Later revolt broke out anew. A portion of the workers went on strike, while others resorted to work. All lost in the long run. Organization was completely wiped out.

But the agitation had taken deep root. The hope of the toilers centered now on the political field. They turned toward the Socialist Party. They hoped for reforms through political action. Two socialist representatives, Olson and Ansell, were elected into the legislative of Illinois in 1904. But they were not the type of men to "stay in."

Meanwhile the sales of beef products had decreased enormously, partly as a result of Sinclair's exposures in the "Jungle." The packing plants only wanted a few men for two or three days a week. All the nerve was taken out of everybody. The labor movement temporarily died in Packington.

Today Packington is wrapped in gloom. Working conditions are almost as bad as they can be. The speeding up of the machines, the introduction of more labor-saving implements, have increased the productivity of the worker about 30 per cent as against 1905. Wages are cut right and left. So appalling is the misery "back of the yards" that reformers and settlement workers despair of ever accomplishing anything there. Their resources do not go far enough to be much in the way of ameliorating conditions. The packers always welcome the charity or settlement workers. Such people keep the workers from the acts of desperation that are the result of hopelessness.

The Socialists will regain the Packington districts. They must do it. They can do it. But they must show the workers, thousands of whom are already hearing this message, that charity and reliance will not bring relief. And they must show them how to fight by organizing into One Big Union, the industrial union embracing every worker in the Yards.

The message of One Big Union has been heard in the Stock Yards of Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha and other places. And thousands are eager for the new unionism. The toilers have started to get together. Neither charity nor the acts of the kind-hearted settlement workers will be able to hold the day when the organized working class will put the Beef Trust on trial—not to dissolve the Octopus, but to smash the apparatus of production into component, disconnected parts, and to redeem to the workers the wealth they alone created and to bring happiness and blessings to the workers of Packington the happiness that all the workers the world over will enjoy.

The Elections In Germany

By ANTON PANNEKOEK

The elections to the German Reichstag have resulted in a great victory for the Social Democratic Party. In 1907 the Socialists entered the national assembly with 43 members, and by means of victories at by-elections this number was raised to 53. The great electoral battle of 1912, however, gives us quite a different story to tell. The first ballot, on January 12, gave the Socialists 57 seats, of which 25 represent newly created districts. The party of the working-class was, moreover, left as contestant in 121 constituencies. The second elections have added 43 seats. Thus the Social Democratic group numbers 110 members in the new chamber.

Even more important than the number of seats is the number of votes registered. The popular vote of the Social Democratic Party has increased by a million since 1907. It has grown from three and a quarter millions to four and a quarter. At the present moment more than a third of all voters (34.8 per cent) support this party. If the German electoral law were a really just and democratic one, giving the same influence to every vote cast, a third of the representatives would now be Socialists. But this is not the case. The electoral districts have not been altered since 1871. Since this date the great cities and the industrial regions, in which Socialism is strongest, have developed tremendously, while the rural districts have become partly depopulated. A simple comparison will show the injustice of the system which has resulted. Conradt Lellien and Zittel were elected in Berlin by 142,502 and 162,717 votes, respectively,
while in the rural districts representatives of the Centre and Centrist parties were elected by fewer than 10,000 votes.

The enormous increase in the number of Socialist votes was universally expected. The budding industrial classes, which have thrown their entire power to the masses of the people. In 1907 Premier Bülow promised a liberal restoration of the Dependenz, that is, a return to the old structures of the liberal state. The manners and standards of the small bourgeoisie, the government, the middle-class, the intellectuals, all that really cared little or nothing about the outcome of the election. All of these joined themselves with the Conservatives and, although the number of Socialist votes increased from three to three and a quarter million, the Socialist group in the Reichstag was cut down from 81 to 43. There was great rejoicing throughout the bourgeois world. The Kaiser himself, speaking in polite phrases from the balcony of his palace, referred to the Social Democracy as a power which had been "trampled underfoot." The government and the parliamentary majority thought that they could be as arbitrarily rectangular as they pleased. In the beginning Bülow governed with the support of a majority made up of Conservatives and Liberals. The Conservatives represented, of course, the landed aristocracy. The Liberals included the National Liberals, representatives of the "Black-Bloc," and the Free Thunke and friends (Preussen), who represented commerce and the "tied financial, stock-exchange interests."

In the past the parties had opposed militarism and the whole reactionary policy of the government. The new government was, nevertheless, determined to get back to the old system. A new law to regulate organizations and public meetings was passed, but it left intact nearly all the police restrictions for which the Prussian is famous. In fact, it cut off some of the liberties previously enjoyed; the Poles were forbidden to employ their mother tongue in public meetings and persons under eighteen years of age were denied the privileges of taking part in political organizations or gatherings. All this was openly designed to hinder the labor movement. The Liberals of all shades of opinion supported this law.

The next was a new tax law. There were constantly increasing demands upon the national treasury. In 1908 the cost of maintaining the army amounted to 854,000,000 marks, that of the navy to 330,000,000, while military pensions reached the figure of 146,000,000. During the two years from 1906 to 1908 the imperial debt increased from 4,000,000,000 marks to 5,000,000,000. The income of the nation was not keeping pace with the expenditure. If the constant increase of the imperial debt was to be stopped a greatly increased revenue would have to be provided. In 1908 the government introduced a new revenue law. Under its provisions 400,000,000 marks were to be raised annually from a tax on such articles of consumption as beer, tobacco, whiskey, wine, electricity, and 100,000,000 from an income tax. The Liberals were willing to vote for these provisions. But the fact that, contrary to the original plan, the money was to be raised from the poverty-stricken masses of the people, but the Conservatives would not agree to the income tax provision. They joined themselves to the Center (the Catholic party), cut loose from the Liberals, and brought about the downfall of Bülow. The new government bloc dropped the income tax, added to the law provisions for enforcement of the new law, and finally forced it through the Reichstag. Needless to say, it aroused the greatest discontent. The Liberals now make the most strenuous opposition to the "Black-Bloc" bloc, thinking thereby to win back the favor of the electorate. While, however, in 1910 the revision of the sickness and accident insurance law was undertaken all the bourgeois workers looked forward to an increase in the social and the necessity of increased taxations. Dur- ing the last ten years all the great nations have been developing a sense of the necessity of war and the money to support an army, and especially their navies, at a tremendous rate. The budgets devoted to this increase are rapidly swelling by hundreds of millions, and continuously growing burdens of taxation are laid upon the shoulders of the masses of the people. There is no money left for social reforms. On the other hand, the spirit of violence and intolerance which is being developed toward the people of other countries leads to high-handed brutality at home. Thus the capitalist mind in time reaches a point at which it will hear no concessions to the working-class. Moreover, the fear of a revolution is diminished. The participation of the entire world in the capitalist production gives new life to industry. Prosperity rules, and the capitalists fancy their situation the finest that ever was enjoyed. Industrial business now combines in trusts and associations which are able to resist any demands of the workers for increased wages.

Since 1880 Germany has been on this downward road. Kaiser Wilhelm II, as the trusted representative of big business, has been the most energetic advocate of the imperialist policy. In numerous public addresses he has urged the necessity of a strong army. But in German bourgeois circles there has long been little understanding of this policy. There has been dissatisfaction with the burdens, the tax on the poor, and especially the tax on the working-classes at home. The demands of big business were, of course, ruthlessly asserted. Members of the Reichstag voted at the shameless demands of the government and thought with fear and trembling of the moment when they would have to face their constituents, but after all did dare a vote against the military and naval appropriations. The Kaiser with held from its climes in 1910 to 1912, and even gave a word of praise to the Social Democracy for its statesman-like and consistent opposition to all this. The theories, ideals, and party programs of the older, undeveloped, home-keeping capitalists still dominate the thinking of the German bourgeois and the German intellectual classes. In the meantime the government and the great bank-capitalists have already put in practice the imperialist policy. This state of affairs could not go on in-

ANTON PAVLOVSKY

pulative fear of the almost approaching revolution. This state of the political conditions which determined the result of the election throws light, however, on the real meaning of the whole event. Anyone who supposes that the policies of the last Reichstag have been finally eliminated does not understand the situation. Our country, the victorious parties will keep to their old course. For this course is not the result of passing temporary impulses, but rather an inevitable result of the development of German capitalism in the direction of imperialism.

Imperialism is the modern form of capitalism. It has appeared during the past ten or twenty years in all nations. Capital knows no country. The capitalist is not content to exploit the workers of his own land and merely export products to foreign shores. He does not find adequate conditions for development in his country. Therefore capital is exported to foreign parts, especially to regions still in a state of anarchy, in order to exploit the natives and turn them into slave labor. In this way a new market is opened up in the world and the new capital invested. The result of this process is the complete domination of the various capital governments. The process necessarily involves competition among the various capital governments. Imperialist politics is the politics of force, of conquest, of colonial war. The results, therefore, in growing danger of war between these liberal nations and the necessity of increased armaments. During the last ten years all the great nations have been increasing their armaments, and especially their navies, at a tremendous rate. The budgets devoted to this increase are rapidly swelling by hundreds of millions, and continuously growing burdens of taxation are laid upon the shoulders of the masses of the people. There is no money left for social reforms. On the other hand, the spirit of violence and intolerance which is being developed toward the people of other countries leads to high-handed brutality at home. Thus the capitalist mind in time reaches a point at which it will hear no concessions to the working-class. Moreover, the fear of a revolution is diminished. The participation of the entire world in the capitalist production gives new life to industry. Prosperity rules, and the capital-
definitely. Imperialism is a necessity for the possessing and ruling class. Without this class would be suffocated in its own racial, patriotic, and national distress, and then in a great crisis. Imperialism affords the only bar
rier against the rising tide of Socialism. Capitalists rejoice in the business man their
markets in foreign parts. Colonial mines and railways offer the landlord and monetarily groups new avenues for invest-
ment and speculation. Scholars, for their
part, are given the opportunity to explore
and study hitherto unknown regions. Peo-
ple of intelligence and conscience have pointed out to them the study of hearing
the "white man's burden,"-that is, of car-
eying "civilization," or capitalism, to the
barbarians of Asia or Africa. And to the
bourgeoisie as a whole it is given a new world
idea, the vision of its own nation standing
dominant among all the peoples of the earth.
And this vision, it is hoped, will do some-
ting to inspire those who have found
themselves powerless in the path of the
overpowering ideals of humanity and world
brotherhood represented by the Social
Democracy.

All of this, naturally, was bound to take a
bearable and economic form. Eisenach lies the sig-
nificance of the election of 1907. An intelli-
gent, experienced financier, Dernburg by
name, had just been placed at the head of the colo-
nial office. In the course of a discussion of
the appropriations for a colonial war he
was brought into collision with the Great Britain.
The liberal bourgeoisie, inspired by its long
ruling hatred for the clericals, supported
Eisenach, and his interest in colonization contained
among the promises of the "enlightened"
Democracy. Eisenach then entered into a
coalition with the Socialists. The colo-
nial war was put for a whole decade.

The election of 1907 was a victory for the newly
formed, new, youthful spirit of imperialism, a
victory of the imperialist illusion.
The five years which followed were suf-
cient to signalize this illusion so far as the
interests of the German people were concerned.
The great body of the citizens came to know
what imperialism really is. They have dis-
covered that for them it has nothing to
offer but oppression and heavy burdens.

With this knowledge has come the begin-
nings of a rebellion against it. Not only
the working-class, but also the small busi-
siness man, the farmers, and government
officials have suffered. Thus it has come
about that the new form of capitalism tends
to change them less than the old to drive
capital into the middle-class into the
Socialist movement, and thereby to under-
stand the nature of Socialism.

The elec-
tion of 1912 is therefore, the answer to
the election of 1907. The result is the
death of imperialism unmasked, the begin-
ing of the revolt of the masses against it, the
natural result of the imperialist disillu-
sion.

Naturally this does not mean a change in
the policy of the German government.
The colonial war will continue to play an important role. The German govern-
ment now has to face the problem of the
Socialist minority in the Reichstag.

All capitalist parties must co-operate with
the Socialists to uphold the principle of
democracy and the Social Democratic
majority. The task of the Social Democrats
is to bring about a greater democracy in
the Reichstag. They must work towards
the goal of a Constituent Assembly, which
will be elected by a large majority of the
people. The Social Democrats believe that
such an Assembly would be able to
achieve their goals.

The working-class parties are not likely
to win in the Reichstag. They are faced
with the task of fighting against the forces
of the bourgeoisie, which are determined
to maintain their power.

In conclusion, the Social Democratic
party must be prepared for a long struggle
against the forces of imperialism. They
must continue to fight for the cause of the
working-class and the people.

ANTON PANNENKOEK
the workers of the world how parliamentarism can be made a weapon in the revolutionary struggle. Parliamentary activity still serves to carry the truth about capitalism and its tyranny into the smallest villages and to weld the workers into powerful united bodies. But parliamentary activity is no longer viewed in Germany as the curse of the Socialist movement. During the past ten years there has come about a great change in the thinking of the German working class. This fact has not been universally observed because it is not evident in the speeches of the Socialist parliamentarians, who are mostly reformists. It is much more evident in the press; in numerous Socialist papers of the more radical sort it is being remarked with increased frequency that the compulsion of power is not to be brought about by the use of the ballot alone, but that the masses themselves must enter into the conflict. And among the workers of the great cities one can see developing, slowly but none the less certainly, the readiness to employ new methods in the great conflict. Naturally enough, this has brought about internal struggles within the party. The heated discussions at the last party congress grew out of the fact that the executive committee had not been sufficiently prompt in calling upon the masses of the people to demonstrate against the threatened war. Since 1903 the party has recognized in the general strike an important weapon to be used in warding off intrigues on the imperial electoral law and in winning new political rights. As to its use in other cases, nothing has as yet been formally decided. The party leaders fear that an official recognition of it as a weapon against war would expose the party to legal persecution and turn one of the strongest national prejudices against us. But it is clear that in time of actual danger of war, when it is a matter of life or death, of destruction or victory, the action of the masses will be determined, not by party resolutions, but by the deepest impulses of the people. And among the people there is a growing, especially since the Morocco affair, the determination not to be led to the field of slaughter, but rather to resist with any means which offer. When recently Rosa Luxemburg declared in a mass meeting in Berlin that in case of a threatened war the workers must employ all means in order to prevent it, even the mass strike, her words were greeted by a demonstration which lasted several minutes. But the central organ of the party, Vorwärts, omitted these words from its report of the meeting. This fact reflects in a strong light the tendencies of German Socialism.

Thus it is evident that the tactics and thinking of the German workers are adapting themselves to the new forms of capitalism. Here the tremendous power of international Socialism stands opposed to a capitalism which is inferior only to that of America in strength, in unity of organization, in degree of development, and in ruthlessness. Imperialism will continue to control our national policies; the elections have served to strengthen its grip. We face new and terrible struggles. But they will not take place exclusively in parliament; the masses themselves will act directly against the oppression and dangers of imperialism until it is finally and completely defeated, until the proletariat is victorious, until we have the revolution.

—Translated by William E. Bohn.

BILL HAYWOOD

BY

TOM FLYNN

(Based on reading Henry Frank's letter About Haywood's N.Y. Speech. This letter Appeared in the N.Y. Call)

He wonders where you got it, Bill,
Your clear and ready speech,
Was it down in the depths of the dripping mines,
Where the straining timbers scream?
Or was it the roar of the fire-bombed blast,
As it tore men's lives away,
That taught you to think what a man should think,
And say what a man should say?
Or may be the yawn of the open shaft,
Pit black as the mouth of hell,
That helped to give you the ready speech
They say you can use so well.
For you are only a miner, Bill,
Did you not dig out the ore?
So what should you know of the grace of speech.
High-sounding and rhythmic tone?

Mayhap it came in the hammer's clank,
Or the crunch of the cutting drill,
Or the crashing crash of the falling rocks
That ever lurk there to kill.

Or may be the rush of the water, Bill,
That flows in the flooding mine,
Where men are drowned like cornered rats,
That taught you of words refine.

Perhaps 'twas the damp of the Western jail,
Or the walls of their prison strong.
That taught you to notice the children's wail
And rage at the workers' wrong.

Revolution! That means what it means,
My friend,
Strong, steady and unswayed.
That the workers shall take with the hand of the strong
Making no mistakes.

That means we shall pull the old system down,
And trample it in its fall,
That means just this—and nothing but this—
Or else—means nothing at all.

We shall not look for a purchased law,
Sold out by a servile Court,
But will play the game till the one to lose
Shall pay for the winner's sport.

We want the men who are used to toil,
Not dreamers of idle dreams,
Nor the politicians who compromise,
Nor the "intellectuals" schemes.

We want the men who can look at Death
When the hirelings shoot to kill,
And that's why we want such men as you,
Our lion-hearted Bill.