when an idea was first born into practical life. Compulsory arbitration meant the emergence of 'the third party', the community, into industrial existence. We, the general public, said to master and man, 'You shall no longer annoy

and ruin us with your continued petty strifes and disturbances. Your strikes and lockouts, your picketings and boycotts, your blacklisting and crippling of important industries affect the safety and prosperity of thousands besides those who are directly concerned. You shall take your quarrels as to wages and hours of work before an impartial court for settlement, and continue to work under the old conditions till the new are established. If our judges are competent to deal with millions of money in such matters as legacies, land transfers, salvage, etc.; if they can affect our most intimate domestic relations through probate and divorce; if they hold the safety of our lives and our property under the criminal law, then they are quite qualified to decide whether carpenters and brick-layers are entitled to get an increase of twenty-five cents a day on their wages or not. Anyway, we are not going to let you settle your disputes by club-law to our peril and annoyance. Our collective interest is greater than that of any individual and what that individual has to do is to obey."

We have seen that even in favored New Zealand the Government which appoints and pays the judges is controlled by a class who are interested in preventing any "undue" rise in wages, but who are not directly interested in disputes between manufacturers and employees. Hence the Arbitration Court has been able to *approach* impartiality with the result that in good times when the tendency of wages was to rise, the Act has worked with comparatively little friction. But I cannot help feeling that Mr. Tregear allows his wishes to sway his judgment when he says, "The great majority of the workers are (I believe) still in favor of industrial arbitration." Certain it is that in 1902 or 1903 when we of the Socialist Party called a conference of the Trades Unions of the City of Wellington to consider the Arbitration Act and duly chosen representatives of the bulk of the Unions attended, only two or three voices were raised in defence of the Act, and Mr. Tregear admits that the Act has lost in popularity since that time.

But even in good times the Court could do nothing when an employer dissatisfied with the award of the Court decided to shut down his works rather than comply. This was done by some furniture manufacturers in Auckland during my residence in the Colony. But in bad times the Court is even more helpless in the face of workers disappointed with the awards of the Court who decide to cease work, or, as we in America say, strike. This Mr. Tregear admits, and he describes in some detail two recent strikes, one of some slaughtermen and the other of some coal-miners, and in his description he unwittingly brings out one of the worst and

saddest results of the Act, namely that by accustoming the workers to rely on the paternalism of the Liberal Government it has almost completely undermined and destroyed the militant self-reliance of the working-class. When these strikes came there was no sense of working-class solidarity to support them. To quote Mr. Tregear, "In both these strikes the movement did not spread beyond the small body of persons locally interested. Others in the same trade or in other trades have only aided them by moral or financial support. The butchers of the colony did not strike in sympathy with the export slaughterers nor did the miners in any other coal-mine than the Blackball throw down their tools or leave their employment. Indeed from other and powerful unions came loud expressions of annoyance with the workers who chose to defy the Act, and these objectors passed resolutions of refusal to contribute to the support of the strikers."

It is evident that the Act has not fostered hammer-grabbing propensities in the New Zealand Robbie.

But there are cases in which the Court has not even approached impartiality. The chief of these is the case of the Union Shipping Company. This is a Scotch Corporation and is to the Government of New Zealand what the Standard Oil Company is to the Government of the United States. This company has almost a monopoly of the water transportation business in and about New Zealand, and there is no denying that its marvellously complete and adequate service has done much for the material development of the Colony, but there is no denying either that it is an oppressive monopoly, and maintains high passenger tariffs and low wages. But the dependence of the Colony upon the Company is so great that even the late Richard Seddon, the New Zealand Roosevelt, always handled the Company with gloved hands and kissed the blarney-stone before making any speech dealing with the Company or its affairs.

Let us see how the Arbitration Court has treated this Company. Mr. Tregear tells us that the complaint of the workers of the colony against the operation of the Act "culminated in a judgment of the court given two years ago in regard to the Federated Seamen. The sailors had asked the court again and again for the restoration of ten shillings a month per man which they had lost in 1891 after the great maritime strike which preceded our 'advanced legislation'. They contend that the evidence adduced fairly established the claim that the Union Shipping Company (our almost monopolistic but admirably effective coastal service) had lately made such profits that the sailors in its employment should in fair-

ness share to some small extent in the success of the shareholders. The President of the Arbitration Court in delivering his award declared that he found no direction in the Act as to the basis of wage-rates being dependent or contingent on the profits made by the employers, so refused the ten shillings advance."

This time the Arbitration Court was the hammer and Johnnie had a firm grip upon it. Such decisions will drive the working-class of New Zealand into politics, and Socialist politics at that.

So much for the Arbitration Act. Its consideration has revealed to us one of the great powers dominating the Government of New Zealand,—the Union Shipping Company. Had we space to consider the Public Works policy, the Advance to Settlers Act, and the policy of the Resumption of large landed estates to cut them up into small holdings for actual settlers we should soon see looming up, behind these, in many ways, beneficent policies the hooked nose of the Lombard Street money-lender, the other power behind the throne.

New Zealand has only been able to pursue these policies by continuous money-borrowing. In 1903 she owed 53,000,000 pounds sterling or about \$250,000,000 with a population of about 750,000. This debt was growing at the rate of at least \$5,000,000 a year. It is obvious that a Government so situated must consider how its every act will affect its credit in the money markets of the world.

The Compulsory Arbitration Act has attempted to make the working-class of New Zealand wholly dependent upon the creatures of a Government which cannot offend either the Union Shipping Company or the Jews of Lombard Street without committing suicide. The conditions for the satisfactory working of compulsory arbitration are far more favorable in New Zealand than they ever can be in the United States. What the working-class of America have to learn from the experience of New Zealand is that no legislative reforms can avail the working-class while the government is in the hands of the employing class. Robbie MUST take that hammer away from Johnnie, and he is going to do it SOON, and he is going to get a mighty lot of help from far-sighted members of the other classes who will soon be so numerous in the Socialist Party that penny-a-liners will cease to exploit the phrase "Parlor Socialist". If this be treason, make the most of it.

ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE.

New Canaan, Conn.

The Political Organization of the Proletariat.



HERE is much popular confusion regarding the nature of political action and its relation to economic movements. This confusion is responsible for a deplorable waste of time and work in useless projects. A political critique is demanded by the needs of the proletarian movement.

Economic power and political power are one in substance. The economic power of an individual is not political power, but the organized economic power of a class is political power. Political power is organized economic power. Economic power is not a thing of air; it arises only from material things. The possession and control of the means of human subsistence is the source of all political power. Political power exists under no other conditions.

The capitalist class is vested with this possession and control of the means of subsistence. Every power exerted by the capitalist class is an emanation of this fundamental control of the means of subsistence. The means of subsistence is the lever of every capitalist power. A cursory analysis of every capitalist function will reveal this fact.

Political parties, congresses, courts, presidents and all other forms of political organization are subsidized agencies of the economic dominion of the capitalist. They are absolutely subservient to economic power. The voting power of the non-possessing class is a farce. The capitalists either nominate the political candidates or else buy them after election.

No class without economic power ever exerts any political power, and its political power is determined entirely by the form of its economic power.

That the political power of the capitalist arises entirely from his control of the means of production is proved by the fact that the capitalist loses his political power when he loses his control of the means of production. The function of the means of production in the form of capital is self-accumulation. In other words, the means of production appropriates the products of the working class in the form of means of production. Capital is the means of production in the process of accumulative consolidation. This concentrating

movement of the means of production is the economic movement of society. It makes, unmakes, forms, and reforms all social classes, political movements, e. c., as the potter moulds the clay.

This concentrated movement of the means of production or capital is now vested in the hands of the capitalist class. It imparts to the capitalist its economic or political power. But note the movement of capital within its own class. As the means of production proceed in its concentrating movement, it withdraws itself from the hands of many capitalists and steadily concentrates itself in the hands of a decreasing group of capitalists.

What is the political potentiality of the expropriated small capitalist? It is nothing. His vote, his party and his political representation in congress and in the executive government are merely the decayed forms of paralyzed functions. The economic power of capital has withdrawn itself from these forms. But what of the great capitalists within whose hands capital is concentrating itself? This class is arrogating to itself all political powers and functions. It manipulates, recasts and overturns the political machinery according to its economic need. In his fight with organized labor, the capitalist has brazenly brushed aside congress and the president and has seized the judiciary as the most convenient instrument for his economic expression. Thus, capital, or the means of production in the process of concentration, reveals itself as the economic power of the capitalist and the motive power of political forms.

The essence of the economic power of the means of production is its command of the social labor power of the working class. The capitalist, because of his possession of the means of production, controls the social labor power of the working class. This control of the social labor power of the working class, or proletariat, is the source of all economic or political power.

If the capitalist should lose his control of the social labor power of the proletariat, he would lose his control of all government and every social power. If the proletariat, on the other hand, should acquire conscious control of its social labor power, it would control all government and every social power. Hence, the struggle of the proletariat is a struggle to obtain control of its own labor power. This is the political problem of the proletariat.

How is the proletariat to acquire the control of its own social labor power? By the conscious organization of its social labor power. With the conscious, organized control

of its own social labor power, the proletariat would assume all economic and social power. It would move as class. No movement would be made except as it willed. Industries would run or not as it directed. At this point the economic power of the capitalist would become a thing of the past. His power has vanished as if it had never existed.

The real question is, How to organize the social labor power of the proletariat? What is the social labor power of the proletariat? It is his capacity to operate the social means of production. The social labor power of the proletariat is engaged in operating the industries of societies in the mills and mines, etc. To organize this capacity is to organize the labor power of the proletariat. Hence, the social labor power of the proletariat is to be organized as the motive power of the social productive process. The organization must adapt itself to the industrial process. No artificial or arbitrary methods are possible. The method of organization is determined by the industrial process itself.

The economic or political power of the proletariat is found in the control of its social labor power, and the control of its social labor power is found in the organization of the industrial process. Hence, industrial organization is the political method and form of the proletariat. In industrial organization, the proletariat finds its economic and political power. It will find these powers nowhere else.

Every social class develops a political organization adapted to the expression of its economic power. When its economic power wanes, its political organization goes into decadence. The present political organizations are the decaying forms of the dying economic power of the capitalist. These political forms are in no way adapted to the growing economic power of the proletariat. The proletariat already has its political form in the process of development. The elements of that political form are the trade unions. The political power of the trade unions is dormant and potential, and will remain so until the trade unions re-organize into a general industrial class union. Then their economic power will find its full expression. In this form of organization, the labor power of each individual worker becomes subject to the will of the general organization. In other words, the general organization controls the labor power of society. The economic power of society passes into the hands of the industrial organization, and the capitalist no longer exists.

The Socialist parties are not political organizations of the proletariat. The spokesmen of these organizations re-

gard political or economic functions as independent functions. They speak of the Socialist parties as occupying the political field and the labor organizations the economic field. Two fields are two separate territories and the terms imply two separate capacities. A vague connection between political and economic functions seems to be implied, but the members of Socialist parties do not attempt to define the distinction or relation between political and economic functions. They come to a full stop right here, where the real problem presents itself.

These parties seem to believe that the class ownership of the means of production is merely a matter of legal title to property. They forget that the legal forms of the capitalist class are merely expressions of its economic power. The capitalist did not acquire any legal title to wealth until he acquired the economic power to establish that title. When he loses his economic power, he will lose his legal power. The proletariat will not acquire any legal title to the means of production until it has acquired the economic power to establish that title. When the proletariat has acquired the economic power to establish its claim upon the social means of production, the legal title of the capitalist will be void. Thus the class struggle gravitates everywhere to its economic base, and the economic base of the proletariat is its social labor power.

The political power of the proletariat is not independent of its economic power. The political field is not separated from the economic field. The political power of the proletariat, as of every class, is in its economic power. The so-called political field is enclosed within the economic field and the economic field of the proletariat is the industrial process.

The Socialist parties are essentially educational and propaganda organizations. As political organizations, they are imitations of the old capitalist political forms. The growing class consciousness of the proletariat has not yet developed its medium of political expression. Meanwhile, its awakened powers grope blindly within the old capitalist shell. As its economic powers develop, the necessary form of its political organization will shape itself within the consciousness of the proletariat. The capitalist process is organizing the social labor power of the proletariat. The growing organization of its social labor power will reflect itself in the proletarian consciousness as the form of its political power. When this consciousness becomes general the proletariat will seize political power by assuming conscious control of its industrial organization.

This political consciousness of the proletariat will be hastened by the pressure of capitalist exploitation. Capitalist expropriation of surplus values is exhausting the purchasing power of the world market. With the breaking down of the world market, the capitalist will disappear as the employer of the proletariat. Then the proletariat will be dependent upon its class action to continue the industrial process. At this point, the economic power of the proletariat will develop its full expression.

The dissolution of the capitalist form through the breaking down of the world market is impending. The general industrial organization of the proletariat is a rapidly growing necessity. Every power should be exerted along this line. A general conference of labor unions should be called for this purpose as soon as possible.

But in the midst of the social agony, with the cries of suffering men, women and children calling for help, we find Socialists entangled in an old capitalist political form, and the Socialist press silent regarding the necessary movement of the working class. Utopian "intellectuals" shout to heaven the evils of capitalist society, and thunder at the class tyranny of the capitalists.

But the great capitalist is performing a necessary function for the proletariat. He is organizing the means of production for the use of the future industrial organization of the proletariat, while "political Socialists" are wandering among the crumbling walls of political ruins.

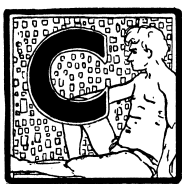
ALBERT E. AVERILL.

Rockland, Maine.

Practical Work in Parliament.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

I.



OMRADE MAURENBRECHER is reported to have said recently: "In parliament we wish to do practical work, to secure funds for social reforms,—so that step by step we may go on toward the transformation of our class government." It is probably through a mistake of the reporter that the securing of funds is made to appear the principal object of our "practical work." But what I wish to draw attention to is the fact that we "abstract" Socialists, we theorizers "cut off from reality," also wish to do practical work in parliament. But, unlike Comrade Maurenbrecher, we do not halt here; we can see beyond.

According to Comrade Maurenbrecher this practical work is the be-all and end-all of our political activity. To this we are always to limit ourselves, never go beyond it.

This would all be very nice, if we were alone in the world, if we could arrange our field of battle and our tactics to suit our taste. But we have to do with opponents who venture everything to prevent the triumph of the proletariat. Comrade Maurenbrecher will acknowledge, I suppose, that the victory of the proletariat will mean the end of capitalist exploitation. Does he expect the exploiters to look on good-naturedly while we take one position after another and make ready for their expropriation? If so, he lives under a mighty illusion. Imagine for a moment that our parliamentary activity were to assume forms which threatened supremacy of the bourgeoisie. What would happen? The bourgeoisie would try to put an end to parliamentary forms. In particular it would rather do away with the universal, direct and secret ballot that quietly capitulate to the proletariat.

So we are not given the choice as to whether we shall limit ourselves to a purely parliamentary struggle.

It is only by having an extra-parliamentary force to fall back on that the proletariat can make full use of its parlia-

mentary power. We can accomplish in legislative halls what can be accomplished there only on condition that we are ready to defend our right to representation. We must be prepared at any moment to fight for the ballot with all the means at our command.

Wherever the proletarian party is not resolved to do this, where it lives under the conviction that governments and ruling classes are unconquerable, there it is practically powerless. At any rate the possibility of its making use of parliamentary power depends entirely upon the will of the ruling classes. Under such circumstances the proletariat need never try to gain strength for a decisive conflict. Rather must it be content to purchase concessions through compromise; it must seek the good-will of the government, must try to get into a position where it can drive bargains with the bourgeois parties.

But economic development and the class-struggle are strangely careless of the needs of such parliamentarians. They may adopt a tone conciliatory as you please,—the class oppositions grow sharper every day and beget great conflicts which shatter all the calculations of pure-and-simple politicians. Nowhere can the proletariat accomplish anything worth while by the method of compromise. Wherever this method has been tried, as in France, it has had to be given up. Hard facts soon put an end to it. Nowhere has it been in operation without working harm to the proletariat. For nowhere can this be the policy of the whole working-class. Its lack of adaptation to actual economic conditions cannot be overcome. Only particular strata of workers, those who fancy themselves favored by local or craft conditions, are open to its illusions: the great mass must always remain in opposition.

Thus this policy of compromise leads always to a division of the proletariat, and so to a loss of power. This is clearly proved by party history outside of Germany. Only under the banner of the class-struggle, never under that of legislative bargaining, can the whole proletariat be united, can it finally succeed in unfolding its full power.

Moreover respect for the Social Democracy among the masses of the people must suffer under the pure-and-simple parliamentary method. This respect rests upon the courageous and unwavering opposition which we have offered from the beginning. Thus far the Social Democracy has been a rock upon which the violence of the opposition has been splintered. This has shown its power and its confidence; through this it has impressed the world; through this it has won the unflinching trust of all the oppressed and exploited.

This impression will be lost if it becomes a party like all

the others, if it allows itself to be bought off from its attitude of uncompromising opposition like the Centrists and Liberals.* The respect for the government that could bring about such a change would increase; that felt for the Social Democracy would diminish.

Just recently, therefore, our party rejected this policy. This action was taken at the congress of Dresden, and in the very year when Maurenbrecher's National Socialism played out. The Dresden resolution contained the following passage: "The party condemns most emphatically the Revisionist attempts to alter our tried and triumphant policy. This policy has had for its basis the class-struggle and for its purpose the taking over of power through the overthrow of our enemy. We are opposed to putting in place of this a program of compromise with the existing order of things.

The result of such a change is easy to foresee; instead of a party striving for a rapid transformation of the existing bourgeois society into the Socialist republic we should have a party content with reforming bourgeois society."

This resolution was accepted by a vote of 288 to 11. It is clear that what has been called the position of a few "abstract theorists" is in reality that of the great majority of the party. But the policy which Comrade Maurenbrecher wishes to force upon us is the exact opposite of this; it is the discredited policy of the National Socialists, who wished to tempt the proletariat away from the class-struggle into the bogs of bargains and trade. It is the policy which proved the ruin of National Socialism and is now proving the ruin of the Liberal faction of the bloc. Nevertheless the attempt is now being made to force this policy upon us.

II.

His general conception of the problem of tactics Comrade Maurenbrecher illustrates by means of an explanation of the Bavarian vote in favor of the budget. This action, naturally, meets with his entire approval. He said: "What is a budget? A budget is a financial estimate for the fiscal period during which it is to be in effect. It includes a great variety of provisions and is voted upon item by item. Thereafter occurs the vote on the whole. Theoretically this final vote is, therefore, nothing but the sum of all the previous ones. Each party casts its sum, compares the points granted with those denied, and governs itself accordingly. As a matter of principle we object to the appropriations for army, navy and

*) Frelsinnige.

colonies, likewise to the income drawn from indirect taxes. In the make-up of the imperial budget the items voted against by the Socialists outweigh the others; therefore we vote against the budget as a whole. But in Bavaria this time the matter stood quite differently. In this case even *Vorwaerts* could figure out only 15 millions among 600 which Socialists could not accept. Anyone who considers soberly the fact that the comrades had accepted more than five sixths in detail will conclude that they were forced to accept the budget as a whole. It is like the acceptance of a law: if the most essential paragraphs have been incorporated and finally a few objectionable ones appear among them, the law as a whole is nevertheless supported."

This conception of a budget is that of a calculating tradesman, not that of a militant statesman. It leaves entirely out of account one question, the fundamental one, which every statesman must ask himself: To whom am I granting the budget?

To grant the budget means to give the government the right to raise the taxes provided for; it means to put into the hands of the government the control of hundreds of millions of money, as well as thousands of people, laborers and officeholders, who are paid out of these millions.

Many believe that voting in favor of the budget means granting incomes to the employes of the state; and that refusing to do so is to expose this class to starvation. Nothing more false than this. The state employes are necessary to the operation of state machinery. A government inimical to the people, however, can easily be spared. It is not the state employes who would lose their bread through a refusal of the budget, but the government. The government would have to go, the employes would remain. Not against these latter is the policy of refusal directed, but against the government which exploits and oppresses them. The refusal of the budget is one of the means employed to bring about a system under which state employes performing useful labor would be far better off than now.

To represent the vote against the budget as directed against state employes has about as much justification as the complaints of our opponents that strikes are not directed against capitalists but against consumers; as if striking bakers raised the price of bread or striking masons that of houses.

This is something that many voters have not understood hitherto. In the last Reichstag election failure to understand it drove many into the camp of our opponents. But this is no reason why workers should refrain from striking, but only

a reason for enlightening the voters as to the actual state of affairs.

Thus the question as to the final vote on the budget depends on the sort of government and not on the sort of budget. Even in case the budget is unobjectionable to Socialists we must not grant it to a government inimical to the proletariat; for that would mean to put into its hands a tremendous power. Even the best means of education and civilization can in the hands of an unscrupulous government, be used to oppress the people. What, for example, can be more useful or necessary than public schools? But it is unsafe to give a penny for school purposes to a priest-ridden ministry that appoints none but clerical teachers and uses the schools for the systematic degradation of the children. Therefore the important matter is not the individual items of the budget, but the character of the government.

The final vote in the affirmative is in the nature of a vote of confidence. To grant the budget and explain at the same time that we lack confidence, is to exhibit a remarkable degree of political naiveté. It is the same as saying: I wouldn't trust you across the street, but I confide to you the expenditure of a couple of hundred millions a year.

Translated by William E. Bohn.



EDITOR'S CHAIR

Socialist Unity in France. What shall be the attitude of the Socialist Party toward reforms? Shall it work through the ballot, through the labor unions, or in both ways? And shall it welcome or exclude those who are working for the social revolution but who oppose political action? These were the burning questions that enlivened the sessions of the fifth National Congress of the Socialist Party of France, held at Toulouse, October 15 to 18. Socialist unity was attained in France only a short time ago, and the declarations on these questions had not been explicit enough to prevent many opposing views as to the true attitude of the unified party. There was therefore a general feeling that it would be necessary either to come to some definite understanding or to separate again. Many of the local congresses had sent resolutions for adoption by the national congress. These were all referred to a committee, which found itself unable to agree in advance upon any proposition. It therefore designated two of its members, Tanger, representing the reformists, and Lafargue, who needs no introduction to readers of the Review, to open the discussion. We shall give our own translation from the reports in *l'Humanité*, the Socialist daily at Paris, of some of the most interesting passages in the debate. In his opening speech Tanger said:

It certainly seems that two opposite conceptions of Revolution confront each other. Some regard it as an event which will come to pass one day; others regard it as an actual and continuous reality, accomplishing itself through all the acts and all the movements of the proletariat. For those who hold the former view, to prepare for the revolution means to group our forces for the day of battle, and current events are looked on from this sole view-point. They do not absolutely deny the conquests made from day to day, for that is impossible, but they disparage them and support them reluctantly. For the other, to prepare for the Revolution means to organize the workers for acting and living through the ceaseless phases of the fight against capitalist rule. This last view is that of the majority of this committee.... The Socialist Party is the party of the working class. To-day, to-morrow, always, the Party is nothing unless it can keep in contact with the workers, voicing at once their ideal of the future and their present needs.

Paul Lafargue, in presenting the minority report, said:

Parliament represents all the forces of government,—financial, police, military, judicial, used to oppress the working class; that is why we fight parliamentarism.... The whole system is incoherent and anarchical. When we send representatives to parliament it is to fight capitalism and to give the proletariat an admirable battle-field. Jaures, in *l'Humanité*, was scandalized when I said that the weekly rest-day, old age pensions and reforms of all sorts will not change class conditions. I say so again. In England these reforms, notably shorter hours of labor, were obtained long ago; they have not worked any change in the living conditions of English laborers.... We demand all reforms, but observe that reforms are proposed by capitalist representatives, they are the personal work of capitalist representatives. We say to the radical party which promises reforms and does not put them through that it is a lying, bankrupt party. But reformist work is not the principal work of our party, because it is not revolutionary work.

A prolonged discussion ensued, in which many delegates took part. The greatest difficulty in the way of a unanimous agreement was that some of the reformers demanded that those opposing political action be excluded from the Socialist Party, while some revolutionary unionists held that political action was useless. The speech of Lagardelle, the recognized spokesman of revolutionary unionism, was therefore awaited with intense interest. We quote a few of his sentences:

The aim of socialism is to free the shop from the authority of the employer, and society from the authority of the state.... There is more revolutionary intelligence, as Vaillant said this morning, in the mass of workers than in the whole Socialist Party.... What then is the function of the Party? It has a part to play like that of the other parties. There are many questions, as of political liberties, finance, colonies, foreign policies, immediate improvements in social legislation, on which it is obliged to say its word. But all these things go on outside the limits of purely socialist activity, and we should definitely state this.... Jaures conceives a new socialist program, a magnificent participation by the working class in the operation of all sorts of state enterprises, social reforms, and the management of capitalist property. The working class is to hold its share of stocks and bonds in private industries, and send its representatives into the directing boards of vast insurance companies, for example, to be organized by the state. This is the most formidable collaboration of classes, to be produced on the economic field, that was ever dreamed of. The class struggle with which he starts out becomes the intimate union of classes, with the proletarian organizations merged into mixed institutions, half-labor and half-employer or half-government.

In opposition to this anti-socialist conception of the Party's action, can we not oppose another, carrying over to the general field of society the new rules of action which arise from the practical experience of the unions? What is the principle to which unionism leads us? The free organization of labor by the laborers. Introduce this into the heart of the State, and you will have reduced its coercive power and disarmed its hostility. Have courage to fight the State, and to aid those of the working class employed in its enter-

prises, held in its power, to organize their revolt against it! I know that the tendency of modern society is, in proportion as the collective needs of social life develop, to extend the field of State monopolies and municipal ownership. We might at least maintain the right of workmen employed by the State to their independent organizations. The State has just bought the Western railway. Are you going to demand for the laborers of the Western absolute independence for their labor organization, as revolutionary unionist ideas would require? or will you leave the laborers under the double authority of the State, political and economic? Or will you carry out the ideas of the reactionary trade unions, and propose a mixed commission to be composed of representatives of the laborers and of the State?.... But I have no illusions, I know these ideas will be resisted bitterly, and I affirm them here only for the principle of the thing. (Interruptions: "That is not socialism", and "This is certainly surprising".) Whatever your protests, I see no other possible activity for the Party that can rightly be called real and tangible socialism. And it is quite possible that your resistance to it will weaken.... For there is one power we can not resist, and that is Life.

At the conclusion of three days of debate, the whole subject was referred back to the committee, with instructions to agree on a resolution upon which all might unite. At first this seemed impossible, but mutual concessions were made, and (except that one reformer refrained from voting) the following resolutions were adopted unanimously.

The Socialist Party, Party of the working class and of the social revolution, aims at the conquest of political power for the emancipation of the workers by the destruction of the capitalist system and the abolition of classes.

With its never-ending propaganda it reminds the Proletariat that it will find safety and complete freedom only in a system of collectivism or communism; it carries this propaganda into all circles, to stir up everywhere the spirit of aggressive demand and of combat. It incites the working class to daily effort, constant action, for the improvement of its conditions of life, labor and struggle, for the conquest of new safeguards, new means of action,—precisely because it is a revolutionary party, precisely because it is not stopped in its incessant demands by any regard for the obsolete "rights" of capitalist property, large or small.

It is the party of the most essential, the most active reforms, the only party which can carry its efforts to the point of total reconstruction, the only one which can give to each of labor's demands its full effect, the only party which always can make each reform, each conquest, the starting-point and leverage for broader demands and bolder conquests. And when it points out to the working class, with the utility, the need, the benefit of each reform, also the limits imposed on it by the capitalist environment itself, it is not to discourage immediate effort at realizing reforms; it is to incite the workers to conquer new reforms, and keep them ever conscious, amidst their struggle for better conditions, of the need of total reconstruction, of the decisive transformation from capitalist property to collective property.

The way for this transformation is paved by the actual movement of events, by the evolution of the mode of capitalist production, by its extension to all parts of the world, by the accumulation and the

concentration of capital, by the progress of machinery and technique, putting at man's disposal forces of production capable of providing amply for all needs. These make possible the emancipation of the wage-working class by the re-conquest of all the means of production and exchange, which it now operates for the profit of a small minority, and which will then be collectively applied to the satisfaction of the wants of all.

Along with this movement of the forces of production, there must inevitably develop an immense effort toward the education and organization of the proletariat. In view of this the Socialist Party recognizes the prime importance of building up labor organizations (unions, co-operatives, etc.,) necessary elements in the transformation of society. For these combats, for these conquests, the Socialist Party employs all means of action, regulating their use by the deliberate will of a strongly organized proletariat.

The proletariat progresses and frees itself by its direct effort, by its direct, collective, organized action on the employing class and the government, and this direct action includes the general strike, employed to defend the threatened liberties of the workers, to enforce the great demands of labor, as well as every united effort of the organized proletariat in view of capitalist exploitation.

Like all exploited classes throughout history, the proletariat asserts its right of last resort to insurrectional force, but it distinguishes between vast collective movements which can arise only from a general and deeply-stirred feeling of the proletariat, and skirmishes in which a few laborers recklessly hurl themselves against the whole strength of the capitalist state.

It sets itself, with deliberate, constant effort, to the conquest of political power; it opposes to all capitalist parties, with their reactionary, vague or fragmentary programs, the full collectivist and communist affirmation and the ceaseless effort at liberation of the organized proletariat, and it regards it as one essential duty of its militants to work through the ballot, for the increase of the parliamentary and legislative strength of socialism.

We have printed these resolutions in full because we think they are full of valuable suggestions for American socialists. The conquest of political power is not an end in itself, but a means to the destruction of capitalism. The test of membership in the party should therefore turn on the desire to destroy capitalism rather than on an attachment to one particular weapon. To most of us at this day the ballot seems the most available method, and our comrades in France have recognized this, but they have not proscribed those who think differently.

Politics and the Proletariat. The article by Albert E. Averill in this issue of the Review is worth reading because it calls attention to industrial changes now in progress which have a vital relation to the socialist movement. But it is utopian in its unproved assumption that the proletarian revolt must take a certain predestined form, that of a labor organization of such completeness and complexity that it can take over the whole process of social production as soon as capitalism breaks down. The cold fact is that the industrial organizations of the working class to-day are for the most part reactionary,

aiming to maintain the present standard of living for skilled laborers rather than to abolish the wage system. The Industrial Workers of the World, after an imposing start and a checkered existence of three years, does not yet include all the laborers in any one important industry. The Socialist Labor Party, which has always antagonized the actual trade unions and tried to separate the socialists into little unions of their own, has dwindled into puny insignificance. The Socialist Party is the live revolutionary force in the United States. All of these facts tend to show that prophets and theorizers may go wrong by too undivided attention to one hobby. On one really important point involved in this discussion we need only refer our readers to the article by Comrade Adler in last month's Review. As long as the capitalists control the "means of death", they can and doubtless will crush out ruthlessly the first attempt on the part of labor organizations to operate the "means of life" for themselves instead of for the profit of the capitalists. The work of the Socialist Party is to get control of these "means of death" and use them to protect the evolving labor organizations in their peaceful work of reorganizing the machinery of production.



Meeting of the International Socialist Bureau. The International Socialist Bureau met in Brussels Oct. 10-12. The most important matter which presented itself for settlement was the request of the English Labor Party for representation in the international socialist congresses. This had been referred to the Bureau by the Congress of Stuttgart. For some time the Laborites have claimed the privilege of representation. They maintain that they are carrying on the class-struggle on the political field and that their organization is free from bourgeois alliance or influence. The discussion of this matter turned on a resolution presented by Kautsky: "In consideration of the resolutions of past International Congresses, accepting all the organizations which take up their stand upon the ground of the class-struggle and recognise the need of political action;

"The International Bureau declares that it admits the English Labor Party to the International Congresses, because without explicitly accepting the proletarian class-struggle, it is practically engaged in that struggle: because, thanks to its own organization, it is independent of the bourgeois parties and places itself in consequence on the ground of international Socialism."

Comrade Hyndman, representing the English Social Democratic Party, opposed this resolution vigorously. According to his representations the Laborites do not take their stand unequivocally on the class-struggle. As proof of this he showed that at Newcastle recently they entered into a campaign agreement with the Liberals. If the Laborites were admitted, he maintained, there would be no excuse for keeping out any labor organization, even Gompers' American Federation of Labor.

Kautsky answered by saying that though the program of the Labor Party is not as clear as might be desired, its actual campaign is on the basis of the class-struggle. Its understandings with the Liberals have not been of a nature that implied co-operation. The English Social Democrats are not justified in posing as representatives of the whole English revolutionary movement.

The Kautsky resolution was accepted by a large majority. No doubt this result will be welcomed by most American socialists. The members of the International Bureau were evidently in no mood for quibbling. Their action shows that the party is bent on avoiding a separation of the political from the industrial struggle. It shows that socialism is becoming more and more the political expression of the great, slow moving labor movement.

In connection with the sessions of the International Bureau there occurred also an international conference of socialist journal-

ists. This conference discussed in detail the possibility of establishing an international press agency. Cases in plenty were cited to show that socialist papers are at present not in a position to defend the movement against journalistic slander. It seems impossible at present to establish an adequate socialist press service, but the first step in that direction was taken. It was decided that the German socialist news agency, which has become extremely efficient, should gradually extend its activity till it covers the international field.

France. The situation of the French labor movement continues acute. I have already given some account of the war upon the *Confederation General de Travail*. It will be remembered that just at present this war has taken the form of a bitter persecution of the workmen captured at the massacre of Draveil. It seemed at the time of this "affaire" that Prime Minister Clemenceau was bent on breaking up the *Confederation*. Without any charge being preferred against them a large number of unionists were imprisoned. Conservative papers, especially the *Journal des Debats* and *Le Temps*, called loudly for parliamentary action outlawing the organization. So far the government has not acceded to their demands. Nevertheless it has gone on steadily with its persecution. Some of its prisoners it has been forced to liberate, but the most of them it is holding for trial. Their cases are being dragged out as long as possible. Apparently the ministry is afraid to bring the matter to a crisis. In view of this situation the recent congress of the *Confederation* was peculiarly significant. It met at Marseilles Oct. 8-10. In face of all the hue and cry this congress stood unmistakably for the proletarian revolution. The principal discussion concerned itself with the attitude of labor in the event of a declaration of war. The resolution finally adopted closed with the following words: "The congress repeats the cry of the International, 'The working-class has no country.'"

"All war is an attack on the working-class, is nothing but an attempt to divert attention from its demands. The congress declares that, looking at the matter from the international point of view, it is necessary to instruct the workers, in case of war between the powers, to respond by declaring a general strike."

This resolution was accepted by a vote of 681 to 421. Those who opposed it were careful to explain that they, also, are anti-militarists. Their position in the matter is due to a doubt as to the practicability of the general strike. It was noticeable that this congress paid more attention to political affairs than its predecessors. French workmen seem to be waking up to the fact that physical force has its limitations.

Australia. The rapid progress of the Australian labor movement gives evidence of itself in recent numbers of *The Worker* and *Barrier Truth*. In its number for August 5, the former journal published a straight-out revolutionary editorial. There was no mincing of matters. The Marxian theory of the class-struggle was explained as uncompromisingly as any socialist could desire.

On August 28, *Barrier Truth* published a new statement of principles adopted by the Barrier Labor Federation. This federation consists largely of miners and in the past it has often opposed the Barrier Socialist Group. Judged by its present statement of principles, however, it appears to be separated from International Socialism merely on some points of tactics. Of course an outsider is

liable to be deceived, but so far as one can see from its formal declaration it stands now for the same principles as the I. W. W.—except that it believes in direct political action. Its first principle is "That the objective of our union is to obtain for the workers the full fruits of their industry." This is to be brought about, the declaration goes on to say, by the active, united activity of the workers on both industrial and political fields. It is made perfectly clear that the interests of the workers and those of the owners of the land and capital are not, and cannot be, identical.

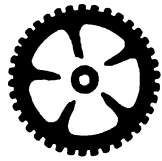
All labor organizations on "The Barrier" are urged to come into the reorganized body. In urging this upon them the editor says, "The Marxian law of economic determinism.... shows that unionism must change its form because the system of producing wealth has changed its methods.... It is imperative for us unionists to abandon our craft distinctions and unite on the common basis that "an injury to one is an injury to all!" Be it remembered that this is not the proclamation of a few come-outers, but of a well established and influential organization, the chief labor body of an important industrial center. Its organ, *Barrier Truth*, has just been made a daily.

Socialism and the Situation in the Near East. Never has there been a better exemplification of the function of war in the bourgeois scheme of things than we have had recently in the Near East. But a few weeks ago all the western world was rejoicing at the Turkish revolution. Incidentally it may be remarked that the Socialists of Turkey played a much larger part in this uprising than anyone at first supposed. There was no doubt as to the genuineness of the change. It was agreed on all hands that it meant the industrial and intellectual rejuvenation of Turkey. But no sooner did the powers, i. e. the governments, have a chance to catch their breath than there was talk of war. First the Sultan began an attack on the Armenians, and then came the news that Austria had decided upon the reannexation of Bosnia nad Herzegovine. To be sure these provinces were formerly Austrian territory, but why the Austrian government should feel moved to take them back just now it finds it difficult to explain. Needless to say the Sultan accepted the call to arms with pleasure. No better means could be found to regain his ascendancy. The call to foreign warfare is again to distract attention from a people's woes.

The recent session of the International Socialist Bureau gave the Austrian Socialists a chance to explain to the outside world what they are doing to help the Turks retain what they have won. In the Reichstag and out they are unmasking the motives of the government. It happens that the governmental foreign policy is directly opposed to the commercial welfare of the empire. Austria needs nothing more than an industrially progressive nation to the south and east. So the socialists have a strong case. They may yet be able to prevent war. Of course their efforts are being supported by their comrades in Germany, France and England.



WORLD OF LABOR



BY MAX S. HAYES

The 1908 convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Denver during the past month, has passed into history. But it was not an epoch-making gathering. Those who expected that a progressive note would be sounded were greatly disappointed. The assemblage was nothing more than the customary annual reunion and fraternization of officers and delegates who in large part met last year and the year before and the year before that, and so on ad libitum. Outsiders and residents who perchance dropped in at the convention hall in the hope of hearing discussions upon fundamental problems dealing with economic justice and industrial emancipation heard very little that could be construed as tending to solve any question. True, there was much said about liberty, justice, equality, etc., but the talk took no tangible shape. Everything seemed to hinge about policy—the policy to be pursued in injunctions, political action and that good old topic of jurisdictional privileges between the various trades. No definite goal or object was sought or outlined in any action taken. The Federation appeared to be drifting about like a rudderless ship, buffeted hither and thither by the waves of capitalism and the crew all “at sea” and helplessly waiting for something to turn up.

Very nearly something might have been done. Toward the close of the session—everything of importance and general interest is usually shoved off until the closing days, when the delegates have grown weary and are anxious to turn their footsteps homeward—the committee on president's report suggested that when injunctions are issued against union officials the latter should ignore the restraining orders and save the expense of heavy litigation and take the consequences—that is, go to prison, if necessary, and force the issue. The proposition was based upon and was the logical sequence of President Gompers' dramatic announcement that he would permit no organization to pay his fine if he were adjudged guilty of contempt of court in the Bucks stove and ranze case. (Great applause.) Well, sir, it was a caution to hear the various interpretations of the committee's proposed policy. One element insisted very emphatically that to ignore injunctions and go to jail was subscribing to the doctrine of non-resistance, which theory could have no part in a militant organization. Another element was vehement in the claim that defying the court injunctions was nothing short of red r-r-revolution. Those delegates who are Socialists favored the committee report as far as it went, but insisted that working class politics, independent of the dominant parties and in line with the British plan, must accompany the innovation if it were to prove successful.

Whether it was the thought that those who were advocating the policy of ignoring injunctions and saving lawyers' fees were engaged in a deep, dark plot to have him railroaded to jail, or whether his little heroic stunt had served its purpose and he had suddenly decided to fight the Bucks case to the court of last resort, the writer knoweth not, but at any rate President Gompers did a beautiful straddle act and expressed the hope that the committee might reconsider its decision and bring in some more satisfactory report. By an overwhelming majority the proposed innovation was defeated on roll call and the injunction question is to-day exactly where it was a year ago. There will be nothing doing in the matter of bringing the question to a crisis and settling the matter once and for all whether or not workingmen have the right to strike and picket and boycott.

The political question was the only other important matter to come before the convention. The committee that handled the injunction subject also performed a postmortem examination of the recent campaign in which "our men of labor" thought they were important factors—until the returns came in. Of course, nobody expected that our great leaders would publicly acknowledge the unqualified failure of their much-discussed policy, but speaking "unofficially" and in confidence a very large percentage of the brethren betrayed the fact that they are a mighty sore and disappointed lot. At the outset of the convention the organizers and pie-counter patriots made desperate efforts to find some scapegoat to shoulder the defeat of the "peerless one." As might be expected, the rantankerous "reds" served as a shining mark for the darts of the camp followers. But when the fact became known that the Socialist party had increased its vote and dues-paying membership despite the bitter opposition of the great leaders, and that the power and enthusiasm of that party was greater to-day than at any time in the history of the movement, then the "apostles of failure" turned their attention to Vice-President O. J. Keefe and placed him on the block for supporting Taft and thus defeating the Democratic party. Although Keefe was taunted and prodded and roasted to a turn, that worthy was about as voluble as the Sphinx. Even when he was denounced in the committee report and informed that it would have been the decent thing from him to resign if he didn't want to swallow the Democratic dose, Mr. Keefe spake not. Neither did any of the other Republican delegates. In convention they were as dumb as clams; outside they alternately expressed their disgust or made dire threats. The truth of the matter is they were completely cowed by a sight of the "steam roller," and it is doubtful whether a word of defense could have been dragged out of them with a team of oxen.

On the other hand, those delegates who stood by the Socialist flag refused to acquiesce in the "men of labor's policy" of tying up to the Democratic party and the recommendation that "our policy" be continued. As usual, the Socialists confined their remarks strictly to the fundamental principles of the labor movement, and, as formerly, Mr. Gompers and his friends embraced the opportunity to engage in personalities and administer an awful spanking to the obstreperous individuals who dared to question the infallibility of the grand high muck-a-mucks. Gompers had had the nerve to declare that he wouldn't discuss the philosophy of socialism (he never does because he doesn't know anything about it), as it is a dream or a nightmare, and then he wasted an hour or more showing what a wicked lot the Socialists are and what a holy little man Sam is.

Fifteen delegates had signed a petition couched in conciliatory language requesting that a committee be appointed for the purpose of investigating the insinuations made by Gompers in the *American Federationist* to the effect that the Socialist "Red Special" was financed by the Parry-Post-Van Cleave crowd. Of course the effort proved unavailing. Gompers and his friends knew full well that such an investigation would result in a complete vindication of Debs and the Socialist party and place the blame for the scandal where it properly belongs. Now that those who made the charge of corruption against the Socialist party have failed to produce a scintilla of proof when challenged and given every opportunity to do so, the workmen of the country should form their own judgment. It should be stated that every effort was made to apply gag rule and stifle debates, as usual, after Gompers had spoken on the subject, and thus prevent rejoinders to his reckless charges. In their haste to set a trap for the petitioners, an amendment was offered to the effect that those who demanded the investigation be required to state upon the floor whether they endorsed the utterances of Socialist papers relating to our great leaders. Clôture was voted and the amendment to drive the Socialists into a hole was jammed through by a big majority. Thereupon the "reds" had a great laugh and claimed their right, under the rules, to speak ten minutes each, or consume a total of two and one-half hours' time. The majority stared aghast, but, having been caught in their own trap, they had to swallow their medicine. Finally a compromise was arranged by which two of the signers spoke for the entire number, only to meet with defeat in the end.

The reaffirmation of the policy of begging the old parties for favors is regarded by many delegates as so much buncombe, to let the leaders down easy. The shrewdest men in the convention, who refuse to sneeze every time Gompers takes snuff—and there is quite a respectable number of such men—declare it as their opinion that, first, there is no future for the Democratic party, a split being inevitable between the conservative and radical wings; secondly, the Republicans will enact legislation that will curb the powers of the courts somewhat and thus discredit Gompers' leadership and pillory him as a false prophet; thirdly, the substantial growth of the Socialist party and the spread of socialism among the unions generally has become a very important factor. These and other reasons will preclude the possibility of the unions becoming the tail of the Democratic party kite in future campaigns.

The officers' reports indicate that, owing to the financial and industrial depression, very little progress was made during the past year. The income was \$207,000, which amount is less than the receipts of 1903, 1904 and 1906, although two assessments of one cent per capita each were levied and a special appeal for funds to contest the Bucks stove case was made. The expenditures amounted to \$196,000 and the balance on hand is \$138,000, of which latter amount \$105,000 is in the defense fund for local trade and federal unions. This fund will be tapped for \$50,000 to begin the erection of a general headquarters building in Washington. A total of 234 charters were issued directly by the A. F. of L. during the past year, being the lowest number in a decade. The total number of unions and central bodies that were disbanded or the charters of which were revoked or suspended was 311. Reports from secretaries of 99 affiliated inter-

national unions show that they issued 2,253 charters during the past year and 1,121 were surrendered. The gain in membership of the internationals totaled 57,459. The A. F. of L. membership, based upon per capita tax returns, is now approximately 1,625,000. About a hundred international unions making reports show that there were 561 strikes the past year in which 115,933 persons were involved. Of that number 71,981 were benefited and 35,322 not benefited. The total cost of the strikes reported was \$2,549,000. It is also interesting to note that 64 international organizations paid \$1,257,000 death benefits, nearly \$600,000 sick benefits, \$205,000 unemployed benefits, \$51,000 traveling benefits \$31,000 upon death of members' wives, and about \$6,000 for loss of tools.

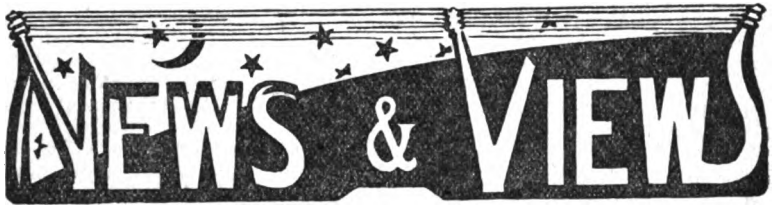
There is a hopeful tone among officers of the international organizations regarding the outlook. The general opinion prevails that the acute portion of the financial and industrial depression is drawing to a close, and that beginning next spring there will be a revival of unionism in every branch of trade.

Some of the strikes referred to in previous numbers of the Review have petered out. The six month's contest between the papermakers and the paper trust which controls the greater portion of the output in that trade has been abandoned. The workers have been compelled to accept the 5 per cent reduction demanded by the trust and also work under open shop conditions in the future—that is, the combine will make no further agreements with its workmen except in an individual capacity and pay each what he or she is "worth". Many of those who participated actively in the strike have been blacklisted and will probably be compelled to leave the trade, as a number of strike-breakers have become competent workmen, according to the trust magnates, and will be retained in their positions.

The long strike of the machinists on the Santa Fe railway, which has been in progress for seven years, has been declared off. No terms were obtained from the company, the railway magnates declaring that so far as they are concerned the strike was settled long ago and that the open shop system prevails to their complete satisfaction. The machinists also abandoned their strike on the Louisville & Nashville railway and all who can get work are privileged to do so. This is the corporation that tested the anti-blacklisting law and secured a verdict from the United States Supreme Court sustaining its right to hire and discharge whomsoever it pleased and keep a little list for future reference.

The New York taxicab strike, which aroused general interest because of the extreme bitterness of the struggle, has also been lost. There was considerable violence charged up to both sides in the contest and New York politicians and police, as usual, were secretly and openly lined up with the company and against the men. All active workers engaged in the strike are blacklisted and will not be re-employed according to the bosses.

All eyes in the labor world are turning toward the anthracite mining region, as it is believed that the next great struggle between labor and capital will occur in Pennsylvania. There is no sign of a probable amicable adjustment of the demands made by the miners, who want increased wages, the eight-hour day, recognition of the union, and also that the union dues of members be deducted from the pay envelopes of employes by the companies. The anthracite barons declare that they will not yield a single concession, and so it looks as though there will be another general suspension of anthracite mining next spring.



NEWS & VIEWS

Trade-Unionism in France. The last convention of the French General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.) deserves the attention of American wage-workers. As a rule, no form of working class activity is without interest. The world-wide character of our party makes their struggles and victories ours, we have one common ideal of emancipation from wage-slavery.

Our methods may be different. We should study theirs, that we may derive from them the lessons which they contain and perhaps do our share toward the inauguration of a common international action.

The capitalistic dailies have scattered broadcast over the U. S. all kinds of fairy tales concerning the C. G. T. and its spectacular twenty-four hours strikes, leaving the gay city in darkness and its pleasure seeking visitors without amusements.

Outside of France, the C. G. T. is not well known and some articles, as the one published in the American Federationist by W. E. Walling are rather confusing. The C. G. T. itself has no permanent form, it is seeking itself, groping for its way, its aims and tendencies are not easy to detect. First of all the C. G. T. is the economical expression of the working class of France. The tendencies are socialistic. Section I of its statutes puts the organization on record as opposed to the wage-system. It is organized outside of all political parties, the socialist party included. This does not make it an anarchistic organization. It certainly has a few anarchistic leaders, but it stands for majority rule, collective action and trade discipline, three principles for which the anarchist will not stand.

The C. G. T. declares itself not to be opposed to political action, merely indifferent, it ignores it as a body but leaves its members free to join in it as individuals.

There is no organic bond, nor official understanding between the C. G. T. and the socialist party and this is perhaps the main difference between the unionism of France and that of other European countries.

How was this divorce between the political and economical wings of the working class brought about? To understand this phenomenon, let us remember that according to De Foville France has still got eight million small farmers who own their own farms and work them mostly on a family basis.

Trade-unionism is a fruit of industrial concentration and in the conditions of French production unionism could not but have a slow growth. The first trade-union convention met in 1876 with delegates

of 76 unions. The spirit of the congress was that of moderation. They asked the right to organize on the economical field without having to meet many of the obstacles which the existing laws put in their way, they asked for special courts in contests between employers and employees and for trade-schools. Three years later a new congress met and voted a socialistic resolution by 73 votes against 27. In 1884, 68 labor-unions had complied with the law and filed a list of their members and officers with the public officials, but in his report made in 1881 in view of the modification of the law in a more liberal direction, Allain-Targé states that there were in existence 500 unions with 60,000 members.

The last report issued by the C. G. T. states that there are in September 1908, 2,583 unions with 294,398 members, which represents only a percentage of 3.5 of the working class as the total number of wage-workers is 8,626,000. This in itself is a proof of extreme weakness.

The small percentage of wage workers organized on the economic field explains why the various French socialist schools have never given the trade-unions more consideration. They did not believe in their future. Their efforts were directed towards political and parliamentary action. The same mistake was made in other countries and, we are glad to state, has been since corrected (Germany, Belgium). Besides this general character, group selfishness and craft-spirit were strong among the British unions and awoke justified suspicions as to the possible outcome of the medieval tendencies of several of their French counterparts.

From another point of view, French socialism was torn to pieces for many years by the rivalry of various schools, and labor-unions favoring political action did not always know in what direction they had to steer their craft. The political conditions in France were not in favor of any kind of influence by the unions over the socialist deputies. The one-member voting districts compelled the deputies to remain in touch with their electors rather than to maintain close relations with their unions or even their own party. Then as to-day, the voters were in the hands of the most diversified classes, wage-workers, merchants, small farmers, and the deputies had to conciliate those various economical interests in order to be reelected. The principle of the class struggle was lost sight of. The socialist members of parliament represented both the proletariat and the middle class, or at least tried to do so. Hence there was nothing strange in seeing the trade-unions organize themselves into an autonomous and independent central body.

In 1884 an event took place which gave the tendency a mighty impulse. The number of unions had increased. Their growth could no longer be stopped. Then the premier Waldeck Rousseau, a political leader of high ability, conceived the bold idea of placing the trade-union movement under the control of the capitalistic state. He intended to harness French unionism in order to direct it towards his political ideal of social peace. He removed all restrictions placed on the liberty of economic organizations and granted the unions civil rights and a legal standing. To enjoy those privileges labor-unions had to file with the mayor a copy of their by-laws and a list of their directors. These had to be of French nationality. Unions could have no other aims than the study and defense of economic interests. Waldeck-Rousseau wanted to steer the labor-unions towards the practice of mutual help, the use of co-operation and the acceptance of arbitration. He intended to clip their revolutionary wings. As

a result of this, the socialist party was left without an economic basis and was reduced to impotency. Later on, Waldeck-Rousseau called into his cabinet the socialist Millerand. As soon as he became minister of commerce and labor, he proclaimed "social peace" and collaboration of all classes. We must labor, he said in a speech in the chamber of deputies, to turn working class organizations away from wordy excitements towards the goal of practical deeds of peace."

The unions saw the danger, they told the wage-workers about it. More than any other cause Millerand's entrance into a capitalistic cabinet widened the breach between the unions and the socialist party.

Then there was also the influence of the anarchists, who in an individualistic country, such as France, always had a real influence on the working class. Meeting with no success in their propaganda for individual action, they entered the unions and had no trouble in shattering the already shaking faith of many union-men in the lack of efficiency of political action.

Is this estrangement between the two wings of the French labor movement to last? I do not think it. Most of its causes have disappeared. The socialist party has been unified and enjoys an excellent internal discipline. Reform of the political system has made the deputies less exclusively dependent upon their electors. The policy of social peace is dead. An agreement is now possible and if several symptoms which have been very distinctly noticeable of recent date persist, united action is bound to come.

A great many different tendencies are represented in the C. G. T. On the extreme right wing, we have the pure and simple, non political union man corresponding to our old style American Federation of Labor unionist before the reward and punish policy and the survival of the old medieval guildman transplanted in the not yet machinized industries of the 20th. century. At the extreme left are the communistic anarchists with their constructive ideal of a free will federation of autonomous social functions based on voluntary and free association. In the middle stand the political unionists, believing in the autonomy of both forms of labor organization in their respective fields and in a common agreement leading to mutual advantage.

In the Marseilles congress they divided in two main groups: the revolutionary and the reformist syndicalists. We should not give those words too literal a meaning, for the revolutionists are not opposed to reforms and the reformists are aiming at a socialistic transformation of society, which makes them revolutionists. The two expressions used above have in this case a specific meaning which we must now make clear for the further understanding of the debates of their joint convention.

The revolutionary syndicalists recommend direct action as the only method of social emancipation. Direct action is action directly exerted by workmen without go-betweens upon the powers that oppress them: the capitalist, the state, etc. They trust nobody but themselves to fight their battles. They do not mean to use violence as a matter of principle, their direct action can take either peaceful and benevolent or violent and strict forms. Against the capitalist they use the strike and the boycott, against the state they propose to use "exterior pressure", street parades and the general strike. They are opposed to every form of democratic representation in general and to parliamentary tactics in particular. They do not vote and will not allow unions to have an understanding or a working

agreement with political parties, the socialist party included. They intend to get reforms through strikes and exterior pressure. Social transformation will be brought about by a general expropriating strike prepared in its turn by a series of special strikes. That brand of syndicalism is all in all to itself, it claims as its mission to take the place of the socialist party.

The revolutionary syndicalists are concerned just as much with political as with economical matters, they are anti-militarists and anti-patriots and proposed to the Marseilles congress to discuss the duty of the working class in case of war. A last point in their attitude should be noticed, they refuse to abide by the democratic rule of the majority as indicated by the results of an equal ballot. They contend that a minority should not abdicate before a majority. It must act without regard for the refractory mass. This reminds us of the conclusions of Ibsen's *Pillars of Society*. As a practical application of this principle they give every union regardless of its membership an equal representation in the convention. They try in this manner to give a theoretical basis to a rule which the reformists contend is simply a way of getting artificially a majority in the convention.

The reformist element is not opposed to direct action, they strike and parade occasionally in the streets, but they want to stay on the limited domain of economic organization and leave the socialist party fight out the political problems. They are practical people bent on getting immediate results and believe that very useful reform can be obtained through parliamentary action. In case of strike, they do not embitter the conflict and when they fear they are going to be defeated they try arbitration and conciliation. They have sick and death benefits, relief funds against unemployment, pay heavy dues and try to enlarge their membership. The revolutionists with their theory of conscious minorities despise this last precaution. The reformist method consists in a series of slow and persistent efforts without pretension of bringing about at once a radical change but organizing a permanent working class army, strong through its numbers and its unity.

Such are the two tendencies fighting for the leadership inside the C. G. T. The radical differences existing between them make any agreement practically impossible.

The revolutionists with their exclusive use of direct action, their lack of confidence in universal suffrage and parliamentary action, their conscious minorities are anarchists, and their final general strike is only another form of the old and buried cataclysmic theory of certain socialists. But whatever might be wrong in these tactics, the reformist might learn something from those whose uncompromising disposition stands for no truce with the enemy and whose revolutionary enthusiasm results in constant action, awakening latent energies and shaking the indifference of the sluggish masses.

The Marseilles convention itself was a long drawn battle. Under every special item which came up for discussion, the war of the rival tendencies reappeared under a new disguise.

Perhaps the most important decision of the convention was reached when by a vote of 919 against 180 and 99 not voting it adopted the principle of industrial unionism against that of craft unionism in the metal and printing trades.

The principles of the majority of the C. G. T. being entirely different from those of all other European trade-union federations, which follow a line of action based on a division of labor and a common understanding between the two wings of the labor-move-

ment, have driven the C. G. T. to leave the International Socialist Bureau and the International Trade Union Federation. The members of the C. G. T. deeply regret the severing of their international relations with the organized workers of other countries, but by a vote of 922 against 444 they refused to withdraw from their position as to the necessity for economic organizations to solve the merely political questions of anti-militarism and anti-patriotism.

As in every previous convention, the mode of representation of the federated unions came up for a large share of discussion. The reform element pretends that they are in a majority because they represent most of the union-men and that the existing majority is artificially created through giving all unions an equal vote. A proposition to base the voting power on the number of dues paid was voted down by 741 against 383.

The two fractions faced each other again when the attitude of the working class in case of war was under discussion. The reformists argued that it was a political matter coming within the province of the Socialist Party. The revolutionists claim that their interference in these matters as union-men is justified and by 681 votes against 421 the congress decided to educate the working class to bring about a general revolutionary strike, whenever war is declared between two nations and to refuse to use their weapons against their fellow-workers, whenever the army is called out to do police duty in favor of the capitalistic class.

The congress went on record as opposed to compulsory state insurance against labor-accidents.

A motion was carried approving the systematic withdrawal of children from a strike center to neighboring towns, the organization of "communistic soup kitchens" and the working of overtime by all the members of a craft, when a local strike will have been declared.

The votes of the convention seem to prove that the reformists are gaining ground. These however point out that the powerful unions which are in favor of reformist tactics will either leave the C. G. T. or lose all interest in its work. They are willing to wait patiently for a turn of the tide and point with satisfaction to the moderation of the revolutionists' declaration on anti-militarism and anti-patriotism. Still they agree that in the congress the minority has ruled and that the importance of the convention has been greatly reduced thereby. The general view seems to be that a split is imminent and that the reformist unions will sooner or later have their own federation of high dues paying members closely allied to the United Socialist Party.

Hubert Langerock.

As it appears. When you are sure you are right then go ahead;—but do not forget to go ahead.

The recent election reflects several interesting facts;—should teach a few timely lessons. "To be sure we are right" has not proven our ability to go ahead. If all who were sure the Socialists' are right had suited their conduct to their intelligence, there would have been an unprecedented "going ahead", which, to-day, is conspicuous by being inconspicuous.

The man with a head full of philosophy, who does not know what it is for, is like the muscular rich who expend their energies with dumb bells and upon the "iinks."—Their efforts are unproductive.

The socialist who makes no other use of his philosophical under-

standing than to impose upon others the fact that he "understands," is not doing things.

To understand the Philosophy of Socialism is the first important step in order to be sure you are right.—At this point you are in the same position as the young man who emerges from college;—you are simply equipped to go ahead.

"Effort" does not express a criterion to political success; it must be expressed in terms which imply "Intelligently directed effort."

This presupposes a question of tactics. It is not only a question of doing things, but also a question of "how".

The Socialists are convinced that they must fight their way to the co-operative commonwealth together.—The two big words are "fight" and "together".

The results of the last election are that of the greatest American Socialist victory. Its purpose will be, now, to convert non-Socialists. Its experience will exceed in value any bound volume of propaganda literature in circulation.

The wild shouts of crowds is a deceiving noise. It does not require nearly so much intelligence to shout as it does to vote.

What I am endeavoring to get at is this: The campaign of 1908, has cleared the political atmosphere, and the time of playing at revolution is past;—the time of real revolution has not yet arrived and the momentous task confronting the Socialists before this time does arrive, is to clear the decks and to train the crew.—There is no time to waste.

We have the means of peaceable warfare at hand and we have socialists who know how to use them;—but we have got to use them or else we will continue in the rut of our former errors.

The time is past for trying to look scholarly and wise;—the man with the "goods" will always be appreciated for what there is in him, and burdens will gravitate to those who are able to bear them, if they show a willingness to accept them.

There is no use to argue but that an army, trained to fight as a single "giant" man, is the army that is qualified to give an account of its efforts by results. There must be no lagging in the Socialist Party in matters of **organization**.

None are good socialists who are too good to be present when their names are called at the local organization headquarters. None are plucky enough who have not the pluck to stand by their local through thick and thin.

Socialists, in the future, should not be judged by how much they seem to know about philosophy, but in addition to this, they should be measured by how much they both "know" and "do" for the parties organization;—not factionally but socialistically,—in order to make every pulsation of this mighty engine of progress carry its burden of a decaying system to its destination, when it shall have passed into innocuous desuetude, to oblivion and death.

Clyde J. Wright, Chicago.

A Friend in Need. It was with deep sorrow that we learned from Comrade Jennie Adams, of Brazil, Indiana, of the death of her husband, one of our old friends, John H. Adams. In February of 1903, when the publishing house was struggling to meet the needs of the growing demand for socialist literature, Comrade John Adams was one of the first to yield his co-operation, and become a stockholder. Since that time, he has never failed to give us his hearty support in all our various undertakings. One of the pioneers in the socialist movement, Comrade Adams, with others of his kind, has blazed the way for the broader, greater organization that shall set free the Proletariat of the world in the days to come.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT



GOOD NEWS.

The International Socialist Review, after a struggle of more than eight years, is a success. Until this year it has taxed the resources of the book publishing house; it has now become self-supporting.

In October, 1907, the total cash receipts of the Review were \$216.74. In October, 1908, they were exactly \$568.16. In November, 1907, they were \$237.88. We go to press too early to give complete figures for November, 1908, but up to Nov. 24, with a week's business yet to come, they are \$560.48. Our subscription list has DOUBLED within less than two months. And the monthly sales of single copies have doubled many times over. Less than a year ago we were printing only four thousand copies a month. This month's edition is fourteen thousand copies, and next month's will be at least twenty thousand.

Christmas greetings to our loyal friends all over the world who have stood by us through thick and thin,—especially the "thin" times. Your persistent work is beginning to count at last. The Review is a success because thousands of working people were bound to have a magazine that should say the things they want said. It will be a bigger success because the number of those who want such things said is growing every day.

Now we are going to redeem a promise. We said that when the subscription list was doubled, we could and would make a better magazine. We believe this December number redeems the promise in part, but it does not satisfy us; we shall try to do better. And for a start, we shall publish in our January and February numbers a NEW story by JACK LONDON, entitled THE DREAM OF DEBS.

You all know JACK LONDON. In our opinion he is the greatest living writer, barring none. And with his genius he joins a deep insight into the real nature of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, still vague and uncertain, but growing clearer and stronger every day.

His new story is written in a light, entertaining fashion, so that it must be read a second time if you are to realize the reserve power back of it. Don't miss reading it and don't let your friends miss it. The Review will be on sale at news stands in all the principal cities of the United States and can be bought at wholesale from any branch of the American News Company.

CHRISTMAS SUGGESTIONS.

Did you ever see our SOCIALIST PLAYING CARDS? They look enough like ordinary cards so that all the ordinary games can be played with them. But the interesting thing about them is the verses and pictures. Each card carries a verse by Mary E. Marcy.

The Kings are the Trusts, the Queens the Capitalist Virtues, and the Jacks the Guardians of Society. Their pictures are drawn by R. H. Chaplin, who made the cover design for last month's Review. The King of Spades, for example, is a clever caricature of a well-known face, with a verse that reads:

OIL KING.

I love to oil the college wheels
 And grease the pulpit stairs,
 Where workmen learn to scorn the strike
 And trust to Heaven and prayers.

These cards sell for 50 cents a pack. When they were brought out, we were obliged to ask stockholders to pay the full price for them in order to cover the heavy outlay required at the start. Here after, however, stockholders may buy them at the same discount as books, in other words the stockholders' price will be 30 cents post-paid or 25 cents if sent by express at purchaser's expense. We will also send cards the same as books on our premium offer for **new** subscriptions to the **Review**.

OUT OF THE DUMP, by Mary E. Marcy, with eight original wash drawings and a cover design by R. H. Chaplin, will be ready for delivery about December 12, so you may safely count on it in making up your list of Christmas presents. If you have read the Review since May, we need not tell you how good this story is: for the benefit of new readers we will say that it tells about the real working people, who are rebellious rather than moral, and are more interested in meal tickets than in ethics. A few years ago "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch", which pictured the proletariat as the capitalists think it should be, scored an immense success. If you have any wealthy friends whom you would like to startle, give them "Out of the Dump". Cloth, 50 cents.

SOCIALISM, ITS GROWTH AND OUTCOME, by William Morris and Ernest Belfort Bax, is a standard historical work long recognized as of the utmost value to socialists, but the rather high price of \$1.25 has limited its circulation. Just to show what our co-operative publishing house can do, we are now publishing this book in a new edition from new plates, to retail at 50 cents, with our usual discounts. We expect to have copies ready before Christmas, but the printers and binders MAY disappoint us, so don't count on this book for a present if promptness is essential. By the way, if you want any of our other books in a hurry, order from us direct. We make it a rule to fill every small order the same day it comes.

When you make up an order, be sure you have **our latest price list**; if in doubt, write for one. And please don't waste your time or ours in asking where you can get books of other publishers. Our list includes nearly all the socialist books worth reading that can be had at moderate prices.

We will pay in books for your trouble in taking and forwarding **new** subscriptions for the **Review**, provided you are a subscriber yourself. For every new subscription you send with a dollar, we will send you a dollar book or two fifty cent books; we pay postage or expressage. The books are for **you**, not for the new subscribers. They can have the same chance in their turn, to send in new names and get books for their trouble.

One Christmas suggestion in closing. If you are a subscriber, you can make three Christmas presents for a dollar.—the **Review** a year to one friend, **Out of the Dump** to another and the **Socialist Playing Cards** to a third.