

middle classes or petty bourgeoisie, have played the dominant role. Now it is the proletariat, the propertyless workers, who are the instrument of the change which is at present taking place in society. It therefore behooves the propertyless workers to prepare themselves that they may fulfill their function.

The rise of labor is a new movement. The trade union is a comparatively new weapon, though it is an old weapon of the new movement which is the rise of labor. In its upward struggle labor, like everything else, has had to learn from experience both in its conceptions and its practices. But the rise of labor has been so swift that its conquest of power in one section finds it still clinging to its old conceptions of its functions in other sections of the world. Thus we have the workers of Russia and Germany marching on triumphantly to the conquest of their historic mission while in other countries labor is still arguing and fighting for petty concessions.

In America particularly labor is still in the grip of middle class ideas. This is due to a variety of causes, that the country is a comparatively new one, that immigration has been so great that the workers are split into different factions, that the country has only recently arrived at complete development and that hitherto its working class was not a permanent working class but was interchangeable with the other classes. Up until very recently the American worker had the chance of amassing wealth constantly before his eyes, or if he did remain in the ranks of the worker his son might rise to the employing class. This stage of American life is already passed, however, and a definite working class is established, but it still retains its middle class ideas. The skilled worker considers himself a property owner insofar as he owns his skill but the day of the skilled worker is also rapidly passing away. . . .

As a result of these and similar conditions the trade union movement has confined itself specifically to reform programs. It has not, as yet, recognized the fact that the mission of the workers of the world is to own and control all they produce and that this accomplished they are the rulers of the world. The average union man today wants more pay, shorter hours, better working conditions. He does not dream of owning the tools of his industry, except in the same manner as his boss owns them—so that he might exploit his fellows—he does not see that as long as someone else owns the means whereby he and his family live, his life will be one long struggle for reforms. He is convinced that his boss gives him a job, that without a boss to provide a job he would starve. He has a vague idea that his boss amassed enough money to buy the industry that he directs its operation and that he is entitled to the money he gets from his enterprise. The boss recognizes that the worker thinks in this way and so it is a common answer of the employers to the demand for more wages or shorter hours that they cannot afford to make the required concessions.

But with the march of events the worker must revolutionize his ideas. He must study the conditions under which he lives and he must watch the progress of his brothers in Europe who are overthrowing the bosses and operating industry themselves for the benefit of the community as a whole.

What do the owners of industry do? What use are they? What do they contribute to the operation of the world's work that entitles them to control the lives of thousands of families? Not one in every five hundred of the capitalists could operate the machines which make their fortunes. Few of them understand anything about the actual operation of industry. Few of them could rivet a bolt, feed a furnace, drive an engine, run a lathe, or perform any of the thousand jobs that go to run industry.

Nor are they capable of performing the executive work of their own plants. If all the owners of industry in America were to take a year's vacation tomorrow morning not one wheel would stop as a result. But if all the workers in industry would take a day's vacation the nation would be at a standstill. These are simple truths and they are irrefutable. But if

the workers recognized them it would mean the end of the present system of society and so those who benefit by things as they attempt to misrepresent the issue. They lie about the progress of the proletarian revolution in Russia, represent all the actions of the Soviet government as destructive, picture Russia in a state of chaos. . . .

When some news about the workers of Russia gets through the capitalist press perverts it. One of the best evidences of this perversion is supplied in the comments of the newspapers and weekly magazines on the pamphlet by Nicholas Lenin entitled *The Soviets at Work*, which the Post Office authorities recently suppressed. In this pamphlet Lenin deals with the difficulty experienced by the workers when they took over industry owing to the shortage of engineers and other highly skilled men. The press immediately hailed this as an admission that capitalism was necessary to the preservation of society. But Lenin did not mention the owners of the factories, but the skilled employes, the men who under capitalism really direct industry.

The average worker is in the habit of looking upon the engineers, shop experts, executive heads, etc. as the bosses, the capitalists. In reality these men are members of the working class although they class themselves and think alike with their masters. The owners of the industries also own the men who enforce their dictates and it is one of the tricks of Capitalism that these men are removed from the ranks of the workers.

Take for example the captain of a ship. He is necessary to the ship, but no more necessary than is a fireman. Under Capitalism the captain is given tremendous powers and privileges. He holds the power of life and death in his hands, he is the arbiter of all the affairs of the ship, he and his officers sleep in fine quarters, eat fine food, wear fine clothes while the crew are treated like brute beasts. Soviet Russia recognizes that the captain of a ship performs a useful function. He is the navigator and as such he has his duties to perform, part of those duties is to direct the work of the ship but outside of this he has no more authority than any fireman. The administration of the ship is carried out by a committee elected by the whole ship. Every member of the crew sleeps, eats and drinks of the best that is available. All are workers, each performs his task and all together they bring the ship to port.

What is done in the ship is done in industry and what is done in industry is also done in the administration of the affairs of the country. During the transition period the Soviets found it necessary to employ the skilled men until they could train men from their own ranks, but they have never denied the right of these skilled men to accept the Soviet form of government and take their places in the life of the community as part of and contributors to the welfare of the community.

Capitalism purposely keeps men apart, Bolshevism, which is merely another name for Socialism in action, brings men together so that all may work for the good of all.

The new era has already dawned. The day of the workers of the world is at hand. The propertyless, the earth's disinherited, are the coming masters of the world, a world wherein every one that works for the benefit of society shall be benefitted by society. But in the period of transition many perils face the advancing proletariat, many mistakes will be made unless the workers prepare themselves for their new destiny. Socialism is no longer a theory, it is a living fact working out its problems in the face of tremendous odds. The future lies with the workers but in order to take their place they must understand the nature of the problems they will have to face. They must think for themselves, organize for the benefit of all and act as reason dictates.

Divided you are helpless, united you are invincible. The great slogan of the dawning day is: "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain."

Bolshevikjabs

FIELD MARSHAL VON HINDENBURG is reported as marching on Berlin. He always was headstrong, and if he insists, why, we suppose he must have his own way, but we hope no soldier will be so unfortunate as to mention the name of Kornilov while the Field Marshal is within hearing.

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It seems like a good idea to make Paderewski president of the Polish Republic. "Music hath charms to soothe the savage beast," and perhaps he will be able to charm away the pangs of hunger which gnaw at the vitals of the working class by getting out on the balcony of the state house and playing nocturnes and sonatas.

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The idea has at least novelty to commend it and, as we are living in the era of democracy, once the thing gets under way we will, doubtless, be able to forsake the refined atmosphere of the concert platform for the more democratic boards of the vaudeville stage when we look for rulers. In the near future we may expect to see Frank Tinney, Harry Lauder, Bert Williams, Gaby Deslys, Mary Pickford, or even the inimitable Charlie, put on diplomatic robes.

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Personally we are of the opinion that any government would find it a very difficult matter to declare war on the republic of which Charlie Chaplin was president. The entire youth of the world would be certain to be pro whatever country it happened to be.

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The latest sensation from Russia is that Lenin has been jailed by Trotzky. The Hearst papers carry the news in a headline appropriately colored red. We await with interest the thrilling details of Lenin's escape and his victorious march upon Moscow where he will jail Trotzky.

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Owing to some oversight Trotzky is not credited with jailing Lenin with the object of satisfying his personal ambitions and occupying Lenin's position in the Soviet government. It appears his thirst for blood got the better of him and when Lenin refused to quaff anymore at the expense of the bourgeoisie Trotzky promptly jailed him and is now running amuck among the unfortunate Russian middle classes.

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We must protest at these tales the newspapers are telling, quoting some guy in a New York garret as their authority. In the first place, Bolshevik agents don't live in New York garrets; only artists and poets can afford them. We have always had to be content with cellars when we lived in the great city. Besides, cellars are so much more appropriate for plotting, don't you think?

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However, that's a detail; what really annoys us is this talk about \$500,000. According to the papers there are 500,000 agents, so it only works out at a dollar apiece, and when we think of all the wives that Trotzky has sent to the different European capitals with millions of dollars in gold tucked away in their stockings it make one mad to be put off with a miserable dollar.

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When the Kaiser was giving away money he was at least supposed to be liberal. But these Bolsheviks are a lot of pikers.

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While we are on the subject, we would ask these papers who have been good enough to give this paper publicity in connection with the affair that the next time they wish to credit us with anything they would also mention our address, so that those wishing to subscribe may know where to apply.

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According to The New York Tribune the Bolsheviks have been in the habit of giving the peasants ten cents for every military officer killed. It, however, omits to tell how the peasant can collect the money; but we suppose a Bureau of Scalps has been appointed to attend to this matter.