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DID CAPITALISM WANT THE WAR?

BY JOHN MOODY

Among the many fantastic theories paraded in the public prints as to the cause of the European war, is the notion that the conflict was brought on by the business and financial interests of the various Nations involved. This idea has undergone considerable development among some who write from the standpoint of the Socialist, the theory apparently being that Capital sees a distinct gain in the possible overthrow of militarism in Europe, even at the awful cost in lives and property which must inevitably be involved. And now, after nearly four months of the conflict, with its colossal losses, it is still held by these theorists that Capital is not anxious for an early peace, but wants the war to go on until the overthrow of its adversary—militarism—is complete.

I am a consistent and careful reader of Socialist opinion, right through the year, not only because I endorse a lot of it myself, but also because it is frequently refreshingly independent and original, and is a great antidote to the hackneyed, mediæval and Dryasdust opinion of the rest of mankind. Frequently, Socialist opinion is grotesque in the extreme; but at no time in the past has it been my fortune to see a theory developed by reputable Socialists so delightfully naive as the idea that Capital brought on this war and wants it continued.

It was my fortune—or misfortune—to be on my way to London from New York when the war opened. I arrived just as the German ambassador to London was leaving for home. The next few days I spent in the financial district, and talked with at least a dozen of London's large bankers and financiers. Evidence on every hand impressed me with the idea that the very bottom was about to drop out of financial London. The suddenness of the catastrophe, the utter absence of all preparation to meet the alarming situation, the mental panic of every banker—all this seemed,

for a short time, to point inevitably to just one outcome: the immediate failure of every one of the thousands of banks, bankers and brokers in London and of every private banking institution in all England. Even the Old Lady of Threadneedle Street seemed tottering to her foundations. I saw what no other generation in the history of England has ever seen; a mob clamoring for gold at the doors of the Bank of England, and a line in the street two blocks long. One of the first thoughts that flashed through my mind was, "This war is ended before it has begun. With the world's credit in the scrap heap at the first blast of guns; with finance and commerce prostrate at one awful blow, only a few days can intervene before merchants and storekeepers and traders throughout the entire British Isles will be facing bankruptcy and disaster; and then law and order will fade away like dew before the morning sun."

This was no figment of the imagination. Had it not been for the prompt and remarkable way in which the English Cabinet and the Chancellor grappled with this situation, nothing on earth could have stopped just such a catastrophe as I have outlined. The quick action of the government, working in concert with the Bank of England and the financiers, saved the situation. But the ship was almost scuttled in the saving, and for fifteen long weeks the Bank of England has been painfully struggling to restore its surplus and place itself in an impregnable position once more. The normal percentage of reserve of the Bank at this season of the year should be from 45% to 55%. In the first week of August its reserve dropped to about 14%, and in all these weeks of war, notwithstanding that it has enormously added to its gold holdings, and devised every means within its power to draw gold to its vaults, its reserve is still only a little over 33%. We read the announcements that the Bank to-day holds more gold than ever before in its history. True; but its liabilities are proportionately heavier than ever before.

Now, is it any other than grotesque to assert that the Capitalist class would, of their own volition, bring on such a state of things as this? Capitalists as a class are not any more intelligent than any other class—and the higher you go up the less real intelligence you usually find—but they never pitch the assets into the street merely to drive out a competitor.

Some people in this country are fond of pointing to the history of the Standard Oil Company, which became notorious a quarter of a century ago in its programme of starving out competitors. It followed the policy of selling its product in special markets at distinct losses, and for considerable periods, in order to drive others to the wall, or buy them out at bargain prices. It succeeded, and its later monopoly was largely built up in this way. "Why," say

these people, "is it not logical to reason that Capital as a whole is now ready to adopt the same process?"

The argument is easily answered. In the first place, the Standard Oil Company never risked in this policy; it never sacrificed anything except a relatively small amount of current profits. Its great capital was never involved. Its managers were simply long-headed enough to see that it would pay to forego immediate profits for a future gigantic advantage. When it inaugurated this programme the Trust was already well entrenched. For many years its owners had been putting all their profits back into the business and accumulating a heavy reserve. It controlled fabulously valuable oil lands already, and no competitor, however strong, could really put it out of business. If its method had failed, it would still have been doing business at the old stand. Its capital would have been intact.

Capitalism throughout the world, however, as a whole, to-day is in a very different position from that of this famous Trust. The world's business is not only carried on on a high and more or less flimsy structure of credit, but all the great enterprises of both America and Europe are carried on to-day by corporations which possess not "capital" so much, but "capitalization." Some people call this capitalization "water"; others call it "good-will"; in Wall Street they generally call it "equities"; I call it what it really is—stored up earning power or labor-power, both present and future.

We are all accustomed nowadays in the United States to the various "trust-busting" programmes of the political parties. Beginning with Mr. Roosevelt's efforts of ten years ago, we have seen every prominent "reformer" and party leader advocate schemes of various kinds for "squeezing the water out" of the Trusts. And just in proportion as such a reformer has been strong on "water squeezing" methods, has he become unpopular with the powers that be in American corporate industry.

For this "capitalization," which has been built up during the last generation in corporate industry, is not a thing which can be easily shielded from storms. It is not concrete enough for that. Like the warmth of a sunshiny day, it disappears when clouds rise over the horizon. It takes flight at the first alarm. It is an old saying that "there's nothing so cowardly as capital"; but real capital is bold indeed in comparison with this new thing "capitalization." For capitalization, being based on earning power, or profits, fades like dew at dawn when the profits fade. For example: Suppose you have invested \$1,000,000 in a business which pays you an annual profit of \$300,000—30%. If profits all disappear for a year, you still have your million dollars. But suppose, following the

modern and all but universal custom, you have "capitalized" your annual profits on a 6% basis; that is, have created \$5,000,000 in stock, paying 6%. In the course of time, let us say, you have sold some of this stock, employed parts of it to secure bank loans to put into other enterprises, etc. Now suppose your profits disappear; what is back of your stock? Just \$1,000,000 in actual capital and \$4,000,000 in "capitalization" of earnings—and the earnings have faded away! Thus your stock tends to drop to its true value; you and your associates, who have borrowed money or secured credit on it to put into other enterprises (these other enterprises being financed on the same plan), find yourselves in a tight place. The banks call the loans; you cannot pay; a smash ensues, which may or may not involve the bank. The "water" is squeezed out, but you are squeezed out, too. And perhaps the bank is squeezed out.

This is simply a little illustration of the whole structure of modern corporate enterprise and finance. These conditions obtain the world over. And this further vital fact should be noted. Not only are the interrelations so close between the finances of one country and another and one system of business credits and another; but an enormous proportion of the so-called "solid" credits have as their ultimate basis nothing more than that part of the total "capitalization" which gets its only value through a maintenance of profits and general earning power. Anything that tends to curtail or limit the earning power in a vital way, naturally has a proportionate effect on the capitalization itself.

Nothing is more clearly recognized among bankers, corporate heads and capitalists generally, the world over, than this cardinal fact. While perhaps but few beneficiaries of this system analyze the matter in this way, or state it clearly, yet it is the fundamental fact of their whole existence. This is why every class-conscious Capitalist is a Conservative and wants to let well enough alone; why he opposes change; why he fears panic or business depression; why he dreads war.

It may be objected that this theory applies only to the comparatively small portion of the business community who have grown rich and reached power during the past twenty years as a result of watering the enterprises of years gone by. But no. The situation is really more vital to the present generation of Big Business interests, many of whom have still to "win their spurs," than it may be to many a man or a group who have now "cashed in." It is said that a large part of the old Rockefeller group have cashed in on the great winnings of past years. This is probably true; and the wise ones have probably put large portions of these winnings into securities representing real, tangible property. But the men who

have everything at stake now are the active ones of to-day. They are the men who in large part are still but half "made"; who may have enormous power and credit, but are still building for the future. The men who, in the past few years, have gone the older capitalizers one better; have not only perfected the earlier methods of capitalizing current earning power, but have devised means for capitalizing future earning power—turning into concrete form, in the shape of stocks and bonds, the wealth producing capacity of the country in the future, even unto the third and fourth generation.

Now is there any common sense in assuming that a modern capitalistic system, built up and profiting from year to year and from decade to decade in this way, is going to do anything to bring the whole structure crashing to the ground? For just such a crash was all but imminent when the war opened last August. The city of London is the very heart of the banking structure of the civilized world, and when London crashes the whole world crashes.

If Capitalism had intended that this war should be brought on, or had expected it, she surely would have been ready for it in her chief Counting House—London. But to financial London the whole thing came out of a clear sky. In 1911, when the relations were so strained with Berlin over the Morocco question, and possible war was foreseen and feared, the situation of London was very different. Any one familiar with financial operations will remember how it was Berlin that was at that time caught napping; how a semi-panic occurred on the Berlin Bourse, and a great crash was narrowly averted. Both London and Paris then expected a possible war; they knew financial Berlin was not prepared for it, and they acted accordingly. In the space of two or three days the Berlin bankers were obliged to take up several hundred millions of securities and loans from London and Paris.

This time, however, we find financial London was in an exceptionally poor position for several weeks before the war. Their gold holdings were lower in July than usual at that time of year, and the general financial position was not especially strong. In short, it is clearly enough demonstrated that banking London had no expectation of a war and had done nothing to prepare for it.

If the Capitalist class, speaking broadly, did not deliberately bring on the war, and narrowly escaped being wholly annihilated by it, surely it is absurd to assume that they are now desirous of its continuance. It is funny to hear sane people assert that it will benefit American capital to have the European nations impoverished and set back fifty years. "This," they say, "will result in making the United States the great commercial Nation of the world. Everybody will buy from the United States because no other coun-

try will be in a position to produce any large amount of goods for a decade to come."

Yes, and no Nation will be able to buy anything from the United States because they won't be able to pay. They must produce goods in order to pay for what they get. Probably, after the war is over, our trade with Germany will not rise to last year's great proportions for twenty years at least; and the same will be relatively true of the other countries.

If we cannot ship goods in vast quantities abroad and get paid for them, where is the Capitalist class going to be benefited? What is going to become of the "capitalizer"? The foreign trade of the United States Steel Corporation has become an enormous asset during the past six years; and to-day it is a "capitalized" asset. Thousands of loans are to-day standing in American banks with the Steel stocks as collateral back of them, and a large part of the value of these Steel stocks is represented in the current profits from the Corporation's export business. Does anyone suppose that this great Corporation wants to kill its foreign markets?

I suppose it will always be a mooted question as to what really *did* start the war. But surely the blame can never be placed at the door of Capital. Capital, possibly, could have prevented it had the opportunity been given; but Capital was caught napping. When in London in the early days of August I discussed this matter with a well-known German banker, a man more intelligent than the average in his line and broader-minded than many. Perhaps his opinion is worth repeating. Said he—

"This war had to come. If it had not come this year it would have come next year. The military programme in Germany had reached the ultimate. Its maintenance for five years more meant a possible revolution and overturning of Prussian militarism; perhaps the downfall of the Hohenzollerns. By that time the appeal to patriotism and the war spirit might not overcome the rising democratic trend. Thus, it would be better for the present monarchy to bring on the war now, unite factions in the cry of 'Fatherland' and thus discredit the Social Democratic movement in the eyes of the whole civilized world. True, it might mean defeat by the Allies, but even the worst probable defeat would not be so bad, from the monarchy's standpoint, as a possible social revolution which, within a few years, might overthrow the autocracy forever."

I have since often wondered if this opinion of a conservative German banker—and a Hohenzollern sympathizer—is not fundamentally the correct one. On this theory the war is a flank attack of old world militarism on rising democracy, with Big Business the innocent bystander.

FEDERAL INTERFERENCE IN COLORADO

BY HELEN MAROT

The recent proposition which President Wilson submitted for establishing peace in Colorado mining districts indicates the price that labor is to pay for the occupation by federal troops of the district for their "protection."

Even putting aside the United Mine Workers' bitter experience with federal interference, it was not unreasonable to suppose that the Socialist officers of the union would have recognized last spring and again this fall, when they accepted the Wilson peace proposal, that representatives of a bourgeois government may be depended upon to keep bourgeois interests in mind when they interfere in a labor controversy. And again, it was not taking much for granted to suppose that labor out of its experience had learned the price of a military peace imposed in times of strikes by United States troops.

I confess my dismay when I discovered last spring that trade union men and Socialists immediately after the massacre of the miners in Colorado were calling on the federal government to send troops *to help the strikers*. Later I found that the call was confined to labor men outside the zone; that those inside were uncompromisingly opposed to the action. The union men of Colorado tell me that the miners had the situation in their own hands; that is, that the operators, including the state military, were beaten when the federal troops took possession and disarmed the miners.

The victory of the Colorado miners last spring was not only a victory over the strongest and most blatant financial interests in the country, but the men had shown magnificent courage and solidarity. And beside that, they were given the priceless sympathy and support of the other unions of the state.

If the four months' military occupation by federal troops had killed the spirit of rebellion, there would be no danger of another strike on the withdrawal of the troops, and no need of Mr. Wilson's peace proposal. Evidently the gentlemen who are the President's advisers have discovered that the miners of Colorado are not subdued. The Wilson administration, having accepted the responsibility of middle class peace, will be held still further responsible by the operators if the miners should resume these efforts in the direction of industrial freedom.

To guard against such a contingency, President Wilson offered his plan. His plan was a three years' truce. The miners were to surrender their right to strike for three years. The operators were to obey the laws of the state for three years. The miners who had violated no laws were to be given employment by the former employer if their places had not been filled (or if filled they should be given other employment). The intimidation of union men should cease. Scales of wages were to be posted. The miners in each mine might choose a grievance committee, but grievances should be taken up individually with an officer of the company before being taken to the committee. If the committee failed to adjust the grievance it was to go before a commission composed of three men to be appointed by the President of the United States. He was to *appoint representatives* from each side with a third to act as umpire. We quote further:

It is understood that as a condition of the creation of said commission that during the life of the truce

(a) The claim for contractual relations is to be waived, but this shall not prevent the voluntary agreement between any employer and his employees during the life of this truce.

(b) No mine guards to be employed, but this does not preclude the employment of necessary watchmen.

(c) In the establishment of the truce the presence of the federal or state troops should become unnecessary.

(d) There shall be no picketing, parading, colonizing or mass campaigning by representatives of labor organizations of miners that are parties to this truce which will interfere with the working operations of any mine during the said period of three years.

(e) During said truce the decisions of the commission in cases submitted shall be final and binding on employers and employees.

(f) There shall be no suspension of work pending the investigation and reaching a decision on any dispute.

(g) The suspension of a mine over six consecutive days by the company may be authorized for cause satisfactory to the commission, but not pending any dispute.

(h) Willful violations of any of these conditions will be subject to such penalties as may be imposed by the commission.

On account of the mutual benefits derived from the truce the employers and employees should each pay one-half of the expenses of the commission.

The officers of the U. M. W. accepted the plan. The operators rejected it. There are labor men and Socialists who will confidently deduce from the latter fact that the miners were wise in their acceptance. This method of deduction without examining facts or considering past events is simple; the trouble is, it is too simple. Moreover, we owe it to working class interests, if they are ours, to learn the real truth about this particular plan.

The basis of the proposal is sufficiently startling to arouse interest. The plan rests on the establishment of a three years' truce; that is, for three years the miners are to surrender their right to strike. There was no balancing suggestion that the operators should surrender management during the same period. It is bad enough to be bound by an agreement, voluntarily entered into between a boss and union officers, not to strike—but to accept such a condition under state supervision and during military occupation, is to surrender rights which the state is pledged to guard. Every objection to compulsory arbitration applies to this proposal. But our President was not satisfied to leave the situation with the prohibition of strikes. Suppose the operators should fail to carry out their obligations, the miners might conclude that the agreement was broken and strike. The provision, therefore, is attached that there shall be no picketing or parading. If the miners should disregard this clause, federal troops out of respect for federal mandates would be in duty bound to respond without delay to the call of the state.

Any miner, it is provided, shall be properly punished by the operators as well as by the state, if he violated laws previous to the acceptance of the present plan. He is to be denied employment. The past sins of the operators will be forgiven if they will sin no more, that is, if they will obey the laws of the state. If they don't, they will be left to the tender mercies, not of the miners, but of the state officials, and the degree of tenderness which they have developed for the operators is sufficiently notorious.

Another clause provides that intimidation shall cease. Can anyone give an instance where intimidation of union men has ceased if there was no union to back them, or no union in a position to strike? Does anyone believe that the miners could successfully strike against intimidation after submitting to Mr. Wilson's yoke? If anyone does, I would suggest he consult the miners in the anthracite district of Pennsylvania, who were utterly powerless to oppose intimidation after the establishment of peace under the supervision of the Roosevelt Strike Commission of 1903. The arbitrator of that Commission was conscious of no constraining influence, and there was none, when he rendered his decision that an employer had the right to discharge without giving cause.

The Roosevelt Commission, as disastrous as it was, was an advance over the Wilson proposal. The miners in 1903 were allowed the privilege of electing their own representatives. Evidently Mr. Wilson has confidence in his ability to appoint other people's representatives. His own appointments will doubtless

represent his purposes, but why not call such commissioners Mr. Wilson's representatives, as that is what they are to be?

This appointment of a Commission in place of election, is not the only indication that the Wilson plan is a menace to organization. The purpose of the plan is boldly stated in the clause that reads: "there shall be no . . . colonizing or mass campaigning by representatives of labor organizations or miners that are parties to this truce. . . ."

The plan carries with it the understanding that the federal government will be responsible in the end for its enforcement—enforcement, that is, if the miners fail to observe the terms. No one ever heard of federal troops or courts of law restraining employers who are parties to a labor dispute, and yet labor enters into such agreements as though it were accustomed to see the army and the courts suppress impartially masters and men.

The Wilson plan has one purpose only, and that is to settle the strikers. It is very frank about it, more so even than the Roosevelt Commission, which "settled" the anthracite strike so effectively that for ten years the union in District Number One was a mocking reminder what federal interference has to offer organized labor.

No commission, either federal or state, has ever settled or ever will settle issues between labor and capital which labor is not able to settle for itself.

Why, it may well be asked, have the officers of the U. M. W. given the President's recommendation an effusive reception and assured him that they recognized his proposal as "actuated only by feelings of public concern and inspired by motives both lofty and patriotic"? There are two possible answers. One is that the miners may have had good ground for believing that the operators would either refuse the plan outright or accept it only on modified terms, and that if the miners accepted it they would gain public sympathy and lose nothing. But this sort of diplomacy, which is all too common, is bought at the sacrifice of the confidence of the men on strike in their union officers, and is death to union spirit and class action. Personally, I believe that it is ruinous tactics.

The other answer is as strange as it is true. The officers of the U. M. W. (at least two out of three) who signed the letter to the President are pure and simple plotticil Socialists; that is, Socialists who have relegated their revolutionary hopes to the ballot box and turned the key. In their letter to the President they say "the organization which we have the honor to represent stands for industrial peace. We favor the establishment of *right* [my italics] relations between employer and employees to the end that strikes may be rendered unnecessary." And still further they say, "a

direct working agreement [between employers and employees] entered into in a friendly spirit makes for *abiding permanent industrial peace*" [my italics]. Abiding, permanent, industrial peace by way of agreements with capital, and this from Socialists!

Even Mr. Gompers recently insisted that the trade unions never expect to establish or work for permanent peace. But here we have the largest union of the A. F. of L. and the union that has the reputation for leading Socialist thought within the Federation, coming out in a letter to a bourgeois President assuring him and the country that abiding industrial peace is its present aim.

This attitude of the Socialist officers is the logical result of regarding the unions as mere time-serving organizations, and the ballot box as the one avenue of deliverance for wage slaves. This conciliatory attitude of the officers of the U. M. W. is the same as the non-aggressive attitude of the German trade unionists who look to their representatives in the Reichstag to deliver them.

In the United States, in Germany, in England and France, we are still waiting for red-blooded proletariat Socialists who will not cool off in union meetings and for fighting unionists who will vote red.

THE WAR AND DOGMA

BY MARY WHITE OVINGTON

To the Socialists, the present war presents itself as a battle on the one hand to obtain markets, and on the other to keep control of markets already obtained. Servia, after the Balkan war, was indignant at her exclusion from the Adriatic by Austria; Russia wanted a chance to extend her vast territory to the Mediterranean; Germany, overcrowded, commercial, prosperous, went out to battle for more seaports and more colonial possessions; while England and France, satisfied with their present status, were obliged to enter the contest to keep what they had. Belgium opposed an invasion that threatened her national existence.

But while the Socialist student sees the economic causes of the European massacre, the soldiers engaged in the fearful slaughter seem not to think of the material side. They are prodigal of their wealth, hurling each minute thousands of dollars worth of explosives (for which they must ultimately pay) into the enemies' trenches, and following this with a swift rush and the gift of their lives. They know that behind them are empty workshops and unreaped grain. Certain poverty faces them if they are ever able

to return to their homes; but they are regardless of material things. Love of country, the instinctive clinging to the ties of language and of race, a desire for conquest, revenge,—simple, passionate emotions such as these, actuate them as they go out to fight. Economic determinism may cause the battle, but it does not explain the spirit of the men on the firing line.

Many of the soldiers who have trampled down their comrades' wheat fields singing "Deutschland über alles," were trained in the doctrine of the class struggle. Intellectually they were class conscious; yet at the call of their monarch this dropped from their minds. "A sweet and becoming thing it is to die for one's country." Millions of men in the last months have echoed this in their hearts; but not one, unless we except Jaures, has found it a sweet and becoming thing to die for Socialism.

I believe that the failure of Socialism and the triumph of patriotism among the warring nations of Europe is something that we American Socialists should take to heart. It may be that we should not pass judgment. The war tide could not have been checked by any one group of men, but we should note the extraordinary fervor, the reckless altruism, with which working men are battling against their class interests. Their dead bodies that fill the trenches or lie torn with shrapnel on the open plains, are a rebuke to us who hold in our hearts a vision so much more splendid than theirs. Why should they have made of themselves pawns to be played with and then thrown away by the captains of greed and of force?

It must be that the gospel preached by the rulers contained something more stirring than the gospel preached by the working class. Of course, any generalization is dangerous. Military service is compulsory in most of the countries at war, and while Germany and Austria are out for conquest, Belgium and France are battling for national existence. But, despite all this, we must note seriously the fact that the working classes of Europe are fighting not for international, but for national, ideals, and without a ripple of revolution among all the hordes of seven countries. Surely something is the matter, not with Socialism, but with the manner in which Socialism has been presented to men.

This is a matter worthy of consideration by the Socialists of America. We are an inconsiderable body, and our growth, the past few years, has been pitifully small. May it not be that we have wrapped ourselves about with dogma, forgetting that, while economic causes underlie great movements, men are perverse, and unmindful of their material good, go out to battle on the wrong side for an ideal that has stirred their hearts.

What is the vision of the Socialist? What ideal do we offer the

worker who is hungry for food and leisure, but more hungry for the hope and courage that shall make worthy the struggle to live? I go to campaign meetings to find an answer to the question, and learn of the horrors of poverty and the wickedness of capitalism; but I hear no compelling call to action such as is sending the men of Europe out to-day to defend their national life. In the party press I am told to increase the Socialist membership, and with the party pledge in my hand I address the longshoreman who stands idle by the German steamship docks. This is the creed which I ask him to accept:

I believe in the class struggle.

I believe in the collective ownership and the democratic administration and operation of the socially necessary means of production and distribution.

I am opposed to all political parties except the Socialist Party.

I believe in the Socialist Party and will be guided by its constitution and platform.

But election day will be over, and the snows will have fallen and the longshoreman and his family will have been evicted from their three-room flat and I shall not yet have been able to show him the meaning and the splendor of this great international movement that I must present to him in a form as dogmatic as the Apostle's Creed.

But we have a vision, and if we Socialists in America are to build up a movement commensurate to the greatness of our cause, we must bring our vision to the front and send our dogma to the rear. What that vision is others can tell better than I, but it shines clear in this: That the welfare of one wage earner concerns the welfare of all. That the worker's conquest of land and of industry, the use of this great world for the many and not for the few, can only be accomplished through an immense strengthening of the international ideal. The cotton spinner in Lancashire must feel his kinship with the gatherer of rubber on the Amazon. And as race must be obliterated, so must aristocracy and caste. The Party must be as much concerned for the illiterate foreigner, for the cotton-field Negro, as for the naturalized American who can cast his vote. The old battle-cry, "Workers of the world, unite," must gain a fuller and a deeper meaning. Then, with the vision of brotherhood in our hearts we shall eagerly go to our task of building up a great political movement that shall be the weapon with which to open the gates to the Commonwealth of the World.

THE ELECTIONS

BY FRANK BOHN

The results of the elections may be briefly summarized by four statements: (1) the Democratic party, the governing party, has been returned to power in both branches of Congress at the mid-term elections; (2) the Republican party has been raised again to a position of influence in national affairs; (3) the Progressive party has been struck down so completely that its end seems near; (4) the Socialist party, though it gained in some states and won a member to Congress and thirty members to legislature, has suffered a loss nationally of perhaps twenty-five per cent. of its vote. Evidently it has been a year of reaction in such a degree as to call for more than passing comment by radicals and revolutionists alike.

In the first issue of the *New Republic* an editorial attempt is made on its first page to deal philosophically with the momentous fact that the Progressive party has been crushed well nigh out of existence by the same old crowd of Republican bosses for whom it dug graves in 1912. Let me hasten to say that the *New Republic* is an independent Progressive weekly. Its tactical position is admirable and if it sticks to the course it has set out on, it will, no doubt, win the success it merits. Hence it is not entirely a pleasant task to make a quotation from the first page of its first number in order to indicate how not to approach the subject with which we are dealing here.

"In all probability," it says, "it is more than anything else an exhibition of fatigue. Popular interest has been strained by a political agitation which has lasted too long and has made a too continuous demand upon its attention. It is tired of Congresses which do not adjourn, of questions which are always being discussed and never being settled, of supposed settlements which fail to produce the promised results, and of a ferment which yields such a small net return of good white bread. The voter whose interest is flagging reverts to his habits. He had been accustomed to vote as a member of one party when business was good, and sometimes to change over to the other party when business was bad. Business has been undeniably bad. His attention was not diverted from the business depression by the impulse of new and attractive political objects. On the contrary, progressive politics and economics had ceased to be either new or attractive. So the good voter cast his ballot as one or the other kind of a partisan, and the bi-partisan system has regained some of its old vitality."

Does a teamster out of work, one with six hungry mouths to feed

at home and the rent due, does he quit hunting for a job because he gets tired of it? Does the teamster's wife quit washing the children's clothes because she is tired of working without the help of the Gold Dust Twins? Do the intellectual leaders of the Progressive party really believe that the 750,000 unskilled laborers on the railroads of America, men whose wages average less than 18c. per hour, will ever grow tired of conversation concerning government ownership of railroads, the eight hour day and a three dollar minimum wage?

It is evident that we must look for a totally different cause. We find a much more rational answer on another page of the publication with which we are taking issue. In an editorial on the Mexican situation it goes on to say that "The masses of the Mexican people . . . are too lethargic to move or be moved . . . Where wages rise discontent spreads. The peon who earns thirty or twenty cents or nothing a day is wretched and content; the man of the North who earns his sixty or eighty cents in the mines or plantations is open to all sorts of propaganda."

There we have a statement worthy of respectful attention. The less the worker has the less he is inclined to organize or be organized for a fight. Labor unions collapse during a period of protracted unemployment—the I. W. W. as well as the craft unions. The strong progressive movement of 1872, which threatened to break up the Republican party, was killed by the panic of 1873. If men are without jobs they habitually vote for those who, they think, foolishly perhaps, will give them jobs.

We must add to this the reactionary effect of the war upon the whole public mind of America. The war came as a surprise. Thinking Americans of all classes had come to believe that such a cataclysm was impossible. When it burst so suddenly upon the world, a shudder of fear seemed to run through the populations of the neutral countries. The foundations of the solid earth seemed to be giving away. The inevitable political effect of such a state of mind upon our over-emotional people was to throw them backward.

The coming two years will be a period of ultra-conservatism in American political life. The most venturesome progressives will become very calm and await a more propitious time for the development of their theories and practical plans. President Wilson may be quite too characterful to attempt to please everybody, yet, no doubt, his unquestioned sense of duty to his country and his party will lead him to give as little offense as possible. His hands will be full with matters of general legislation. The Tammany members of the House alone can block any legislation they please.

The President must therefore conciliate them. The Progressive party members, nine in the House and one in the Senate, can do nothing for him. We shall be surprised if a single piece of radical legislation gets by during the sessions of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

As regards the lease of life gained by the Republican party, it is easy to attach too much significance to it. In the very nature of things, the Republican party is doomed. The old Federalist party, which went out of office in 1801, kept on kicking until 1814 without much disturbing the peace of the Jeffersonians. The Whig party "came back" in 1848 by nominating a popular war hero. But the breath of life had gone out of it. If no more significant event occurs in the near future than the death from old age of Cannon, Root, Penrose, and Lodge—that in itself will be enough to make an end of the Republican party. The war, if it lasts six months longer, will result in more jobs and higher prices. In a year Progressivism will rise to its feet, rub its bruised places and again plunge into the game.

The political demise of Roosevelt is an unqualified blessing. Roosevelt typified and led the minds of millions of working people and middle class people as well, who, knowing nothing of war, thought him a great soldier; who, never having seen a bear except at the zoo, conceived him to be a famous big game hunter; and who, totally ignorant of economics and politics, worshipped him as the heroic defender of their humble interests. His remarkable career stands historically as absolute proof of the incapacity of the vast majority of the American people during the opening years of the century to protect themselves from intellectual mountebanks. Whatever the forces were that buried Roosevelt we ought to be thankful for them.

The Progressive party failed because it was ridiculously and hopelessly conservative in every fibre. It will be very interesting to observe the form in which this movement will again appear. Genuine middle class progressivism may take the form of non-partisan advocacy of the government ownership for public utilities and of general efficiency in administration.

The general swing of the national mind affected, of course, the Socialist vote. While the decrease in the vote was some twenty-five per cent., the party organization is not likely to suffer thereby. Let me show why this is so.

During the past two years we have just held the dues-paying membership secured two years ago. We have probably doubled the number of people who have a sound intellectual foundation for their views. There is something peculiar about the progress of the Socialist movement. For twenty years it has gone on doubling

every four years. From time to time sporadic influences increase or decrease this gain. We had 424,000 votes in 1908. We had 900,000 votes in 1912. In the congressional elections this year we have lost exactly as we lost in those of 1906. We had over-reached ourselves in 1904, had received some of the Bryan votes because Bryan was not running that year. So in 1906, though we had doubled our dues-paying membership, we lost 100,000 votes. This year we lost in the same proportion.

An outsider can understand this process of growth by drawing on a sheet of paper three concentric circles. Let the inner circle be one inch, the middle circle three inches, and the outer circle six inches in diameter. The inner circle represents the dues-paying membership, now something over 100,000. The intermediate circle stands for the vote, now about 750,000. The outer circle includes the whole number of Socialists in America—everybody who, for whatever reason, or with whatever degree of knowledge, desires the abolition of the wages-system and the development of a democratic collectivism.

To the Progressives a decrease in their votes means a decrease in their party. A collapse of their vote means a collapse of their party. With the Socialist party the situation is entirely different. The Socialist party is constituted not of its vote but of its actual *membership*. Let us return to our pictorial explanation. The outer ring expands constantly. The inmost ring sometimes expands a bit too rapidly and then comes to a temporary period of rest. The middle ring expands and contracts constantly. At one time it presses close upon the outer ring, at others it withdraws upon the inner ring, but its fluctuations in both directions are always limited. In times of reaction and radicalism, through all the vagaries and extremities of the external and internal politics of America, the Socialist party grows. It grows in spite of all the afflicting qualifications of the American social and political mind. Like the true American institution it is, it conceives that half of democracy consists in despising efficiency. Locally it often follows mushroom leaders through periods of mushroom growth. Too often it is rent by factionalism. But it does not cease to grow.

THE NEW MAP OF EUROPE

BY WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

One of the chief results of the war is going to be a readjustment of the boundary lines of nearly every country of Europe. What is the Socialist attitude to the momentous change? Of one thing we may be fairly certain. Lines of race and language will be given a far larger recognition than before. Racial groups will be either autonomous or independent. This is demanded not only by the smaller racial groups themselves and by the Socialists, but also by the public opinion of all democratic and semi-democratic nations.

But there is another side to the question. If the little nations are too many and too small they will be economically weak and politically at the mercy of their larger neighbors. Socialists believe neither in economic production nor in political administration on a small scale. How is this dilemma to be met?

Two solutions are offered. Alien races and nationalities may remain under a great power and enjoy that full measure of autonomy we see in Canada, Australia, and South Africa—and expect to see in Ireland. Or they may form a federation such as we see in Switzerland.

In the discussion of this problem the most advanced and interesting suggestions have been those of that semi-Socialist, H. G. Wells. Wells' map brings us about half way to the kind of a map Socialists will draw, if they become a decisive factor in the settlement, as seems highly probable now. Wells favors the application of both systems for securing racial and national liberty. The Allies are to enlarge their territories while granting autonomy to the racial minorities; for example, all Poles are to enjoy autonomy under Russia. Austria, on the other hand, is to be broken up to provide at least two federations on the Swiss model. Let us take up Wells' suggestions in detail, in order to contrast with them the principles upon which Socialists will act when they have the opportunity. It is not intended definitely to predict the outcome, or even the exact position the Socialists will take, but only by means of these illustrations to show the general spirit by which Socialists will be guided. And we know what this spirit is through numerous, practically unanimous, and unmistakable decisions of Socialist congresses.

Wells begins his reconstruction of the map of Europe with the suggestion that France must recover Lorraine and Luxemburg,

in order to be linked in closer union with Belgium, and that Alsace should be given the choice between France and an entry into the Swiss confederation. On the contrary, French Socialists want almost unanimously to neutralize both Alsace and Lorraine. They want no more capitalistic wars with lost provinces as a real or pretended basis.

Wells contends that Denmark should have the distinctly Danish part of her lost provinces restored to her, and that Trieste and Trent, and perhaps Pola, should be restored to Italy. But the Socialists do not want Austria cut off from the Mediterranean, her only accessible sea, nor Germany from the Kiel Canal. The Kiel Canal they would neutralize. Italy would be given back her Austrian territory with the exception of the port that serves a hundred Austrians to one Italian.

"The break-up of the Austrian Empire has hung over Europe for forty years. Let us break it up now and have done with it," says Wells. Very well. The Austrian Socialists also want a loosely federated Republic and would be willing to let go a part of their territory in order to attain such a great object. But why not break up Russia, too? What about freeing Finland, the Baltic provinces, etc.? What about overthrowing the Czarism itself? Wells, it is true, wants to restrain Russia, but he does not want either to curtail Russia's territory or to remove her Czar. He even suggests that the Czarism be enlarged; that the three fragments of Poland should be united, and that the Czar of Russia should be crowned the King of Poland.

We are not primarily concerned here with these eccentricities of Wells. Party Socialists have long ago endorsed the idea of national autonomy and federations of nations, and are unanimously opposed to the Czarism. With him they favor a Greater Roumania and a Greater Serbia. They also favor a Greater Poland, a Greater Bohemia, and autonomy for Finland, the Caucasus, the Baltic Provinces, etc.—such states to be drawn up into federations on as large a scale as possible, and gradually to include all Europe.

There can not be the slightest question that the overwhelming majorities of the Socialists of all the neutral countries, of France, England, Russia, and Austria—and a large minority of the Germans—desire and expect two great revolutions as *equally important* results of the war: the overthrow of the two Kaisers and the overthrow of the Czar—together with the complete autonomy or independence of every conquered province of both Empires. The action of all the parties right up to the war, and even after its

outbreak, leaves no doubt about this. And the Socialist forces will ultimately be aided by no less than 50,000,000, perhaps even 75,000,000 members of subject races in Russia, Austria, and Germany. In Russia are the Poles, Finns, Letts, Jews, Armenians, Tartars, and Rumanians, only to mention the most important. These number at least 40,000,000. In Austria are the Poles, Bohemians, Ruthenians, Slovenians, and Italians, who number nearly 15,000,000. In Hungary are Rumanians, Croats, Slovaks, and Serbs to the number of about 15,000,000. In Germany there are 3,000,000 Poles and 3,000,000 Alsatians and Danes. So the Socialist hopes for revolutions in both camps are of the brightest.

But the revolution in Russia is fully as important as those in Germany and Austria. No gain of democratic France and England, or loss of Prussian militarism, would justify any advance of Russia's power—or even a check to the impending Russian revolution. Nothing on earth to-day, nothing whatever, even if it costs a million French and English lives, is so important for the whole world as the annihilation of the Russian Czarism, the extirpation of everything the Russian ruling classes stand for, and the destruction of the 16,000,000,000 French francs that are the financial basis on which the whole Russian system rests.

A war the magnitude of which can scarcely be overstated, a war that may overturn half a dozen thrones—will surely do something beyond creating one or two new little Swiss confederations, and its results will surely not be confined to Europe. Such a weakened Europe would doubtless please the government of England, and a large number of British citizens. A United States of Europe, or even *an approach* to it, would, on the other hand, be a menace to the integrity of the British Empire and to British control of the sea. Yet it is quite probable that a general European Customs Union (like the North German Federation of fifty years ago) will immediately follow the war, and prepare the ground for a federation that will later include the majority of the new and old states of continental Europe.

Now let us return once more from the map of Europe to the map of the world. America is rightly alarmed about that most menacing of all the imperialisms of the land, that of Germany. It seems little disturbed at the most threatening of all the imperialisms of the sea, that of Great Britain. We may agree that the militarism of the colossal army is a more grave menace to peace and democracy than the militarism of the largest navy. We may agree that Great Britain is a more democratic and a more peaceful country than Germany. We may even agree that, if some one nation should have absolute control over all the oceans of the earth—with all that

this implies—that power might as well be Great Britain. But no Socialists, outside of Great Britain, and by no means all British Socialists, are any more willing that Great Britain should have the hegemony of the seas, than they are willing that Germany should have the hegemony of half the earth.

All Socialists and all democrats, outside of Great Britain, want to see the control of the seas—and of all the great canals, including that of Panama—made international. Yet a highly probable result of the war will be immensely to increase Great Britain's superiority at sea. This—together with America's increased commerce—will undoubtedly be one of the chief forces driving the Continental European states first towards a tariff union, and then towards a general confederation.

The fleets of all the European powers together will scarcely equal the British after the war. And what is a far graver danger, such a confederation against Great Britain would almost immediately drive her into the arms of the United States. With Great Britain in control of the Suez Canal and the United States in control of Panama, and the two batten on the ruins of Continental Europe, no greater menace to the progress of the world's peace and democracy can be imagined than an alliance between these two powers. The Socialists—even in countries now allied with Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Russia—are fully aware of the gravity of this danger.

Where is the danger? Just here. The chief meaning of the control of the seas is the power it gives over the colored and so-called "inferior" races. And the "Anglo-Saxons" are overwhelmingly in favor of keeping all the colored races in a condition of inferiority. For example, they want to exclude Asiatics from America, Africa, and Australia, while forcing Asia to remain open to Anglo-Saxon capital and exports. This insane policy—which is not shared by the Continental nations—will add to the *rivalry* of Continental Europe, the bitter *enmity* of the whole population of Asia, and, we may add, also that of the people of South America and Mexico, who are freely intermarried with the despised colored races. Another world war between the great sea-powers—the United States, Great Britain and her colonies, on the one hand, and all the nations of Europe, Asia and South America, on the other—would ultimately become inevitable. There is not much doubt of the result. The "Anglo-Saxons" would be overwhelmed and progress towards peace and democracy would be resumed. All the countries of the world would once more be open to all the peoples of the world—as, indeed, they already were until about a generation ago, when the new reaction-

ary Anglo-Saxon doctrine of racial exclusion raised its head almost simultaneously in half a dozen parts of the globe. This racial exclusion policy was unanimously condemned by the International Socialist Congress in 1907.

So the Socialists of the world must resign themselves to the grim possibilities of a second world-war. But the second war—largely a sea-war and in no way so terrible as this present one—may come quickly and set the world forever at peace.

It is barely possible that the basis of independence for China and India will have been laid before the end of the present war, but it seems more probable that the colored races will have to wait until the world rises against the militarism of the sea as it has risen against the militarism of the land. This concerns us Socialists not only because half the working people of the world are colored, but because as long as these peoples are subject to the whites neither democracy nor peace—to say nothing of Socialism—will be attainable anywhere—even among whites.

RUSSIA THE REAL MENACE

BY CHARLES P. STEINMETZ

Socialism is utterly opposed to war as means of settling disputes between nations or between individuals. However, even as Socialists, we concede the necessity of self-defense when attacked, if necessary even by force. We must realize that with increasing spread of Socialism, a time may come, when some nations have accepted Socialism, while other more backward nations are still under capitalism. Then, if the Socialistic parties in the capitalistic nations are not strong enough to stop it, all the capitalist nations would undoubtedly under some pretext attack and try to destroy the Socialist nations. How far this was instrumental in the alliance of the foremost exponent of capitalism with the foremost exponent of feudalism in the attack on the nation in which Socialism had spread furthest, is difficult to estimate.

Leaving aside such hypocritical pretexts as the defense of neutrality of Belgium, or the punishment of the murder of the Austrian Crown Prince, the causes of the war plainly were twofold:

(1) The fight for supremacy between the German and the Slav races. Both are increasing in population; both require land

for expansion, and under capitalism this appears feasible only by war.

(2) England in commercial competition with Germany has been badly beaten, and its ruling classes, incompetent to meet German competition in the markets of the world—that is, in exploiting the other nations—now try to destroy their commercial competitor by war, just as Rome did 2000 years ago with Carthage and Korinth.

Neither is an argument with which a Socialist can sympathize: to add to the horrors of industrial competition those of war appears criminal, and racial differences vanish before International Socialism, just as it is immaterial, whether a personal monarch or impersonal capital exploits the people.

However, in Germany, military monarchism is not much feared by Socialism: with five million Socialists, with no illiterates and thus everybody accessible to printed argument, it is obvious that no important action, as a great war, could be undertaken against the united opposition of the Socialist Party. In Russia, however, with over 80 per cent. of the people illiterate and kept in ignorance by the autocratic government, inaccessible to argument by printed propaganda and thus ready and willing tools of the autocrat, Socialism has gained no foothold (except amongst the small minority of educated).

A victory of Russia and its dominion over Germany, thus threatens destruction to all that Socialism has accomplished, by submergency under an autocracy based on the illiterate masses.

This is not understood by Socialists of other countries, but is very vividly realized by German Socialists, who, close to Russia, appreciate the danger to civilization threatened. This undoubtedly was the reason which led the majority of the German Socialists to side with the government in preparing for a war of defense; it is the reason why a victory of the allies would, in my opinion, be disastrous to civilization, and set back the coming of Socialism.

CARRANZA'S CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY IN MEXICO

CARLO DE FORNARO

There cannot be a successful period of peace and reconstruction in Mexico until every "cientifico," every clerical, every army man who fought to support the principles or lack of principles of Huerta's party, has been driven out of the political arena of Mexico.

When Gen. Carranza flung his defiance to Gen. Huerta by his Plan of Guadalupe, he did not intend it as a political or reconstructive plan. The Guadalupe Plan was only a challenge to the Clerical party, and a rallying flag around which could unite all Liberal Mexicans. Only after the destruction of the army and of the Clerical party could Carranza and his supporters present a plan of reconstruction. While the three Constitutionalist armies of the East, Center and West were fighting slowly and successfully towards Mexico City, Gen. Carranza and scores of Liberals were working at the reconstruction of the captured States in the North—a military as well as civil government.

Upon the new President of Mexico will rest the solution of three important problems. The first one is the agrarian problem, the second the financial problem, and the third the rural school system. If Carranza is made President, he will be prepared to solve these problems.

There is an unwarranted suspicion, fomented by enemies of Gen. Carranza, that the Chief of the Constitutionals is not as radical as the generals under him. The best proof of his sincere radicalism is that years ago, as far back as 1893, Gen. Carranza fought and won a local revolution in the State of Coahuila against Gov. Garza Galan. During Madero's revolution, he fought side by side with him, and was the only one who protested against any compromise policy with the Diaz Government. The overthrow and assassination of Madero and Suarez proved that he was right. When Huerta came into power, Carranza was the only Maderista Governor who dared face the tyrant in a direct challenge.

Carranza understands that the agrarian question is of paramount importance and indispensable to peace.

The most obvious factor of the land question is the hugeness of the problem and the complexity of its details. There are millions of acres of government land and great landed estates. Many intelligent Mexicans have been studying several schemes whereby

an immediate solution can be found. All these suggestions and plans are being carefully considered by Gen. Carranza, who as President will empower a committee to choose the most practical and offer it to Congress for ratification.

Meanwhile an immediate solution can be found in the suggestion by M. C. Rolland, a young Mexican engineer, and Constitutionalist Consul in Mexico, in the reversion of the "egidos" or communal lands to their original owners, the villages.

Under Spanish rule, the land surrounding the small cities and villages belonged to the villagers in community. These lands were slowly absorbed by the church, but in 1860, after the three years' wars, President Juarez gave them back to the Indians. Under Porfirio Diaz they were again taken away. The end of the present revolution will be to repossess the Indians of the "egidos."

By a stroke of the pen, millions of Indians would become independent farmers, and the question of salaries would be solved automatically, as instead of working for a pittance in mines or as peons in "haciendas," the farmer would stick to his land.

In many cases the government would have to go to the rescue of the farmers by dividing great estates and advancing the money to pay for them, as was done in Chihuahua lately. The land was given to the man who could cultivate it, and land could not be resold for the space of 30 years, thereby preventing land speculation.

To assist the farmers in the payment of land, seeds and farm implements, the Government would have to make loans. That is where the financial reconstruction would come in.

The thinkers of the revolution have discovered that there must be a democratic finance to match the new democratic politics of Mexico, for if the banking and credit system of Mexico is allowed to revert back to the Limantour or European methods, the banks of Mexico will control the revolution within a very short period.

The leaders of the Constitutionals will have to control the capitalistic forces of the country, improvising by decree a central bank which shall monopolize the banking function, not for the purpose of enriching a few banks or bankers, but rather for the development of the country and the improving of the public estate.

The very important problem of reaching the rural Mexicans and educating them was worked out by M. C. Rolland, who for several months investigated the best rural school system in the United States for Gen. Carranza.

Another problem facing the revolutionary leaders, and which is being worked out by Gen. Carranza, is the release of the soldiers who have fought in the revolution. Some 125,000 armed men dis-

banded without work would be a great and constant menace to Mexico, and excellent material for unscrupulous leaders.

The plan comprises the release of the soldiers in their own States by giving them land to settle upon—in the same manner as was done by the Roman generals when they conquered nations.

The soldiers were allowed so many acres, forming colonies of soldiers who became agriculturists, but who, at the same time, were ready to fight at a moment's notice. In every State, they would be a rallying center, with the state capitals as the spokes, and Mexico City the hub of the wheel. This would eliminate a standing army, idle, corrupt and ready to follow blindly their chiefs, as happened with Huerta's soldiers.

The work of reconstruction in Mexico is being watched with great interest, and will be successful only if the reactionaries can be eliminated. It will be easier now that the European Powers are so busy flying at each other's throats. They will not meddle in the internal affairs of Mexico.

ZAPATA'S MANIFESTO

Signed by ZAPATA and Thirty-Five of His Officers

The revolutionary movement has attained its zenith and it is, therefore, time for the country to know the truth.

The existing revolution did not make itself for the purpose of satisfying the interests of any one personality, of any one group or of any one party. The existing revolution recognizes that its origins lie deeper and that it is pursuing higher finalities.

The peasant was hungry, was enduring misery, was suffering from exploitation. . . . He threw himself into revolt, not to conquer illusory political rights which do not feed him, but to procure for himself the piece of land which must supply him with food and liberty, a happy fireside, and a future of independence and growth.

They make a lamentable mistake who suppose that the establishment of a military government, that is to say, a despotic government, will insure the pacification of the country. It can be obtained only by the realization of the double operation of reducing to impotence the elements of the ancient regime, and creating new interests linked inextricably with the revolution, one with it, in danger if it is in danger, and prosperous if it becomes established and consolidated.

The first task, that of making it impossible for the reactionary group to be any longer a danger, is carried out by two different methods; by the exemplary punishment of the chiefs, of the great criminals, of the intellectual directors and active elements of the conservative faction, and by attacking the pecuniary resources they employ to work up intrigues and provoke revolutions; that is to say, by the subdivision of the properties of the hacienda owners and politicians who have put themselves at the front of the organized resistance to the popular movement which began in 1910 and has attained its crowning point in 1914.

In support of this subdivision there militates the circumstance that the greater part, not to say the whole, of the cultivable lands to be nationalized, represents interests created under the shadow of the Porfirio Diaz dictatorship.

The second task, that of creating powerful interests akin to the Revolution and in solidarity with it, will be brought to a happy conclusion when the natives, individually and in their communities, receive back the innumerable tracts of land of which they have been despoiled by the great landowners.

The Plan of Ayala, which translates and incarnates the peasants' ideals, satisfies both terms of the problem, for, while it treats the sworn enemies of the people as they deserve to be treated, reducing them by expropriation to impotence and innocuousness, it establishes, in articles 6 and 7, the two great principles of the return of stolen lands (an act of imperative justice), and the splitting-up of the expropriated cultivable lands (an act required alike by justice and expediency).

To take away from the enemy the means of doing damage was the wise tactic of the reformers of 1857, at the time when they despoiled the clergy of its immense possessions, which it used solely for the purpose of plotting conspiracies.

We may be sure that the country will not be satisfied with the timid reforms sketched so ingenuously by the lawyer, D. Isidro Fabela, Minister of Relations in the Carranzista government, and a man who is a revolutionist only in name, since he neither understands nor sympathizes with the Revolution's ideals. The country will not be contented with the mere abolition of pluck-me stores, if exploitation and fraud are to exist under other forms; it will not be satisfied with municipal liberties, exceedingly problematical as they are, while the basis of economic independence is still lacking; and still less will it be possible to wheedle it with a petty program of reforms in the laws dealing with land taxes, when what it is urging is the radical solution of the problem relating to the cultivation of the lands.

The country wants something more than the vaguenesses of Sr. Esbela, which the silence of Sr. Carranza is indorsing. It wishes to break, once and for all, with the feudal epoch, which is now an anachronism. It wishes to destroy with one stroke the relationships of lord and serf, overseer and slave, which, in the matter of agriculture, are the only ones which rule, from Tamaulipas to Chiapas and from Sonora to Yucatan.

The country people wish to live the life of civilization; to breathe the air of economic liberty which as yet they have not known; and this they never can do while there still remains afoot the traditional lord of the scaffold and the knife, who disposes at whim of the persons of his laborers; an extortioner of wages who annihilates them with excessive tasks, brutalizes them by misery and ill treatment, dwarfs and exhausts his race by the slow agony of slavery and the enforced withering of human beings whose stomachs and empty brains are ever hungry.

First a military and then a parliamentary government, with administrative reforms in order that the reorganization may endure; an ideal probity in the management of the public funds, official responsibilities scrupulously exacted, liberty of the press for those who do not know how to write, liberty to vote for those to whom the candidates are unknown, the correct administration of justice for those who will never employ a lawyer—all these democratic prettinesses, all these fine words in which our grandfathers and fathers took such delight, have lost today their magic attraction and significance to the people. The people have seen that with elections and without them, with suffrage and without it, with the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz and with the democracy of Madero, with the press gagged and with the press given the fullest liberty, always and in all circumstances, it has still to chew the cud of its bitter lot, to endure its miseries, to swallow humiliations that know no end. For this reason, and with abundantly good cause, it fears that the liberators of today may prove themselves like the leaders of yesterday, who clipped their beautiful radicalism at Ciudad Juarez and in the National Palace forgot all about their seductive promises.

Therefore the Agrarian Revolution, distrusting chiefs who are looking for their own triumph, has adopted, as a precaution and as a guarantee, the most just rule that the revolutionary leaders of all the country shall be the ones to choose the first magistrate as Provisional President, charged with the duty of calling the elections; for it knows well that on the Provisional President depends the future of the Revolution and, along with that, the fate of the Republic.

What could be more just than that all those interested—the chiefs of the groups engaged in the fight, the representatives of the people in arms—should agree in the selection of the functionary in whose hands there must be placed the tabernacle of the revolution's promises, the sacred ark of the people's aspirations? Why should the so-called Constitutionalists fear the crucible of revolutionary revision or shrink from rendering tribute to the democratic principle that the candidate should be discussed freely by those interested?

Any other method of procedure will be not only disloyal but dangerous, for the Mexican people has shaken off its indifference, has recovered its courage and will not be the one to allow others to erect their own government on its back.

There is still time in which to reflect and avoid the conflict. If the Leader of the Constitutionalists considers that he has the popularity necessary to stand the proof of its submission to a vote of the revolutionists, let him submit to it without vacillation; and if the Constitutionalists truly love the people and understand what they demand, let them do homage to its sovereign will, accepting with sincerity and without any reticences the Plan of Ayala—expropriation of the lands for the sake of public utility, expropriation of the property of the people's enemies, and restitution to the towns and communities of the domains of which they have been despoiled.

If that is not done, they may rest assured that the agitation of the masses will continue, that the war will go on in Morelos, in Guerrero, in Puebla, in Oaxaca, in Mexico, in Tlaxcala, in Michoacan, in Hidalgo, in Guanajuato, in San Luis Potosi, in Tamaulipas, in Durango, in Zacatecas, in Chihuahua, wherever there are lands redivided or to be redivided, and the great movement of the South, supported by all the country population of the Republic, will continue until, conquering all opposition and combating all resistance, it shall have finally snatched, by the hands of its warriors, blackened with powder, the lands which its false liberators have undertaken to keep from it.

THE YES AND NO OF WAR AND PEACE

BY HORACE TRAUBEL

Nothing's so horrible to me as war. Nothing but peace. Or I might say it the other way about. Nothing's so horrible to me as peace. Nothing but war. Anything with capitalism in it is horrible to me. We talk of civilized warfare. We might as well talk of civilized capitalism. We talk of the war against war. There is only one war against war. The war against capitalism: that's the only war against war. You ask me to look at the outrages of war. I'm too busy for that. I'm too busy looking at the outrage to spend any time over the outrages. I see the dead men in the trenches. And then I see the dead men in wage lists and dividends and profits. There's not only nothing I refuse to see. There's nothing I'm not obliged to see. I even see scraps of paper. Scraps of paper only dated and signed that are yet malign. And then scraps of paper without a word in them that contains a sacred message. I put the same question up to all the fighters. What are you doing for me? For the average man? For the general life? I see what you're doing for Germany and England and France and Russia. But that don't interest me. What are you doing for me? I don't look to governments for an answer. Nor to monarchs or diplomats. Nor to plutocrats nor to great men. I look to revolutions for an answer. You say this war is a cataclysm. You describe it in various words. But there's only one word for it if there's any word for it. Revolution: that's the word. War is anything that's against the people. Peace is anything that's for the people. Some wars are so full of peace that they almost excuse themselves. Some peaces are so full of war that they are inexcusable. How dare you go to war? How dare you be at peace? Nobody has asked for war. But everybody has got war. England's going to save Germany. Germany's going to save England. France's going to save Germany, too. And Russia's going to save Germany. It looks as if Germany has more chances than the others of being saved. But after you've saved your governments and your ballots and your diplomacies and your bondholders who's going to save the people? Everybody's going to save everything but the people. Even the people are going to save everybody and everything but the people. Who'll save the people? It looks as if the people would be left to save themselves. So far in history they've been so concerned to save their masters that they've neglected themselves. So the few were always saved and the many were always damned. The Czar wants to give his last moujik to

save himself. He says so. The Kaiser is willing to give a million men to save himself. He also says so. And Asquith will give the last Englishman and the last English dollar to save himself. He likewise says so. Even the mild Laurier in Canada is willing to give Canada's last man and last dollar to save himself. He says so. And so they're all giving everybody else to save themselves. But meanwhile who's giving anything to save the people? I'm listening. I want to hear. Who? I'm waiting to see how soon the people say they'll give the last crowns of kings and the last dollars of plutocracies to save themselves. This war's asking me questions I can't answer. But I'm asking the war questions it'll have to answer. I hate to see crowds fighting other crowds. I hate worse to see the crowd fighting itself. People who can make a big noise about the neutrality of a patch of land called a country are dead still about a patch of soul called a man. The crime of German militarism is not that it violated Belgium, but that it violates Germany. The German army is the arch crime of the land. The English navy is the arch crime of the sea. Treaties, constitutions, guarantees, alliances, ententes: they're all in the way. We can't get at the truth till we get them out of the way. Borderlines are all in the way. We can't get at peoples till we get borderlines out of the way. I'd like to see the peoples so mixed up, so confused together, crossing and recrossing all the forbidden boundaries, till you couldn't discover the end of one country and the beginning of another country with a microscope. I'm for war because I want peace. I'm for peace because I want war. And then I'm for both because I want neither. Romain Rolland says to Hauptmann: "Kill men if you like, but respect masterpieces." Rolland is a wise man. I say: "Kill masterpieces if you like, but respect men." I am a fool. He says we should respect the masterpieces. I say we should respect the masterpiece. I have seen people shed tears over Rheims who've never shed a tear over New York. They can see a dead church, but they can't see a dead man. They can see a violated policy, but they can't see a violated person. It's easy to blame somebody for the war. But it's hard to prove the war on anybody. It's easy to blame the German army. But it's hard to prove the English navy. It's easy to blame the Serbian assassin. But it's hard to prove the Russian national debt. It's easy to blame something. It's hard to prove anything. The powder was everywhere. It was ready to be set off. Who put the powder there? That comes before who threw the match? It's easy to prove the magazine. But it's hard to prove the explosion. There's so much of the king still in every subject and so much of the master still in every slave and so much of the grafter still in every worker that I find it impossible to put values where they belong. I'm only

sure of one thing. I'm sure of the people. What I'm looking for is the people. I read the stories of battles expecting the people to emerge from them.

The mortal carnage horrifies and terrifies me. But I look past it to the immortal democracy. I shudder over what I see. But I'm exalted through what I feel. My heart has gone far beyond my eyes. There are millions of me. And we're all at war. There I am in multitudes murdering my body. There are other millions of me. And we're all at peace. There I am in multitudes resurrecting my soul.

PARLIAMENTARY SOCIALISM

BY BENJAMIN GLASSBERG

In reading "The Socialist Movement,"* one cannot but feel that the editors of the Home University Library made an unfortunate selection in choosing such an extreme believer in parliamentarism as Ramsay MacDonald to review the present world-wide status of Socialism. A man who has no conception of the tremendous work of organization that must be done in the industrial field (as, for example, on page 150: "The battlefield of Socialism is parliament") can hardly be expected to give a sympathetic treatment of the divergent tendencies in the Socialist movement. The entire book is pregnant with conservatism and compromise, with the evident desire of avoiding all pitfalls and smoothing out all disputes.

He relegates the idea of the class struggle to the scrap-heap: "The conflict is an incident in an evolution towards complete social harmony and the motive for the evolution is not *economic* but intellectual and moral" (page 148). Mind you, the mine workers of Ludlow and Calumet—the fighters in countless struggles for industrial justice—were moved by intellectual and moral, not by economic considerations. Does not President Wilson tell us that our hard times are psychological?

But to continue: "The Socialist, therefore, cannot consistently address himself to class sentiment or class prejudice. He ought indeed to look away from it, because any victory won as the result of siding with one party in the struggle only perpetuates what he desires to eliminate. The appeal to class interest is an appeal to the existing order whether the class addressed is the rich or the poor. It is the anti-Socialist who makes class appeals;

* The Socialist Movement, by Ramsay MacDonald; 253 pp. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 50 cents.

the Socialist makes Social appeals. Class-consciousness is an asset of the defenders of the existing order of exploitation. The idea of the class war no longer represents the motive forces organizing Socialism. Those who still use it are like those more backward religious communities which express their theologies in terms used before there was a science of geology" (page 149).

Now do you see, dear reader, what a lot of back numbers so many of us are, who insist that to arouse the class-consciousness of the workers is one of the highest functions of the Socialist Party? Even Keir Hardie, the leader of the Independent Labor Party, whose Socialism is questioned by some, in a letter to the writer (May 5, 1913), states: "The Independent Labor Party certainly does not refuse to acknowledge the Class War." But perhaps that is because like so many of us, Keir Hardie actually has seen the class war in action.

Our author is evidently determined to break as many Socialist theories as possible. On page 144, we find: "The materialist conception of history is after all one-sided and inadequate. The toy did not satisfy every want. It did not meet every emergency. Its assumption cannot explain events when considered absolutely and alone." Will MacDonald please tell us why we should consider events "absolutely and alone," and what meaning events have when so considered, torn from the movements in which they act as mile-posts? Is it that "events" equal history in our author's mind?

Mr. Simkhovitch contends that only the economic interpretation of history is essential to Socialist theory. Professor Seligman insists that to be a believer in Socialism, it is not at all necessary to accept the theory of the economic interpretation of history. Now we have MacDonald telling us that the follower of Socialism must repudiate the economic interpretation of history.

Most interesting of his summaries of the condition of the Socialist movement throughout the world is what he has to say about Socialism in America. "Up to now (1911), the Socialist Party has been inspired mainly by intellectuals, but it is getting into closer and closer touch with the Trade Unions through the American Federation of Labor and in a few years the alliance will be complete" (page 228). Had MacDonald claimed that the union of Socialism and Labor would eventually come about through such organizations as the United Mine Workers of America or the Western Federation of Miners, we might credit him with some familiarity with American Labor conditions. As it is, it is not possible to consider very seriously what he has to say regarding Socialism in America.

Of Referendum and Proportional Representation he says: "The former is but a clumsy and ineffective weapon, far more useful to the few than to the many. The other adds greatly to the expense of elections; makes majorities more dependent upon stray odd men in the legislature. Democracy in government can be secured only by an efficiently working machine and not by an elaborate set of paper perfections of beautiful but intangible delicacy" (page 153). What more could Taft say? Modest indeed is MacDonald's idea of the Socialist machinery of Democracy—shorter parliaments and adult suffrage.

A BOOK OF POEMS

SUNLIGHT AND SHADOW. By Louise W. Kneeland (Sherman, French & Co.)

These poems divide themselves into three classes, those that deal with nature, with love, and with society. In all of them there breathes the spirit of a very deep personality. Here are feelings, ideals, aspirations, here is a love which is marked deep by the sign of that future to which the writer of these poems belongs. Like all real Socialists, she incarnates the New Order.

Many of the poems in this book have appeared in the *NEW REVIEW*—among them the stirring and beautiful lyrics, "I Buried My Love," and "The Gift." In these there is a depth, a poignancy, a sweet bitterness, not often to be found—a subterranean sea of tragic feeling breaks and tosses beneath them.

"To New York City," the most forceful and original of her poems, needs no comment:

I have built you
And I can raze you
And build you again,
O towering cliffs
Of a thousand eyes
Looking down
On pitiful tenements!
Unceasingly swing your
Iron cages twixt
Heaven and Earth,
Bearing the slaves
Of the pointed stick
And the blue-lined page
To their task,
While crawls and spins
The cabined life
Of the streets
Driven by greed
A prey to the whirling wheel.

I have built you
And I can raze you
And build again.

Slowly the smoke rises
From the fire
Of a million hearts.
Up from the hideous streets
It ascends, the smoke
Of that hidden fire,
Up past the cliffs
Of a thousand eyes.

I have built you
And I can raze you
And build again.

Beware that fire,
O towering cliffs
Of a thousand eyes
Looking down
On pitiful tenements.

The poem called "Hail!" carries out the same passion of her humanity and expresses the same reverence for the individual, the same consummate democracy.

"I Cannot Rest by Night or Day," is the outcry of her heart against the conditions of slavery and misery that she finds in the world. It has a haunting music and great force. Even the last stanza, didactic though it is, is poetical and searching:

Oh! Can you rest by night or day?
Have you not heard the weary cries
Of those who faint upon the way
That up the Mount of Sorrow lies?

But the poem that beyond any in the book carries the whole weight of her reaction against the modern chaos and barbarism we call Society, the one that breathes with all her revolutionary fire, the one that suggests most the war that rages between the People and the Powers, is called "The Oath."

Hear us, ye Damned!
By the starved child's
Pitiful cry, the sunken
Eyes, the pale and hollow
Cheeks, robbed of
The glowing rose;
By the short and labored
Breath, the racking pain,
The body's slow decay;
By all the agony
Brooding in the mother's
Heart, the muttered
Curses on the lips of men
Tortured by their helplessness,

Hear us, ye Damned!
By these, by these
We swear, that we,
Who have the power,
Will use it
To bring about
The REVOLUTION!

Hear us, ye Damned!
By the strain of man's
Upward striving, the sweat,

The long nights and days
Of his unfulfilled desire;
By the sword that slays,
The fagot's burning breath,
The dungeon's bitter walls
Of loneliness, the frenzied
Shriek, mocked even as it
Rises in the shuddering air;
By the weary sighs of men
Spent in the fight
For Freedom's crown;
By the lost hopes, yea,
By all the patient efforts
That have failed,
By the tears, the sorrow
Hidden in the night,

Hear us, ye Damned!
By these, by these
We swear
That we
Who have the power,
Will use it
To bring about
The REVOLUTION,
Hear us, ye DAMNED!

The book is dedicated to Nature, whom she loves passionately and sensitively—"To The Great Mother," whom she sings in her poems, "Spring," "June," "Autumn," "Winter," and in the "Song of the Singing Leaves." Always, whatever her cup contains, it is her own; she drinks out of her own cup. She has the poet's feeling and the poet's lyrical expression.

ANNA STRUNSKY WALLING.

A SOCIALIST DIGEST

SHALL THE INTERNATIONAL BE REORGANIZED?

Three positions are possible towards this question: that there shall be no re-organization; that there shall be a re-organization with all nationalistic Socialists excluded, and that there should be a re-organization with the exclusion only of those whose nationalism is of a militarist character, for example, those responsible for the support of the Kaiser by the German Socialist Party.

Apparently the only Socialists outside of Germany to take the stand that no re-organization is demanded are certain conservative groups in the United States and England. In England the Social Democrats demand the exclusion of the German supporters of militarism. The following is from the pen of the leading theorist of the Social Democratic Party, Belfort Bax, in the *London Justice*, which, though obviously aimed at the German Party, applies with equal force to the International:

What the "Party" is that is unified, what its aims and aspirations are, is apparently quite a secondary consideration. For the "Revisionist" certainly the "Party" is everything, its principles nothing. And it must not be forgotten that the canker of Revisionism has eaten far into the vitals of the "Party." Has not Dr. Frank, one of the chief Revisionist leaders, declared to a *Daily Mail* correspondent that the "great idea of the overwhelming bulk of German Socialists is the establishment of a genuinely constitutional monarchy and Parliamentary government on English lines"? (!) Dr. Südekum, and certain other Revisionists, we understand, defend the Prussian Government in the present war. The "Party," I suppose, for fear of breaking its precious "unity," will retain the Franks, the Südekums and the Schippels in its midst, and what is more, will expect consistent Social-Democrats to sit together with such men as these at International Congresses. As for us, we say "Damn unity," at such a price!

The New York *Volkszeitung* takes the second position, that the International must be re-organized on a definitely anti-patriotic basis.

The International will be resurrected, certainly. But will it be only to sink again, only to fall apart once more, to become the football of nationalist capitalist interests?

The *Volkszeitung* contends that the German Socialist majority were not traitors, and really believed that German civilization was in danger. But it calls attention to the fact that the French believed that French civilization was in danger from Germany:

To the French their civilization and their political democracy is superior to the German; they say their country was menaced by German militarism and acted in the interests of the nation's civilization. The same was true of a part of the English comrades who declared themselves in favor of the war credits, and certainly the Dutch, Scandinavian, and even the Italian comrades, under the same circumstances would not feel differently.

In other words the International of Labor will only be built up again and will only be able to remain unshaken by war, if it throws all those of nationalistic tendencies on the dung-heap.

The old maxim according to which internationalism is not opposed to patriotism but favors it, has been proven untrue by the severe test of reality. Patriotism is nationalism, the emphasis on and preference for the interest of one's own country and so the negation of internationalism.

This amounts to a statement that from the Socialist standpoint the political institutions and the civilization of one country are, on the whole, no better than those of another, or at least that the difference is not great enough to justify war. The feeling behind the *Volkszeitung* position is correct. Internationalism does exclude nationalism. But internationalism does not mean that all political forms and civilizations should be put on one level. Russia is ahead of China. Germany is ahead of Russia. France is ahead of Germany.

Not only do these differences exist, but the preservation of the superior civilizations is worth enormous sacrifices, and it is the opinion of Guesde and others of our best internationalists that they are worth war.

W. E. W.

GERMAN SOCIALISTS WHO ARE AGAINST THE WAR

A statement, contradicting the notion which has been spread abroad that German Socialists generally are in favor of the war, has been issued by Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and Clara Zetkin, and published in the Swiss Socialist paper, *Volksrecht*.

In the Socialist press of the neutral countries of Sweden, Italy, and Switzerland Comrades Dr. Südekum and Richard Fischer have attempted to portray the attitude of the German Social Democrats toward the present war in the light of their own ideas. We feel ourselves forced by this to explain in the same place that *we, and*

certainly many other German Social Democrats, look on the war, its causes and its character, as well as on the rôle of Social Democrats at the present time, from a standpoint which in no way corresponds to that of Dr. Südekum and Herr Fischer.

The statement adds that "at the present time the state of martial law makes it impossible for us to give public expression to our views."

KAUTSKY ON THE SOCIALIST PEACE POLICY

The conditions of peace which will be, at the conclusion of this war, desired and demanded by Socialists everywhere, have already been formulated by Karl Kautsky. In several articles in the *Neue Zeit* he discusses thoroughly this subject.

His views are, to begin with, based on the belief that the war will make the development of Socialism vastly more rapid than it would have been without the war. He thinks that this will apply to all countries, although Germany and Austria will follow rather than lead the others:

Even we of Germany and Austria will gain a new basis for the class struggle, new conditions of struggle and new recruits. New and greater Socialist struggles will follow certainly with other parties, perhaps also within our own party. Many difficult situations may be produced, but the first result, in spite of all the threatening complications of nationalism and all the suffering and horror of war, must be an increased strength of the proletariat, a more rapid development towards its final goal—assuming that the war is followed by lasting peace and by lasting emancipation of the people from the burden of armaments. If the conclusion of peace should only bring a truce with feverish preparation for a new world war, then the centre both of the social and economic development would pass away from the heart of Europe, where it was placed by the war of 1870, to a new environment. The progress of mankind will not cease in this case, but Europe will cease to lead it.

As to the conditions that Socialists will demand, Kautsky agrees with the Socialists of England and indeed with peace advocates in general. We take the following summary of his views from *London Justice*:

Democracy can only find its best expression in a State which consists of one nation, speaking one language. Modern production brings the people ever into closer touch with each other. The more the inner divisions fall away, the more all the members of the State speak the same language, the more intensively can economic.

intellectual, and political life proceed. And within this method of production is arising the co-operation of the lower classes in intellectual and political life, which means additional strength to every nation. In a national State both these tendencies combine and strengthen one another. In a State of various nationalities they come into hostile collision with each other, and have a paralyzing effect on the economic and political process, all the stronger as development progresses.

It would therefore be a sad, backward step if any of the great national States which are at war were to use a victory in order to annex foreign territory, and thus become a nationality State instead of a national State. That would be a great misfortune, not only for the defeated, but for the victors. Such action would also be an injury to the independence of nations, and each of the nations involved have sworn that they only wanted to protect their own independence and integrity.

That is not to say that any changes in the map of Europe would contradict this principle. Where nations are now under foreign rule, the overthrow of such rule would be beneficial in the above manner. If, for instance, Russia being defeated, the inhabitants of Poland, the Baltic Provinces and Finland were to claim the right to manage their own affairs without external coercion, that would be quite in accord with the laws of democracy. The same would apply to Egypt and Persia.

It is also of paramount importance to all nations that when the war comes to an end the causes which produced it should end likewise. A local conflict between Austria and Servia would not have been able to set the whole world on fire in a moment if the armament competition had not already divided Europe into two hostile camps. To put an end to this state of things should be easier after the war. Probably the defeated nations will be compelled to disarm, and this will indirectly affect also the armaments of their antagonists.

In this compulsory disarmament of the defeated, it must be our business as Social-Democrats to protest against any humiliating or degrading forms that it may assume. But the thing itself is most earnestly to be desired. Social-Democrats in all countries will support disarmament, and the diminution in the menace from their neighbors' armaments will give them a firm basis in so doing.

A third point to be considered is that of commercial treaties. The existing treaties will be destroyed through the war, and new ones will be concluded. Under the pressure of war much hitherto unattainable may become attainable. It is possible that the victor may find it to his interest to force free trade, or something approaching it, on the defeated nations. Or several nations may constitute themselves into a Tariff Union. This would mean progress if it were not used as a means of *drawing free-trade countries into a protected area*, which latter must be fought against.

The one important point—though it is by far the most important of all—at which Kautsky differs from other Socialist and non-Socialist peace advocates, is that he does not favor an Interna-

tional Police Force, or a League of Peace. He makes his motive clear. Such an International army to replace national armies would merely mean, under capitalistic conditions, the substitution of an "ultra imperialistic policy" for the present imperialism. That is, the backward races would be more exploited than ever, and every revolution of the proletariat even in the most advanced nations would be easily put down.

Kautsky points out that there is little if anything to be gained from the capture of colonies, since they pay little or nothing, and moreover would be likely to make a vigorous resistance to a change of masters. But he goes farther and declares that even war indemnities are economically unsound. He attempts to show that Germany lost more than she gained through the indemnity of 1870, since it encouraged an inflation of prices, and aggravated a very severe industrial depression and financial panic. If France and Belgium are crushed by a demand for a big indemnity, England and Russia, which cannot possibly be crushed, would arm more vigorously than ever against Germany.

The one gain Kautsky sees for Germany, aside from the indirect effect of Russian progress, is the probable democratization of the army itself, and the treatment of all property in the country during the war as national property. In the French Revolution the enemy was beaten by an army recruited for the first time from all the people, and all property was looked upon as the property of the nation so far as the war demanded it. "The more the army becomes a people's army, the greater the influence of the people on the army, and in the army, and the greater also the influence of the army on the people."

MILITARISM AND CULTURE

Among the signers of one of the best known defenses of German militarism, in which it is upheld as indispensable for the protection of German culture, were a number of radicals, such as Brentano, Foerster, Haeckel and Ostwald among the scientists, and Hauptmann, Klinger and Thoma among the literati. The German Socialist press has repudiated this line of argument, and our American *Volkszeitung* has joined in the repudiation:

This appeal to the world of culture, which as a matter of fact is nothing but the shameless praise of that militarism which has degraded the German name and is opposed to all culture, is a deeply regrettable indication of the demoralization which the war has

brought about. It is a monument of shame, which even the greatest contribution of the signers to the progress of the world can never make us forget.

All German Socialists will agree that many of the so-called products of German culture are indeed kept alive solely by German militarism and class rule. But there is also another culture which is really international and not national in its character and needs no militarism to insure its survival.

A NEW DEMOCRATIC RUSSIA?

Many Russian Socialists and revolutionists expect a liberalization of Russia as a result of the war. This opinion is general among French Socialists and is also widely held among the Socialists and radicals of England. More convincing is the opinion of the leading Socialist writer of Germany to the same effect. In a recent article in the *Neue Zeit* on Imperialism, Kautsky first warns the German Social-Democrats of the effect of the war, in arousing Russian patriotism, and then goes on to predict its later and more beneficent results. Here is his warning:

No doubt the expectation, which made the war popular among many Party comrades that it would be a sovereign means of overturning the Czarism may easily prove mistaken. In Russia too the war may become a popular war and the fight against the invading Germans may appear more important to the Russian proletariat than the fight against the Czar.

But, as he goes on to say—

The war can scarcely be waged for any long period without concessions by the Czar, grants of greater liberty which are perhaps not very earnestly intended, but which nevertheless cannot be taken back after the war, unless it becomes a glorious and brilliant victory [for Russia] which does not seem probable at the present time.

We must reckon with the possibility that a Russia will issue from the war which, even if not a republic but only a constitutional monarchy, will nevertheless show greater freedom than its neighbors. It only needs freedom to develop its great natural resources, and the advantage to the inner market of an empire of more than one hundred and sixty million inhabitants—assuming of course that increased armaments do not hold it back.

Thus, not only does Kautsky anticipate a great improvement in Russia, but he believes that Russia will develop greater freedom than Germany and Austria. And his best hope for these two latter countries is that "they could not long withdraw themselves from the influence of Russian progress,"

Kautsky's views of the *ultimate* effects of the war on Russia are still more optimistic. While Germany, being an industrial country, may suffer losses not easy to repair, Russia as an agricultural country may actually gain from the era of high agricultural prices which will rule after the war. Russian defeats will then only stir the country to greater efforts:

In this agrarian empire the danger to industry by the war may be compensated for by the gains to agriculture. If it is defeated at present, this is due to its lack of communication, the ignorance of its people, the corruption of its administration, the lack of freedom of initiative and organization of the masses. Far more than the Russo-Japanese war, the present war must force the Russian colossus to modernize itself. Whether this takes place through the overthrow of the Czarism, or through voluntary liberal concessions, has nothing to do with the economic effects. It is enough that a free era is possible for Russia which may overcome its deficiencies with gigantic strides. With this the Russian danger would cease for the *democracy* of Europe. But the Russian danger would then for the first time become a really burning one for *military* powers. Give one hundred and sixty million men freedom, well-being and knowledge, and their numbers will soon make them dominant.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY OPINION

The two factions of the Russian Social Democratic Party, which joined to protest against the war at its outset, have now refused to vote for the new war loan of a billion dollars demanded by the government.

The Socialist press of Russia has been entirely suppressed since the beginning of the war, but we have an extended expression of Russian Socialist views from Martoff, one of the revolutionist leaders, in a series of letters to the *Novy Mir*, the Russian Socialist weekly of New York.

Martoff deals in his first letter with the necessity to gather together the forces of the International. He refers to the conference held by the Italian and Swiss Socialists in Lugano, where they had decided to work to prevent the extension of the war among the now neutral countries; and makes a strong appeal to the American Socialists to concentrate their efforts and fight for the ending of the war. Especially must we appeal to the workers of the warring nations and tell them that they cannot expect any liberating influence from the war, and that they must join together in a "war on war."

In a second article, Martoff suggests that the greatest duty before the Socialists of the world is the work for immediate peace.

He criticizes the French Socialists who say that they will fight until Prussian militarism is crushed, and the German Socialists who say that they will fight until Russian absolutism is crushed. The Socialists will be the losers if the war goes on, no matter who wins, for the Socialists can never expect to gain anything through war; the International, as he says, never suggested that the Polish question, or the Balkan question, or that of Alsace and Lorraine, should be settled by war. He rejoices over the stand taken by the Russian Socialists and asserts that that should be the stand of all the Socialists in the warring nations.

Peter Kropotkin, in a letter to Professor Steffen of Sweden, takes the opposite view, and argues that the defeat of Germany is indispensable for the Socialist revolutionary cause:

I consider that the duty of every one who cherishes the ideals of human progress altogether, and especially those that were inscribed by the European proletarians on the banner of the International Working Men's Association, is to do everything in one's power, according to one's capacities, to crush down the invasion of the Germans into Western Europe.

The German Socialist leaders themselves, he reminds us, protested, and were imprisoned for protesting, against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871, as making inevitable new wars, the growth of Prussian militarism, the militarization of all Europe, and the arrest of all social progress.

The French knew that Metz, of which the Germans had made, not a fortress for the defence of the territory they had appropriated, but a fortified camp for aggressive purposes, was within less than 10 days' march from Paris, and that on the day of a declaration of war (or even before that day) an army of 250,000 men could march out of Metz against Paris, with all its artillery and train.

Under such conditions a country cannot be free, and France was not free in her development, just as Warsaw is not free under the guns of the Russian citadel and the surrounding fortresses, and Belgrade was not free under the Austrian guns of Zemlin.

Since 1871 Germany had become a standing menace to European progress. All countries were compelled to introduce obligatory military service on the lines it had been introduced in Germany, and to keep immense standing armies. All were living under the menace of a sudden invasion.

It was not to fight Russia, says Kropotkin, that Germany in 1866 laid her hands upon Denmark and annexed the province of Schleswig-Holstein. It was not against Russia, but against France and England, that Germany built her enormous navy, that she dug and fortified the Kiel Canal, and established the military seaport of Wilhelmshafen, where an invasion of England or a raid upon Brest and Cherbourg can be prepared in full security and secrecy.

The decision, he says, of declaring the present war was taken in German as soon as the works on the enlargement and the fortification of the Kiel Canal had been terminated in a great hurry this summer, on June 20.

Kropotkin enumerates the disastrous consequences if Germany were victorious.

As to the danger of Russia becoming a bigger menace than Germany, Kropotkin says:—

To this question every serious person will probably answer, that when you are menaced by a great, very great danger, the first thing to do is to combat this danger and then see to the next. Belgium and a good deal of France are conquered by Germany, and the whole civilization of Europe is menaced by its iron fist. Let us cope first with this danger.

Those who know Russia and her last movement certainly feel that autocracy will never more be re-established in the forms it had before 1905, and that a Russian Constitution could never take the Imperialist forms and spirit which Parliamentary rule has taken in Germany. As to us, who know Russia from the inside, we are sure that the Russians never will be capable of becoming the aggressive, warlike nation Germany is. Not only the whole history of the Russians shows it, but with the Federation Russia is bound to become in the very near future such a warlike spirit would be absolutely incompatible.

Plechanoff, Russia's leading Marxist, perhaps the best-known Socialist writer in the world after Kautsky, in a letter sent to the British Social Democrats, takes a similar view. Here is the letter:

Dear Comrades,—For some time past there has been a good deal said in your journal about the Franco-Russian alliance.

If I am not mistaken, there are those of our comrades in England who take quite seriously the statements of the German General Staff that, in beginning this war, they desired to fight against Russian barbarism.

This argument cannot be upheld. Russian barbarism is the despotism of the Czar. But how is it possible to believe that the Emperor of the Junkers has any intention of destroying the power of the Emperor of the "Black Hundreds"?

Since our Revolution of 1905-6, Wilhelm II. has been the strongest support of his brother, Nicholas II. In Russia everybody knows it, and so true is it that even at the present time—even during the war itself—the extreme reactionary party leans toward Wilhelm. The organ of this party, the *Russian Flag* (which is known in Russia as the *Prussian Flag*) is doing its best to exonerate the Germans from the atrocities which have called forth the just indignation of the entire civilized world.

It is not for freedom that Germany has declared war. No, comrades. She made war for the conquest of economic supremacy. This is the Imperialist programme which she strives to realize,

And, so far as my country is concerned, once vanquished by Germany it would become her economic vassal.

Germany would impose upon Russia such onerous conditions as would render her further economic evolution terribly difficult. But as economic evolution is the basis of social and political evolution, Russia would thus lose all, or nearly all, the chances of bringing Tsarism to an end.

That is why there is among us only the extreme reactionary party which can reasonably hope for the triumph of Germany.

The Socialist world must not be led astray by the phraseology of the Great German General Staff. The victory of Germany means the setback of progress in Western Europe and the definite, or almost indefinite, triumph of Russian despotism.

Yours very truly, GEORGES PLECHANOFF.

ARMAMENTS AND CAPITALISM

Many Socialists have pointed out that the capitalist interests lose rather than gain by war. An article by Kautsky in a recent number of the *Neue Zeit* discusses this subject:

There is no necessity for the continuation of the competition in armaments after the world war, not even from the standpoint of the capitalist class itself. Only the armament manufacturers are interested. [And the proposed nationalization of armament manufacture would abolish even this danger.]

On the contrary, the whole capitalist economy is menaced to the last degree by this very opposition between its various governments. Every far-seeing capitalist must cry out to his comrades to-day: "Capitalists of all countries unite. . . ."

It is not only to the interest of all capitalist governments to make an end of war, but there is a very strong tendency in that direction. This kind of competitive imperialism is coming to cost more than it is worth, and competition is leading to combination in international affairs just as it has in private industry:

Even before the war the regrettable phenomenon was seen that since the Balkan war the competition of armaments as well as the cost of colonies had reached a height which threatened the rapid progress of the accumulation of capital, and with this the export of capital, that is, the very economic basis of imperialism itself.

One can say of imperialism, what Marx said of capitalism: Monopoly creates competition, and competition creates monopoly.

The cut-throat competition of big business concerns, big banks of millionaires, created the combination idea of the great financial powers which swallowed up the smaller. So now a combination of the strongest among the great imperialistic powers may proceed out of the world war and put an end to competition in armaments.

A combination of the great powers, the decrease of armaments and the end of war would not mean the end of capitalism. Instead

it would simply mean more efficient exploitation of the "lower" races and of the proletariat of all countries. Peace will be far more serviceable to capitalism than war:

From the purely economic standpoint it is not impossible that capitalism is developing into still another phase, the application of the trustification policy to foreign politics, a phase of *ultra imperialism* which we must naturally fight just as energetically as imperialism, but the dangers of which lie in another direction, not in that of armament and the endangering of the peace of the world.

FOR ITALIAN NEUTRALITY

A manifesto of the Italian Socialist Party was issued September 22nd. After inveighing against the misery caused by the war, it asserts that the responsibility for the war is to be put upon, not this nation or that, but upon "the present capitalistic system, based on the internal rivalry of the classes, and external rivalry of the States, which creates in its development forces which at a given moment it can no longer contain and dominate."

Italy alone of all the greater countries has been able to keep out of the gigantic conflict and to declare itself neutral. To bring about this decision of the Government the resolute attitude assumed by the Socialist Party and the proletariat ever since the commencement of the crisis has not been without effect. As a matter of fact, the Triple Alliance treaty is dead, though it still has a sterile existence in the diplomatic protocols. The declaration of neutrality received the unanimous approval of public opinion. But since a few weeks ago parties without a large following and other currents are agitating to push the Government towards intervention in the European conflagration. . . . Alone, against all this crowd, stands the Socialist Party, immune from the contagion which is spreading, and against which it calls upon you, proletarians, to take the necessary steps for defense.

The Socialist Party, it goes on, cares nothing for the scorn with which the monopolists of patriotism point at it as a Party hostile to the Fatherland:

The Socialist Party reaffirms clearly the existence of a profound and unalterable antagonism between War and Socialism. . . .

Workers! The pretexts by which you are to be led to the shambles are not worth the waste of human lives and treasure which war necessitates. Hold your meetings! Resist the pro-war infatuation, oppose your demonstrations to those of parties in favor of the war. Tell them, especially after Lybia, that Italy is in need of peace. Tell them that in any case Italy, by being the only great Power that has remained neutral in the conflict, has had thereby indicated to her a mission as mediator between the belligerents, as

proclaimer, on the day of the settlement, of the great principles which must be the basis of the society of States: the abolition of armaments, the appeal to the vote of the peoples, the justice of the decisions. Proclaim loudly and strongly that you do not intend to renounce your class autonomy.

The Socialist Party makes this appeal to you and trusts it is not in vain. The Socialist deputies will not vote the military credits for a war of aggression, resulting from a grotesque and contradictory foreign policy made up of expedients and devoid of ideals, for which the Italian governing classes and the dynasty are responsible.

The Italian Socialist Party reaffirms its abiding faith in the Workers' International, destined to arise greater and stronger from the blood and the ruin of the present conflagration of nations.

It is in the name of the International of Socialism that we ask you, proletarians of Italy, to maintain and to accentuate your immutable opposition to War. "Viva il Socialismo!"

THE EXECUTIVE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.
THE SOCIALIST PARLIAMENTARY GROUP.

On September 26th and 27th the Party undertook a sort of referendum. Organizations were asked to vote yes or no on the preservation of Italian neutrality. Hundreds of Socialists, labor union, co-operative and mutual benefit organizations took part in the ballot—all voting for neutrality.

But the Italian Socialists are not unanimous: the Reformist Socialist Party has issued a statement dissociating itself from the attitude of the Socialist Party, and proclaiming that the intervention of Italy is necessary, not only for the defences of Italy's own national interests, but also for the Franco-British-Belgian cause, which is that of the liberty of the nations and of peace.

Many radical Socialists, as we have noted, are also for war against Germany. To these has now been added one of the best known of all, Mussolini, who has been removed from the editorship of the party organ, *Avanti*, for his pro-war views.

THE WAR AND THE "BACKWARD" RACES

The Editor of the organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Prof. W. E. B. Du Bois, expresses the hope that Germany may be beaten. The triumph of German "self-exultation and disdain for mankind," he says, "would mean a crucifixion of darker peoples unparalleled in history":

The writer speaks without anti-German bias; personally he has deep cause to love the German people. They made him believe in the essential humanity of white folk twenty years ago when he was near to denying it. But even then the spell of militarism was in the

air, and the Prussian strut had caught the nation's imagination. They were starting on the same road with the southern American whites toward a contempt toward human beings and a faith in their own utter superiority to all other breeds. This feeling had not then applied itself particularly to colored folk and has only begun to to-day; but it is going by leaps and bounds. Germany needs but the rôle of world conquest to make her one of the most contemptible of "Nigger" hating nations. Just as we go to press the *Berliner Tageblatt* publishes a proclamation by "German representatives of Science and Art to the World of Culture" in which men like Harnack, Bode, Hauptmann, Sudermann, Roentgen, Humperdink, Wundt and others, insult hundreds of millions of human beings by openly sneering at "Mongrels and Niggers."

As colored Americans then, and as Americans who fear race prejudice as the greatest of War-makers, our sympathies in the awful conflict should be with France and England; not that they have conquered race prejudice, but they have at least begun to realize its cost and evil, while Germany exalts it.

If so great a catastrophe has followed jealousies and greed built on a desire to steal from and oppress people whom the dominant culture despises, how much wilder and wider will be the conflict when black and brown and yellow people stand up together shoulder to shoulder and demand recognition as men!

Let us give then our sympathies to those nations whose triumph will most tend to postpone if not to make unnecessary a world war of races.

A BRITISH SOCIALIST TO AMERICAN SOCIALISTS

Though written to the *New York Times*, the following letter from H. M. Hyndman is, above all, a message to American Socialists:

I observe that many American Socialists speak and write as if the war now being waged against militarist Germany and her ally, Austria-Hungary, were what they call a "capitalist war." Perhaps you will allow me, as a revolutionary Social-Democrat of thirty-four years' standing, as a member of the International Socialist Bureau for the first ten years of its existence, and as a lifelong opponent alike of British imperialism, French Chauvinism, and Russian Czarism, to say that, on the side of the powers of the Entente, it is nothing of the kind.

Hyndman asserts that in Great Britain at least not only Socialists, but the representatives of capital were for peace.

Doctrinaire assertions by well-meaning champions of international working-class solidarity cannot alter plain facts. Germany's great war is avowedly a war of aggrandizement on the part of her militarist caste. This is not disguised by the leaders of that caste. They hate the German industrialists and financiers, favored by the Kaiser, almost as much as they hate the German Social-Democrats,

denounced by the Kaiser. Germany as a whole (and not impossibly the Kaiser himself) was dragged into war by the Junker territorialists, not, assuredly, by the parvenue capitalists.

Do any American Socialists really imagine that veterans like Vaillant, Guesde, Vandervelde, Anseele, and others do not know when they are engaged in a capitalist war? Old and intimate friends of Marx, Engels, and Lassalle, of Blanqui, Lafargue, Delescluze, de Paepe, and Verrycken, men who fought in the Commune of Paris, who went through the dangerous struggles against Boulanger and the anti-Dreyfusards, and who upheld the great general strike in Belgium, are, I venture to think, quite capable of judging as to whether their present action is for or against the real interests of the international working classes of the world. I, at least, have no hesitation in declaring that, in my opinion, our French and Belgian and British anti-Prussian Socialists are absolutely in the right; and if I were not 72 years old I would go out and fight myself.

With Germany relieved from militarist megalomania and formed into a powerful federated republic, we may cheerfully anticipate the establishment of the United States of Europe; giving full outlet to democracy and Socialism and erecting at the same time a permanent bulwark against Russia should that vast empire, as some fear, threaten in turn the liberties of the nations.

WHY THE BRITISH ARE AT WAR

The most careful and impressive statement from British Socialist sources concerning the war is contained in an article in the *New Statesman*, entitled "Why Did We Go to War?"

The article divides British opponents of the war between "professed pro-Germans" and "doubters." The pro-Germans it dismisses briefly as "people of a morbid habit of mind which leads them to play the part of devil's advocate in every controversy." The doubters are far more numerous:

The grounds of their doubt are usually hatred of the alliance with autocratic Russia, and distrust of anything that is supported by the reactionary elements in this country. They answer the question at the head of this article in a number of ways. Some of them maintain that we have gone to war because the powers that be in this country wished to side-track social reform, some that it is a war of militarist aggression promoted by a desire in certain influential quarters to deprive Germany of her colonies and her trade, others that we are fighting without any real reason simply and solely to please the diplomatists and the armament manufacturers with whom they are in league. We have even seen it seriously suggested in print that the origin of the war is to be found in the desire of the British Government to ruin Germany in order to destroy the international influence of the German Social Democratic Party, the

power of whose example was becoming a danger to capitalism all over the world. But with all their differences these critics are agreed upon one thing: the assertion that we are fighting in defence of Belgian neutrality is in their eyes a hypocritical sham, a pretence that will not bear a moment's serious examination.

This point of view is perhaps worth more attention than it has received. Those who hold it have, superficially at all events, a strong case. It is perfectly true that an energetic agitation existed in favor of our participation in the war before ever the question of Belgian neutrality arose in public. It is also true—and this is the strongest point—that Sir Edward Grey expressly refused to promise that he would hold aloof even if Germany undertook not to violate Belgian soil. It is therefore obvious that Sir Edward Grey must have had in his mind other reasons for going to war, and these other reasons—as to the precise nature of which there is clearly room for the widest speculation—are, it is argued, the real causes and objects of our intervention.

The *New Statesman* then proceeds to distinguish between motives that were effective and motives that existed but were not effective in causing the war. In all countries there was a complex mixture of motives, but the effective motive that brought both the British Parliament and the British people into the war was the defence of Belgium. Sir Edward Grey's motives and diplomacy were of secondary importance. So we read:

That Sir Edward Grey was fully conscious of the limitation of his powers is perfectly evident in the White Paper. When he told the French Ambassador that he could not promise assistance until he had consulted Parliament he was perfectly sincere. Four days before war was declared a junior member of the Government asserted in the most positive terms that if the Cabinet decided for war the House of Commons would refuse to vote the necessary supplies, and in the then state of opinion both inside and outside the House of Commons the assertion was unquestionably justified. In spite of the propaganda of the *Times* and one or two other newspapers, it was almost impossible at that time to find anyone who was in favor of intervention. The Cabinet itself was notoriously divided, with a balance in favor of peace. Then Sir Edward Grey, in a speech that produced a greater effect than any speech ever delivered in the House of Commons, or perhaps anywhere else, raised the question of protecting Belgian neutrality. Instantly it became clear that in acting on that ground the Government would have the country enthusiastically behind them; and an ultimatum was despatched to Germany.

If this account of what actually occurred is correct—and we do not think it can be controverted—it follows that the defense of Belgium was the effective motive which determined our entry into the struggle. Whatever Sir Edward Grey's private wishes may have been, he could not have carried the Cabinet, still less the country, with him if the German army had not invaded Belgium. It is possible that later on public opinion might have been

converted to a policy of intervention by the spectacle of France prostrate under the mailed fist, but that is quite hypothetical. Our own conviction is that if Belgium had not been invaded the French army would have been able without difficulty to hold the fortified frontier, and Great Britain would never have entered the fray. That, at all events, it will be admitted, is what might quite possibly have happened. We suggest, therefore, that attempts to investigate the motives which inspired the Foreign Office are, under the circumstances, idle and unnecessary. Cabinet, Parliament, and people consented to war for the sake of Belgium, and no matter what private desires—doubtless numerous and diverse—happen to have been gratified by the national decision, it is none the less true that it was on Belgium's account that that decision was reached.

Incidentally, the article gives a very interesting exposition of the view of liberal British Socialists as to the equally momentous question, Did Germany want war?

It must be answered in the affirmative, because those in Germany who wanted war, even though they may have been in a minority, secured control of the Government in the later stages of the negotiations and succeeded in preventing steps being taken which would have prevented war. That is to say, their will became the effective will of Germany, and their desire for war was the actual and direct cause of war. It may be argued that we have no right to say that "Germany" wanted this or that unless we can show—as in the present case we admittedly cannot—that the majority of the German people wanted it. But the German people, it must be remembered, are not, and never have been, "Germany" in the sense that the British people are "Great Britain" and the French people "France." They have allowed themselves to be governed and represented by a comparatively small class, which has accordingly the right to call itself, and to be called "Germany."

SOCIALIST OPINION IN NEUTRAL COUNTRIES

SPAIN

Pablo Iglesias, who is the single Socialist in the Spanish Parliament, gives his views on Spanish neutrality in a Spanish newspaper, as follows:

As a member of the Socialist Party, the General Union of Workers, and the Socialist-Republican Alliance, I am, like them, a partisan of neutrality, and, like them also, consider that Spain ought not to abandon the pacifist position so long as the integrity of her territory is respected. If this integrity should be violated, I think that it would be the duty of every Spaniard to defend it with arms in his hand.

Being partisan of neutrality does not prevent me, as it does not prevent the organizations mentioned, from desiring the triumph of the ideas of liberty and democracy which France and England represent, and, in consequence, the overthrow of Austro-German Imperialism. But to shake our country from its neutrality would be a tremendous error amounting to a crime.

HOLLAND

On the 26th of August, Troelstra made the following declaration in the Parliament of Holland in the name of the Socialist group:

Now when the fields of battle are soaked in the blood of thousands of proletariat, it must be pointed out that the workers of the various countries had no cause to hate one another. On the contrary, their common labors in their International of Labor, labor unions, and political organizations were directed to the final elevation of their class. The responsibility for the war must rest upon capitalism. The Socialist group in Parliament calls upon the proletariat to remain true to the International, although their power was too small to stop the present war. Amidst the greatest terrors of war and the suffering that must follow it, the workers must remain true to Socialism, so that at the first glimmer of the possibility of peace, they may be able to work towards a peace which recognizes the independence of the various peoples. As members of the Socialist group of the parliament of a small country, whose government is not responsible for the outbreak of the war, and is decided to maintain its neutrality, it regards itself as doubly called upon to demand of all friends of peace, and especially of the working classes, that in fulfilling their national duty they shall hold themselves free from all chauvinistic hatred and do everything in their power so that out of the horrors of this war may be born the thought that only by the formation of an International of Labor of the free people of Europe can all capitalistic struggles for power and profit cease, and so all wars be made impossible.

ROUMANIA

The Roumanian Socialists have developed a very active agitation against the war, especially against participating in it as an ally of Russia. Severe riots in Bucharest marked the agitation. The following appeal, directed against Russia, was issued:

We call the attention of the working classes, of honest and honorable democracy, of the whole people to the miserable and systematic campaign which an alliance with the Czar signifies. The overthrow of democracy, the oppression of popular freedom, reaction. We must take a stand against this tendency and against the corrupting ruble. Our motto, neither with Russia nor with Austria, must

be spread everywhere and carried into effect. But the Roumanian people must know that the Russian danger has been and still is by far the greatest.

As a large part of the city proletariat of Roumania is Jewish, as the anti-Semitic movement has been more alive in Roumania than anywhere in the world, and since the Russian government encourages anti-semitism while the Austrian government does not, the anti-Russian attitude of the Roumanian Socialists is in part explained—whatever other contributing cause there may be.

VIEWS OF GEORGE D. HERRON

Some interesting hopes and fears in regard to this war are expressed by Professor George D. Herron in an interview in *La Difesa*, the Socialist paper of Florence, Italy:

It seems a terrible thing to say, but it is true nevertheless, that the great danger for the working class lies in a premature peace concluded by rulers and diplomats. Now that the catastrophe has come the welfare of the working people makes us hope that it may be complete and final. It should continue until the present governments are crushed; until the people, seeing Europe transformed into a cemetery, seeing their fields devastated and their homes ruined, and reflecting on the destruction of their lives, decide to make an end once for all to the present political form of government, taking in their hands the ordering of life and labor, and substituting for military and political organization a sane and fraternal administration of society.

The danger in the present catastrophe lies in this, that the rulers and politicians are commencing to be afraid and in self-preservation may conclude a premature peace. Indeed it is not impossible that Germany, England, Russia and France, under the threat of internal revolutions, may come secretly to a diplomatic compromise, and may conclude a peace which would only be a truce, and would leave Europe, industrially and socially, in the same condition as before.

For him, the action of the German Socialists is a complete failure, a real apostasy:

The German Social Democracy could have stopped this world catastrophe if it had had the energy and resolution. . . . This universal conflagration is a condemnation of the quality of German Socialism; and it is also a condemnation of materialism as a philosophy of life.

The talk, he says, of the danger of the Czarism as a reason for approving the war, is an after-thought on the part of the German Socialists:

The fear of the Czarism has had the same influence on the

conduct of German Socialists as the fear of an invasion of the armies of the planet Mars. . . . It was only the fear of their own skins, and the lack in their hearts of what their progenitors would have called "the fear of God" which brought the German Socialists to their apostasy.

If Herron had to choose between German and Russian domination, he would a thousand times prefer Russian domination, notwithstanding the Czar and his bureaucracy:

Russia is completely invaded by a true and always growing revolutionary spirit. When the Socialist movement asserts itself in Russia it will be a sincere Socialist movement, both in its position and in its spiritual energy, and it will be animated with a spirit of hope in its doctrine and its action.

Russia is to-day immeasurably nearer to liberty than Germany, and its best representatives have a greater and more spiritual culture than the Germans. . . . The Cossack . . . is nearer to co-operative life, and potentially more human and spiritual, than the Teuton.

He calls the idea that Germany is fighting for culture "grotesque," and asks:

What has Germany produced in the field of culture from 1870 to to-day? Really nothing of her own. After the Germany of Goethe, Schiller, of Beethoven in the last generation, the Germany of the Kaiser and Nietzsche and with them that intellectual monstrosity, the German university professor. Russia, on the other hand, in the same period has given to the world Tolstoi, Tchaikowsky, Gorky, Dostoevsky and many others with whom Germany has nobody to compare.

He says that the Belgian Socialists under the leadership of Vandervelde are fighting for the existence of Socialism, for the existence of their country, for their families. The French Socialists, too, are fighting for Socialism in fighting for the national existence of France:

When revolutionary Socialists like Jules Guesde, Vaillant, Anatole France, call the comrades to arms, one can be certain that the Socialists of France are fighting for a just cause.

England, he declares, is fighting for the liberty of the world. "It is fighting for all that is worthy of being preserved in our civilization, for that public morality, for that social liberty, which we have succeeded in conquering during the last few thousand years. Germany, on the contrary, is fighting a war of savage aggression."

He hopes that Italy will maintain its neutrality, except in case of Germany's threatening the neutrality of Switzerland, when "Italy would do well to run to its defence." He continues:

I would be glad if Italian diplomacy were wise enough to assume the courageous initiative of forming a league of neutral countries—Switzerland, Roumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Spain; and to put itself at the head of the federation and thus be in a way to prepare the putting of Europe on a democratic and ethnical basis.

He concludes by saying:

I consider the reply of the Italian Socialists to the German Socialist committee, which came to Italy to explain the action of the German Socialists in the war, as one of the most noble pages in the history of Socialism. Their reproof was courageous, wise, and just. It made me proud of the friends that I count among the Italian Socialists: and it permits me to declare to my comrades of America that there is at least one Socialist movement in the world which really represents Socialism—the Italian Socialist Party.

FRANZ MEHRING

A letter from Franz Mehring, one of the foremost German historians, critics and journalists, shows that along with Pannekoek, Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and others he stands by the principles of revolutionary Socialism. A significant passage from the letter, which was published in *Vorwaerts*, follows:

In to-day's number of *Vorwaerts*, the deeply regrettable fact is mentioned that the Social Democratic Parties in the neutral countries are judging unfavorably the attitude of the German Social Democrats in the present war. It is easy to understand that *Vorwaerts* does not undertake a discussion of this point. A discussion is also avoided in these lines. But it must be emphasized that it is the duty of the German Social Democrats to avoid everything which could substantiate the unfavorable judgment of the foreign sister parties.

In this paragraph, as in the *Vorwaerts* article mentioned, the fact is brought before the German Socialists that the action of their party majority is not approved by the International and it is as clearly indicated as the censor would allow that the International is held to be justified.

Mehring goes on to say that some of the party papers have quoted a letter of Engels as approving the course of the German government in this war. He explains that this subject cannot be discussed at the present time, but says that the passage is entirely misapplied and that the statement of Engels does not fit the present conditions at all. He suggests clearly that those interested should refer to the passage itself which he says "might be used by our foreign comrades to prove that Engels' position was directly the

opposite." It would have been impossible for Mehring to state more definitely that he believes that Engels would have been against Germany in the present war.

THE REAL CAUSE OF THE WAR

According to some Socialists, the war is due simply to capitalism. All the governments share about equally in it, and none of the peoples of the various countries are to blame. But another view has found an able spokesman in Charles Edward Russell. His articles appear in the *New York Call* and in *Pearsons*.

In these Mr. Russell develops the idea that this is actually a war between big business and autocracy, between modern capitalism and an oligarchic military caste, between international capitalists and a semi-feudal land-owning nobility. In other words, it is a struggle between capitalism and the pre-capitalist society, between plutocracy and aristocracy, between bourgeois democracy and reaction. France and England represent this modern capitalism, and are merely using the Czar and the Mikado for their purposes. Germany and Austria represent a semi-feudalistic capitalism and are making use of the Sultan.

This is also the view of the French Socialists and Syndicalists, of the British Laborites and now perhaps of most of her Socialists. It is the view of Troelstra of Holland, Branting of Sweden, the leading Swiss Socialist paper, the leading Italian Socialists, and—with some modifications perhaps—it is the standpoint of the powerful German minority, and in this country of the *New York Volkszeitung*.

CORRESPONDENCE

ENGLAND AND THE WAR

TO THE NEW REVIEW:

I do not suppose that you wish for correspondence on the articles appearing in the *NEW REVIEW*; I cannot, however, refrain from stating that in this country those at all informed about Germany's policy do not accept the views of Isaac A. Hourwich in his article on "Socialism and the War." You would not expect Kropotkin to utter jingo views, yet he gives it as his opinion in the October number of *Freedom*, an anarchist paper appearing here in London, that Germany has been "the chief support and protection of reaction," and that the treatment of Alsace and Prussian Poland by cultured Germany rendered possible the ill treatment of Finland and Russian Poland. He, like most people, whether conservatives or revolutionaries in this country, far from believing with Mr. Hourwich that the independence of Belgium was not threatened by Germany, thinks Germany had a settled purpose of seizing parts of Belgium, Holland and France, including Calais and Antwerp, and then invading England at its own convenience. The consequence is that we regard this war as a war of self-defense. If England or Belgium had stood on one side now, no one would have cared if a victorious Germany had swallowed us up later. Only those extreme internationalists who think it a matter of no importance if one nation tries to tear the very tongue from the mouth of another nation and to blot out all that is distinctive in its habits of life, could refuse to fight against the German aggressor. German writers have, time after time, lamented Germany's unfortunate geographical position and need of more coastline: does this look as if Belgium could trust in Germany's ultimate relinquishment of her soil?

It is very unfortunate that Keir Hardie, Ramsay MacDonald and the *Labor Leader* should be international by making themselves the mouthpieces for the views of the official German press agency. What I consider a particularly dastardly sentence appeared in last week's *Labor Leader*, referring to "the whole story of German atrocities as resting on the testimonies of the Belgians—whose own atrocities in the Congo are historical." If there is a case for Germany, it cannot be necessary to use such unfair arguments. One atrocity does not justify another and the Belgians concerned in the Congo were a very few paid servants on the private property of the late King of the Belgians and not on land then belonging to the Belgian state.

In England, we should no longer expect Keir Hardie and MacDonald to speak for anyone except themselves. The whole Labor Party has become nothing but a wing of the Liberal Party, and it is only when Keir Hardie or MacDonald are expressing views on questions not affecting votes for the support of the government that they show any independence. You may not remember incidents connected with the last bye-election at Leicester. Dr. MacDonald is one of the members for Leicester, which returns two members at a general election. Ever since MacDonald has been in Parliament his co-member has been a Liberal. At this bye-election, the British Socialist Party, which contains our more Marxian and self-called "revolutionary" Socialists,

put up a candidate. The Independent Labor Party, led by MacDonald, refused to help him: what is more, it was discovered that Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., the "whip" of the Labor Party, actually supplied the Liberals with a "line of argument" which could be used against the Socialist in favor of the Liberal.

And yet, the Labor Party has frequently declared that it is opposed equally to Liberals and Conservatives: indeed it has no real reason for existing and for asking the workingman to support it with his money unless this is so: the Liberals would supply him with Liberalism, fully paid for out of richer pockets than his.

The National Council of the Independent Labor Party never consulted the members of the Party before issuing its manifesto. The *Labor Leader*, according to its usual policy, suppresses all letters and resolutions effectively criticizing its statements. [The *Labor Leader* admits having suppressed one letter of H. G. Wells.—Ed.] There is reason to believe that the bulk of the I. L. P. members do not agree with the manifesto that professes to express their views. Indeed, as many Socialists have taken a comparatively intermittent interest in foreign politics, they probably have no fixed opinion on the war. Note that no section of anti-war opinion has had confidence enough in its cause to call any public meeting to explain its views. You no doubt know that during the Boer War, large pro-Boer meetings were held.

"The sentiment of the people" always is divided in England. In our lifetime it was never so unitedly in favor of any war as it is in favor of the present war. The fact is that the few who oppose the war are really non-resisters, who are opposed to every war.

I must say that the line of reasoning that satisfies your contributor makes me consider him prejudiced in favor of Germany; because while he considers Germany was "bound by treaty" to help Austria against Russia, he does not even mention that Prussia was also "bound by treaty" to protect the neutrality of Belgium. If Belgium could have been content to invoke international arbitration, when the army of that state which has never concealed its desire for a larger sea-coast and such a fort as Antwerp, was to pass through its territory, how much more could Germany have brought pressure on Austria to submit her case against Serbia to arbitration? Mr. Hourwich is content to argue that poor Austria might not have gained what she wanted: it may also be that once Germany was in possession of Antwerp, mere arbitration would never have turned her out.

Germany's treatment of Belgium is certain, as the facts become more widely known, to turn the feeling of waverers against her. Belgium was not allowed to protect herself by treaties. *Three days* before the war broke out, the German Minister in Brussels again repeated the assurance that Germany would respect Belgian neutrality,—an assurance which had been given by two German Chancellors of the Exchequer since 1911.

ARTHUR D. LEWIS,

Author of "Syndicalism and the General Strike."

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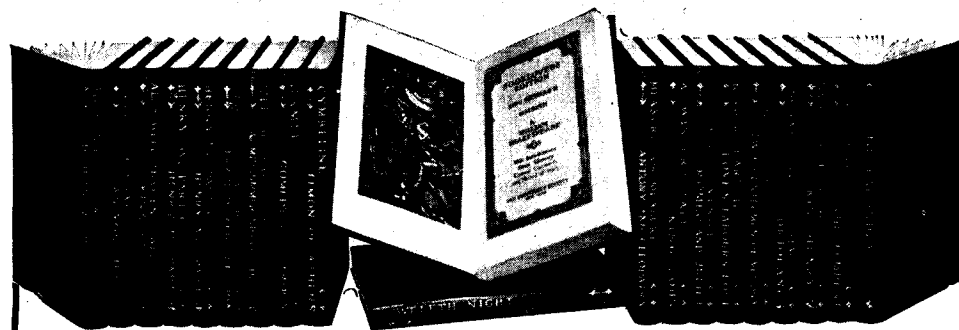
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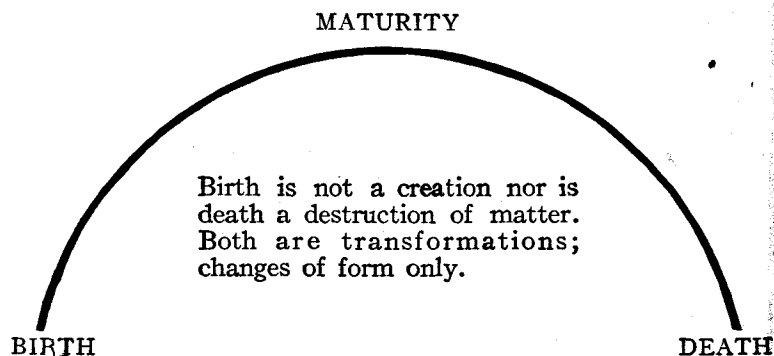
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